# AKSUM

# THYATEIRA

A *Festschrift*

For

Archbishop Methodios

of Thyateira and Great Britain

*General Editor*

DR. GEORGE DION. DRAGAS

1985

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A *Festschrift*

In Honour of Archbishop METHODIOS of Thyateira and Great Britain, (1985).

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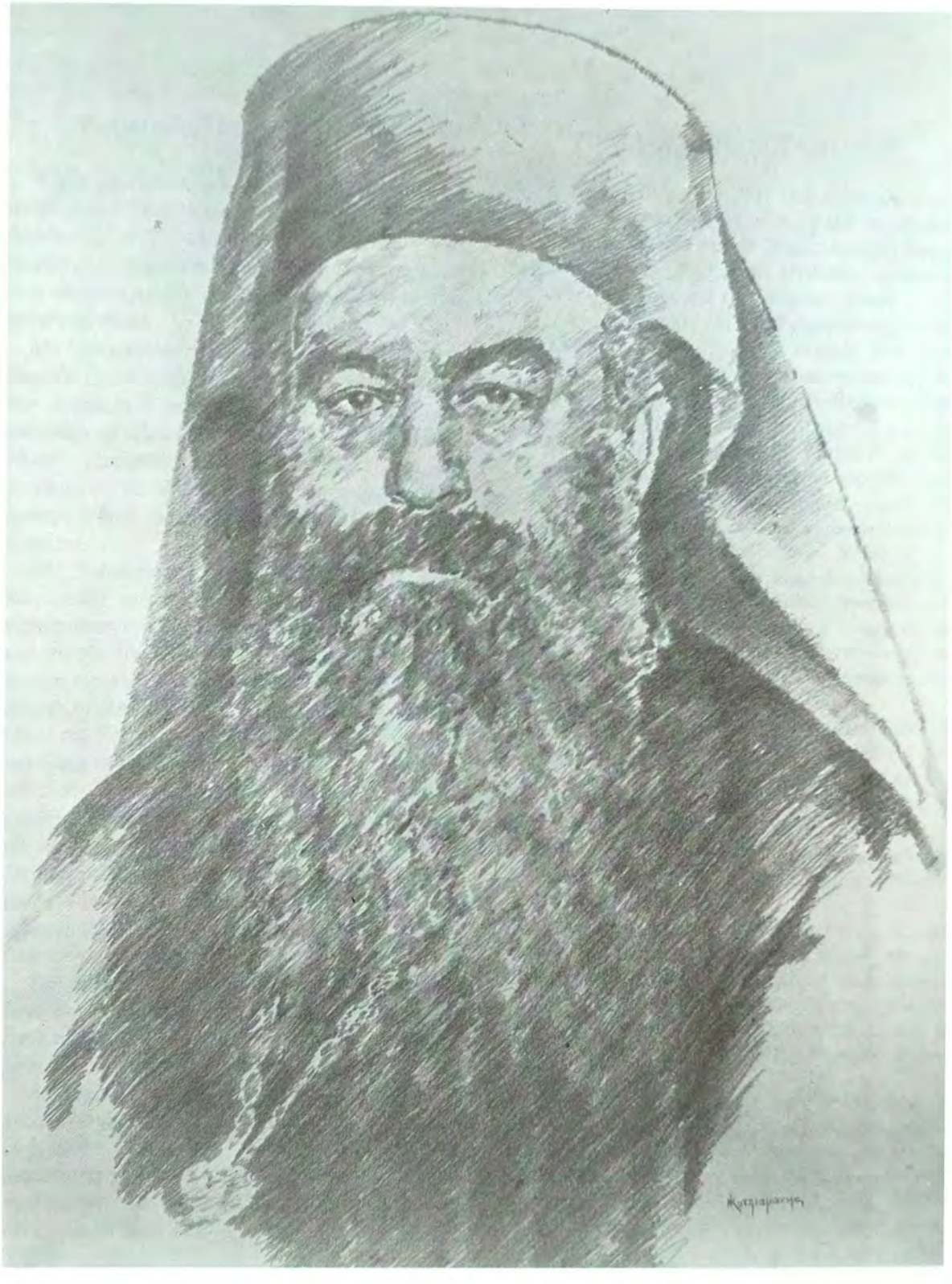
# ΑΞΩΜΗ – ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΑ

*ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ*
**ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ**
**ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΑΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΝ**



## PROLOGUE OF THE EDITOR

*When approximately a year ago the idea of publishing a* ***Festschrift*** *in honour of Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain was voiced among academics in England, the response was enthusiastically positive and no reservations were expressed.*

*My first move was to investigate the attitudes of English Church leaders, especially of the head of the Anglican Church, Dr. Robert Runcie, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Cardinal Basil Hume, Archbishop of Westminster. This investigation revealed to me most clearly the great esteem which Archbishop Methodios enjoys in England.*

*My subsequent move was to invite the honourable persons who constitute the Honorary Committee for the publication of this volume to assume their honorary status. Finally I proceeded to announce on behalf of these select persons and friends of Archbishop Methodios to the wider circle of the international academic and ecclesiastical community this venture and to invite contributors. The response was immediate and is clearly depicted in the present volume. Indeed it should be noted here that some of the contributors in this volume presented their contributions without any formal invitation as a gesture of their appreciation of the spiritual stature of the honoured Archbishop.*

*The bulk of the contributions dictated the present format of this volume. The alternative would have been to produce two volumes which, however, would be less usable.*

*As regards the title of the present volume, it should be pointed out that it was suggested by Archbishop Methodios himself and clearly demonstrates his consistent dedication to his pastoral work in the two Bishoprics which he was called to serve, namely those of Aksum and Thyateira.*

## ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΚΔΟΤΟΥ

*Ὅτε πρὸ ἔτους καὶ πλέον ἐξεφράσθη εἰς ἐπιστημονικοὺς κύκλους τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἡ ἰδέα τῆς ἐκδόσεως Τιμητικοῦ Τόμου διὰ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας Μεθόδιον, ἐγένετο αὐτη ἀνεπιφυλάκτως καὶ ἐνθουσιωδῶς δεκτή.*

*Ἡ πρώτη ἐνέργειά μου ἦτο ἡ διερεύνησις τῶν διαθέσεων τοῦ ἡγέτου τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Δρος Robert Runcie καὶ τοῦ Καρδιναλίου τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Westminster Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Basil Hume. Αὕτη ἀπέδειξεν αὐθωρεὶ πόσον ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος τιμᾶται ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ.*

*Ἐν συνεχείᾳ ἀπηύθυνον ἔκκλησιν πρὸς τὰ ἐντιμότατα πρόσωπα, ἅτινα ἀποτελοῦν τὴν τιμητικὴν Ἐπιτροπὴν ἐκδόσεως τοῦ Τόμου καὶ τὰ ὁποῖα πάντα πάνυ εὐχαρίστως ἀπεδέχθησαν ταύτην. Τέλος, ἐξ ὀνόματος τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν τούτων προσώπων καὶ φίλων τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, ἀνεκοίνωσα τὴν ἔκδοσιν του Τιμητικοῦ Τόμου εἰς τον εὐρύτατον κύκλον ἐν τῷ διεθνεῖ ἐπιστημονικῷ κόσμῳ, ἔνθα καὶ αὖθις εὗρον πλήρη ἀνταπόκρισιν ἀπεικονιζομένην ἐν τῷ παρόντι Τόμῳ.*

*Εἶναι συγκινητικὸν νὰ λεχθῇ ὅτι μερικοὶ ἐκ τῶν συνεργατῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι Τόμῳ ἔσπευσαν ἄνευ προσκλήσεώς τινος νὰ συνεισφέρουν εἰς τὸ πνευματικὸν τοῦτο συμπόσιον, ὅπερ δηλοῖ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀκτινοβολίαν τοῦ τιμωμένου Ἀρχιερέως.*

*Ὁ ὄγκος τῶν μελετῶν ἐπέβαλε τὴν παροῦσαν μορφὴν τοῦ Τόμου, ἄλλως ἔδει νὰ διχοτομηθῇ καὶ ν' ἀποβῇ δύσχρηστος.*

*Προκειμένου περὶ τοῦ τίτλου τοῦ Τόμου, ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων, συνεπὴς πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἣν τρέφει ἀφοσίωσιν πρὸς τὸ ποιμαντορικὸν αὐτοῦ ἔργον, συνέστησεν ὅπως ὁ τίτλος αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμίζῃ τὰς δύο Ἐπισκοπάς, ἃς ἐκλήθη νὰ ποιμάνῃ, ἤτοι τὴν Ἀξώμην καὶ τὰ Θυάτειρα.*

*Τὸ 1985 εἶναι ὄντως εἷς σπουδαῖος σταθμὸς εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων Μεθοδίου. Κατ' ἀρχὴν συμπληρώνει τὸ 60ὸν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας του. Συμπληρώνει ἐπίσης τεσσαρακονταετίαν ἀφ' ὅτου κατετάγη εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν Μονὴν Πεντέλης ὡς δόκιμος Μοναχός, τριακονταπενταετίαν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Πρεσβύτερον χειροτονίας του καὶ τριακονταετίαν ἀ-*

*The year 1985 is indeed an important summit in the life of Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira. First of all he reaches his 60th birthday. Then, he completes forty years since his entry into the monastic life by becoming a novice monk of the holy Monastery of Penteli, thirty-five years since his ordination to the presbyterate and thirty years since the publication of his first book. The priestly and academic endeavours of Archbishop Methodios are ever so present before the eyes of all his friends and associates.*

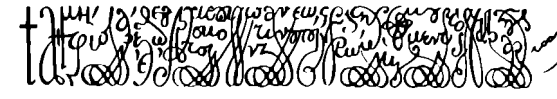
*Protopresbyter George D. Dragas*

*πὸ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ πρωτολείου του.*

*Ὁ τεσσαρακονταετὴς ἱερατικὸς καὶ ἐπιστημονικὸς ἀγὼν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου πρόκειται πᾶσι τοῖς τε φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀδιαφόροις in perpetuum.*

*Πρωτοπρεσβύτερος Γεώργιος Δράγας*

# MESSAGES – MHNYMATA



No 200

Most Sacred Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, Exarch of Western Europe, beloved brother in the Holy Spirit and Co-Celebrant with our Humility, Mgr Methodios, grace be to your Sacredness and Peace from God.

We were most pleasantly informed from the letter of the Editorial Committee which has been formed, that a Volume is to be published bearing the title *Aksum-Thyateira* in honour of your beloved Sacredness, on the completion in the forthcoming year 1985 of 40 years of your Sacredness' entry into the monastic estate, of 35 years of priestly and high-priestly ministry and of 30 years of literary activity.

Knowing the contribution during this long period of time of your Sacredness to our Holy Orthodox Church wherever you were called to serve, and also your Sacredness' contribution, alongside with the pastoral work, to the cultivation and promotion of our ecclesiastical scholarship, and in acknowledgement and appreciation of these, we now come to express to your Sacredness the commendation of the mother Church and our warmest congratulations and wish that Christ, the Great Shepherd, may strengthen and enlighten your Sacredness for much longer, so that you may continue your honourable high-priestly career, for the Glory of His Name and the boasting of the Church.

In addition to these, we ask of God to bestow on your beloved Sacredness the greatest gifts, and grant you the lengthiest years, healthy and saving.

1984, March 27

† DEMETRIOS of Constantinople,
Beloved Brother in Christ.

'Αριθμ. Πρωτ. 200.

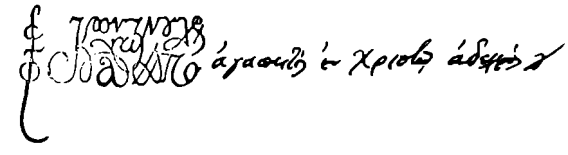
'Ιερώτατε 'Αρχιεπίσκοπε Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας καὶ ἔξαρχε Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐν 'Αγίῳ Πνεύματι ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφὲ καὶ συλλειτουργὲ τῆς ἡμῶν Μετριότητος κύριε Μεθόδιε, χάρις εἴη τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ 'Ιερότητι καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ.

'Από γράμματος τῆς συσταθείσης ἐπὶ τούτῳ 'Επιτροπῆς, ἀσμένως ἐπληροφορήθημεν ὅτι πρόκειται ἵνα ἐκδοθῇ Τόμος, ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «'Αξώμη-Θυάτειρα», πρὸς τιμὴν τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγαπητῆς 'Ιερότητος, ἐπὶ τῇ συμπληρώσει κατὰ τὸ προσεχὲς ἔτος ᾳλπε' τεσσαρακονταετίας ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν, ὡς καὶ τριακονταπενταετοῦς ἱερατικῆς καὶ ἀρχιερατικῆς διακονίας καὶ τριακονταετοῦς συγγραφικῆς δράσεως.

Γνωρίζοντες τὴν κατὰ τὸ μακρὸν τοῦτο διάστημα προσφορὰν τῆς ὑμετέρας 'Ιερότητος τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἡμῶν 'Ορθοδόξῳ 'Εκκλησίᾳ πανταχοῦ ἔνθα αὕτη ἐκλήθη ἵνα διακονήσῃ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν συμβολὴν αὐτῆς, παραλλήλως πρὸς τὸ ποιμαντικὸν ἔργον, εἰς τὴν καλλιέργειαν καὶ προαγωγὴν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ ἐν ἀναγνωρίσει καὶ ἐκτιμήσει τούτων, προαγόμεθα ἵνα ἀπευθύνωμεν αὐτῇ τὴν εὐαρέσκειαν τῆς Μητρὸς 'Εκκλησίας καὶ τὰ ἔνθερμα ἡμῶν συγχαρητήρια καὶ εὐχηθῶμεν ὅπως ὁ ἀρχιποίμην Χριστὸς ἐνισχύῃ καὶ φωτίζῃ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ μήκιστον, εἰς συνέχισιν τῆς τετιμημένης ἀρχιερατείας αὐτῆς, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ ὀνόματος Αὐτοῦ καὶ καύχησιν τῆς 'Εκκλησίας.

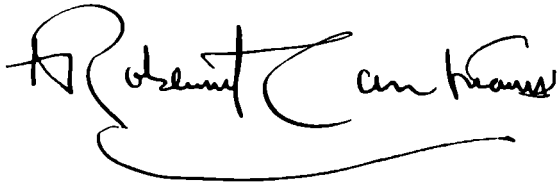
'Επὶ δὲ τούτοις τὰ κράτιστα αἰτούμεθα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ φίλῃ ἱερότητι παρὰ Θεοῦ, παρ' Οὗ καὶ τὰ ἔτη αὐτῆς εἴησαν ὡς πλεῖστα, ὑγιεινὰ καὶ σωτήρια.

ᾳλπδ' Μαρτίου κζ'



In this country he is often seen as a busy administrator who wins respect for the enormous energy with which he works for the Greek Church. It is true that in his ministry he never lets the grass grow under his feet: yet at the same time he loves our country and its people and prays always for the health of our leaders. It was my Greek hairdresser who whispered recently–'We have in our Archbishop a real man of the people'.

17 April, 1984



Εἰς τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐμφανίζεται συνήθως ὡς ἀπησχολημένος εἰς θέματα διοικητικὰ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς του καὶ χαίρει ἐκτιμήσεως διὰ τὴν ὑπεράνθρωπον ἐνεργητικότητά του, τὴν ὁποίαν θέτει εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἶναι ἀληθὲς ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἐπιτρέπει εἰς τὴν διακονίαν του, ὅπως λέγομεν, «νὰ μεγαλώσῃ τὸ χορτάρι κάτω ἀπὸ τὰ πόδια του». Ταυτοχρόνως ὅμως ἀγαπᾷ τὴν χώραν μας καὶ τὸν λαόν της καὶ προσεύχεται πάντοτε διὰ τὴν ὑγείαν τῶν ἡγετῶν μας. Ἦτο ὁ Ἕλλην κουρεύς μου, ὁ ὁποῖος μοῦ εἶπε προσφάτως: «Ἔχομεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἕνα ἀληθινὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ λαοῦ».

17 Ἀπριλίου 1984

† ΡΟΜΠΕΡΤ ΡΑΝΣΥ
Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καντουαρίας

SACRED METROPOLIS OF FRANCE,
EXARCHATE OF ALL IBERIA,
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese
Exarchate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate
7, Rue Georges Bizet, Paris (XVIe) FRANCE

# THE METROPOLITAN OF FRANCE MELETIOS FOR THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP OF THYATEIRA AND GREAT BRITAIN MGR. METHODIOS

Exactly thirty years ago, at my ordination as Bishop, the Most Reverend Archbishop Methodios, being then a priest in Munich, came to Paris to pray with me, and thus demonstrating his love towards me. This gesture of his, which I have never forgotten, helped me in my undertaking of my new and heavy responsibility. The very same responsibility Archbishop Methodios came to share in his own turn, and I had a great desire to go to London for his enthronement there in the Sacred Church of God's Holy Wisdom.

Archbishop Methodios is today one of the greatest Hierarchs of the Ecumenical Throne. Full of life and power, imbued with theological spirit and liturgical beauty, he organized with strength his diocese and ingrafted it fully into the contemporary British society, as a most valuable cultural and religious component. He entered in depth in the dialogue between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism having learned to love the wonderful Anglican piety and to understand the patristic sources which constantly turn up in the course of history. Today he serves as co-president of the joint committee of the dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. His work *Orthodoxy, Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism* supplies us with the keys for a truly ecumenical work, without relativism or compromise. It is with love that the call for the return to the Faith of the Ancient Church and to the power which is derived from it is made, and thus we are allowed to pass over the trenches, to find our balance and to complete the partial truths. This is the Faith in which the Orthodox Church is revealed to be simply and absolutely consistent, when it is guided by men such as Archbishop Methodios.

Truly, this great Shepherd, who considers it his task today to gather together all the Christians, is a great theologian, always fascinated by the tradition, history and the present. Like the Fathers of the Church

ΙΕΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΓΑΛΛΙΑΣ
ΕΞΑΡΧΙΑ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΙΒΗΡΙΑΣ
Archevêché Orthodoxe Grec
Exarcat du Patriarcat Œcuménique
7, Rue Georges Bizet, Paris (XVIe) FRANCE

# Ο ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΓΑΛΛΙΑΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΝ ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΑΣ κ.κ. ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΝ

Πρὶν ἀπὸ τριάντα ἀκριβῶς χρόνια, κατὰ τὴ χειροτονία μου ὡς ἐπισκόπου, ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, ἐφημέριος τότε στὸ Μόναχο, ἦλθε στὸ Παρίσι γιὰ νὰ προσευχηθῆ μαζί μου, ἐκδηλώνοντας ἔτσι τὴ φιλία του πρὸς ἐμέ. Ἡ χειρονομία αὐτή, τὴν ὁποία δὲν ἔχω ξεχάσει, μὲ βοήθησε νὰ ἀναλάβω τὴ νέα καὶ βαρειά μου εὐθύνη. Τὴν ἴδια εὐθύνη μοιράστηκε μὲ τὴ σειρά του ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, καὶ ἦταν μεγάλη ἡ ἐπιθυμία μου νὰ μεταβῶ στὸ Λονδίνο κατὰ τὴν ἐκεῖ ἐνθρόνισή του στὸν Ἱερὸ Ναὸ τῆς Ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας.

Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος εἶναι σήμερα ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς μεγαλύτερους ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου. Γεμάτος ζωὴ καὶ δύναμη, διακατεχόμενος ἀπὸ θεολογικὸ πνεῦμα καὶ λειτουργικὴ ὡραιότητα. διοργάνωσε μὲ σθένος τὴν ἐπισκοπή του καὶ τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσε πλήρως μέσα στὴ σύγχρονη βρεταννικὴ κοινωνία σὰν μία ἄκρως πολύτιμη πολιτιστικὴ καὶ θρησκευτικὴ συνισταμένη. Εἰσῆλθε σὲ βάθος στὸ διάλογο μεταξὺ Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμοῦ, τοῦ ὁποίου ἔμαθε νὰ ἀγαπᾶ τὴ θαυμαστὴ εὐσέβεια καὶ νὰ καταλαβαίνη τὶς πατερικὲς πηγές, οἱ ὁποῖες ἀδιάκοπα ξαναβρίσκονται στὸ διάβα τῆς ἱστορίας. Σήμερα, συμπροεδρεύει τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Διαλόγου μεταξὺ ἀγγλικανῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων. Τὸ ἔργο του «Ὀρθοδοξία, Ἀγγλικανισμὸς καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία» μᾶς δίνει τὰ κλειδιὰ μιᾶς πραγματικὰ οἰκουμενικῆς ἐργασίας, χωρὶς σχετικότητες ἢ συμβιβασμούς, ἀλλὰ μέσα στὴν ἀγάπη, μὲ τὴν ἔκκληση γιὰ ἐπιστροφὴ στὴν πίστη τῆς πρώτης Ἐκκλησίας καὶ στὴν ἀπ' αὐτὴ ἀπορρέουσα δύναμη, ποὺ μᾶς ἐπιτρέπει νὰ ὑπερπηδήσουμε τὶς τάφρους, νὰ ἐξισορροπήσουμε καὶ νὰ ὁλοκληρώσουμε τὶς ἐπὶ μέρους ἀλήθειες, πίστη στὴν ὁποία ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία ἀποκαλύπτεται ἁπλὰ καὶ σταθερὰ συνεπής, ὅταν καθοδηγῆται ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπους ὅπως ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος.

Πράγματι, ὁ ποιμενάρχης αὐτός, ποὺ ἔχει σὰν ἔργο τὴ συνάθροιση σήμερα ὅλων τῶν χριστιανῶν, εἶναι ἕνας μεγάλος θεολόγος, ποὺ συναρπάζεται συγχρόνως ἀπὸ τὴν παράδοση, τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴν ἐπι-

he manages to add to the exercise of his episcopal office an unceasing spiritual activity. His voluminous collections, which he publishes regularly in English and Greek, *Church and Theology* and *Texts and Studies*, constitute mines of information and reflection for Christianity yesterday and today and for the mission of Orthodoxy in bearing witness to the undivided Church. Archbishop Methodios himself participates in this endeavour whenever this is necessary, and he attracts to this the most distinguished collaborators.

By his labours as a church pastor and theologian, Archbishop Methodios has managed to show all the consequences of the 28th Canon of Chalcedon. He underlined the deep meaning of the preeminence of the Ecumenical Throne, as a service for the communication of sister-churches and a diaconate for the Orthodox diaspora –i.e. as a service to the unity and universality of the one Church who never ceases to pray «for the unity of all». In his above mentioned work, «Orthodoxy, Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism», Archbishop Methodios recalls the following statement of the English Byzantinist, Sir Steven Runciman: «As long as the Orthodox Church remains alive, Christianity shall have a future». To this we may respond by saying, that the Orthodox Church shall remain alive and shall continue to call all Christians to a creative eschatology, so long as we have such men like Archbishop Methodios, whom I salute here as a brother and «co-celebrant in the same service».

† Metropolitan MELETIOS of France

καιρότητα. Σὰν τοὺς Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατορθώνει νὰ ἐπισυνάψη στὴν ἄσκηση τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ του ἀξιώματος μία ἀκούραστη πνευματικὴ δραστηριότητα. Οἱ ὀγκώδεις συλλογές, ποὺ δημοσιεύει τακτικὰ στὰ ἀγγλικὰ καὶ στὰ ἑλληνικά, «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ «Κείμενα καὶ Μελέτες» ἀφ' ἑτέρου, ἀποτελοῦν ὀρυχεῖα πληροφοριῶν καὶ περισυλλογῆς γιὰ τὸ Χριστιανισμὸ τοῦ χθὲς καὶ τοῦ σήμερα καὶ γιὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας ὡς μάρτυρα τῆς ἀδιαίρετης Ἐκκλησίας. Ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, ποὺ γιὰ τὸ σκοπὸ αὐτὸ συγκεντρώνει τοὺς πιὸ διαπρεπεῖς συνεργάτες, λαμβάνει μέρος, κάθε φορὰ ποὺ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖο.

Μέσα ἀπὸ τὸ μόχθο τοῦ ποιμενάρχη καὶ τοῦ θεολόγου, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος κατόρθωσε νὰ δείξη ὅλες τὶς συνέπειες τοῦ 28ου κανόνα τῆς Χαλκηδόνας, ὑπογραμμίζοντας τὴ βαθειὰ ἔννοια τοῦ πρωτείου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου ὡς ὑπηρεσία γιὰ τὴν ἐπικοινωνία τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ διακονία γιὰ τὴν ὀρθόδοξη διασπορά. Ὑπηρεσία τῆς ἑνότητας καὶ τῆς παγκοσμιότητας μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας, ποὺ ἡ ἴδια δὲν παύει νὰ προσεύχεται «ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως». Στὸ ἤδη ἀναφερθὲν ἔργο του «Ὀρθοδοξία, Ἀγγλικανισμὸς καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία», ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἀναφέρει τὴν ἑξῆς φράση τοῦ Ἄγγλου βυζαντινολόγου Steven Runciman: «Ὅσο ἡ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία θὰ παραμένη ζωντανή, ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς θὰ ἔχη ἕνα μέλλον». Ἂν ἡ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία παραμένη ζωντανὴ καὶ καλῆ ὅλους τοὺς χριστιανοὺς σὲ μιὰ δημιουργικὴ ἐσχατολογία, τὸ ὀφείλουμε σὲ ἀνθρώπους σὰν τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Μεθόδιο. Τὸν χαιρετῶ ἐδῶ σὰν ἀδελφὸ καὶ «συλλειτουργὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπηρεσίας».

† ὁ Γαλλίας Μελέτιος

THE METROPOLITAN OF ATTICA
DOROTHEOS

Kefisia, 14 May, 1984

To Prof. Protopresbyter
Dr. George Dragas
of the University of Durham,
Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain
5 Craven Hill, London W 2.
England.

Very Reverend Professor,

It is with deep emotion that we received your epistle dated 4 April 1984 requesting from us the sending of a message on the forthcoming publication of a *Festschrift* entitled AKSUM-THYATEIRA and dedicated to the personality of our «syllloucianist» and twinbrother, the Most Reverend Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain Methodios Fouyas, and we gladly wish to respond to your request.

Our emotion is due to the fact that we, as priest in charge and teacher of the gymnasium, served the Sacred Metropolis of Aksum (in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia), for ten years, which Archbishop Methodios shepherded afterwards for over ten years most fruitfully as Metropolitan; and not only this, but to the fact that the Archbishop who is being honoured occupies a special place in our thought on account of his multiple and various charisms of knowledge, of literary and ethnic activity and of excellent ethos.

For more than twelve years we worked and laboured together in the Venerable Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria and together with the present Patriarch of Alexandria, His Beatitude Nicholas VI, suffered equally as officiating Archimandrites of the Patriarchate in the year 1956, and had to abandon the position which we held then in the Sacred Patriarchal Throne of St. Mark, the Apostle and Evangelist of Alexandria.

Our emotion is increased even more as we are informed by you that it is only Us from the long list of our Greek Orthodox Hierarchs, friends of the Hierarch who is being honoured, that were called to sent a message of honour and recognition for his great achievements and services to the Church, to human society, our Fatherland and our nation, of

Ο ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΑΤΤΙΚΗΣ
ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ

Ἐν Κηφισίᾳ τῇ 14ῃ Μαΐου 1984

Πρὸς
τὸν Δρα Καθηγητὴν Πρωτοπρεσβύτερον
Κον Γεώργιον Δράγαν,
Πανεπιστήμιον Durham,
Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας.
Εἰς Λονδῖνον,
Ἀγγλία.

Αἰδεσιμολογιώτατε κ. Καθηγητά,

Μετὰ βαθείας τῆς συγκινήσεως ἐλάβομεν τὴν ἀπὸ 4ης Ἀπριλίου 1984 ἐπιστολήν ὑμῶν, μὲ τὴν παράκλησιν, ὅπως ἀπευθύνωμεν μήνυμα, ἐπὶ τῇ προσεχεῖ ἐκδόσει Τιμητικοῦ Τόμου, ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «Aksum-Thyateira», ἀφιερωμένου εἰς τὴν προσωπικότητα τοῦ συλλουκιανιστοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ ἰσαδέλφου, Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας κ. Μεθοδίου Φούγια, καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀποδεχόμεθα νὰ ἀνταποκριθῶμεν εἰς αὐτήν.

Ἡ συγκίνησις ἡμῶν προέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἱερατικῶς Προϊστάμενος καὶ Καθηγητὴς Γυμνασίου, ἐπὶ δεκαετίαν διηκονήσαμεν ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Μητροπόλει Ἀξώμης (Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπάμπα, Αἰθιοπίας), τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ τιμώμενος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐποίμανε, μετέπειτα, ἐπὶ δεκαετίαν καὶ πλέον, λίαν εὐδοκίμως, ὡς Μητροπολίτης. Καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι ὁ τιμώμενος Ἱεράρχης κατέχει ἐξαιρετικὴν θέσιν ἐν τῇ σκέψει ἡμῶν διὰ τὰ πολλαπλᾶ καὶ ποικίλα αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα γνώσεως, συγγραφικῆς καὶ ἐθνικῆς δράσεως καὶ ἤθους ἐξαιρέτου.

Ἐπὶ μίαν δωδεκαετίαν συνειργάσθημεν καὶ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἐμοχθήσαμεν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ παλαιφάτου ὀρθοδόξου Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας καί, ὁμοῦ μετὰ τοῦ νῦν Μακαριωτάτου Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Νικολάου τοῦ ΣΤ', τὰ αὐτά, ὡς ἀξιωματοῦχοι Ἀρχιμανδρῖται τοῦ Πατριαρχείου, ἐπάθομεν, τὸ ἔτος 1956, ἐγκαταλείψαντες τὰς θέσεις, ἃς ἐκεῖ κατείχομεν, ἐν τῷ σεπτῷ Πατριαρχικῷ Θρόνῳ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Μάρκου, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

Ἡ συγκίνησις ἡμῶν αὐξάνει, ἔτι μεῖζον, ἐκ τῆς πληροφορίας, ἣν ἐλάβομεν, ὅτι μόνον ἡμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ μακροῦ καταλόγου τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ λοιπῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἀρχιερέων, φίλων τοῦ τιμωμένου Ἱεράρχου, ἐκλήθημεν νὰ ἀπευθύνωμεν μήνυμα τιμῆς καὶ ἀναγνωρίσεως τῶν μεγάλων προσόντων καὶ ὑπηρεσιῶν, πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς Πατρίδος

the most erudite Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain Methodios, a child of the mountainous region of Corinth.

We are moved not only with emotion but also with pride, because the Holy Brother of Thyateira keeps us in his heart and counts us among the first in the wide company of his chosen friends.

The divine and holy Gregory of Nyssa teaches somewhere that «Every word, divorced from works, is in itself both vain and even nonsubsistent, whereas the praise which finds fulfilment in life is far more evident than any great word».

The forty year long service of the holy One of Thyateira in the various grades of the priestly life in the Church which is built by God, his most extensive ecclesiastical and ethnic literary labour which enriches and greatly enhanses the mind of the scholars, and his untiring pastoral activity, have, since long ago, placed the indefatigable Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain Methodios among the international ecclesiastical and theological personalities and leaders, whom the Greek Church and Orthodoxy in general deeply revere and to whom they apply the above mentioned precept of St Gregory of Nyssa.

We congratulate those who took the initiative to publish this *Festschrift* and we wish them a successful completion of their endeavour. Awaiting eagerly to see your collection and contribution of the distinguished men of science who shall cooperate in this Volume and invoking upon you the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit,

We remain yours with warmest wishes
and excessive love

† Metropolitan DOROTHEOS of Attica

καὶ τοῦ Γένους ἡμῶν, τοῦ βαθυνουστάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας κ. Μεθοδίου, γόνου τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κορινθίας.

Εἴμεθα δὲ οὐ μόνον συγκεκινημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερήφανοι, διότι ὁ Ἀδελφὸς ἅγιος Θυατείρων διατηρεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ συγκαταλέγει ἡμᾶς μεταξὺ τῶν πρώτων, ἐν τῷ χορῷ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.

Ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης διδάσκει που, λέγων: «Πᾶς λόγος, τῶν ἔργων διεζευγμένος, μάταιος καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀνυπόστατος, ἐναργέστερος δὲ ἀποβαίνει τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ λόγου ὁ διὰ τοῦ βίου ἐκπληρούμενος ἔπαινος».

Ἡ τεσσαρακονταετὴς διακονία τοῦ ἁγίου Θυατείρων εἰς τοὺς διαφόρους βαθμοὺς τῆς, ἐν τῇ θεοδμήτῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, Ἱερωσύνης, ἡ πλουσιωτάτη ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ ἐθνικὴ συγγραφικὴ αὐτοῦ δρᾶσις, ἥτις πλουτίζει καὶ σημαντικῶς ἐπαυξάνει τῶν μελετητῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἡ ἀνεξάντλητος ποιμαντορικὴ τούτου δραστηριότης ἔχουν, ἀπὸ μακροῦ χρόνου, ἀναδείξει τὸν χαλκέντερον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας Μεθόδιον εἰς διεθνῆ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ θεολογικὴν προσωπικότητα καὶ φυσιογνωμίαν, δι' ἣν ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία, γενικῶς, σεμνύνονται, ἀλλὰ καί, συγχρόνως, ἐπιβεβαιώνουν τοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης, τοὺς ὁποίους προανεφέραμεν.

Συγχαίρομεν τοὺς σχόντας τὴν πρωτοβουλίαν νὰ ἐκδώσουν τὸν Τιμητικὸν τοῦτον Τόμον καὶ εὐχόμεθα τὴν αἰσίαν ἀποπεράτωσιν τῆς ἐκτυπώσεως αὐτοῦ. Ἀναμένοντες δὲ νὰ ἴδωμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν συγκομιδὴν καὶ τὴν προσφορὰν τῶν διαπρεπῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ πνεύματος, οἵτινες θὰ συνεργασθῶσιν ἐν τῷ Τόμῳ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐπικαλούμενοι ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὴν χάριν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος,

Διατελοῦμεν μετ' εὐχῶν διαπύρων
καὶ ἀγάπης περισσῆς

† Δωροθέου Μητροπολίτου Ἀττικῆς

## FRIENDLY REMINISCENCES ON THE SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE MOST REVEREND ARCHBISHOP METHODIOS OF THYATEIRA AND GREAT BRITAIN

The holy one of Thyateira, the Most Reverend Archbishop Methodios, and I are old friends. We first met in Athens in the summer of 1950. At that time I was staying, as a monk from the Holy Mountain of Athos, at the sacred Monastery of Penteli, enjoying the hospitality of the Archdiocese of Athens, as I was waiting for the endorsement of my passport by the English authorities in order to travel to Oxford, where I had been invited by Professor G.W.H. Lampe to participate in a group of specialists entrusted with the preparation for the edition of the book "A Patristic Greek Lexicon" which was eventually published by the Clarendon Press during 1961-1968. The present Archbishop of Thyateira was then a young Hieromonk, 25 years of age, brother at the Monastery of Penteli and was residing at Halandrion. We had something in common which invited us together; we both had had many difficulties at that time. My problem was mainly due to the great delay in getting my English visa, and father Methodios' problem was due to the persecutions which he suffered at the Monastery on account of his zeal and lively character. He could not keep himself silent before injustices and exploitations which damaged the Monastery of his repentance, and so he was forced to abandon it. That was the point when we met and I detected clearly in him a great zeal for the sake of the Church. Later on we parted our ways since I went to Oxford and he went to the Patriarchate of Alexandria after the invitation of the Patriarch there.

His personal ability, his activism in administration and the other spiritual gifts of Archimandrite Methodios Fouyas were much appreciated by the leaders of the Patriarchate and so he was quickly appointed to positions of special responsibility and significance for the Church of Alexandria. I followed his work first from Oxford and subsequently from Brussels. However, in his career, as it looks from the point of view of an outsider, it seemed to waver. "How very strange it is", said to me a Greek clergyman in Belgium, "this person Fouyas always goes up and down". As for me I was sure that finally he would rise to high positions, as indeed it happened. The waverings in his ecclesiastical career were rather due to his excessive zeal for the Church and to

## ΦΙΛΙΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΜΝΗΣΕΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΑΣ κ.κ. ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ

Μὲ τὸν ἅγιον Θυατείρων, Σεβασμιώτατον Μεθόδιον, εἴμεθα παλαιοὶ φίλοι. Ἐγνωρίσθημεν τὸ θέρος τοῦ 1950 εἰς Ἀθήνας. Διέμενον τότε, ὡς ἁγιορείτης μοναχός, εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν Μονὴν Πεντέλης, φιλοξενούμενος ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Ἀθηνῶν, ἐν ἀναμονῇ θεωρήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἄγγλων τοῦ διαβατηρίου μου, προκειμένου νὰ μεταβῶ εἰς Ὀξφόρδην, ὅπου εἶχον προσκληθῆ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐκεῖ καθηγητὴν G.W.H. Lampe, διὰ νὰ συμμετάσχω εἰς ὁμάδα εἰδικῶν διὰ τὴν προετοιμασίαν τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ «A Patristic Greek Lexicon», ὅπερ ἐξεδόθη εἰς τὸ «The Clarendon Press» κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1961–1968. Ὁ νῦν Θυατείρων ἦτο τότε νεαρὸς ἱερομόναχος, 25 ἐτῶν, ἀδελφὸς τῆς Μονῆς Πεντέλης καὶ κατῴκει εἰς Χαλάνδριον. Κοινὸν σημεῖον ἦνωνεν ἀμφοτέρους: εἴχομεν καὶ οἱ δύο πολλὰς δυσκολίας τὴν ἐποχὴν ἐκείνην. Ἐγὼ μὲν κυρίως διότι ἡ ἀγγλικὴ visa καθυστέρει πολύ, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ Μεθόδιος, διότι, λόγῳ τοῦ ζήλου του καὶ τοῦ ζωηροῦ χαρακτῆρος του, ὑπέστη διωγμοὺς εἰς τὴν Μονήν του. Δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν δι' αὐτὸν νὰ σιωπᾷ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀδικιῶν καὶ καταχρήσεων εἰς βάρος τῆς Μονῆς τῆς μετανοίας του, δι' ὃ καὶ ἠναγκάσθη νὰ ἐγκαταλείψῃ αὐτήν. Τότε ἐγνωρίσθημεν καὶ διέκρινα εἰς αὐτὸν μέγαν ζῆλον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Βραδύτερον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔφυγον διὰ τὴν Ὀξφόρδην, ἐκεῖνος δὲ διὰ τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας, μετὰ ἀπὸ πρόσκλησιν τοῦ οἰκείου Πατριάρχου.

Ἡ προσωπικὴ ἱκανότης, ἡ διοικητικὴ δραστηριότης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πνευματικὰ προσόντα τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Μεθοδίου Φούγια ἐξετιμήθησαν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰθύνοντας τοῦ Πατριαρχείου, δι' ὃ καὶ ταχέως διωρίσθη εἰς ὑπευθύνους καὶ σημαντικὰς θέσεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας. Παρηκολούθησα τὴν δρᾶσιν του κατ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τὴν Ὀξφόρδην, εἶτα δὲ ἀπὸ τὰς Βρυξέλλας. Πάντως εἰς τὴν σταδιοδρομίαν του, ὅπως τὴν βλέπει τις ἔξωθεν, ἐφαίνετο μὲ διακυμάνσεις. «Παράδοξον πρᾶγμα», μοῦ ἔλεγεν Ἕλλην κληρικὸς εἰς τὸ Βέλγιον, «αὐτὸς ὁ Φούγιας· ὅλο ἀνεβαίνει καὶ κατεβαίνει». Ἤμην ὅμως βέβαιος ὅτι τελικῶς θὰ ἀνέλθῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο. Καὶ αἱ διακυμάνσεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν σταδιοδρομίαν

great love for it. Later on, when he became Metropolitan of Aksum, he sent me many books and periodicals relating to Ethiopia.

The holy one of Aksum and myself met again at the International Patristic Conferences in Oxford, where he presented communications sometimes on the relations between Basil the Great and Pope Damasus of Rome, and sometimes about the history of Christianity in Corinth. In his communication about Damasus he established, based on Basil the Great's correspondence, the latter's hostile line towards the Christian East and his baseless claims for the primary of the Bishop of Rome.

My cooperation, however, with Archbishop Methodios was mainly in the Theological Dialogue between Orthodox and Anglicans, in which he participated initially as representative of the Patriarchate of Alexandria and at present as representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (since 1979, after the death of Archbishop Athenagoras of Thyateira and his election to the Archiepiscopal Throne of Thyateira and Great Britain). According to the existing order he was elected by the Orthodox members of the Commission of the above mentioned Dialogue unanimously as its Orthodox co-chairman. In this Commission we appreciated his strong stance vis-a-vis the rather vague position of the Anglicans, connected with their strange understanding concerning "comprehensiveness", and also his diplomatic ability in his attempts to avoid excessive positions and disputes (especially among the Orthodox). As an example of Orthodox stance on the part of our co-chairman Methodios, I can refer to his vigorous rejection of the opinion, which came to be entertained in our Commission, of the existence of an allegedly "orthodox *Filioque*" which could lead to a compromise between Orthodox and Anglicans. Archbishop Methodios characterized this position as confused, contradictory and intolerable to every Orthodox ear.

I also want to underline the constantly friendly and brotherly stance of our co-chairman the holy one of Thyateira towards the Orthodox Russian Church, the Patriarchate of Moscow and towards the pious and Christ-loving Russian nation in general. I note that he does this without any calculated praise towards those who rule there, but always with courage and sincerely, as we witnessed it in 1983 during the meeting of the Commission for the Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue in Odessa.

The Most Reverend Archbishop Methodios is perhaps the most erudite Greek hierarchical author of our contemporary epoch, combining in his person rich pa-

του ὠφείλοντο μᾶλλον εἰς ὑπερβολικὸν ζῆλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ μεγάλην ἀγάπην πρὸς α Βραδύτερον, ὡς Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης, μοῦ ἔ λε εἰς τὰς Βρυξέλλας πολλὰ βιβλία καὶ περι ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν.

Μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀξώμης συνηντήθημεν ἐκ εἰς τὰ Διεθνῆ Πατρολογικὰ Συνέδρια τῆς Ὀ δης, ὅπου ἔκαμε θεολογικὰς εἰσηγήσεις, ἄ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σχέσεων τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου τὸν Πάπαν Ρώμης Δάμασον, ἄλλοτε δὲ περ ἱστορίας τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Εἰ εἰσήγησίν του περὶ τοῦ Δαμάσου ἐξιστόρησε σιζόμενος εἰς τὴν ἀλληλογραφίαν τοῦ Με Βασιλείου, τὴν ἐχθρικὴν πρὸς τὴν χριστια Ἀνατολὴν γραμμήν του καὶ τὰς ἀστηρίκτους σεις διὰ τὸ πρωτεῖον τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ρώμης.

Κυρίως ὅμως συνειργάσθημεν μετὰ τοῦ σμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου εἰς τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διά Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ Ἀγγλικανῶν, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖο χικῶς μὲν συμμετέσχεν ὡς ἀντιπρόσωπος τοῦ τριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας, νῦν δὲ συμμετέχ ἀντιπρόσωπος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τοῦ 1979, μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκ Θυατείρων Ἀθηναγόρου καὶ τὴν ἐκλογήν εἰς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγ Βρ νίας). Κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τάξιν ἐξελέγη ὑπ ὀρθοδόξων μελῶν τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ ἐξονομα τος Διαλόγου παμψηφεὶ ὀρθόδοξος συμπρό αὐτῆς. Ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτροπῇ ταύτῃ ἐξετιμήσαμε σθεναρὰν στάσιν του ἐπὶ βασικῶν σημείων τῆς δόξου πίστεως ἔναντι τῆς κάπως ἀορίστου θ τῶν ἀγγλικανῶν μὲ τὴν παράξενον ἀντίληψίν περὶ comprehensiveness, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διπλωμα δεξιότητά του εἰς τὰς προσπαθείας νὰ ἀποκ ἀκρότητας καὶ διαμάχας (ἰδιαιτέρως μεταξὺ ὀρθοδόξων). Ὡς παράδειγμα ὀρθοδόξου γρ τοῦ συμπροέδρου μας Μεθοδίου δύναμαι νὰ ἀνα τὴν ζωηρὰν ἀντίρρησίν του εἰς τὴν ἐκφρασθ ἐν τῇ Ἐπιτροπῇ μας γνώμην περὶ δῆθεν ὑπά «ὀρθοδόξου Filioque», ὡς δυνατοῦ συμβιβ μεταξὺ ὀρθοδόξων καὶ ἀγγλικανῶν. Τὴν πρό ταύτην ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐχαρακτή ὡς συγκεχυμένην, ἀντιφατικὴν καὶ ἀνυπό διὰ πᾶσαν ὀρθόδοξον ἀκοήν.

Θέλω νὰ σημειώσω ἀκόμη τὴν ἀνέκαθεν φι καὶ ἀδελφικὴν στάσιν τοῦ συμπροέδρου μας Θυατείρων πρὸς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ρωσικὴν Ἐ σίαν, τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον Μόσχας καὶ πρὸς τὸ βὲς καὶ φιλόχριστον ρωσικὸν ἔθνος ἐν γένει αὐτὸ χωρὶς καμμίαν καιροσκοπικὴν κολακείαν τοὺς ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε μὲ θάρρ εἰλικρινῶς, ὡς τὸ εἴδομεν τὸ 1983 κατὰ τὴν μετά τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ Ἀγγλικανό–Ὀρθοδόξου λόγου εἰς τὴν Ὀδησσόν.

Ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθ εἶναι ἴσως ὁ πολυγραφώτερος Ἕλλην ἀρχι τῆς συγχρόνου ἐποχῆς, συνδυάζων εἰς τὸ πρόσ

storal activity and theological productivity. This is well-known to everyone and I do not need to add to it anything further. I only wish to draw attention to his latest publication, *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism, 1984.*

The 60th year of age not only constitutes a chronological boundary and a happy sealing of past life, but also constitutes the inauguration of new spiritual battles. Let us wish to the Most Reverend and much loved Lord Methodios many years and to higher things!

Brussels,
26 July, 1984

† Archbishop BASIL
of Brussels and All Belgium

του πλουσίαν ποιμαντικὴν δρᾶσιν καὶ θεολογικὴν παραγωγικότητα. Τοῦτο εἶναι πασίγνωστον καὶ δὲν ὑπάρχει ἀνάγκη νὰ ἐπεκταθῶ περισσότερον. Σημειώνω μόνον τὸ τελευταῖον βιβλίον του «Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism», 1984.

Ἐξηκονταετὴς ἡλικία ἀποτελεῖ οὐ μόνον χρονικὸν ὅριον καὶ εὐχάριστον ἐπισφράγισμα παρελθούσης ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔναρξιν νέων πνευματικῶν ἀγώνων. Ἂς εὐχηθῶμεν εἰς τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον καὶ ἀγαπητὸν κὺρ Μεθόδιον χρόνια πολλὰ καὶ εἰς ἀνώτερα!

Ὁ Βρυξελλῶν καὶ Βελγίου Βασίλειος
Ἐν Βρυξέλλαις
26 Ἰουλίου 1984

Athens, 23 October 1983

To
The Very Reverend Protopresbyter
George Dragas,
in London.

Very Reverend,

It is not only a joy but also a priviledge to have myself included among the distinguished personalities of Church and Science contributing to the *Festschrift* on the occasion of the 60th birthday of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Thyateira and Gt Britain, Mgr Methodios, of his 40th anniversary of monastic life, 35th anniversary of priestly and high-priestly career and 30th anniversary of his literary activity. I shall, therefore, in spite of the weakness of my spiritual strength, try to respond to the expectations of the Editorial Committee and thus share my satisfaction with the projection into the international sphere of the personality of the honoured Archbishop, who, confessedly, owing tohis ability and qualifications, is presented to history as a leading Hierarch, occupying in Church, Science and Society a distinguished and stately place, and therefore as a person worthy of such an honour.

The subject which I shall try to develop, bears the title, "Memoirs (based, of course, on my memory and not on any written memoir) from my cooperation with the evermemorable Archbishop of Athens and all Greece, Damascenos Papandreou (20 October 1945 – 20 May 1949)"*.

In this study I shall deal with aspects of my cooperation, from which i was persuaded of the Archbishop's superior, ethos and character, so that I may draw attention to the personality of this great man of international acclaim and authority.

Wishing every success to the Editorial Committee in its endeavours and aspirations, I remain with the deepest esteem in the Lord.

† BASILIOS, formerly of Lemnos

*This contribution was not sent on, because in the meantime the ever-memorable Metropolitan Basilios formerly of Lemnos fell asleep in the Lord on the 9th of November 1983. Metropolitan Basilios, a distinguished author, ordained Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira into the diaconate in 1947.

Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 23ῃ Ὀκτωβρίου 1983

Πρὸς
τὸν Αἰδεσιμολογιώτατον Πρωτοπρεσβύτερον
κύριον Γεώργιον Δράγαν
Εἰς Λονδῖνον

Αἰδεσιμολογιώτατε,

Αἰσθάνομαι οὐ μόνον χαρὰν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐγκαύχησιν, διότι εἰς τὴν χορείαν διακεκριμένων προσωπικοτήτων τῆς τε Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκδόσει τιμητικοῦ Τόμου «ἐπὶ τῇ συμπληρώσει 60 ἐτῶν τῆς ἡλικίας (τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας κ.κ. Μεθοδίου), 40 ἐτῶν μοναχικῆς ζωῆς, 35 ἐτῶν ἱερατικῆς καὶ ἀρχιερατικῆς δράσεως καὶ 30 ἐτῶν συγγραφικῆς δραστηριότητος», περιελήφθη καὶ ἡ ταπεινότης μου, ἡ ὁποία, μὲ τὰς ἀσθενεῖς ἄλλωστε πνευματικὰς δυνάμεις της, θὰ προσπαθήσῃ ν' ἀνταποκριθῇ εἰς τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς Συντακτικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ νὰ συμμερισθῇ οὕτω τὴν ἱκανοποίησιν διὰ τὴν προβολὴν εἰς παγκόσμιον ἀκτῖνα τῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ τιμωμένου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ὅστις ὁμολογουμένως, λόγῳ ἱκανότητος καὶ προσόντων, προτίθεται ἐνώπιον τῆς ἱστορίας ὡς ἡγετικὴ μορφὴ Ἀρχιερέως, ὅλως ἰδιάζουσαν, διακεκριμένην καὶ ἐπιβλητικὴν θέσιν κατέχων ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, καὶ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν εἶναι ἄξιος τοιαύτης προβολῆς.

Τὸ θέμα, τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ μὲ ἀπασχολήσῃ, τιτλοφορεῖται «Ἀναμνήσεις (στηριζόμεναι βεβαίως εἰς τὴν μνήμην καὶ οὐχὶ εἰς ἔγγραφον ἡμερολόγιον) ἀπὸ τὴν συνεργασίαν μου μὲ τὸν ἀείμνηστον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος Δαμασκηνὸν Παπανδρέου (20 Ὀκτωβρίου 1945 - 20 Μαΐου 1949)»*.

Εἰς τὴν μελέτην αὐτὴν θ' ἀσχοληθῶ μὲ πτυχὰς τῆς συνεργασίας μου, ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας ἀπεκόμισα τὴν βεβαιότητα τῆς ἀνωτερότητος τοῦ ἤθους καὶ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος του, ὥστε δικαίως νὰ κατατάσσεται οὗτος εἰς τὴν σπανίζουσαν σήμερον ἀτυχῶς χορείαν τῶν ὑψηλοφρόνων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ διὰ τοιαύτης ἀτελοῦς σκιαγραφίας θὰ μνησθῶ τῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου ἀνδρός, ἀνδρὸς παγκοσμίου αἴγλης καὶ κύρους.

Εὐχόμενος πλήρη ἐπιτυχίαν εἰς τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς Συντακτικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς, διατελῶ μετὰ βαθυτάτης ἐν Κυρίῳ ἐκτιμήσεως

*Ἡ συνεργασία αὕτη δὲν ἀπεστάλη, διότι ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίῳ ὁ ἀείμνηστος Μητροπολίτης πρῴην Λήμνου Βασίλειος (9 Νοεμβρίου 1983). Ὁ Μητροπολίτης πρῴην Λήμνου Βασίλειος, διακεκριμένος συγγραφεύς, ἐχειροτόνησεν εἰς Διάκονον τὸ 1947 τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων Μεθόδιον.

# ARCHBISHOP METHODIOS

## OF THYATEIRA AND GREAT BRITAIN

**(An introductory biographical essay)**

By

*Protopresbyter*

*Dr George Dion. Dragas*

### 1. Prologue.

Was it the sheer vitality and force of his character or the flexibility and gentleness of his actions, his distinctive generosity to others or his monastic austerity towards himself, his incredible visions for always greater things or his patient and methodical approach to the every day tasks of life, his readiness to apply "economy" (lineance) to others or his own unwavering attachment to the discipline and tradition of the Church, his intense personal friendliness to others or his courageous and even magnanimous forebearance of lack of recognition or even opposition and jealousy from the part of others, his distinctive academic ability and accomplishments, or his readiness to recognise the abilities of others?.. What was it exactly that attracted me to His Eminence when I first made his acquaintance at a crucial point in my own early development as a young student of Theology at Edinburgh University many years ago? I still find it very difficult to give the right answer to the above question, for I am ever so much aware of the many and extra-ordinary qualities of Archbishop Methodios' personality which defy any attempt at rationalisation. I used to attribute the crossing of the line of my life with that of His Eminence's to an act of divine providence and grace and I would still maintain this. On this occasion, however, as I look back to a period of some fifteen years of acquaintance I feel

# Ο ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΣ

## ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΑΣ

**(Εἰσαγωγικὸν βιογραφικὸν σχεδίασμα)**

Ὑπὸ

*Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου*

*Γεωργίου Διον. Δράγα*

### 1. Πρόλογος.

Ἦτο ἀράγε ἡ ζωτικότης καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ χαρακτῆρος του ἢ ἡ εὐλυγισία καὶ ἡ ἠπιότης τῶν ἐνεργειῶν του; ἡ διακριτικὴ γενναιοδωρία του πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ ἡ μοναχικὴ λιτότης πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτόν του; οἱ ἀπροσδόκητοι ὁραματισμοί του διὰ τὰ μείζονα ἢ ἡ ὑπομονητικὴ καὶ μεθοδικὴ στάσις του ἔναντι τῶν καθημερινῶν ἀπαιτήσεων τῆς ζωῆς; ἡ προθυμία του νὰ ἐφαρμόζῃ «οἰκονομίαν» εἰς τὰ προβλήματα τῶν ἄλλων ἢ ἡ ἄκαμπτος προσήλωσίς του εἰς τὴν πειθαρχίαν καὶ παράδοσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὸν ἑαυτόν του; ἡ ἔντονος προσωπικὴ φιλία του πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ ἡ θαρραλέα ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλόψυχος ἐκ μέρους του ἀνοχὴ τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ἢ ἀκόμη καὶ ἀντιστάσεως καὶ ζηλοτυπίας τῶν ἄλλων; ἡ διακριτικὴ ἀκαδημαϊκὴ ἱκανότης καὶ ἐπιτυχία του ἢ ἡ προθυμία του ὅπως ἀναγνωρίζῃ τὴν ἱκανότητα τῶν ἄλλων; τί ἀκριβῶς ἦτο ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον μὲ προσείλκυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου, ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον ἐγνωρίσθην μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς μίαν κρίσιμον καμπὴν τῆς πρώτης ἀναπτύξεώς μου ὡς νεαροῦ φοιτητοῦ τῆς Θεολογίας εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου πρὶν πολλὰ χρόνια; Ἀκόμη δυσκολεύομαι νὰ δώσω ἱκανοποιητικὴν ἀπάντησιν εἰς τὸ ἀνωτέρω ἐρώτημα, διότι ἀντιλαμβάνομαι ὅλο καὶ περισσότερον τὰ πολλὰ καὶ διακριτικὰ προτερήματα τῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν δύνανται νὰ περιγραφοῦν ὀρθολογιστικῶς. Συνήθιζον νὰ ἀποδίδω τὴν διασταύρωσιν τῆς πορείας τῆς ζωῆς μου μὲ ἐκείνην τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς ἐνέργειαν τῆς θείας προνοίας καὶ χάριτος, καὶ τοῦτο θὰ ὑποστήριζον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος. Ἐν τούτοις, εἰς τὴν

obliged to acknowledge what I know deep down in my heart and mind to have been the impact of his personality upon me as distinct from that of any other. It is Archbishop Methodios' patristic and ecclesiastical ethos, of spiritual trustworthiness, of authentic Christian realism, and his incredible sense of historic responsibility and ecclesiastical leadership which have distinguished him in my own conscience from any other person that I have met. In His Eminence's person I came to recognize a man and a father of the Church who passionately works for her well being and for her beneficiary service to humanity and the whole world. Something of this I hope to reveal through this essay in which I shall attempt to narrate in a straight forward manner facts of His Eminence's biography. I know that these facts shall speak much more eloquently of the man and his outlook and above all of his contribution to the Church and the world, than any words of eulogy and praise, which, in any case, would not meet with His Eminence's approval. In his own writings he has been a man who loves to present facts and let others realise and interpret their significance. I owe it to him, therefore, to employ the same outlook as I deal with His Eminence's own life[1].

## 2. Early years of development.

Born on 14.9.1925 in the mountainous Greek village of Ancient Pheneos in the Province of Corinth as the first child of George and Anastasia Fouyas, Archbishop Methodios was given the name John. Apart from him, two more sons and a

προκειμένην περίστασιν, καθὼς ἀναλογίζομαι τὴν πορείαν δέκα πέντε περίπου ἐτῶν γνωριμίας, αἰσθάνομαι τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν ὅπως ἐξομολογηθῶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον γνωρίζω εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς καρδίας μου καὶ τοῦ νοός μου, ὅτι ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ἐπίδρασις τῆς προσωπικότητός του ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐν ἀντιδιαστολῇ πρὸς πάντα ἄλλον. Τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ πατερικὸν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἦθος τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, δηλαδὴ τὸ ἦθος τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀξιοπιστίας, τοῦ αὐθεντικοῦ χριστιανικοῦ ρεαλισμοῦ. Εἶναι ἡ ἀπροσδόκητος συναίσθησις ἱστορικῆς εὐθύνης καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡγεσίας, τὰ ὁποῖα τὸν διεχώρισαν εἰς τὴν συνείδησίν μου ὑπεράνω παντὸς ἄλλου προσώπου μετὰ τοῦ ὁποίου συνῆψα προσωπικὴν γνωριμίαν. Εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου ἔμαθον νὰ ἀναγνωρίζω τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πατέρα τῆς 'Εκκλησίας, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐργάζεται μετὰ πάθους καὶ ἀφοσιώσεως διὰ τὴν εὐημερίαν της καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργετικὴν διακονίαν της πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα καὶ πρὸς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον. Μέρος τούτου ἐλπίζω νὰ ἀποκαλύψω διὰ τοῦ βιογραφικοῦ τούτου σχεδιάσματος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀντιπροσωπεύει μίαν προσπάθειαν ἀφηγήσεως κατὰ τρόπον εὐθὺν καὶ εἰλικρινῆ τῶν κυρίων γεγονότων τῆς μέχρι τοῦδε βιογραφίας τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου. Γνωρίζω ὅτι τὰ γεγονότα αὐτὰ θὰ παρουσιάσουν μετὰ μεγαλυτέρας εὐγλωττίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὴν προοπτικήν του, ἀλλὰ πρὸ πάντων τὴν συμβολήν του εἰς τὴν 'Εκκλησίαν καὶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀπ' ὅ,τι θὰ ἐπετύγχανον λόγοι ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ καὶ ἐπαινετικοί, οἱ ὁποῖοι, ἄλλωστε, δὲν θὰ ἐτύγχανον τῆς ἐπιδοκιμασίας τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου. Τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου φανερώνει ἄνθρωπον ἀρεσκόμενον εἰς τὴν ἁπλῆν ἔκθεσιν γεγονότων καὶ ἐπαφίοντα τὴν ἀντίληψιν καὶ ἐπεξήγησιν τῆς σπουδαιότητος τῶν γεγονότων αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους. Εἶναι ὀφειλή μου πρὸς Αὐτόν, συνεπῶς, ὅπως υἱοθετήσω τὴν αὐτὴν προοπτικὴν πραγματευόμενος τὰ τοῦ βίου τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου[1].

## 2. Πρῶτα ἔτη ἀναπτύξεως.

Γεννηθεὶς τὴν 14ην Σεπτεμβρίου τοῦ ἔτους 1925 εἰς τὸ ὀρεινὸν ἑλληνικὸν χωρίον Καλύβια τοῦ Φενεοῦ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Κορινθίας, ὡς ὁ πρῶτος υἱὸς τοῦ Γεωργίου καὶ τῆς 'Αναστασίας Φούγια, ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐδέχθη τὸ ὄνομα 'Ιωάννης. 'Ε-

1. Accounts of His Eminence's life can be found in his *Δεκαετηρίς* Athens 1979, in the *Orthodox Herald* (London), No 1, New Series, 1980 and in *Greek Review* 4 (1982), 5.

daughter were born into the same family. It was in Pheneos and the neighbouring Levidion of Arcadia that the young John Fouyas received his elementary and secondary education and developed at an early age the desire to become a clergyman. As he put it much later in one of his lectures, he was then taught that "a Greek could either be a man or a clergyman and that when confronted with these two options he chose the latter". The first step towards the realization of his choice was taken in March of 1945 when, with the intervention of Archbishop Damascenos of Athens, who was at the time Regent Royal of the Kingdom of Greece, he entered the holy Monastery of Penteli, near Athens, as a novice and soon later, on 15 August of the same year, put on the *rason,* (monastic cassock). In the following year he received the monastic tonsure at the hands of Abbot Iacovos and was given the name Methodios. Thenceforth developments followed rapidly with a remarkable consistency.

In 1946 he entered the Faculty of Theology of the University of Athens and in 1947 his enrolment as a monk was transferred from the holy Monastery of Penteli to the holy Monastery of St. Savvas of the Patriarchate of Alexandria at the request of Archbishop Damascenos and the blessing of Patriarch Christophoros of Alexandria. He continued, however, residing at Penteli and attending the Theology course at the University of Athens. In September 1947 he was ordained to the holy Diaconate at the request of Patriarch Christophoros by Archbishop Damascenos' suffragan Bishop Basilios of Talantion (and later Metropolitan of Lemnos) with whom he was to retain an excellent and lasting relation right up to the latter's death in 1983[2]. The recent letter of Metropolitan Basilios, which we printed in this Volume instead of his communication which his death prevented him to send, is particularly revealing especially as regards the personal relation binding the two men.

These early years in the diaconate were difficult ones because apart from his service to the Church

κτὸς αὐτοῦ δύο ἀκόμη υἱοὶ καὶ μία θυγατέρα ἐγεννήθησαν ἐντὸς τῆς αὐτῆς οἰκογενείας. Εἰς τὸν Φενεὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ γειτονικὸν Λεβίδιον τῆς ἐπαρχίας Ἀρκαδίας ἔλαβεν ὁ νεαρὸς Ἰωάννης Φούγιας τὴν στοιχειώδη καὶ ἐγκύκλιον μόρφωσίν του ἀναπτύσσων ταυτοχρόνως καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ὅπως εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου. Ὅπως ἐδήλωσεν εἰς μίαν διάλεξίν του, *«ἐδιδάχθην τότε ὅτι ἕνας Ἕλληνας θὰ ἦτο εἴτε ἄνθρωπος εἴτε ἱερεὺς καὶ ἔτσι, ἀντιμετωπίζων τὰς δύο ταύτας προοπτικάς, ἐξέλεξα τὴν δευτέραν».* Τὸ πρῶτον βῆμα πρὸς πραγματοποίησιν τῆς ἐκλογῆς του αὐτῆς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν Μάρτιον τοῦ 1945, ὅτε, κατόπιν μεσολαβήσεως τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος Δαμασκηνοῦ, ὅστις διετέλει τότε Ἀντιβασιλεὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μονὴν Πεντέλης, πλησίον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ὡς δόκιμος καὶ εὐθὺς κατόπιν, κατὰ τὴν 15ην Αὐγούστου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους, ἐφόρεσε τὸ ράσον. Κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἔτος ἐκάρη μοναχὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγουμένου Ἰακώβου καὶ ὠνομάσθη Μεθόδιος. Ἔκτοτε αἱ ἐξελίξεις ἐπηκολούθησαν ταχέως μετὰ καταπληκτικῆς συνεπείας καὶ συνοχῆς.

Κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1946 ὁ μοναχὸς Μεθόδιος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Θεολογικὴν Σχολὴν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος ἡ ἐγγραφή του ὡς μοναχοῦ μετεφέρθη ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Πεντέλης εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν Μονὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ διὰ τῶν εὐλογιῶν τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Χριστοφόρου. Ἐν τούτοις, συνεχίσθη ἡ διαμονή του εἰς τὴν Πεντέλην καὶ ἡ παρακολούθησις τῶν θεολογικῶν μαθημάτων εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν. Κατὰ τὸν Σεπτέμβριον τοῦ 1947 ὁ Μεθόδιος ἐχειροτονήθη διάκονος, κατὰ παράκλησιν τοῦ Πατριάρχου Χριστοφόρου, ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ταλαντίου Βασιλείου (ἀργότερον Μητροπολίτου Λήμνου), βοηθοῦ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Δαμασκηνοῦ, μετὰ τοῦ ὁποίου ἐπρόκειτο νὰ διατηρήσῃ μίαν ἐξαίρετον καὶ σταθερὰν σχέσιν μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ τελευταίου κατὰ τὸ 1983[2]. Ἡ πρόσφατος ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Βασιλείου, ἥτις καὶ κατεχωρίσθη ἐν τῷ παρόντι Τόμῳ, ἀντὶ τῆς ἐργασίας του τὴν ὁποίαν διέκοψεν ὁ θάνατός του, τυγχάνει ἰδιαιτέρως ἀποκαλυπτική, ἰδίως ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν προσωπικὴν σχέσιν τῶν δύο ἀνδρῶν.

Τὰ πρῶτα ταῦτα ἔτη εἰς τὴν ἱερατικὴν διακονίαν ὑπῆρξαν δυσχερῆ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκτὸς τῆς ὑπηρεσίας

2. Cf. Bishop Basilios' Letter to Archbishop Methodios sent to him shortly before the former's death and published above.

he had to attend the theology courses at the University, to cope with national military service, and at the same time to look after his younger brothers, who had been forced to move to Athens from their native place because of local political unrest. His determination, however, led him successfully to his graduation and his ordination to the presbyterate at the Metochion of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in Athens by Metropolitan George (previously of Nevrokopion) on 15 December 1950. Soon later he was to urdertake his first ecclesiastical career, which would set in motion the clock of his development and, to some extent, determine its character and perspective.

### 3. First pastoral charge in Germany.

In 1951 Archimandrite Methodios was appointed priest in charge of the Greek Orthodox Community of our Saviour in Munich, Germany, serving under Metropolitan Athenagoras I (Kavvadas) of Thyateira. Apart from the Community in Munich, he was entrusted with the oversight of the other Greek Orthodox Communities in Germany and so he had the opportunity to plunge deeply into the affairs of the Church in the diaspora and to start thinking seriously about the role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in it. Clearly two facts seem to dominate the Archimandrite's life at this stage. The first is his intense involvement in churchmanship and pastoral activity and the second, his dedicated pursuit of further studies in Theology at Munich University under F. Dölger and H-G. Beck. This early combination of pastoral, ecclesiastical and academic activities was to leave its stamp upon all subsequent activities in the life of the Archbishop. As he himself put it in a recent publication, *"My ecclesiastical and academic life in Munich was the most lively in my entire ministry in the Archdiocese of Thyateira".*

του πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἦτο ὑποχρεωμένος νὰ παρακολουθῇ τὰ μαθήματα τῆς θεολογίας εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον, νὰ ὑπηρετῇ εἰς τὸν ἑλληνικὸν στρατὸν καὶ συνάμα νὰ φροντίζῃ διὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἀδελφούς του, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶχον μετοικήσει εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ τῆς γενετείρας των λόγῳ τοπικῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνωμαλιῶν. Παρ' ὅλα ταῦτα ἡ ἀποφασιστικότης του τὸν ὡδήγησεν ἐπιτυχῶς εἰς τὴν ἀποφοίτησίν του ἐκ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου καὶ εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν του εἰς πρεσβύτερον εἰς τὸ Μετόχιον τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὑπὸ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Γεωργίου (πρώην Νευροκοπίου) κατὰ τὴν 15ην Δεκεμβρίου τοῦ 1950. Εὐθὺς κατόπιν ἐπρόκειτο νὰ ἀναλάβῃ τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησιαστικήν του διακονίαν, ἥτις θὰ ἔθετε τὰς προϋποθέσεις διὰ τὴν περαιτέρω ἐξελικτικὴν καὶ ἀνοδικὴν πορείαν του, καί, κατὰ ἕνα ὡρισμένον βαθμόν, θὰ διεμόρφωνε τὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ τὴν προοπτικήν της.

### 3. Ἡ πρώτη ἱερατικὴ διακονία του εἰς Γερμανίαν.

Κατὰ τὸ 1951 ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος διωρίσθη ἱερατικῶς προϊστάμενος τῆς ἑλληνορθοδόξου κοινότητος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ Μόναχον τῆς Γερμανίας, ὑπηρετῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Μητροπολίτην Θυατείρων Ἀθηναγόραν τὸν Α' (Καββάδαν). Ἐκτὸς τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ Μονάχου, ὁ ἀνωτέρω Ἱεράρχης τοῦ ἐνεπιστεύθη τὴν ἐπιστασίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑλληνορθοδόξων κοινοτήτων τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ οὕτως εἶχε τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ὑπεισέλθῃ ἀποφασιστικῶς εἰς τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν διασπορᾷ καὶ νὰ ἀσχοληθῇ σοβαρῶς περὶ τὰ θέματα τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἐν αὐτῇ. Εἶναι σαφές, ὅτι δύο κυρίως γεγονότα κυριαρχοῦν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου κατὰ τὸ διάστημα τοῦτο. Τὸ πρῶτον, εἶναι ἡ ἔντονος συμμετοχή του εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διοίκησιν καὶ ποιμαντορικὴν δρᾶσιν καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, ἡ μετ' ἀφοσιώσεως προσήλωσίς του εἰς θεολογικὰς σπουδὰς εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Μονάχου ὑπὸ τὸν F. Dölger καὶ τὸν H.-G. Beck. Ὁ ἀρχικὸς οὗτος συνδυασμὸς ποιμαντορικο-εκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ ἀκαδημαϊκῶν ἐπιδιώξεων ἐπέπρωτο νὰ ἀφήσῃ τὴν σφραγῖδα του ἐφ' ὅλων τῶν μελλοντικῶν δραστηριοτήτων τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Ὅπως ὁ ἴδιος τὸ διατυπώνει εἰς πρόσφατον δημοσίευμά του, *«ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ ἀκαδημαϊκή μου ζωὴ εἰς τὸ Μόναχον ὑπῆρξεν ἡ πλέον ζωτικὴ καθ' ὅλην τὴν διακονίαν μου εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων».*

**4. Second pastoral charge in Alexandria.**

That he took very seriously his ministry and his academic pursuit in the University of Munich, is clearly to be seen in his first publication which appeared in 1954 onwards, when in recognition of his achievements in Germany, he was promoted to the new position of Secretary in Chief at the Patriarchate of Alexandria by Patriarch Christophoros. His first publication entitled *The Greek Orthodox Communities in Germany* (Alexandria, 1955), a work dedicated to his parents, reveals many of the sides of his double outlook (ecclesiastical /academic) which are to be observed throughout his career. His stark realism which makes him present facts and events as they are, his ability to choose primary and official material and his methodical way of arranging it, his sense of history which leads him not only to the primary sources but also to what matters most, persons and personal communications, his total commitment to the messianic mission of his own people, the Greeks, combined with a genuine openess to other nations, and last but not least his capacity of accurately discerning and successfully specifying the critical issues and problems in a given situation and of making appropriate suggestions towards their effective solution, are some of the qualities of this early work which will appear again and again in one after another of his numerous literary productions. To a careful student of the facts of his biography this early book is a little jewel of original historical study which can still be read with great profit by the historian of modern Greek Orthodox presence and activity in Europe. However, next to this early book which crowns his first career in Germany, there is another one which began almost simultaneously as a series of articles in the Alexandrian periodical *Pantainos* and reached its final form in 1956.

The *History of the Orthodox Church in the Diaspora* (vol. 1, Alexandria 1956) is significant not just for the originality of its content, but prin-

**4. Δευτέρα ἱερατικὴ διακονία εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.**

Τὸ πόσον σοβαρῶς ἐπεδόθη εἰς τὴν διακονίαν του καὶ τὴν ἀκαδημαϊκήν του σπουδὴν εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Μονάχου φαίνεται σαφῶς εἰς τὰ πρῶτα δημοσιεύματά του, τὰ ὁποῖα ἤρχισαν νὰ ἐμφανίζωνται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτους 1954 καὶ μετέπειτα, ὁπότε, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναγνωρίσει τῶν ὅσων κατώρθωσεν εἰς Γερμανίαν, προήχθη εἰς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ Ἀρχιγραμματέως τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Χριστοφόρου. Τὸ πρῶτον δημοσίευμά του, τιτλοφορούμενον *«Αἱ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ Ἑλληνικαὶ Κοινότητες»* (Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1955) καὶ ἀφιερωμένον εἰς τοὺς γονεῖς του, ἀποκαλύπτει τὰς πολλὰς ὄψεις τῆς διπλῆς προοπτικῆς του (ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ ἀκαδημαϊκῆς), αἱ ὁποῖαι πρόκειται νὰ ἐμφανισθοῦν καθ' ὅλην τὴν σταδιοδρομίαν του. Ὁ ἀμιγὴς πραγματισμός του, ὁ ὁποῖος τὸν ὁδηγεῖ νὰ παρουσιάζῃ γεγονότα καὶ πράγματα ὅπως ἀκριβῶς ἔχουν, ἡ ἱκανότης του νὰ ἐκλέγῃ πρωτότυπον καὶ ἐπίσημον ὑλικὸν καὶ νὰ τὸ διευθετῇ κατὰ ἀπαράμιλλον μεθοδικότητα, ἡ ἰσχυρὰ συναίσθησις ἱστορικῆς εὐθύνης, ἡ ὁποία τὸν ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὰς ἀρχικὰς πηγὰς καὶ εἰς ὁτιδήποτε ἀποτελεῖ ὑψίστην ἀνάγκην, πρόσωπα καὶ προσωπικὰς ἐπαφάς, ἡ ὁλοκληρωτικὴ ἀφοσίωσίς του εἰς τὴν μεσσιανικὴν ἀποστολὴν τοῦ λαοῦ του, τῶν Ἑλλήνων, συνδυαζομένη πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυτον στάσιν διαθέσεως πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη, καὶ τέλος ἡ ἱκανότης του ὅπως διακρίνῃ ἐπακριβῶς καὶ διευκρινίζῃ σαφῶς τὰ κρίσιμα ζητήματα καὶ προβλήματα μιᾶς δεδομένης καταστάσεως καὶ ὅπως προβαίνῃ εἰς τὰς καταλλήλους ὑποδείξεις πρὸς ἀποτελεσματικὴν αὐτῶν ἐπίλυσιν, εἶναι μερικὰ ἐκ τῶν διακριτικῶν προτερημάτων τοῦ πρώτου ἔργου του, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ ἐμφανισθοῦν ἐπανειλημμένως εἰς τὴν μίαν κατόπιν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκ τῶν πολυπληθῶν συγγραφικῶν δημοσιεύσεών του. Διὰ τὸν προσεκτικὸν σπουδαστὴν τῶν δεδομένων τῆς βιογραφίας του, τὸ πρωτόλειον τοῦτο σύγγραμμα ἀποτελεῖ ἕνα μικρὸν μαργαρίτην πρωτοτύπου ἱστορικῆς μελέτης, ἡ ὁποία ἀποδίδει τὰ μέγιστα εἰς τὸν ἱστορικὸν τῆς συγχρόνου ἑλληνορθοδόξου παρουσίας ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς Εὐρώπης. Ἐν τούτοις, παραλλήλως πρὸς τὸ πρωτόλειον τοῦτο, τὸ ὁποῖον στέφει τὴν πρώτην δραστηριότητά του εἰς τὴν Γερμανίαν, ὑπάρχει καὶ ἕνα ἄλλο, τὸ ὁποῖον ἤρχισε σχεδὸν ταυτοχρόνως ὡς σειρὰ ἄρθρων ἐκδιδομένων εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξανδρινὸν περιοδικὸν *«Πάνταινος»* καὶ ἀπέκτησε τὴν τελικὴν μορφήν του κατὰ τὸ 1956. Εἶναι *«Ἡ Ἱστορία τῆς*

cipally as revealing at this early stage of his Eminence's career his ability to grasp the wider issues of churchmaship which would eventually lead him to greater fields of activity and greater positions of responsibility in the Church. Obviously he was a man of such an intense sense of responsibility that he did not allow himself to be satisfied with Germany alone, for his mind would be led from Germany to the wider context of the Diaspora and his thought would traverse the wider horizons of church problems and developments. This did not mean, however, that he would abandon the particular task of the day for the wider vision of tomorrow. Rather, he would deal effectively with the first and plan carefully and wisely for the second. This is clearly to be seen not only in his two above mentioned publications, but especially in a stream of interesting articles which came out of his pen during this second period of his ecclesiastical career in the General Secretariat of the second Patriarchate of Orthodoxy between the years 1954 and 1956. Alexandria provided him with a tower (a sort of modern ecclesiastical light- house) from which he came to inspect the wider field of Orthodoxy in the modern world and ecclesiastical context and assess it from the crucial points of view of ecclesiology and canonicity always in line with the ancient and accredited traditions of Orthodoxy. Thus he would write on such topics of central concern as *The Heterodox Churches in the East, Autocephaly in the Orthodox Church of Ukrania,* on *The Self -ordained Lipkof Church of Ukrania,* on *The fate of the Greek Churches in the Krimaia, at the aftermath of the Bolsevic revolution,* on *The Historical development of the Church in Czechoslovakia,* on *The Facts preceding the declaration of the Rumanian Church as a Patriarchate,* on *The historical evolution of Autocephaly in the Orthodox Church of Albania,* on *Russian views concerning the historical path of ecumenism,* on *The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Unity of the Orthodox Church* and on *The way to Autocephaly in the Orthodox Church*[3].

*Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἐν Διασπορᾷ»* (τόμ. Α', Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1956), ἡ ὁποία εἶναι σπουδαιοτάτης σημασίας ἔργον, ὄχι μόνον διὰ τὴν πρωτοτυπίαν τοῦ περιεχομένου της, ἀλλὰ κυρίως διότι ἀποκαλύπτει ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς σταδιοδρομίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τὴν ἱκανότητά του νὰ συλλαμβάνῃ τὰ εὐρύτερα ζητήματα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἡγεσίας, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ τὸν ὁδηγήσουν τελικῶς εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν θέσεων μεγαλυτέρας ὑπευθυνότητος ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Εἶναι καταφανὲς ὅτι ἐπρόκειτο περὶ ἀνθρώπου διαπνεομένου ὑπὸ τοσαύτης συναισθήσεως ὑπευθυνότητος, ὥστε νὰ παραμένῃ ἀνικανοποίητος ἀπὸ τὸ περιωρισμένον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν πλαίσιον τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ κατὰ συνέπειαν νὰ στρέφῃ τὴν σκέψιν του ἀπὸ τὴν Γερμανίαν εἰς τὸ εὐρύτερον πλαίσιον τῆς Διασπορᾶς καὶ νὰ ἀπασχολῆται μὲ προβλήματα καὶ ἐξελίξεις γενικωτέρου ἐνδιαφέροντος. Τοῦτο, ὅμως, δὲν ἐσήμαινεν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τὴν ἐγκατάλειψιν τῆς προκειμένης εἰδικῆς διακονίας τῆς σήμερον διὰ τὴν εὐρυτέραν προοπτικὴν τῆς αὔριον. Ἡ ἀπασχόλησίς του μὲ τὴν πρώτην ὑπῆρξεν ἀποτελεσματική, ἐνῷ εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν τῆς δευτέρας οἱ προσχεδιασμοί του ὑπῆρξαν προσεκτικοὶ καὶ σοφοί. Τοῦτο καταφαίνεται οὐχὶ μόνον ἐκ τῶν δύο προαναφερθέντων δημοσιευμάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς σειρᾶς τῶν λίαν σημαντικῶν ἄρθρων, τὰ ὁποῖα προῆλθον ἐκ τῆς γραφίδος του κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν περίοδον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς σταδιοδρομίας του ὑπηρετῶν ὡς Ἀρχιγραμματεὺς τοῦ δευτέρου Πατριαρχείου τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 1954 καὶ 1956. Ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια τοῦ παρέσχε ἕνα σύγχρονον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φάρον, διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου ἠδυνήθη νὰ ἐξερευνήσῃ τὸ εὐρύτερον πεδίον τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας ἐν τῷ πλαισίῳ τοῦ συγχρόνου κόσμου καὶ τοῦ συγχρόνου Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ νὰ προβῇ εἰς σοβαρὰς ἀξιολογήσεις ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ ἐγκρίτων παραδόσεων τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὴν ἐκκλησιολογίαν καὶ τὴν κανονικότητα. Οὕτω θὰ τὸν ἀπασχολήσουν τὰ ἑξῆς θέματα: *Ἑτερόδοξοι Ἐκκλησίαι ἐν Ἀνατολῇ, Τὸ Αὐτοκέφαλον ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Οὐκρανίας, Ἐκκλησία ἀχειροτονήτων ἐν Οὐκρανίᾳ* (Ἐκκλησία Ληπκώβ), *Οἱ ἐν Κριμαίᾳ ἑλληνικοὶ ναοὶ* (κατὰ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν ἔτη), *Ἱστορικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας Τσεχοσλοβακίας καὶ τὸ Αὐτοκέφαλον αὐτῆς, Τὰ προηγηθέντα τῆς Ἀνακηρύξεως τῆς Ρουμανικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας εἰς Πατριαρχεῖον* (ἐπὶ τῇ 75ετηρίδι τοῦ Αὐτοκεφάλου αὐτῆς), *Ἱστορικὴ ἐξέλιξις τοῦ Αὐτοκεφάλου ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀλβανίας* (ἐξ ἐπισήμων ἀνεκδότων ἐκθέσεων), *Ἱ-*

All these topics were so pertinent to Orthodox ecclesiology and so crucial for contemporary Orthodox Church History that they still remain a central relevance in the context of contemporary discussions and research. Their recent reappearance in an enriched form in his Eminence's *Collected Works* (vol. II) is to be welcomed and will no doubt be of great value to the specialists[4]. Apart, however, from these highly important ecclesiological studies Archimandrite Methodios also published the product of his academic research in Munich, i.e. his book *John Mavropous Metropolitan of Euchaita (11th cent.) his time, life, work and character,* which has been recently reprinted in his *Collected Works*[5], in a revised and updated form.

It was a considerable achievement for the young Archimandrite to be able to publish some 12 original studies alongside his heavy duties as Chief Secretary of the Patriarchal Throne of Alexandria especially at a period beset with great problems and characterized by internal strife and tensions in that Church. Such an achievement did not escape the attention of his Professors in Athens and other notable academics of that time. Professor Basil Ioannides wrote him in 1955: *"You are worthy of every praise because in the midst of your many obligations in the Church of Alexandria you find the time for writing. While others take care for making money and enjoying the pleasures, glories and honours of this world, you are content with the inner satisfaction that you are making some contribution to theological research and the Church".* Later on in the same year Professor Nicholaos Louvaris will write him

στορικὴ ὁδὸς τοῦ Οἰκουμενισμοῦ (ρωσικαὶ κρίσεις), *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀνακαινιστικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν Σοβιετικῇ Ἑνώσει, Ἡ Ἑνότης τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον, Ἡ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὸ Αὐτοκέφαλον ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ*[3] *κ.ἄλ.*

Ὅλα τὰ θέματα αὐτὰ ἦσαν τόσον καίρια διὰ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησιολογίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ κρίσιμα διὰ τὴν νεωτέραν ἱστορίαν τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, ὥστε διατηροῦν καὶ σήμερον ἀκόμη κεντρικὴν θέσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ πλαισίου τῆς συγχρόνου ἐκκλησιολογικῆς συζητήσεως καὶ ἐρεύνης. Ἡ πρόσφατος ἐπανέκδοσίς των εἰς ἐμπλουτισμένην μορφὴν εἰς τὴν σειρὰν τῶν *«Θεολογικῶν καὶ Ἱστορικῶν Μελετῶν»* τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου (τόμ. Β') ἔχει γίνει ἀσμένως δεκτὴ καὶ θ' ἀποτελέσῃ ἀνεκτίμητον ὑλικὸν διὰ τοὺς εἰδικούς[4]. Ἐκτός, ὅμως, τῶν ἀνωτέρω σπουδαίων ἐκκλησιολογικῶν μελετῶν, ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος ἐξέδωκεν ἐπίσης τὸ ἀποκύημα τῶν ἀκαδημαϊκῶν του ἐρευνῶν εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Μονάχου, τὸ βιβλίον του, *«Ἰωάννης Μαυρόπους, Μητροπολίτης Εὐχαΐτων»* (Ἐποχή, βίος, ἔργα, χαρακτήρ, Ἀλεξάνδρεια 1955), ὅπερ ἐπανεξεδόθη εἰς δευτέραν βελτιωμένην καὶ ἐκσυγχρονισμένην ἔκδοσιν[5].

Ἦτο λίαν σημαντικὴ ἡ ἐπιτυχία τοῦ νεαροῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου, τὸ ὅτι δηλαδὴ ἠδυνήθη νὰ ἐκδώσῃ δώδεκα πρωτοτύπους μελέτας παραλλήλως πρὸς τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν τῶν βαρυτάτων εὐθυνῶν καὶ καθηκόντων του ὡς Ἀρχιγραμματέως τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Θρόνου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἰδίως κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν περιόδου μεστῆς προβλημάτων καὶ ἐσωτερικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνωμαλιῶν. Ἡ ἐπιτυχία αὕτη δὲν διέφυγε τῆς προσοχῆς τῶν καθηγητῶν του εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὡς καὶ ἄλλων ἀκαδημαϊκῶν παραγόντων τῆς ἐποχῆς. Ὁ καθηγητὴς Βασίλειος Ἰωαννίδης τοῦ ἔγραφε τὸ 1955: *«Εἶσθε ἀξιέπαινος διότι παρὰ τὰς ποικίλας ἄλλας ὑποθέσεις εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξανδρείας εὑρίσκετε καιρὸν καὶ νὰ συγγράφητε, ἐνῷ ἄλλοι φροντίζουν νὰ κάμνουν χρήματα καὶ νὰ ἀπολαμβάνουν τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τὰς δόξας καὶ τιμὰς τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. Σεῖς ἔχετε τὴν ἐσωτερικὴν ἱκανοποίησιν ὅτι κάτι προσφέρετε εἰς τὴν θεολογικὴν ἔρευναν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν»* (26.3.1955). Ἀργότερον, 24.12.1955, ὁ καθηγητὴς Νικόλαος Λούβαρις θὰ τοῦ γράψῃ: *«Πολλὰ συγχαρητήρια διὰ*

3. See the list of Publications at the end of this essay.
4. See the Reviews mentioned at the end of the bibliography.
5. See volume 6, Athens, 1984.

thus: *"Many congratulations for your literary activities. I am pleased to realize that your time abroad proves very fruitful"*. In his Eminence's Archive one can actually find various epistles from theologians and other eminent people of that time who commend him on his studious work. Among them we find the names of the well known Professors of Theology at the University of Athens Alivisatos, Karmiris, and Trembelas.

In Alexandria, Archimandrite Methodios had the opportunity to meet and interact with various ecclesiastical personages and to establish lasting relationships with some of them. His Beatitude, Christophoros, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, was in the forefront of his concern. He was, as he himself tells us, *"a great Patriarch possessing abilities, education and ecclesiastical zeal, as it became apparent during his long term of office"*[6], but his old age and poor state of health did not permit him any more to minister effectively. Internal tensions and dissensions were inevitable, so that the Chief Secretary's involvement became inescapable. Though he had started working at his office with the best of intentions, eventually he found himself unable to support the Patriarch and sided with the opposition. This meant that eventually he would lose his position for a time, but through God's providence he would be reinstated later. Among his acquaintances at this time were the Metropolitan of Aksum Mgr Nicholaos, whom he was destined later to succeed, Archimandrite Dorotheos Giannaropoulos (now Metropolitan of Attica in Greece), who was the Editor of the Patriarchal religious periodical *Pantainos* and who was to become his lasting friend sharing with him parts of his history, and Archimandrite Nicholaos Varelopoulos (now His Beatitude Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria -since 10 May, 1968) who was later to support him in his rise to the Metropolitanate of Aksum and to have him as his fainthful collaborator and companion to many ecclesiastical trips and activities around the world. Primary witness to Archimandrite Methodios' friendship with Metropolitan Nicholaos of Aksum

*τὴν συγγραφικήν σου δρᾶσιν. Διαπιστώνω μὲ ἱκανοποίησιν ὅτι κάθε ἄλλο παρὰ ἀργὸς διετέλεσες κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ποὺ ἔμεινες εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν»*.

Εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου εὑρίσκονται διάφοροι ἐπιστολαὶ θεολόγων καὶ διακεκριμένων προσωπικοτήτων τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης, οἱ ὁποῖοι τὸν ἐπαινοῦν διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελὲς ἔργον του. Μεταξὺ τούτων συγκαταλέγονται καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γνωστῶν θεολόγων καθηγητῶν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν Ἀλιβιζάτου, Καρμίρη καὶ Τρεμπέλα.

Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος εἶχε τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ συναντήσῃ καὶ νὰ συσχετισθῇ μετὰ διαφόρων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν προσωπικοτήτων καὶ νὰ συνάψῃ μονίμους σχέσεις μετά τινων ἐξ αὐτῶν. Ὁ Πάπας καὶ Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας Χριστοφόρος ἀπετέλει τὸ ἐπίκεντρον τῆς προσοχῆς του. Εἰς τὸ πρόσωπόν του ἀνεγνώριζεν, ὅπως ὁμολογεῖ ὁ ἴδιος, *«ἕνα μεγάλον Πατριάρχην, διότι καὶ ἱκανότητας εἶχε καὶ μόρφωσιν διέθετε καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ζῆλον ἀνεπτυγμένον εἶχεν ἐπιδείξει κατὰ τὴν μακροχρόνιον ἱεραρχικὴν καὶ πατριαρχικὴν σταδιοδρομίαν του»*[6], ἐν τούτοις λόγῳ τῆς προβεβηκυίας ἡλικίας του καὶ τῆς ἐπισφαλοῦς ὑγείας του δὲν ἦτο πλέον εἰς θέσιν νὰ διοικήσῃ τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀποτελεσματικῶς. Ἐσωτερικαὶ προστριβαὶ καὶ διαστάσεις ἀπεδείχθησαν ἀναπόφευκτοι, οὕτως ὥστε ἡ ἀνάμειξις τοῦ Ἀρχιγραμματέως ἐγένετο ἀναπόδραστος. Παρ' ὅλον ὅτι ἀνέλαβε τὰ καθήκοντα τοῦ ὀφφικίου του διαπνεόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν καλλιτέρων προθέσεων, τελικῶς ἔκρινεν ἀδύνατον δι' ἑαυτὸν τὴν ὑποστήριξιν τοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ ἐτάχθη μετὰ τῶν διαφωνούντων πρὸς αὐτόν. Τοῦτο ἐσήμαινεν, ὅτι θ' ἀπεστερεῖτο τελικῶς τῆς θέσεώς του, ἔστω καὶ προσωρινῶς, διότι κατὰ πρόνοιαν θείαν θὰ ἐπανήρχετο εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀργότερον.

Μεταξὺ τῶν γνωριμιῶν του κατὰ τὴν περίοδον ταύτην συμπεριελαμβάνοντο ὁ τότε Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης Νικόλαος, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐπρόκειτο νὰ διαδεχθῇ, ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Δωρόθεος Γιανναρόπουλος (νῦν Μητροπολίτης Ἀττικῆς), ὁ ὁποῖος ἐξετέλει τότε χρέη ἐκδότου τοῦ θρησκευτικοῦ περιοδικοῦ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας *«Πάνταινος»* καὶ ὁ ὁποῖος ἐπρόκειτο νὰ γίνῃ μόνιμος φίλος του καὶ συμπαραστάτης του εἰς διάφορα στάδια τῆς ἱστορίας του, καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Νικόλαος Βαρελόπουλος (νῦν Μακαριώτατος Πάπας καὶ Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας – ἀπὸ 10ης Μαΐου 1968), ὁ ὁποῖος θὰ τὸν ὑπεστήριζεν ἀργότερον διὰ τὴν ἀνο-

6. See *Δεκαετηρίς*, p. 15.

and with Archim. Nicholaos Varelopoulos is his extensive correspondance with both of them which is kept in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Thyateira, in London.

**5. Third pastoral charge in Addis Ababa.**

In 1956 the tensions in Alexandria brought about the expulsion of both Archim. Dorotheos and Archim. Methodios to Athens. It did not, however, take much time before both of them were reconciled with Patriarch Christophoros and new developments ensued. The former was to become Metropolitan of Kastoria in Northern Greece and the latter having served as Priest in charge of the Church of St. Demetrios Ampelokipi, Athens (1957-58) to return to Africa as Protosyngellos to Metropolitan Nicholaos of Aksum in Addis Ababa succeeding Archim. Nicholaos Varelopoulos (the Present Patriarch) who was then made Bishop of Eirenoupolis. This new hieratical charge, however, which also included teaching at the Greek school in Addis Ababa, was not destined to last long, because on 30 June 1960 Archimandrite Methodios departed once again for Europe. He actually served in Addis Ababa only for one and a half years from 1 January 1959 to 30 June 1960. Nevertheless his service was both successful and significant as one gathers from the attempts of the Committee of the Greek Community to dissuade him from going to Europe. In a certificate issued by them on 10 September 1960 and signed by the General Secretary Mr. S. Mandalidis and the President Mr. A. Michos, it is stated that *"during his time of office in our midst Archimandrite Methodios was distinguished as a clergyman for the fulfilment of his duties as priest and teacher with acute conscientiousness, as a man for his absolutely virtuous private and social life: and finally as a teacher for his warm zeal and com-*

δόν του εἰς τὸν Μητροπολιτικὸν Θρόνον τῆς Ἀξώμης καὶ θὰ τὸν εἶχε παρὰ τὸ πλευρόν του εἰς πολλὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐπισκέψεις καὶ ἀποστολὰς ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον. Αὐθεντικὸς μάρτυς τῆς φιλίας τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Μεθοδίου μετὰ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης Νικολάου καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Νικολάου Βαρελοπούλου εἶναι ἡ ἐκτενὴς ἀλληλογραφία του μετ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, φυλασσομένη εἰς τὸ Ἀρχεῖον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἐν Λονδίνῳ.

**5. Τρίτη ἱερατικὴ διακονία ἐν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπᾳ.**

Κατὰ τὸ 1956 αἱ διενέξεις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κατέληξαν εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπὴν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Ἀρχιμανδριτῶν Δωροθέου καὶ Μεθοδίου εἰς Ἀθήνας. Ἐν τούτοις δὲν παρῆλθε πολὺς χρόνος ὁπότε ἀμφότεροι συνεφιλιώθησαν μετὰ τοῦ γηραιοῦ Πατριάρχου Χριστοφόρου καὶ οὕτως ἤνοιξεν ἡ ὁδὸς διὰ περαιτέρω ἐξελίξεις. Ὁ πρῶτος προήχθη εἰς Μητροπολίτην Καστορίας ἐν βορείῳ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, ἔχων διατελέσει κατ' ἀρχὴν ἱερατικῶς προϊστάμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ ἁγ. Δημητρίου ἐν Ἀμπελοκήποις Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπέστρεψεν ἀκολούθως εἰς Ἀφρικὴν ἀναλαβὼν χρέη Πρωτοσυγκέλλου ὑπὸ τὸν Μητροπολίτην Ἀξώμης Νικόλαον ἐν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπᾳ Αἰθιοπίας, διαδεχθεὶς τὸν Ἀρχιμ. Νικόλαον Βαρελόπουλον (νῦν Πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρείας), ὁ ὁποῖος προήχθη τότε εἰς τὸν Μητροπολιτικὸν Θρόνον τῆς Εἰρηνουπόλεως. Ἡ νέα ὅμως αὕτη ἱερατικὴ διακονία τοῦ Ἀρχιμ. Μεθοδίου, ἡ ὁποία περιελάμβανε καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν εἰς τὸ ἑλληνικὸν σχολεῖον τῆς Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας, δὲν ἐπέτρωτο νὰ διαρκέσῃ ἐπὶ μακρόν, ἐφ' ὅσον κατὰ τὴν 30ὴν Ἰουνίου τοῦ 1960 ἐπρόκειτο νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ οὗτος εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. Ἡ διακονία του εἰς τὴν Πρωτοσυγκελλίαν τῆς Ἀξώμης διήρκεσεν ἀκριβῶς ἕνα καὶ ἥμισυ ἔτος, ἀπὸ 1ης Ἰανουαρίου 1959. Ἐν τούτοις ἡ διακονία του αὕτη ὑπῆρξε καὶ ἐπιτυχὴς καὶ σημαντική, ὡς προκύπτει ἐκ τῶν προσπαθειῶν τοῦ Διοικητικοῦ Συμβουλίου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος, ὅπως ἀποτραπῇ ἡ εἰς Εὐρώπην ἐπιστροφή του. Πιστοποιητικὸν ἀπὸ 10ης Σεπτεμβρίου 1960, φέρον τὰς ὑπογραφὰς τοῦ Γενικοῦ Γραμματέως Σ. Μανδαλίδη καὶ τοῦ Προέδρου Α. Μίχου, πιστοποιεῖ ὅτι *«... Κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπηρεσίας του ὁ Ἀρχιμ. Μεθόδιος διεκρίθη ὡς κληρικὸς διὰ τὴν μετ' ἄκρας εὐσυνειδησίας ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν καθη-*

*plete dedication to his teaching duties as well as for his perfect knowledge both in depth and width of the philological and religious subjects which he taught"*[7].

Looked at in retrospect it must be said that this period was very significant because it afforded him the opportunity to acquaint himself with the Metropolis of Aksum where he was later to return as a hierarch at the persistent request of its people. Not only he came to know Metropolitan Nicholaos of Aksum much more closely and admire his qualities, but also to establish many friendships with Greeks in Ethiopia which would prove valuable later on.

Archimandrite Methodios' departure from Addis Ababa on 30 June 1960 was a very moving occasion. Having received in writing the warm blessing of Metropolitan Nicholaos he was seen off by a crowd of people including the Consul General of Greece Mr Ioannis Tomazos, the schoolmaster Mr Nicholaos Drakos and others, many of whom -though nobody yet suspected it - were to gather again eight years later to welcome him on his return, this time as their Metropolitan.

**6. Fourth pastoral charge in Manchester, England.**

Having first visited Alexandria and Constantinople Archimandrite Methodios flew to London where he received from Archbishop Athenagoras (Kavvadas) a new appointment. Although Athenagoras' original wish was to send him back to Germany because he regarded him the ablest to deal with the problems there, on his insistence, he was appointed priest in charge of the historic Church in Manchester, a position which he kept until 16 August 1966. Later on he would write about it, *"My six year term of office in Manchester and my own and my brother's pursuit of post graduate studies in the University of the city were among the happiest periods of my life. I was particularly moved by the nobility of the old Greeks and their reverence towards their priest. I*

7. See *Δεκαετηρίς*, p. 26.

*κόντων του ὡς ἐφημερίου καὶ ὡς ἱεροκήρυκος καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀπολύτως ἐνάρετον ἀτομικὸν καὶ κοινωνικόν του βίον, ὡς καθηγητὴς δὲ διὰ τὸν θερμὸν ζῆλον του καὶ τὴν πλήρη ἀφοσίωσίν του εἰς τὰ διδακτικά του καθήκοντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τελείαν εἰς βάθος καὶ πλάτος γνῶσιν τῆς διδασκομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ποικίλης φιλολογικῆς καὶ θρησκευτικῆς ὕλης»*[7].

Ἐξεταζομένη ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων πρέπει νὰ λεχθῇ ὅτι ἡ περίοδος αὕτη ὑπῆρξε λίαν σημαντική, διότι τοῦ παρέσχε τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ἐξοικειωθῇ μετὰ τῆς Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης, ὅπου θὰ ἐπέστρεφεν ἀργότερον ὡς ἱεράρχης τῇ ἐπιμόνῳ ἀπαιτήσει τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτῆς. Οὐχὶ μόνον ἐγνωρίσθη μετὰ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης Νικολάου στενῶς, οὕτως ὥστε νὰ θαυμάσῃ τὰ προτερήματά του, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ συνάψῃ προσωπικὰς σχέσεις μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, αἱ ὁποῖαι θὰ ἀπεδεικνύοντο μελλοντικῶς λίαν ἐπωφελεῖς.

Ἡ ἀναχώρησις τοῦ Ἀρχιμ. Μεθοδίου ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπα κατὰ τὴν 30ὴν Ἰουνίου 1960 ὑπῆρξε τῷ ὄντι λίαν συγκινητική. Ἔχων ἀνὰ χεῖρας τὴν γραπτὴν θερμὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Νικολάου κατευωδοῦτο ὑπὸ πλήθους λαοῦ, συμπεριλαμβανομένων τοῦ Προξένου τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἰωάννου Τομάζου, τοῦ Διευθυντοῦ τοῦ σχολείου Νικολάου Δράκου καὶ ἄλλων, πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων – ἂν καὶ οὐδεὶς ὑπωψιάζετο τότε – ἐπρόκειτο νὰ συγκεντρωθοῦν καὶ πάλιν, ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἀργότερον, διὰ νὰ καλωσορίσουν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ του, τὴν φορὰν αὐτὴν ὡς Μητροπολίτην των.

**6. Τετάρτη ἱερατικὴ διακονία εἰς Μάντσεστερ Ἀγγλίας.**

Ἐπισκεφθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν, ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος ἐταξίδευσεν ἀεροπορικῶς εἰς Λονδῖνον, ὅπου παρέλαβεν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀθηναγόραν Καββάδαν ἕνα νέον διορισμόν. Ἂν καὶ ἡ ἀρχικὴ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρου ἦτο νὰ τὸν ἀποστείλῃ καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Γερμανίαν, διότι ἐθεώρει τοῦτον ὡς τὸν πλέον ἱκανὸν διὰ νὰ ἀντιμετωπίσῃ τὰ ἐκεῖ προβλήματα, τῇ ἐπιμονῇ του διωρίσθη ἱερατικῶς προϊστάμενος τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Μάντσεστερ, ὅπου καὶ παρέμεινεν ἕως τὴν 16ην Αὐγούστου 1966. Ἀργότερον θὰ ἔγραφε περὶ τούτου: *«Ἡ ἑξαετὴς διακονία μου ἐν Μαγχεστρίᾳ καὶ αἱ εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖ Πανεπιστήμιον σπουδαί μου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Παναγιώτου ὑπῆρξαν ἐκ τῶν εὐτυχεστέρων περιόδων τῆς ζωῆς μου. Ἡ ἀρχοντιὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ*

*made it my business to visit them frequently, as my venerable predecessor, Constantinos Callinicos, used to do and to discuss with them about all sorts of ecclesiastical and political matters. I especially enjoyed the cordial company of the ever-memorable president of the community Nicholaos Photiadis, who was distinguished by his love for the church and the nation. He was from Constantinople and he died a few days before my departure from Manchester. It was in his hands that Constantinos Callinicos had placed his manuscript of the history of the Greek Church in Manchester and it was Photiadis himself and the rest of the trustees of the church building who decided to pass on to me this manuscript for publication, which I did"*[8]. Actually the publication of the above mentioned manuscript was materialized in Athens in 1968 and a reprint of it has appeared recently (1984) in the fifth volume of his Eminence's *Collected Works*[9].

In Manchester in the 1960s Archimandrite Methodios' work developed along similar lines with his earlier work in Germany in the 1950s. His two principal concerns were the pastoral care of his flock and his theological studies, and on both scores he proved himself a tremendous success. Within two years after his arrival he was awarded the Ph.D. degree of the University of Manchester having written a dissertation on the *Social Message of St. John Chrysostom*[10]. His supervisors were the great scholars Arnold Ehrhardt and Gordon Rupp. The former died not long afterwards and the latter went on to become Professor at Cambridge University and is now Professor Emeritus and Member of the British Academy in London - a contributor of an interesting essay to the present volume. His external examiner was the well known Durham University Professor H.E.W. Turner who has often spoken to me very warmly about the Archbishop's achievements. In his congratulatory letter to our Archimandrite on 12/12/1960, Rupp praised him both for his academic and personal qualities. *"...We have come to love and admire you very much during your*

*πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα αὐτῶν σεβασμὸς μὲ συνεκίνουν πολύ. Συνήθιζον νὰ τοὺς ἐπισκέπτωμαι ὡς ἔπραττεν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Καλλίνικος καὶ νὰ συνδιαλέγωμαι μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ διαφόρων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν θεμάτων. Ἰδίως μετὰ τοῦ Προέδρου ἀειμνήστου Νικολάου Φωτιάδου εἶχον πάντοτε ἐγκάρδιον συναναστροφήν, διότι ὁ ἀοίδιμος ἐκεῖνος εὐπατρίδης ἠγάπα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ Ἔθνος. Ἦτο Κωνσταντινουπολίτης καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς ἐκ Μάντσεστερ ἀναχωρήσεώς μου. Εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Ν. Φωτιάδου εἶχεν ἐμπιστευθῆ ὁ Κ. Καλλίνικος τὸ χειρόγραφόν του περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν Μάντσεστερ. Ὁ Φωτιάδης, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν κηδεμόνων τοῦ Ναοῦ, ἀπεφάσισεν ὅπως τὸ χειρόγραφον δοθῆ εἰς ἐμὲ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο»*[8]. Πράγματι, ἡ δημοσίευσις τοῦ ἀνωτέρω ἀναφερομένου χειρογράφου ὑλοποιήθη ἐν Ἀθήναις κατὰ τὸ 1968 καὶ ἀνατύπωσις τούτου ἐδημοσιεύθη προσφάτως (1984) εἰς τὸν 5ον τόμον τῶν *«Θεολογικῶν καὶ Ἱστορικῶν Μελετῶν»* τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου[9].

Εἰς τὸ Μάντσεστερ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1960 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἀρχιμ. Μεθόδιος ἀνέπτυξεν ἔργον παράλληλον ἐκείνου τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπετέλεσε προηγουμένως εἰς τὴν Γερμανίαν κατὰ τὸ 1951 καὶ ἐφ' ἑξῆς. Αἱ κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἐνασχολήσεις του ἦσαν ἀφ' ἑνὸς μὲν ἡ ποιμαντορικὴ αὐτοῦ φροντὶς διὰ τὸ ποίμνιόν του, ἀφ' ἑτέρου δὲ ἡ ἐπίδοσις αὐτοῦ εἰς θεολογικὰς σπουδάς· εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς στόχους ἐσημείωσεν ἀξιοθαύμαστον ἐπιτυχίαν. Ἐντὸς διαστήματος δύο μόλις ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφίξεώς του τοῦ ἀπενεμήθη τὸ Διδακτορικὸν πτυχίον τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Μάντσεστερ ἐπὶ τῇ διδακτορικῇ αὐτοῦ διατριβῇ *«Τὸ Κοινωνικὸν Μήνυμα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου»*[10]. Οἱ καθηγηταί του εἰς τὴν συγγραφὴν τῆς διατριβῆς ἦσαν οἱ μεγάλοι μελετηταὶ Arnold Ehrhardt καὶ Gordon Rupp. Ὁ πρῶτος ἀπέθανεν ὀλίγον μετὰ ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος μετέβη εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Καίημπριτζ, τοῦ ὁποίου εἶναι σήμερον ἐπίτιμος καθηγητής, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ μέλος τῆς Βρεταννικῆς Ἀκαδημίας τοῦ Λονδίνου καὶ συνεργάτης ἐν τῷ παρόντι Τόμῳ. Ὁ ἐξωτερικὸς ἐξεταστὴς τῆς διατριβῆς ἦτο ὁ πολὺ γνωστὸς καθηγητὴς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Ντάραμ H.E.W. Turner, νῦν ἐπίτιμος, ὁ ὁποῖος συχνὰ ὡμίλησεν εἰς ἐμὲ ἐνθουσιωδῶς περὶ τῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Εἰς τὴν συγχαρητήριον ἐπιστολήν του

8. See *Δεκαετηρίς*, p. 29.
9. Published at Athens in 1984.
10. It was first published at Athens in 1968 and was reprinted in *Theological and Historical Studies*, Athens, 1984.

*stay in Manchester and I am very glad that Manchester has been able to recognize your great gifts of mind and heart in this way. We all know what a fine person you are and pray that you will go on to do very great service for your Church and indeed for the entire Church in this ecumenical age"*[11].

However, the Archimandrite was not satisfied with this achievement alone. His drive to pursue further academic studies led him to write two more books: the first one was his History of the *Apostolic Church of Corinth* which was to be published later on in Athens in 1968 and second, his *Orthodoxy Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism* (which was to be published originally by Oxford University Press in 1972 and to be recently reprinted by Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Press in Brookline Mass USA). To his academic activities during this period, we must add two notable essays, his essay on *"St. Basil the great and the Roman See"* which was delivered at the 6th Oxford International Congress of Patristic Studies (September 1963) and his essay on *"The Cephas party in the Church of Corinth"* presented to the International Congress of Biblical Studies in Oxford in 1965[12].

On the pastoral side, the work of Archimandrite Methodios was equally fruitful. Apart from shepherding his flock in Manchester, he was involved in organising a new parish for the Greeks in the Yorkshire area with the city of Leeds as its centre, and fully equipped with a constitution, a church building, a school and a priest. His achievement was acknowledged by the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras in a Synodical letter dated 20 September 1962[13], and by Bishop

πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιμανδρίτην Μεθόδιον ἀπὸ 12ης Δεκεμβρίου 1960, ὁ καθηγητὴς Rupp τὸν ἐπῆνεσε τόσον διὰ τὰ ἀκαδημαϊκὰ ὅσον καὶ διὰ τὰ προσωπικά του προσόντα: «...*Σὲ ἀγαπήσαμε καὶ σὲ ἐθαυμάσαμε παρὰ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν διαμονήν σου εἰς Μάντσεστερ καὶ χαίρω ἰδιαιτέρως διότι τὸ Μάντσεστερ εἶχε τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ ἀναγνωρίσῃ τὰ μεγάλα χαρίσματά σου, διανοητικὰ καὶ συναισθηματικά, κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον. Ὅλοι γνωρίζομεν πόσον ἀξιοθαύμαστον πρόσωπον εἶσαι καὶ προσευχόμεθα ὅπως συνεχίσῃς νὰ προσφέρῃ μεγάλας ὑπηρεσίας εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν σου καὶ μάλιστα εἰς ὁλόκληρον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν αὐτὴν ἐποχήν*»[11].

Παρ' ὅλα ταῦτα, ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος δὲν ἱκανοποιήθη ἀπὸ αὐτὴν καὶ μόνην τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν του. Ἡ ἐσωτερικὴ ὤθησίς του διὰ περαιτέρω ἀκαδημαϊκὴν ἔρευναν τὸν ὡδήγησεν εἰς τὸ νὰ συγγράψῃ δύο ἀκόμη βιβλία: τὸ πρῶτον ἦτο ἡ «*Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου*», τὸ ὁποῖον ἐτυπώθη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1968, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, «*Ὀρθοδοξία, Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμὸς καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός*», τὸ ὁποῖον ἐτυπώθη τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Ὀξφόρδης κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1972, καὶ προσφάτως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ εἰς Μπρουκλάιν Μασσαχουσέττης τῶν ΗΠΑ. Εἰς τὰ ἀκαδημαϊκὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτεύγματα κατὰ τὴν περίοδον ταύτην, πρέπει νὰ προσθέσωμεν δύο ἀξιοσημείωτα ἄρθρα, τὸ ἄρθρον περὶ τοῦ «*Μεγάλου Βασιλείου καὶ τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἐκκλησίας*», τὸ ὁποῖον ἀνεκοινώθη κατὰ τὸ ἕκτον διεθνὲς πατρολογικὸν συνέδριον τῆς Ὀξφόρδης (Σεπτέμβριος 1963), καὶ τὸ ἄρθρον του περὶ τοῦ «*Κόμματος τοῦ Κηφᾶ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Κορίνθου*», τὸ ὁποῖον ἀνεκοινώθη εἰς τὸ διεθνὲς συνέδριον Βιβλικῶν Σπουδῶν τῆς Ὀξφόρδης κατὰ τὸ 1965[12].

Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν ποιμαντορικὴν αὐτοῦ δρᾶσιν, τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Μεθοδίου ὑπῆρξεν ἐξ ἴσου καρποφόρον. Ἐκτὸς τῆς φροντίδος τοῦ ποιμνίου του εἰς τὸ Μάντσεστερ, ἠσχολήθη περὶ τὴν ὀργάνωσιν μιᾶς νέας κοινότητος διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς Ὑόρκης, τῆς ὁποίας ἐπίκεντρον ὑπῆρξεν ἡ πόλις Λήντς, καὶ ἡ ὁποία ἦτο πλήρως ἐφωδιασμένη μετὰ καταστατικοῦ, ναοῦ, σχολείου καὶ ἱερέως. Ἡ ἐπιτυχία του αὕτη ἀνεγνωρίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου διὰ συνοδικῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀπὸ 20ῆς Σεπτεμ-

11. *Theological and Historical Studies*, vol. 5, 1984, p. 288.
12. See *Theological and Historical Studies*, vol. 1, Athens 1979, pp 266-274 and 287-296.

Iakovos (Virvos) of Apameia who was acting as *locum tenens* of the Archdiocese of Thyateira since the death of Archbishop Athenagoras (Kavvadas). In the letter of Bishop Iakovos dated 1 February 1963 Archimandrite Methodios is not only praised for his achievement in Leeds but also for being the chief actor in establishing a Manchester branch of the Anglican/Orthodox Association. Furthermore the Bishop invited him to go to Dublin in Ireland to address the above named Association there and to celebrate the Divine Liturgy, at event which actually took place.

The new Metropolitan of Thyateira, Athenagoras (Kokkinakis), who was elected to this office in 1964, held Archimandrite Methodios in the highest esteem and appointed him straight away member of the Financial Committee, the Central Educational Council and the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, and also entrusted him with a number of special missions. One of these was to be the spiritual director of the Greek students in Oxford[14]. The most notable of these missions, however, was that which procured the reconciliation of two opposing parties in the Greek Orthodox community of Liverpool as it is clearly testified in a letter dated 30/12/1964 signed by the Greek Consul N. Georgiadis who was also serving as president of the above mentioned community[15].

### 7. Fifth pastoral charge in Athens.

The six year term of pastoral ecclesiastical service in England ended on 16 August 1966, when Archimandrite Methodios returned to Greece, having acquired, apart from extensive valuable experience in the ministry, a good command of the English language, a Doctorate in Theology and a considerable library. It had been a very fruitful period in his career, which, prospectively, was to lead to rapid developments. Later on he would write about it thus: *"My University studies and*

βρίου 1962[13] καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ἀπαμείας Ἰακώβου (Βίρβου), ὁ ὁποῖος ἦσκει καθήκοντα τοποτηρητοῦ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Κύριον μεταστάσεως τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηναγόρου (Καββάδα). Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ἰακώβου ἀπὸ 1ης Φεβρουαρίου 1963, ὁ Ἀρχιμ. Μεθόδιος δὲν ἐπαινεῖται ἁπλῶς διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν του εἰς τὸ Λήντς, ἀλλ' ἐπίσης καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἵδρυσιν εἰς Μάντσεστερ παραρτήματος τοῦ Ἀγγλικανορθοδόξου Ὀργανισμοῦ. Ἐπὶ πλέον προσεκλήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου νὰ μεταβῇ εἰς Δουβλῖνον τῆς Ἰρλανδίας διὰ νὰ ὁμιλήσῃ εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖ παράρτημα τοῦ ἀνωτέρω Ὀργανισμοῦ καὶ νὰ τελέσῃ τὴν θείαν Λειτουργίαν, γεγονὸς τὸ ὁποῖον πράγματι ἐπραγματοποιήθη.

Ὁ νέος Μητροπολίτης Θυατείρων Ἀθηναγόρας (Κοκκινάκης), ὁ ὁποῖος ἐξελέγη εἰς τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1964, ἐξετίμα τὸν Ἀρχιμ. Μεθόδιον μεγάλως καὶ διώρισεν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἀμέσως μέλος τῆς Οἰκονομικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς, τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου καὶ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Δικαστηρίου τῆς τότε Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων καὶ ἐπίσης ἐνεπιστεύθη εἰς αὐτὸν διαφόρους εἰδικὰς ἀποστολάς. Μία ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦτο ἡ ἀνάληψις τῆς πνευματικῆς καθοδηγήσεως τῶν ἑλλήνων φοιτητῶν εἰς τὴν Ὀξφόρδην[14]. Ἡ σπουδαιοτέρα ὅμως ἐκ τῶν ἀποστολῶν τοῦ Μεθοδίου ὑπῆρξεν ἐκείνη διὰ τῆς ὁποίας ἐπετεύχθη ἡ συμφιλίωσις δύο ἀντιμαχομένων ὁμάδων εἰς τὴν ἑλληνορθόδοξον κοινότητα τοῦ Λίβερπουλ, ὅπως σαφῶς μαρτυρεῖται εἰς ἐπιστολὴν ἀπὸ 30ῆς Δεκεμβρίου 1964, ὑπογραφομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἕλληνος Προξένου καὶ τοῦ Ν. Γεωργιάδου, προέδρου τῆς ἀνωτέρω κοινότητος[15].

### 7. Πέμπτη ἱερατικὴ διακονία ἐν Ἀθήναις.

Ἡ ἐπὶ ἑξαετίαν ἱερατικὴ διακονία του εἰς Ἀγγλίαν ἔληξε κατὰ τὴν 16ην Αὐγούστου τοῦ ἔτους 1966, ὅτε καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἔχων ἀποκτήσει, ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκτενοῦς καὶ ἀξιολόγου ἐμπειρίας εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν διακονίαν, τὴν εὐχέρειαν εἰς τὴν ἀγγλικὴν γλῶσσαν, τὸ Διδακτορικὸν πτυχίον εἰς τὴν Θεολογίαν καὶ μίαν σημαντικὴν βιβλιοθήκην. Ὑπῆρξεν αὕτη περίοδος λίαν καρποφόρος εἰς τὴν σταδιοδρομίαν του, ἡ ὁποία θὰ ὡδήγει αὐτὸν μελλοντικῶς εἰς ταχεῖαν ἐξέλιξιν. Ἀργότερον θὰ ἔγραφε περὶ αὐτῆς τὰ ἑξῆς:

13. See *Theological and Historical Studies*, vol. 5, Athens 1984, pp 288f.
14. See *Δεκαετηρίς*, p. 39.
15. *Theological and Historical Studies*, vol 5, Athens, 1984, p. 291f.

*other literary pursuits in Manchester filled my heart with inexpressible satisfaction. Since then, having been initiated into the English and the German spirit of scholarship I attempted to combine patristic knowledge of theology with patristic pastoral wisdom and priestly activity"*[16].

About a month after his return to Greece, Archimandrite Methodios was elected first Secretary to the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece and at the same time was appointed by Archbishop Chrysostomos of Athens of blessed memory, priest in charge of the church of the Sacred Girdle in Kypseli, Athens. Here he was to exercise his new duties for over a year until the rise of Archimandrite Ieronymos Kotsonis to the Archiepiscopal Throne of Athens after the Coup d' êtat of 21 April 1967. It seems that without much reason and probably owing to slander[17] the new Archbishop of Greece treated him harshly. Firstly he sent him twice to serve parishes and villages in the northern borders of Greece and finally removed him from the office of the General Secretariat[18]. In his expeditions to the North, however, he was brought once again in touch with his old friend Dorotheos, now Metropolitan of Kastoria, who comforted him with his unswerving friendship.

Although confined by the Archbishop only to the priestly functions of the parish church of the Sacred Girdle, Archimandrite Methodios lost no time in enhancing his literary plans and activity. Indeed, from the literary point of view, the year 1968 in Athens proved to be far more impressive than the year 1955-6 in Alexandria for now he was able to publish seven major works on academic and pastoral subjects. He published his dissertation on Chrysostom[19], his 416 pages long work on *The History of the Church of Corinth*[20], which he dedicated to his faithful friend Metropolitan Dorotheos of Kastoria, his *Pages from the History of the Church of Alexandria*[21] and four short volumes on canonical and pastoral topics

*«Ἡ ἐν Μάντσεστερ φοιτητικὴ καὶ συγγραφικὴ δραστηριότης μου ἐνέπλησε τὴν καρδίαν μου ἱκανοποιήσεως ἀφάτου. Ἔκτοτε μετέχων τοῦ ἀγγλικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γερμανικοῦ πνεύματος προσεπάθησα νὰ συνδυάσω τὴν πατερικὴν γνῶσιν μὲ τὴν πατερικὴν ἱερατικὴν δρᾶσιν»*[16].

Μετὰ τὴν πάροδον μηνὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς του εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος ἐξελέγη πρῶτος γραμματεὺς τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ταυτοχρόνως διωρίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν Χρυσοστόμου ἱερατικῶς προϊστάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐνορίαν τῆς ἁγίας Ζώνης εἰς τὴν Κυψέλην Ἀθηνῶν. Ἐνταῦθα θὰ ἤσκει τὰ νέα του καθήκοντα δι' ἓν καὶ πλέον ἔτος μέχρι τῆς ἀνόδου τοῦ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Ἱερωνύμου Κοτσώνη εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸν Θρόνον Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ τὸ πραξικόπημα τῆς 21ης Ἀπριλίου τοῦ 1967. Φαίνεται ὅτι ἄνευ λόγου καὶ πιθανὸν ἐξ αἰτίας συκοφαντιῶν[17] ὁ νέος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῦ ἐφέρθη σκληρῶς. Κατ' ἀρχὴν τὸν ἀπέστειλε δὶς πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν εἰς παραμεθορίους ἐνορίας εἰς τὴν βόρειον Ἑλλάδα καὶ τελικῶς τὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἀπὸ τὴν Γραμματείαν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου[18]. Κατὰ τὰς ἐξορμήσεις του εἰς τὴν βόρειον Ἑλλάδα, ὅμως, ἐπανασυνεδέθη μετὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ φίλου του Δωροθέου, τότε Μητροπολίτου Καστορίας, ὁ ὁποῖος τὸν παρηγόρησε διὰ τῆς ἀμερίστου φιλίας του.

Ἂν καὶ περιορισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου μόνον εἰς ἱερατικὰ καθήκοντα εἰς τὴν ἐνορίαν τῆς ἁγίας Ζώνης, ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος δὲν ἀπώλεσε χρόνον εἰς τὴν καλλιέργειαν τῶν ἀκαδημαϊκῶν καὶ συγγραφικῶν σχεδίων καὶ δραστηριοτήτων του. Εἶναι ἀληθές, ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀκαδημαϊκῆς-συγγραφικῆς πλευρᾶς τὸ ἔτος 1968 τῆς εἰς Ἀθήνας διαμονῆς του ἀπεδείχθη πολὺ περισσότερον ἐντυπωσιακὸν ἀπὸ τὸ ἔτος 1955-6 τῆς διαμονῆς του εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καθ' ὅσον εἰς τὴν προκειμένην περίπτωσιν κατώρθωσε νὰ ἐκδώσῃ ἑπτὰ περισπούδαστα ἔργα ἐπὶ ἀκαδημαϊκῶν καὶ ποιμαντορικῶν θεμάτων. Οὕτως ἐξέδωκε τὴν διδακτορικὴν διατριβήν του εἰς τὸν Χρυσόστομον[19], τὴν ἐκ 416 σελίδων ἀπαρτιζομένην μελέτην του ἐπὶ τῆς *«Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου»*[20], τὴν ὁποίαν ἀφιέρωσεν

16. See *Δεκαετηρίς*, ibid. p. 29.

17. See the letter of Archbishop Jerome addressed to his Eminence as Archbishop of Aksum dated 7/4/1978 and published in the *Δεκαετηρίς*, p. 215.

18. See here Archbishop Methodios' personal comments on this affair on pp. 73ff of the *Δεκαετηρίς* which reveal his magnanimous nature and balanced judgement.

19. *The Social Message of John Chrysostom*, Athens, 1968.

20. Published at Athens in 1968.

dealing successively with 1) *The Priest and His Profession*, 2) *Deacons and Deaconesses in the Ancient Church*, 3) *The Ordination of the first Popes of the Church of Alexandria* and 4) *The Validity of the Heretical and Schismatical Sacraments in the Ancient Church*[22].

All these publications were greeted with enthusiasm by many scholars and ecclesiastics including Archbishop Athenagoras II of Thyateira, Professor Alivisatos, Professor F.L. Cross, Professor Campenhausen and many Metropolitans from Greece. A brief look at some of these reactions will help to bring out the significance of these works. Archbishop Athenagoras II of Thyateira wrote him thus: *"Your two books (the one on Corinth and the one on the Priesthood), including also your dissertation on "The Social Message of John Chrysostom", are like shining lamps which reflect your assiduousness, depth, attention and desire to make contributions to the Orthodox theological literature of our time. Your newest literary products, added to your earlier ones, commend your contribution as having a value worthy of the closest attention and bring to the fore the persistent productivity of your thought presenting it as a model to be imitated by many clerics who aspire to literary achievements. You have my best wishes for the continuation of such a spiritual yield to Greek literature offered by a younger Greek intellectual chergyman.."*[23] On "The History of the Church of Corinth" A.I. Keramidas wrote in the periodical Ἐνορία[24]: *"It is an unprecedented work in our land, written by a Greek theologian and history researcher. From the careful study of this wonderful work we have come to the conclusion that it constitutes a great contribution not only to the history of the Church of Corinth but also to the history of the whole Church of Greece, since the Methopolis of Cor-*

εἰς τὸν πιστὸν φίλον του Μητροπολίτην Καστορίας Δωρόθεον, τὴν μελέτην του *«Σελίδες ἐκ τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας»*[21] καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας τόμους τῶν Κανονικῶν καὶ Ποιμαντικῶν Παρέργων του, α) *«Ὁ Ἱερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ»*, β) *«Διάκονοι καὶ Διακόνισσαι ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ»*, γ) *«Ἡ χειροτονία τῶν πρώτων παπῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας»* καὶ δ) *«Τὸ κῦρος τῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ σχισματικῶν μυστηρίων ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ»*[22].

Ὅλαι αἱ ἐκδόσεις αὗται ἐχαιρετίσθησαν μετὰ μεγάλου ἐνθουσιασμοῦ ὑπὸ πολλῶν μελετητῶν ἀκαδημαϊκῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, συμπεριλαμβανομένου τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων Ἀθηναγόρου Β', τοῦ καθηγητοῦ Ἀλιβιζάτου, τοῦ καθηγητοῦ F.L. Cross, τοῦ καθηγητοῦ T.F. Torrance καὶ πολλῶν Μητροπολιτῶν ἐξ Ἑλλάδος. Μία σύντομος ἀναδρομὴ εἰς μερικὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀντιδράσεων τούτων θὰ χρησιμεύσῃ εἰς τὸ νὰ μεταφέρῃ ἐνταῦθα τὴν σπουδαιότητα τῶν συγγραμμάτων τούτων. Ὁ προκάτοχός του Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων Ἀθηναγόρας Β' ἔγραψεν ὡς ἑξῆς: *«...Καὶ τὰ δύο ἔργα σας, τὸ περὶ Κορίνθου καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἱερωσύνης, ὡς καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν μήνυμα τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὄζουν λυχνίας καὶ καθρεπτίζουν τοῦ συγγραφέως τὴν ἐργατικότητα, τὴν βαθύτητα, τὴν προσοχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν προσφορᾶς εἰς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Θεολογικὴν Γραμματείαν τῆς ἐποχῆς μας. Τὰ νεώτερα ταῦτα συγγράμματά σας, προστιθέμενα εἰς τὰ προηγούμενα, συνιστοῦν τὴν συμβολήν σας ὡς ἀξίαν πάσης προσοχῆς καὶ διακρίνουν τὴν ἐπίμονον παραγωγικότητα τῆς σκέψεώς σας καὶ προσθέτουν αὐτὴν ἐνώπιον πολλῶν ἄλλων κληρικῶν εἰς μίμησιν πνευματικῶν πονημάτων. Εὔχομαι συνέχειαν τῆς πνευματικῆς καρποφορίας, ἵνα συνεχισθῇ ἡ τιμὴ πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Γραμματείαν προσφερομένη ἀπὸ μέρους νεωτέρου ἕλληνος κληρικοῦ διανοουμένου...»*[23]. Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν *«Ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κορίνθου»* ὁ A.I. Κεραμίδας ἔγραψεν εἰς τὸ περιοδικὸν *«Ἐνορία»*[24]: *«Πρόκειται περὶ πρωτοφανοῦς ἔργου εἰς τὸν τόπον μας, γραμμένου ἀπὸ ἕλληνα θεολόγον καὶ ἱστορικὸν ἐρευνητήν. Ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτην τοῦ ὅλου τούτου θαυμασίου ἔργου ἐξηγάγομεν τὸ συμπέρασμα, ὅτι ἡ ἐργασία αὕτη ἀποτελεῖ μεγάλην συμβολὴν εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν ὄχι μόνον τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἱστορίας ὁλοκλήρου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*

21. Athens, 1968.
22. All of them published at Athens in 1968. See the bibliography at the end of this essay.
23. Printed on the back-page of the book.
24. See No 445, Athens, 1968.

*inth was one of its most significant centres..."* In the same review the work is also praised *"for its incredibly wideranging and admirable handling of primary sources as well as for its originality, richness of content and synthetic cohesion."* For the *History of the Church of Corinth* Prof. Alivisatos wrote: *"...it constitutes a most notable literary production, which contributes greatly to the clarification of many obscure points of the rich history both of the glorious city of Corinth and of its surrounding area which is full of historical splendour. The whole structure and presentation of your work reveals a most assiduous industry and ample use of the existing primary sources combined with a fair amount of critical ability in asserting the value of the work which bears the stamp of a most notable scientific piece of research and contribution to the main subject of the study. Throughout the entire study which is completed with historical pictures and indices one sees the love and the scientific interest which characterizes your work. I congratulate you".* Professor F.L. Cross of Christ Church, University of Oxford, wrote: that the book on Corinth was *"... a very welcome gift and evidently a permanent contribution to the subject.."*[25] Professor Hans G. von Kampenhausen wrote, *"Die monumentale Geschichtle von Korinth zeigth die ganze Weite der Griechischen Kirchengeschichte gleichsam in einem Brennpunct..."*[26] and Professor Torrance of the University of Edinburgh, *"...I have been studying it and find it full of valuable and exciting information - it is particularly illuminating to see the whole story strung out and followed through history like this - I am sure a great company of readers will be much indebted to you..."*[27] The same Professor wrote about Archimandrite Methodios' book on the Priesthood thus: *"I like very much the inner orientation as well as the spirit of the whole work, with its very helpful and illuminating notes from the history of thought in East and West on the subject. Also I like very*

*τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῆς ὁποίας ἡ Μητρόπολις Κορίνθου ὑπῆρξε σπουδαιότατον κέντρον...».* Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν βιβλιοκρισίαν ἐπαινεῖται τὸ ἀνωτέρω ἔργον ὡς *«ὄντως θαυμαστὴ ἡ ἐργώδης προσπάθεια ποὺ ἔκαμεν ὁ σ. νὰ παραγάγῃ ἀπὸ τὰς ἑκατοντάδας αὐτὰς πηγὰς καὶ βοηθήματα τὸ πρωτότυπον τοῦτο ἔργον τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι σήμερον».* Διὰ τὴν *«Ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου»* ὁ καθηγητὴς Ἀλιβιζᾶτος ἔγραψε τὰ ἑξῆς: *«...ἀποτελεῖ ἀξιολογωτάτην συγγραφήν, τὰ μέγιστα συμβάλλουσαν εἰς τὴν διευκρίνησιν πολλῶν σκοτεινῶν σημείων τῆς πλουσίας κατ' ἄμφω ἱστορίας τῆς ἐνδόξου πόλεως τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ τῆς μεστῆς ἱστορικῆς δόξης περιοχῆς αὐτῆς. Ἡ ὅλη σύστασις καὶ ἐμφάνισις τοῦ συγγράμματός σας φανερώνει ἐπιμελεστάτην ἐπεξεργασίαν καὶ χρῆσιν τῶν ὑφισταμένων πηγῶν μὲ ἱκανὸν κριτικὸν πνεῦμα ἐξακριβώσεως τῆς ἀξίας των. Ἀναπόφευκτοι ἐπαναλήψεις οὐδαμῶς μειοῦν τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ἔργου, τὸ ὁποῖον φέρει τὴν σφραγῖδα ἀξιολογωτάτης ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐρεύνης καὶ συμβολῆς εἰς τὸ κύριον θέμα τῆς μελέτης. Εἰς τὴν ὅλην μελέτην συμπληρουμένην μὲ τὰς ἱστορικὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τοὺς πίνακας εὑρετηρίων καταφαίνεται ἡ ἀγάπη καὶ τὸ ἐπιστημονικὸν ἐνδιαφέρον, τὰ ὁποῖα χαρακτηρίζουν τὸν κόπον σας. Σᾶς συγχαίρω...».* Ὁ καθηγητὴς F.L. Cross τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Ὀξφόρδης ἔγραψεν ὅτι τὸ βιβλίον περὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κορίνθου ἦτο ἕνα *«...λίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον δῶρον καὶ καταφανῶς μία μόνιμος συμβολὴ εἰς τὸ θέμα...»*[25]. Ὁ καθηγητὴς Hans von Campenhausen ἔγραψε περὶ *«τῆς μνημειώδους ἱστορίας τῆς Κορίνθου, ἥτις οἱονεὶ ἐστία ἀποκαλύπτει ὅλην τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν Ἱστορίαν»*[26]. Τέλος ὁ καθηγητὴς T.F. Torrance τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου ἔγραψε: *«...τὸ μελετῶ καὶ τὸ εὑρίσκω πλῆρες πολυτίμου καὶ συναρπαστικῆς ἐνημερώσεως· εἶναι ἰδιαιτέρως διαφωτιστικόν, καθ' ὅσον παρουσιάζει τὴν ὅλην ἱστορίαν τακτοποιημένην κατὰ σειρὰν ἐν τῷ πλαισίῳ τῆς γενικωτέρας ἱστορίας. Εἶμαι βέβαιος ὅτι ἕνας μεγάλος ἀριθμὸς ἀναγνωστῶν θὰ ὑποχρεωθῇ μεγάλως εἰς τὸ πρόσωπόν σας...»*[27]. Ὁ αὐτὸς καθηγητὴς ἔγραψε διὰ τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀρχιμ. Μεθοδίου περὶ τοῦ Ἱερέως καὶ τοῦ ἔργου του: *«Μοῦ ἀρέσει παρὰ πολὺ ἡ ἐσωτερικὴ προοπτικὴ ὅπως καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ὅλου ἔργου, μὲ τὰς λίαν βοηθητικὰς καὶ διαφωτιστικὰς ὑποσημειώσεις του ἀπὸ*

25. See the back-page of the book.
26. *ibid.*
27. *ibid.*

*much the way in which you think together the Priest and his flock, which is very much needed in our modern world. I hope your work has a fine reception as I know its influence in ecumenical thinking, as well as on good church order, will be considerable."*[28]

*τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς 'Ανατολικῆς καὶ τῆς Δυτικῆς σκέψεως ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος. 'Επίσης μοῦ ἀρέσει παρὰ πολὺ ὁ τρόπος μὲ τὸν ὁποῖον διαλογίζεται ἐν συναρτήσει τὸν 'Ιερέα καὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν του, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποτελεῖ ἰδιαιτέραν ἀνάγκην εἰς τὴν σύγχρονον ἐποχήν μας. 'Ελπίζω ὅτι τὸ ἔργον σας τοῦτο θὰ εὕρῃ θερμὴν ὑποδοχὴν καθ' ὅσον γνωρίζω ὅτι ἡ ἐπίδρασίς του ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς σκέψεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καλῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως θὰ εἶναι σημαντική»*[28].

**8. First Hierarchical charge as Metropolitan of Aksum.**

In view of all this it is not surprising that on November 14, 1968, Archimandrite Methodios was elected Metropolitan of Aksum to succeed the deceased Metropolitan Nicholaos. His election was desired by the new Pope and Patriarch Nicholaos VI of Alexandria (formerly Metropolitan of Eirenoupolis) and the Greek Community in Addis Ababa who wrote to the former urging him to take appropriate action.[29]

In spite of opposition in Athens, he was able to depart for Kairo on the 19th of November and to be consecrated to the Episcopate on the 29th of the same month. On the 30th of November 1968, the feast day of St. Frumentios the Illuminator of Ethiopia, the new Metropolitan of Aksum arrived at Addis Ababa and was welcomed at the airport by the Ambassador of Greece in Ethiopia, N. Koumpos, the Governing Committee of the Greek Community, the school master N. Drakos and the professors of the Gymnasium, the Director D. Sykas and the teachers of the Primary school, many pupils and people and the priests Herodion, Jason and Gervasios. The enthronement took place at the Church of St. Frumentios in the evening, on which occasion the Encyclical Letter of the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria Nicholaos VI was read and the Metropolitan delivered his first address...

The Pope of Alexandria's Encyclical reads as follows: *"To the Most holy Hieromonks, the most*

**8. Πρώτη ἀρχιερατικὴ διακονία ὡς Μητροπολίτης 'Αξώμης.**

'Εν ὄψει ὅλων τῶν ἀνωτέρω δὲν ἀποτελεῖ ἔκπληξιν τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι κατὰ τὴν 14ην Νοεμβρίου τοῦ 1968 ὁ 'Αρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος ἐξελέγη Μητροπολίτης 'Αξώμης, προκειμένου νὰ διαδεχθῇ τὸν μεταστάντα εἰς Κύριον Μητροπολίτην Νικόλαον. 'Η ἐκλογή του ἦτο ἐπιθυμητὴ τόσον ἀπὸ τὸν νέον Πάπαν καὶ Πατριάρχην 'Αλεξανδρείας Νικόλαον ΣΤ' (πρώην Μητροπολίτην Εἰρηνουπόλεως), ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν Κοινότητα τῆς 'Αδδὶς 'Αμπέμπας, ἐπιστολὴ τῆς ὁποίας ἐπὶ τῷ σκοπῷ τούτῳ ἐστάλη πρὸς τὸν προηγούμενον συνιστῶσα ἄμεσον ἐπέμβασιν[29].

Παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἀντίστασιν ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν, κατώρθωσε νὰ ἀναχωρήσῃ διὰ Κάιρον κατὰ τὴν 19ην Νοεμβρίου καὶ νὰ χειροτονηθῇ εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα κατὰ τὴν 29ην τοῦ ἰδίου μηνός. Κατὰ τὴν 30ὴν Νοεμβρίου 1968, δηλ. κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ ἁγ. Φρουμεντίου τοῦ Φωτιστοῦ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ὁ νέος Μητροπολίτης 'Αξώμης ἀφίχθη εἰς 'Αδδὶς 'Αμπέμπα καὶ ἐγένετο δεκτὸς εἰς τὸ ἀεροδρόμιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ Ν. Κούμπου, τοῦ Διοικητικοῦ Συμβουλίου τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς Κοινότητος, τοῦ διευθυντοῦ τοῦ σχολείου Ν. Δράκου, τῶν καθηγητῶν τοῦ γυμνασίου, τοῦ διευθυντοῦ τοῦ Δημ. Σχολείου Δ. Συκᾶ καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχολείου, πολλῶν μαθητῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν ὡς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων 'Ηρωδίωνος, 'Ιάσωνος καὶ Γερβασίου. 'Η ἐνθρόνισις ἔλαβε χώραν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἁγ. Φρουμεντίου κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν τῆς ἰδίας ἡμέρας, ὁπότε καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη ἡ ἐγκύκλιος ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Πάπα καὶ Πατριάρχου 'Αλεξανδρείας Νικολάου καὶ ἐξεφωνήθη ἡ ἐνθρονιστήριος ὁμιλία τοῦ νέου Μητροπολίτου.

'Η ἐγκύκλιος ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Πάπα 'Αλεξανδρείας ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς:

28. *ibid.*

29. See *Δεκαετηρίς*, pp 48-50.

*honourable Presidents the praiseworthy Committees of the Parishes, the erudite Teachers and the pious and Christ's name bearing people in Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Asmara, Djibuti and Aksum:*

*"Beloved and much thought of sons and daughters of ours in the Lord, Grace to you and Peace to all and Mercy from our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.*

*Blessed is our God, the God of every Grace, Who has counted us worthy to send on to you today, with His blessings, a Metropolitan who has been entrusted from now on with the spiritual visitation of you and the oversight over you, as well as with the spiritual care for you.*

*Since the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Aksum Nicholaos departed for the tabernacles of the righteous and since in turn we took up the government of the Church of our Most holy Apostolic and Patriarchal Throne, and out of necessary duty for all the Churches and the Provinces which have been, by divine Grace, subjected to our providence and guidance, and having first invoked the Divine assistance, we resolved to establish and appoint a canonical Bishop to the sacred Metropolis of Aksum, which is under the strong protection and enlightened governing of His Majesty the Emperor Haile Selasie, so that she may no longer be like an orphan in ecclesiastical matters and in divine Grace, but to have one who looks after her reason-endowed flock and who would care directly for her inner benefit and correction and would decisively remove every spiritual danger. Therefore we admonished in a brotherly spirit and granted the appropriate canonical permission to the holy company of the Hierarchs who are with us to proceed with the canonical election of a person worthy for such a spiritual oversight by means of canonical votes. Thus, the dearly beloved Brothers and co-celebrants in Christ, the Most Reverend Metropolitans of our Humility, who compose the sacred Synod of the Patriarchal and Apostolic Throne of Alexandria, having met in Alexandria at the sacred and Patriarchal Church of our father among the saints St. Savvas the Beatified, and by*

*«Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός, ὁ πάσης χάριτος, ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς σήμερον προπέμπειν ἐπ' εὐλογίαις Αὐτοῦ, Μητροπολίτην τὸν καταπεπιστευμένον τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ἐπιστασίαν, τὴν πνευματικὴν περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπιμέλειαν.*

*»Τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης Νικολάου μεταστάντος εἰς τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ τοὺς οἴακας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ καθ' Ἡμᾶς Ἁγιωτάτου, Ἀποστολικοῦ καὶ Πατριαρχικοῦ Θρόνου ἀναλαβόντες ἐξ ὀφειλῆς ἀπαραιτήτου περὶ πασῶν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ παροικιῶν, τῶν Θείᾳ Χάριτι τεταγμένων ὑπὸ τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ Ἡμῶν, ἔγνωμεν, τὴν θείαν πρότερον ἐπικαλεσάμενοι ἀντίληψιν, συντελέσαι καὶ τάξαι κανονικὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῇ Ἱερᾷ Μητροπόλει Ἀξώμης, τῇ ὑπὸ τῇ κραταιᾷ αἰγίδι καὶ πεφωτισμένῃ διακυβερνήσει τῆς Αὐτοῦ Μεγαλειότητος τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Χαϊλὲ Σελασιέ, ἵνα μὴ παρατείνηται ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ αὐτῆς ὀρφανία ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, καὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς Θείας Χάριτος, ἀλλ' ἔχῃ τὸν ἐπιμελούμενον τοῦ λογικοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ποιμνίου, καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχικῆς αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας καὶ διορθώσεως ἀμέσως μεριμνῶσα, καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον πνευματικὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πορρωτάτω ἀποτρεπόμενον, δι' ὃ καὶ προὐτρεψάμεθ' ἀδελφικῶς, τὴν ἔνθεσμον αὐτῇ παρασχόμενοι ἄδειαν, τὴν ἱερὰν σὺν ἡμῖν τῶν ἱεραρχῶν ὁμήγυριν ἐπὶ τὴν νόμιμον ἐκλογὴν προελθεῖν τοῦ ἀξίου τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστασίας διὰ ψήφων κανονικῶν. Καὶ δή, οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ πεφιλημένοι ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συλλειτουργοὶ τῆς Ἡμῶν Μετριότητος ἱερώτατοι Μητροπολῖται οἱ συγκροτοῦντες τὴν ἱερὰν Σύνοδον τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ καὶ Ἀποστολικοῦ Θρόνου Ἀλεξανδρείας, συνελθόντες ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, δεκάτῃ ἕκτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ Πατριαρχικῷ Ναῷ τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα τοῦ Ἡγιασμένου, κατ' ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Παναγίου καὶ τελεταρχικοῦ Πνεύματος ψήφῳ ἄξιον τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης διακονίας ἀνέδειξαν, πάντων τῶν ἄλλων προεκλεξάμενοι, τὸν ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἀγαπητὸν Ἡμῖν ἐν πνεύματι υἱόν, ὁσιολογιώτατον Ἀρχιμανδρίτην τοῦ καθ' Ἡμᾶς Ἁγιωτάτου Θρόνου Κύριον Μεθόδιον Φούγιαν, τέως Ἀρχιγραμματέα τοῦ ἡμετέρου Πατριαρχείου, τέκνον μὲν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ βρέφους τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ ἐντεθραμμένον ἐν τῷ τάγματι τῆς μοναχικῆς πολιτείας εἰσηγμένον, γνώστην τῆς διδασκαλίας τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς καθόλου χριστιανικῆς Κοινωνίας, καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διακονίαις δεδοκιμασμένον, ζήλῳ φιλοθέῳ ἐμπνεόμενον, ἀγάπῃ τε καὶ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένον.*

*invocation of the Most Holy Spirit who is the Chief Celebrant, elected by vote as worthy for this sacred ministry choosing him above all the others, our beloved in Christ and son in spirit Very Reverend Archimandrite Methodios Fouyas, who served previously as Chief Secretary of our Patriarchate, a son of the Church from his cradle, who has been rared in piety and was introduced into the order of the monastic way of life, a man possessing the knowledge of our Church and of the Christian community in general, who has been tested through many ministries of the Church, inspired by a godly zeal and established on love and faith.*

*With such hopes he was consecrated to the divine degree of the High-priesthood by the gift and power and grace of the All-holy Spirit through our own hand of the co-celebrants and co-bishops of ours who were present with us at the sacred Church of St. Savvas on the 29th of November 1968. Thus he, the Metropolitan of Aksum, is now being sent to you in good time, my beloved sons and daughters, as the canonical Hierarch and Metropolitan of Aksum ready to take up the care for you and the whole flock with all his soul and desire and mind and with every zeal.*

*It is with a great affection for you, my beloved, and with a desire of paternal heart that we announce these good news to all of you and admonish you all to receive with honour reverence and love him whom the All-holy Spirit has raised up to be your spiritual father, the Most Reverend Metropolitan Methodios of Aksum, and to show him willingly every due obedience and grant him every cooperation and assistance in his labours for you.*

*We write these lines to you most honourable members of the Church paternally for your information.*

*The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Love of God the Father and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all".*
*Alexandria, 29 November, 1968.*

† *NICHOLAOS of Alexandria*

*»Ἐπὶ τοιαύταις δ' ἄρα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν τῇ 29ῃ Νοεμβρίου 1968, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ναῷ τοῦ Ἁγίου Σάββα τελεσθείσης τῆς προχειρίσεως αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖον τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης βαθμὸν διὰ χειρὸς Ἡμετέρας τε καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων Ἡμῖν συλλειτουργῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπων τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει καὶ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Παναγίου Πνεύματος, ἀποστέλλεται νῦν ἐν ὥραις αἰσίαις πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τέκνα ἀγαπητά, Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης, ὡς νόμιμος αὐτῆς Ἱεράρχης καὶ Μητροπολίτης, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα τὴν περὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ὅλου ποιμνίου, ὅλῃ ψυχῇ καὶ διανοίᾳ πόθῳ τε παντὶ καὶ ζήλῳ ὑποδυσόμενος.*

*»Πολλῇ οὖν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς στοργῇ, ὦ τέκνα ἠγαπημένα, καὶ πόθῳ καρδίας πατρικῆς τοῦτ' εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, πάντας ὑμᾶς προτρεπόμεθα μετὰ τιμῆς μὲν ἅμα καὶ σεβασμοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης δέξασθαι τὸν χάριτι τοῦ Παναγίου Πνεύματος ἀναδεδειγμένον πνευματικὸν ὑμῶν πατέρα, τὸν Ἱερώτατον Μητροπολίτην Ἀξώμης κ. Μεθόδιον καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ προθύμως ὑπέχειν τὴν ὀφειλομένην ὑπακοὴν καὶ ἕτοιμον χορηγεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ὑμετέραν σύμπραξιν καὶ συναρωγὴν ἐν τῷ περὶ ὑμῶν ἀγῶνι.*

*»Ταῦτα, τέκνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τιμιώτατα καὶ Ἡμῖν ποθεινά, ταῦτα παρ' Ἡμῶν εἰς πληροφορίαν πατρικῶς. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.*

† *Ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ*

*Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ,*
*τῇ 29ῃ Νοεμβρίου 1968».*

The Greek Community in Addis Ababa had at that time reached the height of its glory. Greek industries, small businesses of all kinds, commercial agencies, etc., were flourishing, whilst among them one could find all the major professions, architects, builders, lawyers, doctors, cofee-farmers, etc. Yet the signs of the coming crisis were already appearing on the horizon. The new Archbishop set out to engourage everyone and to promote a spirit of optimism, joy and progress. His first move was to visit the churches of his province in Dire Dawa, Asmara, Djibuti and Debi-Dolo. His primary concern was to inspect the educational work and the social institutions which were in operation in the community in order to encourage their continuation and ensure their success[30]. The record of his achievement is quite remarkable. He was able to strengthen his community internally and to open it up externally to the international community. Internally he managed not long after his enthronement to cultivate such relations of good will and understanding, that he was accepted, against the previously established custom and on a purely voluntary basis, as the natural President of the Governing Committee of the Community of Addis Ababa. There is a number of documents which bear clear witness to this fact. A document dated 15 March 1972 speaks of *"the unprecedented practical interest of the Archbishop for the community of Addis Ababa and generally the entire Greek community in Ethiopia, which moves every one very deeply"* and concludes by *"expressing vigorously the Committee's gratitude and deepest reverence"*[31]. Other similar documents reveal the Archbishop's generosity towards his community which was expressed on numerous occasions and in a variety of ways[32]. A document dated 7 March 1978 goes as far as to state: *"The Greek Community of Addis Ababa which you have mamy times and in every way helped, can say today without fear of any exaggeration, that you are her Spiritual Father and turns to your magnanimity to ask once more for*

Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ κοινότης ἐν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπᾳ εὑρίσκετο τότε εἰς τὸ ὕψος τῆς δόξης αὐτῆς. Ἑλληνικαὶ βιομηχανίαι, μικραὶ ἐπιχειρήσεις παντὸς εἴδους, ἐμπορικαὶ ἀντιπροσωπεῖαι κ.λπ. ἤνθιζον, ἐνῷ μεταξὺ τῶν μελῶν αὐτῆς ὑφίσταντο πάσης φύσεως ἐπαγγελματίαι, ἀρχιτέκτονες, οἰκοδόμοι, δικηγόροι, ἰατροί, καφε-γαιοκτήμονες κ.λπ. Ἐν τούτοις τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἐπερχομένης κρίσεως ἤδη ἐνεφανίζοντο εἰς τὸν ὁρίζοντα. Ὁ νέος Μητροπολίτης ἐπεδόθη ἀμέσως εἰς τὴν ἀποστολήν του ἐνθαρρύνων πάντας καὶ καλλιεργῶν πνεῦμα αἰσιοδοξίας, χαρᾶς καὶ προόδου. Ἡ πρώτη ἐνέργειά του ἦτο νὰ ἐπισκεφθῇ ὅλας τὰς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐπαρχίας του, εἰς Ντίρε Ντάουα, Ἀσμάρα, Τσιμπουτὶ καὶ Ντέμπι Ντόλλο. Ἡ πρωταρχικὴ ἐπιδίωξίς του ἦτο ἡ ἐπιθεώρησις τοῦ ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν ἱδρυμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα ὑφίσταντο καὶ ἐλειτούργουν ἐν τῇ κοινότητι, ὥστε νὰ ἐνθαρρύνῃ καὶ νὰ προαγάγῃ τὴν περαιτέρω λειτουργίαν των καὶ νὰ καταστήσῃ βεβαίαν τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν των[30]. Ἡ ἐπιτυχία του εἰς τὰς ἐπιδιώξεις αὐτὰς ὑπῆρξεν ἀξιοθαύμαστος. Κατώρθωσε νὰ ἐνισχύσῃ τὴν κοινότητα ἐσωτερικῶς καὶ νὰ καλλιεργήσῃ ἰδιαιτέρως τὰς ἐξωτερικὰς αὐτῆς σχέσεις ἐντὸς τοῦ διεθνοῦς πεδίου. Ἐσωτερικῶς ἡ ἐπιτυχία του εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς προαγωγῆς καλῆς θελήσεως καὶ καλῶν σχέσεων ἐφάνη κυρίως εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι, ἀντιθέτως πρὸς τὴν ἐπικρατήσασαν προηγουμένως συνήθειαν καὶ ἐπὶ καθαρῶς ἐλευθέρας προαιρετικῆς βάσεως, ἐκλήθη νὰ προεδρεύῃ τῶν συνεδριῶν τοῦ Κοινοτικοῦ Συμβουλίου ὡς φυσικὸς ἀρχηγέτης ὁλοκλήρου τῆς ἑλληνικῆς κοινότητος. Διασῴζονται ἀρκετὰ ἔγγραφα εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, τὰ ὁποῖα φανερῶς μαρτυροῦν περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω. Ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ 15ης Μαρτίου 1972, ἀναφέρεται εἰς *«τὸ πρωτοφανὲς εἰς ἐμπράκτους ἐκδηλώσεις θερμότατον ἐνδιαφέρον Σας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὸ ἀποκαλύπτον τὰ ἰδιάζοντα αἰσθήματα ἀγάπης καὶ πατρικῆς στοργῆς δι' ὧν περιβάλλετε τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἑλληνικὴν παροικίαν καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας γενικώτερον, γεγονός, ὅπερ συγκινεῖ πάντας ἡμᾶς βαθύτατα»*. Τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἔγγραφον καταλήγει ἐκφράζον *«θερμοτάτας εὐχαριστίας, ζωηρὰν εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ βαθύτατον σεβασμὸν»* πρὸς τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον διὰ τὸ *«ἐθνωφελέστατον καὶ κοινωφελέστατον ἔργον τὸ ὁποῖον μετὰ τόσης ἐπιτυχίας ἐπιτελεῖ»*[31]. Παρόμοια ἔγγραφα ἀποκαλύ-

30. For detailed descriptions of the communities and their work as well as the personalities connected with them see *Δεκαετηρίς*, pp. 56-62. The details supplied here show the interest in the Archbishop's personal as well as the social dimension. Particularly important in these descriptions is the Archbishop's sense of history and his extraordinary awareness of the on-going social, ethnic and political life in Ethiopia.

31. *op. cit.*, p. 172.

*your inexhaustible offering"*[33]. However, the greatest recognition of Archbishop Methodios' successful ministry as pastor and leader of the Greeks in Ethiopia came on 16 September 1977, when he was made *Great Benefactor* of the historic Greek Community of Addis Ababa. The extract from the minutes of the Governing Committee meeting states: *"Because the Most Reverend Metropolitan METHODIOS of Aksum through his frequent and generous pecuniary donations to our Community and to other Greek Communities in Ethiopia and through his undiminished ethnic and religious labour by which he sheds added lustre to the Greek name, and besides through the harmonious cooperation between the Community and the Metropolis, which has given rise to many beneficial results, has been worthy of the honour and gratitude of the Community, it is unanimously decided that He, the Most REVEREND METROPOLITAN OF AKSUM METHODIOS FOUYAS should be nominated as GREAT BENEFACTOR of the historic Greek Community of Addis Ababa* (Sealed and signed by the President, Emmanuel Mariakis, the Treasurer, Alexandros Ganotakis, the General Secretary, Theod. Asimakopoulos and the Committee members, Christos Lykos and Dem. Geralis)[34]. The above recognition was not simply due to pecuniary endowments, but especially to the Archbishop's tremendous personal interest in the affairs of the Community and his decisive and beneficial involvement and leadership in the educational and social endeavours of the Community. Thanks to His Eminence's activities the Greek schools in Ethiopia increased their strength and the Community was able to project itself successfully and influentially in the context of the Ethiopian society and contribute positively to Ethiopian Hellenic relations both on the ecclesiastical and the political fronts[35].

πτουν τὴν γενναιοδωρίαν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἔναντι τῆς Κοινότητός του, ἡ ὁποία ἐξεφράσθη παντοιοτρόπως καὶ εἰς πάμπολλας περιστάσεις[32]. Ἕτερον ἔγγραφον, ἀπὸ 7ης Μαρτίου 1978, φθάνει εἰς τὸ σημεῖον ὥστε νὰ τονίσῃ τὰ ἑξῆς: *«Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας, τὴν ὁποίαν πολλάκις καὶ παντοιοτρόπως ἐβοηθήσατε, ὥστε σήμερον νὰ δυνάμεθα νὰ εἴπωμεν χωρὶς φόβον ὑπερβολῆς, ὅτι εἶσθε ὁ πνευματικὸς πατήρ της, διὰ μίαν ἀκόμη φορὰν ἔρχεται νὰ προσφύγῃ εἰς τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν σας καὶ νὰ ζητήσῃ νὰ κάμῃ χρῆσιν τῆς ἀνεξαντλήτου προσφορᾶς Σας»*[33]. Ἐν τούτοις, ἡ μεγαλυτέρα ἀναγνώρισις τῆς ἐπιτυχοῦς διακονίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ὡς ποιμένος καὶ ἡγέτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν 16ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1977, ὅτε ἀνηγορεύθη *Μέγας Εὐεργέτης* τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας. Τὸ ἀπόσπασμα ἐκ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ τῆς συνεδριάσεως τοῦ Διοικητικοῦ Συμβουλίου ἀναφέρει τὰ ἑξῆς: *«Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΣ διὰ τῶν συχνῶν καὶ γενναίων χρηματικῶν αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κοινότητα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας Ἑλληνικὰς ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ Παροικίας, διὰ τὸ ἀμείωτον πατρικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐνδιαφέρον πρὸς τὰ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον διὰ τὸ ὑπέροχον ἐθνικὸν καὶ θρησκευτικὸν ἔργον αὐτοῦ, μὲ τὸ ὁποῖον λαμπρύνει τὸ ἑλληνικὸν ὄνομα, προσέτι δέ, διὰ τὴν ἁρμονικὴν συνεργασίαν Κοινότητος καὶ Μητροπόλεως, ἐξ ἧς πολλὰ ὀφέλη προέκυψαν, ἀπεδείχθη ἄξιος τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης τῆς Κοινότητος, ἀποφασίζεται ὁμοφώνως ὅπως ἀνακηρυχθῇ οὗτος ὁ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΑΞΩΜΗΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΣ ΦΟΥΓΙΑΣ Μέγας Εὐεργέτης τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας»* (σφραγισθὲν καὶ ὑπογραφὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προέδρου Ἐμμανουὴλ Μαριάκη, τοῦ Ταμίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Γανωτάκη καὶ τοῦ Γενικοῦ Γραμματέως Θεοδ. Ἀσημακοπούλου ὡς καὶ τῶν Μελῶν τοῦ Συμβουλίου Χρήστου Λύκου καὶ Δημητρίου Γεράλη)[34]. Ἡ ἀνωτέρω ἀναγνώρισις δὲν ὠφείλετο μόνον εἰς τὰ χρηματικὰ βοηθήματα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρὸς τὴν Κοινότητα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀμέριστον προσωπικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐνδιαφέρον διὰ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῆς Κοινότητος ὡς καὶ εἰς τὴν προσωπικὴν αὐτοῦ ἡγετικὴν ἀνάμειξιν εἰς τὰς ἐκπαιδευτικὰς καὶ κοινωνικὰς

32. *op. cit.*, pp. 184-199.

33. *op. cit.*, p. 198.

34. *op. cit.*, p. 71.

35. For the Archbishop's decisive involvement in education see pp. 67-70 of the *Δεκαετηρίς*. For his social political leadership of the Greek Community in Ethiopia see pp. 63-67 of the same book.

As regards external relations, it should be said that the Metropolis of Aksum never before had promoted anything so extensive and so successful. Metropolitan Methodios, through his personal and professional contacts was able to put Aksum - and indeed the Patriarchate of Alexandria to which his Metropolis belonged - on the international ecclesiastical and scholarly map in the most impressive way. He achieved this on the one hand through the cultivation of contacts and on the other hand through his scholarly publications, both of which should be recorded here.

Contacts with Aksum were enhanced by visits of Church prelates and scholars from all over the world to the Metropolis of Aksum and by visits of the Metropolitan of Aksum to other Churches worldwide. The long list of some 80 or so distinguished visitors to the Metropolis of Aksum during the years 1968-1978 presents a most remarkable record. This list[36] includes heads of Churches, such as the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria and All Africa Nicholaos VI, the late Archbishop Macarios of Cyprus, Archbishop Jerome of Athens and All Greece, The late Patriarch Justinian of Rumania, as well as numerous distinguished Orthodox Metropolitans from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and from most of the Orthodox Churches throughout the world, Professors and Politicians.

At the same time Metropolitan Methodios of Aksum took part in a number of official visits to Orthodox Churches worldwide accompanying the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria. Thus in 1969 he visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Con-

προσπαθείας τῆς Κοινότητος. Χάρις εἰς τὴν δραστηριότητα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τὰ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ ηὐξήθησαν καὶ ἐνεδυναμώθησαν, ἡ δὲ Κοινότης κατώρθωσε νὰ προβάλῃ τὴν ταυτότητά της ἐπιτυχῶς καὶ ἐπηρεαστικῶς ἐπὶ τῆς αἰθιοπικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ νὰ συμβάλῃ θετικῶς εἰς τὰς Αἰθιοπικο-Ἑλληνικὰς σχέσεις τόσον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὅσον καὶ τῆς πολιτικο-πολιτιστικῆς διαστάσεως[35].

Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὰς ἐξωτερικὰς σχέσεις, πρέπει νὰ λεχθῇ ὅτι ἡ Μητρόπολις Ἀξώμης οὐδέποτε εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν εἶχεν ἐπιδείξει τοσαύτην ἐκτενῆ καὶ ἐπιτυχῆ δραστηριότητα. Ὁ Μητροπολίτης Μεθόδιος, διὰ τῶν προσωπικῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελματικῶν ἐπαφῶν του, κατώρθωσε νὰ τοποθετήσῃ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Ἀξώμης καὶ τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον ἀνήκει αὕτη, εἰς περίοπτον θέσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ συγχρόνου διεθνοῦς ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ καὶ ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ χάρτου κατὰ τὸν πλέον ἐντυπωσιακὸν τρόπον. Ἐπέτυχε τοῦτο ἀφ' ἑνὸς διὰ τῆς προωθήσεως ἐπαφῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρου διὰ τῆς ἐκδόσεως ἀκαδημαϊκῶν συγγραμμάτων ὡς ἐξῆς:

Ἐπαφαὶ μετὰ τῆς Ἀξώμης προωθήθησαν δι' ἐπισκέψεων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡγετῶν καὶ διακεκριμένων θεολόγων ἀπὸ ὅλα τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου εἰς τὴν Μητρόπολιν Ἀξώμης ὡς καὶ δι' ἐπισκέψεων τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης εἰς διαφόρους ἄλλας Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐπαρχίας ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον. Ὁ μακρὸς κατάλογος ἑξ ὀγδοήκοντα περίπου ὀνομάτων διακεκριμένων ἐπισκεπτῶν εἰς τὴν Μητρόπολιν τῆς Ἀξώμης κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1968-1978 παρουσιάζει ἀξιοθαύμαστον εἰκόνα[36]. Ὁ κατάλογος οὗτος περιλαμβάνει ἀρχηγοὺς Ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅπως ὁ Πάπας καὶ Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ πάσης Ἀφρικῆς Νικόλαος ΣΤ', ὁ ἀείμνηστος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου Μακάριος, ὁ τότε Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος Ἱερώνυμος, ὁ ἀείμνηστος Πατριάρχης Ρουμανίας Ἰουστινιανός, ὡς καὶ πολλοὺς διακεκριμένους Μητροπολίτας ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καὶ ἐκ τῶν περισσοτέρων ἐκ τῶν ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν, καθὼς ἐπίσης καθηγητὰς καὶ πολιτικοὺς διεθνῶς γνωστούς.

Ταυτοχρόνως ὁ Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης Μεθόδιος συμμετέσχε προσωπικῶς εἰς πολλὰς ἐπισήμους ἐπισκέψεις πρὸς Ὀρθοδόξους Ἐκκλησίας ἀνὰ τὴν ὑφήλιον συνοδεύων τὸν Πάπαν καὶ Πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρείας Νικόλαον. Οὕτω κατὰ τὸ

36. *ibid.*, pp. 170-174.

stantinople[37], the Church of England and the Church of Russia (including Moscow, Zagorsk, Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa)[38]. In 1970 he returned to Russia for the election of the present Patriarch of Moscow Poimen, and visited the Church of Scotland and the Church of England[39]. In 1971 he visited the Patriarchate of Rumania, in 1974 the Church of Armenia (in the Soviet Union) and in 1976 the Church of Bulgaria.

Apart from these official visits accompanying the Patriarch of Alexandria the Metropolitan of Aksum emerged as the main theological spokesman of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in many inter-church and inter- Orthodox theological dialogues and conferences. In 1970 (Geneva) he represented Alexandria at the Inter-Orthodox Committee Meeting for the theological dialogue with the Anglican Church and he did the same in 1971 (Helsinki), 1972 (Geneva), 1973 (Oxford), 1974 (New York), 1975 (London), 1976 (Moscow), 1977 (Cambridge) and 1978 (Penteli, Athens), 1979 (St. Albans, England).

In 1971 he participated, and indeed organized, the First Official Inter- Orthodox Conference for the Dialogue with the Ancient Oriental Churches which was held in Addis Ababa and undertook the duties of the Secretary to the above Conference. As a result of this, he was elected by the above Conference as one of the six- membered Committee (consisting of three Orthodox and three Orientals (which was given the mandate to work out the presuppositions for the official theological dialogue between the Orthodox and the Oriental Churches. It was our Metropolitan who helped to organize two meetings of the above Committee in 1973 (Athens) and in 1975 (Addis Ababa) and to assist more decisively than any other Orthodox prelate in the promotion of good spirit and understanding between Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian Orthodox Christians.

37. See *Δεκαετηρίς*, p. 79 and *Pantainos*, 1969, pp. 51-62.
38. *Δεκαετηρίς*, pp. 80-82.
39. *ibid.*, p. 82.

1969 ἐπεσκέφθη τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως[37], τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἀγγλίας καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ρωσίας (Μόσχαν, Ζαγκόρσκ, Λένινγκραντ, Κίεβον καὶ Ὀδησσόν)[38]. Κατὰ τὸ 1970 ἐπεσκέφθη ἐκ νέου τὴν Ρωσίαν διὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ νῦν Πατριάρχου Μόσχας Ποιμένος, καὶ ἐπίσης τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Σκωτίας καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἀγγλίας[39]. Κατὰ τὸ 1971 ἐπεσκέφθη τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον Ρουμανίας, κατὰ τὸ 1974 τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Ἀρμενίας (ἐν Σοβιετικῇ Ἑνώσει) καὶ κατὰ τὸ 1976 τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Βουλγαρίας.

Ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐπισήμων τούτων ἐπισκέψεων ὡς συνοδὸς τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὁ Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης ἀνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεολογικοῦ προσκηνίου ὡς ὁ κύριος θεολογικὸς ἐκπρόσωπος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν τοῖς πλαισίοις τῶν διεκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ πανορθοδόξων θεολογικῶν διαλόγων καὶ διασκέψεων. Κατὰ τὸ 1970 ἀντεπροσώπευσε τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὴν συνάντησιν τῆς διορθοδόξου ἐπιτροπῆς διὰ τὸν διάλογον μετὰ τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας (Γενεύη) καὶ τοῦτο ἔπραξε καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπακολουθήσαντα Ἀγγλικανο-Ορθόδοξα συνέδρια κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1971 (Ἑλσίνκι), 1972 (Γενεύη), 1973 (Ὀξφόρδη), 1974 (Νέα Ὑόρκη), 1975 (Λονδῖνον), 1976 (Μόσχα), 1977 (Καίημπριτζ), 1978 (Πεντέλη, Ἀθῆναι) καὶ 1979 (Ἅγ. Ἀλβανός, Ἀγγλία).

Κατὰ τὸ 1971 συμμετέσχεν εἰς τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὀργανωθεῖσαν πρώτην ἐπίσημον διορθόδοξον Συνάντησιν διὰ τὸν Διάλογον μετὰ τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἀντιχαλκηδονίων Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπᾳ καὶ ἐξετέλεσε χρέη Γραμματέως τῆς ἀνωτέρω ἐπισήμου Συναντήσεως. Ἀποτέλεσμα τούτου ἦτο νὰ ἐκλεγῇ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνωτέρω Συναντήσεως ὡς ἓν ἐκ τῶν ἓξ μελῶν τῆς μεικτῆς Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ Ἀντιχαλκηδονίου Ἐπιτροπῆς (τρεῖς Ὀρθόδοξοι καὶ τρεῖς Ἀντιχαλκηδόνιοι), ἥτις ἐξουσιοδοτήθη ὅπως διερευνήσῃ τὰς προϋποθέσεις διὰ τὸν ἐπίσημον θεολογικὸν Διάλογον μεταξὺ τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ τῶν Ἀντιχαλκηδονίων Ἐκκλησιῶν. Κατόπιν πρωτοβουλίας τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Μεθοδίου, ἐκτελοῦντος μάλιστα χρέη διοργανωτοῦ, ἐπραγματοποιήθησαν δύο συνεδρίαι τῆς ἀνωτέρω μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς, μία κατὰ τὸ 1973 εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μία κατὰ τὸ 1975 εἰς Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπα. Δύναται νὰ λεχθῇ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄλλος μεταξὺ τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Μητροπολιτῶν καὶ θε-

In 1971 Metropolitan Methodios took part in the Preparatory Committee Meeting for the summoning of the Great Synod of the Orthodox Church as the head of the delegation from the Patriarchate of Alexandria. The sub- commision to which he was attached, also including Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra (as President), Metropolitan Nicodim of Leningrad (+1978), Metropolitan Justin of Moldavia (now Patriarch of Rumania), Professor John Karmiris (Athens) and Professor N. Chivarov (of Bulgaria), dealt with the crucial topic of the "Sources of Revelation and the Notion of Economy". When the Statement of this sub-commission was attacked through a *Memorandum* by five Athens University Professors, Archbishop Methodios defended it decisively by means of an extensive and thorough study which has been upheld as a real mine of information on Orthodox canonical/ecclesiastical matters[40]. This work alone suffices to demonstrate Archbishop Methodios' theological/ecclesiastical sensitivity which enables him to read the Tradition not in defence of a formal legalistic and sterile/academic spirit of conservatism, but in defence of Its living, responsible/ patristic and ecclesiastical spirit of liberality which serves the soteriological demands and aims of the Church's holy faith.

In 1976 Archbishop Methodios again took part at the First Pro-synodal Pan-Orthodox Consultation as head of the delegation from the Patriarchate of Alexandria and was asked to introduce the topics of "autocaphaly" and "diaspora" which have a particular significance for contemporary

ολόγων προώθησε περισσότερον ἀπὸ τὸν Μητροπολίτην Μεθόδιον πνεῦμα κατανοήσεως καὶ καλῆς πίστεως μεταξὺ Χαλκηδονίων καὶ 'Αντιχαλκηδονίων 'Ορθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν.

Κατὰ τὸ 1971 ὁ Μητροπολίτης Μεθόδιος ἔλαβε μέρος εἰς τὴν συνάντησιν τῆς Προπαρασκευαστικῆς 'Επιτροπῆς διὰ τὴν σύγκλησιν τῆς Μεγάλης Συνόδου τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου 'Εκκλησίας ὡς ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ἀντιπροσωπείας τοῦ Πατριαρχείου 'Αλεξανδρείας. 'Η ὑποεπιτροπὴ εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἐκλήθη νὰ ὑπηρετήσῃ, συμπεριλαμβάνουσα τὸν Μητροπολίτην Μύρων Χρυσόστομον (ὡς Πρόεδρον), τὸν Μητροπολίτην Λένινγκραντ Νικόδημον († 1978), τὸν Μητροπολίτην Μολδαβίας 'Ιουστῖνον (νῦν Πατριάρχην Ρουμανίας), τὸν καθηγητὴν 'Ιωάννην Καρμίρην (τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου 'Αθηνῶν) καὶ τὸν καθηγητὴν Ν. Σιβάροφ (τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς 'Εκκλησίας), ἠσχολήθη περὶ τὸ κρίσιμον θέμα·«τῶν πηγῶν τῆς θείας ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ τοῦ θεσμοῦ τῆς οἰκονομίας». "Οταν τὸ *Κείμενον* τῆς ὑποεπιτροπῆς ταύτης ἐγένετο ἀντικείμενον αὐστηρᾶς κριτικῆς ὑπὸ πέντε καθηγητῶν θεολογίας τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου 'Αθηνῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι καὶ ἐξέδωκαν σχετικὸν «*'Υπόμνημα*», ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἀντιμετώπισεν ἀποφασιστικῶς τὸ ἐν λόγῳ 'Υπόμνημα μέσῳ μιᾶς ἐκτενοῦς καὶ περισπουδάστου μελέτης «*Περὶ Οἰκονομίας*», ἡ ὁποία ἔχει γίνει ἀποδεκτὴ ἀπὸ πολλοὺς θεολογικοὺς κύκλους ὡς πραγματικὸν ὀρυχεῖον ὀρθοδόξου διδαχῆς καὶ ἐνημερώσεως ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὰ κανονικοεκκλησιαστικὰ ζητήματα[40]. Καὶ μόνον τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου εἶναι ἀρκετὸν διὰ νὰ καταδείξῃ τὴν θεολογικὴν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν αὐτοῦ εὐαισθησίαν, ἡ ὁποία τοῦ παρέχει τὴν ἱκανότητα νὰ μελετᾷ τὴν Παράδοσιν οὐχὶ ἐπὶ ὑποστηρίξει ἑνὸς δικανικοῦ στείρου-ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ πνεύματος συντηρητισμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ προωθήσει τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς Παραδόσεως, ὅπερ τυγχάνει ζῶν, ὑπεύθυνον, πατερικὸν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖ τὰς σωτηριολογικὰς ἀξιώσεις καὶ προθέσεις τῆς ἁγιωτάτης πίστεως τῆς 'Εκκλησίας.

Κατὰ τὸ 1976 ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος καὶ πάλιν συμμετέσχεν εἰς τὴν Πρώτην Προσυνοδικὴν Πανορθόδοξον Διάσκεψιν ὡς ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ἀντιπροσωπείας τοῦ Πατριαρχείου 'Αλεξανδρείας καὶ τοῦ ἐζητήθη νὰ εἰσηγηθῇ τὰ θέματα «περὶ αὐτοκεφάλου» καὶ «περὶ διασπορᾶς», τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχουν ἰδιαιτέραν σημασίαν διὰ τὴν σύγχρονον 'Ορθοδοξί-

40. Cf. "On Ecclesiastical Economy", *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* vol. 57 (1975), pp. 65-79, 309, 553, vol. 58 (1976), pp. 5-24, or *Theological and Historical Studies*, vol. 4, Athens, 1983.

Orthodoxy[41]. His contribution must have been very well received, as we gather from the special telegram of the President of the Consultation and Representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, His Eminence Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon, to His Beatitude the Patriarch of Alexandria Nicholas VI. This telegram stated: "*.. We express our enthusiasm and warmest thanksgiving for the delegation of the Patriarchate of Alexandria sent to Chambesy, under the worthy leadership of the Most Reverend Metropolitan Methodios of Aksum, who is already offering valuable services to the proceedings of the Conference for the good of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Nation*" (Signed MELITON of Chalcedon)[42].

As if these activities were not enough, our energetic and untiring Archbishop did not fail in pursuing purely academic paths following up his earlier academic aspirations and plans. Thus in 1974 he participated in the meeting of the International Academy of Religious Sciences which was held in Fribourg, Switzerland. In 1975 he participated in the 7th Oxford International Patristic Conference producing an extremely interesting communication on Patriarch Dioscorus of Alexandria which revealed once more his positive and friently attitude towards the Oriental Churches, as well as his relentless spirit of searching after original sources and documents inasmuch as he brought to the fore through this communication documents that had been laid aside without proper evaluation and utilization. In 1978 he was elected Member of the International Academy of Religious Sciences and produced a paper for its annual conference held[42] at Norwich in England on the meaning of the Nicene *Homoousion.*

However, Arcbhishop Methodios' greatest academic achievement during his term of hierarchical office in Ethiopia and in the context of the Patriarchate of Alexandria was in the sphere of

.αν[41]. Ἡ συμβολή του ἐπὶ τῶν θεμάτων τούτων θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐγένετο ἀσμένως ἀποδεκτή, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ εἰδικὸν συγχαρητήριον τηλεγράφημα ἐστάλη ὑπὸ τοῦ Προέδρου τῆς Διασκέψεως καὶ ἀντιπροσώπου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Σεβ. Μητροπολίτου Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτωνος πρὸς τὴν Α.Μ. τὸν Πάπαν καὶ Πατριάρχην Ἀλεξανδρείας κ. Νικόλαον ΣΤ'. Τὸ ἐν λόγῳ τηλεγράφημα δηλοῖ τὰ ἑξῆς: «*Ἐκφράζομεν τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ τὰς θερμοτάτας εὐχαριστίας ἡμῶν διὰ τὴν ἀποσταλεῖσαν εἰς Chambesy ἀντιπροσωπείαν τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὑπὸ τὴν ἀξίαν ἡγεσίαν τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης κ. Μεθοδίου, προσφέροντος ἤδη πολυτίμους ὑπηρεσίας εἰς τὴν διεξαγωγὴν τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς Διασκέψεως, ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τοῦ Ἔθνους. Ὁ Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτων*» (ἐν Γενεύῃ, τῇ 5ῃ Δεκεμβρίου 1977)[42].

Ὡς ἐὰν μὴ ἦσαν ἀρκεταὶ αἱ ἀνωτέρω δραστηριότητες, ὁ ἐνεργητικὸς καὶ ἀκαταπόνητος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος συνέχισε τὰς καθαρῶς ἀκαδημαϊκὰς θεολογικὰς ἐρεύνας του συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς ἤδη διαμορφωθείσας προοπτικὰς καὶ ἐπιδιώξεις του. Οὕτω κατὰ τὸ 1974 συμμετέσχεν εἰς τὴν ἐν Φρίμπουργκ Ἑλβετίας συνεδρίασιν τῆς Διεθνοῦς Ἀκαδημίας Θρησκευτικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν. Κατὰ τὸ 1975 ἔλαβε μέρος εἰς τὸ Ζ' Διεθνὲς Πατερικὸν Συνέδριον Ὀξφόρδης συνεισφέρων μίαν ἄκρως ἐνδιαφέρουσαν ἀνακοίνωσιν περὶ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Διοσκόρου, ἡ ὁποία καὶ ἐφανέρωσε διὰ πολλοστὴν φορὰν τὴν θετικὴν καὶ φιλικὴν στάσιν του ἔναντι τῶν Ἀντιχαλκηδονίων Ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀδιάλλακτον αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐρεύνης τῶν πρωτοτύπων πηγῶν καὶ ἐγγράφων. Ἡ ἀνακοίνωσις αὕτη ἔφερεν εἰς φῶς κείμενα καὶ ἔγγραφα τὰ ὁποῖα εἶχον παραγκωνισθῆ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐρευνητῶν ἄνευ καταλλήλου ἢ ἐπαρκοῦς ἀξιολογήσεως καὶ χρήσεως. Κατὰ τὸ 1978 ἐξελέγη μέλος τῆς Διεθνοῦς Ἀκαδημίας τῶν Θρησκευτικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν καὶ συνεισέφερε μελέτην «*Περὶ τοῦ Ὁμοουσίου*», ἡ ὁποία ἀνεκοινώθη κατὰ τὴν ἐν Νόργουϊτς Ἀγγλίας συνεδρίασιν τῆς ἀνωτέρω Ἀκαδημίας κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος[43].

Ἡ μεγαλυτέρα ὅμως ἀκαδημαϊκὴ ἐπιτυχία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου κατὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ ἀρχιερατικὴν διακονίαν του καὶ ἐν τῷ πλαισίῳ τοῦ κλίματος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπῆρξε

41. See *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, vol. 61 (1979), pp. 645-653.
42. Cf. *Δεκαετηρίς*, P. 168.
43. See *Abba Salama*, vol. 10 (1979), pp. 5-17, also reprinted in *The Incarnation*, ed. by T.F. Torrance, the Handsel Press, Edinburgh, 1980.

publications. His record in this respect is most remarkable, so that one can safely claim, without running the risk of being charged with excessive eulogism, that he surpassed every other Orthodox prelate or theologian in promoting theological scholarship both ecclesiastically and internationally. He produced some nine major books (four of them original theological works and five of them comprising important ecclesiastical-historical documents) and fifty- five or so scholarly and ecclesiastical articles. He revived and edited eleven volumes of the well-known theological review *Ekklesiasticos Pharos* of the Patriarchate of Alexandria which run into several thousands of pages and which gave many scholars throughout the world the opportunity and the joy to see their labours in print for the wider benefit of theological scholarship. He also founded a new scholarly review, called *Abba Salama,* after St. Frumentios the Father of Peace and Illuminator who became the first Bishop of Ethiopia having been sent there by St. Athanasius, and edited ten volumes of this review with extremely valuable material. *Abba Salama* was in fact the organ of the Association of Ethio-Hellenic Studies which the Archbishop established in Addis Ababa for the promotion of scholarly ideals among the Greek and Ethiopian intellectuals. The *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* was awarded a Prize by the Academy of Athens and both this review and the *Abba Salama* were enthusiastically received in academic circles throughout the world. It would suffice to mention here an official comment made by Professor T.F. Torrance about these publications in 1976[44]:

*I should like to put on record the high esteem in which both these learned journals ("Ekklesiasticos Pharos"* and *"Abba Salama"* edited by Archbishop Methodios of Aksum) *are held in the Academic World of scholarship and in the International Academies of historical and religious science. Together they constitute one of the most significant contributions to research and discussion, linguistic, patristic, historical, and theological, emanating from the Middle East area, and in par-*

τὸ ἐκδοτικὸν ἔργον του. Ἡ ἐπίδοσίς του εἰς τὸν τομέα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐκπληκτική, ὥστε νὰ δύναται νὰ λεχθῇ, χωρὶς φόβον παρεξηγήσεως, ὅτι ὑπερέβη εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο πάντα ἄλλον Ὀρθόδοξον Ἀρχιερέα ἢ θεολόγον εἰς τὴν προώθησιν τῆς θεολογικῆς γραμματείας τόσον ἐκκλησιαστικῶς ὅσον καὶ διεθνῶς. Συνέγραψεν ὁ ἴδιος ἐννέα βιβλία (τέσσαρα ἐξ αὐτῶν, πρωτότυποι θεολογικαὶ πραγματεῖαι καὶ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα πέντε, συλλογαὶ σπουδαιοτάτων ἐκκλησιαστικο-ιστορικῶν ἐγγράφων) ὡς καὶ πεντήκοντα πέντε ἄρθρα ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ-ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ περιεχομένου. Ἐξέδωκεν ἕνδεκα τόμους τοῦ γνωστοῦ θεολογικοῦ περιοδικοῦ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας «*Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*», ἀπαριθμοῦντας ἀρκετὰς χιλιάδας σελίδων, παρέχων οὕτω τὴν εὐκαιρίαν εἰς πολλοὺς ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον μελετητὰς νὰ ἴδωσι τὸν ἀκαδημαϊκὸν αὐτῶν κόπον ἐκδεδομένον πρὸς εὐρυτέραν ὠφέλειαν τῆς θεολογικῆς ἐπιστήμης. Ἐπίσης ἵδρυσε καὶ ἐξέδωκε νέαν ἀκαδημαϊκὴν ἐπιθεώρησιν ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «*Abba Salama*» (= *Πατὴρ τῆς εἰρήνης*), δηλ. τὴν γνωστὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Φρουμεντίου, τοῦ Πατρὸς τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ Φωτιστοῦ, πρώτου Ἐπισκόπου τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, τὸν ὁποῖον ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος. Δέκα τόμοι τῆς ἐπιθεωρήσεως αὐτῆς ἐξεδόθησαν περιέχοντες ἀνεκτίμητον ὑλικόν. Τὸ περιοδικὸν «*Abba Salama*» ἦτο τὸ ὄργανον τοῦ Ὀργανισμοῦ Αἰθιοπικο-ελληνικῶν σπουδῶν, τὸν ὁποῖον ἵδρυσεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπᾳ διὰ τὴν προώθησιν τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν ἰδανικῶν τῶν ἑλλήνων καὶ αἰθιόπων διανοουμένων. Ὁ «*Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*» ἐβραβεύθη ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐγένετο, μετὰ τοῦ περιοδικοῦ «*Abba Salama*», ἐνθουσιωδῶς δεκτὸς εἰς διαφόρους ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς κύκλους ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον. Ἀρκεῖ νὰ μεταφερθῇ ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐπίσημον σχόλιον τοῦ καθηγητοῦ Θ.Φ. Τόρρανς περὶ τῶν ἐκδόσεων τούτων κατὰ τὸ 1976[44]: «*Θὰ ἐπεθύμουν νὰ σημειώσω τὴν μεγάλην ἐκτίμησιν τῆς ὁποίας ἀπολαμβάνουν ἀμφότερα τὰ περισπούδαστα περιοδικά,* "Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος" *καὶ "Abba Salama", εἰς τὸν κόσμον τῆς ἀκαδημαϊκῆς ἐρεύνης καὶ εἰς τὰς διεθνεῖς Ἀκαδημίας τῶν ἱστορικῶν καὶ θρησκευτικῶν ἐπιστημῶν. Ἀποτελοῦν ὁμοῦ μίαν ἐκ τῶν σημαντικωτέρων συμβολῶν εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν καὶ συζήτησιν γλωσσολογικῶν, πατριστικῶν, ἱστορικῶν καὶ θεολογικῶν ζητημάτων, προερχομένην ἐκ τῆς περιοχῆς τῆς Μέσης Ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως ἐκ τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκ-*

44. See the back-page of *Archbishop Methodios'* book on *The Person of Christ.* Addis Ababa (1976).

*ticular from the Orthodox Churches of Alexandria and Greece. In these troubled and difficult times, economic as well as social, to have two such journals published lifts the thought and standard of human thought and study high above the ordinary levels of national and international human life, marking in particular the most distinguished contributions of the ancient Catholic Church in the East to Western Christendom. I would urge all those concerned to do what they can to ensure the continuation of these publications, so brilliantly and carefully edited by Archbishop Methodios of Aksum, a scholar of international renown as well as an ecclesiastical Statesman of ecumenical acclaim all over the world; for these are publications of the highest importance not only for international scholarship but for their contribution to the cementing of inter-nation and inter-church friendship.* Edinburgh, 1976 (Thomas F. Torrance, Professor of Christian Dogmatics, University of Edinburgh, Moderator of the Church of Scotland).

The Archbishop's most notable books belonging to this period include his, *From the Diary and Epistles of Patriarch Meletios Metaxakis* (1971), *The Origins and Development of the Christian Priesthood* (1971), *Constantinople - Addis Ababa* (1972), *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism* (1972), *The Work of the Inter - Orthodox Theological Committee for the Dialogue with the Ancient Oriental Churches* (1975), *Contribution to the History of the Sacred Metropolis of Aksum* (1976), *On Ecclesiastical Economy* (1976), *The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Councils* (1976), *Epistles of Meletios Pegas published from the Ms No 296 of the Patriarchal Library of Alexandria* (1976) and finally his *Papers referring to the Theological Dialogue between the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches* (1976).

Such a remarkable record of publications and ecclesiastical achievement, added on to an already existing one, could not but earn for our Archbishop special honours. In May 1970 the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Edinburgh bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity

*κλησιῶν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Κατὰ τὴν ταραχώδη καὶ δύσκολον ταύτην ἐποχήν, οἰκονομικῶς καὶ κοινωνικῶς, ἡ ἔκδοσις δύο τοιούτων περιοδικῶν ἀναπτεροῖ τὴν σκέψιν καὶ ἀναβιβάζει τὸ ἐπίπεδον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης διανοήσεως καὶ μελέτης πέραν τῶν συνηθισμένων ἐπιπέδων τῆς ἐθνικῆς καὶ διεθνοῦς ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς, ὑπογραμμίζουσα κατὰ τρόπον ἰδιαίτερον τὰς σημαντικωτέρας συμβολὰς τῆς ἀρχαίας κατ' ἀνατολὰς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν Δυτικὸν Χριστιανισμόν. Θὰ ἤθελον νὰ παροτρύνω πάντας τοὺς ἐνδιαφερομένους νὰ πράξωσι πᾶν τὸ δυνατὸν ὥστε νὰ συνεχισθῇ ἡ ἐκδοτικὴ αὕτη προσπάθεια ὑπὸ τὴν λαμπρὰν καὶ ἐπιτυχῆ καθοδήγησιν τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης Μεθοδίου, μελετητοῦ διεθνοῦς κλάσεως καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἡγέτου οἰκουμενικῆς φήμης ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον· καὶ τοῦτο διότι αἱ ἐκδόσεις αὗται εἶναι ὑψίστης σημασίας οὐχὶ μόνον διὰ τὴν διεθνῆ ἐπιστημονικὴν ἔρευναν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συμβολὴν των εἰς τὴν ἐμπέδωσιν τῆς φιλίας μεταξὺ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν»*, Ἐδιμβοῦργον 1976 (Θωμᾶς Φ. Τόρρανς, καθηγητὴς Χριστιανικῆς Δογματικῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου καὶ Πρόεδρος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σκωτίας).

Τὰ σημαντικώτερα βιβλία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἐκ τῆς περιόδου αὐτῆς εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς: *Ἀπὸ τὸ ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Πατριάρχου Μελετίου Μεταξάκη, Ἐπιστολαί* (1971), *Γένεσις καὶ Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἱερωσύνης* (1972), *Κωνσταντινούπολις - Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπα* (1972), *Ὀρθοδοξία, Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμός, Ἀγγλικανισμὸς* (1972), *Τὸ ἔργον τῆς Διορθοδόξου Θεολογικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς διὰ τὸν Διάλογον μετὰ τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἀνατολικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν* (1975), *Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης* (1976), *Περὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν Οἰκονομίαν* (1976), *Τὸ Πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων* (1976), *Αἱ Ἐπιστολαὶ Μελετίου τοῦ Πηγᾶ ἐκδιδόμεναι ἐκ τοῦ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 296 χειρογράφου τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀλεξανδρείας* (1976), καί, τέλος, τὸ *Κείμενα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον μεταξὺ τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἀνατολικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν* (1976).

Ἡ ἐκπληκτικὴ αὕτη εἰκὼν δημοσιευμάτων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δραστηριοτήτων, προστεθεῖσα εἰς τὴν ἤδη ὑπάρχουσαν, δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν παρὰ νὰ ἀποφέρῃ ἰδιαιτέρας τιμὰς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου. Οὕτω κατὰ τὸν Μάιον τοῦ 1970 ἡ Θεολογικὴ Σχολὴ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου τοῦ ἀπένειμε τὸν τίτλον τοῦ ἐπιτίμου

(D.D. Honoris causa) and he was twice asked to be a candidate for membership of the Academy of Athens, though he was not successful. It would be appropriate to recall here for the record some of the statements which were made about Archbishop Methodios' work on the above occasions. The Edinburgh Laureation Address on the conferring of the D.D. on him reads as follows[45]:

*"When in 1968 Archbishop Methodios was elected to the historic See of Aksum, the evidence seemed to suggest that yet another academic had been drawn into the administrative machine and that the world of scholarship was being deprived of one of its most enterprising and engaging minds. And the evidence for that analysis of the election of Dr. Fouyas to the See of Aksum seemed to be very convincing. Born in 1925, he took his first theological degree at the University of Athens. Thereafter, with an apparently insatiable thirst for knowledge and the opportunity to endeavour to satisfy it, he attended two further Universities, Munich and Manchester. In the latter University, under the supervision of a very distinguished scholar, the late Dr. Arnold Ehrhardt, a former Gunning Lecturer of this University, he studied for and gained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The material prepared in this connetion, dealing with the increasingly important question of the relations of Orthodox theology to Western thought and theology, and evincing a very creditable mastery of systems of theology foreign to his sympathies and previous training, is shortly to be published by the Oxford University Press. His earlier works include a lengthy history of the Corinthian Church from its beginnings up to the present time; three volumes on the subject* Kanonika kai Poimantika Parerga; *and* Incidents from the History of the Church of Alexandria. *He has also turned his hand to the exacting work of theological journalism, editing two journals "Abba Salama", the review of the Association of Ethiopic – Hellenic Studies and "Ekklesiastikos Pharos", a Journal of Alexandrian Theology.*

Διδάκτορος Θεολογίας, ἐνῷ ἔθεσεν ὑποψηφιότητα εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, χωρὶς ὅμως νὰ ἐκλεγῇ. Θὰ ἦτο ἐνδεδειγμένον νὰ ἀναφερθοῦν εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο μερικαὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰσηγήσεων αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς ἀνωτέρω περιστάσεις σχετικῶς πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Ἡ Λαυρεάτιος Δήλωσις τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου κατὰ τὴν ἀπονομὴν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ διδακτορικοῦ τίτλου ἀναφέρει τὰ ἑξῆς[45]:

*«Ὅτε κατὰ τὸ 1968 ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐξελέγη διὰ τὴν ἱστορικὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς Ἀξώμης ἐνομίσθη ὅτι εἷς ἐπὶ πλέον ἀκαδημαϊκὸς εἶχε προσαρτηθῇ εἰς τὸν διοικητικὸν μηχανισμὸν καὶ ὅτι ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἐπιστήμης θὰ ἀπεστερεῖτο ἑνὸς ἐκ τῶν πλέον ἐνεργητικῶν καὶ δραστηρίων διανοητῶν του. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο λίαν πειστικὸν δι' ὅσους ἐγνώριζον τὸν Δρα Μεθόδιον Φούγιαν. Γεννηθεὶς κατὰ τὸ 1925 καὶ λαβὼν τὴν πρώτην θεολογικήν του παιδείαν εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν, συνέχισε περαιτέρω σπουδάς, λόγῳ τῆς ἀκορέστου δίψης του πρὸς μάθησιν, εἰς τὰ Πανεπιστήμια τοῦ Μονάχου καὶ τοῦ Μάντσεστερ. Εἰς τὸ Μάντσεστερ ἐσπούδασεν ὑπὸ τὸν λίαν διακεκριμένον ἐπιστήμονα θεολόγον Ἄρνολντ Ἔρχαρντ, πρῴην καθηγητὴν εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦτο (τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου) καὶ ἐπέτυχε τὴν ἀπονομὴν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ πτυχίου τοῦ Διδάκτορος Φιλοσοφίας. Τὸ ὑλικὸν τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπεξειργάσθη εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν αὐτήν, ἀναφερόμενον εἰς τὴν σχέσιν ὀρθοδόξου θεολογίας καὶ δυτικῆς σκέψεως καὶ ἀποκαλύπτον τὴν ἱκανότητά του περὶ τὴν συστηματικὴν θεολογίαν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ξένην πρὸς τὴν διδαχθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν γενέτειράν του, πρόκειται νὰ ἐκδοθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Ὀξφόρδης. Τὰ προηγούμενα ἔργα του περιλαμβάνουν τὴν διεξοδικὴν "Ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδρύσεώς της μέχρι σήμερον", τοὺς τόμους «Κανονικὰ καὶ Ποιμαντικὰ Πάρεργα» καὶ "Τὰς Σελίδας ἐκ τῆς Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας". Ἐκτὸς τούτων ἐστράφη καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔκδοσιν θεολογικῶν περιοδικῶν, ὅπως τὸ "Abba Salama", ὄργανον τῆς Ἑταιρείας Αἰθιοπικοελληνικῶν Σπουδῶν, καὶ τὸ "Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος" τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας.*

45. See *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, vol. 52 (1970) p. 190.

*If, however, we look more closely at the life and work of this academic, we find, as in so many, an administrator trying to get out. He has acted as the administrator of the Orthodox Churches in Germany, and there has become aware of some of the problems which confront a Church with an Eastern tradition when it has to deal with a Western culture and society. It is part of the genius of the Church which he represents that it should be sufficiently flexible and creative to adapt to the variety of environment in which it finds itself; and part of the genius of its administrator that he can create the form for such adaptation. His administrative bent took him finally in the direction of his present See, to be Secretary in Chief of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and Secretary of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. Now Archbishop of Aksum and representative of the Church of Alexandria to the Ethiopian Church, he has added to the dual interests which have motivated his career heretofore; the further responsibility of the cure of souls, the oversight of politically sensitive people and the guardianship of true doctrine. The Senate has resolved, therefore, to invite one scholar and administrator to honour another, in its name, with the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity".*

On the candidature of Archbishop Methodios for the Athens Academy Professor Karmiris having first enumerated his academic achievements and listed the entire array of his publications added special worls of praise and recognition: *"All the above"*, he said, *"makes it obvious that the Most Reverend Metropolitan Methodios Fouyas of Aksum, distinguished for his excelling ecclesiastical zeal for unity among the Christians and especially between the Orthodox and the anti-Chalcedonians, or the Orthodox and the Anglicans, for his untiring activity on the ecclesiastical and scholarly plane, for his fruitful engagement in the publication of historical texts and periodicals and other writings, has developed in a relatively short time such a productive literary and ecclesiastical activity, which is still in the*

*»Ἐὰν παρατηρήσωμεν προσεκτικῶς τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ τούτου προσώπου, θὰ διαπιστώσωμεν ὅτι, ὅπως καὶ εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν πολλῶν ἄλλων, πρόκειται περὶ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ὁποῖος προσπαθεῖ νὰ ἀποφύγῃ τὴν ἀποκλειστικὴν προσήλωσιν εἰς τὰ διοικητικὰ θέματα. Ὑπηρέτησεν εἰς τὰ διοικητικὰ εἰς τὴν Γερμανίαν, ὅπου διακονῶν τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν ἐξωκειώθη μὲ τὰ προβλήματα τὰ ὁποῖα ἀντιμετωπίζει μία ἀνατολικὴ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία ὅταν ἔρχεται εἰς ἐπικοινωνίαν μὲ τὴν δυτικὴν πολιτιστικὴν νοοτροπίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν. Εἶναι ὅμως χαρακτηριστικὸν γνώρισμα τῆς ἰδιοφυΐας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀντιπροσωπεύει, ὅτι διαθέτει ἱκανὴν εὐλυγισίαν καὶ ἐφευρετικότητα, ὥστε νὰ προσαρμόζηται εἰς τὴν ποικιλίαν τοῦ πλαισίου ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποίου εὑρίσκεται, καὶ τῆς ἰδιοφυΐας τοῦ ἡγέτου της, ὅτι διαθέτει τὴν ἱκανότητα νὰ δημιουργῇ τὸν τύπον τῆς προσαρμογῆς αὐτῆς. Ἡ ἡγετικὴ ἱκανότης του τὸν ὡδήγησε τελικῶς εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐπισκοπικὴν θέσιν, ἀφοῦ πρωτίστως ὑπηρέτησεν ὡς Ἀρχιγραμματεὺς τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ὡς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀξώμης καὶ ἀντιπρόσωπος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἔχει ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπεκτείνει τὰ ἐνδιαφέροντά του, τὰ ὁποῖα διαπνέουν τὴν ὅλην σταδιοδρομίαν του, εἰς τὴν διαποίμανσιν τῶν ψυχῶν, εἰς τὴν καθοδήγησιν ἑνὸς λαοῦ ζωτικῆς πολιτικῆς προοπτικῆς καὶ εἰς τὴν διαφύλαξιν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου δογματικῆς διδασκαλίας. Κατὰ συνέπειαν ἀπεφασίσθη ὑπὸ τῆς Συγκλήτου ὅπως τιμηθῇ καὶ ὡς ἐπιστήμων καὶ ὡς ἡγέτης διὰ τοῦ τιμητικοῦ τίτλου τοῦ Διδάκτορος τῆς Θεολογίας».*

Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν ὑποψηφιότητα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν Ἀθηνῶν, ὁ καθηγητὴς Ἰωάννης Καρμίρης, ἀφοῦ πρωτίστως ἀπηρίθμησε τὰς ἀκαδημαϊκὰς ἐπιτυχίας του καὶ τὸν μακροσκελῆ κατάλογον τῶν ἐκδόσεών του, προσέθεσε τοὺς ἑξῆς λόγους ἀποτιμήσεως καὶ ἀναγνωρίσεως: «*Ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρω δῆλον, ὅτι ὁ Σεβ. Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης κ. Μεθόδιος Φούγιας, διακρινόμενος διὰ τὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φιλενωτικὸν ζῆλον του, ἰδίως μετὰ τῶν Ἀντιχαλκηδονίων Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὴν ἀκαταπόνητον δραστηριότητά του ἐπί τε τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ καὶ τοῦ συγγραφικοῦ πεδίου, τὴν γόνιμον ἐνασχόλησίν του περὶ τὴν ἔκδοσιν ἱστορικῶν ἰδίως κειμένων καὶ περιοδικῶν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλων συγγραφῶν – χρῃζουσῶν ὅμως μείζονος ἐπεξεργασίας καὶ συμπληρώσεως – ἀνέπτυξεν ἐντὸς βραχέος σχετικῶς χρονικοῦ διαστήματος γόνιμον συγγραφικὴν καὶ ἐκ-*

*stage of full play and development, that he could apply for a place in the Academy".* Professor Karmiris placed him third in the order of candidature, but the General Secretary of the Academy, the distinguished Professor of Philosophy John Theodorakopoulos, placed Archbishop Methodios first, above the other two cardidates, *"on the grounds of his work and international acclaim"*, as he put it. Seen in retrospect, the Archbishop's failure to secure a place in the Athens Academy was providential, because had he achieved it then, he might not have gone on to higher services to the Church and to the wider academic community, for he would, most likely, have been tied to Athens. It is obvious that he was destined to move to higher places and continue with ever increasing vigour his inspiring and constructive work.

**9. Second Hierarchical charge as Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain.**

On 9 September 1979 Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis) of Thyateira and Great Britain departed for his eternal abode and, two months later, Archbishop Methodios was summoned by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople to succeed him. Archbishop Methodios came to London on the 29th of October 1979 and his enthronement took place at the church of St. Sophia in London on 4 November 1979. On his arrival he was greeted at the airport by the Diplomatic and Community leadership of the Greeks in Gt Britain, among whom were included the Ambassador of Greece Mr Eustathios Lagakos, the High-Commissioner of Cyprus Mr Tasos Panagides and the high officials of the Embassy and the High-Commission as well as many of the clergy of the Archdiocese. Then he was taken to the headquarters of the Archdiocese where the people had the opportunity to express their feelings of joy and enthusiasm at the arrival of their new leader.

The Archbishop's enthronement was attended not only by a great crowd of his own people, but

*κλησιαστικὴν δραστηριότητα, εὑρισκομένην εἰσέτι ἐν πλήρει ἐξελίξει ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῆς ὁποίας ἔκρινεν ὅτι θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ κρούσῃ τὰς πύλας τῆς Ἀκαδημίας».* Ὁ καθηγητὴς Καρμίρης κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν τρίτην θέσιν τὴν ὑποψηφιότητα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ἐνῷ ἀντιθέτως ὁ Γενικὸς Γραμματεὺς τῆς Ἀκαδημίας, ὁ διακεκριμένος καθηγητὴς τῆς Φιλοσοφίας Ἰωάννης Θεοδωρακόπουλος, κατέταξεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πρώτην θέσιν ἔναντι τῶν δύο ἄλλων ὑποψηφίων, καθ' ὅσον, ὅπως ἐτόνισεν, *«Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης καὶ ἡ διεθνὴς αὐτοῦ ἀναγνώρισις τοποθετεῖ αὐτὸν ὑπεράνω καὶ τῶν δύο ὑποψηφίων ὁμοτίμων καθηγητῶν καὶ μὲ ἀναγκάζει* (προσθέτει) *νὰ φέρω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν»* (Ἐν Ἀθήναις τῇ 25ῃ Νοεμβρίου 1977). Θεωρουμένη ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων ἡ ἀποτυχία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ ἕδραν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν Ἀθηνῶν δύναται νὰ χαρακτηρισθῇ ὡς ἔργον τῆς θείας προνοίας, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ τυχὸν ἐπιτυχία του θὰ ἔδενεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Ὡς εἶναι ὅμως προφανὲς ὁ Θεὸς προώριζεν αὐτὸν δι' ἀνωτέρους ρόλους καὶ δι' ἐπηυξημένην ἐνεργητικότητα μεγαλοπνόου καὶ ἐποικοδομητικοῦ ἔργου.

**9. Δευτέρα ἀρχιερατικὴ διακονία εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας.**

Κατὰ τὴν 9ην Σεπτεμβρίου τοῦ 1979 ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγ. Βρεταννίας Ἀθηναγόρας Β' (Κοκκινάκης) μετέστη εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους μονάς, καὶ δύο μῆνας ἀργότερον ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐκλήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νὰ τὸν διαδεχθῇ. Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἀφίχθη εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον τὴν 20ὴν Ὀκτωβρίου 1979 καὶ ἡ ἐνθρόνισίς του ἔλαβε χώραν ἐν τῷ καθεδρικῷ ἱερῷ Ναῷ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας τοῦ Λονδίνου κατὰ τὴν 4ην Νοεμβρίου τοῦ 1979. Κατὰ τὴν ἄφιξίν του τὸν ὑπεδέχθη εἰς τὸ ἀεροδρόμιον ἡ διπλωματικὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ ἡγεσία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Μεγ. Βρεταννίᾳ, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων συγκατελέγοντο ὁ Πρέσβυς τῆς Ἑλλάδος Εὐστάθιος Λαγᾶκος, ὁ Ὕπατος Ἀρμοστὴς τῆς Κύπρου Τάσος Παναγίδης καὶ ἄλλοι ὑψηλοὶ ἐπίσημοι τῆς Πρεσβείας καὶ τῆς Ἀρμοστίας ὡς καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Ἀκολούθως ὡδηγήθη εἰς τὰ κεντρικὰ γραφεῖα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, ὅπου ὁ λαὸς εἶχε τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ἐκφράσῃ τὰ αἰσθήματα χαρᾶς καὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλεύσει τοῦ νέου ἡγέτου του.

Εἰς τὴν ἐνθρόνισιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου προσῆλ-

also by many distinguished visitors from the British Society[46]. The Archbishop of Canterbury, His Grace Dr Donald Coggan, was represented by his successor- elect Dr Robert Runcie. The Roman Catholic Church was represented by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster Basil Hume and by the Papal Legate to Britain. Apart from the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics all the Protestant Churches of Great Britain were represented on that occasion including the British Government. Before the actual enthronement ceremony Archbishop Methodios celebrated the Divine Liturgy. He then stood on the Archiepiscopal Throne of the Church of St. Sophia having Dr Runcie on his right hand- side and cardinal Hume on his left, while a multitude of people and clergy were gathered around him. After the appointed troparia and the traditional prayers and acclamations the Patriarchal Letter of Appointment was read first and then messages were delivered by Metropolitan Meletios of France on behalf of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios and the Patriarchal Synod – who had been sent to London to enthrone the new Archbishop – and by Bishop Gregory of Tropaion on behalf of the clergy and the people of the Archdiocese. The visiting Hierarchs from the Anglican and the Latin Churches also expressed the wish to address words of welcome to His Eminence and having done so they were strongly applauded by the people. Then followed the reception in the Crypt of the Cathedral and both the visitors and the people of the Archdiocese had the opportunity to meet and speak with the new Archbishop personally. It was a bright occasion full of Orthodox byzantine splendour which aroused feelings of Christian hope and optimism, especially on account of the powerful and deeply moving words of the new leader. It is appropriate to record here some of these words, as well as the words of the Patriarchal Letter and of Metropolitan Meletios in order to re-capture here something of the power and spirit of that occasion.

θον οὐχὶ μόνον πλήθη λαοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ διακεκριμένοι ἐπισκέπται ἐκ τῆς Βρεταννικῆς κοινωνίας[46]. Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καντουαρίας Δρ. Ντόναλντ Κόγγαν ἀντεπροσωπεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκλεγέντος διαδόχου του Δρος Ροβέρτου Ράνσυ. Ἡ Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία ἀντεπροσωπεύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τοῦ Γουεστμίνστερ καρδιναλίου Βασιλείου Χιοὺμ καὶ τοῦ Παπικοῦ Λεγάτου ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ. Ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἀγγλικανῶν καὶ τῶν Ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν ὅλαι αἱ Προτεσταντικαὶ Ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Μεγ. Βρεταννίας ἀντεπροσωπεύθησαν ἐν τῇ περιστάσει ταύτῃ· ἐπίσης ἀντεπροσωπεύθη καὶ ἡ Βρεταννικὴ Κυβέρνησις. Πρὸ τῆς ἐνθρονίσεως ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐτέλεσε τὴν θείαν Λειτουργίαν. Ἅμα τῇ λήξει αὐτῆς προσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸν Θρόνον τῆς Ἁγ. Σοφίας ἔχων ἐκ δεξιῶν του τὸν Δρα Ράνσυ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων του τὸν καρδινάλιον Χιούμ, ἐνῷ κλῆρος καὶ λαὸς εὑρίσκοντο συγκεντρωμένοι πέριξ αὐτοῦ. Μετὰ τὰς καθιερωμένας παραδοσιακὰς εὐχὰς καὶ ἐκφωνήσεις ἀνεγνώσθη ἡ Πατριαρχικὴ καὶ Συνοδικὴ Ἐγκύκλιος καὶ προσεφώνησαν τὸν ἐνθρονιζόμενον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ὁ Μητροπολίτης Γαλλίας Μελέτιος ἐκ μέρους τῆς Α.Θ.Π. τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου – ὅστις εἶχεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σταλῇ εἰς Λονδῖνον – καὶ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Τροπαίου Γρηγόριος, τοποτηρητὴς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, ἐκ μέρους τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς. Οἱ ἐπισκέπται Ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσης ἐξέφρασαν ἐπιθυμίαν ὅπως ἀπευθύνουν χαιρετιστηρίους λόγους πρὸς τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον, καὶ τούτου γενομένου ἐπεδοκιμάσθησαν διὰ χειροκροτημάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ παραστάντος λαοῦ. Ἐπηκολούθησε δεξίωσις εἰς τὴν κρύπτην τοῦ καθεδρικοῦ Ναοῦ, ὁπότε ἐπισκέπται καὶ λαὸς εἶχον τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ συναντήσουν καὶ νὰ ὁμιλήσουν μετὰ τοῦ νέου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου προσωπικῶς. Ἦτο περίπτωσις λαμπρά, πλήρης ὀρθοδόξου βυζαντινῆς δόξης, διεγείρουσα αἰσθήματα χριστιανικῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ αἰσιοδοξίας, ἰδίως ἐξ αἰτίας τῶν λόγων τοῦ νέου ἡγέτου, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἀντήχησαν μετὰ δυνάμεως, πειθοῦς καὶ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ. Ἐνδείκνυται, ὁπωσδήποτε, νὰ σημειωθοῦν εἰς τὸ σημεῖον αὐτὸ μερικοὶ τοὐλάχιστον ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ μερικοὶ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Μελετίου καὶ τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἐπιστολῆς, ὥστε νὰ μεταφερθῇ, οὕτως εἰπεῖν, ἐνταῦθα ἡ δύναμις καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς περιστάσεως ἐκείνης.

46. See the relevant report in the *Orthodox Herald*, New Series, No 1 (1980), pp. 8f.

The Patriarchal and Synodical Letter announcing the election of Metropolitan Methodios to the Archiepiscopal See of Thyateira and Great Britain reads as follows:

"(No. 654) *Right Reverend Bishops, Very Reverend and Reverend priests and hieromonks, honourable parish committee members, blessed Christians of the most holy Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, our beloved sons in the Lord, Grace to you and peace from God and prayer blessing and forgiveness from us.*

*Let it be known to all of you, that, since the life of your Hierarch has reached its end he has been transferred to his eternal abode, our Humility together with the Holy and Sacred Synod which is summoned by us, came to arrange, according to our worthy duty, for the election and reestablishment of an appropriate and worthy successor to him. Therefore, having cast canonical votes at our all- sacred Patriarchal Church of the holy and glorious Great–Martyr George the trophy –bearer, in accordance with our patriarchal advice and permission, the Holy and Sacred Synod summoned around us, and by the invocation of the All–holy Spirit, the leader of our celebrations, having cast votes for the election and presentation of the most worthy person, out of three proposed candidates, who would undertake the hierarchical protection and pastoral staff of your Province, the Most Reverend Metropolitan Methodios (previously of Aksum), a man of good moral stature and high spiritual standing, who is well trained in divine matters, adorned with education both ecclesiastical and secular, endowed with prudence and ability and having no mean experience of ecclesiastical matters and affairs on account of his long, approved and honoured ministry in the Church, emerged as the genuine and canonical Archbishop of the most holy Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain.*

*Hence, communicating also by means of our present Patriarchal and Synodical Letter this result to you all who are in the Province of Thyateira and Great Britain, our beloved and blessed Christians, we pray and bless paternally and command and order ecclesiastically, that you*

Ἡ Πατριαρχικὴ καὶ Συνοδικὴ Ἐπιστολὴ ἀνακοινοῦσα τὰ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Μεθοδίου εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸν Θρόνον Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγ. Βρεταννίας ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς:

*«Ἀριθ. Πρωτ. 654.*

*»Θεοφιλέστατοι Ἐπίσκοποι, εὐλαβέστατοι ἱερεῖς, ὁσιώτατοι ἱερομόναχοι, τιμιώτατοι ἐφοροεπίτροποι, πρόκριτοι καὶ λοιποὶ εὐλογημένοι χριστιανοὶ τῆς Ἁγιωτάτης Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, τέκνα ἡμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητά, χάρις εἴη ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ, παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ εὐχή, εὐλογία καὶ συγχώρησις.*

*»Ἔστω γνωστὸν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ὅτι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὑμῶν τὸ ζῆν ἐκμετρήσαντος καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους Μονὰς μεταστάντος, ἡ Μετριότης ἡμῶν μετὰ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς Ἁγίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου προήχθημεν λαβεῖν, κατ' ὀφειλὴν ἀξιόχρεων, πρόνοιαν περὶ ἐκλογῆς καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως καταλλήλου καὶ ἀξίου διαδόχου ἐκείνου.*

*»Ψήφων τοίνυν κανονικῶν γενομένων ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς πανσέπτῳ Πατριαρχικῷ Ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου Μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου τοῦ Τροπαιοφόρου, ἡμετέρᾳ Πατριαρχικῇ προτροπῇ καὶ ἀδείᾳ, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ ἡμᾶς Ἁγίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου, τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ Παναγίου καὶ Τελεταρχικοῦ Πνεύματος, εἰς ἐκλογὴν καὶ ἀνάδειξιν τοῦ ἀξίου ἐκ τῶν τεθέντων τριῶν ὑποψηφίων προσώπου, πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς προστασίας καὶ ποιμαντικῆς ῥάβδου τῆς Ἐπαρχίας ὑμῶν, προεκρίθη τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐξελέγη ὁ Ἱερώτατος Μητροπολίτης πρώην Ἀξώμης κ. Μεθόδιος, ἀνὴρ κόσμιος καὶ ἱεροπρεπής, τὰ θεῖα καλῶς ἐξησκημένος, παιδείᾳ κεκοσμημένος, ἐκκλησιαστικῇ τε καὶ τῇ θύραθεν, φρονήσει καὶ ἱκανότητι συγκεκροτημένος καὶ πεῖραν οὐ μικρὰν ἔχων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑποθέσεων ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς, δοκίμου καὶ τετιμημένης ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ διακονίας αὐτοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἀνεδείχθη γνήσιος καὶ κανονικὸς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς Ἁγιωτάτης Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας.*

*»Ὅθεν καὶ διὰ τοῦ παρόντος Πατριαρχικοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ Συνοδικοῦ Γράμματος κοινοποιοῦντες τοῦτο πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐπαρχίᾳ Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας ἀγαπητοῖς ἡμῖν καὶ εὐλογημένοις χριστιανοῖς, εὐχόμεθα καὶ εὐλογοῦμεν πατρικῶς καὶ ἐντελλόμεθα καὶ παραγγέλλομεν ἐκκλησιαστικῶς ὅ-*

*should from now on recognize the above mentioned Most Reverend Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain and Exarch of Western Europe, METHODIOS, beloved to us Brother in Christ and co-celebrant, as your genuine, legal and canonical hierarch and leader of the Province and evangelical pastor of the reason – endowed flock belonging to It and spiritual father of all of you, and that those of the priestly order should mention his canonical name, as it pertains legally to all the sacred celebrations and acolouthies, all of you being persuaded by and being obedient to his hierarchical admonitions and suggestions as relating to your souls' benefit and to the keeping of the paternal dogmas and traditions.*

*Consequently, bestowing on all of you our Patriarchal and Paternal blessing, we wish you and your families to have always the gifts of the Giver of every good gift, our Lord Jesus Christ, whose grace and infinite mercy may be with you all". (In the year of salvation 1979, October the 15th).*

† The Patriarch of Constantinople DEMETRIOS,
† The Metropolitan of Chalcedon Meliton,
† The Metropolitan of Chaldia Cyrillos,
† The Metropolitan of Sardis Maximos,
† The Metropolitan of Rodopolis Jerome,
† The Metropolitan of Imvros & Tenedos Photios,
† The Metropolitan of Stavroupolis Maximos,
† The Metropolitan of Myra Chrysostomos,
† The Metropolitan of Eirenoupolis Symeon,
† The Mteropolitan of Kolonia Gabriel.
† The Metropolitan of Pringiponessa Kallinikos,
† The Metropolitan of Derki Constantinos,
† The Metropolitan of Philadelphia Bartholomaios.

Metropolitan Meletios of France conveyed greetings and congradulations from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and, before asking the people to acknowledge the new Archbishop by the acclamation AXIOS – something that actually occurred in a frenzy of enthusiasm – praised the new Ar-

*πως τὸν διαληφθέντα Ἱερώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας καὶ ἔξαρχον Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀγαπητὸν ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφὸν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν κ. Μεθόδιον, γινώσκητε ἀπὸ τοῦδε γνήσιον, νόμιμον καὶ κανονικὸν ἀρχιερέα ὑμῶν καὶ κυριάρχην τῆς Ἐπαρχίας καὶ εὐαγγελικὸν ποιμένα τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ λογικοῦ ποιμνίου καὶ πατέρα πνευματικὸν ἁπάντων ὑμῶν καὶ μνημονεύητε οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλόγου τοῦ κανονικοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς νενόμισται ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἱεραῖς τελεταῖς καὶ ἀκολουθίαις, πειθόμενοι οἱ πάντες καὶ ὑποτασσόμενοι ταῖς ἀρχιερατικαῖς αὐτοῦ ὑποθήκαις καὶ συμβουλαῖς, ὡς ἀφορώσαις εἰς τὴν ψυχικὴν ὑμῶν ὠφέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν πατρώων δογμάτων καὶ παραδόσεων.*

*»Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἀπονέμοντες πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τὴν Πατριαρχικὴν καὶ πατρικὴν ἡμῶν εὐλογίαν, εὐχόμεθα ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις ὑμῶν πλούσια πάντοτε τὰ δωρήματα τοῦ Δοτῆρος παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, Οὗ ἡ χάρις καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον ἔλεος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.*

*»Ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ 1979 κατὰ μῆνα Ὀκτώβριον (ιε').*

†Ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ἀποφαίνεται
†Ὁ Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτων
†Ὁ Χαλδίας Κύριλλος
†Ὁ Σάρδεων Μάξιμος
†Ὁ Ροδοπόλεως Ἱερώνυμος
†Ὁ Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου Φώτιος
†Ὁ Σταυρουπόλεως Μάξιμος
†Ὁ Μύρων Χρυσόστομος
†Ὁ Εἰρηνουπόλεως Συμεὼν
†Ὁ Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ
†Ὁ Πριγκηποννήσων Καλλίνικος
†Ὁ Δέρκων Κωνσταντῖνος
†Ὁ Φιλαδελφείας Βαρθολομαῖος».

Ὁ Μητροπολίτης Γαλλίας Μελέτιος μετέφερε τοὺς χαιρετισμοὺς καὶ τὰ συγχαρητήρια ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καί, πρὶν ζητήσῃ ἀπὸ τὸν λαὸν νὰ ἀναγνωρίσῃ τὸν νέον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον διὰ τῆς ἐκφωνήσεως ἄξιος – ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μέσῳ παραληροῦντος ἐνθουσιασμοῦ – ἐπῄνεσε τὸν νέ-

Archbishop's *"zeal in his ministry, his theological erudition which he achieved out of his dedication to duty, his literary achievement and above all his experience in matters relating to Orthodoxy in the Diaspora which made him the obvious choice for the high office which was entrusted to him by the Mother Church'*[47].

Equally eloquent in praising Archbishop Methodios' qualities and encouraging him as he took up his new duties were the words of Bishop Gregorios of Tropaion and of the Guests, Dr Runcie and Cardinal Hume. What, however, made a very special impression to the audience on this bright occasion were the powerful and inspiring words of the new Archbishop contained in his enthronement speech which revealed most clearly some of the crucial perspectives of the ministry and leadership which he was to promote. On the one hand he was to try and strengthen his Archdiocese internally helping it to establish its institutions firmly on traditional Greek Orthodox lines and in accordance with the new situation provided by the English context – a context for which he had nothing but praise – and on the other hand he was to try and promote ecumenical relations with the other Christian Churches in Great Britain. Both points were eloquently stressed in the two messages which His Eminence delivered on that occasion, one in Greek and another in English, and which were circulated in print in the methodical way which was to characterize all the Archbishop's actions, but the first point was extensively developed in the most instructive and inspiring way in the Greek message. Some of the statements made in this connection are literally endowed with fiery power and are sufficient to awake 'even the dead from their sleep':

*"Undertaking the ministry of the Archbishop of Thyateira and Gt Britain"*, he said, *"I do not*

ον 'Αρχιεπίσκοπον διὰ *«τὴν ζηλωτὴν διακονίαν του, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀφοσιώσεως εἰς τὸ καθῆκον ἀποκτηθεῖσαν πεῖραν του, τὴν θεολογικήν του κατάρτισιν καὶ συγγραφικήν του δρᾶσιν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον τὴν μακρὰν ἐμπειρίαν του ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς 'Ορθοδοξίας ἐν τῇ Διασπορᾷ»*, ἕνεκεν τῶν ὁποίων *«ἡ Μήτηρ 'Εκκλησία, ἐν τῇ μερίμνῃ αὐτῆς νὰ πληρώσῃ τὸν θρόνον, ἐκτιμῶσα τὰς περιστάσεις, ἔδειξε τὴν προτίμησίν της πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπόν του»*[47].

'Εξ ἴσου εὔγλωττοι καὶ ἐπαινετικοὶ τῶν προσόντων τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνθαρρυντικοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναλήψει τῶν νέων καθηκόντων του, ὑπῆρξαν οἱ λόγοι τοῦ 'Επισκόπου Τροπαίου Γρηγορίου καὶ τῶν ἐπισκεπτῶν Δρος Ράνσυ καὶ Καρδιναλίου Χιούμ. 'Εκεῖνο, ὅμως, τὸ ὁποῖον ἔκαμεν ἰδιαιτέραν ἐντύπωσιν εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον κατὰ τὴν λαμπρὰν ταύτην περίστασιν ἦσαν οἱ δυναμικοὶ καὶ ἐμπνευσμένοι λόγοι τοῦ νέου 'Αρχιεπισκόπου, περιεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἐνθρονιστήριον μήνυμά του, οἱ ὁποῖοι ὑπῆρξαν ἄκρως ἀποκαλυπτικοὶ ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν κρίσιμον προοπτικὴν τῆς διακονίας καὶ ἡγεσίας τὰς ὁποίας ἐπρόκειτο νὰ προαγάγῃ. Θὰ προσεπάθει ἀφ' ἑνὸς νὰ ἰσχυροποιήσῃ τὴν 'Αρχιεπισκοπήν του ἐσωτερικῶς, ὁδηγῶν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σταθερὰν καὶ μόνιμον κατοχύρωσιν τῶν θεσμῶν της ἐπὶ παραδοσιακῶν ἑλληνορθοδόξων γραμμῶν καὶ συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς παρεχομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγλικοῦ πλαισίου – ἑνὸς πλαισίου διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν εἶχεν ἄλλο τι εἰ μὴ ἐπαίνους – καὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρου νὰ προωθήσῃ τὰς οἰκουμενικὰς σχέσεις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Χριστιανικῶν 'Εκκλησιῶν ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ. 'Αμφότεραι αἱ ἀνωτέρω προοπτικαὶ ἐτονίσθησαν λίαν εὐγλώττως εἰς τὰ δύο μηνύματα τὰ ὁποῖα παρέδωκεν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος κατὰ τὴν περίστασιν τῆς ἐνθρονίσεώς του, τὸ ἓν εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο εἰς τὴν ἀγγλικήν, καὶ τὰ ὁποῖα διενεμήθησαν δακτυλογραφημένα κατὰ τὸν μεθοδικὸν τρόπον, ὁ ὁποῖος θὰ ἀπεδεικνύετο χαρακτηριστικὸς ὅλων τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου, παρ' ὅλον ὅτι ἡ πρώτη ἀνεπτύχθη διεξοδικώτερον καὶ κατὰ τρόπον διδασκαλικώτατον καὶ ἐμπνευσμένον εἰς τὸ ἑλληνικὸν κείμενον. Μερικαὶ ἐκ τῶν δηλώσεών του ἐπὶ τῶν σημείων αὐτῶν εἶναι κυριολεκτικῶς πλήρεις φλογερᾶς δυνάμεως καὶ ἱκαναὶ νὰ ἐγείρουν ἀκόμη καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκ τοῦ νεκροκρεβάτου των:

*«'Αναλαμβάνων τὴν διακονίαν τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, δὲν λη-*

47. *Orthodox Herald*, I (1980), p. 6.

*forget that I am a servant of you all in the Lord and a celebrant (λειτουργὸς) of the Gospel. I do not wish and I shall not attempt to become a burden to the Christ's name bearing people of the Archdiocese of Thyateira, but I shall continue my apostleship as a minister (οἰκονόμος) of the Mysteries of the Lord for the building up and salvation of my beloved Christians, as spiritual adviser and assistant, for the good order of the body of the Church and as a dedicated cooperator of my copatriots in this blessed country of Great Britain. My apostleship will be an imitation of the apostleship of the Church – an apostleship of works and life. I shall teach, but at the same time I shall sacrifice from my own life, because as you know, out of sacrifice springs the resurrection and the life... I assure you that I shall continue to regard the interest of the Church and the Nation as the sole purpose of my ministry and I shall never occupy myself with irrelevant personal matters... The Ecumenical Patriarchate which spread the Greek Christian culture to many people – the culture which remains the foundational manner of life of the contemporary spiritually minded world, despite the opposition raised against it by a certain group of people – continues to be the Guardian of the various traditions of our people. I am ready to prove scientifically on other occasions the erroneous starting point of those who suggest our departure from such principles. In any case, the source of our vital policy is the deeply experienced and wise Centre of the Greeks in the Diaspora, namely, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which always looks to the progress, concord, order, and salvation of the Greeks abroad and also to the harmonious coexistence of the Greek Christians with the Christians of other nationalities. I beg you to listen to and obey Its voice preserving in this place all the virtues of our race.. If you wish to have a clearer idea of my authority – i.e. the authority to which I always look – I could designate it quite explicitly by the adjective "Spiritual". It is from the dynamic reality of this "Spiritual authority" that the power and authority of my ministry shall be derived. I have not attempted in the past to impose my views on others, nor do I intent to attempt to*

*σμονῶ ὅτι εἶμαι διάκονος πάντων ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ καὶ λειτουργὸς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου. Δὲν ἐπιθυμῶ, οὔτε θὰ ἐπιδιώξω νὰ ἀποβῶ βάρος τοῦ χριστεπωνύμου πληρώματος τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, ἀλλὰ θὰ συνεχίσω τὴν ἀποστολήν μου ὡς οἰκονόμος τῶν Μυστηρίων τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀγαπητῶν χριστιανῶν μου, ὡς πνευματικὸς σύμβουλος καὶ χειραγωγὸς διὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σώματος καὶ ὡς εἰλικρινὴς συνεργάτης τῶν συμπολιτῶν μου ἐν τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ταύτῃ χώρᾳ τῆς Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας. Ἡ ἀποστολή μου θὰ εἶναι μίμησις τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀποστολὴ ἔργων καὶ ζωῆς. Θὰ διδάσκω, ἀλλὰ συγχρόνως καὶ θὰ θυσιάζω ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς μου, διότι ὡς γνωρίζετε ἐκ τῆς θυσίας ἀναβλύζει ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή...*

*»Διαβεβαιῶ ὑμᾶς ὅτι θὰ συνεχίσω νὰ θέτω τὸ συμφέρον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Ἔθνους ὡς σκοπὸν τῆς διακονίας μου καὶ οὐδέποτε θὰ ἀσχοληθῶ μὲ περιττὰ προσωπικὰ θέματα...*

*»Φρουρὸς τῶν ποικίλων παραδόσεων τοῦ Λαοῦ ἡμῶν συνεχίζει νὰ εἶναι τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον, ὅπερ διέσπειρεν εἰς Λαοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν Ἑλληνοχριστιανικὸν Πολιτισμόν, ὅστις παραμένει ὁ βασικὸς τρόπος ζωῆς τοῦ σημερινοῦ πνευματικοῦ κόσμου, παρ' ὅλην τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀντίδρασιν ὡρισμένης μερίδος ἀνθρώπων. Εἶμαι ἕτοιμος εἰς ἄλλας μεθ' ὑμῶν συναντήσεις νὰ ἀποδείξω ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῆς ἐπιστήμης τὴν λανθασμένην ἀφετηρίαν ἐκείνων οἵτινες εἰσηγοῦνται τὴν ἀπομάκρυνσιν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων. Πάντως πηγὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸ πολύπειρον καὶ σοφὸν Κέντρον τοῦ Ἀποδήμου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον, ὅπερ ἀποβλέπει εἰς τὴν πρόοδον, ὁμόνοιαν, τάξιν καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀποδήμων Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἁρμονικὴν συνύπαρξιν τῶν ἑλλήνων χριστιανῶν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνοτήτων. Παρακαλῶ νὰ ἀκούσωμεν καὶ νὰ πειθαρχήσωμεν εἰς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ, διατηροῦντες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τῆς φυλῆς ἡμῶν.*

*»Ἐὰν ἐπιθυμῆτε νὰ ἔχετε, κατόπιν τούτων, σαφεστέραν ἰδέαν τῆς αὐθεντίας μου, δύναμαι νὰ διατυπώσω αὐτὴν ἀπεριφράστως ὡς πνευματικήν. Ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς δυναμικῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτῆς θὰ ἐξέρχεται καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς αὐθεντίας μου. Δὲν ἐπεδίωξα ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι νὰ ἐπιβάλω τὰς ἀπόψεις μου, οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα σκοπεύω νὰ ἐπιχειρήσω τοιοῦτον τι. Ἐκφράζω τὴν γνώμην μου καὶ ἀφήνω εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ ὀρθὴν κρίσιν τῶν συνεργατῶν μου καὶ ἰδίως τοῦ Λαοῦ ἡμῶν νὰ ἀποφασίσῃ. Πάντο-*

*do this here either. I always like to express my opinion and to leave it to the good will and right judgement of my collaborators and especially of our people to decide. Always, however, I beg the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete of the Truth, to be my Inspiration, my Collaborator and the Companion of the people of the Church as a whole. In this way the past is always made contemporary presence, being constantly renewed through the undiminished grace, and is proved to be an infallible guide for our future, whether as individuals or as a society or as a nation. I declare that I regard my position here as a national and ecclesiastical battlement which extends beyond the boundaries of my Archiepiscopal area... The Christ's name bearing flock of the Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira should be certain that I shall serve them with self–sacrificial dedication. I want you to believe that I am yours, because you are mine, for I have placed you in my heart. You should turn to me without hesitation, visit me in the Archdiocese as you visit the houses of your friends. You will find here the Greek and Orthodox warmth and understanding...'*[48].

As regards Archbishop Methodios' resolve to promote good relations with the other Christian Churches in Britain there is a paragraph in the English Message which says it all in a straight forward manner: *"The relations between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism have had a long history, which we intend to extend and invigorate. The genious of Anglicanism, derived from the combination of British mentality and Greek patristic thought, is a guarantee for the successful continuation of our dialogue. In this connection I ought to announce my intention to include the other Christian bodies in Great Britain and I am thinking particularly of Roman Catholicism and the Free Churches"*[49].

*τε ὅμως παρακαλῶ τὸ "Αγιον Πνεῦμα, τὸν Παράκλητον τῆς 'Αληθείας, νὰ εἶναι ἐμπνευστής μου, συνεργάτης μου καὶ σύνδρομος τοῦ Πληρώματος τῆς 'Εκκλησίας. 'Εν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ ταύτῃ τὸ παρελθὸν εἶναι πάντοτε συγχρονισμένον παρὸν καὶ ἀνακαινούμενον διαρκῶς διὰ τῆς ἀτελευτήτου χάριτος, ἀποβαίνει ὁδηγὸς ἀλάνθαστος διὰ τὸ μέλλον ἡμῶν, τὸ ἀτομικόν, τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐθνικόν. Διακηρύσσω πάντως ὅτι τὴν θέσιν μου ἐνταῦθα θεωρῶ ἔπαλξιν ἐθνικὴν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικήν, μὲ προεκτάσεις πέραν τῶν ὁρίων τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπικῆς μου περιφερείας.*

*»Δὲν πρέπει νὰ λησμονῶμεν ὅτι ζῶμεν ἐντὸς τοῦ 'Αγγλικοῦ Λαοῦ, ἑνὸς μεγάλου πνευματικοῦ κέντρου παγκοσμίου πνευματικῆς ἀκτινοβολίας. "Εχομεν νὰ ὠφεληθῶμεν ἐὰν προσέξωμεν τὰ μεγάλα προτερήματα τῆς βρεταννικῆς σκέψεως καὶ πρακτικῆς ζωῆς. Τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο δὲν πρέπει νὰ λησμονῆται ποτέ, διότι ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν εἶναι συνυφασμένη μὲ τὸν 'Αγγλικὸν Λαὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ χειρισμοῦ τῶν θεμάτων ἡμῶν, ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ ἐθνικῶν, θὰ ἐξαρτηθῇ καὶ ὁ βαθμὸς τῆς βρεταννικῆς συμπαραστάσεως εἰς τὴν ἐπίλυσιν αὐτῶν.*

*»Τὸ Χριστεπώνυμον Πλήρωμα τῆς Ἱερᾶς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων νὰ εἶναι βέβαιον ὅτι θὰ τὸ ὑπηρετήσω μὲ αὐτοθυσίαν. 'Επιθυμῶ νὰ πιστεύσῃ ὅτι εἶμαι δικός του ὡς ἐγὼ θεωρῶ αὐτὸ ὑφιστάμενον ἐντὸς τῆς καρδίας μου. Νὰ ἀπευθύνεται πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀδιστάκτως καὶ νὰ προσέρχεται εἰς τὴν 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴν ὡς εἰς τὰς οἰκίας του. Θὰ εὕρῃ ἐδῶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον θαλπωρήν...»*[48].

"Οσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου νὰ προωθήσῃ τὰς καλὰς σχέσεις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Χριστιανικῶν 'Εκκλησιῶν ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ, ὑπάρχει μία παράγραφος εἰς τὸ ἀγγλικὸν κείμενον ἡ ὁποία ἐκφράζεται σαφῶς καὶ εὐθέως: *«Αἱ σχέσεις μεταξὺ 'Ορθοδόξων καὶ 'Αγγλικανῶν ἐγνώρισαν μακρὰν ἱστορίαν, τὴν ὁποίαν προτιθέμεθα νὰ ἐπεκτείνωμεν καὶ νὰ ἀναζωογονήσωμεν. Ἡ ἰδιαιτέρα νοοτροπία τῶν 'Αγγλικανῶν, προερχομένη ἐκ τοῦ συσχετισμοῦ τῆς βρεταννικῆς ψυχοσυνθέσεως καὶ τῆς ἑλληνοπατερικῆς σκέψεως, ἀποτελεῖ ἐγγύησιν διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχῆ προώθησιν τοῦ Διαλόγου. Εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο ὀφείλω νὰ δηλώσω ὅτι προτίθεμαι νὰ συμπεριλάβω εἰς τὸν Διάλογον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας χριστιανικὰς ὁμάδας ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ, δηλ. τὴν Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴν 'Εκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας 'Εκκλησίας τῶν Διαμαρτυρομένων»*[49].

48. *Ibid.*, p.1.
49. *Ibid.*, p.7.

On Sunday 4 November 1979 Archbishop Methodios made a new beginning in his hierarchical career in a new environment with new resources and possibilities, far more extensive than those made available to him in Africa, and he lost no time in getting himself buzy with the new demands and the new challenges. He first buzied himself with visiting all the parishes of his large Archdiocese starting from London and moving on to the other Greek Orthodox communities scattered all over Britain. A clear picture of this intense pastoral activity is to be found in the *Orthodox Herald,* the periodical of the Archdiocese of Thyateira which he reissued in the new format of a newspaper. Since 1979, 25 issues of the *Orthodox Herald* have been published containing amongst other items detailed chronicles of the Archbishop's official itinerary which includes visits of and visits with important church and state personalities, ordinations, participations in community meetings of all kinds, inaugurations of new churches and buildings, lectures to societies and universities, etc. Before the end of 1979, i.e. in a space of just two months he had visited twelve of the largest churches of the Archdiocese in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Dublin and had met with most of the officials in the diplomatic and even went to Constantinople to be present for Pope John Paul II's visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate[50]. This kind of life was to continue throughout his six years of office in the Archdiocese of Thyateira right up to the present time without any signs of negligence or restrain.

It is difficult to recount here all the manifold activities and achievements of Archbishop Methodios in the British context during 1979-1985. Some of the most important ones, however, should not escape the attention of his biographer even if he is attempting to write only an introductory account.

When Archbishop Methodios came to London the Archdiocese of Thyateira constisted of 5 assistant Bishops and 72 clergy. In the period of six years of service he increased the Bishops to 8 and the clergy to 105. More specifically new church

50. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Κατὰ τὴν Κυριακὴν 4ην Νοεμβρίου 1979, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς νέαν περίοδον ἀρχιερατικῆς διακονίας ἐντὸς νέου περιβάλλοντος, ἔχων εἰς τὴν διάθεσίν του νέους πόρους καὶ νέας δυνατότητας, ἐκτενεστέρας τῶν ὅσων διέθετεν εἰς τὴν Ἀφρικήν, καὶ ἐστράφη ἀμέσως καὶ χωρὶς οἱανδήποτε χρονοτριβὴν εἰς τὰς νέας ἀπαιτήσεις καὶ προκλήσεις τῆς νέας διακονίας. Ἡ πρώτη ἐνέργειά του ἦτο νὰ ἐπισκεφθῇ ὅλας τὰς ἐνορίας τῆς ἐκτενοῦς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς του, ἀρχῆς γενομένης ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοριῶν τοῦ Λονδίνου καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ ἐπεκτεινόμενος εἰς τὰς ἀνὰ τὴν Μ. Βρεταννίαν διεσκορπισμένας ἑλληνορθοδόξους κοινότητας. Σαφῆ εἰκόνα τῆς ἐντόνου ταύτης ποιμαντορικῆς δραστηριότητος παρέχουν τὰ φύλλα τοῦ «*Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος*», τοῦ περιοδικοῦ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπανεξέδωκεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ὑπὸ τὴν μορφὴν ἐφημερίδος. Τὰ εἴκοσι πέντε φύλλα τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχουν ἐκδοθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 1979 μέχρι σήμερον περιέχουν μεταξὺ ἄλλων εἰδησεογραφικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν στοιχείων καὶ λεπτομερῆ χρονικὰ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, συμπεριλαμβανουσῶν ἐπισκέψεις καὶ ἐπισκέπτας ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοπολιτικοῦ χαρακτῆρος, χειροτονίας, συνεδριάσεις κοινοτικάς, ἐκπαιδευτικάς, διεκκλησιαστικὰς κ. ἄλ., ἐγκαίνια νέων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ἱδρυμάτων, διαλέξεις εἰς ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς συνδέσμους καὶ Πανεπιστήμια, κ.λπ. Ἤδη πρὸ τῆς λήξεως τοῦ 1979, δηλ. ἐντὸς διαστήματος μόλις δύο μηνῶν, εἶχεν ἐπισκεφθῇ ὁ νέος ἱεράρχης δώδεκα ἐκ τῶν μεγαλυτέρων ἐνοριῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐν Λονδίνῳ, Μάντσεστερ, Μπίρμιγχαμ καὶ Δουβλίνῳ, ταυτοχρόνως δὲ εἶχε συναντηθῇ μὲ τοὺς περισσοτέρους διπλωματικοὺς παράγοντας καὶ εἶχε ταξιδεύσει εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ νὰ παρευρεθῇ εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τοῦ Πάπα Ἰωάννου-Παύλου Β' εἰς τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον[50]. Ὁ λίαν ἐνεργητικὸς οὗτος τρόπος ζωῆς συνεχίσθη καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τῶν ἓξ ἐτῶν τῆς μέχρι τοῦδε διακονίας του εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων χωρὶς νὰ προδίδῃ οἱαδήποτε σημεῖα ἀμελείας ἢ ἀναχαιτίσεως.

Δὲν εἶναι εὔκολον νὰ ἀναφέρωμεν ἐνταῦθα ὅλας τὰς ποικίλας ἐνεργείας καὶ ἐπιτεύξεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ κατὰ τὸ διάστημα 1979-1985. Ὡρισμέναι, ὅμως, ἐκ τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων δὲν πρέπει νὰ διαφύγουν τῆς προσοχῆς τοῦ βιο-

buildings were established in London, Dublin, Birmingham Stockton-on-Tees, Nottingham, Norwich, Bristol, Hastings, Eastbourn, Weston Super Mare, and to these one should add 3 important building complexes for religious educational/ cultural purposes.

In 1980 Bishop Aristarchos of Zenoupolis formerly of the Arcdiocese of Australia joined the Archdiocese of Thyateira[51]. In January 1981 Archimandrite Irenaeos Vasiliou was consecrated Bishop of Patara and was appointed assistant Bishop to the Archbishop of Thyateira centered on the cathedral church of the Falling Asleep of the Theotokos in Birmingham[52]. In May 1982 Archimandrite Kallistos Ware, the well- known Oxford University lecturer on Eastern Orthodox Studies, was consecrated to the episcopate and was given the title of Bishop of Diokleia being also appointed assistant to Archbishop Methodios with his centre in Oxford. Both of these episcopal consecrations decided upon by the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, having first been proposed by the Archbishop of Thyateira, constituted splendid events in the recent history of the Archdiocese and were fully covered in the ecclesiastical and national press. On both occasions the Archbishop had very important words to say concerning the priesthood and especially the episcopal office and the Archdiocese in Britain, some of which should be recalled here inasmuch as they reveal his deep faith and profound ecclesiastical outlook which characterize his actions and aims.

On the occasion of the ordination of Bishop Irenaeos Archbishop Methodios stressed in particular the significance of the episcopal office: *"The consecration of a new Bishop"*, he said *"...means the renewal and the extension of the life*

γράφου, ἀκόμη καὶ ἂν προτίθεται νὰ συγγράψῃ μόνον εἰσαγωγικὸν σημείωμα.

Ὅταν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἦλθεν εἰς Λονδῖνον, ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων εἶχε 5 βοηθοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ 72 κληρικούς. Ἐντὸς περιόδου 6 ἐτῶν διακονίας ηὔξησε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐπισκόπων εἰς 8 καὶ τῶν κληρικῶν εἰς 105. Ἵδρυσε νέους ναοὺς εἰς Λονδῖνον, Δουβλῖνον, Μπίρμιγχαμ, Μπρίστολ, Στόκτον, Νόττιγχαμ, Νόργουϊτς, Χαίηστιγκς, Ἥστμπουρν, Γουέστον-σοῦπερ-Μαίαρ, Μπάθ, Κόλτσεστερ, ὡς καὶ τρία ἐκπαιδευτικοκοινωνικὰ κέντρα.

Κατὰ τὸ 1980 ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀρίσταρχος, πρῴην Ἐπίσκοπος ἐν τῇ Ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ Αὐστραλίας, ὑπήχθη εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων[51]. Κατὰ τὸν Ἰανουάριον τοῦ 1981 ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Εἰρηναῖος Βασιλείου ἐχειροτονήθη Ἐπίσκοπος Πατάρων καὶ διωρίσθη βοηθὸς Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων, ὑπηρετῶν εἰς τὸν Καθεδρικὸν Ναὸν τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐν Μπίρμιγχαμ[52]. Κατὰ τὸν Μάιον τοῦ 1982 ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Κάλλιστος Γουέαρ, ὁ γνωστὸς καθηγητὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Θεολογίας εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τῆς Ὀξφόρδης, ἐχειροτονήθη Ἐπίσκοπος Διοκλείας καὶ διωρίσθη ἐπίσης βοηθὸς τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων μὲ ἕδραν τὴν Ὀξφόρδην. Ἀμφότεραι αἱ ἀνωτέρω ἐπισκοπικαὶ χειροτονίαι, ἀποφασισθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, τῇ προηγηθείσῃ εἰσηγήσει τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, ἀπετέλεσαν λαμπροὺς σταθμοὺς ἐν τῇ προσφάτῳ ἱστορίᾳ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ ἔτυχον ἐκτενοῦς περιγραφῆς εἰς τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ ἐθνικὸν τύπον. Καὶ εἰς τὰς δύο περιπτώσεις ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἀπηύθυνε βαρυσημάντους λόγους σχετικῶς πρὸς τὴν ἱερωσύνην, καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως πρὸς τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ, μερικοὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων ἐπιβάλλεται νὰ μεταφερθοῦν ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἀποκαλυπτικοὶ τῆς βαθείας πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἐμβριθοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς προοπτικῆς, αἵτινες χαρακτηρίζουν τὰς πράξεις καὶ ἐπιδιώξεις αὐτοῦ.

Εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν τῆς χειροτονίας τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Εἰρηναίου, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐτόνισε τὴν σπουδαιότητα τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ ἀξιώματος εἰπὼν τὰ ἑξῆς:

«Ἡ χειροτονία ἑνὸς Ἐπισκόπου εἶναι συνηθισμέ-

51. *Patriarchal Letter* of Nov. 12, 1980.
52. *Orthodox Herald*, No 9 (1981), p. 5.

*of the militant church in space and time... If today the Church appears to be in tribulation and especially the clergy and the episcopate"*, he went on to say, *"we must not lose boldness, because St. Paul had forseen the trials of the Apostles and what our life as their successors would be like..." For I think that God hath set forth us the Apostles, last, as it were appointed to death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels and to men...we are made as the filth of the world and are the offscouring of all things unto this day' (I Cor. 4: 9, 13). This state of affairs did not deprive the Apostles, nor their successors, the great fathers of the Church, of their strength, for they progressed in their labours quite unshaken. Neither disparagement, nor deprivation, nor threats, nor imprisonments, nor humiliations, nor deaths, have restrained the onward march of the Church. On the contrary, with faith to the Eternal King and Creator of the Universe, they proclaimed that 'the Word of God is not bound'*[53].

Before concluding his message Archbishop Methodios admonished the Community which was entrusted to the new Bishop with the following words: *"I beg you that we all embrace our Church in Great Britain with all our love and cooperation for the improvement of the operation of the schools, refraining from frictions, which destroy all of us. Up till now a great work has been achieved by the Community in which the Church cannot remain outside. The Community needs the Church so that it may be enriched religiously. The Church is the Community's spiritual refuge. We constantly discover new sources of ecclesiastical and national renewal both in the Church and in the Community. We need to keep both together and in line with our traditions, without any prejudices or chauvinistic intentions, underestimating neither of them in their particular manifestations. As for the Church in particular, I am persuaded that she provides the Community with an inex-*

*νο φαινόμενο εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, παρ' ὅλον ποὺ ἡ σημασία του εἶναι πολὺ σημαντική. Πρόκειται περὶ ἀνανεώσεως καὶ ἐπεκτάσεως τῆς ζωῆς τῆς στρατευομένης Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸ διάστημα καὶ εἰς τὸν χρόνον.*

*»Ἐὰν σήμερον ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐμφανίζεται δοκιμαζομένη καὶ ὁ Ἱερὸς Κλῆρος, ἰδιαίτερα τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα, προσβάλλεται, δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀποθαρρυνώμεθα, διότι ὁ Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος προσδιώρισεν ἀπὸ τὰ παθήματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὸ τί ἀναμένει τὴν ἰδικήν μας ζωὴν ὡς διαδόχων τῶν Ἀποστόλων, "δοκῶ γάρ", γράφει ὁ Μέγας Ἀπόστολος, "ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς ἐπιθανατίους, ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις... ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περίψημα ἕως ἄρτι" (Α' Κορ. δ' 9, 13). Ἡ κατάστασις αὕτη δὲν ἀπεθάρρυνε τοὺς Ἀποστόλους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς μεγάλους Πατέρας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, νὰ προχωρήσουν ἀκλόνητοι εἰς τὸ ἔργον των. Οὔτε αἱ περιφρονήσεις, οὔτε αἱ στερήσεις, οὔτε αἱ ἀπειλαί, οὔτε αἱ φυλακίσεις, οὔτε αἱ ταπεινώσεις, οὔτε οἱ θάνατοι ἀνεχαίτισαν τὴν πορείαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἀπ' ἐναντίας μετὰ πίστεως εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον Βασιλέα καὶ Δημιουργὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος διεκήρυττον ὅτι "ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ δέδεται"*[53].

Κατακλείων τὴν ὁμιλίαν του ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος προέτρεψε τὴν Κοινότητα, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐνεπιστεύθη εἰς τὸν νεοχειροτονηθέντα Ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς λόγων:

*«Παρακαλῶ καὶ ἐγὼ μὲ τὴν σειράν μου, ὅπως ὅλοι περιβάλητε τὰς Ἐκκλησίας μας εἰς Μεγάλην Βρεταννίαν μὲ ὅλην σας τὴν ἀγάπην, συνεργασθῆτε διὰ τὴν καλλιτέραν λειτουργίαν τῶν Σχολείων μας, ἀποφεύγετε τὰς προστριβάς, αἱ ὁποῖαι φθείρουν ὅλους μας. Μέχρι σήμερον ἔχει ἐπιτελεσθῆ μεγάλο ἔργον, τώρα χρειάζεται νὰ διαρθρωθῆ ἐπιτελικῶς καὶ ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ δὲν δύναται νὰ μείνῃ ἔξω. Τὴν ἔχει ἀνάγκην ἡ Παροικία, ἡ ὁποία κατακλύζει τοὺς ἱεροὺς Ναοὺς μὲ θρησκευτικὸν καὶ πατριωτικὸν ζῆλον. Αἰσθάνεται ὅτι ἀποτελεῖ τὴν ψυχικὴν καὶ πνευματικήν της καταφυγήν. Διαρκῶς ἀνακαλύπτομεν νέας πηγὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ ἐθνικῆς ἀναζητήσεως. Διαρκῶς ἀνακαλύπτω μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐντὸς τῆς Παροικίας. Πρέπει νὰ συσπειρωθῶμεν ὅλοι πέριξ τῶν αἰωνίων παραδόσεων τῆς φυλῆς μας ἄνευ προκαταλήψεως καὶ ἄνευ σωβινιστικῶν προθέσεων. Χωρὶς νὰ ὑποτιμῶ ὅλας τὰς ποικίλας μορφὰς*

53. *Ibid.*

*haustible source of renewal, provided that the patristic traditions are applied diligently and unswervedly"*[54].

The consecration of Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia on Pentecost Sunday, 6 June 1982, was a particularly important event, because here the Archbishop and his Archdiocese were making history by raising the first English person to be consecrated to the Orthodox Episcopate in modern times. It seems that the Archbishop had felt this need from the very beginning because he did say in his speech at the consecration of Bishop Irenaeos: *"We need another one to serve the Orthodox of English origin, and I hope that soon we shall have one, with the blessing of the sacred Ecumenical Patriarchate, for in this way the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Gt Britain will assume 'dimensional expansion' in parallel with the spiritual growth"*[55]. He must have had this 'dimen-sional expansion' of his Archdiocese in mind, which was to be procured by the consecration of Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia, when he chose, so appropriately, the feast of Pentecost as the occasion for this particular consecration. The same is revealed both in the scholion made in the *Orthodox Herald* about this consecration and especially in the Archbishop's address which was delivered at the above occasion. The latter is particularly important because it reveals the Archbishop's mind about the Archdiocese of Thyateira – an Archdiocese of the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople on English soil which has Greek roots and trank but English offshoots and colour of foliage. The above mentioned scholion states that: *"The Greek Orthodox Church in Great Britain lived moments of deep emotion and glory on account of the election of the Very Reverend Archimandrite Kallistos Ware as Bishop of Diokleia and new assistant Bishop of the Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira and Gt Britain. This event acquired special significance because the Rt Reverend Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia is an Englishman, offspring of a prominent English family, son of an army general and*

*τῆς Παροικίας μας, πιστεύω ὅτι ἡ 'Ορθόδοξος 'Εκκλησία ἔχει ἀνεξαντλήτους πηγὰς ἀνανεώσεως τῆς κοινωνίας μας, ἀρκεῖ τὰ μεγάλα πνεύματα τῶν Πατέρων τῆς 'Εκκλησίας νὰ μὴ ἐγκαταλειφθοῦν»*[54].

'Η χειροτονία τοῦ 'Επισκόπου Διοκλείας Καλλίστου κατὰ τὴν Κυριακὴν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, 6ην 'Ιουνίου 1982, ὑπῆρξεν ἰδιαιτέρως σημαντικὸν γεγονός, διότι δι' αὐτῆς τόσον ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος ὅσον καὶ ἡ 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων ἐδημιούργουν ἱστορίαν διὰ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως εἰς τὸν ὀρθόδοξον ἐπισκοπικὸν βαθμὸν διὰ πρώτην φορὰν εἰς τὴν σύγχρονον ἐποχὴν ὀρθοδόξου ἱερέως ἀγγλικῆς καταγωγῆς. Φαίνεται ὅτι ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος εἶχεν ἀντιληφθῆ τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς χειροτονίας αὐτῆς πολὺ ἐνωρίτερον, καθ' ὅσον εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν του κατὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ 'Επισκόπου Πατάρων Εἰρηναίου ἐτόνισεν ὅτι: *«'Εχομεν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου ἀγγλικῆς καταγωγῆς καὶ ἐλπίζω συντόμως καὶ αὐτὸ νὰ ἐπιτευχθῇ μὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Σεπτοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Τοιουτοτρόπως ἡ 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων θὰ προσλάβῃ τὴν διαστατικὴν αὐτῆς δομὴν παραλλήλως πρὸς τὴν πνευματικήν της τοιαύτην»*[55]. Θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ εἶχε «τὴν διαστατικὴν αὐτὴν δομὴν» τῆς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς του κατὰ νοῦν, ἡ ὁποία θὰ ἐπετυγχάνετο διὰ τῆς χειροτονίας τοῦ 'Επισκόπου Διοκλείας Καλλίστου, ὅταν ἐξέλεξε, τόσον ἐπιτυχῶς, τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς ὡς τὴν περίστασιν τῆς ἐξαιρετικῆς αὐτῆς χειροτονίας. Τοῦτο ἄλλωστε ἀποκαλύπτει τὸ σχόλιον τοῦ *«'Ορθοδόξου Κήρυκος»* ἐπὶ τῇ περιστάσει, ὡς καὶ ἡ ὁμιλία τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου κατὰ τὴν ἐν λόγῳ χειροτονίαν. 'Η ὁμιλία αὕτη ἔχει ἰδιαιτέραν σημασίαν, διότι φανερώνει τὴν σκέψιν τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων, 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ὑφισταμένην ἐπὶ βρεταννικοῦ ἐδάφους καὶ διαθέτουσαν ἑλληνικὰς ρίζας καὶ ἑλληνικὸν κορμὸν ἀλλὰ ἀγγλικοὺς κλάδους καὶ φύλλωμα. Τὸ ἀνωτέρω ἀναφερθὲν σχόλιον δηλοῖ τὰ ἑξῆς:

*«'Η 'Ελληνικὴ 'Ορθόδοξη 'Εκκλησία τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας ἔζησε στιγμὲς συγκίνησης καὶ δόξας μὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴ τοῦ Πανοσιολ. 'Αρχιμανδρίτου Καλλίστου Ware ὡς 'Επισκόπου Διοκλείας, νέου βοηθοῦ 'Επισκόπου τῆς 'Ιερᾶς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγ. Βρεταννίας. Τὸ γεγονὸς προσέλαβε ἰδιαίτερη σημασία γιατὶ ὁ Θεοφιλέστατος 'Επίσκοπος Διοκλείας Κάλλιστος εἶναι "Αγγλος καὶ γόνος διαπρεποῦς ἀγγλικῆς οἰκογενείας, υἱὸς στρατηγοῦ καὶ δια-*

54. *Ibid.*

55. *Orthodox Herald*, No 17 (1982), p. 3. Cf. also "A historic ecclesiastical event", *Greek Review* (London), no 9 (1982), p. 21.

*distinguished theologian, Lecturer of Orthodox Theology at the University of Oxford and well known to all Orthodox, Anglican and international theological circles. From the perspective of Orthodox Hellenism the election of Fr Kallistos to be Bishop of Diokleia incurred expressions of warm love towards his person... this most distinguished and most pious English clergyman"*[56].

In his own speech Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira stressed the following: *"At this moment our hearts are expanded for we celebrate the Pantecostal Feast and the sojourn of the Holy Spirit among us... The Bishop elect, Kallistos of Diokleia, a son of England born and bread in this country, is a gift of the Lord to us, because the roots of our Church penetrate deeper into British Society and our relations with the friendly Anglican Church enter into a new stage, full of hopes for the rapproachment between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism; the new Bishop participating in both worlds will become the 'best' (κάλλιστος indeed) representative of our Church to Anglicanism... God's plan which is revealed to us now is truly inscrutable! What the centuries and theological conferences did not achieve, the allable grace of the Lord prepared and is now inaugurating a new epoch and granting a new dawn for our Church in the midst of the friendly atmosphere of the British. We are no longer strangers and sojourners in the Diaspora, but a permanent Church in Great Britain, where, as true citizens of this country and permanent members, we constitute sociologically one body with our British brothers, whilst spiritually we are an inseparable part of the Great Church of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. We greet warmly, therefore, the Rt Reverend Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia who is raised to the episcopal*

*κεκριμένος θεολόγος, ὑφηγητὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Θεολογίας εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τῆς Ὀξφόρδης, πασίγνωστος εἰς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, ἀγγλικανικοὺς καὶ διεθνεῖς θεολογικοὺς κύκλους.*

*»Ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἡ ἐκλογὴ τοῦ πατρὸς Καλλίστου εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον Διοκλείας ἐχαιρετίσθη μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ προεκάλεσε ἐκδηλώσεις θερμῆς ἀγάπης πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπόν του. Σωρεία συγχαρητηρίων γραμμάτων καὶ τηλεγραφημάτων ἀπὸ τὰ μέλη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παροικίας τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας ἐβεβαίωσε τὴν ἀγάπη αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πανηγυρικὴ ἐπιδοκιμασία τῆς πράξεως τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς νὰ φέρῃ εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ Ἐπισκοπάτου της τὸν διαπρεπέστατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον αὐτὸν Ἄγγλον ὀρθόδοξον κληρικόν»*[56].

Ἐξ ἄλλου ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐτόνισε τὰ ἑξῆς εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν του:

*«Αὐτὴν τὴν στιγμὴν διευρύνονται αἱ καρδίαι ἡμῶν πεντηκοστὴν ἑορτάζοντες καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ἐπιδημίαν...*

*»Ὁ ἐψηφισμένος Ἐπίσκοπος Διοκλείας κ. Κάλλιστος εἶναι γέννημα καὶ θρέμμα τῆς Ἀγγλίας, ἀλλὰ δῶρον τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, διότι οὕτως αἱ ρίζαι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν εἰσδύουν βαθύτερον ἐντὸς τῆς Βρεταννικῆς Κοινωνίας καὶ αἱ σχέσεις ἡμῶν μετὰ τῆς φίλης Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰσέρχονται εἰς νέον εὐοίωνον διὰ τὴν προσέγγισιν Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμοῦ στάδιον. Διότι ὁ νέος Ἐπίσκοπος μετέχων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν σκέψεων θὰ καταστῇ ὁ κάλλιστος τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας ἀντιπρόσωπος ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν παντὶ ὁ Κάλλιστος ἡμῶν ἀδελφός, ὄνομα καὶ πρᾶγμα, θὰ ἐκπροσωπῇ ἐπαξίως τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας ἀξίωμα ἐν τῇ Ἀγγλικανικῇ Κοινωνίᾳ.*

*»Εἶναι ὄντως ἀνεξιχνίαστον τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅπερ αὐτὴν τὴν στιγμὴν ἀποκαλύπτεται ἡμῖν. Ὅ,τι οἱ αἰῶνες καὶ τὰ θεολογικὰ συνέδρια δὲν ἐπέτυχον, τὸ προπαρεσκεύασεν ἡ πανσθενουργὸς χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἐγκαινιάζουσα νέαν ἐποχὴν καὶ προοιμιάζουσα νέαν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας ἐν μέσῳ τῆς φιλικῆς ἀτμοσφαίρας τῶν Βρεταννῶν.*

*»Δὲν εἴμεθα πλέον πάροικοι ἢ παρεπίδημοι ἐν διασπορᾷ, ἀλλὰ μόνιμος πλέον Ἐκκλησία ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ, ἔνθα ὡς γνήσιοι πολῖται τῆς χώρας ταύτης καὶ μόνιμα μέλη ἀποτελοῦμεν κοινωνικῶς ἓν σῶμα μετὰ τῶν Βρεταννῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, πνευματικῶς δὲ μέρος ἀναπόσπαστον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκ-*

56. *Ibid.*

*office with such high hopes and express our deepest gratitude to the All -Holy Ecumenical Throne for its moral and manifold blessings and providential care for the sake of the stability and progress of the sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira and Gt Britain. May the years of His Most -divine All-holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios I be many. We rejoice because we daily transmit from city to city in Gt Britain the Orthodox message renovating abandoned sacred churches, establishing schools, educational centres, places of monastic ascesis and, day by day, lay the foundations of the Orthodox Church using as means our Greek patristic resources and traditions. Up to yesterday our sanctuaries in Gt Britain were counted in the fingers of one hand, but today the number has multiplied tenfold and more. We are grateful to all who contributed to the increase and firm establishment of our Church in this country. Above all, however, we remember at this moment the great stature of the ever - memorable Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios Metaxakis, founder of the Sacred Metropolis of Thyateira. May his memory be eternal"*[57].

The inspiring words of the Archbishop find a wonderful echo in Bishop Kallistos' address: *"To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time since the division between the Greek East and the Latin West that a person of British birth has been ordained to the Orthodox episcopate. Is this not, in a small, yet decisive, way, a significant sign for the future of Orthodoxy in Britain? The Archdiocese of Thyateira and Gt Britain remains faithful to its Hellenic heritage – as a Russian theologian, Fr George Florovsky, used to say, 'Spiritually we are all Greeks' – yet at the same time it is ceasing to be a Church of foreigners or temporary residents, and it is becoming a local Church, with deepening roots in the soil of this land..."*[58]

Bishop Kallistos had a lot more to say on this

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*

*κλησίας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως...*

*»Χαιρετίζομεν ἐνθέρμως τὸν ἐπ' αἰσίοις οἰωνοῖς εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα ἀνερχόμενον Θεοφιλέστατον Ἐπίσκοπον Διοκλείας Κάλλιστον καὶ ἐκφράζομεν τὴν βαθυτάτην ἡμῶν εὐγνωμοσύνην πρὸς τὸν πάνσεπτον Οἰκουμενικὸν Θρόνον διὰ τὴν ἠθικὴν καὶ παντοίαν ἐνίσχυσιν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσταθείας καὶ προόδου τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας. Εἴησαν τὰ ἔτη τῆς Αὐτοῦ Θειοτάτης Παναγιότητος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Δημητρίου τοῦ Α' πολλά.*

*»Χαιρόμεθα διότι καθημερινῶς μεταδίδομεν ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ τὸ ὀρθόδοξον μήνυμα, ἀνακαινίζοντες ἐγκαταλελειμμένους ἱεροὺς Ναούς, ἱδρύοντες σχολεῖα, ἐκπαιδευτικὰ ἱδρύματα, τόπους μοναχικῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεμελιοῦντες τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῶν μέσων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς σκέψεως καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ προγονικῆς ἡμῶν πατερικότητος.*

*»Μέχρι χθὲς τὰ ἱερὰ ἡμῶν ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ ἐμετρῶντο εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους τῆς μιᾶς χειρὸς καὶ σήμερον ἀνέρχονται εἰς δεκάδας. Εὐγνωμονοῦμεν πάντας τοὺς συντελέσαντας εἰς τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ στερέωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν. Ἀλλὰ πρὸ πάντων ἀναμιμνῃσκόμεθα αὐτὴν τὴν στιγμὴν τῆς μεγάλης μορφῆς τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Μελετίου τοῦ Μεταξάκη, ἱδρυτοῦ τῆς ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων. Αἰωνία αὐτοῦ ἡ μνήμη...»*[57].

Οἱ ἐμπνευσμένοι λόγοι τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εὑρίσκουν θαυμασίαν ἀπήχησιν εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Καλλίστου: *«Καθ' ὅσον κάλλιστα γνωρίζω, αὕτη εἶναι ἡ πρώτη φορὰ ἀπὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἀπὸ τῆς λατινικῆς Δύσεως κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν χειροτονεῖται εἰς τὸ ὀρθόδοξον ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα πρόσωπον βρεταννικῆς καταγωγῆς. Δὲν ἀποτελεῖ τοῦτο ἕνα μικρό, ἀλλὰ ἀποφασιστικό, διάβημα, ἕνα σημάδι τοῦ μέλλοντος τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας ἐν τῇ Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ; Ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας παραμένει πιστὴ εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν κληρονομίαν – ὅπως συνήθιζε νὰ λέγῃ ὁ ἀείμνηστος ρῶσος ὀρθόδοξος θεολόγος, π. Γεώργιος Φλωρόφσκυ, "πνευματικῶς εἴμεθα ὅλοι Ἕλληνες" – ἐν τούτοις, ὅμως, ὁδηγεῖται σήμερον πέραν τῆς ταυτότητος μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας ἀλλοδαπῶν ἢ προσωρινῶν κατοίκων καθ' ὅσον ἀποκτᾷ ταυτότητα τοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας διαθέτουσα βαθείας ρίζας ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς χώρας ταύτης...»*[58]. Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος

subject which is important but need not be fully recalled here, except perhaps his final words which came after his statements of thanks and loyalty to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople and to the Archbishop of Thyateira. These words, perhaps the most moving of all else that he said on that occasion, show clearly that an English Orthodox Bishop's loyalty to the Ecumenical Patriarchate is ultimately loyalty to the common tradition which rests on Orthodox Saints and Fathers, Eastern and Western, Greek and Syrian, Russian and British. *"May the Holy Trinity, Father Son and Holy Spirit, bless me, and give me courage, humanity and joy. I entrust myself to the protection of the Holy Mother of God, and to the prayers of all the saints, whether Eastern or Western, whether Greek, Syrian Russian or British: St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Isaac the Syrian and St. Symeon the new Theologian, whose writings among all the works of the Fathers have given me the greatest joy; to St. Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Patriarch of Constantinople, and to St. Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain, editor of the Philokalia; to Blessed Paissy Velichkovsky and St. Seraphim of Sarov; to St. Columba of Iona, St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne and St. Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury. I entrust myself also to your own intercessions, fathers, brothers and sisters, pray for me"*[59].

Διοκλείας Κάλλιστος προσέθεσε πολλὰ περισσότερα ἐπὶ τοῦ σπουδαιοτάτου τούτου θέματος, τὰ ὁποῖα ὅμως περιττὸν νὰ ἐπαναληφθοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου, ἐξαιρουμένων μόνον τῶν τελευταίων ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων του, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐπηκολούθησαν τῶν εὐχαριστιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ δηλώσεων ἀφοσιώσεως πρὸς τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας. Οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι, ἴσως οἱ πλέον συγκινητικοὶ ἐξ ὅλων ὅσοι ἐλέχθησαν κατὰ τὴν περίστασιν ταύτην, καταδεικνύουν σαφέστατα ὅτι ἡ ἀφοσίωσις ἑνὸς ἄγγλου ὀρθοδόξου Ἐπισκόπου εἰς τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον εἶναι ἐν τελευταίᾳ ἀναλύσει ἀφοσίωσις πρὸς τὴν κοινὴν ἱερὰν Παράδοσιν, ἡ ὁποία βασίζεται ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἁγίων καὶ πατέρων, ἀνατολικῶν καὶ δυτικῶν, Ἑλλήνων καὶ Σύρων, Ρώσων καὶ Βρεταννῶν. Ἰδοὺ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου: *«Εἴθε ἡ Παναγία Τριάς, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, νὰ μὲ εὐλογήσουν, νὰ μοῦ δώσουν θάρρος, ἀνθρωπιάν, ἀγαλλίασιν. Παραδίδομαι εἰς τὴν προστασίαν τῆς Παναγίας Μητρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς ὅλων τῶν ἁγίων, ἀνατολικῶν καὶ δυτικῶν, Ἑλλήνων, Σύρων, Ρώσων ἢ Βρεταννῶν· εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον Νύσσης, τὸν ἅγιον Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Σύρον, τὸν ἅγ. Συμεών, τὸν νέον θεολόγον, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ συγγράμματα περισσότερον παντὸς ἄλλου μεταξὺ τῶν πατέρων μοὶ ἔδωσαν μεγίστην ἱκανοποίησιν· εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Κάλλιστον Ξανθόπουλον, Πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Νικόδημον τὸν Ἁγιορείτην, ἐκδότην τῆς Φιλοκαλίας· εἰς τὸν μακάριον Παΐσιον Βελισκόφσκυ καὶ τὸν ἅγ. Σεραφεὶμ τοῦ Σαρώφ· εἰς τὸν ἅγ. Κολούμπα τῆς Ἰώνας, τὸν ἅγ. Κάθμπερτ τοῦ Λίντεσφαρν καὶ τὸν ἅγ. Θεόδωρον Ταρσοῦ, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Καντουαρίας. Παραδίδομαι εἰς τὰς εὐχὰς ὅλων σας, πατέρες, ἀδελφοί, ἀδελφαί, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ»*[59].

Apart from recruiting, ordaining and promoting new people to the priesthood and creating new parishes, Archbishop Methodios sought to consolidate the large Archdiocese by giving it inner unity and cohesion and by strengthening its basic institutions and functions. Thus he became involved in the activities of the various associations, brotherhoods, organizations and such like groups of the Greek Community in Great Britain. The most notable of these are, The Association of

Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν, χειροτονίαν καὶ προαγωγὴν νέων ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ τὴν ἐγκαθίδρυσιν νέων ἐνοριῶν, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐπεδίωξε τὴν σταθεροποίησιν τῆς ἐκτεταμένης Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς του προσδίδων εἰς αὐτὴν ἐσωτερικὴν συνοχὴν καὶ ἑνότητα καὶ ἰσχυροποιῶν τοὺς βασικοὺς αὐτῆς θεσμοὺς καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν των. Οὕτως ἀνεμείχθη εἰς τὰς δραστηριότητας τῶν διαφόρων συνδέσμων, ἀδελφοτήτων, ὀργανισμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ὀργανώσεων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος ἐν τῇ Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ. Ὡς παραδείγματα δυνάμε-

59. *Ibid.*

Greek Orthodox Communities in Gt Britain, which was founded in 1979, The Greek Cypriot Brotherhood of Gt Britain, The Central Council of Assisting Brotherhoods, The Greek Orthodox Charity Organization of Gt Britain, The Association of Greek Scientists in Gt Britain, The St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Educational Centre, etc. etc.

This introductory essay does not envisage any detailed treatment of the Archbishop's involvement with and contribution to the above community groups. However, it is proper to recall here one or two examples which have received special publicity because of their significance.

Firstly I should mention the significant Conference of the Associations of the Greek Orthodox Youth of Gt Britain at St. Sophia in London on 25 October 1981 which was summoned at the Archbishop's initiative. In the main address of the Conference delivered by his Eminence, we find not only an appraisal of the importance of the Orthodox Youth for the future of the Greek Orthodox Community in Britain, but also the explication of basic thinking concerning the witness and mission of the Orthodox Youth both inside and outside the Church. This was an initiative of tremendous significance inasmuch as the young people of the Community were both challenged and encouraged to undertake responsibility in the Church and to look constructively and creatively towards the future[60]. How much the Archbishop values the involvement of the young people in the affairs of the Church is best illustrated by a reference to his Encyclical *"To the Youth of the Province"* dated March 1981. This Encyclical stressed among other points that "... *little by little the government of the parishes should be passed on to the youth of the Province who have been born in Gt Britain... Our young people are equipped to think in an up to date fashion and the sooner they get involved with the running of the parishes all the quicker will the entire parish system become adjusted to contemporary needs. I* θα νὰ ἀναφέρωμεν τὸν Σύνδεσμον τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων Μ. Βρεταννίας, ὁ ὁποῖος ἱδρύθη τὸ 1979, τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Κυπριακὴν Ἀδελφότητα Μ. Βρεταννίας, τὸ Κεντρικὸν Συμβούλιον τῶν Βοηθητικῶν Ἀδελφοτήτων, τὸν Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Ὀργανισμὸν Φιλοπτώχου, τὸν Σύνδεσμον Ἑλλήνων Ἐπιστημόνων Μ. Βρεταννίας, τὸ Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Ἐκπαιδευτικὸν Κέντρον «Ἅγιος Νικόλαος», καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα.

Τὸ εἰσαγωγικὸν τοῦτο σχεδίασμα δὲν προβλέπει λεπτομερειακὴν ἀνάπτυξιν τῆς συμμετοχῆς καὶ συμβολῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς τὰς ἀνωτέρω ὁμάδας. Ἐν τούτοις, ἐνδείκνυται νὰ ἀναφερθοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ἕνα ἢ δύο παραδείγματα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔτυχον εἰδικῆς δημοσιεύσεως εἰς τὸν τύπον λόγῳ τῆς σημασίας των.

Πρωτίστως ὀφείλω νὰ ἀναφέρω τὴν σημαντικὴν συνεδρίασιν τῶν Συνδέσμων Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Νεολαίας Μ. Βρεταννίας εἰς τὴν Ἁγ. Σοφίαν Λονδίνου κατὰ τὴν 25ην Ὀκτωβρίου 1981, τὴν ὁποίαν συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ πρωτοβουλίᾳ. Εἰς τὴν κυρίαν ὁμιλίαν τῆς συνεδριάσεως, δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου, εὑρίσκομεν ὄχι μόνον μίαν ἀποτίμησιν τῆς σπουδαιότητος τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Νεολαίας διὰ τὸ μέλλον τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Κοινότητος Μ. Βρεταννίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν διατύπωσιν τοῦ βασικοῦ σκεπτικοῦ βάσει τοῦ ὁποίου θὰ προωθηθῇ ἡ μαρτυρία καὶ ἀποστολὴ τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Νεολαίας ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἡ πρωτοβουλία αὕτη εἶχεν ὑψίστην σημασίαν, καθ' ὅσον ἡ Νεολαία τῆς Κοινότητος προεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἐνεθαρρύνετο ὅπως ἀναλάβῃ ὑπευθυνότητα ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἀντιμετωπίσῃ τὸ μέλλον ἐποικοδομητικῶς καὶ δημιουργικῶς[60]. Ἡ μεγάλη ἀξία τὴν ὁποίαν προσδίδει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος εἰς τὴν συμμετοχὴν τῆς Νεολαίας εἰς τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀποκαλύπτεται σαφέστατα εἰς τὴν «Ἐγκύκλιόν του πρὸς τοὺς νέους τῆς Ἐπαρχίας», ἐκδοθεῖσαν κατὰ τὸν μῆνα Μάρτιον τοῦ 1981. Ἰδοὺ οἱ λόγοι του:

«*...σιγὰ-σιγὰ ἡ διοίκηση τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων μας νὰ περιέλθει στὰ παιδιὰ τῆς Παροικίας μας, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχουν γεννηθεῖ στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία... Γιατὶ τὰ παιδιὰ αὐτὰ ἔχουν μεγαλώσει σὲ ἀτμόσφαιρα ποὺ δὲν φέρει τὶς προσωπικὲς ἀντιθέσεις ποὺ ἔχουμε ἐμεῖς οἱ μεγαλύτεροι. Σκέπτονται σύγχρονα καὶ ὅσο πιὸ γρήγορα μποῦν αὐτὰ στὴ διοίκηση τῶν*

60. For the Greek text of the Archbishop's address see *Orthodox Herald* no 14 (1982), p. 7. The English version was printed in *Texts and Studies* (London), vol. 1. (1982) pp. 282-286.

*recommend, therefore, to all the young people to get involved with the affairs of the church communities, to take up membership in the parish councils, the school committees, the charity brotherhoods, etc., so that with the encouragement and support of the older folk and myself they may be elected to serve in the Committees of the General Structures of the Church in Great Britain. This, of course, applies both to young men and women... Youth Organizations closely connected with the parish churches are vital for the future of the Church and should be founded in every place where they do not exist as soon as possible, so that the ideals of our heritage may be developed among them.."*[61]

A similar initiative was given by the Archbishop at the Conference of the Charity Associations and Brotherhoods of the Archdiocese at the Cathedral Church of the Theotokos in London on 21 November 1981, when the Central Committee of Charity and Cultural Association was elected. Here again the Archbishop delivered the main address both encouraging and inspiring further the women of the Archdiocese in their important work to the Church and the Community. *"The Orthodox Church"*, said the Archbishop on that occasion, *"continues the tradition of the ancient Church in giving women the opportunity to be wives, mothers, deaconesses of the Church without limiting them only to one ministry and without depriving them from their natural destiny for the human society in general and for the family in particular. Thus the role of women in our*

*Κοινοτήτων, τόσο πιὸ γρήγορα θὰ ἐκσυγχρονιστεῖ καὶ ὅλο τὸ συγκρότημα τῆς Παροικίας.*

*»Συνιστῶ στὴ Νεολαία νὰ μπεῖ στὶς Κοινότητες καὶ νὰ γίνουν οἱ νέοι μας μέλη τῶν Κοινοτήτων, τῶν Σχολικῶν Ἐφορειῶν καὶ τῶν Βοηθητικῶν Ἀδελφοτήτων, γιὰ νὰ μποροῦν μὲ τὴ συμπαράσταση τῶν μεγαλυτέρων καὶ ἐμοῦ νὰ ἐκλεγοῦν στὶς διοικήσεις τῶν Σωμάτων τοῦ Ὀργανισμοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία. Ὅταν μιλῶ γιὰ νέους, ἐννοῶ ἄντρες καὶ γυναῖκες πάντοτε...*

*»Οἱ νέοι ἔχουν ὁλοένα περισσότερες δυνάμεις, ἰδιαίτερα αὐτοὶ ποὺ ἔχουν γεννηθεῖ καὶ ἔχουν μεγαλώσει ἐδῶ, γιατὶ ἔχουν τὸ πλεονέκτημα νὰ γνωρίζουν καὶ νὰ κινοῦνται πιὸ εὐχερῶς μέσα στὸ χῶρο τοῦτο, πιὸ καλύτερα ἀπὸ μᾶς ποὺ ἤλθαμε ἐδῶ κάτω ἀπὸ ἄλλες συνθῆκες.*

*»Οἱ Σύλλογοι Γονέων, Κηδεμόνων κ.λπ. πρέπει νὰ ἀντικατασταθοῦν ἀπὸ δυναμικοὺς Συλλόγους τῆς Νεολαίας μας, ἔτσι ὥστε νὰ ὑπάρχει κατανόηση μεταξὺ τῶν Κοινοτήτων καὶ τοῦ Λαοῦ μας ποὺ ἀναδύεται ἐδῶ καὶ θὰ ἀποτελέσει τὶς κατοπινὲς γενεὲς τῆς φυλῆς μας. Οἱ Σύλλογοι τῆς Νεολαίας θὰ φροντίσουν γιὰ μεγάλους καὶ μικρούς, γιὰ Σχολεῖα καὶ πολιτιστικὲς κινήσεις, γιὰ τὶς Ἐκκλησίες μας καὶ γιὰ τὸ καλό μας ὄνομα... Γιὰ νὰ βοηθήσουμε στὴν ἐπιτυχία αὐτὴ ἐμεῖς οἱ μεγαλύτεροι, πρέπει νά δημιουργήσουμε τὸ ταχύτερο κοντὰ στοὺς Ναούς μας Κέντρα Νεολαίας, γιὰ νὰ ἀναπτυχθοῦν ἐκεῖ μέσα ὅλα τὰ ἰδεώδη τῆς κληρονομιᾶς μας»*[61].

Παρομοία πρωτοβουλία ἐλήφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου καὶ εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν τοῦ Συνεδρίου τῶν Βοηθητικῶν Ἀδελφοτήτων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπραγματοποιήθη εἰς τὸν Καθεδρικὸν Ναὸν τοῦ Γενεσίου τῆς Θεοτόκου Λονδίνου κατὰ τὴν 21ην Νοεμβρίου τοῦ 1981, ὁπότε καὶ ἐξελέγη ἡ Κεντρικὴ Ἐπιτροπὴ τοῦ Βοηθητικοῦ καὶ Ἐκπολιτιστικοῦ Συνδέσμου. Καὶ εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν ταύτην ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἀπηύθυνε τὴν κυρίαν ὁμιλίαν τοῦ Συνεδρίου ἐνθαρρύνων καὶ ἐμπνέων ἔτι περαιτέρω τὰς γυναῖκας τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς εἰς τὸ σπουδαῖον ἔργον των πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν Κοινωνίαν. Ἰδοὺ μερικοὶ βαρυσήμαντοι λόγοι:

*«Ἡ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία ποὺ συνεχίζει τὴν παράδοση τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἐκκλησίας δίνει τὴν εὐκαιρία στὶς γυναῖκες νὰ εἶναι σύζυγοι καὶ μητέρες καὶ διακόνισσες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας χωρὶς νὰ δεσμεύει αὐτὲς μὲ τὴ μιὰ μόνον διακονία καὶ νὰ τὶς στερήσει ἀπὸ τὸ φυσικό τους προορισμό, τὴν οἰκογένεια καὶ τὴν κοι-*

61. *Orthodox Herald* no 11 (1981), p. 3.

*Church is the most dynamic and the most productive. As members organically related to the body of the Church, women have the opportunity to offer their services as Orthodox Christians without being severed from their social–political and especially family interests. Here in Britain... women not only have managed to establish and integrate into British society the families of immigrants but have given a tremendous help towards the building up of our Church with all its associations in finding church buildings, in organising the parishes and the parish schools and above all in organising social providence charity and philanthropy... This wonderful tradition should be transmitted to the young daughters and generally to the young people of our Province... so that the future of our Church may be firmly insured*[62].

Another important example of the Archbishop's decisive pastoral initiative in the affairs of the Greek Orthodox Communities in Gt Britain can be seen in his constructive involvement in the Consultation of the Association of the Greek Orthodox Communities of Great Britain which took place at the conference hall of St. Sophia Cathedral in London on 5 December 1981[63].

Not only on that important occasion, but on every other Committee meeting of the above Association the Archbishop has been present promoting the essential link between the Church and the Community and on many occasions leading the community officers to think and act responsibly and wisely on vital issues and concerns of the Greek Community in Britain and elsewhere including Greece and Cyprus.

Similar care has been exercised by Archbishop Methodios towards the clergy. Here he has summoned annual clergy conferences[64] and has laid the foundations for an ecclesiastical Seminary which began its first functions with series of lectures delivered in London by himself and promi-

*νωνία. Ἔτσι ὁ ρόλος τῆς γυναίκας στὴν Ἐκκλησία μας εἶναι πιὸ δυναμικὸς καὶ πιὸ ἀποδοτικός. Ὡς ὀργανωμένο σῶμα στὴν Ἐκκλησία ἔχει τὴ δυνατότητα νὰ προσφέρει τὶς ὑπηρεσίες της ἡ χριστιανὴ ὀρθόδοξη γυναίκα χωρὶς νὰ ἀποκόπτεται ἀπὸ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα κοινωνικά, πολιτικὰ καὶ κυρίως οἰκογενειακὰ ἐνδιαφέροντά της. Ἐδῶ στὴ Μεγάλη Βρεταννία... ἡ γυναίκα, παράλληλα μὲ τὴ συνδρομή της στὴν ἀποκατάσταση τῆς οἰκογένειας, ποὺ ἀντιμετώπισε τόσα προβλήματα ὡς μετανάστης καὶ πρόσφυγας, ἔδωσε καὶ μία μεγάλη βοήθεια στὴν οἰκοδομὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας μὲ ὅλα τὰ σωματεῖα της. Στὴν ἐξεύρεση Ναοῦ, στὴν ὀργάνωση τῆς Ἐνορίας, στὴν ὀργάνωση τοῦ Σχολείου, καὶ πρὸ πάντων στὴν ὀργάνωση τῆς φιλανθρωπίας...*

*»Αὐτὴ ἡ ὡραία παράδοση πρέπει νὰ μεταφυτευθεῖ στὶς θυγατέρες καὶ στὴ νεότερη γενεὰ τῆς Παροικίας μας, γιατὶ βλέπω τὸν παράγοντα τῆς γυναίκας πολὺ ἀποδοτικὸ στὴν Ἐκκλησία μας... γιὰ τὸ μέλλον της στὸ χῶρο τοῦτο»*[62].

Ἕτερον ἐξ ἴσου σπουδαῖον παράδειγμα τῆς ἀποφασιστικῆς ποιμαντορικῆς πρωτοβουλίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν κοινοτήτων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς του ἦτο ἡ ἐποικοδομητικὴ ἀνάμειξίς του εἰς τὴν Διάσκεψιν τοῦ Συνδέσμου Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων Μ. Βρεταννίας, ἡ ὁποία ἔλαβε χώραν εἰς τὴν κρύπτην τοῦ Καθεδρικοῦ Ναοῦ τῆς Ἁγ. Σοφίας Λονδίνου κατὰ τὴν 5ην Δεκεμβρίου τοῦ 1981[63]. Οὐχὶ μόνον εἰς τὴν περίστασιν ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν ἄλλην συνεδρίασιν τῆς Διοικητικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ ἀνωτέρω Συνδέσμου, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος προώθησεν ἀποφασιστικῶς τὸν δεσμὸν μεταξὺ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Κοινότητος καί ἐπανειλημμένως ὡδήγησε τοὺς κοινοτικοὺς ἡγέτας νὰ σκεφθοῦν καὶ νὰ ἐνεργήσουν ὑπευθύνως καὶ σαφῶς ὅσον ἀφορᾷ ζωτικὰ ζητήματα τῆς ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ εὑρισκομένης Ἑλληνικῆς Ὁμογενείας, ἀκόμη δὲ καὶ διὰ ζητήματα ἀφορῶντα τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Κύπρου.

Παρομοία φροντὶς ἠσκήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἔναντι τοῦ κλήρου. Οὕτω συνεκάλεσεν ἐτησίους συσκέψεις τῶν κληρικῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς[64] καὶ ἔθεσε τὰς βάσεις διὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ σεμιναρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον διωργάνωσε σειρὰν διαλέξεων δοθεισῶν εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, τῶν συνεπισκό-

62. *Orthodox Herald* no 14 (1982), p. 6, and *Texts and Studies*, vol 1. (1982), pp. 287-289.
63. *Orthodox Herald* no 15 (1982), pp. 4, 5.
64. Cf. *Orthodox Herald* no 12 (1981), p. 5, no 19 (183), p.5, and no 23 (1984), pp. 4,5.

nent churchmen and theologians in his Archdiocese.

Archbishop Methodios' involvement in the work of the laity and the clergy of the Greek communities in Britain and their various associations has been marked not only by his untiring attempts to lead his people to think responsibly, constructively and creatively, but also by his generous deeds and practical support. *The Orthodox Herald*[65], the newspaper of the Archdiocese, provides an incredible record of donations given by the Archbishop to individual communities and associations. A cursory look reveals that during 1980-1984 the donations of the Archbishop to the Community exceeded the sum of £300.000!

The area, however, in which the Archbishop excelled in all his efforts was that of education. From 1980 onwards, he initiated numerous activities which promoted the educational aspirations of the Greek Orthodox Community of Gt Britain. Already on 20 June 1980, only a few months after his enthronement, he summoned a Consultation of the presidents of the School Committees and established a Secretariat for education[66]. This early educational initiative of the Archbishop was fittingly praised by Dr Constantine Nicholaou, honorary president of the Greek Community of Woolich (London) in an interesting article on *"Greek Education and Diaspora". "All of us"*, said Mr Nicholaou, *"are bound to express our warmest congratulations to Archbishop Methodios for his wonderful initiative in giving greatest priority to the educational problem of the Greek Community in England. As it is already known, on Sunday 20 January 1980 the Archbishop summoned the School Committees and leaders of all the parishes of the Archdiocese and at his prompting a four – membered executive committee was elected under the chairmanship of Bishop Chrysostomos of Kyanea which was given the mandate to coordinate the various educational efforts of the Community as a whole and to exercise oversight over the application of the New Progressive Educa-*

πων του καὶ τῶν διακεκριμένων θεολόγων ἱερέων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς.

Ἡ ἀνάμειξις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ἑλληνορθοδόξων κοινοτήτων Μ. Βρεταννίας καὶ τῶν διαφόρων αὐτῶν συνδέσμων καὶ σωματείων δὲν περιωρίσθη μόνον εἰς ἐνθαρρυντικοὺς λόγους καὶ ἡγετικὴν καθοδήγησιν, ἀλλὰ συμπεριέλαβε καὶ πράξεις γενναιοδωρίας καὶ χρηματικῶν δωρεῶν. Ὁ *«Ὀρθόδοξος Κήρυξ»*[65], ἡ ἐφημερὶς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, παρέχει ἐκπληκτικὴν εἰκόνα δωρεῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρὸς διαφόρους κοινότητας καὶ ὀργανισμούς. Ἕνας γενικὸς ὑπολογισμὸς τῶν δωρεῶν αὐτῶν φανερώνει ὅτι κατὰ τὸ διάστημα 1980-1984 αἱ δωρεαὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρὸς τὴν Ὁμογένειαν ὑπερέβησαν τὸ συνολικὸν ποσὸν τῶν 300.000 λιρῶν στερλινῶν!

Ὁ τομεύς, πάντως, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον διέλαμψαν αἱ ἐνέργειαι τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου περισσότερον παντὸς ἄλλου εἶναι ὁ ἐκπαιδευτικός. Ἀπὸ τοῦ 1980 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, προέβη εἰς πληθὺν ἐνεργειῶν ἀποσκοπῶν εἰς τὴν προώθησιν τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν ἰδανικῶν τῆς ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ὁμογενείας ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ. Ἤδη, κατὰ τὴν 20ὴν Ἰουνίου τοῦ 1980, μετὰ παρέλευσιν ὀλίγων μόλις μηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνθρονίσεώς του, συνεκάλεσε Διάσκεψιν τῶν προέδρων τῶν Σχολικῶν Ἐπιτροπῶν καὶ ἵδρυσε Γραμματείαν Ἐκπαιδεύσεως[66]. Ἡ πρώτη αὕτη ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ πρωτοβουλία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἐξήρθη δεόντως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτίμου προέδρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος Γούλιτς τοῦ Λονδίνου εἰς λίαν ἐνδιαφέρον ἄρθρον του, τιτλοφορούμενον «Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκπαίδευσις καὶ Διασπορά». Ἰδοὺ σχετικὸν ἀπόσπασμα:

*«Ὅλοι μας θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐκφράσωμε θερμότατα συγχαρητήρια στὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο κ. Μεθόδιο γιὰ τὴν θαυμασία πρωτοβουλία του νὰ δώσῃ μείζονα προτεραιότητα στὸ ἐκπαιδευτικὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ Ὁμογενείας.*

*»Ὅπως εἶναι ἤδη γνωστὸ συνεκάλεσε τὴν Κυριακὴν 20ὴν Ἰανουαρίου 1980 Σχολικοὺς Ἐφόρους καὶ Προεστοὺς ὅλων τῶν ἐνοριῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ τῇ προτάσει του ἐξελέγη τετραμελὴς ἐκτελεστικὴ ἐπιτροπὴ ὑπὸ τὴν προεδρίαν τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Κυανέων κ. Χρυσοστόμου πρὸς συντονισμὸν ποικίλων ἐνεργειῶν καὶ ἐφαρμογὴν τοῦ Νέου Προοδευτικοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Προγράμματος.*

65. *Orthodox Herald* no 3 (1980), pp. 1,6, no 10 (1981), p. 12, no 11 (1981). 9, etc.
66. *Orthodox Herald* no 2 (1980), p. 4.

*tional Programme. Undoubtedly the Greeks of Britain will now acquire what had been a long standing need in connection with the youth of the Greek diaspora – our children – namely, an educational programme and a coordinated effort for its implimentation"*[67].

The Archbishop's views on the priority of Greek educational ideals and especially his insistance on the vital link between the work of the Church and the educational efforts of the Community were repeatedly explained through leading articles in the *Orthodox Herald* and through Encyclicals and were decisively enhanced through important Conferences which are unique in the history of the Archdiocese and perhaps in the entire Greek diaspora and thus constitute real models for future developments. Thus in May-June 1980 he wrote a leader on *"The Church and Greek Education"* in which he outlined the basic perspectives on the topic. He began by setting forth the vital connection between Church and education – *"For many centuries the Greek Church has been the sole sustainer of Greek education. She was beyond the frontiers of the Greek dominion the pioneer or Greek education, inasmuch as its communities took up the work of education"* – and having outlined the situation of the Greek Community in Gt Britain, he went on to stress *"that Greek education should remain near the Church, connected with her and enjoying her cooperation... not least because the structural dimension of our Church enables her to undertake permanently this heavy burden..."* and also to conclude with the hope *"that all people connected with the education of the Greek youth in Gt Britain will come to realize the fundamental role of the Church in this respect"*, since *"the Church herself feels it her duty to do all she can in Great Britain to promote the education of our youth and to remain the centre of such an effort"*[68].

In another important leader of the *Orthodox Herald* bearing the title *"Our Education in Great Britain"* Archbishop Methodios drew out once

*»Ἀναμφιβόλως τώρα θὰ ἀποκτήσῃ ὁ ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ Ἀπόδημος Ἑλληνισμὸς αὐτὸ ποὺ εἶχε ἀνάγκη καὶ ἦτάν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπαραίτητο γιὰ τοὺς νεοσσοὺς τῆς διασπορᾶς – τὰ παιδιά μας – ἐκπαιδευτικὸ πρόγραμμα καὶ συντονισμένη προσπάθεια ἐφαρμογῆς του»*[67].

Αἱ θέσεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὴν προτεραιότητα τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν ἰδανικῶν καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως ἡ ἐπιμονή του ἐπὶ τοῦ ζωτικοῦ συνδέσμου τῆς διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν προσπαθειῶν τῆς Κοινότητος ἐξηγήθησαν ἐπανειλημμένως εἰς κύρια ἄρθρα τοῦ *«Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος»* καὶ εἰς ἐγκυκλίους Ἐπιστολάς, προωθήθησαν δὲ ἀποφασιστικῶς διὰ σχετικῶν Συνεδρίων, τὰ ὁποῖα ὑπῆρξαν μοναδικὰ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ ἴσως ἀκόμη ὁλοκλήρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Διασπορᾶς καὶ ἀποτελοῦν πραγματικὰ ὑποδείγματα διὰ μελλοντικὰς ἐξελίξεις. Οὕτω κατὰ τὸν Μάιον-Ἰούνιον 1980 ἔγραψε κύριον ἄρθρον περὶ «Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς Παιδείας», εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον παρουσίασε συνοπτικῶς τὰς βασικὰς προοπτικὰς τοῦ θέματος. Προβάλων κατ' ἀρχὴν τὴν ζωτικὴν σύνδεσιν μεταξὺ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Παιδείας – *«Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκκλησία συνετήρησεν ἐπὶ αἰῶνας ἀποκλειστικῶς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Παιδείαν. Ἐκτὸς τῶν συνόρων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κράτους ὑπῆρξεν αὕτη ὁ πρωτεργάτης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παιδείας καὶ ὁ συντηρητὴς αὐτῆς μέχρι τῆς ὀργανώσεως τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Κοινοτήτων καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναλήψεως τοῦ ἔργου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παιδείας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ἡ Ἐκκλησία συνέχισε παντοιοτρόπως νὰ συνδράμῃ τὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν τῶν Ἑλληνοπαίδων, διότι εἶναι εἰς τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας ἡ καθοδήγησις τῆς Νεολαίας»* – καὶ συνοψίσας ἐν συνεχείᾳ τὴν κατάστασιν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὁμογενείας ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ, ἐτόνισεν ὅτι:

*«Ἂν γίνῃ κατανοητὸν ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἀποτελεῖ ἕνα μόνιμον καὶ ἀσφαλῆ φορέα διὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν τῶν παιδιῶν μας, ἡ ἀναδιοργάνωσις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παιδείας ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ θὰ εἶναι ἐφικτὴ καὶ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα σίγουρα πολλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα.*

*»Εἰς τὸ σχέδιον αὐτὸ ὑπάρχει καὶ ἕνας ἄλλος πρακτικὸς λόγος καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι ἡ ὀργανωτικὴ δομὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας, ἡ ὁποία τῆς παρέχει τὰς δυνατότητας νὰ βαστάσῃ τὸ φορτίον αὐτό. Ὁ ἐνθουσιασμὸς διαφόρων ἀτόμων καὶ αἱ δυνατότητες αὐτῶν δὲν εἶναι μόνιμα στοιχεῖα, ἐνῷ ἡ Ἐκκλησία μὲ ὅλας τὰς δυναμίας τῶν λειτουργῶν αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐ-*

67. *Orthodox Herald* no 5 (1980), p. 3.

more his views on a common educational effort of the Greeks in Gt Britain, this time attempting to answer certain of his critics who wanted to dissociate the educational effort of the community from the work of the Church. Here he distinguished between the theoretical aspect of education and the practical dimension, assigning the competence of the former to the ministries of education of Greece and Cyprus and the latter to the Archdiocese, and stressed once again the principle *"that the Church does not act independently from the Nation's programme"* and therefore, *"the cooperation of the Church and her representatives with the various Associations which run schools in the Community is of vital importance"*[69].

Amongst the many educational efforts of the Archbishop was the summoning of an extraordinary three-days Conference on Education in London in January 1981 and which took the form of a Celebration of Greek Letters. This Conference organized by the Central Educational Council of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Gt Britain under the leadership of Archbishop Methodios was indeed an extraordinary occasion which is unique in its kind in the Greek diaspora throughout the world. Blessed by His Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople, this Conference was attended by eminent Greek men of letters, the President of the Greek

*τήν, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπικρατεῖ ἐλευθερία καὶ σεβασμὸς τῶν θρησκευτικῶν πεποιθήσεων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, δύναται συνεχῶς νὰ ἀνανεώνῃ τὸν ἐκπαιδευτικὸν αὐτῆς τομέα, διότι ἤδη διαθέτει σχολικοὺς ἰδιοκτήτους χώρους, κοινοτικὸν προσωπικὸν καὶ τὰ οἰκονομικὰ μέσα...*

*»Ἐν πάσῃ περιπτώσει ἡ Ἐκκλησία θεωρεῖ καθῆκον της νὰ πράξῃ ὅ,τι εἶναι δυνατὸν διὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ Παιδείαν καὶ θὰ παραμείνῃ τὸ κέντρον αὐτῆς, ἐπαφίεται δὲ εἰς τὴν κατανόησιν ὅλων τῶν παραγόντων διὰ νὰ ἰδοῦν τὸν ρόλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν Παιδείαν»*[68].

Εἰς ἕτερον κύριον ἄρθρον τοῦ *« Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος»*, τιτλοφορούμενον «Ἡ Παιδεία μας ἐν Μεγ. Βρεταννίᾳ», ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος διετύπωσε καὶ πάλιν τὰς θέσεις του ὅσον ἀφορᾷ τὰς ἐκπαιδευτικὰς προσπαθείας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Ὁμογενείας ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ, ἀποπειρώμενος εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν ταύτην ὅπως ἀπαντήσῃ εἰς ὡρισμένους ἐπικριτάς του, ἐπιδιώκοντας διάσπασιν τοῦ κοινοῦ μετώπου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Κοινότητος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ. Διακρίνων σαφῶς μεταξὺ τῆς θεωρητικῆς ὄψεως τῆς παιδείας καὶ τῆς πρακτικῆς διαστάσεως καὶ ἐπιρρίπτων τὴν εὐθύνην διὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἰς τὰ Ὑπουργεῖα Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Κύπρου διὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπήν, ἐτόνισε διὰ μίαν ἀκόμη φορὰν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι: *«ἡ Ἐκκλησία δὲν ἐνεργεῖ ἀνεξαρτήτως τοῦ προγράμματος τοῦ Ἔθνους»* καὶ συνεπῶς *«ἡ συνεργασία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων της μετὰ τῶν διαφόρων Συνδέσμων, οἱ ὁποῖοι διοργανώνουν σχολεῖα ἐντὸς τῆς Κοινότητος, εἶναι ζωτικῆς σημασίας»*[69].

Μεταξὺ τῶν πολλῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν προσπαθειῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου διακρίνεται τὸ ἔκτακτον τριήμερον Συνέδριον περὶ Ἐκπαιδεύσεως, τὸ ὁποῖον ἔλαβε χώραν ἐν Λονδίνῳ κατὰ τὸν Ἰανουάριον τοῦ 1981 καὶ ἐθεωρήθη ὡς εἶδος ἑορτασμοῦ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Γραμμάτων. Τὸ Συνέδριον τοῦτο ὠργάνωσε τὸ Κεντρικὸν Ἐκπαιδευτικὸν Συμβούλιον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγ. Βρεταννίας ὑπὸ τὴν καθοδήγησιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου καὶ ἐχαιρετίσθη ὡς ἐξαιρετικὴ περίστασις, μοναδικὴ εἰς τὸ εἶδος της, διὰ τὴν ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον ἑλληνικὴν Διασποράν. Εὐλογηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Παναγιωτάτου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Δημητρίου, τὸ Συνέδριον τοῦτο προσείλκυσε πολλοὺς διακεκριμένους ἑλλη-

68. *Orthodox Herald* no 5 (1980), pp. 2, 3.

69. *Orthodox Herald* no 7 (1980), pp. 1, 8; see also p. 11 on the publication of the pamphlet *Why the children should learn Greek* by the Archdiocese of Thyateira.

Parliament at the time Mr Dem. Papaspyrou, the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs of Greece Mr Athanasios Taliadouros, the Minister of Education of the Republic of Cyprus Mr Nicholas Conomes, the Ambassador of Greece in London Mr Eustathios Lagakos and the High Commissioner of Cyprus in London Mr Tasos Panayides, all of whom delivered important speeches on education[70]. This Conference marked the beginning of a new era in the educational efforts of the Archbishop which increased year by year to the extent that they cannot be all recalled here. Some significant highlights should perhaps be noted. For instance, the significant document which outlined the basic principles of the Constitution of the Central Educational Committee of the Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira[71] and which clearly indicates his decisive and serious involvement in the sphere of education; or the first Conference of the persons responsible with education in the Archdiocese on 9 May 1981;[72] or the publication of the Constitution of the union of Greek teachers of Gt Britain and Ireland;[73] or the Statement of the Central Educational Committee on the *"Educational Identity of the Greek Youth in Gt Britain"*;[74] or the foundation of the educational Centre of Bristol;[75] or the opening of the Education Office of the Archdiocese;[76] or the establishment of the London Hellenic College;[77] or the Archbishop's involvement in the annual festivities of the Greek Schools in Gt Britain at the end of each academic year.

Two particular cases of the Archbishop's educational efforts should be stressed here, because of their special importance. The first one is the Annual Celebration of the Greek Letters, which falls on the Feast of the Three Hierarchs, Patrons of the Greek Orthodox Education, St. Basil the

νας λογίους, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων συμπεριελαμβάνοντο ὁ τότε Πρόεδρος τῆς Βουλῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων Δημ. Παπασπύρου, ὁ τότε Ὑπουργὸς Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἀθανάσιος Ταλιαδοῦρος, ὁ τότε Ὑπουργὸς Παιδείας τῆς Κυπριακῆς Δημοκρατίας Νικ. Κονομῆς, ὁ πρέσβυς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Λονδίνῳ Εὐστάθιος Λαγᾶκος καὶ ὁ Ὕπατος Ἀρμοστὴς τῆς Κύπρου ἐν Λονδίνῳ Τάσος Παναγίδης, οἱ ὁποῖοι καὶ ἀπηύθυναν σπουδαιοτάτας ὁμιλίας περὶ παιδείας καὶ ἐκπαιδεύσεως[70]. Τὸ Συνέδριον τοῦτο ἀπετέλεσεν ἀφετηρίαν νέας ἐποχῆς εἰς τὰς ἐκπαιδευτικὰς προσπαθείας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων, αἱ ὁποῖαι ηὐξήθησαν ἔκτοτε εἰς σημεῖον ὥστε νὰ μὴ δύνανται ὅλαι νὰ ἀναφερθοῦν εἰς τὰ πλαίσια τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας. Ἁπλῶς καὶ μόνον θὰ σημειώσωμεν ἐδῶ μερικὰς ἐκ τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων ἐξ αὐτῶν. Ἐπὶ παραδείγματι, δέον νὰ σημειώσωμεν τὸ σημαντικὸν κείμενον τὸ ὁποῖον συνοψίζει τὰς βασικὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ Καταστατικοῦ τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων[71] καὶ τὸ ὁποῖον σαφῶς διαδηλοῖ τὴν ἀποφασιστικὴν ἀνάμειξιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν ζητημάτων· ἢ τὴν πρώτην Διάσκεψιν τῶν ὑπευθύνων διὰ τὰ ἐκπαιδευτικὰ εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν κατὰ τὴν 9ην Μαΐου τοῦ 1981[72]· ἢ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ Καταστατικοῦ τῆς Ἑνώσεως Ἑλλήνων Διδασκάλων Βρεταννίας καὶ Ἰρλανδίας[73]· ἢ τὴν Δήλωσιν τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου περὶ «Ἐκπαιδευτικῆς Ταυτότητος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Νεολαίας ἐν Μεγ. Βρεταννίᾳ»[74]· ἢ τὴν ἵδρυσιν Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Κέντρου εἰς Μπρίστολ[75]· ἢ τὸ ἄνοιγμα Γραφείου Ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς[76]· ἢ τὴν δημιουργίαν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Λονδίνου[77]· ἢ τὴν ἐνεργὸν ἀνάμειξιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς τοὺς ἐτησίους ἑορτασμοὺς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Σχολείων Μ. Βρεταννίας εἰς τὸ τέλος ἑκάστου ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ ἔτους.

Δύο ἰδιαίτεραι περιπτώσεις τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν προσπαθειῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρέπει διακριτικῶς νὰ ὑπογραμμισθοῦν εἰς τὸ σημεῖον αὐτό, διότι παρουσιάζουν ἐξαιρετικὴν σημασίαν. Ἡ πρώτη εἶναι ὁ ἐτήσιος ἑορτασμὸς τῶν ἑλληνικῶν Γραμμάτων, ὁ ὁποῖος γίνεται κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Τριῶν

70. For full coverage of this extraordinary session see *Orthodox Herald* no 10 (1981), pp. 1ff.
71. *Orthodox Herald* no 11 (1981), p. 9.
72. *Orthodox Herald* no 12 (1981), p. 7.
73. *Orthodox Herald* no 12 (1981), p. 10.
74. *Orthodox Herald* no 15 (1982), p. 10., and *Greek Review no 2 (1982), p. 18.*
75. *Orthodox Herald* no 22 (1982), p. 4.
76. *Orthodox Herald* no 25 (1984), p. 2.
77. *Greek Review* no 6 (1982), p. 28.

Great, St. Gregory the Theologian and St. John Chrysostom, and the second case is connected with the Foundation for Hellenism in Gt Britain. As regards the first case, six occasions have occurred which have been most memorable. In 1980 the distinguished Professor of Philosophy at Athens University and General Secretary of the Athens Academy, Prof. John Theodorakopoulos spoke on *"The problems of the contemporary Greeks"*[78]. He was followed in 1981 by the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs of Greece Mr Athanasios Taliadouros who spoke on *"The Educational Reformation"*[79]. Then, in 1982 Sir Steven Runciman, the well known Byzantinist, spoke on *"The Three Hierarchs and the continuity of Greek Civilisation"*[80]. In 1983 the distinguished Greek Professor of Medicine, G.E. Merikas, of the University of Athens, spoke on *"The Contribution of the Greek spirit to the development of Medicine throughout the ages*[81]; He was followed in 1984 by Professor T.F. Torrance of Edinburgh University and Fellow of the British Academy (London), who spoke on *"The Three Hierarchs and the Greek Christian Mind"*[82]. Finally this year, Professor N. Nissiotis of the University of Athens and President of the International Academy of Religious Sciences spoke on *"The Philosophical Presuppositions of the work of the Three Hierarchs"*[83]. On all these occasions the Archbishop presided over the meetings and the Festivities which followed them and on each occasion he introduced the speaker and led the discussion.

The second case, the establishment of the Foundation for Hellenism in Gt Britain, reminds us very much of the Archbishop's Association of Ethiopic -Hellenic Studies which was established by him in Ethiopia earlier on. As in the earlier case, so now he also established a new scholarly review which would deal with the history and ac-

Ἱεραρχῶν, τῶν προστατευόντων τὴν ἑλληνορθόδοξον παιδείαν, τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου, τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ τοῦ ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, καὶ ἡ δευτέρα εἶναι ἡ ἵδρυσις τοῦ Κέντρου διὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν Μεγ. Βρεταννίας. Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν πρώτην περίπτωσιν, ἓξ ἐν ὅλῳ ἑορτασμοὶ ἔχουν μέχρι τοῦδε πραγματοποιηθῆ μετὰ ἐξαιρετικῆς ἐπιτυχίας. Κατὰ τὸ 1980 ὁ διακεκριμένος καθηγητὴς τῆς Φιλοσοφίας τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν ἀείμνηστος Ἰωάννης Θεοδωρακόπουλος ὡμίλησε περὶ «Τῶν προβλημάτων τῶν συγχρόνων Ἑλλήνων»[78]. Ἐν συνεχείᾳ κατὰ τὸ 1981 ὁ τότε Ὑπουργὸς Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων Ἀθανάσιος Ταλιαδοῦρος ὡμίλησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος «Ἡ Ἐκπαιδευτικὴ Μεταρρύθμισις»[79]. Κατὰ τὸ 1982 ὁ Σὲρ Στῆβεν Ράνσιμαν, ὁ γνωστότατος βυζαντινολόγος, ὡμίλησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος «Οἱ Τρεῖς Ἱεράρχαι καὶ ἡ μετάδοσις τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ»[80]. Κατὰ τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος, 1983, ὁ διακεκριμένος ἕλλην καθηγητὴς τῆς Ἰατρικῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Γ.Ε. Μερίκας διεπραγματεύθη τὸ θέμα «Ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὴν ἐξέλιξιν τῆς Ἰατρικῆς διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων»[81]. Ἀκολούθως κατὰ τὸ 1984 ὁ ὁμότιμος καθηγητὴς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου Θ.Φ. Τόρρανς, μέλος τῆς Βρεταννικῆς Ἀκαδημίας, ὡμίλησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος «Οἱ τρεῖς Ἱεράρχαι καὶ ἡ ἑλληνοχριστιανικὴ Διανόησις»[82]. Τέλος, κατὰ τὸ τρέχον ἔτος, ὁ καθηγητὴς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Πρόεδρος τῆς Διεθνοῦς Ἀκαδημίας Θρησκευτικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν Νικ. Νησιώτης ὡμίλησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος «Αἱ φιλοσοφικαὶ προϋποθέσεις τοῦ ἔργου τῶν τριῶν Ἱεραρχῶν»[83]. Εἰς ὅλας τὰς ἀνωτέρω διαλέξεις καὶ ἑορτασμοὺς προήδρευσεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος αὐτοπροσώπως παρουσιάζων τὸν ἑκάστοτε ὁμιλητὴν καὶ διευθύνων τὴν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν συζήτησιν.

Ἡ δευτέρα περίπτωσις, ἡ ἵδρυσις τοῦ Κέντρου διὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν ἐν Μεγ. Βρεταννίᾳ, ὑπενθυμίζει τὸν Σύνδεσμον Αἰθιοπικο-Ἑλληνικῶν Σπουδῶν, τὸν ὁποῖον εἶχε προηγουμένως ἱδρύσει ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ. Ὅπως τότε οὕτω καὶ τώρα ἵδρυσεν ἐπίσης καὶ μίαν νέαν ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐπιθεώρησιν, ἀφιερωμένην εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν τῆς ἱστορίας

78. *Orthodox Herald* no 2 (1980), pp. 1, 7.

79. *Orthodox Herald* no 10 (1981), p. 1.

80. For the full text of the lecture see *Greek Review* no (1982), pp. 16-21; also in *Texts and Studies* vol. ii (1983) pp. 207-209. Cf. also Sir Steven Runciman's very interesting article "The Orthodox Church: its role in Great Britain", in *Greek Review* no 32 (1983), p. 12.

81. See *Orthodox Herald* no 19 (1983), p.1., and *Greek Review* no 25 (1983), p. 22, and for the full text of the lecture (in Greek) see *Texts and Studies* vol. iii (1984), pp. 65-79.

82. See *Orthodox Herald* no 23 (1984), p. 3, and for the full text see *Texts and Studies* vol. iii (1984), pp. 87-96.

83. See *Orthodox Herald* no 26 (1985), p. 21.

tivity of the Archdiocese. Thus the *Abba Salama* of Ethiopia finds now its British counter-part in the *Texts and Studies* of London. The three volumes that have been published so far contain very valuable material both for the historian and the theologian. Both the Foundation for Hellenism in Gt Britain and the annual review of *Texts and Studies,* directly related to the above mentioned Foundation, are concrete expressions of the educational ideals of Archbishop Methodios.

However, as we have already seen in his earlier career, Archbishop Methodios' ideals represent a much wider net, inasmuch as they are extended beyond the national and local levels to the international and ecumenical dimensions. This is clearly seen in the scholarly activities of the Archbishop during his 6 years term of office in Britain and especially in his scholarly publications. During this period he delivered lectures to the University of London, the University of Durham, Worchester College Oxford, The International Academy of Religious Sciences in Brussels, the Association of Greek Scientists of Gt Britain, the Irish School of Ecumenics in Dublin, The Association internationale des Amis de Robert Schuman in Athens, and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline Mass, USA.

As soon as he came to Britain he established a new international theological review *Church and Theology* which followed the same lines as its earlier counter-part, the *Ekklesiasticos Pharos* of Alexandria which the Archbishop edited for ten years as Archbishop of Aksum. So far five impressive volumes of *Church and Theology* have appeared which comprise several thousands of pages and contain extremely valuable church-historical and theological material. Apart from editing single handedly these six volumes, Archbishop Methodios completed his earlier work on *Christianity and Judaism in Ethiopia, Nubia and Merroe* by producing the second and final volume[84]. He also produced a second edition to his book *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism* in America and published eight volumes of his Collected Works under the general title,

84. published at Athens in 1982, pp. 246 with 52 maps.

καὶ δράσεως τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς του. Τοιουτοτρόπως τὸ περιοδικὸν «*Texts and Studies*» τοῦ Λονδίνου διεδέχθη τὸ περιοδικὸν «*Abba Salama*» τῆς Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας. Οἱ τρεῖς τόμοι οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔχουν μέχρι τοῦδε κυκλοφορήσει περιέχουν χρησιμώτατον ὑλικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸν ἱστορικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸν θεολόγον. Τόσον τὸ «Κέντρον διὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ» δσον καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀμέσως συνδεόμενον περιοδικὸν «*Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται*» ἀποτελοῦν συγκεκριμένας ἐκφράσεις τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν ἰδεωδῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου.

Ἐν τούτοις, ὅπως ἄλλωστε ἔχομεν παρατηρήσει εἰς τὴν προηγηθεῖσαν σταδιοδρομίαν του, τὰ ἰδεώδη τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἀντιπροσωπεύουν πολὺ εὐρύτερον δίκτυον, ἐφ' δσον ἐπεκτείνονται καὶ πέραν τῶν ἐθνικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν ἐπιπέδων εἰς τὰ διεθνῆ καὶ οἰκουμενικὰ πεδία. Τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς μαρτυροῦν αἱ καθαρῶς ἀκαδημαϊκαὶ δραστηριότητες τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῶν ἓξ ἐτῶν διακονίας του ἐν Βρεταννίᾳ καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως αἱ ἐπιστημονικαί του ἐκδόσεις. Κατὰ τὴν περίοδον ταύτην ἔδωκε διαλέξεις εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Λονδίνου, τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Ντάραμ, τὸ Γοῦστερ Κόλλετζ τῆς Ὀξφόρδης, τὴν Διεθνῆ Ἀκαδημίαν Θρησκευτικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν τῶν Βρυξελλῶν, εἰς τὴν Γενικὴν Συνέλευσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σκωτίας, τὸν Σύνδεσμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἐπιστημόνων Μεγ. Βρεταννίας, τὴν Ἰρλανδικὴν Σχολὴν Οἰκουμενικῶν Σπουδῶν εἰς Δουβλῖνον, τὸν Διεθνῆ Ὀργανισμὸν Φίλων τοῦ Ρόμπερτ Σούμαν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Θεολογικὴν Σχολὴν τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ εἰς τὸ Μπρούκλαϊν Μασσαχουσέττης ΗΠΑ.

Ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀγγλίαν ἵδρυσεν εὐθὺς ἀμέσως μίαν νέαν διεθνῆ θεολογικὴν ἐπιθεώρησιν, τὴν «*Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ Θεολογίαν*», ἡ ὁποία ἠκολούθησε τὸν αὐτὸν τύπον, ὅπως ὁ «*Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*» Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐξέδιδεν ἐπὶ ἕνδεκα ἔτη ὡς Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης. Μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος πέντε ὀγκώδεις τόμοι τῆς «*Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Θεολογίας*» ἔχουν ἴδει εἰς τὸ φῶς τῆς δημοσιότητος, ἀπαρτιζόμενοι ἐκ χιλιάδων σελίδων καὶ περιέχοντες χρησιμώτατον ἐκκλησιαστικο-ιστορικὸν καὶ θεολογικὸν ὑλικόν. Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῶν πέντε τούτων τόμων, συνεπλήρωσεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος τὸ προηγούμενον ἔργον του περὶ τοῦ «*Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, Νουβίᾳ καὶ Μερόῃ*», ἐκδίδων τὸν δεύτερον καὶ τελευταῖον τόμον[84]. Ἐξεδόθη ἐπίσης διὰ δευτέραν φο-

*Theological and Historical Studies*[85]. Particularly significant have been the Archbishop's Encyclical Messages on Christmas, Easter, New Year's Day and Independence Day many of which have been printed and reprinted with commentary not only in Britain but also in the Greek Press both in Greece and other parts of the world[86]. The particular significance of these Encyclicals lies in the fact that they deal with contemporary issues in Church and State and in international affairs, always from a fundamental Christian perspective, which accounts for their freshness and authoritative character. These messages are characterized by telescopic analysis and constructive critique of contemporary issues. Along side with these, we should place here a number of scholarly articles of varied length but of crucial importance. Such are, his *"Reply to the Archbishop Paul of Karelia and All Finland on The Orthodox Diaspora"*[87], his essay on *"The Filioque in Ecumenical Perspective"*, which is a response to the recent Memorandum of the Faith and Order Commission of the W.C.C. published in the book *Spirit of God Spirit of Christ*[88], his essay on *"The Ecumenical Patriarchate Yesterday and Today"* being his contribution to the volume of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the 1600th anniversary of the Second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople of 381[89], his study on *"The Inheritance of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Europe Today"*[90], his addressess on Orthodox Tradition[91], and his lecture on *"Christianity in Modern Europe with special reference to the Orthodox Church"*[92]. This is indeed an incredible record of success, especially if one considers it in a context of constant pastoral activity in an Ar-

ράν εἰς τὴν Ἀμερικὴν τὸ εἰς τὴν ἀγγλικὴν γλῶσσαν βιβλίον του «*Ὀρθοδοξία, Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμὸς καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός*»· ἐπίσης ἐξεδόθησαν ὀκτὼ τόμοι τῶν ἁπάντων του ὑπὸ τὸν γενικὸν τίτλον «*Θεολογικαὶ καὶ Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται*»[85]. Ἰδιαιτέρως σημαντικὰ ὑπῆρξαν τὰ ἐτήσια ἐγκύκλια μηνύματα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου κατὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς τῶν Χριστουγέννων, τοῦ Πάσχα, τοῦ Νέου Ἔτους καὶ τῆς ἐθνικῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐσχολιάσθησαν εὐρέως τόσον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν[86]. Ἡ ἰδιαιτέρα σημασία τῶν ἐγκυκλίων αὐτῶν ὀφείλεται εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι πραγματεύονται σύγχρονα θέματα ἀφορῶντα εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ Κράτος καὶ τὰς διεθνεῖς σχέσεις ἀπὸ χριστιανικῆς σκοπιᾶς, οὕτως ὥστε νὰ παρουσιάζουν ἐπικαιρότητα καὶ αὐθεντίαν. Τὰ μηνύματα αὐτὰ ἀποτελοῦν τηλεσκοπικὴν ἀνάλυσιν καὶ ἐποικοδομητικὴν κριτικὴν συγχρόνων ζητημάτων. Παραλλήλως πρὸς αὐτὰ πρέπει νὰ τοποθετηθῇ καὶ εἰς ἀριθμὸς ἐπιστημονικῶν ἄρθρων, τὰ ὁποῖα παρουσιάζουν κρίσιμον ἐνδιαφέρον. Τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἐπὶ παραδείγματι, ἡ «*Ἀπάντησις πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Καρελίας καὶ πάσης Φινλανδίας περὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Διασπορᾶς*»[87], ἡ μελέτη «*Τὸ Φιλιόκβε ὑπὸ Οἰκουμενικὴν Προοπτικήν*», ἡ ὁποία ἀποτελεῖ ἀνταπόκρισιν πρὸς πρόσφατον *Ὑπόμνημα* τοῦ τμήματος Πίστεως καὶ Τάξεως τοῦ Παγκοσμίου Συμβουλίου Ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐκδοθεῖσα εἰς τὸ βιβλίον «*Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ*»[88], τὸ ἄρθρον «*Τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον Χθὲς καὶ Σήμερον*», τὸ ὁποῖον ἀντιπροσωπεύει τὴν συμβολήν του εἰς τὸν ἑορταστικὸν Τόμον τὸν ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἐπὶ τῇ 1600ῇ ἐπετείῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου κατὰ τὸ 381[89], ἡ μελέτη «*Ἡ κληρονομία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην σήμερον*»[90], ἡ ὁμιλία περὶ «*Ὀρθοδόξου Παραδόσεως*»[91] καὶ ἡ διάλεξις περὶ «*Χριστιανισμοῦ εἰς τὴν σύγχρονον Εὐρώπην μὲ εἰδικὴν ἀναφορὰν εἰς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν*»[92]. Ἡ ἐπιτυχία αὕτη τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου

85. See list of Publications at the end of this essay.

86. See *Orthodox Herald* no 4 (1980), pp. 3, 7; no 8 (1980), p. 1; no 10 (1980), p. 1; no 11 (1981), p. 12; no 14 (1982), p. 1; no 16 (1982), p. 8; no 17 (1982), p.1; no 18 (1983), p. 1; no 20 (1983), p.1; no 22 (1983), p. 1; no 23 (1984), p. 1; no 24 (1984), pp. 1, 4; no 25 (1984), p. 6; Also *Greek Review* no 4 (1982), p. 5; no 22 (1982), p. 4; no 23 (1983), p. 4; no 31 (1983), p. 4; no 47 (1983), p. 4; no 53 (1984), p. 4; no 53 (1984), p. 4; no 55 (1984), p. 4; no 68 (1984), p. 14; no 79 (1985), p. 9: etc.

87. See *Orthodox Herald* no 10 (1981), p. 11 and *Church and Theology* vol. 2 (1981), pp. 586-590.

88. Ed. by L.Vischer, Geneva, 1983.

89. Μνήμη Συνόδου Ἁγίας Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς (Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει). Τόμ. Α' Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον. Πατριαρχικὸν Ἵδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν (1983) pp. 459-469.

90. See *Orthodox Herald* no 24 (1984), p. 8.

91. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* vol. 29 (1984), pp. 233-241 and *Orthodox Herald* no 23 (1984), p.8.

92. *Texts and Studies* vol iii (1984), pp. 267-286.

chdiocese which undergoes geographical physical expansion and internal growth and which is placed in a position of crucial and wider responsibility for the Ecumenical Patriarchate and its relations to the non-Orthodox Churches and especially those of the Anglican Communion.

As Professor Stavrides writes in one of his reviews ('Εκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία, Ε' (1984) σελ. 972-973) *"Archbishop Methodios is one of the most erudite prelates of the 20th century"*, whilst Archbishop Basil of Brussels and all Belgium in his contribution to the present volume regards him *"the most prolific writer amongst the Greek Hierarchy"*. Others, like Prof. D. Constantellos, an eminent contributor of this volume, regards the Archbishop *"as a man who continues at the present time the patristic tradition"*.

With regard to the wider context of interchurch relations Archbishop Methodios' record during the past six years of office in London has been similalry impressive. He has travelled several times to Constantinople, at least once every year, twice accompanying the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr Robert Runcie and once to be in the welcoming party for the Pope of Rome's visit. Together with the Archbishop of Westminster Cardinal Basil Hume he was the most prominent ecclesiastic at the enthronement of Archbishop Runcie of Canterbury[93] to whom he is the official Apokrisiarios[94] (spokesman, ambassador) of His All - Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople. In this last capacity he has met with the Archbishop of Canterbury on many occasions both privately and at the Synod of the Church of England and most notably on the occasion of Pope John Paul II's visit to England[95]. Archbishop Methodios' relations with the Church of England and the Churches belonging to her Communion have ben particularly strengthened by the fact that since his coming to London he has been

εἶναι ὄντως ἐκπληκτική, θεωρουμένη ἰδίως ἐν τῷ πλαισίῳ τῆς διηνεκοῦς ποιμαντορικῆς δράσεώς του ἐντὸς μιᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐπεκτεινομένης συνεχῶς γεωγραφικῶς καὶ φυσικῶς καὶ ὑφισταμένης ἐσωτερικὴν ἀνάπτυξιν, ταυτοχρόνως δὲ τοποθετημένης εἰς θέσιν κρισίμου καὶ εὐρυτέρας ὑπευθυνότητος διὰ τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον καὶ τὰς σχέσεις τούτου πρὸς τὰς ἑτεροδόξους Χριστιανικὰς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἀγγλικανικήν.

Κατὰ τὸν καθηγητὴν Β. Σταυρίδην, γράφοντα εἰς βιβλιογραφικὴν κριτικήν του (*Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία* Ε' (1984), 972-973), *«Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος εἶναι εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐμβριθεστέρων ἱεραρχῶν τοῦ κ' αἰῶνος»*, ἐνῶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βρυξελλῶν καὶ παντὸς Βελγίου Βασίλειον (ἐν τῇ περιληφθείσῃ εἰς τὸν παρόντα Τόμον συμβολή του) «εἶναι *ὁ πολυγραφώτατος Ἕλλην ἀρχιερεύς». Τέλος, ὁ καθηγητὴς Δ. Κωνσταντέλος (διακεκριμένος συνεργάτης τοῦ παρόντος Τόμου) θεωρεῖ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Μεθόδιον «ὡς τὸν συνεχιστὴν εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐποχὴν τῆς Πατερικῆς Παραδόσεως»*.

Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὸ εὐρύτερον πλαίσιον τῶν ἐνδο-εκκλησιαστικῶν σχέσεων, ἡ δρᾶσις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐξαετίαν ὑπῆρξεν ἐξ ἴσου ἐντυπωσιακή. Ἐταξίδευσε πολλάκις εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, τοὐλάχιστον ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους, εἰς δύο περιπτώσεις δὲ συνοδεύων τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Καντουαρίας Ρόμπερτ Runcie καὶ ἅπαξ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τοῦ Πάπα Ἰωάννου-Παύλου Β' εἰς Φανάριον. Κατὰ τὴν ἐνθρόνισιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας Ρόμπερτ Runcie ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος κατέλαβε μετὰ τοῦ καρδιναλίου Βασιλείου Χιούμ, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τοῦ Γουεστμίνστερ, τὴν πλέον περίοπτον θέσιν[93], καθ' ὅσον δὲ τυγχάνει ἀποκρισάριος τῆς Α.Θ.Π. τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου παρὰ τῷ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Καντουαρίας[94], ἐπεσκέφθη τὸν τελευταῖον καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἐπανειλημμένως ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τοῦ Πάπα Ρώμης εἰς Καντουαρίαν[95]. Αἱ σχέσεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου μετὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀγγλίας καὶ τῶν ἐχουσῶν κοινωνίαν μετ' αὐτῆς Ἐπισκοπελιανῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐνεδυναμώθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μεταθέσεώς του εἰς Λονδῖνον, ὁπότε καὶ ἐξελέγη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τῶν Ὀρθοδό-

93. See *Orthodox Herald* no 4 (1980), p. 1.

94. See *Orthodox Herald* no 2 (1980), p. 8.

95. See *Greek Review* no 65 (1984), p. 9 but see also my Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος Ἀγγλικανῶν καὶ Ὀρθοδόξων 1976-1984, Τὸ συμφωνηθὲν Κείμενον τοῦ Δουβλίνου in *Church and Theology* ('Εκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία), vol. v. (1984), pp. 875-962.

elected by the Orthodox delegates as Orthodox co-chairman (with Bishop Henry Hill) of the international Joint Anglican/ Orthodox Doctrine Commission. In this capacity he has chaired several Conferences at Llandaff in Wales (1980), Chambésy in Switzerland (1981), Canterbury in England (1982), Odessa in the USSR (1982) and Bellinter House in Co Meath Ireland (1984) which resulted in the signing of *The Dublin Agreed Statement*[96] – the end- product of nearly ten years of doctrinal discussions between Anglicans and Orthodox. Serving as a secretary on this Dialogue I am in a position to know the great esteem and appreciation for his manifold skills which he enjoys among the Orthodox and the Anglican delegates. His commitment to it as an Orthodox Hierarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople is best illustrated by the following statements which he made in a Sermon preached before the entire delegation at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St. Mary the Theotokos in Dublin last summer. Having stressed the essential contribution of dialogue to the well being of human society and its divine origin, he added: *"Dialogue, as it is well known, was first cultivated and promoted among the Greeks who placed it in the centre of their educational efforts and passed it on to other nations. Christianity adopted it from Hellenism and gave it – a characteristically religious and Christocentric expression which proved to be extremely beneficial for humanity. However, dialogue ultimately originates from God Himself, since both in the beginning and throughout history He has been in continuous dialogue with His creation. This means that the Divine Logos is always the chief factor/ actor behind every dialogue in the world inspiring and directing its proceedings especially whenever it is conducted in sincerity and good faith... The theological dialogue among the Christians has the approval of God Himself, but its success depends on the recognition of the Divine Logos and especially on our faithfulness to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, whom the Incarnate Logos has left to His Church to guide it to the*

ξων Ἐκκλησιῶν συμπρόεδρος (μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγλικανοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Χένρυ Χίλλ) τῆς Διεθνοῦς Μεικτῆς Ἀγγλικανο-Ορθοδόξου Δογματικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς. Ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδιότητά του αὐτὴν προήδρευσεν εἰς τὰ Συνέδρια τοῦ Λαντὰφ (Οὐαλία, 1980), τοῦ Σαμπεζὺ (Ἑλβετία, 1981), τοῦ Καντέρμπουρυ (Ἀγγλία, 1982), τῆς Ὀδησσοῦ (Σοβιετ. Ἕνωσις, 1983) καὶ τοῦ Μπελλίντερ Χάουζ (Νομὸς Μήθ, Ἰρλανδία, 1984), τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ κατέληξεν εἰς τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τοῦ *Συμφωνηθέντος Κειμένου τοῦ Δουβλίνου*[96] ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγγλικανῶν καὶ Ὀρθοδόξων ἀντιπροσώπων – τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα δεκαετοῦς δογματικοῦ διαλόγου. Διακονῶν ὡς Ὀρθόδοξος Γραμματεὺς τοῦ ὡς ἄνω Διαλόγου εἶμαι εἰς θέσιν νὰ γνωρίζω τὴν μεγάλην ἐκτίμησιν καὶ ἀναγνώρισιν ὅλων τῶν μελῶν τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς, Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ Ἀγγλικανῶν, διὰ τὸ αὐθεντικὸν πρόσωπον καὶ τὰ χαρίσματα τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου. Ἡ ὑπεύθυνος προσήλωσίς του εἰς τὸν Διάλογον τοῦτον ὡς Ἱεράρχης τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καταφαίνεται κάλλιστα εἰς τὰς ἀκολούθους δηλώσεις του, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμά του πρὸς τὴν ὁλομέλειαν τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Διαλόγου εἰς τὸ Δουβλῖνον πέρυσι τὸ καλοκαίρι. Ἔχων κατ' ἀρχὰς τονίσει τὴν οὐσιαστικὴν συμβολὴν τοῦ Διαλόγου γενικῶς εἰς τὴν εὐεξίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης κοινωνίας, ὡς καὶ τὴν θείαν προέλευσίν του, προσέθεσε καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα:

*«Ὁ διάλογος, ὅπως εἶναι τοῖς πᾶσι γνωστόν, ἀνεπτύχθη καὶ ἐκαλλιεργήθη κατ' ἀρχὰς μεταξὺ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐτοποθέτησαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ κέντρον τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν προσπαθειῶν των καὶ τὸν μετέδωκαν καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ἔθνη. Ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς υἱοθέτησε τὸν διάλογον ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ προσέδωκε μίαν χαρακτηριστικῶς θρησκευτικὴν καὶ χριστοκεντρικὴν ἔκφρασιν, ἡ ὁποία ἀπεδείχθη ἐξαιρετικῶς εὐεργετικὴ διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. Ἐν τούτοις, ὁ διάλογος πηγάζει ἀπὸ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἴδιον, ἐφ' ὅσον τόσον κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅσον καὶ καθ' ὅλον τὸ διάστημα τῆς ἱστορίας εὑρίσκεται Οὗτος εἰς συνεχῆ διάλογον μετὰ τῆς δημιουργίας Του. Ὁ Θεὸς εὑρίσκεται εἰς διάλογον μετὰ τῆς κτίσεως διὰ τοῦ Λόγου-Υἱοῦ Του, διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου καὶ διὰ τὸν ὁποῖον ἔγιναν τὰ πάντα. Τοῦτο σημαίνει ὅτι ὁ θεῖος Λόγος εἶναι πάντοτε ὁ κύριος παράγων παντὸς διαλόγου εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἐμπνέων καὶ καθοδηγῶν τὴν πορείαν του, ἰδίως ὅταν γίνεται εἰλικρινῶς καὶ καλῇ τῇ πίστει. Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ θείου Λόγου εἰς πάντα διά-*

96. *ibid.*

*whole truth... The Christian Churches have a particular duty to continue the Christian legacy of dialogue for their own benefit and for the benefit of the entire world... Churches and church leaders should always keep in mind their commitment to the essential unity of the Church's existence and action. Their dialogues should strive to lay bare and strengthen this unity. Only if we are dedicated to this unity which is given to us as a Gift by Cod we shall be successful... The Anglican Orthodox Dialogue undeniably has achieved something which is in accordance with the will of God... I believe that all of us realize the crucial point which we have reached and that it depends upon us and our actions whether we shall use this means of dialogue to our benefit or disappoint ourselves'*[97].

*λογον παραμένει ἀδιαφιλονίκητον γεγονός, εἴτε τοῦτο γίνεται ἀντιληπτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν διαλεγομένων εἴτε ὄχι. Διὰ τοὺς χριστιανοὺς ὅμως τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο εἶναι περισσότερον προφανές...*

*»Γνωρίζω καλῶς καὶ πιστεύω ὅτι θὰ συμφωνήσητε μαζί μου ὅτι ὁ θεολογικὸς διάλογος, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον μετέχομεν, ἔχει τὴν ἔγκρισιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἰδίου, ἀλλὰ πρέπει ἐπίσης νὰ τονίσω ὅτι ἡ ἐπιτυχία του ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὸ κατὰ πόσον θὰ ἀναγνωρίσωμεν τὸν θεῖον Λόγον Του καὶ ἰδίως ἀπὸ τὸ κατὰ πόσον θὰ μείνωμεν πιστοὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Του, τὸν θεῖον Παράκλητον, τὸν ὁποῖον ὁ ἐνσαρκωθεὶς Λόγος ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Του, διὰ νὰ τὴν ὁδηγήσῃ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.*

*»Αἱ χριστιανικαὶ Ἐκκλησίαι ἔχουν ἰδιαιτέραν εὐθύνην νὰ συνεχίσουν τὴν χριστιανικὴν ταύτην κληρονομίαν τοῦ διαλόγου, τόσον διὰ τὸ καλὸν τῶν ἰδίων ὅσον καὶ σύμπαντος τοῦ κόσμου. Δὲν θὰ ἦτο ἐκτὸς πραγματικότητος ἐὰν λεχθῇ, ὅτι τοῦτο εἶναι ἀπαραίτητον σήμερον περισσότερον ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλην ἐποχήν, ὅτε ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ἱκανότης συζευχθεῖσα μετὰ τῆς ἐπικρατούσης ἀποξενώσεως καὶ πολώσεως ἀπειλεῖ νὰ ὁδηγήσῃ τὸν κόσμον εἰς ὁλοκληρωτικὴν καταστροφήν. Διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον δὲν πρέπει νὰ δημιουργῶμεν δυσκολίας, αἱ ὁποῖαι ὑπονομεύουν τὸν διάλογον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον νὰ πράττωμεν ὁτιδήποτε καλλίτερον διὰ νὰ ἐξασφαλίζηται ἡ συνέχειά του καὶ τὸ μέλλον του. Θὰ πρέπει πάντοτε νὰ φέρωμεν κατὰ νοῦν τὴν σκέψιν ὅτι ἡ ὑπονόμευσις καὶ διακοπὴ τοῦ διαλόγου σημαίνει ἀπώλειαν τῆς ἐλπίδος βελτιώσεως τῶν προϋποθέσεων τῆς ζωῆς εἴτε κοινωνικῆς εἴτε θρησκευτικῆς.*

*»Ὀρθόδοξοι, ρωμαιοκαθολικοὶ καὶ ἀγγλικανοὶ χριστιανοὶ μετέχοντες εἰς διαλόγους μεταξύ των θὰ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἄκρως προσεκτικοί, ὥστε νὰ μὴ δημιουργοῦν προβλήματα τὰ ὁποῖα ἀπειλοῦν τοὺς διαλόγους τούτους. Δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἐπιτρέπωνται μονομερεῖς ἢ παράδοξοι πράξεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι προξενοῦν σκάνδαλα καὶ ἀπειλοῦν τὴν καλὴν πίστιν τοῦ διαλόγου...*

*»Μία γενικὴ ἀναδρομὴ εἰς τὰ μέχρι τοῦδε διαμειφθέντα εἰς τὸν διάλογον ἀγγλικανῶν καὶ ὀρθοδόξων μᾶς ἐπιτρέπει νὰ εἴπωμεν ὅτι κάποιο ὄφελος ἔχει ἐπιτευχθῆ, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι σύμφωνον μὲ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἂν καὶ ἡ τελευταία συνάντησις ἐκαλύπτετο ἀπὸ τὰ σύννεφα ὡρισμένων προβλημάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα πρέπει νὰ διαλευκανθοῦν.*

*»Πιστεύω ὅτι ὅλοι μας ἀντιλαμβανόμεθα τὸ κρίσιμον σημεῖον εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον ἔχομεν φθάσει καὶ ὅτι ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰς πράξεις μας ἐὰν θὰ χρησι-*

Archbishop Methodios's commitment to dialogue and optimistic and constructive approach to modern ecumenism, which obviously spring out of his deep faith and allegiance to the spirit of the Christian tradition, do not prevent him from making critical and sometimes severe statements. *"Certain specific church events and contacts, primarily due to Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople"*, he wrote in the preface to the second edition of his book *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, "have changed the relations between the three churches, but such changes are still confined to the surface and have not gained deeper roots... I have not been able to convince myself that there will be any fundamental change between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches for some time to come. I fear that the theological dialogue between the Churches will have no influence upon inter- church relations"*. These are strong words arising out of direct experience of modern ecumenism, but they are warnings rather than pessimistic conclusions. His personal perspective as again expressed in the same Prefaces, is summed up in the words of Sir Steven Runciman, *"as long as the Orthodox Church is alive, Christianity has a future". "This marvellous statement"*, he writes, *"coincides with my conviction that in Europe, America and Australia the Orthodox Church will remain as the spiritual foundation for the renaissance of true and original Christian faith. Thanks be to God, the origin is still maintained in the Orthodox Church"*[98]. Archbishop Methodios' optimistic outlook is best seen in his original and highly suggestive article on *"Christianity in modern Europe with special reference to the Orthodox Church"*[99]. *"European spirituality"*, he writes, *"has been the key to Europe's contribution to the world, and it will be the key to a new future. Christianity in modern Europe can serve once again for the rediscovery of this key. Against current belief, it is*

*μοποιήσωμεν τὸ θεῖον τοῦτο μέσον τοῦ διαλόγου ἐπωφελῶς ἢ θὰ ἀπογοητεύσωμεν ἑαυτούς»*[97].

Ἡ συνέπεια τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἐναντι τῆς ἀνάγκης διαλόγου καὶ ἡ αἰσιόδοξος καὶ ἐποικοδομητικὴ αὐτοῦ προοπτικὴ ἔναντι τῆς συγχρόνου οἰκουμενικῆς κινήσεως, αἵτινες σαφῶς προέρχονται ἐκ τῆς βαθυτάτης αὐτοῦ πίστεως καὶ ἀφοσιώσεως εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χριστιανικῆς Παραδόσεως, δὲν τὸν δεσμεύουν νὰ ἀποφεύγῃ τὴν κριτικὴν ἀξιολόγησιν τῶν περιστάσεων καὶ μάλιστα τὴν αὐστηρὰν τοιαύτην. *«Ὡρισμένα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ γεγονότα καὶ ἐπαφαί, ὀφειλόμεναι ἰδίως εἰς τὸν ἀείμνηστον Πατριάρχην Ἀθηναγόραν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως»*, ἔγραψεν εἰς τὸν Πρόλογον ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐκδόσει τοῦ βιβλίου του *«Ὀρθοδοξία, Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμὸς καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμός», «ἔχουν ἐπιφέρει ἀλλαγὴν εἰς τὰς σχέσεις μεταξὺ τῶν τριῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν· ἐν τούτοις, ὅμως, τοιαύτη ἀλλαγὴ παραμένει ἀκόμη εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν χωρὶς νὰ ἀποκτᾷ βαθυτέρας ρίζας... Δὲν κατώρθωσα ἀκόμη νὰ πείσω τὸν ἑαυτόν μου ὅτι θὰ ὑπάρξῃ καμμία οὐσιαστικὴ ἀλλαγὴ εἰς τὰς σχέσεις μεταξὺ Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσφατον μέλλον. Φοβοῦμαι ὅτι ὁ θεολογικὸς διάλογος μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν οὐδεμίαν θὰ ἔχῃ ἐπίδρασιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνδο-εκκλησιαστικῶν σχέσεων»*. Οἱ σαφῶς κριτικοὶ οὗτοι λόγοι εἶναι ἀποκύημα ἀμέσου ἐμπειρίας τοῦ συγχρόνου οἰκουμενισμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀποτελοῦν προειδοποιήσεις μᾶλλον παρὰ συμπεράσματα ἀπαισιοδοξίας. Ἡ προσωπικὴ προοπτικὴ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ὅπως ἐκφράζεται αὖτη εἰς τὸν ἀνωτέρω ἀναφερθέντα Πρόλογον, συνοψίζεται εἰς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Σὲρ Στῆβεν Ράνσιμαν, τοὺς ὁποίους καὶ σημειώνει: *«ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία εἶναι ζωντανή, ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς ἔχει μέλλον». «Οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι»*, σχολιάζει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος, *«συμπίπτουν μὲ τὴν ἀκράδαντον πεποίθησίν μου ὅτι ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία θὰ παραμείνῃ εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τὴν Ἀμερικὴν καὶ τὴν Αὐστραλίαν τὸ πνευματικὸν θεμέλιον τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τῆς ἀληθοῦς καὶ ἀρχικῆς Χριστιανικῆς Πίστεως. Εὐχαριστῶ τὸν Θεόν, διότι τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς παραμένει ἀκόμη ἀλώβητον ἐντὸς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας»*[98]. Ἡ αἰσιόδοξος προοπτικὴ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου καταφαίνεται κάλλιστα εἰς τὸ πρωτότυπον καὶ ἄκρως ἐνδεικτικὸν ἄρθρον του *«Ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς εἰς τὴν σύγχρονον Εὐρώπην μὲ ἰδιαιτέραν ἀναφορὰν εἰς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν»*[99]. *«Ἡ εὐρωπαϊκὴ*

97. *Greek Review* no 65 (1984), p. 96.

98. See *Orthodoxy Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism*, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, Brookline Mass., USA, p. viii.

99. See *Texts and Studies*, vol. iii (1984), pp. 267-286.

*my view, that European Christianity is very much alive and active, and a closer examination of the facts reveals that there are enough signs for positive developments... It is to the Church that Europeans should turn as the remaining unutilized or even unexploited factor for the renewal of the vigour, the courage and the hope of European society... This can be done only if the Churches themselves take a radical and courageous initiative, and in this they deserve all the State support and encouragement they can get. Such an initiative, however, should be marked by realism and honesty and should be cleared of all partialities. In other words, Christianity in Europe should be set once again on a firm catholic and ecumenical basis, so that neither its integrity will be threatened nor anybody should be excluded. The recovery of the Christian integrity and the re-establishment of genuine ecumenical structures (which heal the divisions of the past), will be the best basis for the consolidation of European political efforts towards achieving European unity. Spirituality will once again effect the miracle of a free and therefore unified life and order in the European realm".* As for the contribution of the Orthodox Greeks in all this, the Archbishop wrote: *"The Greeks, whether in their ancient classical or later Christian enlightenments, have cultivated a spirit of catholic integrity (connected with the objective truth) and of ecumenical order (connected with the freedom of the individual persons to live in society), which has a perennial value for all humanity. Europe has had the benefit of the classical humanism, but has not yet fully exploited the Greek Christian humanism, the direct inheritor of which is the Orthodox Church. It is the impartial catholicity and ecumenicity of this heritage that made the Slavs and many East Europeans to embrace it in the past, and the same qualities commend it today to all Europeans who more than any other people in the world, have the right to take possession of this heritage. The Holy Orthodox Churches under the inspired leadership of the Ecumenical Patriarchate should today seek the cooperation of all Christians in Western Europe, Roman Catholics and Protestants, in*

*πνευματικότης», γράφει, «ἦτο πάντοτε τὸ κλειδὶ τῆς εὐρωπαϊκῆς συμβολῆς εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ θὰ ἀποτελέσῃ καὶ πάλιν τὸ κλειδὶ διὰ τὸ μέλλον. Ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς εἰς τὴν σύγχρονον Εὐρώπην δύναται νὰ βοηθήσῃ εἰς τὴν ἐκ νέου ἀνακάλυψιν τοῦ κλειδιοῦ τούτου. Ἐναντίον τῆς ἐπικρατούσης πεποιθήσεως, πιστεύω ὅτι ὁ εὐρωπαϊκὸς Χριστιανισμὸς εἶναι λίαν ζωντανὸς καὶ ἐνεργητικὸς καὶ μία προσεκτικὴ ἀνάλυσις τῶν πραγμάτων θὰ ἀπεκάλυπτε πολλὰ στοιχεῖα θετικῶν ἐξελίξεων... Οἱ Εὐρωπαῖοι ὀφείλουν νὰ στραφοῦν πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὡς τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον ἀχρησιμοποίητον, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ ἀνεκμετάλλευτον, παράγοντα ἀνανεώσεως τῆς ἰσχύος, τοῦ θάρρους καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τῆς εὐρωπαϊκῆς κοινωνίας... Τοῦτο δύναται νὰ πραγματοποιηθῇ μόνον ἐὰν αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι αἱ ἴδιαι ἀναλάβουν ριζοσπαστικὴν καὶ θαρραλέαν πρωτοβουλίαν, πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἀξίζουν πάσης ὑποστηρίξεως καὶ ἐπικουρίας ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς τῆς Πολιτείας. Τοιαύτη ὅμως πρωτοβουλία πρέπει νὰ χαρακτηρίζεται ἀπὸ ρεαλισμὸν καὶ τιμιότητα καὶ νὰ μὴ ἔχῃ οὐδεμίαν σχέσιν μὲ προσωποληψίας. Δι' ἄλλων λόγων, ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς τῆς Εὐρώπης πρέπει νὰ τεθῇ καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ στερεοῦ καθολικοῦ καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ θεμελίου, οὕτως ὥστε οὔτε ἡ ἀκεραιότης αὐτοῦ νὰ κλονίζεται, οὔτε νὰ γίνεται ἀποκλειστικός. Ἡ ἐκ νέου ἀνακάλυψις τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀκεραιότητος καὶ τῆς ἐπανιδρύσεως γνησίων οἰκουμενικῶν δομῶν ἢ θεσμῶν (οἱ ὁποῖοι θεραπεύουν τὰς διαιρέσεις τοῦ παρελθόντος) θὰ ἀποτελέσῃ τὴν καλλίστην βάσιν διὰ τὴν στερεοποίησιν τῶν εὐρωπαϊκῶν πολιτικῶν προσπαθειῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπίτευξιν τῆς εὐρωπαϊκῆς ἑνότητος. Ἡ πνευματικότης θὰ δημιουργήσῃ τὸ θαῦμα μιᾶς ἐλευθέρας καὶ συνεπῶς ἑνοποιημένης ζωῆς καὶ τάξεως ἐν τῷ εὐρωπαϊκῷ χώρῳ».* Ὅσον ἀφορᾶ εἰς τὴν συμβολὴν τῶν ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων εἰς ὅλην αὐτὴν τὴν προσπάθειαν, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἔγραψε τὰ ἑξῆς: *«Οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἴτε εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον αὐτῶν κλασσικόν, εἴτε εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χριστιανικὸν διαφωτισμόν, ἔχουν καλλιεργήσει ἕνα πνεῦμα καθολικῆς ἀκεραιότητος (συνδεόμενον μετὰ τῆς ἀντικειμενικῆς ἀληθείας) καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς τάξεως (συνδεόμενον μετὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν ἀτόμων, ὅπως ζήσουν ὡς ἄτομα εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν), τὸ ὁποῖον τυγχάνει μονίμου ἀξίας διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. Ἡ Εὐρώπη ἀπήλαυσε τὰ ὀφέλη τοῦ κλασσικοῦ οὐμανισμοῦ, ὄχι ὅμως πλήρως καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἑλληνοχριστιανικοῦ οὐμανισμοῦ, τοῦ ὁποίου ἄμεσος κληρονόμος εἶναι ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία. Ἡ ἀπροσωπόληπτος καθολικότης καὶ οἰκουμενικότης αὐτῆς τῆς κληρονομίας, αἱ*

*order to re-establish with them the firm spiritual foundation upon which political leaders may construct a new statemanship where unity and peace will reign to the glory of God".*

Apart from his special relations with the Anglican Church Archbishop Methodios has established relations with other Churches, Orthodox and non-Orthodox. He visited the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Belgium, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Austria, the Russian Church and the Church of Greece several times. He also visited the Pope in Rome and Malta and Ireland which fall within his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Most importantly, he was the official guest – first time in history for an Orthodox Hierarch – of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the spring of 1982, when he preached at St. Giles Cathedral the opening Sermon of that year's General Assembly[100]. This Sermon was so much welcomed by the Assembly, that they decided to have it published as a pamphlet and distributed to all the Presbyteries and parishes of the Scottish Kirk. *"The Orthodox Christians"*, he said on that occasion, *"like all the Protestants, accept the unique place and authority of Jesus Christ in the Church. In the language of the New Testament, Christ is the Head of the Church. At the same time the Orthodox Christians believe that this unique authority of Christ is dispensed or communicated through the Church as His Body... She is given authority to bind and to loose. The critical point in all this, however, is that the Church retains her integrity and remains the*

*ὁποῖαι ἔκαμον τοὺς Σλάβους καὶ πολλοὺς Ἀνατολικοὺς Εὐρωπαίους νὰ τὴν ἀσπασθοῦν εἰς τὸ παρελθόν, τὴν συνιστοῦν καὶ σήμερον εἰς ὅλους τοὺς Εὐρωπαίους, οἱ ὁποῖοι περισσότερον παντὸς ἄλλου λαοῦ ἔχουν τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ κατακτήσουν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτήν. Αἱ Ὀρθόδοξοι Ἐκκλησίαι ὑπὸ τὴν ἐμπνευσμένην ἡγεσίαν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου θά πρέπει σήμερον νὰ ἐπιδιώξουν τὴν συνεργασίαν μεθ' ὅλων τῶν χριστιανῶν τῆς Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν καὶ προτεσταντῶν, προκειμένου νὰ ἐγκαθιδρύσουν καὶ πάλιν μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ στερεὸν πνευματικὸν θεμέλιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου οἱ πολιτικοὶ ἡγέται θὰ οἰκοδομήσουν μίαν νέαν πολιτείαν, ὅπου ἑνότης καὶ εἰρήνη θὰ βασιλεύσουν πρὸς δόξαν Θεοῦ».*

Ἐκτὸς τῶν σχέσεών του μετὰ τῶν ἀγγλικανῶν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος συνῆψε σχέσεις καὶ μετ' ἄλλων Ἐκκλησιῶν, ὀρθοδόξων καὶ ἑτεροδόξων. Ἐπεσκέφθη τὴν Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Μητρόπολιν Βελγίου, τὴν Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Βορείου καὶ Νοτίου Ἀμερικῆς, τὴν Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Μητρόπολιν Αὐστρίας, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ρωσίας καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἐπίσης ἐπεσκέφθη τὸν Πάπαν εἰς τὴν Ρώμην, ὡς καὶ τὴν Μάλταν καὶ Ἰρλανδίαν αἱ ὁποῖαι κεῖνται ἐντὸς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δικαιοδοσίας του. Ἰδιαιτέρας σπουδαιότητος ὑπῆρξε τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι προσεκλήθη ἐπισήμως, διὰ πρώτην φορὰν εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν ὀρθοδόξων Ἱεραρχῶν, ὑπὸ τῆς Γενικῆς Συνόδου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σκωτίας κατὰ τὴν ἄνοιξιν τοῦ 1982, ὁπότε καὶ ἐκήρυξεν εἰς τὸν Καθεδρικὸν Ναὸν τοῦ ἁγ. Τζάιλς τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου τὸν ἐναρκτήριον Λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐνάρξει τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς ἀνωτέρω Συνόδου[100]. Ὁ Λόγος οὗτος ἐγένετο τόσον ἐνθουσιωδῶς δεκτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Συνόδου, ὥστε ἀπεφασίσθη νὰ ἐκτυπωθῇ ὡς φυλλάδιον καὶ νὰ διανεμηθῇ εἰς ὅλας τὰς ἐνορίας τῆς Πρεσβυτεριανῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σκωτίας. *«Οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοί»*, εἶπε μεταξὺ ἄλλων εἰς τὴν περίστασιν ἐκείνην, *«ὅπως καὶ ὅλοι οἱ προτεστάντες, δέχονται τὴν μοναδικότητα τῆς θέσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Εἰς τὴν γλῶσσαν τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι ἡ Κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ταυτοχρόνως οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοὶ πιστεύουν ὅτι ἡ μοναδικὴ αὐθεντία τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσκεῖται ἢ κοινοποιεῖται διὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὡς τοῦ Σώματός Του... Ἡ Ἐκκλησία λαμβάνει τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν. Τὸ κριτικὸν ὅμως σημεῖον εἰς τὴν κοινοποίησιν τῆς ἐξου-*

100. His Sermon was also published in *Texts and Studies* vol. i. (1982), pp. 207-213.

*authentic Body of Christ... Authenticity and authority form an indissoluble bond in Christian ecclesiology. The Church retains her authenticity and integrity, if she remains identical with the Church which Christ has founded... It is by the Spirit Who abides in the Church and through the Apostles that Christ established from the very beginning of the Church's existence an order which consists of those who lead the Church as shepherds and those who are led by them. Both together, the leaders and the people constitute the Body of Christ. This order of Apostolic succesion is in the mind of the Orthodox Christians essential to the act of Christ in history for the establishment and growth of His Church. Without question, it is Christ in the Spirit who maintains the Church, but the way in which He does this is through the apostolic order of the shepherds who... are directed to 'keep watch over themselves and over the flock in which the Holy Spirit has placed them as bishops to serve the Church of God which he nurtured through His Blood' (Acts 20:28)... The authority of the Church rests on the maintenance of the apostolic order and the apostolic faith... Apostolic succession is not restricted only to the transmission of the gift of ordination through the laying-on-of-hands, but also includes the transmission of the undefiled truth and the apostolic teaching... This is the duty of the whole Church... hence, the holy Fathers established the conciliar procedure and decided that only through ecumenical councils decisions in the Holy Spirit binding upon all the Christians may be made... The Orthodox Church remains faithful to and identical with the Church of the Ecumenical Councils. We believe that the faith of these Councils as well as their procedure can be the best foundation for a contemporary re-integration of the various Christian churches in the world among themselves and with the ancient undivided Church of the holy Apostles and their successors, the Fathers. The occurence of so many anniversaries of such Ecumenical Councils and the opportunity of this General Assembly this year, leads me to ask you to consider the Orthodox position and, in the name of Christ, seek to employ all your*

*σίας αὐτῆς εἶναι ἡ ἀνάγκη νὰ διατηρῇ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τὴν ἀκεραιότητά της καὶ νὰ παραμένῃ ὡς τὸ αὐθεντικὸν Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ... Αὐθεντία καὶ ἐξουσία συνδέονται ἀδιασπάστως μετὰ τῆς ἐκκλησιολογίας. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία διατηρεῖ τὴν αὐθεντίαν καὶ ἀκεραιότητά της ἐφ' ὅσον συνεχίζει νὰ εἶναι ταυτόσημος μὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ὁποίαν ἵδρυσεν ὁ Χριστός... Διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐνοικεῖ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων κατέστησεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διὰ τὴν ὕπαρξιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μίαν τάξιν, ἡ ὁποία περιλαμβάνει ἐκείνους οἱ ὁποῖοι ἡγοῦνται ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ποιμένες καὶ ἐκείνους οἱ ὁποῖοι ὁδηγοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Ἀμφότεροι, ἡγέται καὶ λαός, ἀπαρτίζουν τὸ Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Ἡ τάξις τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀποτελεῖ διὰ τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους χριστιανοὺς οὐσιαστικὸν στοιχεῖον τῆς ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἐνεργείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ διά τε τὴν ἵδρυσιν καὶ ἀνάπτυξιν τοῦ σώματος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Του. Ἀναμφιβόλως, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ διατηρεῖ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁ τρόπος, ὅμως, διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου πραγματοποιεῖ τοῦτο συνδέεται ἀμέσως μετὰ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς τάξεως τῶν ποιμεναρχῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι... ἔχουν ἀποστολὴν "προσέχειν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου" (Πρ. 20, 28)... Ἡ ἐξουσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας βασίζεται ἐπὶ τοῦ θεμελίου τῆς διατηρήσεως τῆς ἀποστολικῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως... Ἡ ἀποστολικὴ διαδοχὴ δὲν περιορίζεται μόνον εἰς τὴν μετάδοσιν τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἱερωσύνης διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν, ἀλλὰ συμπεριλαμβάνει τὴν μετάδοσιν τῆς ἀπαραχαράκτου ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδαχῆς... Τοῦτο βεβαίως ἀποτελεῖ ὑποχρέωσιν ὁλοκλήρου τοῦ σώματος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας... καὶ συνεπῶς, οἱ ἅγιοι Πατέρες ἐθέσπισαν τὴν συνοδικὴν διαδικασίαν καὶ ἀπεφάσισαν ὅτι μόνον δι' Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ νὰ λαμβάνωνται ἀποφάσεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι δεσμεύουν ὅλους τοὺς χριστιανούς... Ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία παραμένει καὶ πιστὴ καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων. Πιστεύομεν ὅτι τὸ δόγμα τῶν Συνόδων αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ διαδικασία των, δύναται νὰ ἀποτελέσῃ τὸ κάλλιστον θεμέλιον διὰ μίαν σύγχρονον ἐπανασύνδεσιν τῶν διαφόρων Χριστιανικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον μεταξύ των καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν διαδόχων των, τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων. Ἡ ἐφετινὴ σύμπτωσις τόσων πολλῶν ἐπετείων ἀρχαίων Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων καὶ*

*skills and resources to the return of all the Christians to the one ecumenical heritage of the One undivided Church of Christ. We Orthodox, on our part, will not cease to make this appeal to you and to all the Christians everywhere, not only because the unity of the Christians is a particular imperative in the context of modern crises, but because it is the first and deepest duty of our holy Faith... I express my general satisfaction at the fact that the Church of Scotland, although unable to commit herself to the Ecumenical Councils and the Ecumenical Creed in the same wholehearted way as the Orthodox Church, has retained a positive attitude towards them. Not only the Nicene Creed has been retained in your liturgical books and used on various occasions but the whole problem arising from the interpolation of the phrase Filioque is being studied closely by a Panel of Doctrine appointed by your General Assembly... As an Orthodox, however, I cannot help repeating my appeal to you to consider more fundamentally the heritage of the undivided Church enshrined, as it were, in the decisions and decrees of the holy Ecumenical Councils and the unadulterated Ecumenical Creed. I urge you to continue your efforts in this direction and probe deeper into the mind of the Fathers and the Creed of the undivided Church. I can assure you that these standands are strong and sufficient to provide the basis for renewal of the whole Christendom, because they were set by the Lord Himself acting in the power of the most-holy Paraclete".*

I have cited extensively from this Sermon if only to indicate here the Archbishop's deep concern and Orthodox approach to modern ecumenism. I am certain that this Sermon deserves very close study and could be a starting point for discussions between Reformed and Orthodox Christians.

*ἡ περίστασις αὕτη τῆς Γενικῆς Συνόδου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σκωτίας, μὲ ὁδηγοῦν εἰς τὸ νὰ ζητήσω ἀπὸ ὅλους σας νὰ λάβητε ὑπ' ὄψιν τὴν ὀρθόδοξον προοπτικὴν καί, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, νὰ ἐπιδιώξητε, χρησιμοποιοῦντες ὅλας τὰς ἱκανότητας καὶ δυνάμεις τὰς ὁποίας διαθέτετε, νὰ ὑπηρετήσητε τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ὅλων τῶν χριστιανῶν εἰς τὴν μίαν καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν κληρονομίαν τῆς μιᾶς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἡμεῖς οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι δὲν θὰ παύσωμεν, ἀπὸ μέρους μας, νὰ προβάλλωμεν τὴν πρόκλησιν ταύτην καὶ εἰς ἐσᾶς καὶ εἰς ὅλους τοὺς χριστιανοὺς ἁπανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐχὶ μόνον διότι ἡ ἑνότης τῶν χριστιανῶν εἶναι ἐπιτακτικὴ ἐν τῷ πλαισίῳ τῶν συγχρόνων παγκοσμίων κρίσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι ἀποτελεῖ αὕτη τὸ πρωταρχικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν καθῆκον τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἡμῶν πίστεως... Ἐπιθυμῶ νὰ ἐκφράσω γενικῶς τὴν ἱκανοποίησίν μου διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Σκωτίας, ἂν καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ νὰ ἀποδεχθῇ τὰς Οἰκουμενικὰς Συνόδους καὶ τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Σύμβολον μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ὁλοκληρωτικῆς ἀφοσιώσεως ὅπως συμβαίνει εἰς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν τούτοις διατηρεῖ θετικὴν στάσιν ἔναντι τούτων. Οὐχὶ μόνον τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Σύμβολον ἔχει διατηρηθῇ εἰς τὰ λειτουργικὰ ὑμῶν βιβλία καὶ ἀπαγγέλλεται εἰς διαφόρους περιστάσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅλον πρόβλημα τὸ προκληθὲν ἐκ τῆς προσθήκης τοῦ "Φιλιόκβε" ἀποτελεῖ ἀντικείμενον μελέτης μιᾶς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ Δογματικῶν Θεμάτων εἰδικῶς διορισθείσης πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῆς Γενικῆς Συνόδου... Ἐν τούτοις, ὡς ὀρθόδοξος Ἱεράρχης, δὲν δύναμαι εἰμὴ νὰ ἐπαναλάβω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐκκλησίν μου ὅπως ἐρευνήσητε περισσότερον ἀποφασιστικῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας οἰκισθεῖσαν, οὕτως εἰπεῖν, εἰς τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῶν Ἁγίων Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων καὶ τοῦ ἀπαραβιάστου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Συμβόλου. Σᾶς συνιστῶ θερμῶς ὅπως συνεχίσητε τὰς προσπαθείας σας πρὸς τὴν κατεύθυνσιν αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπεισέλθητε βαθύτερον εἰς τὸν νοῦν τῶν Πατέρων καὶ τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας. Δύναμαι νὰ σᾶς διαβεβαιώσω ὅτι τὰ σύμβολα αὐτὰ εἶναι ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἐπαρκῆ ὡς βάσεις τῆς ἀνανεώσεως τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, διότι ἐτέθησαν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ παναγιωτάτου Παρακλήτου».* Συμπεριέλαβον τὴν ἐκτενῆ ταύτην παραπομπὴν εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου κυρίως διὰ νὰ δείξω τὸ βαθὺ ἐνδιαφέρον του καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον προοπτικήν του ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὸν σύγχρονον οἰκουμενισμόν. Εἶμαι πεπεισμένος ὅτι τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦτο ὀφείλει νὰ τύχῃ προσεκτικῆς μελέτης, καὶ ὅτι κάλλιστα θὰ ἀπετέλει ἀφετηριακὸν σημεῖον

The above mentioned cases are sufficient for demonstrating Archbishop Methodios' ecumenical breadth of vision. For a more accurate assessment, however, of his inter-church and international activities one should look more carefully at the impressive list of his personal visits to important personalities and of his visitors to his Archdiocese which includes senior Bishops from the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Bishops from all over the world as well as distinguished professors, politicians and businessmen who come to him seeking his support, or conferring with him on matters of current interest, or to offer themselves as his collaborators in projects of constructive significance.

I promised to write only an introductory essay, but I am running the danger of producing a short of diatribe, unless I reach my conclussion shortly. I shall do this after I mention two other significant events in Archbishop Methodios' term of office in Britain. These are events of fitting recognition of the Archbishop's enormous contribution to the Church, the Nation and Society. The first one is the conferring of the honorary Doctorate of Divinity on him by Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology in Brookline Mass, USA, and the second is the conferring on him of the highest honour of the Rotarian Association of Athens, the Golden Medal and Diploma of the Association which was previously conferred upon the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras and Archbishop Macarios of Cyprus of blessed memory. As regards the former occasion I should record here the Citation which was read by President Lelon of Hellenic College/ Holy Cross on the conferring of the degree:

## *CITATION*

HIS EMINENCE, ARCHBISHOP METHODIOS OF THYATEIRA AND GT BRITAIN
PH. D. (MANCHESTER), D.D. (EDINBURGH)
HONORIS CAUSA

εἰς τὸν Διάλογον Ἀναμορφωμένων καὶ Ὀρθοδόξων Χριστιανῶν.

Αἱ ἀνωτέρω ἀναφερθεῖσαι περιπτώσεις ἐπαρκοῦν διὰ νὰ καταδείξουν τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς προοπτικῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου. Διὰ μίαν ὅμως ἀκριβεστέραν ἐκτίμησιν τῶν ἐνδοεκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ διεθνῶν αὐτοῦ δραστηριοτήτων θὰ χρειασθῇ νὰ ἐξετασθῇ προσεκτικῶς ὁ ἐντυπωσιακὸς κατάλογος τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐπισκεπτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων, ὁ ὁποῖος συμπεριλαμβάνει τὸν Μακαριώτατον Πατριάρχην Ἀντιοχείας Ἰγνάτιον, ἀνωτέρους Μητροπολίτας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου καὶ ἄλλων Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν, διακεκριμένους καθηγητάς, πολιτικοὺς καὶ ἐπιχειρηματίας, οἱ ὁποῖοι προσέρχονται διὰ νὰ συσκεφθοῦν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ συγχρόνων θεμάτων ἀμέσου ἐνδιαφέροντος καὶ νὰ προσφέρουν τὴν συνεργασίαν των ἐπὶ προγραμμάτων ἐποικοδομητικῆς σημασίας.

Ἤρχισα νὰ γράφω εἰσαγωγικὸν βιογραφικὸν σχεδίασμα, ἐν τούτοις διατρέχω τὸν κίνδυνον νὰ καταλήξω μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν συγγραφὴν ἑνὸς εἴδους διατριβῆς, ἐκτὸς ἐὰν καταλήξω εἰς τὰ συμπεράσματά μου τὸ ταχύτερον. Τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς θὰ πράξω ἀφοῦ πρωτίστως ἀναφέρω δύο ἀκόμη σημαντικὰ γεγονότα τῆς μέχρι τοῦδε σταδιοδρομίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ. Τὰ γεγονότα αὐτὰ ἀντιπροσωπεύουν δείγματα τῆς ἁρμοζούσης ἀναγνωρίσεως τῆς μεγάλης συμβολῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ Ἔθνος καὶ τὴν Κοινωνίαν. Τὸ πρῶτον γεγονὸς εἶναι ἡ ἀπονομὴ τοῦ τίτλου τοῦ ἐπιτίμου Διδάκτορος Θεολογίας ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ τοῦ Μπρουκλάιν τῆς Μασσαχουσέττης (ΗΠΑ) καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, ἡ ἀπονομὴ τῆς ὑπερτάτης τιμῆς τοῦ Ροταριανοῦ Ὁμίλου Ἀθηνῶν, δηλ. τοῦ Χρυσοῦ Μεταλλίου μετὰ Διπλώματος, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶχε προηγουμένως ἀπονεμηθῇ μόνον εἰς τὸν ἀείμνηστον Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριάρχην Ἀθηναγόραν καὶ τὸν ἀείμνηστον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κύπρου Μακάριον. Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὸ πρῶτον γεγονὸς θὰ ἀναφέρω ἐνταῦθα τὴν εὔφημον πρότασιν τοῦ Δρος Ἀθανασίου Λέλου, Προέδρου τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀπονομὴν τοῦ τίτλου τοῦ ἐπιτίμου Διδάκτορος τῆς Θεολογίας:

*«ΕΥΦΗΜΟΣ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΙΣ*

*»Ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΣ, Δ.Φ. (Μάντσεστερ) καὶ Δ.Θ. (Ἐδιμβοῦργον) τιμῆς ἕνεκεν.*

*A great ecclesiastical statesman of ecumenical acclaim all over the world, and an untiring scholar and theologian of international renown, has brilliantly served the Church of Greece, the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. His services to the Church successively led him from his native Greece to Germany, Alexandria (Egypt), England, Greece again, Ethiopia, and eventually England. In his various ecclesiastical capacities he visited nearly all the Orthodox Autocephalous Churches throughout the World and took active part both as member and as organizer in numerous Inter- Orthodox and Inter- Church contacts and dialogues. He is at present Orthodox President of the International Anglican/ Orthodox joint doctrinal Commission and has made distinctive contributions to Anglo- Orthodox relations.*

*Archbishop Methodios's outstanding ecclesiastical career has been perfectly matched with an equally extraordinary scholarly activity. He has been editor of four major Orthodox theological/ historical reviews internationally known* **(Ekklesiastikos Pharos, Abba Salama, Ekklesia καὶ Theologia** *and* **Texts and Studies),** *author of a dozen important scholarly books (including his most recent one on the rights of the Ecumenical Patriarchate outside the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches), and author of some hundred theological articles which have been collected in seven large volumes. He has edited various books of other scholars and sponsored the continuation and foundation of scholarly societies, like the "International Academy of Religious Sciences" (Brussels), the "Ethio- Hellenic Association", and the "Foundation for Hellenism in Great Britain", which are furthering Inter-Church and Inter- Nation cultural and educational collaboration and friendship.*

*Your Eminence,*

*Your excelling ecclesiastical zeal and your impressive scholarly activities on the ecclesiastical and theological fields, as well as your bold and inspiring personality have prompted us to ask you to give us the single privilege of honouring your*

*»Μέγας ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡγέτης οἰκουμενικῆς ἀναγνωρίσεως ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀκαταπόνητος μελετητὴς καὶ θεολόγος διεθνοῦς φήμης, ἔχει λαμπρῶς ὑπηρετήσει τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Αἱ ὑπηρεσίαι του πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τὸν ὡδήγησαν διαδοχικῶς ἀπὸ τὴν γενέτειράν του Ἑλλάδα εἰς τὴν Γερμανίαν, τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν (Αἴγυπτος), τὴν Ἀγγλίαν, τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πάλιν, τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ τελευταίως τὴν Ἀγγλίαν. Ὑπὸ τὰς διαφόρους ἐκκλησιαστικὰς αὐτοῦ ἰδιότητας ἐπεσκέφθη σχεδὸν πάσας τὰς Ὀρθοδόξους Αὐτοκεφάλους Ἐκκλησίας ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐνεργὸν μέρος καὶ ὡς μέλος καὶ ὡς ὀργανωτὴς εἰς διαφόρους πανορθοδόξους καὶ ἐνδοεκκλησιαστικὰς διασκέψεις καὶ διαλόγους. Ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τυγχάνει ὀρθόδοξος συμπρόεδρος τῆς διεθνοῦς Ἀγγλικανο-Ὀρθοδόξου Κοινῆς Δογματικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ ἔχει ἐπιτελέσει διακριτικὰς συμβολὰς εἰς τὰς ἀγγλικανο-ορθοδόξους σχέσεις.*

*»Τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἡ ἔξοχος ἐκκλησιαστικὴ σταδιοδρομία ἔχει τελείως συζευχθῆ μετὰ τῆς ἐκπληκτικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστημονικῆς - θεολογικῆς δραστηριότητος. Διετέλεσεν ἐκδότης τεσσάρων μεγάλων ὀρθοδόξων θεολογικο-ιστορικῶν περιοδικῶν, παγκοσμίου κυκλοφορίας καὶ φήμης (τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Φάρου, τοῦ Ἄμπα Σαλάμα, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Θεολογίας καὶ τοῦ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται), συγγραφεὺς δώδεκα λίαν σημαντικῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν βιβλίων (συμπεριλαμβανομένου τοῦ λίαν προσφάτου βιβλίου του περὶ τῶν δικαιωμάτων τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἐκτὸς τοῦ χώρου τῶν Αὐτοκεφάλων Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν) καὶ συγγραφεὺς περισσοτέρων τῶν ἑκατὸ θεολογικο-εκκλησιαστικῶν ἄρθρων, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχουν ἐπανεκδοθῆ εἰς ὀκτὼ τόμους. Ἐξέδωκε βιβλία ἄλλων ἐπιστημόνων θεολόγων καὶ ὑπεκίνησε καὶ ὑπεστήριξε τὴν ἵδρυσιν καὶ περαιτέρω ἐξέλιξιν Κέντρων ἢ Συνδέσμων Μελετῶν, ὅπως τὴν Διεθνῆ Ἀκαδημίαν Θρησκευτικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν (Βρυξέλλαι), τὸν Αἰθιοπικο-Ἑλληνικὸν Σύνδεσμον καὶ τὸ Κέντρον διὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ, τὰ ὁποῖα προάγουν ἐνδοεκκλησιαστικὰς καὶ ἐνδο-εθνικὰς πολιτιστικὰς καὶ ἐκπαιδευτικὰς συνεργασίας καὶ φιλίας.*

*»Σεβασμιώτατε,*

*»Ὁ ἐξέχων ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ζῆλος σας καὶ αἱ ἐντυπωσιακαὶ διακρίσεις σας ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ θεολογικῶν πεδίων, ὡς καὶ ἡ θαρραλέα καὶ ἐμπνέουσα προσωπικότης Σας μᾶς ὦθησαν νὰ Σᾶς ζητήσωμεν ὅπως μᾶς χορηγήσητε τὸ μοναδικὸν προ-*

*prestigious name and joining it with that of our sacred institution, the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology,*

*Unto many years, Lord!*

In the second case, the Diploma conferred on His Eminence reads as follows: *"...this Diploma with the Golden Medal is given to his Eminence the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, Methodios, on the 60th anniversary from his birth, on account of admiration and infinite love, to the inspired Ethnarch of the Greeks abroad and God- beloved Hierarch of the Great Church of Christ, in return for all that he has done, untired for forty complete years, for the Church and His flock, with rare dedication and deep love and for what he has accomplished for the science of God's Word in wondrous and God- pleasing manner, for the benefit of the Orthodox Church and for the nation of the Greeks and unto the glory of God. In London on the month of July, on the 21st, in the year of 1898.* (Signed and sealed) (President... General Secretary)[101].

The spirit of the occasion can best be captured by recalling some of the moving statements of appreciation made for the person and work of the Archbishop by various speakers at the time of the confering of this honour in London.This is all the more appropriate for a volume such as this.

The President of the Rotarians of Athens, Mr Nicephoros Martakos spoke thus: *"Your Eminence, our Association has been watching for half a century now your God-loved national and patristic life. The eyes of all are fixed on You. You constitute the symbol of the nation which incarnates the ages-long and indestructible longings of*

*νόμιον ἵνα τιμήσωμεν τὸ διακεκριμένον ὄνομά Σας ἑνώνοντες αὐτὸ μετὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Σχολῆς ἡμῶν τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ διὰ τῆς ἀπονομῆς τοῦ τιμητικοῦ τίτλου τοῦ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ.*

*»Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Δέσποτα!».*

Εἰς τὴν δευτέραν περίπτωσιν, τῆς ἀπονομῆς τοῦ Χρυσοῦ Μεταλλίου, παραθέτω τὸ περιεχόμενον τοῦ Διπλώματος αὐτοῦ: *« Ἔδοξε τῷ Ροταριανῷ Ὁμίλῳ Ἀθηνῶν, τόδε τὸ Δίπλωμα μετὰ Χρυσοῦ Μεταλλίου τῇ Αὐτοῦ Σεβασμιότητι τῷ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας Κυρίῳ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΩ ἐπιδοῦναι, ἐπὶ τῇ 60ετηρίδι ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως Αὐτοῦ, θαυμασμοῦ ἕνεκεν καὶ ἀγάπης ἀπείρου ἔνδειξις, τῷ ἐμπνευσμένῳ Ἐθνάρχῃ τοῦ Ἀποδήμου Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ Ἱεράρχῃ τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὅλα ἔτη ὑπὲρ τῆς τε Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ ποιμνίου Του μετ' ἀφοσιώσεως σπανίας καὶ ἀγάπης βαθείας ἀόκνως εἰργάσατο καὶ τῆς περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ἐπιστήμης θαυμαστῶς τε καὶ θεαρέστως εὖ ποιεῖ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς τε Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἔθνους καὶ εἰς Δόξαν Θεοῦ... Ἐν Λονδίνῳ μηνὸς Ἰουλίου εἰκοστῇ πέμπτῃ ἔτει τετάρτῳ καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῷ καὶ ἐνακοσιοστῷ καὶ χιλιοστῷ... »* (Ὁ Πρόεδρος....ὁ Γεν. Γραμματεὺς) (ὑπογραφαὶ καὶ σφραγίς)[101].

Τὸ ὅλον πνεῦμα τῆς λαμπρᾶς ταύτης περιστάσεως δύναται, κατά τινα τρόπον, νὰ κατανοηθῇ ἐὰν ληφθοῦν ὑπ' ὄψιν μερικὰ τοὐλάχιστον ἐκ τῶν ὅσων ἐλέχθησαν ὑπὸ διαφόρων ὁμιλητῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀπονομὴν τοῦ Μεταλλίου - Διπλώματος εἰς Λονδῖνον πρὸς ἔξαρσιν τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου. Τοῦτο ἄλλωστε συνάδει καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑορταστικὸν καὶ τιμητικὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ παρόντος Τόμου. Ἐν πρώτοις πρέπει νὰ ἀναφερθῇ τὸ κύριον σχόλιον τοῦ Προέδρου Νικηφόρου Μαρτάκου:

*«Σεβασμιώτατε, μὲ αἰσθήματα βαθυτάτης συγκινήσεως καὶ ἀγάπης, τὰ μέλη τοῦ Ροταριανοῦ Ὁμίλου Ἀθηνῶν θεωροῦν ἑαυτοὺς ἰδιαιτέρως εὐτυχεῖς, διότι ὁ καλὸς Θεὸς τοὺς ἐπεφύλαξε τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἑορτάζουν σήμερα μαζί Σας, μαζὶ μὲ τοὺς ἡγετικοὺς παράγοντας τῆς ἀγγλικῆς Κοινωνίας – τοὺς ροταριανοὺς τοῦ Ὁμίλου Λονδίνου – καὶ μαζὶ μὲ τὸ Ποίμνιόν Σας, ποὺ τόσον ἀγαπᾶτε, τὴν ἑξηκοστὴν ἐπέτειον*

101. For this and for all the citations that follow I am relying hereafter on the Ἑβδομαδιαῖον Δελτίον Ροταριανοῦ Ὁμίλου Ἀθηνῶν, no 34 (1984) specially dedicated to this event in London.

*our race which are consummated in two primary notions: Christianity and Hellenism. In Your person we see fully the virtues of the race to be worthily revealed. You constitute the unquenchable source of our national consciousness from which all the brothers abroad draw".*

The salutation of the High Commissioner of Cyprus, Tasos Panayides run thus:

*"I salute with special joy and pleasure the decision of the Rotarians of Athens to honour the ethnic, religious, scientific and spiritual activity of the Most Reverend Archbishop Dr Methodios, a worthy and accredited Hierarch, Church Leader and Ethnarch whose work radiates not only in the Greek context but also in the international scene.*

*The distinction of honour conferred tonight constitutes a trophy which is granted after fourty years of battles. It is a recognition of fruitful service in religious, ethnic, spiritual and philantrhopic works. The services of His Eminence in Greece, Europe, Africa, and the United Kingdom have been acknowledged by church, state, organizations, societies and individuals and to this chain of golden links of recognitions and honours the Rotarian Society of Athens are adding tonight a diamont link of recognition.*

*We are certain that the honour bestowed will become yet another impulse for a greater contribution towards all those ideals, universal human values, the Greek Nation has fought and sacrificed itself for their retention and vindication.*

*We know, Your Eminence, and this is why You enjoy the unlimited respect and love of Your flock, that the Cross and the fatherland, Christ and freedom, are the purpose of Your life and Your everyday thought and care.*

*You have enclosed, Your Eminence, within Your Christian soul, all men, and from what we see in Your life, history and conduct, You have*

*τῶν γενεθλίων Σας καὶ κυρίως τὰ 40 χρόνια τῆς Ἱερωσύνης Σας. Ὁ Ροταριανὸς Ὅμιλος Ἀθηνῶν παρακολουθεῖ μὲ βαθύτατον θαυμασμὸν τὴν ἐπὶ ἥμισυ σχεδὸν αἰῶνα θεοφιλῆ, ἐθνικὴν καὶ πατερικήν Σας πορείαν. Τὰ βλέμματα ὅλων μας εἶναι ἐστραμμένα πρὸς Σᾶς. Σεῖς ἀποτελεῖτε τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ Ἔθνους, ποὺ ἐνσαρκώνει τοὺς προαιώνιους καὶ ἀκατάλυτους πόθους τῆς Φυλῆς, ποὺ συμπυκνοῦνται σὲ δύο καὶ μόνον ἐννοιες: Χριστιανισμὸς καὶ Ἑλληνισμός. Εἰς Σᾶς καταξιοῦνται αἱ ἀρεταὶ τοῦ Γένους. Σεῖς ἀποτελεῖτε τὴν ἀστείρευτη πηγὴν τῆς ἐθνικῆς συνειδήσεως ἀπ' ὅπου ἀντλοῦν οἱ ἀπόδημοι ἀδελφοί».*

Ὁ χαιρετισμὸς τοῦ Ὑπάτου Ἀρμοστοῦ τῆς Κυπριακῆς Δημοκρατίας Τάσου Παναγίδη συμπεριελάμβανε τὰ ἑξῆς:

*«Μὲ ἰδιαίτερη χαρὰ καὶ εὐχαρίστησι χαιρετίζω τὴν ἀπόφασι τοῦ Ροταριανοῦ Ὁμίλου Ἀθηνῶν ὅπως τιμήση τὴν ἐθνική, θρησκευτική, ἐπιστημονικὴ καὶ πνευματικὴ δρᾶσι τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου κ. Μεθοδίου, ἀξίου καὶ δοκιμασμένου ἱεράρχη, ποιμενάρχη καὶ ἐθνάρχη, ποὺ τὸ ἔργο του ἀκτινοβολεῖ ὄχι μόνο στὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρο ἀλλὰ καὶ στὸν διεθνῆ. Ἡ ἀποψινὴ τιμητικὴ διάκρισι ἀποτελεῖ ἔπαθλο ποὺ ἀπονέμεται μετὰ ἀπὸ ἀγῶνες σαράντα ἐτῶν. Εἶναι ἀναγνώρισι καρποφόρου ὑπηρεσίας εἰς ἔργα θρησκευτικά, ἐθνικά, πνευματικὰ καὶ φιλανθρωπικά. Οἱ ὑπηρεσίες τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου στὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὴν Εὐρώπη, τὴν Ἀφρικὴ καὶ τὸ Ἡνωμένο Βασίλειο ἔτυχαν ἀναγνωρίσεως ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία, τὸ Κράτος, ὀργανώσεις, σωματεῖα καὶ ἄτομα καὶ ἀπόψε στὴν ἁλυσίδα τῶν χρυσῶν κρίκων ἀναγνωρίσεων καὶ τιμῶν προστίθεται καὶ ὁ ἀδαμάντινος κρίκος ἀναγνωρίσεως ἀπὸ τὸν Ροταριανὸν Ὅμιλον Ἀθηνῶν. Εἴμεθα βέβαιοι ὅτι ἡ γενομένη τιμὴ θὰ ἀποτελέση ἕνα ἀκόμη κίνητρο γιὰ μεγαλύτερη προσφορὰ πρὸς ὅλα ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἰδανικά, τὶς πανανθρώπινες ἀξίες καὶ τὶς ἐπάλξεις γιὰ τὶς ὁποῖες τὸ ἔθνος μας, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Ἔθνος, ἠγωνίσθη καὶ προσέφερε γιὰ τὴν διατήρησι καὶ καταξίωσί τους.*

*»Γνωρίζομε, Σεβασμιώτατε, καὶ εἶναι γιὰ τοῦτο ποὺ ἔχετε τὸν ἀπεριόριστο σεβασμὸ καὶ τὴν ἀγάπη τοῦ ποιμνίου σας, ὅτι ὁ σταυρὸς καὶ ἡ πατρίδα, ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡ ἐλευθερία εἶναι ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ζωῆς σας καὶ ἡ καθημερινὴ σκέψι καὶ φροντίδα σας. Μέσα στὴν χριστιανικὴ ψυχή σας ἔχετε κλείσει ὅλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀπ' ὅ,τι βλέπουμε ἀπὸ τὸν βίο, τὴν ἱστορία καὶ πολιτεία σας, μὲ ὅπλα τὸ σταυρὸ καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιο ἀγωνίζεσθε ἀπὸ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας νὰ ἐλατ-*

*been fighting since Your early youth with the Cross and the Gospel as Your Weapons to alleviate human pain and human tragedy and to assist in finding solutions to problems which trouble the individual, the family, the Greek race.*

*Your love is bountiful, Your forgiveness rich, Your compromising Christian, whilst Your humility and self-sacrificing is worthy of imitation for the laity and the clergy.*

*The honour bestowed on You tonight is worthy of Your fights, sacrifices, contributions and of Your Creed. You have rightly and justly won a place of honour next to Patriarch Athenagoras and Archbishop Makarios.*

*A trophy of virtue is handed out by the Rotarian Society of Athens to an attested Hierarch and for this act the Rotarians should be proud and satisfied because thereby they justly crown a remarkable work and a man faithfully serving his motherland and his Church, Hellenism and Christianity.*

*Your Eminence, we wish You many happy returns and we also thank all those who conceived of the idea and realized it with such honour and splendour worthy of the occasion.*

Eloquent also was *Alexis Galanos'* (Member of the House of Commons of the Republic of Cyprus) salutation:

*Your Eminence,*

*I feel especially proud as a Greek Cypriot, Member of the Cyprian Rotarian Association of Famagousta, for the thoughtful decision of the Rotarian Association of Athens to honour His Eminence the Archbishop of Thyateira and Gt Britain Dr Methodios Fouyas.*

*The bestowal of the Diamont Link of the Rotary is a prize of virtue and worthiness, a small, of course, token of the great esteem and love which the Archbishop of Thyateira enjoys not only from the Rotarians of Athens and London but from all the Greeks worldwide.*

*In the person of His Eminence we honour an exceptional Hierarch, a Rock of Orthodoxy, and at the same time a luminous personality, a man of*

*τώσετε τὸν ἀνθρώπινο πόνο καὶ τὴν ἀνθρώπινη δυστυχία καὶ νὰ βοηθήσετε στὴν ἀντιμετώπισι προβλημάτων ποὺ ταλαιπωροῦν τὸ ἄτομο, τὴν οἰκογένεια, τὸν Ἑλληνισμό. Πηγαία ἡ ἀγάπη σας, πλούσια ἡ συγγνώμη σας, χριστιανικὴ ἡ διαλλακτικότητά σας, ἄξια πρὸς μίμησι γιὰ λαϊκοὺς καὶ κληρικοὺς ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη καὶ ἡ αὐταπάρνησί σας. Ἡ τιμὴ ποὺ σᾶς γίνεται ἀπόψε εἶναι ἄξια τῶν ἀγώνων, τῶν θυσιῶν, τῆς προσφορᾶς καὶ τοῦ πιστεύω σας. Μὲ τὴν ἀξία σας κερδίσατε τιμητικὴ θέσι πλάι στὸν Πατριάρχη Ἀθηναγόρα καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Μακάριο. Ἔπαθλο ἀρετῆς ἀπονέμει σὲ δοκιμασμένο ἱεράρχη ὁ Ροταριανὸς Ὅμιλος Ἀθηνῶν καὶ γιὰ τὴν πρᾶξι του αὐτὴ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ὑπερήφανος καὶ ἱκανοποιημένος, διότι μὲ τὴν πρᾶξι του δίκαια στεφανώνει ἔργο ἀξιόλογο καὶ ἄνδρα πιστὸ ὑπηρέτη τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ. Εὐχόμαστε ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦμε ὅλους ἐκείνους ποὺ συνέλαβαν τὴν ἰδέα καὶ τὴν ἐξετέλεσαν μὲ τόση τιμὴ καὶ λαμπρότητα ἄξια τῆς περιστάσεως».*

Ἐξ ἴσου εὔγλωττος ὑπῆρξε καὶ ὁ χαιρετισμὸς τιμῆς καὶ ἀγάπης διὰ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων τοῦ Ἀλεξίου Γαλανοῦ, Κοινοβουλευτικοῦ Ἐκπροσώπου τοῦ Δημοκρατικοῦ Κόμματος τῆς Κυπριακῆς Βουλῆς καὶ ἐκπροσώπου τοῦ Προέδρου τῆς Κυπριακῆς Δημοκρατίας Κυπριανοῦ:

«*Σεβασμιώτατε, Κυρίες καὶ Κύριοι,* εἶπεν ὁ Βουλευτὴς Ἀλέξης Γαλανός, *αἰσθάνομαι ἰδιαίτερα ὑπερήφανος σὰν Ἕλλην Κύπριος, μέλος τοῦ Κυπριακοῦ Ροταριανοῦ Ὁμίλου Ἀμμοχώστου, γιὰ τὴν ἐμπνευσμένη ἀπόφασι τοῦ Ροταριανοῦ Ὁμίλου Ἀθηνῶν νὰ τιμήσῃ τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων Δρα Μεθόδιον. Ἡ ἀπονομὴ τοῦ ἀδαμαντίνου κρίκου τοῦ Ρόταρυ ἀποτελεῖ ἕνα ἔπαθλον ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀξίας, ἕνα μικρὸ βέβαια δεῖγμα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκτιμήσεως καὶ ἀγάπης ποὺ τρέφουν ὄχι μόνον οἱ Ροταριανοὶ Ὅμιλοι Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Λονδίνου ἀλλὰ ὁλόκληρος ὁ Ἑλληνισμός, σὲ ὅλα τὰ μήκη καὶ τὰ πλάτη τοῦ κόσμου, πρὸς τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων. Εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων τιμᾶμε σήμερα ἕνα ἐκλεκτὸ Ἱεράρχη, ἕνα βράχο τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, ἀλλὰ ταυ-*

*letters, a serious scholar and scientist, a teacher and sage, a genuine son of Hellenism.*

*The work of the Archbishop of Thyateira and Gt Britain in Europe, Africa and Britain, is characterized by a lengthy service of forty years dedicated to the ideals of Hellenism and Orthodoxy, to great endeavours in the sphere of Religion, Education, the Country and the Nation, world peace and the pan- human ideals.*

*The honour given to His Eminence today will be a source of encouragement and strengthening for the untiring Hierarch to continue the difficult and great work which has been allotted to Him by 'fate' and the Church and to which He has dedicated His life.*

*Your Eminence, allow me to convey to You the warm greetings, esteem and friendship of the President of Cyprus. May You enjoy health, spiritual strength and many years to complete the work which the Church and the Nation have entrusted to You".*

*Pantelis Menglides,* Ambassador, Director of the Greeks Abroad of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Representative of the Greek Government, gave the following salutation:

*"Your Eminence, Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a special pleasure for me to be present at this gathering which presents the unusual feature of exhibiting a full unity of the immigrants and the Church. For the accomplishment of this unity the personality of the honoured Hierarch has contributed decisively and for this reason all of us have expressed to him our gratitude. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in the Department over which I preside, the Department of Immigrant Greeks, the person and the contribution of this Hierarch on all the levels of our national life and national presence have been, since long ago especially appreciated. What, however, should be especially stressed today is that at a time when the maintenance of unbreakable unity among the Greeks is of paramount importance, the Church, in the person of His Eminence, is found in the forefront and gives an impeccable example, which all of us should imitate for the unity of our race. There are great*

*τόχρονα ἕνα φωτεινὸ ἐργάτη τῶν Γραμμάτων, ἕνα σοβαρὸ μελετητὴ καὶ ἐπιστήμονα, ἕνα διδάσκαλο τοῦ Γένους, ἕνα γνήσιο τέκνο τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπη, τὴν Ἀμερική, τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Βρεταννία χαρακτηρίζεται ἀπὸ μιὰ μακροχρόνια ὑπηρεσία 40 ἐτῶν ἀφιερωμένη εἰς τὰ ἰδανικὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, ἀφιερωμένη σὲ μεγάλους καὶ δύσκολους ἀγῶνες ὑπὲρ τῆς Θρησκείας, ὑπὲρ τῆς Παιδείας, ὑπὲρ τῆς Πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ Ἔθνους, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῶν πανανθρωπίνων ἰδανικῶν. Ἡ σημερινὴ τιμὴ ποὺ γίνεται εἰς τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων θὰ πρέπει νὰ τὸν ἐμψυχώσῃ, θὰ πρέπει νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ νέες δυνάμεις γιὰ νὰ συνεχίσῃ τὸ δύσκολο καὶ μεγάλο ἔργο ποὺ τὸν ἔταξε ἡ μοῖρα καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἀφιέρωσε τὴν ζωήν του».*

Ὁ χαιρετισμὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑορτασμῷ τῆς 40ετηρίδος τῆς Ἱερωσύνης τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων κ. Μεθοδίου τοῦ Πρέσβεως-Διευθυντοῦ Ἀποδήμου Ἑλληνισμοῦ τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Ἐξωτερικῶν καὶ ἐκπροσώπου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως Π. Μεγκλίδη ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς:

*«Σεβασμιώτατε, Κύριε Πρόεδρε, Κυρίες καὶ Κύριοι,* εἶπεν ὁ Πρέσβυς Παντελῆς Μεγκλίδης, *ἀποτελεῖ ἰδιαιτέραν εὐχαρίστησι νὰ παρίσταμαι εἰς τὴν σημερινὴν συγκέντρωσί σας, ἡ ὁποία παρουσιάζει τὸ ἀσύνηθες χαρακτηριστικὸν ὅτι ὑπάρχει ἑνότης πλήρης τῶν ἀποδήμων καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἰς τὴν ἐπίτευξι αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου ἔχει συμβάλει ἀποφασιστικὰ ἡ προσωπικότης τοῦ τιμωμένου Ἱεράρχου καὶ δι' αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον ἐκφράζομεν ὅλοι μας τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην μας. Εἰς τὸ Ὑπουργεῖον Ἐξωτερικῶν, ἰδιαίτερα εἰς τὴν Διεύθυνσιν τὴν ὁποίαν διευθύνω, τὴν Διεύθυνσιν Ἀποδήμων Ἑλλήνων, ἔχει ἀπὸ μακροῦ ἰδιαιτέρως ἐκτιμηθῇ ἡ προσωπικότης καὶ ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ Ἱεράρχου εἰς ὅλα τὰ ἐπίπεδα τῆς ἐθνικῆς μας ζωῆς, τῆς ἐθνικῆς μας παρουσίας. Ἐκεῖνο, ὅμως, τὸ ὁποῖον ἰδιαιτέρως θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐξαρθῇ σήμερα, εἶναι ὅτι σὲ μίαν περίοδον ποὺ πρέπει νὰ ὑπάρχῃ ἀρραγὴς ἑνότης τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου ἡ Ἐκκλησία εἰς τὴν πρωτοπορίαν καὶ δίδει τὸ ἀπαράμιλλον παράδειγμα, τὸ ὁποῖον πρέπει νὰ μιμηθοῦμε ὅλοι μας διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Ὑπάρχουν μεγάλοι κίνδυνοι καὶ ἴσως ὑπάρξουν ἀκόμη μεγαλύτεροι καὶ ὁ Ἑλληνι-*

*dangers today and there may be even greater ones in the near future and therefore, the Hellenic people must be united. For the achievement of such a task none of us can be so great as to contribute on his own, but it is equally true that none of us can be so narrow as to oppose the achievement of unity. We believe that in the future as well, His Eminence will be able to cope with His difficult task and all of us shall be on His side. Thank you".*

The "congratulatory greeting" of the special envoy of the Greek Embassy in London, Mr Christos Tsalikis, was as follows:

*"You know the esteem which the Greek Goverment has for your person, your labours for the advancement of our ethnic issues and your notable work here among your flock. Allow me to congratulate you for the honour conferred on you by the Rotarians of Athens and which you fully deserve. Thank you".*

*Dr Homer Habibbis,* President of the Greek Cypriot Brotherhood in London said:

*"I am grateful for the opportunity and the privilege of allowing me to add a few words, on behalf of the Greek Cypriot Community, in addition to what the other speakers said in appreciation of the life and of the work of the Archbishop of Thyateira, Mgr Methodios. Forty successful years in the service of the Lord, many of them spent in positions of great responsibility, are no mean achievement. However, considering the calibre and the personalities of the two other great men who were honoured in the past, namely that of Archbishop Makarios and of Patriarch Athenagoras, one cannot escape the conclusion that this must be a unique recognition and, more than that, an act of faith, not only in the present but also in the future role which Archbishop Methodios has undertaken in the affairs of the Greek Orthodox Church. It is also a recognition and an act of faith for the importance of the 3½ million Greek Orthodox people who live in other countries of the world, away from their Motherland.*

*Although all Christian Churches face severe problems in their respective countries, there is no doubt that the overseas Orthodox population, and*

*σμὸς πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἑνωμένος. Διὰ τὴν δημιουργία, τὴν ἐπίτευξι αὐτοῦ τοῦ σκοποῦ, κανένας μας δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι τόσο μεγάλος, ὥστε νὰ συμβάλη μόνος του, ἀλλὰ καὶ κανένας δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι τόσο μικρός, ὥστε νὰ ἀντιταχθῆ εἰς τὴν δημιουργίαν τῆς ἑνότητος. Πιστεύομε ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος θὰ μπορέση νὰ ἀντεπεξέλθη εἰς τὸ δύσκολον αὐτὸ ἔργον καὶ ἐμεῖς ὅλοι μας θὰ εἴμαστε οἱ συμπαραστάται του. Σᾶς εὐχαριστῶ».*

Ὁ «συγχαρητήριος χαιρετισμὸς» τοῦ ἐπιτετραμμένου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Πρεσβείας ἐν Λονδίνῳ Χρήστου Τσαλίκη ἦτο ὡς ἑξῆς:

*«Γνωρίζετε τὴν ἐκτίμησιν τὴν ὁποίαν τρέφει εἰς τὸ πρόσωπόν σας ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Κυβέρνησις διὰ τὰς προσπαθείας ποὺ καταβάλλετε διὰ τὴν προώθησιν τῶν ἐθνικῶν μας θεμάτων καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξιόλογον ἔργον ποὺ ἐπιτελεῖτε εἰς τὸ ἐδῶ ποίμνιόν σας. Ἐπιτρέψατέ μου νὰ σᾶς συγχαρῶ διὰ τὴν ἀνταξίαν τοῦ ἔργου σας τιμὴν ποὺ σᾶς γίνεται ἀπὸ τὸν Ροταριανὸν Ὅμιλον Ἀθηνῶν. Εὐχαριστῶ».*

Ὁ Δρ Ὅμηρος Χαπίπης, Πρόεδρος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἀδελφότητος ἐν Λονδίνῳ, ἀπηύθυνε τὸν ἀκόλουθον χαιρετισμόν:

*«Εἶμαι εὐγνώμων γιὰ τὴν εὐκαιρία καὶ τὸ προνόμιο ποὺ μοῦ δόθηκε νὰ προσθέσω λίγες λέξεις ἐκ μέρους τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἀδελφότητος στὰ ὅσα εἶπαν ἤδη οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμιλητὲς γιὰ νὰ ἐξαρθῆ ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων κ. Μεθοδίου. Σαράντα χρόνια εὐδόκιμης διακονίας στὴν ὑπηρεσία τοῦ Κυρίου, πολλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ὁποῖα καταναλώθηκαν σὲ θέσεις μεγάλης ὑπευθυνότητος, δὲν ἀποτελοῦν μικρὸ ἐπίτευγμα. Παρ' ὅλα αὐτά, ἀναλογιζόμενος τὸ ἀνάστημα καὶ τὶς προσωπικότητες τῶν δύο ἄλλων μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ποὺ τιμήθηκαν κατὰ τὸν ἴδιο τρόπο στὸ παρελθόν, δηλαδὴ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου καὶ τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρα, δὲν μπορῶ νὰ ἀποφύγω τὸ συμπέρασμα ὅτι ἡ ἀποψινὴ ἀναγνώρισι εἶναι μοναδικὴ καί, ἀκόμη, ὅτι ἀποτελεῖ μιὰ πρᾶξι πίστεως, ὄχι μόνον γιὰ τὸν παρόντα ἀλλὰ καὶ γιὰ τὸ μέλλοντα ρόλο ποὺ ἔχει ἀναληφθῆ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Μεθόδιο μέσα στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία. Πρόκειται ἐπίσης γιὰ μιὰ ἀναγνώρισι καὶ πρᾶξι πίστεως γιὰ τὴν σπουδαιότητα τῶν 3½ ἑκατομμυρίων ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων ποὺ ζοῦν σὲ ἄλλες χῶρες τοῦ κόσμου μακριὰ ἀπὸ τὴν μητρική τους πατρίδα.*

*»Ἂν καὶ ὅλες οἱ Χριστιανικὲς Ἐκκλησίες ἀντιμετωπίζουν σοβαρὰ προβλήματα στὶς χῶρες ἀπ' ὅπου προέρχονται, δὲν ὑπάρχει καμμιὰ ἀμφιβολία ὅτι ὁ ἀπόδημος ἑλληνορθόδοξος πληθυσμὸς καὶ συγκεκρι-*

*specifically those who are spiritually responsible for them, face additional difficulties of considerable magnitude of a different nature. This is in many ways a period of transition for the Orthodox Church of the Diaspora. The appearance of the second and even of the third generation of immigrants, the fact that the great majority of them live in countries essentially agnostic, lacking the emotional experience of religious life which their forefathers had, as well as the serious problem of language, are all factors which endanger the survival of a full and active Orthodox faith, which can be transmitted to the generations which will follow. And yet, if every other characteristic of our national identity disappears, that of the Orthodox faith, is the one basic characteristic which is relatively easy to conserve, compared with others as for example language, customs etc.*

*It is precisely towards these directions that Archbishop Methodios applied his great skill and versatility as administrator, his untiring capacity and enthusiasm for work, his faith in the Church of his forefathers, his attachment to the idea of Hellenism, his dislike of failure and his passion for perfection and success..."*

The president of the Greek ship-owners in London John Hadjipateras added the following:

*"It gives me extreme pleasure to be here tonight, together with so many distinguished people, paying tribute to the personality and the achievements, so far, of Archbishop Methodios.*

*I am privileged to have known Archbishop Methodios for a quarter of a century.*

*During our meetings I have come to admire his many abilities, and his many qualities, plus his humour – so unusual for a Greek Clergyman.*

*He is the perfect collaborator. He knows how to agree when he disagrees! and vice - versa.*

*His opinion, his advice, always wise.*

*His smile! a source of inspiration, hope and strength. His spiritual work of great value and his books, monuments of thought.*

*The Greek Community is lucky and very happy*

*μένα ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ εἶναι πνευματικοὶ ὑπεύθυνοι γι' αὐτόν, ἀντιμετωπίζουν ἐπιπρόσθετες δυσκολίες σημαντικῶν διαστάσεων καὶ διαφορετικῆς φύσεως. Ἡ τρέχουσα περίοδος εἶναι ἀπὸ πολλὲς πλευρὲς περίοδος μεταβατικὴ γιὰ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Ἡ ἐμφάνισι τῆς δεύτερης καὶ τῆς τρίτης γενεᾶς τῶν Ἀποδήμων, τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἡ μεγάλη πλειονότητα ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ζοῦν σὲ χῶρες οὐσιαστικοῦ ἀγνωστικισμοῦ, ὅπου λείπει ἡ αἰσθηματικὴ ἐμπειρία τῆς θρησκευτικῆς ζωῆς ποὺ εἶχαν οἱ προπάτορές τους, ὅπως ἐπίσης καὶ τὰ σοβαρὰ γλωσσικὰ προβλήματα, εἶναι ὅλα αὐτὰ παράγοντες ποὺ θέτουν σὲ κίνδυνο τὴν διατήρησι μιᾶς πλήρους καὶ ζωντανῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ποὺ θὰ μπορέση νὰ διαβιβασθῆ στὶς γενεὲς ποὺ ἀκολουθοῦν. Καὶ ὅμως, καὶ ἂν ἀκόμη κάθε ἄλλο χαρακτηριστικὸ τῆς ἐθνικῆς μας ταυτότητος θὰ ἐξαφανίζετο, αὐτὸ ποὺ λέγεται ὀρθόδοξη πίστι εἶναι ἐκεῖνο τὸ βασικὸ χαρακτηριστικὸ ποὺ διατηρεῖται εὔκολα, συγκρινόμενο μὲ ὅλα τὰ ἄλλα, δηλαδὴ τὴν γλῶσσα, τὰ ἔθιμα κτλ.*

*»Πρὸς τὶς κατευθύνσεις ἀκριβῶς αὐτὲς ἔχει στρέψει ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος τὴν μεγάλη δεξιοτεχνία καὶ ἑτοιμολογία του στὴν διοικητικὴ ἡγεσία, τὴν ἀκάματη ἀνθεκτικότητα καὶ τὸν ἄκρατο ἐνθουσιασμό του γιὰ ἐργασία, πιστὸς στὴν Ἐκκλησία τῶν προπατόρων του, στὴν προσήλωσί του στὴν ἰδέα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, τὴν ἀποστροφή του γιὰ τὴν ἀποτυχία καὶ τὸ πάθος του γιὰ τελειότητα καὶ ἐπιτυχία...».*

Ὁ «εὐχαριστήριος χαιρετισμὸς» τοῦ Ἰωάννου Α. Χατζηπατέρα, Προέδρου τῆς Ἑνώσεως Ἑλλήνων Ἐφοπλιστῶν ἐν Λονδίνῳ, εἶχεν ὡς ἑξῆς:

*«Σεβασμιώτατε, Κυρίες καὶ Κύριοι,* εἶπεν ὁ Ἰωάννης Χατζηπατέρας, *Αἰσθάνομαι ἀμέριστον ἱκανοποίησιν διότι εἶμαι παρὼν εἰς τὴν ἀποψινὴν συνάντησιν τόσων διακεκριμένων ἀνθρώπων προκειμένου νὰ τιμηθοῦν ἡ προσωπικότης καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα, μέχρι τοῦδε, τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου.*

*»Ἔχω τὸ προνόμιο νὰ γνωρίζω τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Μεθόδιο, ἐπὶ ἕνα τέταρτο αἰῶνος.*

*»Κατὰ τὰς συναντήσεις μας ἔχω μάθει νὰ ἐκτιμῶ τὰς πολλὰς ἱκανότητάς του καὶ τὰ πολλὰ προσόντα του, σὺν τὸ χιοῦμορ του – τὸ ὁποῖον σπανίζει εἰς ἕλληνας κληρικούς.*

*»Εἶναι τέλειος συνεργάτης. Γνωρίζει πῶς νὰ συμφωνῇ ὅταν διαφωνῇ καὶ τὸ ἀντίστροφον.*

*»Ἡ γνώμη του, ἡ συμβουλή του – πάντοτε σοφή.*

*»Τὸ γέλιο του! πηγὴ ἐμπνεύσεως, ἐλπίδος καὶ δυνάμεως. Τὸ πνευματικὸν ἔργον του μεγίστης ἀξίας καὶ τὰ βιβλία του μνημεῖα σκέψεως.*

*»Ἡμεῖς ὅλοι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος εἴμεθα πο-*

*to have you, your Eminence, as our spiritual Leader and are grateful for the honour made to You tonight by the Rotary of Athens in common meeting with the Rotary of London. We thank you for this wonderful occasion. Thank you".*

The person, however, who summed up better than anybody else Archbishop Methodios' achievements and distinction was the main speaker on this occasion, Professor *Thomas F. Torrance.* His words are most fitting for this festive volume and I shall cite them in full:

*"On this august occasion the Rotary Club of Athens, happily joined by the Rotary Club of London, has met to confer its supreme honour upon one of the most eminent and colourful personages of our time, his Eminence the Most Reverend Dr Methodios Fouyas, Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain. Only two other mighty men of God have been distinguished by the Rotary Club of Athens in this way, by being presented with its Gold Medal and Diploma of Honour, the late Archbishop Athenagoras, formerly the Ecumenical Patriarch, and the late Archbishop Makarios, one time President of Cyprus. When I learned that the name of Archbishop Methodios was to be linked with those of such preeminent Churchmen in Christ's, Kingdom, my thought immediately leapt to the roll of honour, found in the first book of Chronicles, listing King David's mighty men of valour. At the head of them all were 'three chief mighty men', but while each excelled in his own way one of them was named as 'chief among the three'. That is surely how we are to regard our dear Methodios. Athenagoras was revered as a Spiritual Leader in the rise of the Ecumenical Movement, and Makarios was distinguished as a National Leader among his troubled people in Cyprus, but Methodios stands out chief among the three both as a Spiritual and Ecumenical Leader and as a National leader of Greek immigrants in different*

*λὺ τυχεροὶ καὶ πολὺ εὐτυχισμένοι, διότι πνευματικός μας ἡγέτης εἶναι ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος. Εἴμεθα πολὺ ὑπερήφανοι καὶ αἰσθανόμεθα εὐγνωμοσύνην διὰ τὴν τιμὴν ποὺ τοῦ γίνεται ἀπόψε ἀπὸ τὸν Ροταριανὸν Ὅμιλον Ἀθηνῶν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν συνεστίασίν του μὲ τὸν Ροταριανὸν Ὅμιλον Λονδίνου. Σᾶς εὐχαριστοῦμε πολὺ δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ὡραίαν ἐκδήλωσιν. Εὐχαριστῶ».*

Τὸ πρόσωπον, ὅμως, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐξῆρε ἐπιτυχέστερον παντὸς ἄλλου τὰ ἐπιτεύγματα καὶ τὴν διάκρισιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, ἦτο ὁ κύριος ὁμιλητὴς τῆς περιστάσεως ἐκείνης, ὁ καθηγητὴς-ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Θ.Φ. Τόρρανς. Οἱ λόγοι του, ἑορταστικοὶ καὶ πανηγυρικοί, ὄντως ἀποτελοῦν τὴν πλέον ἁρμόζουσαν κατάληξιν τοῦ βιογραφικοῦ τούτου δοκιμίου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θὰ τοὺς παραθέσωμεν χωρὶς περικοπάς:

*«Στὴν ἐπιβλητικὴ τούτη περίστασι οἱ Ροταριανοὶ Ὅμιλοι τῆς Ἀθήνας καὶ τοῦ Λονδίνου συνῆλθαν γιὰ νὰ ἀποδώσουν τὴν μεγαλύτερη τιμητικὴ ἀναγνώρισί τους σὲ μιὰ ἀπὸ τὶς πιὸ διακεκριμένες καὶ πολυποίκιλες προσωπικότητες τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, τὸν Σεβασμιώτατο Δόκτορα Μεθόδιον Φούγια, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας. Δύο μόνον ἰσχυροὶ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχουν διακριθῆ στὸ παρελθὸν ἀπὸ τὸν Ροταριανὸ Ὅμιλο Ἀθηνῶν μὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπο, δηλαδὴ τὴν ἀπονομὴ τοῦ Χρυσοῦ Μεταλλίου καὶ τοῦ Διπλώματος Τιμῆς τοῦ Ὁμίλου, ὁ ἀοίδιμος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηναγόρας, ποὺ διετέλεσε Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης, καὶ ὁ ἀοίδιμος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μακάριος, ποὺ διετέλεσε Πρόεδρος τῆς Κυπριακῆς Δημοκρατίας. Ὅταν πληροφορήθηκα ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἐπρόκειτο νὰ συνδεθῆ μὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν δύο τούτων; τόσον διακεκριμένων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡγετῶν τῆς Βασιλείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ σκέψι μου πέταξε ἀμέσως στὸν κύλινδρο τιμῆς ποὺ βρίσκεται στὸ πρῶτο βιβλίο τῶν "Χρονικῶν" καὶ ποὺ κατονομάζει τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς ἄνδρες τοῦ Βασιλιᾶ Δαβὶδ ποὺ διακρίθηκαν γιὰ ἀνδρειοσύνη. Ἐπικεφαλῆς ὅλων αὐτῶν ἦσαν "τρεῖς πανίσχυροι ἡγέτες", μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων ἕνας μόνον ὀνομάσθηκε "ὁ ὕπατος ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς", ἂν καὶ ὁ καθένας τους διακρίθηκε γιὰ κάτι τὸ ἰδιαίτερο. Ἔτσι ἀκριβῶς πρέπει νὰ θεωρήσωμε καὶ μεῖς σήμερα τὸν ἀγαπητόν μας Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Μεθόδιον. Ὁ Ἀθηναγόρας ἔγινε σεβαστὸς σὰν Πνευματικὸς Ἡγέτης στὸ στάδιο τῆς Οἰκουμενικῆς Κινήσεως. Ὁ Μακάριος διακρίθηκε σὰν Ἐθνικὸς Ἡγέτης ἀνάμεσα στοὺς καταπονεμένους συμπατριῶτες του στὴν Κύπρο. Ὁ Μεθόδιος ὅμως ὑπερβαίνει καὶ τοὺς δύο*

*countries, for he excells in virtue of a theological and moral force which lifts his Churchmanship on to a different level. Take him all in all, we have never seen his fellow in the range, profundity and strength of his constructive contributions to the Orthodox Church in our times.*

*Time does not allow me on an occassion like this to recount to you the full story of this remarkable man. Let me but mention the year of his birth, 1925, in Corinth, his entry into the Monastery of Penteli twenty years later, his early theological studies in the University of Athens from 1946 to 1951, his ordination to the Priesthood in 1950 and his becoming an Archimandrite in the following year. Then let me refer to his early appointments, first as Priest in Charge of the Greek Orthodox Church in Munich, as Secretary General of the Patriarchate of Alexandria in 1954, and then after doctoral studies in Salonika, as Priest in Charge of the Greek Orthodox Church in Manchester where he completed his work for the doctorate in the University of Manchester. In 1966 Archimandrite Dr Methodios Fouyas was appointed Secretary to the Holy Synod of the Church in Greece, an office he filled with such fidelity and courage that the Junta had him removed in 1968.*

*By this time Methodios was recognised as Churchman of remarkable gifts and vigour who stood head and shoulders above others, and was clearly marked out by God for the Episcopate. The Patriarchate of Alexandria quickly seized the chance to have him back by electing him to the historic See of Aksum in Ethiopia, founded by the great Athanasius. After eleven years of indefatigable priestly and pastoral ministry, marked by the imagination and constructiveness of his work for the Ethiopic as well as the Greek Orthodox Church, and by his superb courage in defence of Christ's Church against Communist hostility, the Ecumenical Patriarchate wisely sent him to London to become the Primate of the Orthodox Church in Great Britain and Exarch of the*

*προηγουμένους τόσον ὡς Πνευματικὸς καὶ Οἰκουμενικὸς Ἡγέτης, ὅσον καὶ ὡς Ἐθνικὸς Ἀρχηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεταναστῶν σὲ διάφορες χῶρες, διότι ὑπερτερεῖ στὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς θεολογικῆς καὶ ἠθικῆς δυνάμεως, ἡ ὁποία ἀνεβάζει τὴν ἐκκλησιαστική του πολιτεία σὲ ἕνα ἀνώτερο ἐπίπεδο. Θεωρῆστε τον ἀπὸ κάθε ἄποψι καὶ θὰ ἰδῆτε ὅτι εἶναι ἀσύγκριτος μεταξὺ τῶν ὁμοίων του, ἐμβριθέστατος καὶ παντοδύναμος στὶς δημιουργικές του συμβολὲς μέσα στὴν Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τῆς ἐποχῆς μας.*

*»Ὁ χρόνος δὲν μοῦ ἐπιτρέπει νὰ ἀναφερθῶ διεξοδικὰ σ' ὁλόκληρη τὴν ἱστορία τοῦ καταπληκτικοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Ἂς ἀναφερθῶ ὅμως μὲ συντομία στὰ βασικὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς βιογραφίας του, στὴν γέννησί του στὴν Κορινθία τὸ 1925, στὴν εἴσοδό του στὴ Μονὴ Πεντέλης εἴκοσι χρόνια ἀργότερα, στὶς πρῶτες θεολογικές του σπουδὲς στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπὸ τὸ 1946 ἕως τὸ 1951, στὴν εἴσοδό του στὴν ἱερωσύνη τὸ 1950 καὶ στὴν ἀνύψωσί του σὲ Ἀρχιμανδρίτη τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος. Ἔπειτα ἂς ἀναφερθῶ στοὺς πρώτους διορισμούς του, πρῶτα ὡς Ἱερατικῶς Προϊσταμένου στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Μονάχου καὶ ὡς Ἀρχιγραμματέως τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ 1954, καὶ μετὰ στὶς διδακτορικές του σπουδὲς στὴν Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ ὡς Ἱερατικῶς Προϊσταμένου στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Μάντσεστερ, ὅπου συμπλήρωσε τὸ ἔργο του ἐπὶ διδακτορίᾳ στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Μάντσεστερ. Τὸ 1966 ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Δρ. Μεθόδιος Φούγιας διωρίσθηκε Γραμματεὺς τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ διατήρησε τὴν θέσι αὐτὴ μὲ ἀπαράμιλλη ἀφοσίωσι καὶ θάρρος μέχρις ὅτου ἐκδιώχθηκε ἀπὸ τὴν δικτατορία τὸ 1968.*

*»Ἤδη ὅμως ὁ Μεθόδιος εἶχε γίνει γνωστὸς ὡς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς παράγων μὲ καταπληκτικὰ χαρίσματα καὶ δύναμι, ποὺ ξεπερνοῦσε ὅλους τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ εἶχε προορισθῆ ἀπὸ τὸν Θεὸ γιὰ τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴ διακονία. Τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲν ἔχασε τὴν εὐκαιρία νὰ τὸν ἐπαναφέρῃ στοὺς κόλπους του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἐκλέξῃ Μητροπολίτη στὴν ἱστορικὴ Ἐπισκοπὴ τῆς Ἀξώμης στὴν Αἰθιοπία, ποὺ εἶχε ἱδρυθῆ ἀπὸ τὸν Μέγα Ἀθανάσιο. Ὕστερα ἀπὸ ἑνδεκα χρόνια ἀκαταπόνητης ἱερατικῆς καὶ ποιμαντορικῆς διακονίας, τὴν ὁποία χαρακτήρισε ἐξαιρετικὴ φαντασία καὶ δημιουργία τόσο γιὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπία ὅσο καὶ γιὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξοχη γενναιότητα στὴν ὑπεράσπισι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔναντι τῶν ἐπαναστατικῶν ἐχθροπραξιῶν, τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο πολὺ σοφὰ*

*Ecumenical Patriarchate in Western Europe. It is as such that we salute him today, by the grace of God the Archbishop whose praise is in all the Churches, a Churchman of great wisdom, a Scholar and Theologian of prodigious learning, a Spiritual Leader of far-sighted vision and unceasing energy.*

*Such is the public image of our Archbishop, but I wish now to speak of him as I have come to know and appreciate him from some twenty years of deep friendship and through steady cooperation in theological and ecumenical activity in different countries.*

*Methodios is a completely dedicated man of God. The zeal of God's House eats him up. Everything in his life, whether small or great, whether work or leisure, is made to serve the supreme end for which he has been ordained Presbyter and consecrated Bishop. He has finally no other ambition but to use the gifts and resources God has given him and the high office that has been thrust upon him for the mission of the Gospel and the growth of Christ's Church. His fertile and creative imagination make him launch project after project, such as new publications, plans for better theological education, the founding of religious centres at strategic points for Christian witness and study, in all of which he is ambitious to succeed. In that sense Methodios is consumed with ambition, and he brings, to his ambition an inner dynamism and force of a kind which I have rarely met in any other person. But what lies behind all that is a selfless dedication to his divine calling, a dedication, however, which does not rule out but sansctifies his natural sense of fun. His assertive leadership, his use of Primatial Authority, his personal influence over others which is very considerable, are all made to serve his passion for Christ and his Church with a dedication in which there are no ulterior motives. As we say in Britain, he is a 'true blue', there are no cracks in his integrity.*

*τὸν ἔστειλε στὸ Λονδῖνο γιὰ νὰ γίνῃ ἐκεῖ Κεφαλὴ τῆς Ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας στὴ Μεγάλη Βρεταννία καὶ Ἔξαρχος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου στὴ Δυτικὴ Εὐρώπη. Ἔτσι τὸν χαιρετίζουμε σήμερα, σὰν τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο, τὸν ὁποῖον ἡ χάρι τοῦ Θεοῦ κατέστησε ἔνδοξον ἀνάμεσα σ' ὅλες τὶς Ἐκκλησίες, σὰν τὸν σοφώτατο ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἀρχηγέτη, σὰν τὸν ἱκανώτατο ἐπιστήμονα καὶ θεολόγο, σὰν τὸν πνευματικὸ ὁδηγὸ τὸν ὁποῖο διακρίνει ἀσυνήθιστη διορατικότης καὶ ἀκάματη ἐνεργητικότης.*

*»Αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ δημοσία εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Θὰ ἤθελα ὅμως τώρα νὰ μιλήσω γι' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τὴν σκοπιὰ τῆς προσωπικῆς μου γνωριμίας μαζί του καὶ τῆς προσωπικῆς μου ἐκτιμήσεως τοῦ χαρακτῆρος του ποὺ ἀπεκόμισα ὕστερα ἀπὸ στενὴ φιλία εἴκοσι ἐτῶν καὶ συνεχῆ συνεργασία θεολογικῆς καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς δραστηριότητος σὲ διάφορες χῶρες τοῦ κόσμου.*

*»Ὁ Μεθόδιος εἶναι ἄνθρωπος ἀπόλυτα ἀφιερωμένος στὸν Θεό. Ὁ ζῆλος του γιὰ τὸν Οἶκο τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν "κατατρώγει". Κάθε τι στὴ ζωή του, εἴτε μεγάλο εἴτε μικρό, εἴτε ἐργασία εἴτε σχόλη, γίνεται γιὰ νὰ ἐξυπηρετήσῃ τὸν ὑπέρτατο σκοπὸ γιὰ τὸν ὁποῖο χειροτονήθηκε Πρεσβύτερος καὶ Ἐπίσκοπος. Σὲ τελευταία ἀνάλυσι δὲν ἔχει καμμιὰ ἄλλη φιλοδοξία παρὰ τὸ πῶς νὰ χρησιμοποιήσῃ τὰ δῶρα καὶ τοὺς πόρους ποὺ τοῦ ἐδόθησαν ἀπὸ τὸ ὑψηλὸ ἀξίωμα ποὺ τοῦ ἐνεπιστεύθη ἡ Θεία Χάρις γιὰ τὴν διακονία τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου καὶ τὴν πρόοδο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

*»Ἡ γόνιμη καὶ δημιουργικὴ φαντασία του τὸν κάνει νὰ ἐγκαινιάζῃ τὸ ἕνα πρόγραμμα μετὰ τὸ ἄλλο, νέες ἐκδόσεις, σχέδια γιὰ καλύτερη θεολογικὴ παιδεία, ἐγκαθίδρυσι θρησκευτικῶν κέντρων σὲ στρατηγικὰ σημεῖα χριστιανικῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ μελέτης, ἐνῷ σὲ ὅλα ἔχει τὴν φιλοδοξία νὰ ἀποδειχθῇ ἐπιτυχής. Ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἔννοια ὁ Μεθόδιος φλέγεται ἀπὸ φιλοδοξία, τὴν ὁποία διαποτίζει μὲ ἕνα τέτοιο ἐσωτερικὸ δυναμισμό, τοῦ ὁποίου ὅμοιος πολὺ σπάνια μπορεῖ νὰ εὑρεθῇ σὲ ἄλλον ἄνθρωπο. Πίσω ὅμως ἀπὸ τὴν φιλοδοξία αὐτὴ κρύβεται ἡ ἀνιδιοτελής του ἀφοσίωσι στὴν θεία κλῆσι του, μιὰ ἀφοσίωσι ὅμως ποὺ δὲν ἀποκλείει, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐξαγιάζει τὴν φυσική του ροπὴ πρὸς τὴν χαρὰ καὶ εὐθυμία τῆς ζωῆς. Ἡ κατηγορηματική του στάσι ἡγεσίας, ὁ τρόπος ποὺ μεταχειρίζεται τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπική του ἐξουσία, ἡ προσωπική του ἐπίδρασι σὲ ἄλλους, ποὺ εἶναι πολὺ σημαντική, ὅλα ὑποτάσσονται στὴν ὑπηρεσία τοῦ πάθους του γιὰ τὸν Χριστὸ καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησία Του μὲ τέτοια ἀφοσίωσι ποὺ δὲν γνωρίζει ἄλλα ἀπώτερα κί-*

*No one takes more seriously than Archbishop Methodios his commission as a Bishop to be a Guardian of the Faith once delivered to the Saints. The Church has been entrusted by Christ with a sacred deposit, the original datum of divine Revelation enshrined in its Apostolic Foundation, which she must treasure above all else, preserving it intact against all misunderstanding and serving its faithful transmission to future generations. Since that sacred deposit is inseparable from the living substance of the Gospel upon which the very existence and continuity of the Church as the Body of Christ in the world depends, it cannot be handed on inviolate without constant reappropriation of the Apostolic understanding of Jesus Christ which through the Council of Nicaea has been built irreversibly into its doctrine and liturgy. It is in that light that we must appreciate the passionate concern of Archbishop Methodios in the publication of his notable book* **The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Councils,** *as also in his persistent and successful work in helping to reconcile Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian traditions in Christology. The purity of his theological instinct and the balance of his theological judgment so evident in his guardianship of the Faith can only have come from a mind intimately tuned into the Mind of Christ. A sensitive theological instinct is, I believe, the greatest gift a theologian can have, and Methodios has it in abundant measure.*

*It was when I once spent several weeks with the Archbishop in his Episcopal palace in Addis Ababa that I first became aware of his remarkable sense of history. I was struck with the care, even the devotion, he lavished upon the diocesan archives, not only archives of past events but archives dealing with the mission and activity of the Church in the present. He was acutely conscious of participating in history and indeed of engaging in on-going historical events. And they were indeed historical events of considerable significance*

*νητρα. "Οπως λέμε στὴν Ἀγγλία, εἶναι "πραγματικὰ γαλάζιος", χωρὶς ραγίσματα στὴν ἀκεραιότητά του.*

*»Κανεὶς δὲν παίρνει πιὸ σοβαρὰ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Μεθόδιο τὴν ἀποστολή του ὡς Ἐπισκόπου, δηλαδὴ τὸ ὅτι εἶναι φύλακας τῆς πίστεως ποὺ "ἅπαξ παρεδόθη εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους". Ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἔχει πιστωθῆ ἀπὸ τὸ Χριστὸ μὲ μιὰ ἱερὴ παρακαταθήκη, τὸ ἀρχικὸ δεδομένο τῆς Θείας Ἀποκαλύψεως ποὺ βρίσκεται ἐνσωματωμένο μέσα στὸ ἀποστολικὸ θεμέλιο. Τὴν παρακαταθήκη αὐτὴ πρέπει ἡ Ἐκκλησία νὰ τὴν θεωρῆ πάνω ἀπὸ κάθε τι ἄλλο, νὰ τὴν διατηρῆ ἄθικτη ἔναντι κάθε εἴδους παραποιήσεως καὶ νὰ ἐξυπηρετῆ τὴν ἀξιόπιστη μετάδοσί της στὶς μελλοντικὲς γενεές. Ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ ἱερὴ παρακαταθήκη εἶναι ἀχώριστη ἀπὸ τὴν ζωντανὴ οὐσία τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ἐπάνω στὴν ὁποία βασίζεται αὐτὴ ἡ ὑπόστασι καὶ συνοχὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὡς τοῦ Σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέσα στὸν κόσμο, εἶναι προφανὲς ὅτι δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ μεταδοθῆ ἀπαραβίαστη χωρὶς τὴν συνεχῆ ἀναζωπύρησι τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς κατανοήσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὁποίαν ἡ Σύνοδος τῆς Νικαίας ἔχει ἀνέκκλητα ἐποικοδομήσει δογματικὰ καὶ λειτουργικά. Ὑπὸ τὸ φῶς τοῦτο πρέπει νὰ ἐκτιμήσωμε τὸ ἄκρατο ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου γιὰ τὴν ἔκδοσι τοῦ πολὺ σημαντικοῦ βιβλίου του στὰ ἀγγλικὰ "Τὸ Πρόσωπο τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὰς Ἀποφάσεις τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων", ὅπως ἐπίσης καὶ τὸ ἐπίμονο καὶ ἐπιτυχὲς ἔργο του στὸ θέμα τῆς συνδιαλλαγῆς τῶν χαλκηδονίων καὶ μὴ χαλκηδονίων χριστολογικῶν παραδόσεων. Ἡ καθαρότητα τῆς θεολογικῆς του διορατικότητος καὶ ἡ ἐμβρίθεια τῆς θεολογικῆς του κρίσεως, ποὺ εἶναι τόσο προφανεῖς στὴν προσπάθειά του γιὰ τὴν διαφύλαξι τῆς πίστεως, δὲν μποροῦν παρὰ νὰ προέλθουν ἀπὸ ἕνα νοῦ ποὺ ἔχει συναρμονισθῆ μὲ τὸν Νοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Πιστεύω ὅτι τὸ εὐαίσθητο θεολογικὸ ἔνστικτο εἶναι τὸ μεγαλύτερο χάρισμα ποὺ μπορεῖ νὰ ἔχη ἕνας θεολόγος, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔχει ὁ Μεθόδιος σὲ ἄφθονο μέτρο.*

*»Ἦταν κατὰ τὴν διάρκεια τῆς διαμονῆς μου στὸ ἐπισκοπικὸ μέγαρο τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου στὴν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπα ὅταν ἀντελήφθην γιὰ πρώτη φορὰ τὸ καταπληκτικὸ ἱστορικὸ συναίσθημά του. Μὲ κατέπληξε ἡ φροντίδα του, μάλιστα ἡ θρησκευτικὴ ἀφοσίωσί του θὰ ἔλεγα, πρὸς τὸ ἀρχεῖο τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς, ὄχι μόνον τὸ ἱστορικό, ποὺ διαπραγματεύεται γεγονότα τοῦ παρελθόντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσφατο, ποὺ ἀναφέρεται στὴν σύγχρονη ἀποστολὴ καὶ δραστηριότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἶχε ἀπόλυτη συνείδησι τῆς συμμετοχῆς του στὴν ἱστορία καὶ στὸν ρόλο ποὺ ὁ ἴδιος διαδραμάτιζε στὰ σύγχρονα ἱστορι-*

*for the whole Church in Ethiopia as well as for the Greek communities in its midst. Yet it was not of himself as making history that Archbishop Methodios was so conscious but of being caught up through his episcopal office in the living stream of history as it flowed from the past into the future fraught with an awesome divine destiny. For Methodios the real agent of history was Christ in the midst of his Church, indwelling the daily life through his Spirit, while he himself was but the servant of Christ and his saving purpose. It was owing to this sense of being personally implicated in the unfolding pattern of history that he became so deeply absorbed in tracing the roots of Jewish and Christian presence in Ethiopia and Nubia, and also in probing into the origins of the Orthodox Church in any country where he was entrusted with a special mission to fulfil. And as a result what a range and wealth of historical studies he has given us! I have found the same passionate concern for history, past and present, here in his Arhdiocese in Britain, where also, as earlier in Ethiopia, he has brought into being and fostered different organisations, publications and journals as instruments serving and registering the living tradition of the Church stemming from its Apostolic Foundation and reaching forward through the mission of the Gospel to the coming of Christ the Lord of all history. In that profound sense, Methodios is essentially an 'apostolical man of great depth'.*

*This brings me to another outstanding feature of Archbishop Methodios which I have come to admire more and more: his Christian statemanship. Here I point to the wisdom and judgment he constantly manifests in the exigencies and complications of human and social existence in the modern world. Were he a politician he would undoubtedly be one of the most influential statesmen in Europe. However, Methodios' statesmanship functions not at the superficial level of political pragmatism or the daily conflict of power-structures, though he does not evade conflict when Christian witness is at stake, but at another level where Church and Nation and Culture are*

*κὰ γεγονότα. Καὶ ἐπρόκειτο γιὰ γεγονότα μεγάλης ἱστορικῆς σημασίας τόσον γιὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησία στὴν Αἰθιοπία ὅσον καὶ γιὰ τὶς Ἑλληνικὲς Κοινότητες ποὺ εὑρίσκονται μέσα της. Ἐν τούτοις, τὸ ἱστορικὸ συναίσθημα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου δὲν ἀνεφέρετο τόσον πολὺ στὸν ἑαυτό του, ὅσο στὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι λόγῳ τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ του ἀξιώματος ἐκαλεῖτο νὰ συμπλεύση μὲ τὸν ζωντανὸ ροῦ τῆς ἱστορίας ποὺ ἔρρεε ὁρμητικὰ ἀπὸ τὸ παρελθὸν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον σὰν νὰ ἐκινεῖτο ἀπὸ κάποιο θεῖο προορισμό. Γιὰ τὸν Μεθόδιο ὁ πραγματικὸς παράγων τῆς ἱστορίας ἦταν ὁ Χριστὸς στὸ μέσον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Του, ποὺ ἐνοικεῖ μέσα στὴν καθημερινὴ ζωή της μὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα Του. Ὁ Ἴδιος δὲν ἦταν παρὰ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηριακοῦ σκοποῦ Του. Ἐπειδὴ ἀκριβῶς εἶχε συναίσθησι τοῦ ὅτι ἦταν ἀναμεμειγμένος στὴν ἐξέλιξι τοῦ σχεδίου τῆς ἱστορίας, γι' αὐτὸ καὶ ἀποφάσισε νὰ ἀσχοληθῆ τόσο διεξοδικὰ μὲ τὶς ρίζες τοῦ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ στὴν Αἰθιοπία καὶ στὴ Νουβία, ὅπως καὶ μὲ τὴν ἀνίχνευσι τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἀφετηρίας τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας σὲ κάθε χώρα ὅπου ἐκλήθη νὰ ὑπηρετήση. Τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα ἦταν μιὰ τόσο πλουσία σειρὰ ἀπὸ ἱστορικὲς μελέτες ποὺ ὅλοι τὶς θαυμάζομε. Τὸ Ἴδιο ἀκριβῶς πάθος γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία διέκρινα καὶ πάλιν στὸν Μεθόδιο ὅταν ἦλθε στὴ Μεγάλη Βρεταννία. Ὅπως ἔκαμε προηγουμένως στὴν Αἰθιοπία, ἔτσι καὶ ἐδῶ δημιούργησε καὶ ὑπεστήριξε διαφόρους ὀργανισμούς, ἐκδόσεις καὶ περιοδικά, σὰν μέσα ποὺ ἐξυπηρετοῦν καὶ προσδιορίζουν τὴν ζωντανὴ παράδοσι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ποὺ πηγάζει ἀπὸ τὸ ἀποστολικὸ θεμέλιο καὶ κατευθύνεται ὁλοταχῶς μέσῳ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου στὴν ἔλευσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς Ἱστορίας. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἄποψι αὐτὴ ὁ Μεθόδιος εἶναι οὐσιαστικὰ ἕνας βαθύτατα "ἀποστολικὸς ἄνδρας".*

*»Τοῦτο μὲ ὁδηγεῖ σὲ ἕνα ἄλλο ἐξαιρετικὸ χαρακτηριστικὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, τὸ ὁποῖο μὲ τὴν πάροδο τοῦ χρόνου μὲ κάνει νὰ τὸν θαυμάζω ὅλο καὶ περισσότερο. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὴ χριστιανική του πολιτική. Ἀρκεῖ νὰ ἀναφερθῶ ἐδῶ στὴ σοφία καὶ στὴν κρίσι ποὺ συνεχῶς ἐπιδεικνύει στὶς ἐπείγουσες καταστάσεις καὶ περιπλοκὲς τῆς ἀνθρώπινης κοινωνικῆς ὑπάρξεως μέσα στὸ πλαίσιο τοῦ σύγχρονου κόσμου. Ἐὰν ἦταν πολιτικός, θὰ εἶχε χωρὶς ἀμφιβολία ἀποδειχθῆ ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς πιὸ ἰσχυροὺς ἡγέτες τῆς Εὐρώπης. Ἐν τούτοις ἡ πολιτεία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου δὲν κινεῖται σὲ ἕνα ἐπιφανειακὸ ἐπίπεδο πολιτικοῦ προγραμματισμοῦ ἢ καθημερινῆς διαμάχης τῶν κοινωνικοπολιτικῶν δυνάμεων – ἂν καὶ δὲν ἀποφεύγει μὲ κανένα τρόπο τὴν*

*profoundly interlocked in the life of God's people. I know of no one who matches the extraordinary freedom and adaptability of Methodios in his ability to operate in different countries and nations and cultures in such a way as to become at home in them, and yet in such a way as to mediate to them the rich contributions of his own Hellenic tradition. Therein lies, in part at least, the secret of his outstanding leadership among Greek immigrants in various countries, but it is the spiritual quality he brings to his leadership, as man of God above all, which transcends national differences, without depreciating distinctive national contributions, that wins for him such steady admiration and devotion as a Christian statesman.*

*It is the same kind of wise and cultured statesmanship that Archbishop Methodios brings to the ecumenical outlook and activity for which he has so long been justly renowned. He has a spiritual sensitivity and a theological insight that enable him to penetrate sympathetically into the real issues at stake, where everything is finally measured and judged by reference to the substance of the Gospel, rather than by some formal yardstick taken from canon law. Primacy is always given to koinonia in the Church as the Body of Christ rather than to external juridical argument, and it is from that perspective, he holds, that the difficult inter-Church problems over authority are to be resolved. This does not mean that the Archbishop depreciates the canonical, far less the conciliar, structure of the historic Church. but that all Church law must be interpreted and handled under the control of the very Gospel it is designed to serve, and within the frame of the eusebeia or godliness that informed and shaped the mind of the Apostolic and Nicene Church. That is the Christ-centred and deeply spiritual ecumenism which Archbishop Methodios has brought to his leadership of the Orthodox Church in fruitful conversations with the Anglican Communion. But I have found in him the same ecumenical sensitivity in his relations*

*διαμάχη ὅταν πρόκειται νὰ ὑπερασπισθῆ τὴ χριστιανικὴ μαρτυρία – ἀλλὰ κινεῖται σὲ ἕνα ἄλλο ἐπίπεδο ὅπου Ἐκκλησία, Ἔθνος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς εἶναι βαθύτατα συνδεδεμένα στὴν ζωὴ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Δὲν γνωρίζω κανένα ἄλλον ποὺ νὰ διαθέτη τὴν ἴδια καταπληκτικὴ ἐλευθερία καὶ προσαρμοστικὴ ἱκανότητα μὲ τὸν Μεθόδιο, ὥστε νὰ δύναται νὰ ἐνεργῆ σὲ διάφορες χῶρες, ἔθνη καὶ πολιτισμοὺς κατὰ τρόπο ποὺ νὰ συγχρωτίζεται μαζί τους, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ τοὺς μεταδίδη τὶς πλούσιες ἐπιτεύξεις τῆς ἰδικῆς του ἑλληνικῆς παραδόσεως. Ἐδῶ ἀκριβῶς βρίσκεται, ἐν μέρει τουλάχιστο, τὸ μυστικὸ τῆς ἐξαιρετικῆς ἡγετικῆς του ἐπιτυχίας μεταξὺ τῶν ἑλλήνων μεταναστῶν σὲ διάφορες χῶρες, στὸ γεγονός, δηλαδή, ὅτι σὰν ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρὶν ἀπὸ κάθε τι ἄλλο, ἔχει τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ ξεπερνᾶ τὶς ἐθνικὲς διαφορὲς χωρὶς νὰ ὑποτιμᾶ τὰ διακριτικὰ ἐπιτεύγματα, καὶ ἔτσι νὰ κερδίζη τὸν συνεχῆ θαυμασμὸ καὶ τὴν ἀφοσίωσι τῶν συνανθρώπων του σὰν πραγματικὸς χριστιανικὸς ἀρχηγέτης.*

*»Τὴν ἴδια ἀκριβῶς σοφὴ καὶ πολιτισμένη πολιτεία ἐφαρμόζει ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος καὶ στὴ σφαῖρα τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς δραστηριότητος γιὰ τὴν ὁποία ἔχει πρὸ πολλοῦ γίνει πασίγνωστος. Τὸν διακρίνει στὸν τομέα αὐτὸ μιὰ πνευματικὴ εὐαισθησία καὶ μιὰ θεολογικὴ διορατικότητα ποὺ τὸν ἱκανώνουν νὰ διεισδύη συμπαθητικὰ μέσα στὰ πραγματικὰ ζητήματα, ὅπου τελικὰ τὸ κάθε τι ζυγίζεται καὶ ἀξιολογεῖται σὲ ἀναφορὰ μὲ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιο καὶ ὄχι σὲ ἀναφορὰ μὲ κάποιο τυπικὸ ἐξωτερικὸ μέτρο κανονικοῦ δικαίου. Τὴν προτεραιότητα τὴν δίνει πάντα στὴν "κοινωνία" μέσα στὴν Ἐκκλησία, ποὺ τὴν θεωρεῖ σὰν τὸ Σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παρὰ σὲ κάποια ἐξωτερικὴ δικανικὴ ἐπιχειρηματολογία, καὶ εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ προοπτικὴ ποὺ υἱοθετεῖ καὶ προβάλλει στὰ δύσκολα θέματα τῶν ἐνδοεκκλησιαστικῶν προβλημάτων καὶ κυρίως σὲ ὅσα ἀναφέρονται στὴν ἐξουσία. Τοῦτο βέβαια δὲν σημαίνει ὅτι ὑποτιμᾶ τὴν κανονικὴ ἢ, ἀκόμη λιγώτερο, τὴν συνοδικὴ δομὴ τῆς ἱστορικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει ὅτι ὅλο τὸ κανονικὸ δίκαιο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πρέπει νὰ ἑρμηνευθῆ καὶ νὰ μεταχειρισθῆ ὑπὸ τὸν ἔλεγχο αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, γιὰ τὸ ὁποῖο καὶ θεσπίσθηκε, καὶ μέσα στὸ πλαίσιο τῆς "εὐσεβείας" ἢ τῆς "θεοσεβείας" ποὺ ἐπληροφόρησε καὶ ἐμόρφωσε τὴν σκέψι τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς καὶ Νικαιανῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ Χριστοκεντρικὸς καὶ βαθειὰ πνευματικὸς οἰκουμενισμὸς τὸν ὁποῖο ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἔχει ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ ἡγέτη ἐμφυτεύσει στοὺς ὀρθοδόξους, οἱ ὁποῖοι μὲ μεγάλη ἐπιτυχία διεξάγουν θεολογικὲς συζητήσεις μὲ*

*with Roman Catholic or Reformed Churches, when his primary concern has always been for untarnished fidelity to the evangelical and doctrinal verities of the Christian Faith interpreted within the historic consensus reached by the Church in the decisions of the Ecumenical Counsils. It is to that end that study after study and volume after volume have come from his pen spanning an amazing variety of historical, theological, and ecclesiological concerns. Every issue he tackles is thought out down to its bottom, for Methodios will have nothing less than the solid rock of truth as the foundation for ecumenical reconciliation and cooperation. Here is an ecumenist who does not tolerate shady prevarication, but insists on exposing all convictions to the searching and purifying light of Christ himself.*

*Ladies and Gentlemen, I present to you today with great affection Archbishop Methodios, Archbishop of Thyateira and of Great Britain, the outstanding Church Father of Orthodoxy in the world today, a man of vision and a man of destiny if ever there was one. Honour him as the great Hierarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate that he is, a spiritual and intellectual giant among Bishops in any Church, a twentieth-century Hierarch who is profoundly steeped in the spirituality of St. Basil, who shares in the theological penetration of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and who is consumed by the moral and social passion of St. John Chrysostom. You inscribe his name today as one of three mighty men of Christian valour in the Kingdom of our Lord, but in honouring Methodios you honour 'The Chief among the Three'.*

**10. What next?**

Such is the story that I have so far narrated in a hurried and straight forwad way, and such is the character and the stature of the principal actor in it, that I could not possibly conclude this essay with an epilogue. It is much more appropriate to

*τοὺς ἀγγλικανούς. Ἀπὸ τὴν προσωπική μου πεῖρα γνωρίζω ὅτι τὴν ἴδια οἰκουμενικὴ εὐαισθησία παρουσιάζει ἡ στάσι τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ὅσον ἀφορᾶ τὶς σχέσεις του μὲ τὴν Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴ καὶ τὶς Ἀναμορφωμένες Ἐκκλησίες, ἐφ' ὅσον τὸ πρωταρχικό του ἐνδιαφέρον στρέφεται πάντοτε γύρω ἀπὸ τὸ πῶς θὰ διατηρηθῆ ἀπαραχάρακτη ἡ πίστι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὶς εὐαγγελικὲς ἀλήθειες, ὅπως τὶς ἔχει δογματικὰ κατοχυρώσει καὶ ἐξηγήσει ἡ ἴδια, μέσῳ ἱστορικῶν συμφωνιῶν καὶ κυρίως διὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων. Ἐξ αἰτίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνδιαφέροντος παρήγαγε ἡ πέννα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου σειρὰ ὁλόκληρη ἀπὸ ἔργα καὶ τόμους ἱστορικοῦ, θεολογικοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ περιεχομένου, ποὺ διαπραγματεύονται τὰ θέματά τους μὲ τόση ἀποφασιστικότητα, ὥστε νὰ ἔχη κανεὶς τὴν βεβαιότητα ὅτι ἔφθασε στὸ βάθος τους, δηλαδὴ στὸ βράχο τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐπάνω στὸν ὁποῖο μπορεῖ καὶ πρέπει νὰ βασισθῆ κάθε οἰκουμενικὴ συνδιαλλαγὴ καὶ συνεργασία. Ὁ Μεθόδιος εἶναι ἕνας οἰκουμενιστής, ποὺ δὲν ἀνέχεται σκιώδη παραπλάνησι, ἀλλὰ ἐπιμένει στὸ νὰ ἐξετάζη κάθε πεποίθησι ὑπὸ τὸ καθαρτήριο φῶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἰδίου.*

*»Ροταριανοί, Κυρίες καὶ Κύριοι, Σᾶς παρουσιάζω σήμερα μὲ μεγάλη συγκίνησι τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Μεθόδιο, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, τὸν πιὸ ἔξοχο ἐκκλησιαστικὸ πατέρα τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας στὸν κόσμο μας σήμερα, ἕναν ἄνθρωπο μὲ ἐνόρασι καὶ προορισμό. Τιμήσατέ τον σὰν τὸν Ἱεράρχη τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, ὅπως εἶναι, σὰν ἕναν πνευματικὸ καὶ διανοητικὸ γίγαντα μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐπισκόπων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, σὰν ἕναν Ἱεράρχη τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ αἰῶνα ποὺ εἶναι βαθύτατα ἐμποτισμένος μὲ τὴν πνευματικότητα τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου, ποὺ συμμετέχει στὴν θεολογικὴ διεισδυτικότητα τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, καὶ ποὺ φλέγεται ἀπὸ τὸ ἠθικὸ καὶ κοινωνικὸ πάθος τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. Χαράξατε σήμερα τὸ ὄνομά του σὰν ἕνα ἀπὸ τοὺς τρεῖς ἰσχυροὺς ἄνδρες τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀνδρειοσύνης μέσα στὴν Βασιλεία τοῦ Κυρίου μας, ἀλλὰ τιμώντας τὸν Μεθόδιο τὸν τιμᾶτε σὰν "τὸν ὕπατο μεταξὺ τῶν τριῶν".*

**10. Τί περαιτέρω;**

Τοιαύτη εἶναι ἡ ἱστορία τὴν ὁποίαν ἔχω παρουσιάσει ἀνωτέρω, κάπως ἐπὶ τροχάδην καὶ κατ' εὐθεῖαν, καὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ χαρακτὴρ καὶ τὸ ἀνάστημα τοῦ πρωταγωνιστοῦ της, ὥστε νὰ παρουσιάζηται καὶ ἀδύνατος καὶ ἀπάδουσα ἡ κατάληξίς της δι' ἐνὸς ἐπιλόγου! Φαίνεται πολὺ περισσότερον ἐνδε-

ask the question *"what next?"* This story reveals that Archbishop Methodios is not a man who waits for life to decide for him, or take over, his destiny. Rather, he seems to be able always to take life by storm, for he is always planning and always achieving. One is forced almost to the point of believing that he is not created by circmustances, but determines and creates circumstances and conditions which suit his plans which are always inspired by his great vision of the Holy Church and her saving destiny in the world. At this juncture then, Archbishop Methodios' biographer cannot help but remain with a sense of awesome expectation and optimistic anticipation. He has seen in him such unending resources of energy strength and vision that he can only look forward to greater things. I heard once one of the most eminent Archbishops of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Archbishop Iakovos of America, to say in his presence that *"the future is for those who dare"*, as if he was predicting what seemed to be obvious and natural! Another Metropolitan of the Ecumenical Throne, Maximos of Stavroupolis (Dean of the Chalki Seminary), described him recently to me as the ἀεικίνητον τοῦ 'Αριστοτέλους! I am certain that he is right. But I want to add that this is exactly what Orthodoxy looks like at its best. It is Orthodoxy which is constantly on the move, from person to person from generation to generation, creating life, the life which always shines upon the thrice – hypostatic reality of God which was fully revealed in the blessed Person of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is this life that we Orthodox see in the Fathers and leaders of the Church and it is this life that we honour in honouring the person of Archbishop Methodios. May he live for many years that he may inspire us

δειγμένον νὰ καταλήξω προβάλλων τὸ ἐρώτημα «Τί περαιτέρω;». Ἡ ἱστορία του ἀποκαλύπτει ὅτι ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος δὲν εἶναι ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οἱ ὁποῖοι περιμένουν ἀπὸ τὴν ζωὴν νὰ ἀποφασίσῃ ἢ νὰ ἀναλάβῃ τὸν προορισμόν των. Θὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον νὰ λεχθῇ ὅτι ὁ ἴδιος φαίνεται νὰ ρυθμίζῃ τὸν ροῦν τῆς ζωῆς, ἐφ' ὅσον πάντοτε μεθοδεύει καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιτελεῖ καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνει. Μάλιστα, θὰ ἠδύνατο ἀκόμη νὰ λεχθῇ ὅτι ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ὄχι μόνον δὲν εἶναι δημιούργημα περιστάσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ἀποφασίζει καὶ δημιουργεῖ ὁ ἴδιος τὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τὰς προϋποθέσεις αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐξυπηρετοῦν τὰ σχέδιά του, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐμπνέεται πάντοτε ἀπὸ τὴν θεώρησιν τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ σωτηριώδους προορισμοῦ της ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. Εἰς τὸν παρόντα, συνεπῶς, σταθμόν, ὁ βιογράφος τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου δὲν δύναται παρὰ νὰ διακατέχηται ἀπὸ τὴν συναίσθησιν αἰσιοδόξου ἀναμονῆς λαμπροτέρων ἐξελίξεων. Ἔχει πλέον πεισθῇ σχετικῶς πρὸς τὰς ἀμειώτους πηγὰς ἐνεργείας, δυνάμεως καὶ ὁραματισμοῦ, τὰς ὁποίας διαθέτει ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποβλέπει εἰς μεγαλύτερα ἐπιτεύγματα. Ἤκουσα προσφάτως ἕνα ἐκ τῶν διαπρεπεστέρων 'Αρχιεπισκόπων τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, τὸν Γέροντα 'Αμερικῆς κ. Ἰάκωβον, νὰ λέγῃ εἰς τὸν 'Αρχιεπίσκοπον Μεθόδιον ὅτι «τὸ μέλλον ἀνήκει εἰς τοὺς τολμηρούς», ὡς ἐὰν ἐξέφραζε προφητείαν διὰ γεγονὸς τὸ ὁποῖον διέβλεπεν ὡς προφανὲς ἀλλὰ καὶ φυσικόν! Ἕτερος ἐπιφανὴς Μητροπολίτης τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου, ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μητροπολίτης Σταυρουπόλεως Μάξιμος, Σχολάρχης τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τῆς Χάλκης, περιέγραψεν εἰς ἐπιστολήν του πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἅγιον Θυατείρων ὡς τὸ «ἀεὶ κινούμενον τοῦ 'Αριστοτέλους». Πόσον ἐπιτυχὴς εἶναι, πράγματι, ἡ παρομοίωσίς του! Ὀφείλω, ὅμως, νὰ προσθέσω ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς μου πλευρᾶς εἰς τὸ σημεῖον ἀκριβῶς τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν ἐν γένει δρᾶσιν τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἀναγνωρίζω τὴν γνησίαν εἰκόνα τῆς 'Ορθοδοξίας. Εἶναι ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ὀρθοπραξίας, ἡ ὁποία εὑρίσκεται συνεχῶς ἐν ἀενάῳ κινήσει, ἀπὸ προσώπου εἰς πρόσωπον, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν, δημιουργοῦσα ζωήν, ζωὴν ἡ ὁποία ἀναπηδᾷ ἀπὸ τὴν τρισυπόστατον ὕπαρξιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν πλήρως ἀποκαλυφθεῖσαν ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Τὴν ζωὴν αὐτὴν βλέπομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι εἰς τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς τιμῶμεν τιμῶντες τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου. Εἴθε νὰ συνεχίσῃ νὰ ζῇ ἐπὶ

more and may achieve greater prizes for the Holy Church of Christ, the Nation and Humanity. Unto many years, Lord!

*Protopresbyter George Dragas*

*Abbey House*
*Durham,*
*14 June 1985,*
*Commemoration of*
*Our Father among the Saints,*
*Methodios,*
*Patriarch of Constantinople*
*the Confessor*

πολλὰ ἔτη διὰ νὰ μᾶς ἐμπνέῃ περισσότερον καὶ διὰ νὰ ἐπιτύχῃ μεγαλύτερα βραβεῖα διὰ τὴν Ἁγίαν καὶ Μεγάλην τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ Ἔθνος καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. *Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, Δέσποτα!*

*Πρωτοπρεσβύτερος Γεώργιος Δράγας*

*Abbey House*
*Durham,*
*14 Ἰουνίου 1985,*
*μνήμη τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις*
*Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου*
*Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*
*τοῦ Ὁμολογητοῦ.*

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# «Ο ΣΤΑΥΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΜΜΕΝΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ» ΣΤΗΝ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΗ *

Ὑπὸ

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Καθηγητῆ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Θεολογίας

Δὲν ὑπάρχει ἀμφιβολία ὅτι ἡ κραυγὴ αὐτὴ «Ἠλί, Ἠλί, λαμὰ σαβαχθανί», «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;» (Ματθ. 27, 46, Μᾶρκ. 15, 34), κραυγὴ ποὺ ἐκπορεύεται ἀπὸ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρό, εἶναι κραυγὴ τ ρ α γ ι κ ή.

Ἔχει διάσταση πολλαπλή. Πρώτιστα, ἔχει διάσταση ἀ ν θ ρ ώ π ι ν η, διότι εἶναι συνυφασμένη μὲ ὅλες τὶς προϋποθέσεις καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀνθρώπινης ἀντίδρασης μπροστὰ σ' ἕνα τόσο ἀγωνιώδη θάνατο, ὅπως εἶναι ὁ θάνατος ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρό. Ἔχει ἀκόμη διάσταση θ ε ί α, διότι αὐτὸς ποὺ πάσχει καὶ πεθαίνει ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρὸ εἶναι αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ φυσικά, ὅταν ὑπάρχουν αὐτὲς οἱ δύο διαστάσεις, δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ ἀγνοηθεῖ καὶ ἡ θεολογικότερη διάσταση στὴν περίπτωση, ποὺ εἶναι ἡ θ ε α ν θ ρ ω π ι κ ὴ διάσταση τοῦ δράματος.

Μ' ὅλα αὐτὰ ἀποδεικνύεται ὅτι ἡ ξέχωρη αὐτὴ κραυγὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἔχει τὴ δική της α ἰ ώ ν ι α δ ι ά σ τ α σ η, ποὺ ἀντανακλᾶ ἐπάνω σ' ὅλες τὶς γενεὲς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαμέσου τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ φυσικὰ καὶ στὴ δική μας γενεά, δηλ. στὸ σύγχρονο χριστιανό, στὸν καθένα ἀπὸ μᾶς.

Βέβαια μένει ἕνα ἀνεξερεύνητο μυστήριο τὸ τί αἰσθανόταν ὁ Κύριος ὅταν ἔκραζε τὴ φράση αὐτὴ «Ἠλί, Ἠλί, λαμὰ σαβαχθανί».

Κηρυγματικὰ εἶναι πολὺ εὔκολο νὰ ποῦμε ὅτι ἦταν μιὰ κραυγὴ ἀπελπισίας καὶ ἐγκατάλειψης, ἂν πάρουμε τὰ κυριακὰ αὐτὰ λόγια κατὰ λέξη. Πολὺ περισσότερο ποὺ ὁ Κύριος μιλεῖ σαφῶς, χρησιμοποιώντας τὸ ρῆμα «ἐγκατέλιπες», καὶ δὲν ἀποκαλεῖ τὸ Θεὸ «Πατέρα» Του, ὅπως κάνει σ' ἄλλες περιπτώσεις, ἀλλὰ χρησιμοποιεῖ τὴν ἔκφραση «Θεέ μου», ποὺ δείχνει κατὰ κάποιο τρόπο μιὰ κάποια ἀπόσταση μεταξὺ τοῦ ἴδιου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ-Πατέρα Του σὲ μιὰ τέτοια στιγμὴ ὑπερέντασης, καὶ ἑπομένως καὶ ἐγκατάλειψης. Οἱ θεολογικὲς ὅμως καθὼς καὶ οἱ εὐρύτερες ἀνθρωπολογικὲς συνέπειες μιᾶς τέτοιας ἑρμηνείας εἶναι αὐτὸ τοῦτο βαριὲς καὶ σημαντικές.

Γιὰ τὴν ὀρθόδοξη ὅμως Παράδοση, ὅπως ἄλλωστε καὶ γιὰ τὴ γενικότερη ἐξηγητικὴ καὶ θεολογικὴ ἑρμηνεία τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, στὴ Δύση ὅσο καὶ στὴν Ἀνατολή, ἡ ἔννοια τῆς κραυγῆς αὐτῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἔχει μιὰ πολὺ πιὸ βαθιὰ σημασία καὶ διάσταση. Καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν εὐρύτερη, μέσα στὴν ὀρθόδοξη Παράδοση, σημασία τοῦ «σταυρωμένου καὶ ἐγκαταλειμμένου Χριστοῦ» θὰ προσπαθήσουμε νὰ προσεγγίσουμε μὲ τὴ σύντομη αὐτὴ μελέτη μας.

* * *

Πρώτιστα θὰ ἤθελα, πολὺ σύντομα, νὰ ἐξετάσω ἐδῶ «τ ί δ ὲ ν ε ἶ ν α ι» ἡ κραυγὴ αὐτὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἱ λέξεις του αὐτὲς «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;», κατὰ τὴν ὀρθόδοξη Παράδοση.

α) Οἱ λέξεις αὐτὲς *δὲν εἶναι ἕνα ξέσπασμα ἀπελπισίας* σὲ μιὰ στιγμὴ ἐγκατάλειψης τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ ποὺ ἔπασχε ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρό. Ὅλοι οἱ ἐξηγητὲς Πατέρες τῆς Ἀνατολῆς συνάπτουν τὴν κραυγὴ αὐτὴ μὲ τὴν ἀγωνία τοῦ Κήπου τῆς Γεθσημανῆ, στὴν ὁποία ὁ Χριστὸς εἶχε τὴ βεβαίωση τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Πατέρα Του καὶ τὴν ἐνίσχυσή Του ἀπὸ τὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀποσταλέντα ἄγγελο γιὰ νὰ τὸν συμπαρασταθεῖ. «Ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν. Καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ ἐκτενέστερον προσηύχετο. Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν» (Λουκ. 22, 43-44)[1].

* Ἡ μελέτη αὐτὴ ἀποτελεῖ τὴν εὐρύτερη ἀναπτυγμένη μορφὴ μιᾶς Ὁμιλίας-Κειμένου, ποὺ παρουσιάσθηκε σὲ μιὰ Συνάντηση Ὀρθοδόξων, Ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν, Ἀγγλικανῶν καὶ Λουθηρανῶν Ἐπισκόπων, φίλων τῆς Κίνησης F o c o l a r i τοῦ Ρωμαιοκαθολικοῦ κόσμου (Κωνσταντινούπολη, 7 - 11 Ὀκτωβρίου 1984), μὲ θέμα «Gesù Crocifisso e abbandonato».

1. Βλέπε *Κωνσταντινίδου Χρυσοστόμου*, Μητροπολίτου Μύρων, Ἵδρωσεν ὁ Κύριος ἱδρῶτα αἵματος εἰς τὸν κῆπον τῆς Γεθσημανῆ κατὰ τὴν νύκτα τῆς ἀγωνίας; ἐν «Ὀρθοδοξία» 20 (1945), σ. 127 - 138.

Ἑπομένως δὲν ἦταν μιὰ ἁπλὴ ἔκφραση ἀπελπισίας. Αὐτὸ εἶχε ξεπερασθεῖ γιὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦ τὶς ὧρες τῆς ἀγωνίας στὴ Γεθσημανῆ.

β) *Δὲν ἦταν μιὰ ἔνδειξη ἀδυναμίας καὶ μεμψιμοιρίας* σὲ μιὰ στιγμὴ ποὺ χρειαζόταν ψυχικὸ σθένος καὶ ὑπεράνθρωπη δύναμη γιὰ νὰ ἀντιμετωπισθεῖ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πάθους, σὲ μιὰ στιγμὴ ποὺ -ἴσως διότι δὲν ἐρχόταν ἡ ἐξ ὕψους δύναμη- νὰ δικαιολογόταν ἡ μεμψιμοιρία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γιὰ τὴν ἐγκατάλειψη. Βέβαια ἡ στιγμὴ ἦταν ὀδυνηρή. Βέβαια ἡ στιγμὴ ἀπαιτοῦσε ὑπεράνθρωπες δυνάμεις. Καὶ βέβαια σὲ ἀνθρώπινα πλαίσια κρινόμενη ἡ στιγμὴ ἐκείνη μποροῦσε νὰ θεωρηθεῖ σὰν μιὰ στιγμὴ μεμψιμοιρίας. Ἀλλ' ὅπως λέει ὁ Βυζαντινὸς ἑρμηνευτὴς Εὐθύμιος Ζιγαβηνός, ἡ στιγμὴ ἐκείνη ἦταν τόσο ὑψηλῆς ἔξαρσης, ὥστε μόνο σὰν μιὰ στιγμὴ ἐμπιστοσύνης στὸ Θεὸ-Πατέρα μπορεῖ νὰ ἑρμηνευθεῖ[1].

γ) Οἱ λέξεις αὐτὲς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *δὲν ἦταν*, ἀκόμη, *ἄρση τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ-Πατέρα* ἀπὸ αὐτόν. Ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς πιὸ γνωστοὺς ἐξηγητὲς τῆς Κ.Δ. τῆς δυτικῆς ἀγγλοσαξονικῆς παράδοσης, ὁ S. D. Salmond, λέει, ἑρμηνεύοντας τὴν κραυγὴ αὐτὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι θὰ μποροῦσε νὰ θεωρηθεῖ «σὰν ξέσπασμα ἑνὸς προσώπου ποὺ στερεῖται 'πρὸς καιρὸν' τῶν αἰσθητῶν σημείων τῆς κοινωνίας μὲ τὸ Θεὸ καὶ ποὺ δοκιμάζει μιὰ νέα, ἄγνωστη γι' αὐτόν, καὶ παράδοξη ἐμπειρία. Ἐνῶ δηλ. αὐτὸς ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρὸ διατηροῦσε αὐτὸ ποὺ ἦταν γιὰ τὸ Θεὸ-Πατέρα, δηλ. τὸ ὅτι ἦταν ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἶχε συνείδηση ὅτι ἔπασχε σύμφωνα μὲ τὸ θέλημα καὶ τὴν αἰώνια βουλὴ τοῦ Πατέρα Του, αἰσθανόταν τὴν ἴδια αὐτὴ στιγμὴ νὰ στερεῖται τὴ χαρὰ ἐκείνη, ποὺ δημιουργεῖ ἡ κοινωνία μὲ τὸ Θεό»[2].

Δὲν νομίζω ὅτι μιὰ τέτοια ἑρμηνεία θὰ ἦταν θεολογικὰ καὶ κυρίως χριστολογικὰ παραδεκτή, διότι θὰ προϋπέθετε τὴν ἄρση τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπὸ τὸν Υἱό Του καὶ θὰ κατέβαζε τὸν πάσχοντα Χριστὸ στὸ ἐπίπεδο τοῦ ἁπλοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δηλ. πού, ὅπως ξέρουμε, σὲ διάφορες στιγμὲς λύπης ἢ εὐφορίας ἔχει καὶ ἀνάλογες ψυχοσυναισθηματικὲς ἐμπειρίες καὶ ψυχώσεις. Εἶναι τελείως διάφορη ἡ ἐμπειρία τοῦ ἁπλοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ποὺ πάσχει κάποιο πάθος τόσο σὲ συνάρτηση μὲ τὸ Θεὸ ὅσο καὶ σὲ σχέση μὲ τοὺς συνανθρώπους του, καὶ ἦταν τελείως διάφορη ἡ ἐμπειρία ποὺ εἶχε ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρὸ σὲ σχέση μὲ τὸ Θεὸ-Πατέρα Του καὶ σὲ ἐπαφὴ μὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποὺ μετεῖχαν στὶς στιγμὲς ἐκεῖνες τοῦ Πάθους Του.

δ) Τέλος, οἱ λέξεις ἐκεῖνες τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *δὲν ἦταν μιὰ διάσπαση τῆς θεανδρικῆς ὑπόστασής Του*, σὲ τρόπο καὶ βαθμὸ ποὺ νὰ λέμε, ποὺ νὰ μποροῦμε νὰ ποῦμε, ὅτι τὴ στιγμὴ ἐκείνη τοῦ «Ἠλί, Ἠλί...» ἐπῆλθε, ἔστω καὶ στιγμιαία, μιὰ διάσπαση τῆς ὑποστατικῆς ἕνωσης, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρώπινη φύση, μόνη της ἐκείνη τὴ στιγμή, λιποψύχησε, κάμφθηκε, ἀπελπίσθηκε καὶ ἔβγαλε τὴν κραυγὴ ἐκείνη τοῦ πόνου καὶ τῆς ἀπελπισίας. Κάτι τέτοιο στὴν ὀρθόδοξη ἑρμηνευτικὴ Παράδοση -ἀλλὰ φυσικὰ καὶ στὴ δυτικὴ Παράδοση- εἶναι τελείως ἀπαράδεκτο. Θὰ πρόδιδε ἕνα ἀνεπίτρεπτο Μονοφυσιτισμό, ποὺ εἶναι ξένος στὴ θεολογία τῆς ἀδιαίρετης Ἐκκλησίας. Θὰ ἦταν αἵρεση.

Ὁ ἱερὸς Χρυσόστομος στὸ Ὑπόμνημά του στὸν Εὐαγγελιστὴ Ματθαῖο λέει: «...Διὸ καὶ προφητικὴν ἀφῆκέ τινα φωνήν, μέχρις ἐσχάτης ὥρας μαρτυρῶν τῇ παλαιᾷ· καὶ οὐχὶ ἁπλῶς προφητικήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑβραϊκὴν φωνήν, ὥστε αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι γνώριμον καὶ κατάδηλον καὶ διὰ πάντων δείκνυσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν γεγεννηκότα»[3].

Τουλάχιστο γιὰ τὴν ὀρθόδοξη ἀνατολικὴ μας Παράδοση, καὶ μόνο ἡ Θεολογία ποὺ ἀναπτύχθηκε καὶ πιστεύεται χωρὶς ἐπιφύλαξη γύρω ἀπὸ τὸ «Θεῖο Πάθος», φθάνει γιὰ ν' ἀποδείξει ὅτι δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ γίνει λόγος γιὰ διάσπαση τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου στὴ στιγμὴ ἐκείνη τοῦ «Ἠλί, Ἠλί...». Ὁ «Χριστὸς πάσχων», ὁ «Θεὸς πάσχων», «ἡ Ζωὴ ἐν Τάφῳ», «ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἀποθνήσκων Θεὸς» καὶ ἄλλες ἀνάλογες ἐκφράσεις τῆς πατερικῆς, τῆς μυστικῆς, τῆς λειτουργικῆς καὶ τῆς ἀσματικῆς Παράδοσης τῆς Ὀρθόδοξης Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι ἀρκετὲς γιὰ ν' ἀποδείξουν ὅτι δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ γίνει λόγος γιὰ διάσπαση, ἔστω καὶ στιγμιαία, τῆς θεανδρικῆς ὑπόστασης τοῦ Κυρίου κατὰ τὴ στιγμὴ τοῦ «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου...».

Θεοδώρητος ὁ Κύρου, τὸν Ε' αἰώνα, στὸ σημεῖο αὐτὸ λέει: «Ἐγκατάλειψιν τοίνυν καλεῖ οὐ τὸν τῆς ἡνωμένης θεότητος χωρισμόν, ὥς τινες ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γεγενημένην τοῦ πάθους συγχώρησιν. Παρῆν γὰρ ἡ θεότης καὶ πασχούσῃ τῇ τοῦ δούλου μορφῇ, καὶ συνεχώρησε παθεῖν πάσῃ τῇ φύσει μηχανομένη τὴν σωτηρίαν»[4].

* * *

Δὲν πρόκειται, λοιπόν, τίποτε ἀπ' ὅλα αὐτά. Ἂς προσπαθήσουμε ὅμως νὰ πλησιάσουμε τὴν ἀλήθεια ποὺ κρύβεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν τραγικὴ αὐτὴ κραυγὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ τρόπο θετικό, κ α τ α φ α τ ι κ ό, λέγοντας «τ ί ε ἶ ν α ι» ἡ κραυγὴ αὐτή.

1. Οἱ λέξεις αὐτὲς τοῦ Κυρίου, πρώτιστα, *εἶναι μιὰ βεβαίωση τῆς θεότητάς Του*. Ἴσως ἔχει παρερμηνευθεῖ ἀπὸ πολλοὺς ἐξηγητὲς καὶ ἀπὸ μᾶς τοὺς ἴδιους τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ὁ Κύριος, σὲ μιὰ τέτοια στιγμή, δὲν χρησιμοποιεῖ τὸν ὅρο «Πάτερ μου», ἀλλὰ τὴν ἔκφραση «Θεέ μου». Ἐνῶ ὅλη ἡ Ὁμιλία τῆς Διαθήκης Του, ὅπως περιγράφεται στὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην

1. *Ζιγαβηνοῦ*, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον, 27, 46, PG 129, 732. Βλέπε καὶ *Τρεμπέλα Παν.*, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον, Ἀθῆναι (1951), σ. 510.

2. Βλέπε *Τρεμπέλα Παν.*, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μᾶρκον Εὐαγγέλιον, Ἀθῆναι (1951), σ. 305.

3. *Χρυσοστόμου*, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ματθαῖον τὸν Εὐαγγελιστήν, Ὁμιλία 88, 1, PG 58, 776.

4. *Θεοδωρήτου Κύρου*, Εἰς Ψαλμὸν ΚΑ', 2, PG 80, 1009.

Εὐαγγέλιο (κυρίως κεφ. 17, 1 κ. ἑξ.), περιστρέφεται γύρω ἀπὸ τὴν τόσο προσφιλῆ σ' αὐτὸν ἔκφραση «Πάτερ», «Πάτερ ἅγιε» κλπ., ἐνῶ καὶ στὴν ἄλλη, τὴν ἐξίσου τραγικὴ καὶ ὁριστικὴ γιὰ τὸ πάθος Του στιγμή, δηλ. τὴ στιγμὴ ποὺ παραδίδει ὁριστικὰ τὸ πνεῦμα Του ἐπὶ τοῦ Σταυροῦ, λέει «Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς Σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου» (Λουκ. 23, 46), ὅμως στὴν περίπτωση αὐτὴ προσφωνεῖ τὸν Πατέρα Του μὲ τὸ «Θεέ μου». Ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς, αὐτὴ ἡ ἀκριβολόγος χρησιμοποίηση τῆς λέξης «Θεός», σὲ συνδυασμὸ μὲ τὴν προσωπικὴ ἀντωνυμία «μου», ἀποβλέπει στὸ νὰ ἐξάρει ὁ Κύριος, σὲ μιὰ τέτοια στιγμή, τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς φύσης Του μὲ τὴ Θεία Φύση καὶ Ὑπόσταση. Εἶναι αὐτὸ ποὺ λέει ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος στὴ Β' πρὸς Κορινθίους Ἐπιστολή του: «Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ» (Β' Κορ. 5, 19) ἢ αὐτὸ ποὺ λέει ἡ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολή: «διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου προσφέρει ἑαυτὸν ἄμωμον τῷ Θεῷ» (Ἑβρ. 9, 14).

Ὁ Βυζαντινὸς ἑρμηνευτὴς Θεοφύλακτος, τὸν ΙΑ' αἰώνα, λέει σχετικὰ ὅτι ὑπάρχει μιὰ ταυτόσημη συμμαρτυρία τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδας, σὰν ἐκείνη ποὺ ὑπάρχει στὴ στιγμὴ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος καὶ στὴ στιγμὴ τῆς Μεταμόρφωσης, ὅταν ἀκούεται ἡ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ μαρτυρία: «Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν ᾧ ηὐδόκησα» (Ματθ. 3, 17 καὶ 17, 5)[1].

2. *Εἶναι βεβαίωση τῆς ταυτότητας τῆς θέλησης τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὴ θέληση τοῦ Πατέρα.* Δὲν ἦταν δυνατὸ νὰ ὑπάρχουν δύο θελήσεις, ἀνεξάρτητες πρὸς ἄλληλες, καὶ προπαντὸς δύο θελήσεις ἀντιφερόμενες μεταξὺ τοῦ πάσχοντος Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ποὺ ἐγκατέλειπε αὐτόν. Σὲ μιὰ τέτοια στιγμὴ ἐκπλήρωσης τοῦ αἰώνιου σχεδίου τοῦ Θεοῦ γιὰ τὴν ἀπολύτρωση τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἡ κραυγὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἶναι σὰν νὰ ἐπιβεβαιώνει τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς θέλησης μεταξὺ τῶν δύο προσώπων τῆς Τριάδας. Εἶναι σὰν νὰ λέει: Καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς θυσίας, ποὺ φθάνει ὡς τὴν ὑπερβολὴ τῆς ὕστατης αὐτῆς στιγμῆς, ὅπου ὁ Υἱὸς ὀδυνᾶται ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρὸ μόνος, τὸ θέλημα καὶ τὸ σχέδιο τοῦ Θεοῦ θὰ ἐκπληρωθεῖ, ἐκπληρώνεται ἤδη, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ Υἱὸς πεθαίνει μόνος καὶ ἐγκαταλειμμένος, διότι αὐτὸ ἦταν καὶ εἶναι τὸ ὕψιστο θέλημα τοῦ σώζοντος Θεοῦ. Αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰ αὐτὴ σημαίνει ἡ ἀντωνυμία «μου» στὴν κραυγὴ τοῦ «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου...».

Ὁ ἱερὸς Χρυσόστομος λέει στὸ σημεῖο αὐτό: «...Καὶ λέγει "Ἠλί, Ἠλί, λαμὰ σαβαχθανὶ" ἵνα μέχρις ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς ἴδωσιν ὅτι τιμᾷ τὸν Πατέρα καὶ οὐκ ἐστιν ἀντίθετος»[2].

3. Οἱ λέξεις αὐτὲς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *εἶναι μιὰ βεβαίωση τῆς πραγματικότητας τοῦ Πάθους καὶ τοῦ Θανάτου Του γιὰ τὴ σωτηρία τοῦ κόσμου.* Γιὰ νὰ καταλάβουμε τὸ πλάτος τῆς ἔννοιας ποὺ κρύβεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν κραυγὴ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, πρέπει νὰ θυμηθοῦμε κάποια λόγια Του ποὺ μᾶς διέσωσε ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς Ἰωάννης. Λέει ὁ Χριστὸς σὲ μιὰ δεδομένη στιγμὴ τῆς διδασκαλίας Του στοὺς μαθητές Του καὶ στὰ πλήθη τῶν Ἰουδαίων: «Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πατήρ με ἀγαπᾷ, ὅτι ἐγὼ τίθημι τὴν ψυχήν μου, ..., οὐδεὶς αἴρει αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ· ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι αὐτήν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν· ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου» (Ἰωάν. 10, 17-19).

Δίδυμος ὁ Τυφλός, στὸν Δ' αἰώνα, ὁμιλεῖ γιὰ τὸ σημεῖο αὐτὸ κατὰ τρόπο πολὺ σαφή: «...Ἐπεὶ γὰρ συνῄδει ἑαυτῷ ἄκραν καθαρότητα (οὐκ ἤδει γὰρ ἁμαρτίαν), ἠπίστατο μὴ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι, ἀλλὰ δι' ἕτερόν τι, τῷ παντὶ συμφέρον. Τοῦτ' οὖν βούλεται φανερὸν γενέσθαι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτὸν πάσχοντα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς ὁρῶντας αὐτόν. Γνόντες γάρ, ὅτι δι' αὐτοὺς ἐγκατελείφθη, ὑμνήσουσιν αὐτὸν ὡς Σωτῆρα»[3].

Ἑπομένως στὸ ἐπίκεντρο τῆς στιγμῆς αὐτῆς, τῆς ἀκριβῶς πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸ «τετέλεσται», στὸ ἐπίκεντρο τῆς κραυγῆς «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου...», ὑπάρχει, σὰν ἀπόλυτη καὶ ἀδιαμφισβήτητη αἰτία καὶ δικαιολόγηση τῶν γενομένων, ἡ σωτηρία. Δηλ. ἐμεῖς καὶ ἡ σωτηρία μας. Τὸ «δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν» τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Πίστεως. Καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ μαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἡ μοναδικὴ λέξη, ποὺ ἐπισφραγίζει τὴν ἀγωνία, τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴ σταύρωσή Του, τὸ «τετέλεσται». Ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ἔχει ὁριστικά, αἰώνια καὶ ἀμετάκλητα «συντελεσθεῖ» εἶναι ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου γένους, ἡ ὁποία περνᾷ ἀπὸ ὅλες τὶς στιγμὲς τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ φυσικὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν τραγικὴ στιγμὴ τοῦ «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου...».

4. Οἱ λέξεις αὐτὲς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *εἶναι μιὰ βεβαίωση τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἀνθρώπινης ἁμαρτίας,* ἡ ὁποία μόνο μὲ μιὰ τέτοια θυσία μπορεῖ νὰ ἐξουδετερωθεῖ. Ἔχουμε δηλ. κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν κραυγὴ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μιὰ νέα διάσταση τῆς Θυσίας καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σταυροῦ Θανάτου, ποὺ εἶναι –γιὰ νὰ ἐκφρασθοῦμε μὲ ἕνα θεολογικότερο ὅρο– ἡ «ἁμαρτιολογική».

Δὲν ὑπάρχει ἀμφιβολία ὅτι ὁ Κύριος «παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἠγέρθη διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν» (Ρωμ. 4, 25). Αὐτὸ ἀποτελεῖ τὴν πρωταρχικὴ πίστη τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Τὸ λέει ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος: «Παρέδωκα ὑμῖν ἐν πρώτοις ὃ καὶ παρέλαβον, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ὅτι ἐτάφη...» (Α' Κορ. 15, 3 - 4). Πρόκειται γιὰ τὴ μεγαλύτερη δυνατὴ θυσία, διότι πρόκειται γιὰ τὸ Χριστό, «τὸν πάντῃ ἀναμάρτητον», ὁ ὁποῖος ἔγινε ἁμαρτία γιὰ μᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ γιὰ τὴ δική μας σωτηρία. Τὸ λέει πάλι ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος: «τὸν γὰρ μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν, ἵνα ἡμεῖς γενώμεθα δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ» (Β' Κορ. 5, 21), καὶ «Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου, γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

1. *Θεοφυλάκτου,* Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Μᾶρκον Εὐαγγέλιον, 15, 34, PG 123, 969.

2. *Χρυσοστόμου,* ὅ.π.

3. *Διδύμου Ἀλεξ.,* Εἰς Ψαλμὸν ΚΑ', 2, PG 39, 1276.

κατάρα. Γέγραπται γάρ· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου» (Γαλ. 3, 13).

Ὅλα αὐτὰ σημαίνουν ὅτι τὴ στιγμὴ τῆς κραυγῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σταυροῦ, κατὰ τὴν ὁποία τονιζόταν κατὰ τὸν πιὸ ἔντονο τρόπο τὸ μέγεθος τῆς θυσίας τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔχουμε καὶ τὴ βεβαίωση τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μπρὸς στὴ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ. Τὰ πάντα εἶναι φρικτὰ τὴ στιγμὴ ἐκείνη. Οἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ σκότους δίνουν τὴν τελευταία μάχη τους γιὰ νὰ κρατήσουν τὴν ἀνθρώπινη ὀντότητα καὶ φύση ἀπὸ τὴν ἐξουσία τους. Ἔχει ξεχειλίσει τὸ ποτήρι τῆς ἀνομίας μαζὶ μὲ τὴν ὀδύνη ποὺ ὑφίσταται ὁ σταυρούμενος καὶ ἐγκαταλειπόμενος Χριστός. Καὶ ἐκείνη ἀκριβῶς τὴ στιγμὴ τῆς ἔσχατης ὀδύνης, ποὺ ἐγγίζει τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἀπελπισίας, ἐπιτυγχάνεται ἡ ἐξαγορὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἡ ἐξαγορὰ καὶ λύτρωση τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου γένους.

Θὰ ἤθελα νὰ ἀναφέρω ἐδῶ δύο ὡραῖα ἀποσπάσματα ἀπὸ δύο Πατέρες μας:

Ὁ ἱερὸς Χρυσόστομος λέει: «Σὺ δὲ μὴ σκόπει πῶς ταῖς παρανομίαις αὐτῶν εἰς ἡμετέραν κέχρηται σωτηρίαν. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν πληγὴν αἱ πληγαὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνέβλυσαν»[1].

Καὶ Δίδυμος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς λέει: «Ταῦτα λέγει, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς παύσῃ τὴν ἀράν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μεταγάγῃ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Πατρός. Ἡμεῖς γάρ ἐσμεν οἱ γεγονότες ἀποστροφὴ καὶ ἐγκατάλειψις διὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀδὰμ παράβασιν»[2].

5. Οἱ λέξεις αὐτὲς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ *εἶναι ἡ βεβαίωση τῆς ἐμπιστοσύνης ποὺ ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα Του.* Εἶναι πολὺ ἁπλὸς ὁ συλλογισμὸς ποὺ ἰσχύει σ' αὐτὸ τὸ σημεῖο. Μέσα στὶς σκληρὲς λεπτομέρειες τῆς δοκιμασίας τῆς στιγμῆς ἐκείνης, ποὺ σὲ ἀνθρώπινα μέτρα θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ κυριαρχήσει ἕνα αἴσθημα βαθιᾶς πικρίας καὶ ἀπογοήτευσης, ὁ Ἰησοῦς μένει στερεὰ προσηλωμένος καὶ προσκολλημένος στὸν Πατέρα Του, τὸν ὁποῖο καὶ ἐπικαλεῖται μὲ ὅλη τὴν ἀφοσίωση καὶ τὴν ἐμπιστοσύνη ποὺ Τοῦ ἐμπνέει ἡ ταυτότητα τῆς θέλησής Του καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη Του πρὸς Ἐκεῖνον. Ἦταν δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴ στιγμὴ ἐκείνη καὶ ἐκτελοῦσε τὴ Βουλή Του, ἱκανοποιώντας τὴ δικαιοσύνη Του, ἀπαρνούμενος ὁλοκληρωτικὰ τὸν ἑαυτό Του καὶ ἔχοντας συνείδηση ὅτι τίποτε δὲν ἔκαμε ποὺ νὰ ἀποκλείει ἀπὸ αὐτὸν τὸ δικαίωμα, σὲ μιὰ τέτοια στιγμή, νὰ ἀποκαλεῖ τὸ Θεὸ «Θεό Του», δηλ. Θεὸ κατεξοχὴν δικό Του.

6. Τελικά, θὰ ἤθελα νὰ χαρακτηρίσω τὴν ἔκφραση αὐτὴ τῆς κραυγῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρὸ σὰν *μιὰ ἐπαλήθευση τῶν λόγων τῆς Γραφῆς,* καὶ συγκεκριμένα *τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν Ψαλμῶν.*

Πράγματι, ἡ κραυγὴ «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;» εἶναι ἡ ἐπανάληψη ἀπὸ τὰ χείλια τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ γεγονότος, τοῦ τόσο βασικοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰ τοῦ μεσσιανισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ τόσο πλατιὰ ἀποδεικτικοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν πλευρὰ τῆς ἐπαλήθευσης τῶν προρρήσεων τῆς Π.Δ. ἀνάμεσα ἀπὸ τοὺς στίχους τοῦ 21ου ψαλμοῦ. Εἶναι μιὰ ἀκόμη περίπτωση σὰν ἐκεῖνες ποὺ ἐπαναλαμβάνουν οἱ Εὐαγγελιστὲς στὶς διάφορες φάσεις τῶν παθημάτων καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅταν λένε «ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς...». Στὴν περίπτωση αὐτὴ ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐφαρμόζει, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτολεξεί, τὰ λόγια τοῦ ψαλμοῦ στὸν ἑαυτό Του. Λέει ὁ ψαλμὸς στὸ 2ο στίχο του: «ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι· ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με;» (Ψαλμ. 21, 2). Καὶ στὴ συνέχεια περιγράφονται ὅλες οἱ φάσεις τῆς «ἐγκατάλειψης» αὐτῆς, γιὰ νὰ καταλήξει σ' ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ἔλεγαν οἱ παρόντες στὴ Σταύρωσή Του: «Ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ Κύριον, ρυσάσθω αὐτόν· σωσάτω αὐτὸν ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν» (Ψαλμ. 21, 8 καὶ Ματθ. 27, 43).

Ἑπομένως, ἔξω καὶ πρὶν ἀπὸ κάθε θεολογικὴ ἀξιολόγηση καὶ ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ἐπιφωνήματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, θὰ πρέπει νὰ διίδουμε σ' αὐτὸ τὴν ἐπαλήθευση στὸ πρόσωπο καὶ στὴν περίπτωση τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ποὺ σταυρώνεται καὶ πεθαίνει, τὴν ἐπαλήθευση τῆς ἀντίστοιχης πρόρρησης τῆς Π.Δ. Τὸ λέει, ὅπως εἴδαμε παραπάνω, μὲ σαφήνεια ὁ ἱερὸς Χρυσόστομος: «Διὸ καὶ προφητικὴν ἀφῆκέ τινα φωνήν, μέχρις ἐσχάτης ὥρας μαρτυρῶν τῇ Παλαιᾷ...»[3].

Καὶ φυσικὰ ἡ ἐπαλήθευση αὐτὴ ἐνέχει τόσο πιὸ μεγάλη σημασία, ὅσο ὅλη ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ Πάθους καὶ τοῦ Θανάτου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρὸ καταλήγει σὲ δόξα. Στὴ δόξα τῆς Ἀνάστασης. Ὅπως ἀκριβῶς προλέγει τὰ πράγματα ὁ ἴδιος αὐτὸς 21ος ψαλμὸς περὶ τὸ τέλος του, στοὺς στίχους 24–32, ποὺ καταλήγουν στὸ ἐλπιδοφόρο καὶ χαρμόσυνο γιὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες ἄγγελμα, ὅτι «...καὶ ἀναγγελοῦσι τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ λαῷ τῷ τεχθησομένῳ, ὅτι ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος».

Ἀπ' αὐτὴ τὴν πλευρά, στὴν κραυγὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δὲν πρέπει νὰ διίδουμε καταρχήν, ὅπως εἴπαμε, μιὰ ἀπογοήτευση ἢ μιὰ μεμψιμοιρία ἢ ὁτιδήποτε ἀνάλογο, ἀλλὰ τὴ βεβαιότητα, ὅτι τὶς τραγικότητες τῆς στιγμῆς ἐκείνης θὰ διαδεχθεῖ τὸ φέγγος τοῦ θριάμβου, ἀπαράλλακτα ὅπως τὰ σκοτάδια τῆς Μεγάλης Παρασκευῆς διαδέχεται ἡ λαμπροφόρα αὐγὴ τῆς Κυριακῆς τῆς Ἀνάστασης.

* * *

Κατακλείοντας τὴ μελέτη μου αὐτὴ θὰ ἤθελα, πέρα ἀπὸ τὰ ἐξηγητικὰ καὶ θεολογικὰ δεδομένα, νὰ ἀναφερθῶ σὲ δύο ἄλλα σημεῖα τοῦ θέματός μου, ὅπως τονίζονται αὐτὰ στὴν ὀρθόδοξη Παράδοσή μας. Τὰ σημεῖα αὐτὰ εἶναι πιὸ πρακτικῆς ὑφῆς καὶ ἀνάγονται στὴν ἀ ν θ ρ ω π ο λ ο γ ι κ ὴ δ ι ά σ τ α σ η τῆς κραυγῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπὸ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ Σταυροῦ. Νομίζω ὅτι εἶναι μιὰ πλευρὰ ἰδιαίτερα ἐνδιαφέρουσα.

*Τὸ πρῶτο σημεῖο* εἶναι τὸ ἑξῆς:

Ὁ ἱερὸς Χρυσόστομος, μεταξὺ ὅλων τῶν κυριότερων ἐξηγητῶν τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Παράδοσης, βλέπει στὴν κραυγὴ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὴν πιὸ χει-

1. *Χρυσοστόμου,* ὅ.π.
2. *Διδύμου Ἀλεξ.,* ὅ.π.
3. *Χρυσοστόμου,* ὅ.π.

ροπιαστὴ ἀπόδειξη ποὺ ἔχουμε γιὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς θλίψης καὶ τῆς ἀγωνίας ποὺ περιμένει τὸν ἄνθρωπο, τὸν καθένα δηλ. ἀπὸ μᾶς, σὰν ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας μας καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτωλῆς ζωῆς μας.

Στὴν πραγματικότητα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ὅπως εἴπαμε καὶ προηγουμένως, οὔτε ἁμαρτία εἶχε, οὔτε μετεῖχε στὴν ἁμαρτία τοῦ ἀνθρώπινου γένους. Πέθανε ὅμως γιὰ νὰ ἀνταποδώσει τὴν ἁμαρτία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπέναντι στὸ Θεὸ καὶ στὴ θεία δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ἔτσι ἔδωσε τὸ μέτρο τῆς ἀνταπόδοσης αὐτῆς μὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δικῆς Του θυσίας.

Ἔτσι ὅμως βλέπουμε ἔμπρακτα καὶ ὠμὰ σὲ ποιὸ ὕψος παθημάτων μᾶς ὁδηγοῦν οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας, ἀπὸ τὴ στιγμὴ ποὺ καλούμαστε νὰ ἐξιλεωθοῦμε. Φυσικὰ ἡ δική μας ἀνταπόδοση τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μας, μὲ ἀντάλλαγμα τὴν ἀγωνία καὶ τὴ θλίψη, ποτὲ δὲν πρόκειται νὰ φθάσει στὸ ὕψος τῆς θυσίας ποὺ ὑπέστη ὁ Κύριος σ' ἀνταπόδοση τῶν δικῶν μας ἁμαρτημάτων, ἐξαγοράζοντας μιὰ γιὰ πάντα, «ἅπαξ» (Α' Πέτρ. 3, 18), τὶς δικές μας ἁμαρτίες γενόμενος ὁ ἴδιος κατάρα γιὰ μᾶς. «Χριστὸς ἅπαξ περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἔπαθε, δίκαιος ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων, ἵνα ἡμᾶς προσαγάγῃ τῷ Θεῷ, θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι».

Ἀλλὰ ἐμπρὸς στὴν κραυγὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ Σταυροῦ Του, θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἀναλογισθοῦμε καὶ μεῖς σὲ πόση ἀγωνία θὰ μᾶς ὁδηγήσουν οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας, ὅταν θὰ κριθοῦν ἀπὸ τὸν Κύριο.

Ὁ Ὠριγένης λέει σχετικά: «Αὕτη ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ Κυρίου Χριστοῦ, τῷ σταυρῷ προσηλωμένου, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ τυποῖ τὸ ἡμέτερον πάθος. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἦμεν οἱ ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι καὶ παρεωραμένοι πρότερον· εἶτα νῦν προσειλημμένοι καὶ σεσωσμένοι τοῖς τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς πάθεσιν, ὥσπερ τὴν ἀφροσύνην ἡμῶν καὶ τὸ πλημμελὲς οἰκειούμενοι...»[1].

Ὅταν κρίνουμε ἀπ' αὐτὴ τὴν πλευρὰ τὰ πράγματα, πρέπει νὰ συμπεράνουμε ὅτι ἡ ἐγκατάλειψη τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ μᾶς στὴ σύγχρονη ζωή μας εἶναι διπλὰ ἀξιοκατάκριτη: πρῶτα διότι εἶναι κεφαλαιώδης ἁμαρτία πρὸς τὸ σταυρωμένο καὶ ἐγκαταλελειμμένο Ἰησοῦ, καὶ δεύτερο διότι μὲ τὴν ἐγκατάλειψή μας αὐτὴ χάνουμε τὸν πιὸ ἐχέγγυο συμπαραστάτη, τὸ μόνο πρόσωπο ποὺ μπορεῖ νὰ ἀποβεῖ συναντιλήπτοράς μας στὴν ἀνταπόδοση τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μας.

Κύριλλος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκφράζει τὴν ἀλήθεια αὐτὴ ὅταν λέει: «Ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν ὁποῖα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Κύριος φθέγγεται, μεσιτεύων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ πληροφορῶν ὅτι παράκλητος ἡμῶν ἐστιν»[2].

Ὡραία, ἀλήθεια, προοπτικὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπολογικῆς διάστασης τοῦ «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου...», ποὺ πηγάζει ἀβίαστα ἀπὸ τὴν ὀρθόδοξη πατερικὴ Παράδοσή μας.

*Τὸ δεύτερο καὶ τελευταῖο σημεῖο,* ἀπὸ πρακτικὴ ἀνθρωπολογικὴ ὀπτικὴ γωνία, εἶναι τὸ ἑξῆς:

Βέβαια, ὅταν λέει ὁ Ἰησοῦς «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;», μιλεῖ γιὰ τὴν ἐγκατάλειψή του σὲ ἀναφορὰ πρὸς τὸ Θεὸ καὶ ὄχι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Καὶ εἴδαμε τί σημαίνει ἡ «ἐγκατάλειψη» αὐτή. Ἀλλὰ κάτω ἀπὸ τὴ συγκεκριμένη ἐκείνη περίπτωση τῆς στιγμῆς τῆς ἀγωνίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τοῦ Σταυροῦ ἔχουμε καὶ τὴν εὐρύτερη ἐγκατάλειψη τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Εἶναι περιττὸ νὰ λεχθεῖ ἐδῶ ὅτι ὅλη ἡ ὀρθόδοξη πατερικὴ Παράδοση, κυρίως στὸ χῶρο τῆς πρακτικῆς θεολογίας, τῆς ποιμαντικῆς καὶ τῆς κηρυγματικῆς, ὅταν μιλεῖ γιὰ τὸ σταυρωμένο καὶ ἐγκαταλειμμένο Ἰησοῦ, ποὺ προφέρει τὶς λέξεις αὐτές, διαβλέπει αὐτὴ κυρίως τὴν ἐξυπονοούμενη ἐγκατάλειψη τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Πόσο τραγικὴ ἦταν ἡ ἐγκατάλειψη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ποὺ περικύκλωναν τὸ Σταυρό Του ἐπάνω στὸ Γολγοθά, φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὴ σειρὰ τῶν λόγων ποὺ πρόφερε πρὶν παραδώσει τὸ πνεῦμα Του. Ἡ περίπτωση τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῶν Γραμματέων, καὶ φυσικὰ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν «παραπορευομένων» Ἑβραίων ποὺ χλεύαζαν τὸ σταυρωμένο Ἰησοῦ, ὡς τὸ σημεῖο μάλιστα νὰ πεῖ ἐκεῖνος στὸν Πατέρα Του «ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασι τί ποιοῦσι» (Λουκ. 23, 34)· ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ ληστῆ ποὺ ἦταν σταυρωμένος μαζὶ μὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὸν χλεύαζε· ἡ περίπτωση τῆς ἀντίστοιχης ἐγκατάλειψης τῆς Μητέρας Του, ὅπως ἔβλεπε τὴν ἐγκατάλειψη αὐτὴ σκληρὴ καὶ ἀδυσώπητη, γι' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐμπιστεύεται τὴν Παναγία στὸν ἀγαπημένο Του μαθητή· ἡ περίπτωση τῆς δίψας ποὺ αἰσθάνθηκε καὶ τῆς ἀνταπόκρισης ποὺ βρῆκε ὄχι σὲ λίγο νερό, ἀλλὰ σὲ ἕνα σπόγγο μὲ ξίδι καὶ χολή· καὶ ὅλες οἱ ἄλλες λεπτομέρειες τῶν ὡρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Χριστοῦ προλίδουν τὴν ἐγκατάλειψή Του κυρίως ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς ὁποίους παρὰ ταῦτα εἶχε περιποιηθεῖ καὶ θεραπεύσει, τοὺς ὁποίους εἶχε ἀγαπήσει καὶ γιὰ τοὺς ὁποίους τὴ στιγμὴ ἐκείνη ἔδινε τὴν ψυχή του ἐπάνω στὸ Σταυρό.

Αὐτὴ ἡ πλευρὰ τοῦ «μυστηρίου» τῆς στιγμῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἀγωνίας τοῦ Κυρίου εἶναι ἡ πιὸ σημαντικὴ γιὰ μᾶς. Διότι, ἂς μὴν κρυβόμαστε, εἶναι ἡ πλευρὰ ποὺ ἀντικατοπτρίζει τὴ δική μας στάση ἀπέναντι στὸ σταυρωμένο καὶ ἐγκαταλειμμένο Ἰησοῦ. Εἶναι ἡ στάση τῆς ὁλοκληρωτικῆς ἐγκατάλειψης, τῆς σκληρῆς ἀπάρνησης, τῆς χωρὶς προηγούμενο προδοσίας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ σύγχρονου ἀνθρώπου, ποὺ ἔχει ἀπορροφηθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν κόσμο καὶ τὰ ἐγκόσμια πράγματα, ὡς τὸ σημεῖο νὰ ἀγνοεῖ τὴν ὕπαρξη τοῦ Σταυρωμένου καὶ νὰ ἀποστρέφει τὸ πρόσωπό του ἀπ' Αὐτόν.

* * *

Ἂν θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ συνδέσουμε τὴν τραγικὴ κραυγὴ τοῦ Κυρίου, «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;», ὄχι μόνο μὲ τὶς βιούμενες τὶς ὧρες ἐκεῖνες λεπτομέρειες τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ, ἀλλὰ εὐρύτερα καὶ μὲ

1. *Ὠριγένους*, Εἰς Ψαλμὸν ΚΑ΄, 2, PG 12, 1259. Βλέπε καὶ *Ἀθανασίου*, Εἰς Ψαλμὸν ΚΑ΄, PG 27, 132.
2. *Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας*, Εἰς Ψαλμὸν ΚΑ΄, 1, PG 69, 837.

ἄλλες μεγάλες στιγμές, τραγικὰ συνδεμένες μὲ τὴ Σταύρωση καὶ τὸ Γολγοθά, θὰ ἔλεγα ὅτι ἡ ἀγωνία Του τῆς στιγμῆς ἐκείνης ἀντικατοπτρίζεται σὲ δυὸ κεφαλαιώδη σημεῖα τῆς ἀπαράμιλλης Ὁμιλίας Του τῆς Διαθήκης, ποὺ εἶπε λίγο πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἔξοδό Του γιὰ τὴν προδοσία τοῦ Ἰούδα καὶ τὴ σύλληψή Του, ποὺ τὸν ὁδήγησαν στὸ Σταυρὸ καὶ στὸ θάνατο.

Καὶ τὰ κεφαλαιώδη αὐτὰ σημεῖα εἶναι ἡ βασικὴ καὶ θεμελιώδης ἐ ν τ ο λ ή, ποὺ δίνει μὲ τὴν Ὁμιλία Του ἐκείνη, καὶ ἡ μεγάλη ε ὐ χ ή, ποὺ διατυπώνει μὲ αὐτή, σφραγίζοντας τὸ σωτηριῶδες ἔργο Του.

Ἡ ἐ ν τ ο λ ὴ εἶναι τὸ περίφημο ἐκεῖνο: «Ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἵνα ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους» (Ἰωάν. 13, 34).

Καὶ ἡ ε ὐ χ ὴ καὶ π ρ ο σ ε υ χ ή Του εἶναι ἐκείνη ποὺ τὴν ἐκφράζει ὅταν ἀπευθύνεται πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα Του: «Πάτερ ἅγιε, τήρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι, ἵνα ὦσιν ἕν, καθὼς ἡμεῖς» (Ἰωάν. 17, 11).

Νομίζω, ὅτι ἡ καλύτερη, ἡ μόνη σωστὴ ἀντήχηση στὸ «Θεέ μου, Θεέ μου, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες;» εἶναι αὐτὰ τὰ δύο στοιχεῖα, ποὺ καταξιώνουν τὴ ζωὴ τοῦ κάθε ἀνθρώπου: ἡ ἀ γ ά π η καὶ ἡ ἑ ν ό τ η τ α.

Ἡ ἀ γ ά π η πρὸς ἀλλήλους, σὰν ἡ μόνη καινὴ ἐντολὴ ποὺ ἰσχύει στοὺς αἰῶνες.

Καὶ ἡ ἑ ν ό τ η τ α μεταξὺ τῶν χριστιανῶν, σὰν ὁ μόνος σκοπὸς τῆς ζωῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

# THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF THE EAST IN THE SYNODS OF THE FIFTH TO EARLY SEVENTH CENTURIES: PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS AND MATERIALS

By

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Among Archbishop Methodios' many publications his *The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Councils* (1976) provides a valuable collection of the main documents on the Christological controversies of the fifth century, together with information on modern initiatives leading to theological dialogues between the Oriental Orthodox Churches and both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. Similar theological discussions involving the Church of the East have not so far been held in modern times, and this is of course a Church with a very different tradition of Christology from that of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. The present article, which is offered as a modest tribute to Archbishop Methodios' concern for ecumenical matters, attempts to provide some preliminary considerations and documentation in the hopes that these might prove of use when such discussions with the Church of the East do eventually take place. My concern here is solely with the period that proved formative for the Christological position of the Church of the East, namely, the fifth to the early seventh centuries; and at the outset it should be stressed that my aim is merely to put forward some suggestions for ways towards a constructive understanding of the Christology of the Church of the East, and not to offer any judgement on that position.

The presentation follows the following pattern:

I *Sources*
- (a) Synods
- (b) Individual writers

II *Preliminary considerations*
- (a) Geographical
- (b) Political
- (c) Linguistic
- (d) Variety of positions within the Christological spectrum.

III *Translations of the main Christological statements in the Synodicon of the Church of the East.*
- (a) Synod of 410
- (b) Synod of 486.
- (c) Synod of 544.
- (d) Synod of 554.
- (e) Synod of 576.
- (f) Synod of 585.
- (g) Synod of 598.
- (h) Synod of 605.
- (i) Assembly of bishops in 612.

## *Sources*

### (a) *Synods*

Our most important source of knowledge of the official Christology of the Church of the East during the formative period of the fifth to seventh centuries[1] is provided by a collection of synodical texts usually known as the Synodicon Orientale, following the title employed by its editor, J.B.Chabot[2]; in the course of these are to be found a number of credal statements, and it is these that are translated below in III. The texts published by Chabot in fact constitute just a part of a vast synodical collection (of eighty items) which is transmitted in a number of nineteenth and twentieth-century manuscripts copied from a manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (Alqosh

1. For the background J. Labourt's *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (Paris 1904) is still fundamental; his work is brought up to date in certain respects by J.M. Fiey, *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq*(Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 310, 1970). In English the best works are W.A. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church* (London 1910) and W.G. Young, *Patriarch Shah and Caliph* (Rawalpindi 1974).

2. J.B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale* (Paris 1902).

ms 169, perhaps of AD 1298/9); the collection was put together in its present form in the eleventh century.[3] The following synods contain texts of relevance for our present purposes:

(1) *Synod at Seleucia-Ktesiphon held under the Catholicos Isaac in* 410.

It was at this synod, summoned on the initiative of Marutha bishop of Martyropolis, that the Council of Nicaea was officially recognized by the Church of the East. Prefaced to the canons of the synod is a credal profession whose Syriac text comes down in two different recensions, of which the one is transmitted in Syrian Orthodox sources[4], while the other is to be found in the manuscripts of the East Syrian Synodicon; the latter gives the Nicene Creed in its 'pure' form.

There has been a long controversy over the relationship between these two texts, Some have held that the Acts of the Synod of 410 were originally prefaced by *both* creeds, while others have claimed that the West Syrian recension represents a late interpolation (largely on the grounds of the occurrence of phraseology that seemed reminiscent of the *filioque* clause). Very recently, however, A. de Halleux[5] has demonstrated that it must in fact be the West Syrian text, and not the form in the Synodicon Orientale, that is the original; this is shown (a) by the presence of archaic phraseology in the West Syrian recension, and (b) by the appearance in the East Syrian text of certain neologisms which otherwise first occur in texts from c.A.D. 500 onwards.

The West Syrian recension concludes with the statement that "we are in agreement with the faith of the 318 bishops in the city of Nicaea; this is our confession and our faith, which we have received from our holy fathers". De Halleux very plausibly suggests that this profession of faith made at the Synod of 410 represents an adaptation of a local Persian creed made by the council fathers in the light of the Nicene Symbol.

(2) *Synod at Seleucia-Ktesiphon held under the Catholicos Akakios in* 486.

Although synods had met in 420 and 424 no credal statements were issued. Two further synods were convened in 484 and 485, during the course of a feud between the Catholicos and Barsauma, metropolitan of Nisibis.[6] The Synod of Beth Lapat in 484 evidently included a Christological statement expressed in Antiochene terms, by way of reaction against Zeno's religious policies across the border, in the Roman Empire; the canons of this synod,[7] however, along with those of a further synod in 485, were not preserved, although in all probability the tenor of their theological position is reflected in the important credal statement issued at the synod of Seleucia-Ktesiphon in 486, translated in III(b). The importance of this text lies in the fact that it is the first such statement that we possess from the Church of the East from the period subsequent to the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon; its language markedly belongs to the Antiochene tradition of Christology, but it can in no way be described as openly 'Nestorian'.[8] The accompanying anathemas are anti-'Theopaschite' in character.

(3) *The synod held under the Catholicos Aba in* 544.

The learned Catholicos and confessor Aba had travelled widely in the Roman Empire prior to his elevation, and it was while he was in Alexandria that he met Kosmas, author of *Khristianike topographia.* Kosmas clearly held Aba (to whom he refers as Patrikios) in high esteem.[9] It was Aba who brought back to Persia various works by Nestorius and had

3. The contents of this collection are well described by W.Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht, I. Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sb. I, 1981).

4. In Syrian Orthodox eyes the Church of the East in Persia was orthodox until the end of the fifth century, when it was 'nestorianized' as a result of the nefarious influence of Barsauma, metropolitan of Nisibis. As is pointed out below, the language of the synod of 486 is Theodoran, not Nestorian, but since Theodore was seen by the Syrian Orthodox as implying Nestorius, the epithet 'Nestorian' was misleadingly applied. (This synod was further held in abhorrence by the Syrian Orthodox since it allowed the clergy (including bishops) to marry–a canon which was invoked in recent times by Mar Shem'on XXIII, with tragic results).

5. ‚Le symbole des évêques perses au synode de Séleucie-Ctésiphon (410)', in ed. G. Wiessner, *Erkenntnisse und Meinungen II* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe: Syriaca, Band 17; 1978), pp. 161–90. The west Syrian recension has recently been re-edited by A.Vööbus, 'New sources for the Symbol in early Syriac Christianity', *Vigiliae Christianae* 26 (1972), pp. 291–6; the two oldest manuscripts belong to the eighth century. See also J. Gribomont, 'Le symbole de foi de Séleucie Ctésiphon (410)', *A Tribute to A Vööbus* (ed. R. H. Fissher), (Chicago, 1977), pp. 283–94.

6. For the background see S. Gero, *Barsauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the Fifth Century (Corpus Scriptorum Christanorum Orientalium* 426; 1981).

7. The synod of Gregory I (605) states that at the synod of 484 Barsauma upheld the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia against the accusations of 'heretics' (perhaps he had Philoxenus in mind: see his letter to the monks of Beth Gogal, recently published by A. de Halleux in *Le Muséon* 96 (1983), pp. 5–79).

8. As, for example, W. de Vries in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* (Würzburg 1951), I, p. 683. In this connection it might be noted that W. Macomber's study of this synod's Christological position ('The Christology of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon AD 486', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 24 (1958), pp. 142–54) gives an unnecessarily hostile interpretation of the text; his approach serves as a good modern example of how a theological statement can be understood wherever possible *in malam partem* (Macomber's later writings show more sympathy).

9. Cp. M. Wolska, *La topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Paris 1962), pp. 63–73 etc.

them translated into Syriac (the extant Book of Herakleides was translated in 539/40[10]).

The Acts of the Synod of 544 themselves contain no Christological statement, but the Synodicon Orientale preserves a letter on 'orthodoxy of faith' by Aba, addressed to the clergy of Susa. The theological language is surprisingly traditional for the man who brought Nestorius' writings to Persia, and the profession of faith perhaps deliberately avoids any of the contentious technical terms.

(4) *Synod held under the Catholicos Joseph in* 554.

The profession of faith from this synod (held the year after the Fifth Council) is very close in tenor to the Chalcedonian definition. While the terms 'natures' and 'properties' feature in it, no mention is made either of *qnoma* (i.e. hypostasis) or *prosopon*. Those who speak of 'two Christs' or 'two Sons' are specifically anathematized.

(5) *Synod held under the Catholicos Ezekiel in* 576.

Although the synod issued no formal profession of faith, the preamble to the canons includes some passages of Christological relevance. Once again the absence of the terms *qnoma* and *prosopon* may be noted; on the other hand, at one point the phraseology „Christ who is in the flesh, *who is known* and confessed *in two natures*, God and Man, *a single Son*..." seems to echo directly the wording of the Chacedonian definition.

(6) *Synoder held und the Catholicos Isho'yahb I in* 585.

Two professions of faith are preserved, one belonging to the synod itself, the other to be found in an accompanying document which evidently belongs to the occassion of Isho'yahb's diplomatic mission to the emperor Maurice. According to the medieval chronicle known as the Liber Turris Isho'yahb's profession of faith was accepted as orthodox by the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch. As will be seen, the language is indeed far more Chalcedonian than Theodoran in spirit.

(7) *Synod held under the Catholicos Sabrisho in* 598.

Although no formal profession of faith is preserved the preamble contains some relevant passages.

(8) *Synod held under the Catholicos Gregory I in* 605.

It was at this synod that it was laid down that "each of us should receive and accept all the commentaries and writings of the blessed Theodore the Interpreter". The credal statement, however, is not distinctly Theodoran; it speaks of the "single union of one prosopon"; no mention is made of the term *qnoma*.

(9) *Assembly of bishops held during the interregnum in* 612

After the death of the Catholicos Gregory I in 608 the Persian Shah Khosroes II refused to let the bishops of the Church of the East to elect a successor, and during the period while the patriarchate remained vacant (till the Shah's death in 628) the affairs of the Church of the East were run by Babai the Great (see II.b.4) and Aba, Archdeacon of Seleucia. In 612, instigated by his influential Christian doctor, Gabriel of Sinjar (who was a Syrian Orthodox), Khosroes ordered that a disputation take place between representatives of the Church of the East and the Syrian Orthodox; from this occasion the Synodicon Orientale preserves a profession of faith presented by the bishops of the Church of the East to the Shah. As might be expected in the context of such a confrontation the position adopted is a hard-line one, expressed in fairly uncompromising Antiochene phraseology.

In the Synodicon Orientale there follows a series of objections against the tenets of the "Severan Theopaschites",[11] as follows:

-against those who confess a single nature and a single *qnoma* in Christ;

-against those who say that God suffered in the flesh and died in the flesh;

-against those who ask whether the holy Virgin gave birth to the God or gave birth to the Man;

-against those who falsely accuse us of confessing a quaternity in God, instead of a Trinity;

-against those who accuse us of (confessing) a duality of Sons".

These in turn are followed by a reply to two questions (clearly posed by their opponents): "Is it the Nestorians or the monks[12] who have turned aside from the foundations of the faith transmitted by the teachers of old", and „Previous to Nestorius, is there anyone who says that Christ is two natures and two *qnome*, or not?" The reply to these questions takes the form of a florilegium, and in the preamble to this there occurs an important passage which shows that the Church of the East understands the term *qnoma* in a Christological context in a markedly

10. The English translation by G.R. Driver and L. Hodgson *(The Bazaar of Heraclides*, Oxford 1925) needs to be used with caution: see R.H. Connolly in *Journal of Theological Studies* 27 (1926), pp. 191-200.

11. Chabot *(Synodicon Orientale*, p. 586) already noted that many of the arguments also occur in St. John of Damascus, *Contra Jacobitas*.

12. i.e. the Syrian Orthodox.

different sense from that of *hypostasis* in the Chalcedonian definition.[13]

(b) *Individual writers*

Besides the Synodicon Orientale there also survives a number of other texts which deal directly or indirectly with Christology; the most important of these, for the period late fourth to early seventh century, are:

(1) *Narsai*

Narsai, the famous East Syrian poet, taught at the 'Persian School' in Edessa until c. 471, when local hostility from his theological opponents led him to make a hasty move, across the Roman border, to Nisibis, where he was welcomed by the metropolitan, Barsauma, and where he eventually became head of the renowned theological School of Nisibis. He died at a great age soon after the turn of the sixth century (the exact date is not known). The following of his verse homilies, or *memre*, are of particular relevance:

–Verse homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, edited with English translation by F.G. McLeod in *Patrologia Orientalis* 40, fasc. 1 (1979)[14].

–Verse homily on the Three Doctors (Diodore, Theodore, Nestorius), edited with a French translation by F. Martin in *Journal Asiatique* IX. 14–15 (1899–1900)[15].

(2) *Cyrus of Edessa*

Cyrus, who belongs to the mid sixth century, wrote six 'Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts' which have been edited with an English translation by W. Macomber in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 355–6 = *Scriptores Syri* 155–6 (1974). Although these are not directly concerned with Christology, the background which they provide is helpful for gaining an understanding of the general theological approach of writers in this tradition; a useful outline of this will be found in W. Mcomber's article "The theological synthesis of Cyrus of Edessa", in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30 (1964), pp. 5–38, 363–84.

(3) *Discussions between Paul, Metropolitan of Nisibis and the Chalcedonians*

The text of an official theological discussion arranged by Justinian which took place soon after 561 between the Chalcedonians and Paul, the representative of the Church of the East, is preserved in a Syriac manuscript of Monothelete provenance.[16] It has been published with a French translation by A. Guillaumont, "Justinien et l'église de Perse", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23/4 (1969/70), pp. 39–66.

(4) *Babai the Great*

Babai (died 628) was a prolific author who exercised a profound influence on the Church of the East, and his treatise „On the Union" (sc. of the two natures in Christ) is the one major statement on Christology that we have from the Church of the East in this period. This work was edited, with a Latin transation, by A. Vaschalde in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 79–80 = *Scriptores Syri* 34–5 (1915), together with a short treatise „Against those who say that, just as the soul and the body are one *qnoma*, so too God the Word and the Man are one *qnoma*". A useful, and sympathetic,[17] English presentation of Babai's Christology is given by G. Chediath, *The Christology of Mar Babai the Great* (Kottayam, 1982).

Whereas for most East Syrian writers it is Theodore of Mopsuestia who is the prime formative influence, Babai's Christology is clearly also influenced by the Syriac translation of Nestorius, Book of Herakleides.[18]

(5) *Martyrius/Sahdona* (early seventh century)

Martyrius, the author of a fine work on monastic spirituality, The Book of Perfection, is to be identified with the bishop Sahdona ('little martyr'), whose expulsion from the Church of the East for 'heresy' is related by Thomas of Marga and others.

Martyrius' Christological position is outlined in chapter 1 of Part II of his Book of Perfection (edited with French translation by A. de Halleux in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 214–5 = *Scriptores Syri* 90–91 (1961)). It was his formulation of a single *qnoma* in Christ (consonant with the wording

13. Translated below, III.i.2.

14. McLeod gives a short introduction; more detailed studies are provided by his dissertation, *The Soteriology of Narsai* (Pontifical Oriental Institute, Rome 1968) and in that by I. Ibrahim, *La doctrine christologique de Narsai* (Angelicum, Rome 1974/5).

15. Cp. G. Sfair, 'L'ortodossia di Narsai rilevata dalla sua omelia sui Dottori greci', *Bessarione* 33 (1917), pp. 313–27; L. Abramowski, 'Das Konzil von Chalkedon in der Homilie des Narsai über die drei nestorianischen Lehrer', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66 (1954/5), pp. 140–43; K. McVey, ‚The memra of Narsai on the three Nestorian Doctors as an example of forensic rhetoric', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 221 (1983), pp. 87–96.

16. For this aspect see my 'A Monothelete florilegium in Syriac', in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (forthcoming).

17. The author is a Syro-Malankara priest (and so belongs to a Church with an Alexandrian Christological tradition).

18. For this aspect see L. Scipioni, 'Il Libro di Eraclide di Nestorio e il Liber de Unione di Babai il Grande', in his *Ricerche sulla cristologia del 'Libro di Eraclide' di Nestorio* (Fribourg 1956), pp. 110–58. Other important studies of Babai's Christology are by L. Abramowski, 'Die Christologie Babais des Grossen' *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 197 (1974), pp. 219–45, and 'Babai der Grosse: Christologische Probleme und ihre Lösungen', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 41 (1975), pp. 290–343; V. Grumel, 'Un théologien nestorien, Babai le grand', *Echos d'Orient* 22 (1923), pp. 153–81, 257–80; 23 (1924), pp. 9–33, 162–77, 257–74, 395–99.

of the Chalcedonian definition, but going against the traditional usage of the Church of the East) that led to his condemnation by the authorities of that Church; in all other respects his Christological language remains characteristically Antiochene, as is shown by A. de Halleux in an article, "La christologie de Martyrios/Sahdona dans l'évolution du nestorianisme", in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 23 (1957), pp. 5–32.

(6) *Isho'yahb II*

Isho'yahb II was Catholicos from 628–646, years which witnessed the change from Persian to Arab rule. His interesting letter on "How we should confess the single propopon of Christ", addressed to a certain Rabban Abraham, has recently been published, with a French translation and good introduction, by L.R.M. Sako, *Lettre christologique du Patriarche syro-oriental Isho'yahb* II *de Gdala (*Rome, 1983).[19]

(7) *Miscellaneous Christological texts*

An important collection of East Syrian Christological texts, perhaps put together about the 9th century, includes a number of pieces belonging to the late sixth and the seventh centuries; these have been published with an English translation, by L. Abramowski and A.E. Goodman, *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts* (2 vols, Cambridge, 1972)[20].

(8) *Liturgical texts*

Since liturgical texts often contain important doctrinal testimony, these should not be overlooked; in particular attention should be drawn to the prayers introducing the Institution Narratives in the Anaphoras attributed to Theodore and to Nestorius, both translated into Syriac in the sixth century. A recent English translation can be found in K.A. Paul and G. Mooken, *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari together with the Liturgies of Mar Theodorus and Mar Nestorius* (Trichur, 1967), pp. 76–7, 94–6.

## II

### *Preliminary Considerations*

When studying the Christology of the Church of the East, and especially when comparing it with western positions and developments (whether Greek or Latin), a number of important considerations need to be held in mind.

(a) *Geographical*

Since the Church of the East functioned within the Sasanian Empire, and thus outide the bounds of the Roman Empire, it was not directly involved in any of the general Councils convened by imperial command. The canons and the symbol of the Council of Nicaea are indeed recognized by the Church of the East, but this was only achieved 85 years later, at the Synod of Seleucia-Ktesiphon in 410, thanks to the initiative of Marutha, bishop of Martyropolis. The Council of Ephesus (431) is specifically rejected,[21] but a more ambivalent attitude, *post eventum*, is taken to the Council of Chalcedon; thus Isho'yahb II (628–46) comments):[22]

> Although those who gathered at the Synod of Chalcedon were clothed with the intention of restoring the faith, yet they too slid away from the true faith: owing to their feeble phraseology, wrapped in an obscure meaning, they provided a stumbling block to many. Although, in accordance with the opinion of their own minds, they preserved the true faith with the confession of the two natures, yet by their formula of one *qnoma* (hypostasis), it seems, they tempted weak minds. As an outcome of the affair a contradiction occurred, for with the formula 'one *qnoma*' they corrupted the confession of 'two natures', while with the 'two natures', they rebuked and refuted the 'one *qnoma*'. So they found themselves standing at a cross roads, and they wavered[23] and turned aside from the blessed ranks of the orthodox, yet they did not join the assemblies of the heretics; they both pulled down and built up, while lacking a foundation for their feet. On what side we should number them I do not know, for their terminology cannot stand up, as Nature and Scripture testify: for in them many *qnome* can be found in a single ‚nature', but that there should be various 'natures' in a single *qnoma* has never been the case and has not been heard of.

Likewise the eighth-century writer Shahdost[24]

19. In 630 during the course of an embassy from Persia, Isho-'yahb met the emperor Heraklios at Aleppo; there his profession of faith was accepted by the Greeks and he was invited to celebrate the Liturgy, at which both the emperor and his clergy received communion (the sources are translated in Sako, pp. 42, 46–50, 53–7, 59-60).

20. For some corrections to the translation see the review by T. Jansma in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 20 (1975), pp. 93–109.

21. For a recent statement see Mar Aprem, *The Council of Ephesus of* 431 (Trichur 1978).

22. Ed. Sako, sections 42–49.

23. The French translation (p. 147) misrepresents the sense here.

24. In Abramowski-Goodman. *A Nestorian Collection*, II, p. 20. The 'falsification' of the Chalcedonian definition in the text of the East Syrian Synodicon will evidently be a subsequent development; for this 'revised' text, see A. de Halleux, 'La falsification du symbole de Chalcédoine dans le Synodicon nestorien', *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier* (Toulouse 1979), pp. 377–84 (the alterations include a change to 'two *qnome*'). Cp. also W. de Vries, 'Die syrisch-nestorianische Haltung zu Chalkedon, in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, I, pp. 603–35.

says that "although they (sc. the Catholicos Akakios and the Metropolitan Barsauma of Nisibis) did not accept the Synod of Chalcedon... nevertheless they did not entirely reject it".

Justinian's ecclesiastical policy, culminating in the 'Three Chapters' and the Fifth Council, not surprisingly comes under sharp attack, above all from Babai.

In all this it should always be kept in mind that, from the point of view of the Church of the East, these Councils were far from being truly ecumenical, seeing that they were only of direct concern to those living within the Roman *oikoumene*.

(b) *Political*

It was only after Christianity had been adopted as the official religion in the Roman Empire that persecution of Christians took on serious dimensions in the Sasanian Empire. It was certainly the case that, in the fourth and fifth century, persecution was a likely concomitant of any outbreak of hostilities between the two empires; indeed Persian Christians were sometimes suspected of being secret sympathisers of the enemy.[25] It is, then, possible that *one* of the reasons why the Church of the East chose to adopt a markedly Antiochene position on Christology at the Synod of Seleucia-Ktesiphon in 486 was the conscious desire to disassociate Persian Christianity from the official Christological position in the Roman Empire at the time.

The combination of geographical and political separation of the Church of the East from Christianity in the Roman Empire had a further important consequence from the point of view of Christology: since the Church of the East was not directly involved in the fierce Christological controversies taking place in the Roman Empire from the 430s onwards, its theological language and its understanding of certain technical terms remained comparatively 'old fashioned'. Any awareness of developments within the Greek-speaking world would come primarily by way of the Persian School of Edessa (closed in 489) and its successor, the School of Nisibis, and the flavour of this theological language was thus going to be essentially Antiochene, and specifically Theodoran. An Antiochene slant to Christology having been initially accepted, it is not surprising that subsequent influences from across the border should have been from theologians writing in that tradition, one of whom, of course, was Nestorius.

It is a fact that Nestorius was held in high regard by Narsai,[27] and that Nestorius' Book of Herakleides (not translated into Syriac until half a century after the Synod of 486) exerted a strong influence on the Christology of Babai,[28] but at the same time it needs to be remembered that Nestorius never came to hold anything like the position of authority that was accorded to Theodore of Mopsuestia, the 'Exegete' *par excellence*. Accordingly, it is misleading in the extreme to speak (as is often done) of a 'nestorianization' of the Persian Church over the course of the century and a half that followed the synods of the 480s; to do so is to be beguiled by the rhetorical hyperbole of the theological opponents of the Church of the East, who regularly labelled anything to do with Theodore as, by implication, Nestorian.

(c) *Linguistic*

It is well known that one of the complicating factors in the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries lay in the varying understandings that different parties had of the central technical terms οὐσία, φύσις, ὑπόστασις and πρόσωπον. This situation became all the more complex when the controversy was being conducted in Syriac rather than Greek, for two different reasons: (i) The standard equivalent terms in Syriac had a rather different semantic range from that of their Greek counterparts;[29] thus, for example, the connotations of Syriac *kyana* and *qnoma* are by no means precisely the same as those of φύσις and ὑπόστασις which they regularly represent (see further below); (ii) Over the course of the late fifth to the seventh century Syriac translation technique underwent many refinements, above all in West Syrian circles.[30] Theologians of the Church of the East, however, living outside the Roman Empire, were not always aware of these developments which took place in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, and chiefly in Syrian Orthodox circles.

In the Chalcedonian definition the words μία ὑπόστασις proved a stumbling block just as much to the Church of the East as they did to the Syrian Orthodox, for both groups shared the view that φύσις implied ὑπόστασις (and vice versa). Thus, to the Syrian Orthodox, ἐν δύο φύσεσι was the illogical element, since for them μία ὑπόστασις implied their own starting point μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμέ-

25. Occasionally this was justified, cp my ‚Christians in the Sasanian Empire: a case of divided loyalties', *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), pp. 7–9, reprinted in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London, 1984), ch. VI.

26. And perhaps earlier, at the Synod of Beth Lapat in 484; this was certainly how later Syriar Orthodox writers explained the matter (e.g. Barhebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.* III, col. 65).

27. His homily on the Three Doctors, however, suggests that he had little or no direct knowledge of Nestorius' works; probably Narsai (and others in the Church of the East) simply saw him as a martyr for the cause of Antiochene Christology.

28. See note 18.

29. This was an old problem that had already been highlighted by the Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. when they rendered Torah by Nomos).

30. Cp. my 'Towards a history of Syriac translation technique', *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 221 (1983), pp. 1–14.

νη;[31] to the Church of the East, on the other hand, it was the μία ὑπόστασις that was illogical,[32] since their starting point was the two natures, which for them implied two *qnome (qnoma* being the regular translation of ὑπόστασις).

In East Syrian understanting *kyana* ('nature', φύσις) is generic, while *qnoma* is an individual manifestation of a *kyana*;[33] thus the two *kyane* in Christ are often specifically described as being 'the divinity and the humanity', and correspondingly the *qnoma* of the divinity is God the Word, perfect God, and the *qnoma* of the humanity is the Man Jesus, perfect Man; and here it needs emphasizing that 'the Man'[34] is definitely never thought of as having any separate pre-existence, prior to the Union.[35] Furthermore, for all the traditional dislike of theopaschite language in writers of the East Syrian tradition, there is never any doubt that God the Word, in his humanity, suffered and died: there is no question of two subjects, as will be clear from the texts translated below in III.

Underlying the varying opposing formulations are several different understandings of the connotations of the term 'nature': to the Church of the East *kyana* 'nature' is associated much more closely with *ituta* ('essence', οὐσία)[36] than with *prosopon*, while in Syrian Orthodox tradition οὐσία and φύσις are sharply distinguished, and φύσις is associated rather with πρόσωπον.[37] This difference of usage is reflected very clearly in sixth-century translation practice in connection with the term ὁμοούσιος:

(1) East Syrian writers normally preserve the older, fifth-century, usage whereby ὁμοούσιος is translated by *bar kyana*, 'of the same nature' (lit. 'son of nature'), or by *bar ituta*, 'of the same essence' (lit. 'son of essence').

(2) West Syrian writers refine the translation usage and provide the more precise equivalents *shawe b-ituta* or *shawe b-ousia*, 'equal in essence'. Thus, in sixth-century Syrian Orthodox usage *kyana* 'nature' is kept firmly separate from *ituta* 'essence'.

On occasion some awareness is shown of the existence of an understanding of key technical terms that differs from that which the writer himself employs: thus Babai at one point[38] explains why 'the former fathers' used the formula 'one *qnoma* from two natures' (i.e. the Syrian Orthodox position); this he explains, was because they were countering Arius, Eunomius and Apollinarius who denied that Christ was either complete God or complete Man. Babai goes on to say that these fathers sometimes used *qnoma* and *parsopa* interchangeably 'just as happens now, so they say, in Roman territory'; such usage, however, is to be avoided, according to Babai, in order to counter theopaschite teaching.

In the translations in III below I regularly employ the following formal translation equivalents:

| | |
|---|---|
| itya | (divine) Being |
| ituta | (divine) essence |
| kyana | nature |
| qnoma | (transliterated) |
| parsopa | person, prosopon. |

I have preferred to leave *qnoma* untranslated in order to draw attention to the difference in sense that it has in sixth-century East Syrian texts from ὑπόστασις in contemporary Greek writers (even though it is the standard translation equivalent). It should be noted that modern translators have sometimes rendered *qnoma* in a Christological context as 'person': this is to be deplored, since it can lead to obvious misunderstandings (in none of these East Syrian texts do we ever encounter the 'Nestorian' formula of 'two prosopa')[39]

### (d) *Variety of positions within the Christological spectrum*

In seeking to understand the ecclesiological dimensions of the controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries it is essential to avoid the simplistic threefold model of 'Nestorian–Chalcedonian–Monophysite'. Matters are far more complex. For present purposes one might propose the following spectrum,

31. E.g. Severus, *ad Nephalium* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 119), p. 16: 'It is obvious to all who have just a modicum of training in the teachings of true religion that it is contradictory to speak of two natures with reference to the one Christ, he being one hypostasis; for whenever one speaks of one hypostasis, one must necessarily also speak of one nature'.

32. E.g. Isho'yahb II, quoted above in II.a.

33. Thus we often encounter the phrase 'the two *kyane* and *their qnome*'.

34. In East Syrian terminology 'the Man' means 'an individual human being' (in the abstract), and definitely *not* a specific person: see, for example, Babai, *Liber de Unione* (ed. Vaschalde), p. 160. Thus the phrase 'He put on the Man' in sixth-century East Syrian writers corresponds to 'He put on Adam/our humanity/(our) body', characteristic of early Syriac authors. Cp also note 60.

35. So Babai repeatedly, e.g. *Liber de Unione* (ed. Vaschalde), pp. 59, 91ff, 100, 111, 116, 244 etc.

36. Thus, from the East Syrian point of view, Cyril's μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη was barely different from saying μία οὐσία –a formulation that Cyril's expositor par excellence, Severus, of course firmly rejected.

37. Here it should be noted that normally East Syrian writers speak of three *qnome* in the Trinity (rather than three *parsope)*.

38. Ed. Vaschalde, pp. 305–6.

39. For studies on the East Syrian understanding of the various technical terms reference may be made to Anon., 'On the history of the Syriac terms *ithutha, kyana, parsupa and qnuma*', in J.F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching* (Cambridge 1908), pp. 212–32, and W.A. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church* (London 1910), pp. 279–85, besides the monographs on individual writers mentioned in I.b. Cp also J. Pelikan, *The Spirit of Eastern Christendom* (600–1700) (Chicago/London 1974), pp. 39–49.

moving from extreme Antiochene to an extreme Alexandrian Christological position:

(1) True 'Nestorians' (two prosopa).
(2) Strict Dyophysites outside Roman Empire: Church of the East.
(3) Strict Dyophysites within Roman Empire: e.g. Theodoret, Akoimetai, Roman Church.
(4) Silence over Chalcedon: e.g. Henotikon, Dionysios the Areopagite.
(5) Neo-Chalcedonians.
(6) Henophysites:[40] Timothy Ailouros, Philoxenos, Severos.
(7) Eutychians (true Monophysites).

It should of course be kept in mind that even this seven-fold model is an oversimplification in that it glosses over the various shades of opinion within each group: thus, for example, it is clear that within the Church of the East itself there were several stances, with Babai representing the strictest dyophysite position, openly rejecting the Chalcedonian position (and so presumably even those of group 3), while others[41] were evidently very close to the position of those in group 3, within the Chalcedonian camp.

Within this sevenfold model the various positions can be seen as dividing up in different ways, depending on the criterion by which they are being judged; thus, for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| -acceptance of Chalcedonian definition: | groups 3–5 |
| -Antiochene Christological tradition: | 1–3 |
| -Alexandrian Christological tradition: | 4–7 |
| -anti-Theopaschite: | 1–3 |
| -single subject in Christ: | 2–7 |
| -Christ is ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν as well as ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ | 1–6 |

Writers belonging to the Neo-Chalcedonian position had already conceded that the Chalcedonian definition was not an exclusive criterion of orthodoxy: ἐκ δύο φύσεων was, in their eyes, also acceptable, provided that ἐν δύο φύσεσι was not itself rejected.[42] This last point was a stumbling block for the Henophysites in the sixth century, and it remains a problem in at least some Oriental Orthodox circles today as well[43] (owing to their rather different understanding of the terminology).

With the Church of the East there is a similar problem of verbally conflicting formulae (two *qnome* against μία ὑπόστασις). Clearly if progress in dialogue is to be made, several things need to happen:

(1) The clue offered by the Neo-Chalcedonians, that orthodoxy in Christology does not necessarily have to be confined to adherence to the Chalcedonian definition, needs to be followed up and developed.[44] In other words, a criterion of orthodoxy other than that of Chalcedon needs to be applied to the sevenfold model suggested above; as a beginning one might propose the last two of the various criteria mentioned above (a single subject in Christ, and Christ as ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν as well a ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί.

(2) A serious attempt must be made to penetrate behind the wording of the various formulae in order to discover how they were arrived at and (above all) the way in which they were understood by those who put them forward. And here two basic points need to be kept constantly in mind: firstly, that the central technical terms were understood in markedly different ways by the different parties;[45] and secondly, that each position was developed by way of reaction against a particular trend that was (rightly) seen as dangerously heretical: the existence of different bêtes noires led to the emergence of different emphases. With the benefit of hindsight we are able to see that, at the roots of the tragedy of these fifth and sixth-century schisms, lay the failure on all sides to make the necessary effort of imagination: each party saw its opponent's position only in the light of its own understanding of the technical terminology and only in the light of its own fears and preoccupations. A clear example of such misunderstanding is provided by the two sides of the so-called Theopaschite controversy.

(3) The concentration of attention on a restricted area of Christological terminology needs to be avoided. Thus, in the case of the Church of the East, it would be unfair to find fault with its favoured imagery of 'the temple' or 'the clothing', taken in isolation; it so happened that, for various reasons, this imagery (which had perfectly respectable Biblical origins) came to be dropped in the sixth century by virtually everyone living within the Roman Empire, and was thus preserved and developed only by the Church of the East, beyond the borders. Furthermore we should remember, not only that this imagery is archaic, but also that its advocates themselves insist that no one image should be taken in isolation: each image needs to be used in conjunction with a variety of others as well, seeing that no single image can provide an adequate analogy to the nature of the union of the two natures in Christ.[46]

40. It is very important to avoid the term ‚Monophysites' for this group.

41. These will have included Henana and Martyrius.

42. This was also Justinian's position at the conversations with the Syrian Orthodox in 532: see the text translated in my 'The conversations with the Syrian Orthodox under Justinian (532)', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 47 (1981), pp. 113–17.

43. E.g. Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios, 'The Christological consensus reached in Vienna', *Wort und Wahrheit*, Suppl. 3 (1976), pp. 21–2. Compare also note 45.

44. See, for example, A. Grillmeier in *Wort und Wahrheit*, Suppl. 2 (1974), pp. 28–40.

45. Thus on Severus' understanding of what φύσις meant, the Chalcedonian definition would have seemed objectionable to Chalcedonians themselves.

46. Babai draws attention to this in his *Liber de Unione* (ed. Vaschalde), pp. 233, 249–50. At the other end of the theolo-

Any atomistic approach, then, which concentrates on individual formulae, images or analogies, will inevitably lead to a static and unsatisfactory perception of a particular Christological tradition, such as that of the Church of the East. What is needed, rather, is an approach which seeks to understand that tradition against the backdrop of its theology and anthropology as a whole (especially its understanding of the nature of the Fall), for only then will the full dynamic of the tradition become apparent.

*Translations.*[47]

(a) *Synod of* 410.

(It was pointed out above (I.a.1) that we have two texts claiming to be the declaration of faith made at this synod, of which the West Syrian recension has recently been shown to be the original, while the text preserved in the East Syrian Synodicon must date at the earliest from the sixth century. Both forms of text are translated here; in the West Syrian recension verbal agreements with the East Syrian (which represents the 'pure' Nicene symbol) are italicized).

(1) *West Syrian recension.*[48]

*We believe in one God, Father,* who in his Son, made *heaven and earth;* and in him were established the worlds above and below; and in him he effected the resurrection and renovation for all creation.

And in his *Son,* the *Only-Begotten who was born* from him, *that is, from the essence (ituta) of* his *Father, God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God; he was born and was not made; who is of the same* nature *(bar kyaneh)*[49] *as his Father; who, for the sake of us human beings* who were created through him, *and for the sake of our salvation, descended* and put on a body and became man, *and suffered and rose* on the third *day, and ascended to heaven* and took his seat at the right hand of his Father; *and he is coming* in order to *judge* the *dead* and the *living.*

*And* we confess the living and *holy Spirit*,,[50] the living Paraclete who (is) from the Father and the Son;[51];

And in one Trinity and in one Essence *(ituta)* and in one will *(sebyana).*

(2) *East Syrian recension.*[52]

We believe in one God, Father Almighty, maker of heaven and of earth, and of all that is seen and that is not seen.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, who was born from the Father, the Only-Begotten, that is, from the Essence (*ituta*) of the Father; God from God and Light from Light, true God from true God, who was born and was not made, of the same essence *(bar ituta)* as the Father, through whom everything came into being that is in heaven and on earth; who for the sake of us human beings and for the sake of our salvation came down from heaven and was embodied and inhominated *(etgasham w-etbarnash);* and he suffered and rose after three days, and ascended to heaven; and he is coming to judge the living and the dead.

And in the Holy Spirit.

Those who say that there is (a time) when he was not, and that before he was born he was not, or that he came into being from nothing; or who say that he is from (another) *qnoma* or from another essence; or who consider that the Son of God is subject to change and alteration *(meshtahlpana w-meshtagnyana):* such people the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

(b) *Synod of* 486[53]

Let the faith of us all be in the single confession of the one divine nature which exists in the three complete *qnome* of the single true and eternal Trinity of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, (a confession) by which paganism is vanquished and Judaism judged.

(p. 55) Further, let our faith in the dispensation of Christ be in the confession of the two natures, of the divinity and of the humanity, while none of us shall dare to introduce mixture, mingling or confusion (*muzzaga aw hultana aw bulbala)* into the differences (*shuhlape*) of these two natures; rather, while the divinity remains preserved in what belongs to it, and the humanity in what belongs to it, it is to a single Lordship and to a single (object of) worship that we gather together (*mkannshinan*) the exemplars *(parshagne)*[54] of these two natures, because of the

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gical spectrum Philoxenus makes the same point in *Tractatus Tres de Trinitate et Incarnatione* (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 9, pp. 152–5).

47. The translations are deliberately on the literal side; brackets denote words added by myself for the sake of the sense, or occasionally, where it has been thought helpful, the corresponding Syriac term. Annotation is kept to a minimum and only direct biblical quotations are noted; each of the passages deserves a full commentary, but that would be out of place here. Much shorter extracts from these synods can also be found translated in W.A. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church,* chapter 13.

48. Translated from Vööbus' edition (see note 5); the text is reproduced by de Halleux (title in note 5), with a few modifications (notably the addition of 'Almighty' in the first clause, on the basis of Paris syr. 62).

49. The standard early translation of ὁμοούσιος: see above II.c.

50. Syriac *ruha...qaddisha;* the East Syrian recension here retains the older terminology, *ruha d-qudsha.*

51. Note the absence of 'proceeds', which gives a different nuance; de Halleux (title in note 5) offers some pertinent observations on the wording here, pp. 172–3.

52. Translated from Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale* (henceforth *SO*), pp. $22_{24}$–$23_4$.

53. Translated from *SO*, pp. $54_{29}$–$55_9$.

54. This is not a term used elsewhere in a Christological context it seems; in translations from Greek the word usually represents ἀντίγραφον.

perfect and inseparable conjunction *(nqiputa)*[55] that has occurred for the divinity with respect to the humanity.

And if someone considers, or teaches others, that suffering and change *(hashsha w-shuhlapa)*[56] have attached *(nqep)* to the divinity of our Lord, and (if) he does not preserve, with respect to the union *(hdayuta)* of the *prosopon* of our Saviour, a confession of perfect God and perfect Man, let such a person be anathema.

(c) *Synod of* 544 (Letter of Mar Aba)[57]

We believe in one eternal God who has no beginning or end; and there was never a time when he was not, but (rather) he was continually and is always. Neither has death or change in any way ever had authority over him, nor will it; nor has he been, nor will he be, (involved) in it; and he alone is not made and not created: the maker and creator of all existing things and all natures. He alone has never been in need of anything, nor will (ever) be in need: he who fills all our needs. And he it is who, by his indication *(remzeh)*, controls everything and guides everything, the provisioner of all. And he is the giver of the two testaments, of the Old and of the New. And there is no other God apart from him; he is the first and he is the last. He is omniscient and the giver of wisdom. And it was he who was preached to the ancients through the prophets in singleness of nature *(ba-hdanayut kyana)* 'in all sorts of ways and in all sorts of forms, and in the latter days he spoke with us in his Son whom he appointed as heir of everything' (Hebr 1: 1–2) who is Christ our Lord, he who was born in the flesh from the holy Virgin Mary without intercourse with a man, by the power of the Holy Spirit, as was told her by the angel Gabriel: 'The Holy Spirit will come and the Power of the Most High will overshadow you' (Luke 1:35).[58] And this Son, Christ, was in the world for thirty years, in that he was making repayment on behalf of the debts of nature and of Adam, the head of our race, and of the law of Moses, as Scripture said: 'He was under the law', and 'he bought us (back) from the curse of the law by his perfect righteousness' (Gal. 4:4 and 3:13). At the age of thirty he approached and was baptized by the blessed John, and he sanctified our baptism by his baptism. And after he had been baptized and had contended with Satan and overcome him in the fast of forty days in the wilderness, he chose the holy apostles and performed signs and wonders.

And when he had fulfilled on earth the work of him who had sent him, that is, his teaching, which he confirmed by various mighty deeds that he performed, and (after) he had handed over the mystery of his Body and his Blood to his disciples, then he sealed his dispensation by his passion and his death on the Cross. And on the third day he overpowered Death by the might of his divinity, and he rose after three days as he had told the reprobate Jews: 'Undo[59] this temple, and after three days I will raise it up', speaking of the temple of his body, as the Evangelist explained (John 2:19, 21). This (temple) which the Jews had undone, he rebuilt with immortal and immutable life.

And after he had arisen from the dead he appeared to his disciples and confirmed them concerning his resurrection, saying 'Touch me and recognize that a spirit does not have flesh (p. 542) and bones, such as you observe that I have (Luke 24: 39). And after forty days he ascended to heaven while there were looking on (both) his disciples and those to whom it had been said by the angels 'This Jesus whom you have seen ascend to heaven' (Acts 1:11), (as if) to say that, as he ascended in his true body, that is, in his perfect humanity, 'thus is he going to come' at the end of the world in the glory of his angels in order to raise the dead and to judge the whole creation, as it is written 'God is going to judge all the earth in righteousness at the hands of a man whom he has separated out; and he has caused everyone to turn to faith in him, in that he has raised him from the dead' (Acts 17: 31).

And at the end of the days of Pentecost he sent upon his disciples the Holy Spirit from heaven in the likeness of tongues of fire, just as he had told them: 'Do not leave Jerusalem until you have put on might from on high' (Luke 24:49). And when the grace of the Holy Spirit had rested upon the holy apostles, it taught them all truth, as our Lord had told them: 'When the Spirit, the Paraclete, comes upon you, he will teach you all truth' (John 16:13). And what truth did the Holy Spirit teach his disciples, if not concerning the holy Trinity, which was hidden from all created things, and had been spoken of in veiled terms *(remzana'it)* in the Old Testament, but at the baptism of our Lord was revealed as though in image in the Son who was recognised in him who was being baptized, and (in) the Father who was testifying concerning him, and in the Holy Spirit who rested upon him like a dove: this is the mystery of the Trinity to which he referred when speaking to the apostles

55. Corresponds to συνάφεια, another once respectable term which most Greek writers dropped after the 430s.

56. Note the combination; among East Syrian writers 'suffering' has something of the Stoic connotations of πάθος, hence their abhorrence of Theopaschite language.

57. Translated from *SO*, pp. $541_8$–$543_1$.

58. Here, as is the norm in East Syrian exegetical tradition, the 'Power of the Most High' is associated with the Holy Spirit; this contrasts with West Syrian exegetical tradition which identifies the 'Power' as the Logos.

59. The word used here and elsewhere in these texts *(shraw)* is not that of the Peshitta or Old Syriac Gospels, but is evidently derived from the Syriac versions of Theodore's writings where *shraw* occurs (e.g. *Commentary on the Creed*, ed. Mingana in Woodbrooke Studies V, p. 200).

after his resurrection: 'Go, instruct and baptize in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit' (Matt. 28:19). These things came to be known with exactitude by the gift of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples; for they learnt from the Holy Spirit that Christ is not an ordinary man, nor is he God naked of the garment of humanity[60] in which he had been revealed, but(that) he is Christ God and Man, that is, the humanity which has been anointed with the divinity which anointed it, as it is said: 'For this reason God your God has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your companions' (Ps. 44 (45):8). This indicates concerning his humanity.[61] And again: 'In the beginning was the Word' (John 1:1). This indicates his divinity, which exists eternally for ever, which created all that is visible and all that is invisible.

And (the divinity) exists in three *qnomin*, without beginning, without change, without suffering and without division, (the *qnome)* being the Father Son and Spirit, as our Lord said; for in him was the eternal Trinity made known, as he indicated concerning himself: 'Undo this temple' (John 2:19), that is, the humanity which he had put on; and again 'My Father who dwells in me performs these works' (John 14:10); and again, concerning the Holy Spirit who (was) in him, saying 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, for this reason he has anointed me' (Luke 14:18).

Thus from the name of Christ we have learnt concerning the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit: and from this same (name) we have understood concerning his humanity. In it is (p. 543) the seal of the entire confession of Christianity.

(There follow various anathemas, including one aimed at the Theopashites).

(d) *Synod of* 554[62]

Before everything else we preserve the upright confession of two natures in Christ, that is, his divinity and his humanity. And we preserve (p. 98) the characteristics *(dilayata)* of the natures, by which (sc. the characteristics) we get rid of confusion and disturbance *(bulbala w-duwwada)*, alteration and change *(w-shugnaya w-shuhlapa)*.

We also preserve the number of the *qnome* of the Trinity as threefold, and we confess the single true and ineffable union *(hdayuta)* in the single true Son of the one God, the Father of truth.

In the case of anyone who considers or speaks of two Christs, or two Sons, or who for one reason or another, and by some device or other, arouses (thought of) a quaternity, such a person have we anathematized and we do anathematize him, considering him to be a limb rejected by the entire body of Christianity.

(e) *Synod of* 576[63]

We have offered the worship of acknowledgement and thanksgiving to God, Lord of all dominions, whose nature is high and exalted, and glorified above all words of praise, the eternal Being *(itya)* who alone truly exists eternally, ineffably, hidden, unattainable, uncontained, without beginning and without end, having authority over all, maker of all created things, removed from all changes and alteration, distanced from all sufferings and stirrings *(hashsin w-zaw'in)*, in whom all exists while he exists outside everything and inside everything in the glory of his majesty; and with the indication *(remza)* of his authority and with the might of his power he controls and governs, provides for and performs everything; the giver of the Old and the fulfiller of the New (Testament); through his holy prophets he taught former (generations) concerning the singleness of his nature *(hdanayut kyaneh)*, and by various indications he manifests concerning the glorious *qnome* of his threefold being *(tlitayuteh*, Trinity).

While in latter days, according to the word of the universal apostle Paul (Hebr. 1:2) the elect, he was revealed to us and spoke with us in his Son Christ our Lord; in him the glorious *qnome* of his Father and of himself and of the Holy Spirit became known in a new way, when he taught and commanded his holy apostles, his true preachers, 'God, instruct all peoples, and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. (Matt. 28:19); and when they have been reborn from baptism, give them sustenance appropriate to their requirement– the teaching and commandments and admonitions that I gave you, that they should keep them and meditate on them, for from them they are able to enter and enjoy the kingdom of heaven; and behold I am with you all the days until the end of the world (Matt. 28:20), amen'.

It is he who lowered himself of his own will for the salvation of our nature that had grown old and worn out through acts of sin; and he took for himself a perfect temple for the dwelling of his divinity, in an inseparable way, from Mary the holy virgin; and he was conceived and born from her by the power of the Most High: Christ who is in the flesh, who is recogni-

60. This is again archaic imagery (e.g. Ephrem *Hymns on Faith* 19:2) which Greek writers later tended to drop; it derives from a Christological interpretation of Genesis 49:11. (The phrase 'He put on the body' is the standard metaphor for the Incarnation in early Syriac tradition: see my 'Clothing metaphors as a means of theological expression in Syriac tradition', in ed. M. Schmidt, *Typus, Symbol Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter*, Regensburg 1982), pp. 11–40).

61. In East Syrian tradition the 'anointing' of the humanity of Christ is understood as having taken place already at his very conception: for a specific statement to this effect see Babai, *Liber de Unione* (ed. Vaschalde), pp. 278–9.

62. Translated from *SO*, pp. $97_{21}$–$98_{7}$.

63. Translated from *SO*, pp. $113_{7}$–$114_{8}$. There are a number of reminiscences of Mar Aba's letter (III.c).

zed and confessed (as being) in two natures, God and Man, one Son. In him the oldness of our nature was renewed, and in the robe of his humanity the debt of our race was repaid, in his drawing close (*metqarrbanuteh*) to suffering and the death of the cross. And by the power of his divinity he rose from the dead after three days, as he had told the Jews: 'Undo this temple and after three days I will raise it' (John 2:19), which (p. 114) the evangelist interpreted, saying 'Now he spoke of the temple of his body' (John 2:21). And in his resurrection he shattered the bars of death and broke down the walls of Sheol; he rendered ineffective the strength of sin and brought low the pride of Satan who had been roaring fiercely for the destruction of our nature. And he gave hope and a pledge of resurrection from the dead to all the world through his own resurrection and his going around with his disciples up to the time of his ascension...

(f) *Synod of* 585.

(1) Profession of faith at the synod:[64]

'We believe in one God, Father Almighty, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and in one Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father'. Even though the serial reading of the words places the names of the Holy Trinity at a distance (from each other), owing to the attachment (in each case) of those terms which particularly and properly attach to them, yet the sense and the meaning of this composition of the Fathers requires such an attachment in order to indicate that the Trinity is above number, so that it might be realized that the words 'one...one...one' point to the single nature of the (divine) essence; as it is said 'The Lord your God is one' (Deut. 6:4). The words 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit' indicate the difference of the *qnome* of the essence, following the tradition of the Gospel of Christ our Saviour: 'Go forth, convert all peoples and baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit' (Matt. 28: 19).

By adding 'God' and 'Lord' and 'Spirit' they also attached common terms to the individual names, 'Father', 'Son,' 'Holy Spirit'. The fathers clearly showed that these were common terms, each one of which, that is, (all) three, extend to the three *qnome*, for it is clear and without dispute that the Father is God and Lord and Spirit, and the Son is Lord and God and Spirit, and the Holy Spirit is Spirit and Lord and God.

Our Fathers did well to utter the confession of the Trinity briefly; by it they taught wisely and fully the equality of nature and the equality of essence and the difference of the *qnome* and the singleness (*hdanayut*) of the Godhead. They proclaimed equality of essence and equality of nature, then, as though to stop the crazy mouth of Arius who wickedly devised to split up the equality of essence of the Trinity. And our Fathers proclaimed the difference of the *qnome* of the Trinity to nullify the supposition of the obstinate Jews who suppose that God is one *qnoma*. As for the terms which are extended and are (held) in common, while being attached to the individual names that are not extended, our Fathers proclaimed 'one Godhead', 'one Lordship', 'one spiritual Being' as though to nullify and refute the doctrine of the pagans (p.134) who insanely acknowledge various godheads and lordships.

Having thus overthrown the wickedness of Arius by the proclamation of the equality of essence, and silenced the childishness of the Jews with the difference of the *qnome*, and muzzled the error of paganism too by the singleness of Lordship, then they went on to things which follow on from their confession, attaching 'Almighty' to the words 'one God', and saying 'maker of all that is visible and that is invisible', in that he is the maker and establisher and arranger of all in all.

Likewise they attached to the words 'one Lord' the (further) words 'Jesus Christ', and they showed that the word 'one' is common to the *qnome* of the Trinity, as hinted at above.

The fact that they did not add 'and in one Lord the Son', corresponding to the words 'one God the Father', but instead altered the order of their words and said 'in one Lord, Jesus Christ', will not escape the notice of right believers, for this abundandly points to the humanity of God the Word and it wisely proclaims the single union (*hdayuta*) of the divinity and the humanity of Christ, even though the Eutychians speak insanely, defrauding the humanity of the Son of God: for the name 'Christ' is an indicator of his Godhead from the Father and of his humanity from (his) mother indisputably, even though Eutyches and those in error with him may prattle away, defrauding and denying the taking of our humanity, or speaking of the suppression of the humanity of Christ. For the Fathers add, following on (this), 'the Only-Begotten and the First-Born of all created things', that is, Only-Begotten without brothers, with regard to the divinity, and Firstborn of many brothers, that is, Firstborn of all created things, as it is written (Col. 1:15).

And then they add 'Through whom the worlds were established and everything was created', showing that he is cause and maker of all, together with his Father. And again they show, concerning his (divine) essence, that 'he was born from his Father before all worlds, and he was not made: Light from Light, true God from true God', Jesus Christ in his divinity. Again they add, in refutation of Arius, putting 'the Word who is homoousios', that is, of the same nature and of the same essence (*bar kyaneh*

64. Translated from *SO*, pp. $133_7$–$136_{20}$. The text is in the form of a running commentary on the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed; there seem to be some reminiscences of Theodore's commentary (ed. Mingana in Woodbrooke Studies 5), and the last paragraph reflects the last paragraph of III.a.2 above.

*w-bar ituteh)* 'as the Father, through whom everything came into being', Jesus Christ in his divinity.

Thus, contesting with the invincible armour of true doctrine that they wore against the fantasies and imaginings of the false teachings of the Simonians and the Manichaeans, they say 'He who for the sake of us human beings and for the sake of our salvation came down from heaven, and was embodied *(etgashsham)* of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Virgin and became man' –Jesus Christ in the unification of his natures *(ba-mhayydut kyanaw)* and in his manifestation in the flesh and in his embodiment. The unification of the natures, of the divinity and of the humanity, is an indication that he came down and was embodied and became man: (p. 135) it informs, without dispute, concerning the taking of our humanity, thus removing from all sides the empty fancies of the Simonians and Mani who deny the fleshly state *(besranuteh)* and the embodiment and manifestation of God the Word who took our humanity and resided *('mar)* in it, as (John) said: 'The word became[65] flesh and dwelt among us' (John 1:14) – in order that the magnitude of the grace of him who descended and resided in us might be all the more manifested. For the wicked Arius, by applying both the exalted and the lowly things to the nature of the Word's divinity, not knowing how to allocate them singly and individually as truth demands,[66] stumbled and fell on this point, going astray himself and leading (others) astray, (as a result of which) he was anathematized and driven out.

The Fathers add further and complete the wording about the dispensation: after the teaching on the divine nature of the Only-Begotten, and after the teaching on the unification of the natures of Christ– that is, of his unchanged and undying divinity and of his humanity that is not abused or absorbed–they attach teaching concerning his humanity. And, just as they showed clearly above concerning his divinity, (so) they will show openly concerning his humanity which was taken for our sakes and for our salvation, and for the renovation[67] of all created things, saying 'And he was crucified for us in the days of Pontius Pilate, and he suffered and died and was buried and rose after three days as the holy Scriptures say'. Jesus Christ in his humanity, or, to utter the truth, in his fleshly state *(besranuteh)* accepted the death of the cross for our sakes.

It is obvious to all who are orthodox in their confession that just as he did not suffer or die according to the nature of his divinity, neither did his soul receive the sentence *(apophasis)* of death, in that the nature of the soul is not constituted so that it is subject to the limit of death, (as) our Lord himself testifies: 'Do not fear those who kill the body; they are unable to kill the soul' (Matt. 10:28). Also testifying to this is the fact that after our Lord had been crucified and his holy body had died and been buried, in his soul he went to Paradise.

The blessed Fathers then go on: 'And he ascended to heaven and sat at the right hand of his Father' –Jesus Christ in his humanity: for it was in his humanity that he received exaltation and the seat at the right hand, and not in his divinity, for he had been eternally and without beginning with his Father.

'And he will come in glory to judge the living and the dead; whose kingdom has no end' –Jesus Christ in his divinity and in his humanity.

After they had spoken against the ejected bands of the Anomoeans, they turned themselves to the wickedness of Macedonians who had blasphened against the Holy Spirit, and they said 'And in one Holy Spirit, Lord, life-giving, who proceeds from the Father and is worshipped with the Father and the Son; who spoke in the prophets and apostles'. Thus by their divine teaching the Fathers preached magnificently concerning (p.136) the *qnoma* of the Holy Spirit, showing him to be of the same essence and of the same nature as the Father and the Son. As it is said, 'He searches out everything, even the depths of God' (I Cor. 2:10).

This is the faith without corruption; this is its sense, put briefly, following the sequence of its phrases. By it the person *(prosopon)* of Christ and the natures of his divinity and his humanity are fully proclaimed, in opposition to those who confess his divinity but deny his humanity, and in opposition to those who confess his humanity but deny his divinity, and in opposition to those who deny his divinity and confess that he is an ordinary man, or who liken him to one of the just.

Because our blessed Fathers cause the baptized to inherit the wealth of their faith, they further add: 'And in one holy, catholic and apostolic Church, and in one baptism for the forgiveness of sins; and in the resurrection of the dead and in the new life, and in the world to come'.

After having thus richly and fully proclaimed the truth they turned from this to the anathema on Arius and those who had gone astray with him–on those who say 'There is a time when he was not' and 'Before he was begotten he was not', or 'He came into being out of nothing', or who say that he is from (another) *qnoma* or another essence, or who consider the Son of God to be subject to change and alteration: (all) these the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes–heretics who in their stubborness have dared to attribute to the nature and *qnoma* of the

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65. The Syriac can just as well mean 'was'.

66. It is worth noting that part of the Church of the East's abhorrence of Theopaschite language stems from this anti-Arian stance.

67. This interestingly reflects the wording of the West Syrian recension of the profession of faith of 410, confirming de Halleux's view that this recension preserves the original text; cp also Isho'yahb I's profession of faith, III.f.2 below.

divinity and (divine) essence of the Word the characteristics *(dilayata)* and sufferings of the nature of Christ's humanity, things which sometimes, because of the perfect union that took place for the humanity of Christ with his divinity, are allocated to God by economy, but not by nature.

(2) Confession of faith composed by Isho'yahb I[68]

We believe in one eternal God, uncontained, without beginning and without end;[69] a living spirit, hidden, unattainable, whose nature power and authority have no limit or boundary; who knows all prior to all, giver of wisdom, who alone is wise, maker and lord of all created things, visible and invisible, by the indication *(remza)* of whose will the worlds above and below were established and set up; the beneficent governor and upright judge, the wise provisioner of this world and the world to come, giver of all graces, who never wearies or proves lacking, who is not changed or subject to blame, the Being *(itya)* without cause, the cause of all, from whom is everything, because of whom is everything, belonging to whom is everthing, (directed) towards whom is everything; the one timeless Godhead, three *qnome* without any beginning which are perfect in everything and do not lack in anything; the one God who is known, confessed and worshipped in the three *qnome*, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, who are distinct and united in an ineffable wonder, equal, not confused, conjoined *(nqipin)*, not intermingled, alike but different: alike in their equality of nature, but distinct in the distinction of *qnome;* one Father, beside whom there is no other Father, who begat eternally without himself being born, cause that has no cause, (p. 194) maker of everything, from whom everthing was established; one Son, beside whom there is no other Son, who was born eternally, but did not beget, the causer *('elltana)* from the Cause *('ellta)*, the cause of everything with the Father, without whom there was not even a single thing that came into being; one Holy Spirit, beside whom there is no other Spirit, who proceeds, who did not beget and was not born, proceeding from the Father eternally, the causer *('elltana)* from the Cause, the cause of everything along with the Father and the Son, who 'searches out everything, even the depths of God' (1 Cor. 2:10).

One nature which is not reduplicated, three *qnome* who do not become four; (whose) fullness *(shumlaya)* is one-fold *(hdana'it)* and indication *(shudda'a)* is threefold *(tlita'it);* one nature eternally, in which and with which are also the *qnome* eternally; and with it the Son is born eternally, and with it the Spirit proceeds eternally; at once nature, at once *qnome*, at once Father, at once Son, at once Holy Spirit, one God and not three Gods–let the crazy Marcion wail; three *qnome* and not one *qnoma*-let the errant Sabellius wail, and along with him Paul of Samosata who denied the Essence *(ituta)* of the Word before the ages...

This is the Christianity that the Holy Spirit taught through the apostles and through the prophets concerning the revelation of God the Word and concerning his dispensation in the body, and concerning his embodiment for our sakes and for the sake of our salvation, and for the renovation and restoration of all created things.

Out of his great love with which he loved us he departed from the bosom of his Father voluntarily and without being changed, and he came to the world, while being in the world, as it is written (John 1:10); the hidden one who was revealed in the flesh: 'The Word became flesh and dwelt among us' (John 1:10). He became, but was not changed–he who is 'the form of God emptied himself and took the form of a servant' (Phil. 2.7);[70] 'he took', but did not add (to himself), for both in his 'becoming' and in his 'taking' his Essence remained without change or addition. Jesus Christ, Son of God, God the Word, Light from Light. He came down and was embodied and became man, by dispensation, above alteration and change, our Lord God, Jesus Christ. He who was born from the Father before all worlds in his divinity was born in the flesh from Mary the ever-Virgin in latter times, one and the same (Person), but not in the same (way) (p. 195). 'The Word became flesh'–in an indivisible union *(hdayuta)*-'and dwelt among us'. O profundity of the riches of faith! 'He became', but was not changed: let the Eutychians and Apollinarians wail; 'he took', but did not add (anything): let the Photinians and Paulinians wail.

Again I say, let the abusers and schimatics listen, and let them be united to the Church; let them not be like old rags cut off from the harmony of concord; let them not rend the perfect garment of faith and baptism, woven with divine craftsmanship by the operation of the Spirit, the Lord. The soldiers who crucified him did not dare, and were not able, to rend the garment of Christ (John 19:23–4[71]); so you (singular) should not tear the perfect garment of the harmony of the apostolic Church; rather, listen to the truth of the faith and remain inside the ecclesiastical sheepfolds, together with all the Church redeemed by the blood of the great Shepherd of the flock, Jesus Christ the Son of God, God over all, born in his divinity from the Father, without a mother, eternally;

68. Translated from *SO*, pp. $193_{16}$–$194_{13}$, $194_{21}$–$195_{34}$. There are some reminiscences of Mar Aba's letter (III.c) as well as of the profession of faith of 585 (III.f.l).

69. I omit here a phrase which is badly corrupted.

70. Isho'yahb in fact uses two different Syriac words corresponding to the repeated μορφή in Greek (in this he follows the Peshitta New Testament).

71. For the history of this exegesis of the passage see M. Aubineau, 'Dossier patristique sur Jean 19:23–4', *La Bible et les Pères* (Strasbourg 1971) pp. 9–50.

one and the same, but not in the same (way), he was born in his humanity from (his) mother, without a father, in latter times; and he suffered in the flesh and was crucified and died and was buried, in the days of Pontius Pilate; and he arose from the dead after three days.

He suffered in the flesh, Christ the Son of God, one and the same; but in the nature of his divinity Christ the Son of God is above sufferings: impassible and passible, Jesus Christ, creator of the worlds and recipient of sufferings, who for our sakes became poor, while being rich (2 Cor. 8:9). God the Word receives the abuse of sufferings in the temple of his body according to the dispensation in the supreme inseparable union, while in the nature of his divinity he does not suffer, as our Saviour himself said: 'Undo this temple and after three days I will raise it' (John 2:19). And because the Jews in their stubbornness imagined that he was speaking about the temple (made) of stones, the evangelist interprets the Saviour's utterance, saying 'He spoke concerning the temple of his body' (John 2:21). Our Lord himself indicates the sublimity[72] of the prosopic union *(hdayuta parsopayta)* unitedly and unconfusedly, when he says: 'No one has gone up to heaven except he who came down from heaven' (John 3: 13): the Son of Man is he who came down from heaven, the Son of Man is the one who is in heaven. Christ, who came down without any change in his divinity from heaven, being unembodied and in the limitlessness of his divinity in heaven, in his humanity is raised up to heaven, while not destroying his visible nature, following the angelic indication: 'This Jesus who has gone up from you to heaven, shall come in like fashion as you have seen him ascend to heaven' (Acts 1:11). Christ is Only-Begotten *(ihidaya)* and united *(mhayyda)*: Only-Begotten with respect to the Father, and united and unseparated (in the union), for his divinity does not die or get destroyed or changed, while his humanity is not stolen away or hidden or absorbed...

(g) *Synod of* 596[73]

(We profess the Nicene faith) which accurately and luminously teaches us the confession of the glorious nature of the holy Trinity, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; which reveals and manifests to us the glorious mysteries of the dispesation of God the Word which he perfected and fulfilled at the end of times in the nature of our humanity.

By this faith paganism, which confesses a plurality of gods, is vanquished, and Judaism, which does not confess the Trinity of *qnome*, is judged, and all (kinds) of heresy, which deny the divinity or humanity of our saviour Jesus Christ, are rebuked and condemned. We accept it in the precise sense of our holy Fathers, expounded by the glorious among the orthodox, the blessed Theodore of Antioch, bishop of the town of Mopsuestia, the Exegete of the divine Scriptures.[74] With it all the orthodox everywhere have agreed and do agree, and it has also been held by all our holy Fathers who governed this apostolic and patriarchal see of our government.

We anathematize and alienate from our company anyone who denies the nature of the divinity or the nature of the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ; or anyone who (p. 198) introduces into the union of the Son of God any mixture, mingling, or composition or confusion; or anyone who (introduces) suffering or any of the base things of humanity in any way into the glorious nature of his divinity; or anyone who considers the dominical temple of God the Word to be ordinary man –(that temple) which, in an inexplicable mystery and in a union that cannot be understood, he united to himself from the womb of the holy virgin in a union which is for ever, indissoluble and inseparable.

We also abhor anyone who introduces a quaternity into the holy Trinity; or anyone who calls the one Christ Son of God two Sons or two Christs; or anyone who does not say that it was God the Word himself who perfected the passion for (*lit.* of) our salvation in the body of his humanity, being in it and with it and by it in the womb and on the cross and in the passion, and for ever, inseparably, while the glorious nature of his divinity did not share in any of the sufferings.

But we believe firmly, in accordance with the words and sense of the Scriptures and the traditions of our holy Fathers, in one Lord Jesus Christ, Only-Begotten Son of God, who was born before the foundations of the world in his divinity spiritually without a mother, and at the end of times was born of the holy virgin in the flesh *(besrana'it)* without intercourse of a man, by the power of the Holy Spirit. In his divinity that is from everlasting and in his humanity that is from Mary he is the one true Son of God, who, in the nature of his humanity, received for our sakes suffering and death. And by the power of his divinity he raised up his body without corruption after three days, and he promised resurrection from the dead and ascension to heaven, and a new world, indissoluble and lasting for ever.

With this true and apostolic faith do we agree, and both we and the flocks entrusted to us preserve it. And if anyone dares to tear up, or does not accept, this deposition of the true faith, we will make him an alien to the entire company of Christians, ejected and driven out, until he accepts correction and agrees to this true faith of the Church.

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72. Reading *m'lywt'* for *m'lnwt'* ‚entry'.

73. Translated from *SO*, pp. $197_{10}$–$198_{24}$. There are some reminiscences of III. b. and f.l. above.

74. The reference will be to the text published by Mingana (see note 64).

(h) *Synod of* 605.[75]

One and the same (sc. with the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople) is our opinion and faith in the holy Trinity and the mysteries of the dispensation of our Lord in the body. (It is the faith) which our Fathers have taught us and shown to us; it consists for us in the confession of the one divine nature, the eternal Being, Creator of all created things, cause of all, having no beginning and possessing no end, who exists continually without ending, who is above the limit and boundary of suffering, change and alteration of any sort. Never has anything had, nor will it ever have, authority over him: he controls all and governs all; for he is the first and the last, who indicated concerning our renovation through the prophets in the Old (Testament), and revealed it through the apostles in the New, by means of his beloved Son, whom he had made heir of everything and in whom he had made known concerning the Trinity of his *qnome*, which are without beginning and without change, a single Godhead, unattainable, a single eternal nature who is known in three *qnome*, of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

Who, through the Firstfruits from us (1 Cor. 15:23), effected the liberation and renovation of our race, for 'the form of God took the form of a servant', according to the apostolic utterance (Phil. 2:7), and in him he perfected and completed his exalted dispensation for the sake of our salvation: the form of God in the form (p. 201) of a servant, the single Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom everything came into being, perfect God and perfect Man: perfect God in the nature of his divinity, and perfect Man in the nature of his humanity, two natures, of divinity and of humanity, the divinity being preserved in what belongs to it, and the humanity in what belongs to it; and they are united in a true union (*hdayuta*) of the one person (*prosopon*) of the Son, Christ. And the divinity perfected the humanity in the suffering, as it is written, while suffering change and alteration of any sort did not enter into the divinity.

This faith we have agreed to and have held. All the holy fathers have agreed to it, and we too hold it in the pure concurrence of our mind, concurring with it and anathematizing all who slip away from it in any way.

(i) *Assembly of bishops in* 612.[76]

(1) We believe in one divine nature which exists eternally, without beginning, living and life-giving, mighty, creating all powers, wise, providing all wisdom, simple spirit, unlimited, incomprehensible, uncomposed and without parts, unembodied, invisible, unchangeable, impassible, immortal; neither in itself *(b-yateh)*, nor in another, nor with another, is it possible that any suffering or change should enter into it; rather, it is perfect in its essence *(ituteh)* and in all that belongs to it; and it cannot receive addition or subtraction, for it alone is Being *(itya)* and God over all, who is known and confessed in three holy *qnome*, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, a nature with three *qnome* essentially *(tlitay qnome itya'it)*, *qnome* with a single eternal nature *(hdanay kyana mtomaya)*, between whom there is no distinction apart from the distinct characteristics *(dilayata)* of their *qnome*, (namely) Fatherhood and Sonhood and Procession.

For the rest, everything that is confessed of the (divine) nature in common is likewise confessed of, and is the case with, each of the *qnome* individually, without subtraction. And in that the Father is not passible and unchangeable, (so) too the Son and the Spirit are confessed as being without suffering and without change, along with him and like him. And just as the Father is believed (to be) unlimited and without parts, so too the Son and the Spirit are confessed (as being) without limit and without composition.

Three *qnome*, perfect in everything, in a single Godhead, in a single Power that is not weakened ever, a single knowledge which is not surpassed, a single will which is not deflected, a single authority which is not dissolved: for he creates the world in his grace and guides it with the indication *(remza)* of his will.

Having at the beginning instructed the human race with knowledge of his divinity in a small way, with respect to the measure of the greatness of knowledge of him, and having during the intermediary time (p. 565) been revealed in different visions and various forms to the saints, and having educated and given wisdom to human beings for the increase of their knowledge, by means of various laws; and then, at the end of times, it having pleased his unattainable wisdom that he reveal and make known to rational beings the wonderful mysteries of his glorious Trinity in order to magnify our nature and sow in it the true seed of resurrection from the dead and the new and incorruptible life that receives no alteration unto eternity, in accordance with his foreknowledge and will that is from eternity; therefore, for the sake of us human beings and for the sake of our salvation, the Son of God, the Word, without having departed from his Begetter, 'came to the world and was in the world, and the world came into being through him' (John 1:10).

And because created natures were unable to see the glorious nature of his divinity, he fashioned for himself in exalted manner, from the nature of the house of Adam, a holy temple from the blessed Virgin Mary, a complete man, who was completed without the intercourse with a man that follows the natural course (of events). And he put him on and united him to himself, and in him he was revealed to

75. Translated from *SO* pp. $209_{20}$–$210_{9}$. There are reminiscences of III.b and perhaps of III.c and f.2.

76. Translated from *SO*, pp. $564_{10}$–$567_{8}$. There are reminiscences of III.c,e and f. 1–2.

the world, in accordance with the utterance of the angel to the mother of our Saviour: 'The Holy Spirit shall come and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you; for this reason he who is going to be born from you is holy and shall be called the Son of God' (Luke 1: 35).

Concerning the wonderful conjunction (*neqpa*) and inseparable union (*hdayuta dla purshana*) that took place from the very beginning of its fashioning[77] for the human nature that was taken by God the Word, the 'taker', he taught us that from that point we should recognize as one person (prosopon) our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was born from before the worlds, without beginning, from the Father in the nature of his divinity, and who was born latterly of the holy virgin, the daughter of David, in the nature of his humanity; just as God had previously promised to the blessed David: 'From the fruits of your womb shall I cause to sit upon your throne' (Ps. 131(132): 11). And after the outcome of the events the blessed Paul expounded the promise, saying to the Jews concerning David: 'From the seed of this man God has raised up, just as he promised, Jesus the Saviour' (Acts 13:23). And again, he wrote to the Philippians as follows: 'Ponder this in yourselves, that even Jesus Christ, although he is the form of God, took the form of a servant' (Phil. 2:6-7). For who was the one whom he calls 'form of God' if not Christ in the nature of his divinity; and whom again does he name 'form of a servant', if not Christ in his humanity? With respect of the former he says 'he took,' and to the latter 'was taken'; (Thus) it is not possible to confuse the characteristics (*dilayathon*) of the natures; for it is impossible that 'he who took' should become 'who was taken', and that 'he who was taken' should become ,the taker'. (But) it is possible for God the Word to be revealed in the human being whom he put on, and for his human nature to become visible to creation in the mode (*teksa*) of his humanity and in the inseparable union (as) the single Son of God, just as we have learnt and hold. (p. 566) That the divinity should be changed into humanity, or that the humanity should be altered to the nature of the divinity, is impossible; for it is not the case that Being (*itya*) can fall under the compulsion of change or of suffering, for if the divinity is changed, it is no longer a revelation, but a destruction, of the divinity. And if, again, the humanity should depart from its nature, salvation no longer obtains, but a wiping out of the humanity.

For this reason we believe with our hearts and we confess with our lips a single Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, whose divinity is not hidden, and whose humanity was not stolen away, but who is perfect God and perfect Man. When we speak of Christ as perfect God, we are not referring to the Trinity, but to one of the *qnome* of the Trinity, God the Word. And when again we call Christ perfect Man, we are not referring to all mankind, but to that single *qnoma* who was specifically taken, for our salvation, into union with the Word.

For this reason our Lord Jesus Christ, who was born in his divinity from his Father eternally, in latter times for our sakes was born the holy Virgin in his humanity. While he remained, in his divinity, without need and without suffering and without change, in his humanity after his nativity he was also circumcised and grew up, according to the testimony of Luke the evangelist: 'Jesus was growing in stature and in wisdom and in grace before God and mankind' (Luke 2:52); and he kept the law and was baptized in the Jordan by John; and then he began to preach the new covenant, performing wonders by the power of his divinity- the cleansing of lepers, the opening of the eyes of the blind, the chasing out of demons, the resurrection of dead people; while in the nature of his humanity he thirsted, he hungered, and he ate and drank, grew tired and slept; and last of all, for our sakes he gave himself up and was crucified, and he suffered and died–without his divinity having departed from him or having suffered; and his body was wrapped in a shroud and was laid in a place of burial; then after three days he rose, by the power of his divinity, just as he had told the Jews beforehand: 'Undo this temple, and after three days I will raise it up' (John 2:19), which the evangelist interprets, saying, 'He was speaking of the temple of his body' (John 2:21).

And after he arose, he went about on earth with his disciples for forty days, showing them his hands and his feet, saying: 'Feel me and know that a spirit does not have flesh and bones such as you see that I have' (Luke 24:39) – so that both by word and by actions he might assure them of his resurrection, and so that, from the assurance of his resurrection, he might assure in us a hope of our resurrection.

And after forty days he ascended to heaven in the sight of his disciples as they looked on, and a cloud received him, and he was concealed from their eyes, according to the testimony of Scripture (Acts 1:9).

And we confess that he is going to come from heaven in the power and glory of his angels, and he will effect a resurrection for all the race of humanity, and a judgement and examining (p. 567) for all rational beings, just as the angels told the apostles themselves at the time of his ascension: 'This Jesus, who has been taken up from you to heaven, will in like wise come just as you saw him go up to heaven' (Acts 1:11). And by this they openly taught us this too: 'He was taken up to heaven'–and the *qnoma* of his humanity was not dissolved and was not changed, but is preserved in the inseparable union with his divinity in the exalted glory in which he is going to behold, at his final revelation from heaven, the shame of those who cruci-

77. Here, as perhaps elsewhere in this document, we can identify the influence of Babai who isuses this phrase on many occasions (e.g. *Liber de Unione*, pp. 133, 278–9).

iied him and the glory and pride of those who believe fn him.

To him, and to his Father and to the Holy Spirit, be praise and honour, for ever.

(2) From the reply to questions posed by theological opponents:[78]

It is clearly apparent that Christ is perfect God and perfect Man. Now he is said to be God, being perfect in the nature and *qnoma* of divinity, and he is then said to be perfect Man, being perfect in the nature and *qnoma* of humanity. And just as it is made known, from the opposition (expressed in) the words just used, that Christ is two natures and two *qnome*, so too, from the fact that they refer to the one Christ, Son of God, it is made known that Christ is one– not in a oneness *(hdanayut)* of nature and of *qnoma*, but in an the single *prosopon* of Sonhip and the single (source of) authority and single governance and single power and single lordship.

78. Translated from *SO*, p. $575_{11-18}$.

# THE OPEN TEXTURE OF 'FAITH' AND 'GODLINESS' IN THE CHURCH'S CONFESSION

By

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Under the rubric *We believe* the Catholic Church, meeting for the first time in Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325 A.D., made it clear that they were concerned to confess the fundamental truths of the Gospel calling for the commitment of faith, rather than laying down decrees *(dogmata)* requiring compliance either like Apostolic decisions (cf. *Acts*, 15:28f, 16:4) or like imperial edicts (cf. *Luke* 2:1; *Acts* 17:7). The Fathers certainly offered some indication of how the terms they used were to be understood by indicating the 'boundaries' *(oristhenta)* of their Confession of Faith which could not be transgressed without lapses into heretical perversity or serious contradiction.[1] They also drew up a number of 'canons' or rules to be observed in maintaining unity throughout the Church in its regular instruction and ministerial order.[2] However, these negative delimitations and formal rules were only appended to the credal statement and were not incorporated into the expression of the substance of the Faith itself. Thus care was taken to preserve the character of the Nicene Creed as an evangelical declaration of saving Faith which the Church found itself obliged to make under the constraint of divine Truth mediated to it through the Holy Scriptures.

The primacy which the Nicene Council accorded to faith in this way is of immense significance. It represents the radical shift in people's understanding in the Church as they were grasped by the enlightening reality of the living God and were freed from imprisonment in the darkness of their own prejudices, baseless conjectures and fantasies, that is, a shift away from a centre of thinking in the in-turned human reason *(epinoia)* alienated from its intelligible ground in God, to a centre in God's revealing and reconciling activity in the incarnation of his Mind and Word *(Logos)* in Jesus Christ within the temporal and spatial structures of our creaturely world. That was the reason for the unshakeable confidence of the Church's faith in God, for it was caught up in the unswerving faithfulness and reliability of the love of God, which had laid hold upon it through 'the word of the truth of the Gospel' (Col. 1:5), and was steadfastly undergirded and supported by God himself. This primacy accorded to faith in the Nicene Creed reflects the settled patristic view of faith, not as a subjectively grounded but as an objectively grounded persuasion of the mind, supported beyond itself by the objective reality or *hypostasis* of God's own Being as he has made himself known to us in Jesus Christ. As Hilary expressed it, 'in faith a person takes his stand on the ground of God's own Being' (*in substantia Dei*, evidently with reference to the *en hypostasei* of LXX Jeremiah 23:22; cf.23:18)[3]. That is exactly how the Greek Fathers regularly thought of scientific knowledge *(episteme)*, as the standing or establishment of the mind *(dianoia)* upon objective reality and as certain or assured understanding. In biblical justification for this view they frequently cited the Greek version of Isaiah 7:9: 'If you will not believe, you will not understand' or 'be established'[4]. They were thereby making the point that

1. Athanasius, *De decretis*–the traditional Latin title is a mistaken translation of *oristhenta*. Cf. *De synodis*, 5, and also Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 4, 1–7.

2. After the Council of Nicea the term 'canon' tended to be used mainly with reference to ecclesiastical enactments or disciplinary decisions. Cf. Athanasius, *Epistola Encyclica*, 1,6; *Apologia con. Arianos*, 25, 29, 31, 32; *Historia Arianorum*, 36, 51, where he refers to 'canons' derived from the Apostles.

3. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 1. 18.

4. Irenaeus, *Epideixis*, 3; 'And faith is produced by the truth; for faith rests on things that truly are. For in things that are, as they are, we believe, and believing in things that are, and as they are, we keep firm confidence in them.' Tr. by J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Irenaeus. The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, 1920, p. 72. Cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 1.1; 2.2, 4:4:21; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, 5.4, etc. The interpretation of Is.7:9 in Greek plays upon the connection between *episteme* =standing on, and *hypostasis*= lying under, i.e. what is stood upon. See the explanation by Clement, *Stromateis*, 4.21, and my discussion in, *Oikonomia*, edit, by F. Christ, 1967, p. 224.

AKSUM-THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

it is through faith that our minds are put in direct touch with reality independent of ourselves, for it is through faith that our minds assent to the inherent intelligibility of things, yield to their self-evidencing power, and are adapted to know them in accordance with what they really are in their own nature (*kata physin)*.[5] It is upon that kind of basic contact with reality that all sure knowledge rests and all genuine understanding is established, and upon it that we continue to rely in all further inquiry and all deepening of our understanding. While such a relation between faith and understanding applies to all scientific knowledge, it applies no less but all the more strictly to our knowledge of God who is the ultimate ground and source of all intelligibility and truth.[6] We do not seek to understand what we believe, St. Augustine used to say, but we believe that we may understand[7].

It should now be evident that faith was not regarded in Nicene theology as some form of a non-cognitive or non-conceptual relation to God, but was held to involve acts of recognition, apprehension and conception, of a very basic intuitive kind, in the responsible assent of the mind to truth inherent in God's self-revelation to mankind. Faith arises in us under the creative impact of the self-witness and self-interpretation of God in his Word and in response to the claims of his divine Reality upon us which we cannot reasonably or in good conscience resist.[8] It takes the form of listening obedience *(hypakoe tes pisteos, Romans,* 1:5; 16:26) to the address and call of God's Word, and the specific beliefs that are called forth from us like this, entail at their heart a conceptual or epistemic consent *(ennoetike, epistemonike sygkatathesis)* to divine truth and become interiorly locked into it.[9] It was indeed in just this way, Hilary pointed out, that faith and understanding were interlocked in the case of the Apostles themselves when 'the truth which they heard for the first time clenched their faith'. 'Confession was wrung from them by the unanticipated presentation of a new truth, which convinced their mind and constrained them to avow their certainty.'[10] While Hilary spoke of the Apostles' confesion that Christ is the Son of God as the rock of faith upon which the Church was built,[11] he clearly understood that in an objective sense, for it is upon the truth of God confessed by the Apostles, not upon their confession as such, that the Church is founded and on which it continues to rely in its own faith. It is to be granted, of course, that the Apostolic confession of faith and their understanding of the truth are enshrined in the Holy Scriptures handed down to us from the Apostles, so that in one sense it must be said that 'faith, and every part of it, is impressed on us by the evidence of the Gospels and the teaching of Apostles'[12]. In the ultimate analysis, however, we must learn from God himself what we are to think of him, for 'God cannot be apprehended except through himself'.[13] Thus our faith must repose upon the same truth which evoked the faith and understanding of the original Apostles. This means that in our recourse to biblical statements we need to yield our minds to the direct constraint of the Truth to which the Holy Scriptures bear witness independent of themselves. Biblical statements *(dicta)* are for their part to be interpreted *in* the light of the matters or realities *(res)* to which they refer and under the control of which they were made, and not the other way round, for they fulfil their divinely intended function when they mediate God's own self-witness and thus enable us to believe in God and think of him in the only way possible, in accordance with the way in which he actually presents himself to us.[14] Thus it becomes apparent that the primacy accorded to faith in our knowledge of God reflects the absolute priority of God over all human thought of him, and even over the human media he has brought into the service of his self-revelation.[15]

Faith that arises in cognitive commitment to the compelling claims of God in Jesus Christ and is linked to the absolute priority of God over all our conceiving and speaking of him, is bound to manifest a two-fold aspect. On the one hand, faith appears determinate and bounded, under the control of the precise form God's Truth has taken in the incarnation of his Word, but on the other hand, faith appears indeterminate and unbounded, through its correlation to the unbounded immeasurable Reality of God which transcends all finite comprehension. On the one hand, then, faith is characterised by a certainty of conviction which derives its force from the Truth of God himself thrust upon it, but on the other hand, faith is characterised by an open, ever-expanding semantic focus which answers to the unfathomable mystery

5. See *Theology in Reconciliation*, 1975, pp. 241 f., 247 ff, for an assessment of the use and meaning of *physis* in Alexandrian thought. See also Archbishop Methodios Fouyas, *The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1976, pp. 65 ff.

6. Cf. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, especially books 1–4, for a remarkably perceptive account of theological epistemology.

7. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 7.5; *In Ioannis Evangelium*, 27.9; 29.6;40.9; *Epistolae*, 120. 1,3, etc.

8. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 1.18; 2.6f; 3.9f, 23; 4.14, 36; 5.20f; 6.13–16; 8.52.

9. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 2.2–4, 6,11–12; 8.3.

10. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 6.34. See also 4.6, 14.

11. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 6.36 f. Cf.2.22–23; 6.20 f. Cf. The Liturgy of St. James, F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies of Eastern and Western Churches*, 1896, p. 54, where 'the Catholic and Apostolic Church' is likewise said to be founded upon 'the rock of faith'.

12. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 2.22.

13. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 5.20 f.

14. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 4.14; 5.4,7; 8.52.

15. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 1.6,16; 2.2 ff., 12,24ff, 52ff.

and inexhaustible Nature of God.[16] That is evidently the double force of the *We believe (pisteuomen)* of the Nicene confession of faith in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which governs the way in which all its clauses are to be understood, namely, the *exclusiveness* and *open range* of belief.

In its commitment to the one God the Father Almighty, the Nicene Creed is necessarily exclusive of belief in any other god than God the Father and of belief in any other revelation of this one God than in his only-begotten Son. This gives clear expression to the fundamental biblical asseveration that faith in the one God rules out the possibility of having other gods and the faith in Jesus Christ as 'the Way, the Truth and the Life' excludes access to the Father by any other way than that provided by God himself in the incarnation of his Word in Jesus Christ, that is, in what Jesus Christ is in his own personal Being. This would hardly be the case if faith were only subjectively grounded in some inner persuasion of the human mind, and not objectively grounded, as it is, in the universally binding Reality of God embodied in Christ as his unique *self*-giving and *self*-communication to mankind as Lord and Saviour. In unconditional obedience to that normative divine Revelation, Christian faith adopts an approach to God which sets aside any alternative approach, entails a judgment which excludes divergent belief, and endorses an affirmation of truth which threreby rejects other affirmations as false. Since the objective pole of the Church's faith is the Truth of God which has seized hold of it in Christ and his Gospel and will not let it go, Truth over which it has no control but Truth which makes it free and establishes it in the Love of God, the Church cannot but confess its faith in God, before God, with an unreserved endorsement of belief in the Truth of Christ and his Gospel, as the Truth with which its very existence is bound up as the Church, the Body of Christ, and as the saving Grace of God which constitutes the very essence of its message and mission. That is surely what took place at the Council of Nicaea in the Ecumenical Confession of Faith promulgated by the Fathers in the face of heretical denial of any ultimate oneness between God and his self-revelation in Jesus Christ. The Nicene Creed was a solemn corporate act of the Church in the presence of God, made with passionate commitment to Truth of divine revelation from the Father, through the Son and in the Holy Spirit, in the realisation that the very existence of the Christian Church and the validity of its evangelical message of divine salvation were at stake.

If there is no relation of oneness in being and agency between what God the Father is in himself and what he is toward us in the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ his Son, then the *kerygma* of the Gospel is empty of saving content and the *didascalia* of the Apostles has no divine validity. But if the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ is the very grace of God himself, then the Church has no option in fidelity to the Gospel but to commit itself to a positive affirmation of that grace which excludes any other possibility.[17] That was the critical situation which St. Paul had summoned the Galatian Church to square up to in the first century under the threat to pervert the Gospel of Christ into 'another gospel' which was not a gospel, when he wrote: 'If anyone preaches to you a gospel contrary to that which you have received, let him be anathema' (Gal. 1:19). That was the Apostolic example which the Nicene Fathers followed in their own critical situation when they appended a sentence to their Confession anathematising those who taught that the Son of God was not eternally one with the Father but of 'a different hypostasis or being' from him, for the very substance of the Catholic faith in God was thereby being denied.[18] Thus it came about that the Nicene Council expressed the fundamental beliefs which they found to be evangelically compelling in a Creed which has subsequently been universally acknowledged in the Church, and which by its intrinsic structure excludes alternative doctrine as arbitrary innovation in face of God's self-revelation in Jesus Christ, i.e., as heretical deviation from the Truth.[19]

There is another side to this picture, however, for while the Nicene Creed expresses what we are obliged to acknowledge within the general framework of the Church's commitment to the reality of God's unique self-revelation in Jesus Christ, it is all prefaced by *Credimus, We believe*. That is to say, everything that is affirmed here falls within the compass of faith pivoting upon the objective Reality of God who infinitely transcends all that we can think or say about him. Precisely because faith derives from and is grounded in a revelation of God in Jesus Christ which is identical with what God is eternally in his own Being, it is open to whatever may yet be made known through the Spirit of Christ who is sent by the Father through the Son to lead us into ever deeper understanding of the Truth. By its very nature, then, Christian faith is locked into an inexhaustible depth of truth in God which always exceeds what we may grasp of its revelation to us; but faith that is stretched out in this way indefinitely beyond itself, is necessarily characterised by an open range in its focus which cannot be

16. Cf. Clement, *Strom.*, 7.16: 'Knowledge of truth found among us Christians supplies, from what we already believe, faith for what has not yet been believed, faith which is, as it were, the substance of proof.'

17. Athanasius, *Con. Arianos*, 4.12: 'Through the Son is given what is given; and there is nothing but the Father operates it through the Son; for thus is grace secure to him who receives it'.

18. Athanasius, *Apol. con. Arianos*, 49; *De decretis*, 2.5; *Ad. Episcopos Aegypti*, 2; *Epistolae*, 2.6; Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.*, 1.3; 2.6; 5.10.

19. Hilary, *De synodis*, 61–64.

foreshortened without being turned into something quite different.

The open range of faith was stressed by Athanasius and Hilary, as well as by other leading exponents of Nicene theology. Athanasius claimed that the more he pressed forward in seeking to apprehend God, the more he found knowledge of him outreaching his apprehension. He was unable to express in writing what he seemed to understand and what he wrote fell far short even of the fleeting shadow of the truth in his mind.[20] The one definite point or 'scope' of faith, or, correspondingly, of Holy Scripture, or the truth in which we believe, is Jesus Christ himself, and it is in and through God's self-revelation in him that faith is firmly grounded in the Truth of God's own Being and provided with the normative control it needs in its correlation with what transcends the capacity of human comprehension.[21] It is faith of this kind that precedes and guides all theological inquiry and explanation, for it constitutes the sound cognitive base which gives force to all right argument.[22] Hilary was no less emphatic about the fact that in faith we have to do with a way of apprehending God which does not confine him within the narrow limits of what we can conceive or express but is constantly being expanded under the power of God to make himself known.[23] By its very nature, then, faith in God is characterised by a kind of 'infinity' for, while God as a 'whole' eludes our comprehension, what he does allow us to apprehend of himself is inseparable from what he is as a 'whole' so that it breaks through the narrow confines of our grasp. This explains why in the very act of apprehending something of God faith is bound to confess the truth that it is incapable of comprehending him. Thus while God infinitely transcends the human mind he may nevertheless be known through a movement of faith in which it is opened toward the infinity and ineffability of God.[24] This means that through faith we are brought into contact with God in such a way, that we are enabled to know more than can bring to expression in explicit forms of thought or speech and that in and through faith theology is engaged in a fathomless inquiry, for the truth into which we inquire is so deep that we can never probe it to its bottom, let alone bring it to adequate formulation.[25]

The epistemological implications of this open boundless range of faith were not lost to the Nicene theologians in their realisation that through faith theological inquiry is carried beyond the narrow scope of the ordinary reason defined by visible, tangible objects in created reality, and even beyond the explicit statements of Holy Scripture to the truth of God which they indicate independent of themselves. Thus the open range of faith gave rise to a perilous state of affairs in which the door appeared to be open to all manner of irrational and irreverent theorising.[26] For that very reason, however, the theologians of the Church cannot keep silence, but with fear and trembling and in prayer to God, they must seek to express as far as the slender resources of human language allow the truth of God to which they are directed by Holy Scripture, if only to counter the damaging effect of an arbitrary and irreligious intrusion of creaturely modes of thought into the knowledge of God. That was precisely the situation in which the Fathers of Nicaea found themselves when they felt forced to use the non-biblical term *homoousios* in order to give clear and unambiguous expression to biblical and evangelical truth. Hilary had that critical event in mind in the following complaint. 'We are compelled by the error of heretics and blasphemers to do what is unlawful, to scale heights, to express things that are unutterable, to encroach on forbidden matters. And when we ought to fulfil the commandments through faith alone, adoring the Father, worshipping the Son together with him, rejoicing in the Holy Spirit, we are forced to stretch the feeble capacity of our language to give expression to indescribable realities. We are constrained by the error of others to err ourselves in the dangerous attempt to set forth in human speech what ought to be kept in the religious awe of our minds... Their infidelity drags us into the dubious and dangerous position of having to make a definite statement beyond what heaven has prescribed about matters so sublime and so deeply hidden'.[27]

Quite evidently, affirmations of belief which we are obliged to make before God under the pressure of his divine revelation and its inherent truth, must remain open to whatever may yet be learned of God through that revelation. In so far as they are locked into that revelation and are controlled by it, they are put forward as articulating fundamental truth, even though they indicate far more than can be expressed at the time. Affirmations of faith of this kind have heuristic properties in virtue of which they prompt and guide further inquiry and deeper understanding. However, in virtue of their semantic reference away from themselves to the transcendent Reality of the Holy Trinity which may be grasped only very partially, they must be regarded as incomplete and inadequate in themselves and therefore as subject to revision in the light of deeper and fuller understanding of God's self-revelation. That is the profoundly objective yet open-textured character of the doctrinal

20. Athanasius, *Ad. monachos*, 1.1–3.

21. Athanasius, *Con. Arianos*, 2.15; 3.28, 35, 58. Cf. also *Reality and Evangelical Theology*, 1982, pp. 106 ff.

22. Athanasius, *De vita Antonii*, 77–80.

23. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 1.7–16; 2.5–11; 3.1–6, 18–26.

24. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 1.8 & 12; 2.5,6,8,11.

25. Hilary, *De synodis*, 65; *De Trinitate*, 3.18; 10.53; 11.44–47; 12.24–37.

26. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 2.1–5; 10.51–53.

27. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 2.2,5.

statemets asserted by the Council of Nicaea under the rubric *We believe*. It is highly significant that, as Athanasius reported, 'The Bishops who assembled at the Great Synod of Nicaea agreed, not without the will of God, that the decisions taken in one synod should be examined in another'.[28] That is to say, the Nicene Fathers thereby gave synodal recognition to the point that by their intrinsic nature the credal affirmations of Nicaea indicated more than could be grasped at the time and therefore more than could be fully justified at the time. Although the canon of Nicaea to which Athanasius referred is not extant in any written form, it was certainly in accordance with it that subsequent Ecumenical Councils acted. After more than fifty years in which the Nicene Creed was subjected to detailed analysis, against it and in support of it, it established itself so deeply in the convictions of the Church that it was revised and finalised at the Council of Constantinople in 381 A.D. and then in that Nicene-Constantinopolitan form was fully ratified by the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451.[29]

Inextricably interwoven with faith, to which Nicene theology accorded primacy, there is another basic element which we must take into account, *godliness (eusebeia* or *theosebeia)*, to which it also accorded primacy along with faith. Faith is itself an act of godliness in humble worship of God and adoring obedience to him, and godliness is a right relationship to God through faith which gives a distinctive slant to the mind and moulds life and thought in accordance with 'the word of the truth of the Gospel'[30]. Godliness is thus an essential ingredient in the living tradition of the Church's believing commitment to God's incarnate self-revelation in Jesus Christ, and along with knowledge of the truth it belongs to the evangelical structure of 'the Faith once for all delivered to the saints'. It is godliness of this kind that exercises a directive force in all 'sound doctrine', and that must be allowed to guide theological understanding particularly in the open range of faith when we are obliged to form concepts and make pronouncements about the truth beyond the explicit statements of Holy Scripture where they bear upon the ineffable mystery of God which remains mystery even in the heart of his self-revelation, and where we must be on our guard against irreverent and impious intrusion into what God has kept hidden in his own eternal Being.

As found in Nicene theology *eusebeia* referred to the orthodox understanding of truth embodied in a tradition of faith and worship that derived from the Apostles. It is to be traced back to the Pastoral Epistles where 'godliness' was more or less a technical word for what had been called 'the Way' in the Acts of the Apostles (9:2; 19:9,13; 22:4; 24:14,22), that is, the way of belief and worship characteristic of those who are committed to Christ and who have to suffer for it. The distinctive feature of godliness is that it is an embodiment of faith or a knowledge of the truth of the Gospel in a corresponding way of life and worship in the reverent service of God (1 Tim. 2:2; 3:16; 4:7,8 ; 6:3,5,6; 2 Tim. 3:5; Titus 1:1 ; 2 Peter 1:3,6 ; 3:11). It is significant that considerable stress is laid upon the inherent interrelation between 'godlines, faith and truth' and thus upon 'teaching in accordance with godliness' or 'knowledge of the truth in accordance with godliness' (1 Tim. 6:3; Titus 1:1 ; cf. 2 Tim. 3:7) or upon 'sound doctrine' (1 Tim. 1:10; 2 Tim. 1:13; 4:3; Titus 1:9, 13; 2:1,2), in sharp reaction to the rise of rationalising and mythologising perversions of the Gospel (1 Tim. 1:4; 4:7; 6:3–6; 2 Tim. 4:4; Titus 1:14; 2 Peter 1:16). Thus while godliness is held to be synonymous with belief and truth, ungodliness is held to be synonymous with unbelief and error. That was a contrast that set the pattern for the Church's struggle with heresy for the next three hundred years.

The passage that evidently governed the understanding of *eusebeia* in the Early Church was 1 Timothy 3:15–16.[31] St. Paul was there giving instructions to Timothy that he might know how one ought to behave 'in the household of God' which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth. Great indeed, we confess, is the mystery of godliness *(to tes eusebeias mysterion)* 'Who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the world, taken up in glory'. Here, on the one hand, godliness is defined as penetrating into the inner mystery of the faith, into the objective fact of the incarnate self-revelation of God, while, on the other hand, the Church is spoken of as supporting and upholding the truth of God. Expressed the other way round, the revealed truth of God is grounded and built into human life and society as it is proclaimed and believed, known and taught by the Church in a way that promotes godliness. Thus the great mystery of godliness manifest in Jesus Christ and his saving grace became embodied in the Church as its godly counterpart, which corresponds to what St. Paul elsewhere referred to as the great mystery concerning Christ and his Church, which is his Body (Eph. 5:32). The saving revelation of God in Jesus Christ and the faithful reception and understanding of it by the Apostles were incorporated together in the foundation of the Church, so that in the economic purpose of God the truth as it is in Jesus was made accessible to people

28. Athanasius, *Apol. con. Arianos*, 22.

29. See Archbishop Mathodios Fouyas, *The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1976, pp. 45, 108 f.

30. Cf. G. Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*, 1972, on 'the scriptural mind', and 'the catholic mind', chs. 1, pp. 9 ff, and 4, pp. 57 f.

31. See Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 11.9.

in history only through the Apostolic preaching and teaching of the Gospel and only in living continuity with their godly tradition in the Church.

This is surely what is meant in the Pastoral Epistles by the deposit of faith (*paratheke*) entrusted to the Church, to be guarded and defended, and transmitted in godliness to others (1 Tim. 4:6, 6:20; 2 Tim. 1:12–14; 2:2, 4 ; 4:3; Titus 1:9, 13 ; cf. also 2 Thess. 2:15; 3:6; Gal. 1:9; 2:2,9; 1 Cor. 11:23; 15:3; 2 Cor. 11:3–4; Rom. 6:17; Hebrews 3:1; 4:14; 10:23). In its primary sense the Faith entrusted to the Church refers to the revealing and saving event of Jesus Christ in its self-interpretation and self-unfolding within the Church which he founded upon the Apostles and Prophets, but in its subsidiary sense it refers to the evangelical content of the Apostolic message and tradition as it is mediated to us through the Scriptures of the New Testament and through participation in the mystery of godliness in the midst of the Church where Christ continues to make himself known and to be savingly at work through the enlightening and regenerating power of his Spirit. It is only through reliance upon the Apostolic witness and teaching, the subsidiary sense of the Deposit of Faith, and under the direction of its semantic reference to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, that people throughout history are enabled to grasp and appropriate the doctrinal substance of the Faith,which is what was primarily meant by the Deposit. However, all that takes place only within the structured integration of truth, faith and godliness in the living tradition of the Church as the Body of Christ or the earthly–historical form of his existence in the world. If we are to appreciate the bearing and force of this biblical teaching upon Nicene theology, it will help us to consider what the Early Church made of it in the period between the Apostles and the Council of Nicaea, as reflected in the thought of Irenaeus and Origen.

Irenaeus worked with a powerful sense of the embodiment of the revealed truth of the Gospel in the Apostolic Foundation of the Church, and of the structured nature of the Faith once for all delivered to the saints and mediated through the Apostolic Tradition. He made much of the Deposit of Faith which he thought of, not at least in the first place as a system of doctrinal statements, but as a body of objective evangelical truth which through the power of the Holy Spirit constantly rejuvenates the Church by renewing its bond to the creative source of its being in the Gospel, and structures its continuing life and mission in accordance with the image of Christ the incarnate Son of God and the pattern of divine Truth embodied in him.[32] The Church of Jesus Christ is thus informed by a faith that is 'always one and the same', for it is grounded in the unchangeable reality of Christ and the once for all revelation of God in him.[33]

God is utterly ineffable and incomprehensible to us, for his sublime greatness and majesty infinitely exceed the capacity of human beings to know and describe him as he is in his own nature. However, while retaining inviolate the mystery of his own Being, God has chosen to make himself known to us through a movement of love and infinite condescension in which he has drawn near to us by becoming incarnate in Jesus Christ, thereby bringing himself within the range of human knowing.[34] Jesus Christ himself thus constitutes the bridge between God and man, between the invisible and the visible, the incomprehensible and the comprehensible, the immeasurable and the measurable. It is then in Jesus Christ, through 'union and communion' with him in love, thereby sharing in the love of God incarnate in him, that we are enabled to know God in such a way that our knowledge of God is firm and sure for it is anchored in the reality of God's own eternal Being.[35] That would not be possible without the aid of the Spirit of God. But in and through Jesus Christ God has accustomed his Holy Spirit to dwell in human nature and at the same time adapted human nature to receive the Holy Spirit, which enables us through the gift of the Holy Spirit to share in the relation of mutual knowing between the Father and the Son and thus in God's knowledge of himself.[36]

As Irenaeus understood it, communion with God through Christ and in the Spirit, which arises out of the reconciling and healing assumption of our humanity that took place in the Incarnation, necessarily takes a corporate form in the Church, for it is to the Church that God has entrusted the Deposit of Faith, to the Church that he has given his Holy Spirit, and in the Church that he has provided us with the ministry of the Gospel and all the other means through which the Spirit works. Thus he could claim that 'where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and every grace: but the Spirit is Truth.'[37] While Irenaeus pointed to the Church as the location of well–grounded knowledge of the Truth and thought of the Church as structurally integrated with the Truth embodied in it,

32. Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* (edit. by W.W. Harvey, 1987), 3. Pref., 1–5, vol. 2, pp. 22ff; 3.38.1, p. 131 f; 4.40.2,p. 236. For this and what follows see T.F. Torrance, 'The Deposit of Faith', *Scottish Journal of Theology*', 1983, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 1–28.

33. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 1.3, vol. 1, p.94; 3.1–4, vol. 2, pp. 1ff; 3.11.1, p. 47; 3.12.9,p.62; 4.4 ff, pp. 234 ff; 5.20, pp. 377 ff.

34. Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 2.15.4, vol. 1, p. 282 f; 2.39.1f., pp. 345 f; 2.40–43, pp. 349–358; 3.38–1–2, vol.2, pp. 131–132; 4.22.2, p. 178; 4.34.4, pp. 215–219.

35. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 3.11f., vol. 2, pp. 43 f; 3.17.6, p. 87f; 4.6, p. 153; 4.11.1–5, pp. 158–162; 4.34.1, 4–6, pp. 212, 215 f; 4.6.1, p. 291; 5. Pref., 1–2, pp. 313 ff; 5.27.2,p. 398 f.

36. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 2.3.7,1–4, vol. 1, pp. 342–344; 3.6.2, pp. 22 f; 3.18.1,p.92; 3.19.6, p. 100f; 3.21.2.0.107; 4.11.1–5, pp. 158–162; 4.34,5,7, pp. 210, 218 f.

37. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 3.38, vol. 2, p. 132.

he nevertheless laid the emphasis upon the objective self-revelation of God through Christ and in the Spirit as the actual source of our knowledge of the Truth.[38] His distinctive emphasis was very evident when, with reference to 1 Timothy 3.15, he did not speak of the Church itself as 'the pillar and ground of Truth', but of 'the Gospel and the Spirit of Life' as 'the pillar and ground of the Church' (*stylos kai sterigma ekklesias, to euangelion kai Pneuma zoes*).[39] On the other hand, Irenaeus held that it is only within the framework of the Faith entrusted to the Church and incorporated in the Apostolic Tradition that the word of revelation in the Scriptures may be faithfully interpreted without lapsing into presumptuous and ungodly error, and Christ himself who is the treasure hidden in them may be truly known.[40]

For Irenaeus, then, knowledge of the Truth of God or the Truth of the Gospel is not given in an abstract or detached form but in a concrete embodied form in the Church, where it is to be grasped within the normative pattern of the Faith imparted to it through the teaching of the Apostles, and is therefore to be grasped only in unity and continuity with the faith, worship and godly life of all who are incorporated into Christ as members of his Body. He regarded the Truth revealed through the Holy Scriptures as an organic structure, 'the body of Truth', within which various truths, and correspondingly beliefs, may be distinguished, but which form a coherent whole from which they cannot be separated, any more than the limbs of a living body can be severed from the body without dismemberment and destruction of the whole.[41] Nevertheless Irenaeus gave himself the important task of uncovering the intrinsic order embedded in the Deposit of Faith, and bringing into clear focus the internal arrangement of 'the body of truth and the harmonious adaptation of its members' so that it could be used as an aid to the interpretation of Holy Scripture and as a 'canon of truth' enabling the Church to offer a clear demonstration of the Apostolic *kerygma* in the face of heretical deviations and distortions.[42]

The work of Irenaeus in this respect clearly reflects the general activity of the Church in the second century in its attempt to clarify the doctrinal substance of the Faith in the light of its own objectively grounded order, in the course of which there emerged the explicit formulations of belief which were eventually to take the form of the early creeds.[43] From the way in which Irenaeus himself handled these incipient credal formulae, it seems clear that they were not doctrinal propositions connected together through a logico-deductive system of thought, but assertions of belief that are organised from beyond themselves by their common ground in the Apostolic Deposit of Faith and ultimately by the self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ, the one incarnate Truth of God from which all evangelical truths flow. Accordingly, they do not have their truth in themselves but in that to which they refer and into which they are locked. While Irenaeus spoke of them as constituting the 'canon of truth', he made it clear that the actual canon or centre of reference was the Truth *itself*.[44] These assertions of belief, however, were regarded as having regulative force themselves in so far as they are rightly related to that Truth and serve its supreme authority. All our theological knowledge is only 'in part', for there is much that belongs to God which we must reverently leave to him, for it would be ungodly even to think of intruding into it.[45] Thus it should be recognised that the credal formulations of what we may know of God, even under the control of what he has revealed to us, are not final but partial, not closed but open confessional statements which are revisable in the light of deeper and fuller understanding of the Gospel. Their importance lies not in 'the form of sound words' which they use, but in their service in bringing the mind of the Church under the compelling claims of divine Truth, and in their guidance to the Church in its mission to guard and defend 'the Evangelical and Apostolic Faith' entrusted to it and to hand it on to others in accordance with 'the mystery of godliness'.

This account of the Irenaean contribution to the theological unfolding of the Church's confession of faith in the light of its implicit conceptual structure, requires to be complemented by some account of Origen's wide-ranging contribution to theology which had a considerable impact upon thought in the Church leading up to the Council of Nicaea. Origen was a very learned biblical scholar unsurpassed in the Early Church, but he was a theologian with an essentially speculative, though devout, mind, who felt compelled to carry his thinking beyond the literal content of biblical statements to the divine realities they signified. Although he held with Irenaeus that the controlling centre of reference in our knowledge of God is ultimately the Truth itself as revealed in Jesus Christ,

38. Irenaeus, *Adv., haer.*, 3.38, 1–2, vol. 2, p. 131 f; 4.53. 1–2, pp. 261 ff; 5.20.1, pp. 378 ff.

39. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 3.11.11, vol. 2, p. 47.

40. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 1, Pref., vol. 1, pp. 1 ff; 1.15, p. 67 f; 1.1.19–4.1, pp. 89–97; 2.7–9, pp. 271–274; 2.40–43, pp. 349–358; 3.1–5, vol. 2, pp. 1–20; 3.38, pp. 131–3; 4.40–42.1, pp. 234–238; 4. 53–54, pp. 261–264; 5. Pref. pp. 313 f; 5.20.1–2, pp. 377–380.

41. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 1.1.15, pp. 66 f; 1.18, pp. 80ff; 20.40–45, pp. 347–358.

42. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 1.19–20, pp. 80–90; 2.37–43, pp. 342–358; 3.12.11, vol. 2, p. 65; 3.38, p. 13 f; *Epideixis*, 1–6.

43. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 1.2, pp. 90f; 3.1 f,4, vol.2, pp.2 ff, 25ff; 4.1, pp. 146ff; 4.53.1, pp. 261 f; 5.20.1, pp. 377 f; *Epideixis*, 6.

44. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 2.41, p. 349. The same point is made by Clement who spoke of 'cleaving to the truth by taking the canon of truth from the truth itself', *Stromateis*, 7.16.

45. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.*, 2.15.3–4, pp. 282 f; 2.41–43, pp. 349–358.

not in human formulations of our knowledge of the Truth,[46] unlike Irenaeus he worked with a dualist framework of thought, the Platonic or Philonic disjunction between the sensible world (*aisthetikos kosmos*) and the intelligible world (*noetos kosmos*)[47], which implied that the invisible and incorporeal things in heaven are true, but 'the visible and corporeal things on earth are copies of true things, not true themselves'.[48] This outlook deeply affected Origen's understading of the Holy Scriptures as providentially provided media within the sensible world through which the divine *Logos* accommodated his communication to human weakness, wrapping up the mysteries of divine revelation in forms and figures that can easily be grasped, but only in order that through them he might lift up believing minds to an understanding of spiritual or divine realities in the intelligible world beyond.[49] On the one hand, Origen held that through divine inspiration the human terms found in the Holy Scriptures are governed by the nature (*physei*) of the realities they signify, and are not just conventionally (*thesei*) related to them. They are to be understood only through an assent of rational faith to the 'kataleptic' claims of those realities upon the mind of the interpreter, but that means that he must engage in careful investigation to make sure that the assent of faith really does match, or set its 'seal' to, the truth.[50] On the other hand, he insisted that a spiritual interpretation of the Holy Scriptures in accordance with the spiritual nature of those realities, must involve a passage in thought from the lower level of 'bodily', literal sense to the higher level of spiritual, mystical meaning where the truth shines in its own self-evidencing intellectual light. [51] But that requires considerable spiritual training of the mind in theological insight (*theoria*), a kind of divine sense (*aisthesis theia*), appropriate to the knowledge of God.[52]

This combination of careful investigation and spiritual training was very charasteristic of Origen. He was not unaware of the dangers it involved. It led him to distinguish between the 'bodily' or 'sensible' Gospel and the 'spiritual' or 'intellectual' Gospel, the former being the 'temporal Gospel' which corresponds to the advent of the Saviour in his state of humiliation when he assumed the form of a servant for our sakes, while 'the eternal Gospel' corresponds to the glorious advent of Christ in the future, when the shadows of the first will give way to the ultimate realities of the second.[53] The implication of this was that the historical Christ was to be regarded as a time–conditioned form in which the eternal Truth of God is mediated to fallen creatures, but that, once the eternal Truth is known, the historical medium will be relativised.[54] This is evidently why Origen laid such emphasis upon allegorical exegesis and the cultivation of a spiritual 'feeling' for God which would enable the believer to penetrate through the husks and shadows of the historical revelation to the eternal, invisible realities of God that may be grasped only in a simple immediate way and cannot be expressed in human words.[55] Dangerous as this speculative outreach of the spiritual mind was, beyond the realm of knowledge subject to the kind of criteria of truth with which Greek philosophy and science operate,[56] Origen was fascinated with it, particularly as it was associated with Old Testament men of God like Melchizedek the pioneer of celestial worship, or Moses who spoke with God face to face, or with the experiences of the disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration and with what St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians in the fourth and twelfth chapters of his Second Epistle, all of which pointed to the kind of sublime vision of God that may be opened up to 'the mystic and inexpressible insight'.[57]

There was another side to Origen's approach, however, which provided this 'theologising' (*theologein*) with safeguards against fanciful 'mythologising' (*mythologein*), and with a normative frame of faith and devotion which might help to keep knowledge of God in the centre of the life and living tradition of 'the Great Church'. This had to do with the way in which he brought careful inquiry and training in godliness to bear upon each other. In line with the conception of scientific knowledge (*episteme*) which had long prevailed in Alexandria, that exact knowledge is in accordance with the nature (*kata physin*) of what is known, Origen concentrated on developing a way of knowing God which was strictly in accordance with the nature of God as he has revealed himself to us, that is, in a godly way, and he set himself to cultivate personal godliness in reliance upon the grace of Christ and the power of his Spirit, so that he could bring to knowledge of God an appropriately godly habit of mind. Hence *theologia*, which is pro-

46. Origen, *De Principiis*, Pref., 1.2,6. Origen also spoke of Christ as *autoaletheia* = self-subsistent Truth, *Comm. in Ioannis Evangelium*. 6.6; cf.1.27; 2.4, and *Contra Celsum* 8.12.

47. See especially Origen, *In Ioann*. 1.25–28, and cf 1.8.

48. Origen, *In Canticum Canticorum*, 2; *Con. Celsum*, 7.31, 37.

49. Origen, *In Ioann*. 1.7; *In Matt*., 10.1; *In Deut*., 1.21; *In Jer*., 18.6; *Con. Celsum*, 4.71, etc.

50. Origen, *Con. Celsum*, 1.2,9 f, 13, 24f, 42, 71; 3.23, 39, 42, 86; 4.2; 5.45; 6.27; 7.10; *De Principiis*, 4.3.15.

51. Origen, *De Principiis*, 1.1.1 f; 1.3.3; 2.2.2; 2.4,4; 2.5.2; 2.7.2; 2.11.2ff; 3.12.4; 3.5.1; 4.2.1–3.15. Origen sometimes distinguished between three meanings, cf. 4.2.4.

52. Origen, *Con. Celsum*, 1.48; 6.23; 7.34; *De Principiis*, 1.1.9; 4.4. 10. Cf. Prov. 2.5 LXX.

53. Origen, *In Ioann*. 1.8–10; 2.6; *De Principiis*, 3.6.8; 4.2.6; 4.3.13.

54. Cf. Origen, *In Matt*., 10. 14, where he commits himself to the expression 'beyond history'. See also *In Ioann*. 10.4, 18,22; 20.3, 10, etc.

55. Origen, *De Principiis*, 4.3.15.

56. Origen, *Con. Celsum*, 1.2; 8.53.

57. Origen, *In Ioann*. 13.24; 32.25–29.

perly knowledge of the Trinity, and *theosebeia*, or *eusebeia* defined through Jesus Christ the Son of God incarnate, were regarded by Origen as mutually conditioning each other in the course of deepening theological inquiry.[58] The more truly God is known in accordance with his nature, the more godliness is advanced, and the more godliness is advanced, the more likely we are to know God in a godly way that is worthy of his nature as God.[59] Generally speaking, then, 'the aim is to get as near the truth as possible and to shape our belief according to the rule of godliness'[60].

Behind everything lay Origen's immense respect for the Holy Scriptures and his 'priestly' devotion to the Word and Truth of God which they communicated.[61] As the inspired product of the Holy Spirit they have to be investigated and interpreted in accordance with their divine character (*theiotes*), in a reverent and religious way, in the realisation that they have a 'superhuman' depth of meaning which does not admit of quick understanding[62]. By their very nature, then, the Scriptures call for long study, meditation and prayer, and for hard labour.[63] That is just what Origen himself exhibited in his immense product of biblical commentaries, all of which bear impressive witness to conscientious treatment of the text in its linguistic detail and exact grammatical sense, and to prodigious research in the clarification of historical circumstances and background that might affect the meaning. But he also sought to bring to bear upon each book and each passage the whole world of biblical revelation and the whole tradition of Christian faith and understanding in the Church, so that as far as possible the Holy Scriptures might be understood out of themselves, in the light of the divine intention which they embodied and which they manifested in their inner unity and continuity.[64]

Now since the Scriptures are the result of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit by the will of the Father through Jesus Christ, and since the Word of God who speaks through all the Scriptures became incarnate in Jesus Christ, it is Jesus Christ himself who must constitute the controlling centre in all right interpretation of the Scriptures. To interpret the Scriptures, even the Gospels, in this way through 'the mind of Christ' is, Origen claimed, to keep 'the canon of the heavenly Church of Jesus Christ in accordance with the succession of the Apostles'.[65] Jesus Christ himself defines for Christians what true godliness (*theosebeia, eusebeia*) is,[66] for he himself is 'the great mystery of godliness manifest in the flesh', who mediates in and through himself both God's gracious condescension to us and our approach to God, both God's revelation of himself to us and our knowledge and worship of God.[67] Hence in our investigation of the truth we must strive more and more to 'preserve in every way the attitude of godliness (*to eusebes*) towards God and his Christ',[68] while to be faithful to the mind of Christ in all our interpretation of the Holy Scriptures 'we must preserve the canon of godliness'.[69]

It is significant that for Origen godliness was defined not only by reference to Jesus Christ (*kata Iesoun Christon)* but through Jesus Christ (*dia Iesou Christou*), in respect of his unique relation to the Father as Son of God, and of his unique relation to us as our High Priest in whom and with whom and through whom we worship the Father.[70] By his atoning sacrifice he heals and cleanses us trough his own divine power, so that we worship him as well as the Father, for he and the Father are one; but because he is one with us as well as with the Father, we may pray to him as our 'Mediator, High Priest and Paraclete', asking him to present the desires, petitions and intercessions, that ascent from us to him, to the Father, and thus we worship the Father in union with him and through him. As Son of God incarnate and High Priest Jesus Christ has shown mankind the pure way to worship God, that is, what true godliness is in which our faith and understanding are confirmed in God.[71]

Undoubtedly what Origen wrote about Christ-centred and Christ-mediated worship of the Father showed an outlook upon the Church in the living tradition of its faith and in its service for the salvation of mankind, in which reverential wonder in the knowledge of God, praise and thanksgiving for the saving acts of God in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, godliness in words and deeds, were intimately and inseparably interwoven reflecting the Eucharistic

58. Cf. Origen, *In Lucam*, 14. 28.

59. This is strongly emphasised by Origen in *Con. Celsum*, 3.8, 34, 60, 78; 5.33; 7.40, 49; 8. 13, 75.

60. Origen, *De Principiis*, 1. 5. 4.

61. Origen, *In Ioann.* 1. 3.

62. Origen, *De Principiis*, 4. 1. 1–2; 4. 2. 2.

63. See Origen's *Letter to Gregory* 3, and *to Africanus*, 2–5.

64. Origen, *Con. Celsum*, 7. 11; *De Principiis*, Pref.; 4.2.4, 7–9; 4.3.5.

65. Origen, *De Principiis*, 4.2.3; cf. Pref. 1–2; *In Ier.*, 3. 22–4.

66. Origen, *Con. Celsum*, 1.27; 3.60, 81; 5.33; 7.46; 8.20; *De Principiis*, 4.1.2, 5; *In Ioann.* 28. 23.

67. See Origen, *In Ioann.* 6. 5–6; *De Principiis*, 4.1.2, 5; *Con. Celsum*, 2.4; 3.34, 81; 5. 4; 8.13, 26, 59.

68. Origen, *De Principiis*, 3. 1. 17.

69. Origen, *De Principiis*, 1. 5. 4; 2.6.2; 3.1.17,23; 3.5.3: 4.3.14; cf. also Pref. 2; 3.3.4; 4.2.2,4; 4.3.15. The expression 'rule of piety' *(regula pietatis)* is that of Rufinus, the Latin translator of the *De Principiis*. From his rendering of 3.1.17 it is evident that this does not always correspond to Origen's original text, but the term *pietas* = *eusebeia* is not far from the mark. In his preface to the translation of the third book, however, Rufinus appears to equate 'the rule of piety' with 'the sound rule of the Catholic Faith', GCS edition by P. L. Koetschau, 1913, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 5, p. 193.

70. Origen, *Con. Celsum*, 3. 34; 5.4; 7. 46; 8. 13; *De Oratione*, 10. 2; 13. 1; 15. 1–4.

71. Origen, *In Ioann.*, 1. 33, 35; 2. 34; *Con. Celsum*, 3.34: 5.4; 7.41, 46, 49; 8.12, 13, 26, 75; *De Principiis*, 1.3.4.

Liturgy of the Church.[72] Hallowing the Name of God, thinking and speaking appropriately of him, with the utmost respect for his self-revelation as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, were essential marks of the Christian mind and, as Origen believed, of the mind of the Church under the imprint left upon it by the Apostles. Hence when Origen set about composing a work on the fundamental principles of the Faith with a view to promoting order and harmony in the understanding of Christian doctrine, he first laid down 'a definite line and clear rule' to the effect that exposition of the Faith must keep within the bounds of the unanimous teaching of the Church as it had been handed down from the Apostles and in the light of those doctrines which they considered to be absolutely necessary. However, in view of error and disagreement Origen felt he had to go further: to investigate 'the grounds of the statements made by the Apostles' in their preaching of the faith of Christ in the hope of establishing the ultimate basis of Christian belief, and then to determine the rational interconnections of revealed truth so as to build up a body of consistent Christian doctrine.[73] Throughout this undertaking, which was the first of its kind, as he sought to apprehend the Truth of God as faithfully as possible, Origen took care, especially at what he considered to be 'the more difficult points', to allow his judgement to be guided and formed in accordance with the canon of godliness or the rule of piety. Only those theological conceptions which were felt to be worthy of God, formulated under the compelling claims of his transcendent Being and Nature as God, could be allowed.

Owing to the force of his philosophical presuppositions which were not sufficiently subjected to criticism in the face of his commitment to biblical revelation, Origen's speculative mind transgressed the rule of piety at a number of crucial points which brought his teaching into conflict with the mind of the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, Origen's combination of scientific investigation of the objective grounds of faith and his insistent deference to *eusebeia* or *theosebeia* in the knowledge of the Holy Trinity had an immense impact upon the Nicene and post-Nicene theologians. The great principle at work among them, to which of course many other sources contributed, was later known as: *lex orandi - lex credendi.*[74].

Again and again in the history of the Church ideas about God born of a daring irreverence have been advanced which the Church has instinctively rejected out of a profound respect for the mystery and majesty of God which had been built into the fabric of its faith through prayer and devotion. That was what happened at the critical juncture in its history brought about by the Arian heresy which called in question the unity of the Holy Trinity by asserting the creatureliness of the Son, thereby separating him from the Being of the Father and introducing inconsistency into the Godhead, at which the Bishops at Nicaea reacted in utter horror at the affront of Arian 'ungodliness' (*asebeia*) and advanced against it essentially 'godly arguments' (*apodeixis eusebeiás*)[75]. Athanasius told the Bishops of Egypt that when he was writing down the ungodly and perverse statements of the Arians, he had to cleanse himself by thinking of the very opposite and holding fast 'the mind of godliness' (*ten tes eusebeias dianoian*).[76] With reference to the fact that the Council of Nicaea had to use the non-scriptural term *homoousios* to explain what was meant by the Scriptures in speaking of Christ as *'of* God' or *'from* God', Athanasius pointed out that it does not matter whether a person uses a non-scriptural term or not, so long as he has 'a godly mind' (*eusebe ten dianoian*), and that as a matter of fact the Fathers of Nicaea, far from speaking irreverently, spoke reverently of Christ 'with an exalted mind and a Christ-loving godliness'(*hypsele dianoia kai philochristos eusebeia*).[77]

When at a later period Arianism broke out again, this time by asserting the creatureliness of the Holy Spirit, presuming to subject to their impertinent scrutiny the inner relations of the Holy Trinity where 'the cherubim spread their covering wings', Athanasius put forward counter arguments in the same way governed by a Christocentric godliness. The Faith that has been handed down is to be received through the hearing of faith and expounded not through linguistic argument, but 'by a godly and reverent mode of reason' *(eusebei logismo met' eulabeias).*[78]

Athanasius used to insist that the obedience of faith gives rise to a lawful way of thinking and speaking of God in virtue of its being inwardly regulated by the worship of God. In every attempt to understand and give expression to the mysteries of the Faith, what is needed is a reverent restraint and a disposition of mind attuned 'through constant prayer to God, godly knowing, and supplications offered not in some casual way but with the whole consent of the heart'. That would be an approach to God in which faith and godliness mutually condition each other in our knowing of him. 'For faith and godliness are connected and are sisters: he who believes in God is not

72. Origen, *Con. Celsum,* 3.60; 5.4; 7.46; 8.57,75; *De oratione,* 14–16, 20,31; *In Ioann.* 32.24; *In Matt.* 11.14. See also Origen's *Dialogue with Herakleides, Sources chrétiennes,* No. 67, edit. by J. Scherer, 1960, p. 62, 64.

73. Origen, *De Principiis,* Pref. 2, 3, 10; cf. 1.4.4; 4.4.5.

74. See Prosper of Aquitaine, *De gratia Dei et libero voluntatis arbitrio,* 8: *legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi, PL* vol. 8, p. 209. *Lex orandi–lex credendi* represents a telescoped form of Prosper of Aquitaine's thought, found in the *Ineffabilis Deus* of Pius IX, and the *Munificentissimus Deus* of Pius XII, AAS, 1947, pp. 540 f.

75. Athanasius, *De decretis,* 1–3; cf. his *Epistola Encyclica,* 1, where Athanasius speaks of 'godliness being persecuted by ungodliness' *(eusebeia apo asebeias dioketai).*

76. Athanasius, *Ad. Episcopos Aegypti,* 13; cf. 4, 9, 12.

77. Athanasius, *De synodis,* 39.

78. Athanasius, *Ad. Serapionem,* 1. 17, 20; 4. 4.

cut off from godliness, and he who has godliness really believes.'[79]

The same basic principle, *lex orandi-lex credendi*, played an important role in Hilary's theology. As we have seen, he was rather troubled by the way in which heretics took advantage of the open range of faith to obtrude their own presumptuous ideas into the knowledge of God, and by the need for orthodox theology in rebutting them to make definite pronouncements beyond the statements of Holy Scripture about matters that are essentially inexpressible. In these circumstanes we must rely upon the kind of apprehension of God that is implicit in faith expanded by worship, and the kind of worship into which we are initiated by God himself, as through the Son we are given access to the Father.[80] No matter how much we try to adapt our language to indicate the reality and greatness of God, it falls immeasurably short of what God is in his eternal Being and Nature, but it may nevertheless be controlled and directed from below by the fundamental acts of worship which God calls forth from us through his self-revelation in the Gospel. Thus Hilary operated with a concept of faith structured in evangelical devotion, and with a concept of devotion expanded through faith in the inexhaustible Reality of God. 'We must believe him, apprehend him, worship him, and allow these acts of devotion to be the basic ways in which we speak of God'.[81]

By this approach Hilary did not mean that in shrinking in alarm before the transcendent majesty of God, we are to fall back entirely upon the silent veneration of the heart, but rather that we are to think and speak of God only in such a way that we recognise that he infinitely exceeds the resources of human thought and speech. Rather must we allow worship of God through the Son, in whom the unfathomable mystery of the Father is expressed. Govern all that we confess in faith or express in theological formulation.[82] Theological activity, as Hilary himself pursued it, must constantly be interlaced with prayer that in all our attempts to express what we believe and to confess one God the Father and one Lord Jesus Christ in accordance with what we have been taught by Prophets and Apostles, God will grant us signification in language, light of the understanding, reverence of statement, and fidelity to the truth.[83]

We have been probing deeply into the way in which the Nicene Creed is to be traced back to a state of affairs in the Apostolic Foundation of the Church in which saving faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, became once for all embodied in it, and also in the way in which that faith began to unfold its theological content in the direction of the Nicene Creed, under the control of the evangelical sub-structure of the Apostolic Tradition at work in the life, mission and worship of the early Catholic Church, evident in its interpretation of Holy Scripture and its expression of Christian teaching. We have found in those centuries a continuing tradition characterised by a deep interlocking of faith and godliness, understanding and worship, under the creative impact of the primary evangelical convictions imprinted upon the mind of the Church in its commitment to God's self-revelation through the incarnate Son and in the Holy Spirit. Those convictions together with a Christ-centred disposition of mind continued to be generated and nourished in the on-going life and fellowship of the Church through regular meditation upon the Holy Scriptures and participation in liturgical worship.

That was the matrix within which there took shape the theological intuition and godly judgment which were at work in the formulation of more formal beliefs within the boundaries marked by the claims of Christ upon the obedience and service of the Church. Thus there emerged a general interpretative framework of life and godliness, and a particular framework of beliefs derived from Holy Baptism in which, as Athanasius expressed it, the whole substance of the Trinitarian Faith was lodged.[84] Under the normative functioning of that interpretative framework and of the rule of faith, but with continued access to divine Revelation mediated in the Holy Scriptures, the Church's understanding and formulation of the Truth of the Gospel expanded and deepened. Thus there is to be found in the pre-Nicene period of the Catholic Church a progressive penetration into the intelligible structure of the Christian Faith which, while gaining increasing comprehension and precision, took place within the scope of the premises of the Church's ultimate beliefs embodied in the Apostolic Deposit of Faith.

It is significant that when explicit formulations of belief began to appear out of the intergrated body of the Apostolic Faith they frequently included a clause on the Church which eventually came to establish itself in the mature form of the Apostles' or the Nicene Creeds.[85] That seems to represent the fact that even when formal creeds developed, they remained bound to the implicit structure of the faith embodied in the Apostolic Church and would be seriously defective if they were abstracted from it. Thus the deep interrelation between implicit and expli-

79. Athanasius, *Epistolae*, 2. 9–11.

80. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 5. 18, 20.

81. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 2.6–7, 11.

82. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 2.2, 5–8, 10–11.

83. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 1. 38.

84. Athanasius, *Con. Arianos*, 4. 21.

85. See the *Der Balyzeh* papyrus, cited by J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1950, p. 89; or the *Epistola Apostolorum*, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

cit belief, informal and formal acts of knowledge was not forgotten but carried over into full-orbed confession of the Catholic Faith. That is what we are surely to discern in the Nicene Creed. At the Council of Nicaea clear and definite theological formalisation of the Faith was recognised as relying on what the Church had always believed and instinctively known to be true, and that it was through this kind of credal formalisation that the whole body of belief implicit in the Apostolic Tradition of the Church was being reinforced and equipped with an institutional form that extended its regulative force in the life of the Church. At the same time, as we have seen, the Nicene Creed as essentially a confession of faith before God was characterised by an open scope focussed indefinitely beyond the range of its formulations, for the Truth that had laid hold of the Church, and which it felt bound to confess in Ecumenical Council, reached back into the transcendent mystery of the Holy Trinity. By the same token, in being locked into that Truth, the theological formalisations taken up in the Creed opened the door to deeper and fuller modes of understanding which could only be dimly seen, if at all, at the time. All that, however, reposed upon a 'knowledge of the truth according to godliness' embodied in the Church's tradition and yet transcending it, an instinctive sense of God imprinted upon the mind of the Church by divine Revelation and an insight through all explicit formalisation of faith into the inner intelligible relations of God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who is more to be adored than expressed. Trinitarian worship and Trinitarian faith thus provided the implicit controlling base both for a faithful restructuring of the life of the Church and for a godly renewing of its understanding in the mind of Christ.

# ΕΙΔΩΛΟΘΥΤΑ ONCE MORE

By

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I am glad to have been asked to contribute to this volume in honour of Archbishop Methodios, and, knowing his interest in Corinth, to be given thereby the opportunity of returning briefly to Paul's Epistles to the Corinthian church. I recently had occasion to reconsider[1] 1 Corinthians 15, and, noting that Paul refers in two separate places, 15.21–2 and 15.45–9, to the figure of Adam, was able, I hope, to show that though the chapter is undoubtedly a unity Paul had in mind not only two different aspects of the theological significance of Adam but two different groups in the Corinthian church whom he found it necessary to correct in diferent ways. The first group were responsible for the blunt assertion, There is no resurrection of the dead (15.12). They had not meant to deny the resurrection of Christ, for they had accepted this when it was preached to them (15.11), but they failed to see that Christ died and rose as a representative, and it is this that Paul presses upon them in 15.20–22: As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. The analogy with Adam enables him to move from the resurrection of Christ, which is accepted, to the resurrection of Christians, which had been denied. Paul turns to the second group at 15.35. They do not deny outright that there is to be a resurrection but ask, How are the dead raised? With what kind of body do they come? It is clear—perhaps clearer in the twentieth century than in the first—that these questions can be asked with a sceptical intention. This intention however is not necessarily implied; the questioners may have been genuinely puzzled. In answering both scepticism and bewilderment Paul returns to the story of Adam, this time in order to prove his assertion (15.44) that if there is a σῶμα ψυχικὸν there is also a σῶμα πνευματικόν.

Thus one of the major themes of 1 Corinthians, that of resurrection, when carefully examined, leads to the discovery of a more complicated situation than has hitherto been recognized. There is nothing surprising in this complication. The Christian faith can be perverted in many ways and the Corinthians were inventive people. Once this kind of variety has been noticed it is natural to look for it elsewhere. I have already noted an example of sorts in 2 Corinthians[2], where it seems that Judaizing invaders of the church were obliged in the interests of expediency to adopt criteria of apostleship and churchmanship dictated by the Gentile church on which it was their intention to impose themselves. It is coexistence of these two view-points, two programmes, an end along with means to the end, that has led some commentators to describe the invaders as simple Judaizers, others to think them Hellenistic θεῖοι ἄνδρες.

Other examples may be found. One of the most frequently noted features of the Corinthian church is the existence within it of dissensions and divisions. It is not always pointed out that the divisions are themselves divided; that is, the Corinthian church was divided in at least three different ways.

a) There were divisions based on personal allegiance. Paul has heard through members of Chloe's household that there were such divisions (ἔριδες) and he explains what he means (1 Cor. 1. 11 f.). Each of you has his party-cry: I belong to Paul, I belong to Apollos, I belong to Cephas, I belong to Christ. The characteristics of the four groups have been endlessly debated; fortunately there is no need here to enter into the debate. Whatever the tenets, or ways of living, that marked the groups may have been, those who adhered to them attached themselves to persons. It must not be assumed that those whose names were used desired to be leaders of rival factions; it was enough that they existed and had names that could be used as labels.

b) It is clear from 1 Corinthians 11 that when the church assembled for its common meal those who were present fell into groups which were different in number and probably in composition from those in (a) and were probably quite unrelated to them. The rich formed one group to eat and drink as they pleased; the poor receded into the background to eat with

1. The reconsideration will be published in the proceedings of the ninth Colloquium Paulinum held at S. Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome in 1983.

2. See C.K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to Corinthians* (London, 1973), pp. 28–30, 270–87.

shame their scanty supplies. An assembly of that kind, says Paul (11.17), will do more harm than good. But, he reflects, no doubt there must be parties (αἱρέσεις, 11.19) in order that the tried Christians may stand out. Here then was another kind of division in the Corinthian church.

c) A third kind of division arose out of the problem of food sacrificed to idols, which is discussed in 1 Corinthians 8–10. This is often referred to as the division between the weak and the strong; it would perhaps be wise to avoid this terminology (which I recognize that I have used myself) since though Paul uses the word *weak*, and this may be said to imply the word *strong*, the latter word does not occur in this part of the epistle (as it does in Rom. 15. 1, though in that verse only in the chapter and a half in Romans that deal with a similar division). It is worth while to note that *weak* occurs in the following verses:

8.7: Their conscience, which is weak (ἀσθενής), is defiled.
8.9: ··· a stumbling-block to those who are weak (ἀσθενέσιν).
8.10: ··· this weak (ἀσθενοῦς) man's conscience.
8.11: ··· the weak man (ὁ ἀσθενῶν) perishes.
8.12: ··· their conscience, weak (ἀσθενοῦσαν) as it is.
9.22: ··· to the weak (ἀσθενέσιν) I became weak (ἀσθενής), in order that I might win the weak (ἀσθενεῖς).

It appears that ἀσθενής, ἀσθενεῖν, occur only in chapter 8 and in the summarizing, backward-looking verse 9.22. The word does not occur in 1 Corinthians 8–10; the nearest approach to it is the comparative ἰσχυρότερος at 10.22, which is scarcely relevant since the comparison is with God (Are we to provoke the Lord? Are we stronger than he?). It may possibly allude to a group who thought and spoke of themselves as οἱ ἰσχυροί, but this is hypothetical and not probable. What is certain is that Paul saw fit to use the word *weak* very frequently in chapter 8, not at all in chapter 10; that the word *strong* is not used at all (unless 10.22 is allowed to count), so that it is only stretching the evidence that we can find in either chapter 8 or chapter 10 a group whom we may properly, that is, with some basis in Paul's usage, describe as *the strong*. The point that we must note at present is that terminology does not unite but rather separates the treatments of εἰδωλόθυτα in chapters 8 and 10.

These two treatments have been made the ground for dividing 1 Corinthians into two or more letters written on different occasions. I have tried elsewhere to show that this agrument is unconvincing[3]. Chapter 9 is not (as some think) out of place. In shapter 8 Paul appeals to those who feel free (as he does himself) to eat sacrificial meat to forgo their right of Christian freedom and (when occasion requires it) to abstain in the interests of weaker Christian brothers whose weak consciences might be hurt or even constrained into sin by the unbridled exercise and example of liberty. In chapter 9 he goes on to show that he is not asking of these liberated Christians anything that he does not himself voluntarily do. As an apostle he has even greater rights, but he has abjured them in the interests of the Gospel. He is prepared to become all things to all men, and this includes becoming weak to the weak. All this is by no means irrelevant, so that when in chapter 10 Paul returns to the question of sacrificial food and the Christian housewife's Sunday joint[4] we have no occasion for surprise or for conjecturing the combination of two letters.

I still find this argument convincing and do not wish to retract it, or the fuller statement of it that I have given in the past. There are however two points to which, in the light of the two Adam passages in chapter 15, it seems right to give further attention. The first is the simple fact that Paul deals with food sacrificed to idols twice. If it can be shown that the two treatments are not inconsistent, why did he not put them together, say all that had to be said by way of counsel to the advanced, free Christians, and then proceed to the material contained in chapter 9? It may be that the explanation is simple; Paul believed that he had finished with the subject and then thought of other points that he had omitted to make. Rather than rewrite the whole he added his new points as they occurred to him: Oh, and I forgot to say... This is possible, but it is a counsel of despair and not to be accepted unless all other possibilities fail. The second point to be borne in mind is that between the two treatments of εἰδωλόθυτα there intervenes not only chapter 9, which on consideration proves to be reasonably close to both, but also 10.1–13, which at first sight seems to diverge further from the point, and to be intended to introduce the treatment of the Supper which follows (after an interval) in chapter 11. Can the intervention of 10.1–13 be explained as satisfactorily as that of chapter 9?

Yes, it can; provided that we may suppose that chapter 10 deals with a different group of «free Christians», who contended for freedom to eat things sacrificed to idols on different grounds, which however Paul could no more regard as satisfactory than he regarded those of chapter 8.

For he did not regard as adequate the grounds he described in chapter 8 as adduced by some of rhe Corinthian Christians. Their conclusion was correct, but their method of proof was mistaken. We all have gnosis, said the Corinthians. The content of their gnosis was that an idol has no real existence. There is only one God; there is only one Lord. They used the formula:

For us there is one God, the Father, from whom come all things and to whom our own being leads;

And one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things, including ourselves, come into being (8.6).

3. C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (London, 1958), pp. 12–17; also e. g. H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther* (KEK; Göttingen, 1969), pp. 13–15.

4. A. Ehrhardt, *The Framework of the New Testament Stories* (Manchester, 1964), pp. 276–90.

With this statement Paul cannot but agree. Indeed, he probably framed it himself; the Corinthians quote it back at him. But he makes two comments on it. First, gnosis puffs up; it is love that builds up. And secondly, it is not true that we all possess this gnosis. There are some Christians for whom idolatry is intensely real. They are truly Christians; they believe that Christ has delivered them from the evil powers; but they also bemieve[5] that the powers still exist and still constitute a threat. For these reasons those who feel themselves free will, in the interests of their fellow Christians, use their freedom with restraint. They have overlooked the true ground of freedom, which is not gnosis, not the fact that they are γνωστικοί. Their point of view can be seen behind verse 8 which reveals a Corinthian opinion, to obtain which all that is necessary is to redistribute the negatives. We may infer that the liberated Corinthians said, «Abstinence from food will not commend us to God; if we eat we lose nothing, nor if we do not eat are we advantaged». This is true; there is nothing on which we can stand before God but his grace and the faith he grants us to enable us to receive his grace. But this carries with it the proposition that Paul actually writes. «Food—the food that the free Christian feels at liberty to eat—does not commend us to God; if, like the weak, we abstain from eating, we lose nothing: if, like the free, we do eat, we gain nothing». Thus the whole of chapter 8 deals with the position of those who approach the question of sacrificial food from the angle of gnosis. Their conclusion is correct, but it calls for qualification in the light of Christian charity; more fundamentally, it is correct, but vitiated by the fact than it is based on the wrong premises and established by the wrong methods. It depends on gnossis not on faith and love.

What of chapter 10? It begins abruptly. There is a connection with what immediately precedes, but it is not close. The γάρ of verse 1 looks back in the first instance to 9.27. I discipline myself, says Paul, because there is in the past history of Israel a shocking case of indiscipline which had disastrous consequences. The real connection however does not appear till we have come round once more to the matter of food sacrificed to idols. The opening paragraph of chapter 10 recalls the story of Israel in the wilderness. Our distant forefathers had a baptism; they were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea. They had also a sacred meal consisting of spiritual food (presumably Paul is thinking of the God-given manna) and spiritual drink (he is certainly thinking of the water made to gush out of the rock). They were thus exceptionally blessed by God; but with most of them God was not pleased. Small wonder: they fell into idolatry, they committed fornication, they put God to the test, they complained against him. For these things they were severely punished.

5. As did Paul himself; see e. g. Rom. 8,38f. with its reference to threatening powers.

Commentators for the most part agree that Paul recalled this piece of Old Testament history because the Corinthians misunderstood their sacraments, taking them to be a kind of defence behind which they could safely shelter. «We have been baptized; we take part in the Lord's Supper; we may do what we please, and do it with impunity». Doubtless this general interpretation is correct. But should not the point be made more precise? Is not the cue for the second discussion of εἰδωλόθυτα the fact that just as some Corinthians argued for freedom in this matter on the grounds of gnosis, so others were saying, «Because we have baptism and the Supper, and are protected by them, we may eat εἰδωλόθυτα»? Again, the conclusion was correct but the argument faulty.

It was faulty in its disregard of the Old Testament. The ancient dipping, eating, and drinking were no guarantees of immunity, and these things «were written down as a warning for us» (10.11). The argument was faulty also in its understanding of the Supper[6]. Paul therefore found himself obliged to counter the false inference from the Supper by setting forth its true meaning; hence the reference to it in 10.16,17. «Paulus ist nun hier wie sonst nicht in der Lage, den Glauben an das Sakrament im Sinn einer modernen Geistigkeit bestreiten und damit zugleich seine Überspannung abwehren zu können, sondern er ist in der viel schwierigeren Lage, aus dem (echten) Sakrament gegen das (unechte) Sakrament streiten, mit dem Sakrament die Sakramentierer bekämpfen, aus dem Sakramentsglauben den Sakramentsaberglauben widerlegen zu müssen»[7]. The Christian Supper, Paul says, is not a religious immunization; rather it will teach you the true significance of sacred eating[8]. The cup of blessing which we bless is (as you yourselves profess) not merely a common cup of wine; it signifies, it is, a joint participation in the blood of Christ, that is in all that his blood-shedding has obtained for us. The broken loaf is not merely a basic part of our diet; it signifies, it is, a joint participation in the body of Christ. These therefore join us to one another, because they join us all to him. You may see an analogous relation between worshippers and that which a material object (the

6. Paul does not develop the theme of baptism.

7. H. von Soden, *Urchristentum und Geschichte I* (Tübingen, 1951), p. 260. Cf. in the same work p. 259: Certain critical quastions «gehen von einer das theologische Verständnis von 1 Kor. auch sonst mehrfach hemmenden oder irreleitenden Auffassung der korinthischen Gnostiker als aufgeklärter Libertinisten aus, während sie vielmehr überspannte Enthusiasten des Pneumaglaubens sind. Sie setzen ihr Vetrauen nicht entscheidend auf die rationalististische Erwägung, dass es Keine Götzen gibt... sondern darauf, dass die mit den Sakramenten Christi Geweihten gegen alle Mächte gefeit sind und deshalb eine schrankenlose ἐξουσία haben». Much of this is very well observed, but it fails to recognize that Paul has to deal with two groups. One is not inaccurately described as aufgeklärte Libertinisten, whereas the other consisted of those who put an exaggerated trust in the sacraments.

8. It is true also that useful inferences can be drawn in the opposite direction.

altar) signifies in the religious life of Israel (verse 18). At this point there is contact with Paul's argument against the gnostics in chapter 8. The meaning of the rhetorical questions is clear: an εἰδωλόθυτον is nothing –nothing more, that is, than any other piece of meat; an εἴδωλον is nothing–nothing more, that is, than any other piece of wood or stone or metal. But it would never have occurred to Paul to say that a demon was nothing; it was real, evil, and dangerous[9]. And to eat in a context determined by demons was incompatible with eating in a context determined by the Lord. Food will not harm you, but demons, if you let them, will.

Paul was in an awkward and complicated position. Two groups were contending for a view which he believed to be correct, but they were contending for it by arguments that he was bound to reject. Others were taking a view which he knew to be mistaken, but he was obliged by Christian charity to defend them in their error. He could hardly take a step without appearing to say something that he did not mean. Hence he winds up the discussion in the most practical terms. You may buy in the meat-market any meat that pleases you. You may go out to dinner in any company you wish and eat whatever is laid on the table. But you must consider the conscience of others; in all you do you must seek the glory of God; you must never do anything that would prevent another from accepting the Gospel, or, if he has accepted it, would drive him from it. All this[10] is clear enough for anyone. But no doubt Paul was wise, even if it led to some repetition and the possibility of some confusion, to separate from each other two erroneous arguments, the one based on gnosis and the other one an exaggerated sacramentarianism. And we may be grateful that his method contributes one more small insight into the make-up of the Corinthian church.

9. Cf. note 5.

10. Except verse 29b, which I have tried to explain in my commentary (note 3).

# ORTHODOXIE UND RÖMISCHER KATHOLIZISMUS

von

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1. *Die historische Wende der sechziger und die Schwierigkeiten der achtziger Jahre.*

*Johannes XXIII.* war es, der eine Bewusstseinsänderung in der gesamten westlichen Kirche gegenüber dem christlichen Osten herbeiführte, ein anderes Klima, das auch auf die orthodoxen Kirchen selber übergriff und sich in den Panorthodoxen Konferenzen auswirkte. In Patriarch Athenagoras I. traf dieser Papst auf einen gleichgesinnten, mutigen Partner, der die neue ökumenische Offenheit auch gegen die Widerstände in der Orthodoxie durchzusetzen wusste. Papst Johannes ermöglichte neue Kontakte und gegenseitige Besuche; er gründete das Sekretariat für die Einheit der Christen und lud Beobachter der östlichen Kirchen zum Konzil ein. Zusammen mit dem Zweiten Vatikanum schuf er die Voraussetzungen für jenen "*Dialog der Liebe*", in welchem sich die beiden Kirchen wieder ihrer tiefen *Gemeinsamkeit* bewusst wurden und sich als *Schwesterkirchen* erkannten. Anstelle der bisherigen Isolation, Entfremdung, gar Feindschaft soll nun eine beidseitige Wiederbegegnung, Annäherung, Versöhnung, Gemeinschaft realisiert werden. Die Konzilsdekrete betonen deutlich, was gemeinsam und was besonders für das orthodoxe Kirchenverständnis wichtig ist: die Kirche als Glaubensgemeinschaft und Volk Gottes, die pneumatische Dimension der Kirche, die Kollegialität der Bischöfe, die Gleichberechtigung der Kirchen des Ostens mit denen des Westens, Recht (und Pflicht) auf eigenständige Liturgie, Rechtsordnung und Spiritualität, die Gültigkeit der orthodoxen Taufen, Eucharistiefeiern, Ordinationen... So wurden die Grundlagen für neue Beziehungen zu den orthodoxen Kirchen gelegt.

Johannes XXIII. selber starb schon nach der ersten Konzils-Session. Aber sein Nachfolger, *Paul VI.*, hat in diesem Bereich entschiedener als in anderen das Werk von Johannes XXIII. weitergeführt. Nur wenn man die jahrhundertelange Distanz, Ignoranz, ja Aversion und Feindschaft zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel kennt, wird man die Erklärung des Ökumenischen Patriarchen Dimitrios I. anlässlich des Todes von Paul VI. am 7. August 1978 entsprechend würdigen können, worin er diesem Papst als Evangelisten der Liebe, der Versöhnung und des Friedens höchstes Lob zollt und dabei erinnert an die fünf Stationen, die die historische Wende zwischen Ostkirche und Westkirche markieren: "Wir als Ökumenisches Patriarchat und als Ökumenischer Patriarch, betrachten es in dieser heiligen Stunde seines Hinscheidens aus dieser Welt als unsere Pflicht, uns an fünf historische Stationen, die die Beziehungen des Ökumenischen Patriarchates und des Vatikans und im allgemeinen die Versöhnung der Orthodoxen und der Römisch-Katholischen Kirchen betreffen, zu erinnern und sie hervorzuheben:

a) Die Begegnung in Jerusalem zwischen Papst Paul VI. und unserem unvergesslichen Vorgänger Patriarch Athenagoras I. im Jahre 1964.

b) Die Aufhebung der Anathemata zwischen den Kirchen von Rom und Konstantinopel im Jahre 1965.

c) Den Besuch des Papstes Paul VI. beim Ökumenischen Patriarchat im Jahre 1967.

d) Den Gegenbesuch unseres Vorgängers Athenagoras I. und seinen herzlichen Empfang im Vatikan im Jahre 1967, und

e) den persönlichen Beitrag des Papstes Pauls VI. in der wichtigen Angelegenheit des Übergangs des Dialogs zwischen der Orthodoxen und der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche aus dem Stadium des Dialogs der Liebe in das Stadium des theologischen Dialogs" (Information aus der Orthodoxen Kirche, 1980-1, N.F. No 7 S. 11; die Dokumentation dieser neuen Entwicklung zwischen den beiden Schwesterkirchen wurde von Rom und Konstantinopel gemeinsam herausgegeben in einem Band mit dem Titel "Tomos Agapis", 1971 ; dt. 1978).

Bei der gegenseitigen Bannaufhebung hatten Paul VI. und Patriarch Athenagoras I. das "Bedauern" über die "beleidigenden Worte" von 1054 zum Ausdruck gebracht; die "Exkommunikationssprüche" von damals seien "aus dem Gedächtnis und der

AKSUM-THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

Mitte der Kirche zu beseitigen". Freilich: Mit dieser Aufhebung der Exkommunikation wurde die Kommunion noch keineswegs wiederhergestellt. Erst mit der Wiederherstellung der eucharistischen Gemeinschaft zwischen den beiden Kirchen wäre das kirchliche Schisma beendet. Wie aber, so fragt man, kommt man von den symbolischen Gesten zur realen Versöhnung? Nicht ohne Bereinigung der theologischen Differenzen!

Der Beseitigung des Schismas soll dehalb der offizielle "*theologische Dialog*" dienen, der durch den (natürlich noch weiter notwendigen) Dialog der Liebe vorbereitet wurde und der nun, wie von den Panorthodoxen Konferenzen gewünscht, auf der Ebene der Gleichberechtigung stattfinden soll. Nach allen Vorbereitungen unter Paul VI. konnte *Johannes Paul II.* bei seinem Besuch in Konstantinopel im November 1979 zusammen mit dem Ökumenischen Patriarchen Dimitrios die Aufnahme dieses theologischen Dialogs und die Errichtung einer Gemischten Theologischen Kommission für den Dialog zwischen der Römisch-Katholischen und der Orthodoxen Kirche ankündigen. "Ich meine in der Tat", sagte Johannes Paul II. am 30. November 1979 in Konstantinopel, "dass wir uns weniger die Frage stellen müssen, wie wir die volle Gemeinschaft herstellen können, als vielmehr die, ob wir noch das Recht haben, getrennt zu bleiben" (IOK S. 27). Vom 29. Mai bis zum 4. Juni 1980 hat die Kommission, bestehend aus 60 Bischöfen und Theologen, auf den Inseln Patmos und Rhodos getagt; bei der 2. Vollversammlung in München vom 30.6. bis 6.7.1982 wurde ein erstes gemeinsames Dokument verabschiedet: "Das Geheimnis der Kirche und der Eucharistie im Lichte des Geheimnisses der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit". Alles ist also zugespitzt auf die Frage der Sakramente. An diesem Punkt indessen setzen die Fragen und Zweifel vieler in Ost und West ein: Werden hier nicht wieder einmal Themen von höchster theologischer Abstraktion aufgegriffen, die im Grunde gar nicht kontrovers sind?

Gewiss: man muss sich für einen solchen Dialog Zeit nehmen, aber man darf – angesichts der schwierigen Situation der zwischen West und Ost gespaltenen Welt und Christenheit – auch keine Zeit verlieren. Man muss gewiss vom Gemeinsamen ausgehen, aber man darf die entscheidenden Differenzen auch nicht vor sich herschieben. Gerade die *Sakramente* – auch vom Vatikanum II anerkannt – zählten bisher zum grundlegend Gemeinsamen der beiden Kirchen; einige Unterschiede in der Sakramentenpraxis (etwa bezüglich Firmung oder Eheschliessung) galten nicht als kirchentrennend. Anders als im Verhältnis Katholische Kirche – Evangelische Kirche gibt es keine kirchentrennende Kontroverse bezüglich des Verständnisses der Eucharistie, der apostolischen Sukzession und der Gültigkeit der Ämter und Eucharistiefeiern der Orthodoxen Kirchen (manchmal freilich Zweifel konservativer Orthodoxer bezüglich der Gültigkeit der Sakramente der vom Glauben abgefallenen Römisch-Katholischen Kirche). Deshald dürfen nach dem Vatikanum II Katholiken in orthodoxen Kirchen die Sakramente empfangen, falls kein katholischer Priester zur Verfügung steht (was freilich nicht von allen orthodoxen Kirchen zugestanden wird). Schon im Breve "Anno ineunte", das Paul VI. am 25. Juli 1967 dem Patriarchen Athenagoras bei seinem Besuch in Konstantinopel übergeben hat, hiess es: "Da wir uns auf beiden Seiten zu den Grunddogmen des christlichen Glaubens bekennen, die auf ökumenischen Konzilien definiert worden sind,.... und die wahren Sakramente und das hierarchische Priestertum besitzen, ist es vor allem notwendig, dass wir im Dienst an unserem heiligen Glauben brüderlich daran arbeiten und uns darum sorgen, dass wir die geeigneten weiterführenden Wege ausfindig machen, um das Leben unserer Kirchen und die bereits bestehende, wenn auch unvollkommene Gemeinschaft zu fördern und in die Tat umzusetzen" (Tomos Agapis S. 118).

"Geeignete weiterführende Wege, um die bereits bestehende Gemeinsamkeit in die Tat umzusetzen": Angesichts dieses Satzes drängt sich die Frage auf: Warum ist heute eine grosse gemischte Kommission nötig, die sich über Jahre hin mit den Sakramenten im Licht der Trinität beschäftigt und da womöglich noch neue Differenzen feststellt? Soll die ökumenische Verständigung durch diese Kommission auf die lange Bank geschoben werden? Warum die Gemeinsamkeit der Sakramente nicht wie bisher voraussetzen und sich denjenigen Fragen widmen, in die die Diskussion über die Sakramente ohnehin mündet und die wirklich kirchentrennend zwischen Ost und West sind: die Frage nämlich der Ekklesiologie, die Frage nach der *Kirche, ihrer Verfassung, ihrer Autorität und Einheit?* Hier liegt die *eigentliche Herausforderung* der orthodoxen Kirchen!

Aber gerade in dieser entscheidenden Frage stellen die Orthodoxen eine gewisse *Zwiespältigkeit Roms* fest: auf der einen Seite Botschaften der Liebe, Brüderlichkeit, des guten Willens und der Kooperation, auf der anderen Seite aber eine Kirchenpolitik, die das von vielen Leiden geprägte jahrhundertealte Misstrauen gegenüber römischen Worten und Gesten fördert statt abbaut. So fragen sich im Osten auch viele Gutwillige: Geht es da nicht wieder einmal nur um die alte römische Expansionspolitik in einem freilich neuen, freundlicheren Gewand, mit neuen Formen und Methoden? Es sind vor allen zwei Formen von Aktivitäten, die die Orthodoxie beunruhigen: a) die mit Rom unierten östlichen Kirchen, b) die der vatikanischen Politik selber. Kurz zu beiden Schwierigkeiten:

a) Die *mit Rom unierten Kirchen* inmitten der östlichen Orthodoxie (die Griechisch-Katholische Kirche usw.) bedrohen die östlichen Schwesterkirchen von innen her. Es lässt sich von katholischer Seite nicht bestreiten, dass der römische Plan der Heimholung der orthodoxen Kirchen von innen her frei-

lich gescheitert ist und dass die zweite parallele Hierarchie neben der orthodoxen eine Anomalie darstellt (zwei Patriarchate von Jerusalem, Antiochien, Alexandrien, zwei Erzbischöfe von Athen usw.). Patriarchen und Bischöfe der unierten Kirchen haben auf dem Vatikanum II sehr viel dafür getan, um für die Orthodoxie in der westlichen Kirche Verständnis zu schaffen; insbesondere der melchitische Patriarch Maximos V. hat sich hier (ähnlich wie schon sein Vorgänger auf dem Ersten Vatikanischen Konzil) grosse Verdienste erworben. Aber von orthodoxer Seite wird den unierten Kirchen kaum jene Brükkenfunktion zwischen Rom und dem Osten zugestanden, die diese Kirchen zumindest neuerdings beanspruchen, sondern es wird ihnen eine Verschärfung der Spaltung zur Last gelegt. Wie immer, *drei Gesichtspunkte* müssten, so scheint mir, gleichzeitig berücksichtigt werden:

1. Eine Verständigung zwischen Rom und der Orthodoxie einfach an den unierten Kirchen vorbei scheint mir unrealistisch und unmöglich zu sein; es ist deshalb gut, dass die unierten Kirchen in der neuen gemischten Kommission vertreten sind.

2. Die Verdoppelung der Hierarchien im Osten muss so bald wie möglich beseitigt werden, was aber nur zusammen mit der Lösung der Autoritätsfrage möglich ist; insofern hängt die Frage der unierten Kirchen eng mit der zentralen Frage zusammen, auf die wir kurz zurückzukommen haben.

3. Für die Zwischenzeit aber ist eines wichtig: Der planmässige katholische Proselytismus, wie er gegenüber den Protestanten schon längst eingestellt ist, wie er aber gegenüber den Orthodoxen hauptsächlich in ärmeren Gegenden noch immer versucht wird, muss gestoppt werden; er steht zu einem Dialog der Liebe in Widerspruch. Darüber hinaus wäre es ein wahrhaftiges ökumenisches Zeichen, wenn Rom nicht mehr lateinische Metropoliten für Jerusalem und Athen – beides keine lateinischen Gebiete – benennen würde.

Leider jedoch werden zur Zeit von Rom aus eher antiökumenische als ökumenische Zeichen gesetzt. Als antiökumenisch wurde in der gesamten Orthodoxie das Schreiben Johannes Pauls II. an Kardinal Slipyj, Bischof der unierten ukrainischen Kirche, vom 19. März 1979 angesehen, der – ohne die Russisch-Orthodoxe Kirche auch nur zu nennen – die mit Rom unierte ukrainische Kirche als höchst authentische Ausdrucksform der Kirche von Russland charakterisiert. Die Antwort von Kardinal Willebrands auf eine Beschwerde des Moskauer Patriarchats (Metropolit Juvenalij) konnte die Leitung der russischen Kirche nicht befriedigen und wurde auch in Griechenland stark kritisiert. Aber damit sind wir bereits bei der vatikanischen Kirchenpolitik.

b) Für die Orthoxie verfolgt die *vatikanische Kirchenpolitik* in Griechenland, im Mittleren Osten und in Russland eine zweischneidige Strategie: Nach aussen zeigt sie sich ökumenisch-freundlich gegenüber der Orthodoxen Kirche, von innen aber sucht sie nach wie vor die Stellung der Orthodoxen Kirche zu untergraben durch massive Unterstützung der Kirchenunion im Sinne der unierten Kirchen. In der Tat ist nicht einzusehen:

1. warum der Vatikan versucht, die römisch-katholische Position an den Heiligen Stätten in Jerusalem auf Kosten der in dieser Gegend herrschenden Orthodoxen Kirche zu verbessern, ohne das dafür zuständige griechisch-orthodoxe Patriarchat von Jerusalem auch nur zu konsultieren;

2. warum der Vatikan durch eine Übereinkunft mit der ägyptischen Regierung die Errichtung eines christlich-jüdisch-muslimischen Heiligtums auf dem Berg Sinai zu erreichen sucht, ohne die jahrhundertelange Präsenz der Orthodoxen Kirche am Berge Sinai zu respektieren;

3. warum der Vatikan diplomatische Beziehungen mit der griechischen Regierung aufnimmt, auch wenn die hier betroffene griechische Kirche aus theologischen und ökumenischen Gründen heftig protestiert.

Man muss sich angesichts solcher antiökumenischer Aktivitäten der Kurie nicht wundern, wenn die antirömische Phobie innerhalb der Orthodoxie wieder Auftrieb erhält. Auch viele Katholiken werden es durchaus verstehen, wenn man in der Orthodoxie vor allem an der zwitterhaften Institution des Vatikanstaates Anstoss nimmt, der mit seinem Oberhaupt, seinen Organen und Nuntiaturen in den verschiedenen Ländern (Denunziaturen hat sie ein Konzilsvater genannt) je nach Belieben und Interesse einmal kirchlich-religiös und dann wieder weltlich-machtpolitisch handelt.

Ökumenische Theologie hat hier nach beiden Seiten deutlich zu reden: Die Katholische Kirche muss sich entscheiden, ob sie Staat oder Kirche sein will; ein Kirchenstaat (im weiteren oder engeren Sinn) ist, vom christlichen Ursprung her gesehen, ein Widerspruch in sich.

Die Orthodoxe Kirche aber hat sich, wo sie noch immer staatskirchlichen Charakter hat, aus ihrer – konstitutionellen (Griechenland) oder faktischen (Russland) – Abhängigkeit vom Staat zu lösen; auch eine Staatskirche ist, vom kirchlichen Ursprung her gesehen, ein Widerspruch in sich.

Sowohl der Kirchenstaat wie die Staatskirche haben sich, wie wir gesehen haben, durch ihre eigene Geschichte selber desavouiert. Sie sind wie nicht schriftgemäss so auch nicht mehr zeitgemäss. Und damit sind wir nun wieder bei der eigentlichen Herausforderung des christlichen Ostens: dem Verständnis der Kirche, ihrer Verfassung und Autorität. Dies ist die eigentlich trennende Frage, die sich heute beiden Seiten stellt und in besonderer Weise zuspitzt.

## 2. *Die zentrale Streitfrage*

Der Sekretär der Kommission zur Vorbereitung des in Aussicht genommenen panorthodoxen Konzils,

Metropolit Damaskinos von Tranoupolis, wurde vor kurzen gefragt, was heute noch am entscheidendsten Konstantinopel von Rom trenne. Seine Antwort, die sicher die Antwort eines jeden Kundigen im Osten ist: "Es ist der Jurisdiktionsprimat des Papstes, weil Rom einerseits diesen Primat als konstitutiv für die kirchliche Einheit ansieht und da andererseits der Osten in diesem Anspruch eine Änderung der bischöflichen Struktur der Kirche, wie sie die Orthodoxie versteht, sieht" (IOK S. 40).

Nun ist aber die Orthodoxie durchaus bereit, einen bestimmten Primat der Kirche und des Bischofs von Rom anzuerkennen. Wie schon Patriarch Athenagoras, so hat *Patriarch Dimitrios* beim Besuch des Papstes in Konstantinopel festgestellt, dass der Bischofssitz von Rom und dessen Inhaber, der Papst, im ganzen Osten als der erste Bischof der ganzen Christenheit anerkannt werde: die Römische Kirche in der Sprache des Ignatios von Antiochien als „Vorsitzende der Liebe".

Doch *Papst Johannes Paul II.* selbst hat bei diesem Besuch – und dies noch am Fest des Erstberufenen und Bruder des Petrus, des Apostels Andreas, Patrons der Kirche von Byzanz – unumwunden einen sehr viel weitergehenden Primatsanspruch für den Nachfolger Petri erhoben, auch wenn er diesen Anspruch mit dem Christusbekenntnis des Petrus begründet hat. Es ist von östlicher Seite sehr wohl vermerkt, aber auch entschieden abgelehnt worden, dass sich der Papst in der Nachfolge des Petrus den "Auftrag" zuschreibt, "die Übereinstimmung der apostolischen Verkündigung sicherzustellen", und dass er "als der Erste die Verantwortung" habe, "über die Einheit aller zu wachen und die Übereinstimmung der Heiligen Kirchen Gottes zu garantieren" (IOK S. 36),

Der Vertreter der griechischen Kirche in der neuen gemischten Kommission, Professor Chrysostomos Saphiris (Metropolit von Peristerion), schreibt dazu im Kommentar: "Wir meinen, dass Seine Heiligkeit in einem so offiziellen Augenblick, als der Geburtstag der Konstantinopolitanischen Kirche gefeiert wurde und ihre Apostolizität in der Person des Apostels Andreas hervorgehoben wurde, eine solche Überbetonung der Übertreibungen des 'Petrinischen Dogmas', das für die Orthodoxie aus rein theologischen und insbesondere ekklesiologischen Gründen nicht akzeptabel ist, hätte umgehen können" (IOK S. 36).

Und im selben Kommentar schreibt Saphiris auch: "Dieser Besuch verdeckt bestimmte beunruhigende Aktivitäten römischer Büros und Ämter, die die Orthodoxie unmittelbar interessieren". Er nennt dann zuerst den Brief des Papstes an Kardinal Slipyj und dann wörtlich: "...die 'Verurteilung' bestimmter römisch-katholischer Theologen (z.B. H. Küng und E. Schillebeeckx u.a.), die bekannt sind für ihre theologische und ökumenische 'Offenheit' der ganzen nicht-römisch-katholischen Welt gegenüber. Diese beiden Fälle sollten nicht als innere Angelegenheiten der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche betrachtet werden. Wenn sie nur dies wären, würde sich die Orthodoxe Kirche bestimmt nicht einmischen und würde sich auch bestimmt nicht damit beschäftigen. Aber diese Angelegenheiten haben ihre ökumenische Dimension. Und sie ziehen die Orthodoxie mit hinein, sei es direkt, wie es der Fall ist beim Thema der Ukrainischen Union und dem, was man in Rom dazu gesagt hat – was ja historisch und theologisch nicht stichhaltig ist – oder unmittelbar auf dem Wege, den der theologische Dialog geht, und auf dessen Pfaden sich fortschrittliche Ideen zu strittigen Themen bilden, als da sind die Unfehlbarkeit, die Ekklesiologie der Synoden, die Mitverantwortung der Bischöfe und anderes (wir nehmen die Christologie aus, deren Entwicklung auch uns in gleicher Weise wie Rom beunruhigt), fortschrittliche Ideen, die, wenn sie nun vom zukünftigen Dialog ausgeschlossen sind, ihn ärmer machen werden" (IOK S. 32).

Auch auf dem 5. theologischen Dialog zwischen dem Moskauer Patriarchat und der römisch-katholischen Kirche in Odessa (März 1980) zeigte sich als die grosse ungelöste Frage "die Rolle der römischen Kirche und ihres Bischofs": die "dogmatischen Formulierungen des Ersten Vatikanischen Konzils über die Leitung und Unfehlbarkeit des Bischofs von Rom" (IOK S. 60). Nein, man mache sich keine Illusionen – dies lehrt die gesamte Geschichte der Kirche zwischen Ost und West bis auf den heutigen Tag: *Ohne ein ekklesiologisches Umdenken in der Primats- und Unfehlbarkeitsfrage ist keine Verständigung* zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel, keine Verständigung zwischen der Katholischen Kirche des Westens und den Orthodoxen Kirchen des Ostens möglich! Hier liegt die zentrale *Herausforderung des christlichen Ostens!* Und die jetzt eingesetzte gemischte Kommission wird noch im Jahre 2054 – dem tausendsten Jahrestag der gegenseitigen Exkommunikation – tagen, wenn man die zentrale Streitfrage ständig vor sich herschiebt, weil Rom es ablehnt, die Entwicklung seiner jurisdiktionellen und lehrmässigen Ansprüche in Ost und West kritisch überprüfen und unter Umständen vom Evangelium selber her korrigieren zu lassen.

Nein, es ist nicht nötig, dass der Papst auf seinen Primat verzichtet! Auch der Osten – wir hörten es – gesteht dem Bischof von Rom zu, dass er der erste Bischof der Christenheit ist. Und dies ist – sieht man genauer hin – nicht nur ein "Ehrenprimat": "Vorsitzender der Liebe" – das würde man besser einen Seelsorge- oder Pastoralprimat nennen. Also jedenfalls nicht – wie der Osten fürchtet – ein Herrschaftsprimat, sondern ein Dienstprimat, nicht ein römischer Imperialismus, sondern eine ökumenische Diakonie im Bewusstsein menschlicher (und auch petrinischer) Fehlbarkeit.

Würde diese zentrale kirchenspaltende Frage gelöst, dann könnte die Begegnung mit dem christ-

lichen Osten zu einer Neubesinnung auf die Anfänge des Christentums werden, soweit sie in der Orthodoxie reiner bewahrt worden sind. Dann könnten die eigenen *Akzente der orthodoxen Theologie neue Impulse für die westlichen Problemstellungen* bringen:

o Gegenüber einer scholastisch-metaphysischen Gotteslehre wäre der orthodoxe "anthropozentrische" Ansatz bei der "*Philanthropia*", der Menschenliebe, Gottes zu bedenken: Gott nicht als der allzu Transzendente, ganz Andere, sondern als "der Menschen Freund", wie ihn die Liturgie immer wieder nennt. Kein unlösbares Dilemma also zwischen Macht und Gerechtigkeit Gottes einerseits und seiner Liebe und Barmherzigkeit andererseits. In der Perspektive der Philanthropia die Einheit von Schöpfung und Erlösung: die "Inkarnation", die Einheit von Gott und Mensch, von Anfang an der Zielpunkt der Heilsökonomie.

o Gegenüber der traditionellen westlichen Erbsünden- und Rechtfertigungslehre wäre die orthodoxe Vorstellung der gott-menschlichen "*Synergeia*" zu reflektieren: "Sünde" weniger juristisch als Zerstörung einer Ordnung, die durch gerechte Strafe wiederhergestellt werden muss, denn als eine Verwundung des Menschen, von der Gott ihn heilen will. Kein unlösbares Dilemma also zwischen göttlicher Gnade und menschlicher Freiheit, sondern die Vollendung des Menschen durch das Zusammen-Wirken von Gott und Mensch. Christologie als "Theologie nach unten" und als "Anthropologie nach oben".

o Gegenüber einer traditionellen westlichen Überakzentuierung der Kreuzestheologie mit ihrem oft düsteren Ernst und ihrer Tendenz zu moralischem Rigorismus wäre die befreiende Dynamik der orthodoxen *Auferstehungstheologie* zu bedenken, die Menschenleben und Menschheitsgeschichte antizipatorisch im Licht der Vollendung erscheinen lässt: die alles durchdringende österliche Freude als charakteristisches Merkmal des Lebens, der Liturgie und der Theologie der orthodoxen Kirchen.

o Gegenüber einem traditionellen westlichen Ordnungsdenken und legalistischer Haltung wäre gerade für die kirchliche Praxis das Prinzip der "*Oikonomia*" neu zu überlegen, das heisst der Grundsatz, dass alle Gesetze immer im Hinblick auf den Heilswillen Gottes für den Menschen angewandt werden müssen: die Rechtspraxis der Kirche also vom Geist der Menschlichkeit geprägt, wie es in der Orthodoxie etwa der Umgang mit den Geschiedenen-Wiederverheirateten zeigt, die auch und gerade in ihrem Scheitern und Versagen von der kirchlichen Gemeinschaft angenommen bleiben und denen beim Versuch einer zweiten Ehe der Segen nicht verweigert wird.

o Gegenüber westlicher Analyse, Intellektualisierung und Rationalisierung wäre die Einbeziehung der gesamten *kosmischen Wirklichkeit* ins Heilsgeschehen zu bedenken: die spirituelle Bedeutung des Materiellen, Irdischen, wie sich dies auch in der Bewertung der Ehe zeigt; Priestertum und Ehe nicht als unvereinbare Gegensätze, und die Ehe selber nicht nur "Vertrag" und "Rechtsbündnis", sondern Sakrament eschatologischer Freude.

o Gegenüber westlichen Tendenzen zum Definieren und Dogmatisieren, zur Vereinheitlichung und Zentralisierung in Liturgie und Theologie wäre der orthodoxe Sinn für *Freiheit und Pluralität* ernstzunehmen: nach den ersten Konzilien im orthodoxen Raum keine neuen Dogmen und kaum Ketzerverfolgungen! Die Einheit der orthodoxen Kirche verwirklicht in der konkreten Pluriformität von Kirchen – im Vertrauen auf die einigende Kraft des Geistes, ohne sich auf eine kirchliche Zentralregierung zu stützen.

Es geht hier nicht darum, die Orthodoxie zu idealisieren und dies alles unkritisch aufzunehmen. Der Dialog mit dem christlichen Osten bleibt für uns schwierig und mühsam, nicht zuletzt, weil uns das Erbe der westeuropäischen Aufklärung nicht gemeinsam ist. Es ging nur darum, einige positive Perspektiven aufzuzeigen, die von der Orthodoxie her eröffnet werden können. In solchem Licht müsste dann auch wegen anderer theologischer Streitfragen das Schisma nicht andauern:

Dann brauchte die verschiedene Auffassung vom Hervorgehen des Heiligen Geistes aus dem Vater und die dahinter stehende verschiedene Auffassung von der Dreieinigkeit nicht mehr kirchenspaltend zu sein.

Dann könnte für die westliche Hinzufügung zum nizäno-konstantinopolitanischen Glaubensbekenntnis ("filioque – und dem Sohn") eine ökumenische Lösung gefunden werden.

Dann könnte auch das nach der Spaltung von der Römisch-Katholischen Kirche einseitig Definierte – insbesondere Trient und die beiden Mariendogmen – für den Osten eingeklammert bleiben.

Dann könnten auch Unterschiede der Liturgie und der praktischen Kirchenordnung – etwa Zölibat oder Wiederzulassung Geschiedener zur Eucharistie – im Sinne altkirchlicher Freiheit gelöst werden.

Ein Appell zum *Schluss:*

Der christliche Osten, dem über Jahrhunderte *tiefe Wunden* geschlagen wurden

durch die Machtpolitik der Päpste nach Verlegung der Hauptstadt und in der Karolingerzeit,

durch die Exkommunikation 1054, die Kreuzzüge und die Eroberung Konstantinopels zuerst durch die Lateiner, dann durch die Türken, durch die machtpolitisch motivierte Unionspolitik Roms in Mittelalter und Neuzeit,

durch die Begründung von römisch-unierten Kirchen mitten in der Orthodoxie;

dieser christliche Osten, *zunehmend geschwächt* auch

durch die jahrhundertealte Unterdrückung von Seiten der Türken und Tataren,

durch die von daher behinderte theologische Weiterentwicklung,

durch den Nationalismus im 19. und die Zersplitterung und Verfolgung im 20. Jahrhundert,

durch die tragische Situation des Ökumenischen Patriarchats in einem islamischen Land mit einer in eine Moschee verwandelten Hagia Sophia,

dieser christliche Osten, so früh und so oft *totgesagt und immer wieder neu lebendig*,

so kraftvoll zeugend in seiner festlichen Liturgie, seinen Gesängen und seiner hoffnungsreichen Theologie von der Philanthropia Gottes, von der Einheit von Gott und Mensch, Mensch und Kosmos, Schöpfung und Erlösung;

dieser christliche Osten, wahrhaftig, *verdiente, dass ihm* der in vieler Hinsicht stärkere christliche *Westen*, der katholische und der evangelische, mit grösserer Offenheit und Verstehensbereitschaft *entgegenkäme:*

nicht nur mit ökumenisch-symbolischen Gesten, sondern mit mutigen ökumenischen Taten,

in tiefer Achtung vor seiner verschiedenen Geschichte, Tradition, Kirche, die nicht aufgesogen werden darf von einer westlichen Einheitskirche, die vielmehr streng zu respektieren ist in ihrer Autochthonie und Autonomie – innerhalb jener Einen Kirche Jesu Christi, die weder westlich noch östlich, die vielmehr westlich *und* östlich und immer mehr auch nördlich *und* südlich in einem ist.

# Η ΑΞΙΟΠΙΣΤΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΠΛΟΥΣΙΑΔΗΝΟΥ Η ΙΩΣΗΦ ΜΕΘΩΝΗΣ (1429 - 1500)

Ὑπὸ

*Θεοδώρου Ζήση*

Καθηγητοῦ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης

Τὰ συγγράμματα τοῦ Ἰωάννου Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, τοῦ γνωστοῦ καὶ ὡς Ἰωσὴφ Μεθώνης μετὰ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τοῦ ὀνόματός του κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονίαν του, χρησιμοποιοῦνται συχνὰ ὡς πηγὴ πληροφοριῶν καὶ ἐκτιμήσεων διὰ γεγονότα καὶ πρόσωπα ἔχοντα σχέσιν πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον Φερράρας-Φλωρεντίας. Ἡ ἰδία ἡ σύνοδος ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσωπα τὰ ὁποῖα ἔλαβον ἢ ὄχι μέρος εἰς αὐτὴν παρήγαγον γραμματείαν, ἡ ὁποία πρέπει νὰ ἀντιμετωπίζεται μετὰ πολλῆς προσοχῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱστορικοφιλολογικῆς ἐρεύνης. Ὁ ἑνωτικὸς ὅρος τῆς συνόδου, ὑπογραφεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ὑπὸ τὰς γνωστὰς συνθήκας, δὲν ἐγένετο δεκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολήν, καὶ ὁ χωρισμός, ἀντὶ νὰ θεραπευθῇ, ηὐξήθη. Ἑκάστη πλευρὰ παρουσίασε τὴν σύνοδον ὑπὸ τὸ ἰδικόν της πρῖσμα. Οἱ Ρωμαιοκαθολικοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων λατινίσαντες, διὰ νὰ κατοχυρώσουν τὰ μεγάλα ἐκ τῆς συνόδου ὀφέλη τοῦ Παπισμοῦ, ἔχουν τὴν τάσιν νὰ παρουσιάζουν αὐτὴν ὡς ἐφάμιλλον τῶν ἑπτὰ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, ἀριθμοῦντες μάλιστα αὐτὴν ὡς ὀγδόην. Κατ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν σύνοδον μετέσχον μεγάλοι πατέρες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς Δύσεως, αἱ ἐργασίαι της διεξήχθησαν μὲ τάξιν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν, τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα δὲ τῆς συνόδου, ἡ εἰρήνευσις δηλαδὴ τῶν δύο μεγάλων τότε τμημάτων τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, ἐγένετο δεκτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων, ὑπογραφέντος τοῦ σχετικοῦ ὅρου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν. Κατὰ τοὺς Ὀρθοδόξους τὸ πραγματικὸν φρόνημα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐξεπροσώπησεν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον ὁ Μᾶρκος Ἐφέσου ὁ Εὐγενικός, ὅστις δὲν ὑπέγραψε τὸν ἑνωτικὸν ὅρον. Ὅσοι ὑπέγραψαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἐκάμφθησαν ἀπὸ τὰς ἀφορήτους πιέσεις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ ὑπογραφαί των δὲν ἐξέφραζον τὴν ἀληθῆ πίστιν των, ἀπεκήρυξαν αὐτάς, ὅταν εὑρέθησαν εἰς περιβάλλον ἐλευθερίας.

Τὴν περὶ τῆς συνόδου ἱστορικὴν ἀφήγησιν καὶ ἐκτίμησιν τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν εὑρίσκει κανεὶς κυρίως εἰς τὰ *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* τοῦ Σιλβέστρου Συροπούλου, τὴν τῶν Δυτικῶν δὲ καὶ λατινοφρόνων εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα «Ἑλληνικὰ Πρακτικά», τῶν ὁποίων συντάκτης κατὰ γενικὴν τῆς ἐρεύνης ἀποδοχὴν εἶναι λατινόφρων Ἕλλην. Τὰ γνήσια ἑλληνικὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου δὲν σῴζονται. Τὰ προβαλλόμενα ὡς «Πρακτικὰ» εἶναι προϊὸν ἀλλοιώσεων καὶ παρεμβολῶν, προερχόμενον ἀπὸ τὸ ἀντιγραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τοῦ καρδιναλίου Βησσαρίωνος, ὅστις ἀπησχόλει πολλοὺς ἀντιγραφεῖς, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων ἦτο καὶ ὁ ἐκ Κρήτης καταγόμενος Ἰωάννης Πλουσιαδηνός, μετέπειτα ἐπίσκοπος Μεθώνης Ἰωσήφ. Παρεμβολὰς τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ εἰς τὸ κείμενον τῶν Πρακτικῶν ἔχει ἐντοπίσει ἤδη ἡ ἔρευνα[1], ὅπερ καὶ μόνον δεικνύει ὅτι οὗτος δὲν σέβεται τὰς πηγάς, ἀλλὰ φθείρει καὶ ἀλλοιώνει αὐτάς, διὰ νὰ ἐξυπηρετήσῃ τὰς τάσεις καὶ τοὺς σκοπούς του. Ἂν δὲ τὰ διελθόντα ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ ξένα κείμενα χάνουν πλέον τὴν ἱστορικὴν ἀξιοπιστίαν των, ὡς εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα «Ἑλληνικὰ Πρακτικὰ» τῆς συνόδου, περισσότερον ἀναξιόπιστα πρέπει νὰ εἶναι τὰ καθ' ὁλοκληρίαν ἐκ τῆς χειρός του προερχόμενα συγγράμματα, τὸ περιεχόμενον τῶν ὁποίων εἶχε τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ πλάσῃ καθ' ὁλοκληρίαν οὗτος κατὰ τρόπον ὑπηρετοῦντα τὰς τάσεις του.

Πράγματι τὸ σύνολον σχεδὸν τῆς συγγραφικῆς παραγωγῆς τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ ἀποσκοπεῖ νὰ δικαιώσῃ τὴν σύνοδον τῆς Φερράρας-Φλωρεντίας εἰς τὰ ὄμματα τῶν συμπατριωτῶν του τῆς Κρήτης, οἱ ὁποῖοι παρὰ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Βενετῶν κατοχὴν τῆς νήσου καὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν πιέσεων, ἐξηκολούθουν νὰ ἐμμένουν ἐπὶ τῆς γραμμῆς Μάρκου Ἐφέσου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, νὰ ἀποκηρύττουν τὴν σύνοδον καὶ νὰ συμπεριφέρωνται μὲ σκληρότητα πρὸς τοὺς ἑνωτικοὺς κληρικούς[2],

1. Βλ. σχετικῶς *Θ. Ζήση*, Γεννάδιος Β΄ Σχολάριος. Βίος–Συγγράμματα–Διδασκαλία, («Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 30»), Θεσσαλονίκη 1980, σ. 406 κ.ἑ.

2. Εἶχον ἀπομονώσει τοὺς ἑνωτικοὺς ἱερεῖς τῆς Κρήτης οἱ Ὀρθόδοξοι θεωροῦντες αὐτοὺς ὡς αἱρετικούς. Ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς παρατηρεῖ ὅτι ἡ ἀντίδρασις τοῦ Μάρκου Εὐγενικοῦ ἐναντίον τῆς συνόδου ἐξηπλώθη ταχέως· «ἀπὸ ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἡ ἐκείνου λύμη πολλοὺς διέφθειρε καὶ μάλιστα τὴν περίφημον ταύτην νῆσον», PG 159, 1105. Περὶ τῆς ἀντιδράσεως τῶν Κρητῶν βλ. μελέτην *Νικολάου Τωμαδάκη*, «Μιχαὴλ Καλοφρενᾶς Κρής, Μητροφάνης Β΄ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς

AKSUM-THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

«πρωτοπαπᾶς» τῶν ὁποίων ἦτο ὁ Πλουσιαδηνός. Διὰ νὰ ἀντιμετωπίσῃ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀντίδρασιν συγγράφει καὶ διαδίδει ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς ἔργα τὰ ὁποῖα οὐδεμίαν ἔχουν σχέσιν πρὸς τὴν νηφαλιότητα, τὴν ἀντικειμενικότητα, τὴν σοβαρότητα, τὴν ἀξιοπιστίαν· ὑστεροῦν κατὰ πολὺ τῶν λεγομένων «Πρακτικῶν», διότι ταῦτα, ἀκόμη καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐπεμβάσεις καὶ παρεμβολάς, διασῴζουν τμήματα, ὅπου ἡ ἀφήγησις φαίνεται ἀξιόπιστος. Ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς μὴ μετασχὼν τῆς συνόδου δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ ἔχῃ ἀμφίπλευρον, σφαιρικὴν εἰκόνα τῶν γεγονότων, ὥστε νὰ συγκρατῆται ἔν τινι μέτρῳ εἰς τὰ πλαίσια μιᾶς λελογισμένης μονομερείας καὶ μεροληπτικότητος. Πληροφορηθεὶς τὰ τῆς συνόδου ὑπὸ φιλολατινικῶν ἢ λατινισάντων ἤδη προσώπων, ἐσχημάτισε τελείως μονομερῆ ἀντίληψιν. Ἡ εἰς τὸ στενὸν δὲ περιβάλλον τοῦ καρδιναλίου Βησσαρίωνος ἔνταξίς του συνετέλεσεν ὥστε νὰ ἐπηρεασθῇ οὗτος δυσμενέστατα ἐναντίον τοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἐφέσου Μάρκου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ, πρὸς τὸν ὁποῖον ὁ καρδινάλιος καὶ ἄλλοι λατινόφρονες εἶχον ἔλθει εἰς ὀξεῖαν ἀντίθεσιν ἀπὸ τὰ μέσα περίπου τῆς συνόδου. Ἡ ἀντίθεσις δὲ αὐτὴ ἔγινεν ὀξυτέρα, ὅταν μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς συνόδου καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ ἔβλεπεν ὁ καρδινάλιος ἀδύνατον τὴν πραγματοποίησιν τῆς ἐλπίδος του περὶ στρατιωτικῆς βοηθείας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐκ μέρους τῆς Δύσεως ἐναντίον τῶν Τούρκων, ἡ ὁποία θὰ ἐδικαιολόγει κάπως τὴν ἀποστασίαν. Ἀντιθέτως ἐδικαιοῦτο ὁ Μᾶρκος Εὐγενικὸς εἰς τὴν συνείδησιν τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων, ἐνῷ ὁ Βησσαρίων κατεδικάζετο ὡς προδότης. Ἡ πικρία αὐτὴ μετεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ καρδιναλίου πρὸς τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ Πλουσιαδηνὸς ἀνέλαβε τὸ ἄκαρπον καὶ ἀτυχὲς ἔργον νὰ δικαιώσῃ τὸν Βησσαρίωνα καὶ νὰ καταδικάσῃ τὸν Μᾶρκον Εὐγενικόν. Δυστυχῶς ἔπραξε τοῦτο κατὰ τὸν χείριστον τρόπον· τὰ συγγράμματά του εἶναι τελείως μονομερῆ, κυριαρχούμενα ἀπὸ τὴν τάσιν τῶν ὑπερμέτρων ἐπαίνων καὶ ἐγκωμιασμῶν τοῦ πάπα καὶ τῶν Δυτικῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπικρίσεως καὶ διαβολῆς τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν. Αἱ ἱστορικαί του κρίσεις καὶ ἀξιολογήσεις ὡς καὶ αἱ θεολογικαί του διασαφήσεις εἶναι ἐπίσης ἐσφαλμέναι. Ὑβρίζει μὲ πάθος καὶ συκοφαντεῖ τοὺς Ἀνατολικούς, ἰδίως τὸν Μᾶρκον Ἐφέσου τὸν Εὐγενικόν, διὰ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ δρᾶσιν τοῦ ὁποίου πλάθει φανταστικὰ γεγονότα· αἱ ὕβρεις, αἱ συκοφαντίαι καὶ ἡ ἐμπάθεια προσδίδουν εἰς τὰ συγγράμματα χαρακτῆρα ἀναξιοπίστου λιβέλλου. Τῶν διαπιστώσεών μας αὐτῶν θὰ παρουσιάσωμεν μερικὰ δείγματα ἐκ τῆς πληθύος παρομοίων στοιχείων ποὺ ὑπάρχουν εἰς τὰ συγγράμματά του.

1. *Μονομερὴς ὑποστήριξις τοῦ πάπα καὶ τῶν Δυτικῶν καὶ κατάκρισις τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν.* Ὡς γνωστὸν τὸ ἀνθρωπίνως ἰσχυρότερον ὅπλον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀχίλλειος πτέρνα τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι ἡ ἀξίωσις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ρώμης περὶ διοικητικοῦ πρωτείου ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἡ ἀξίωσις αὐτὴ στηριχθεῖσα εἰς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν δῆθεν τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἔναντι τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, εἰς τὴν γνωστὴν «Πετρίνειον ἀρχήν», ἐδημιούργησεν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς Δ.Ἐκκλησίας διενέξεις καὶ ἔριδας, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἀφοῦ συνετάραξαν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν ζωήν της, λόγῳ ἰσχυρᾶς ἀντιδράσεως τῶν ὀπαδῶν τοῦ συνοδικοῦ συστήματος, ἀπέληξαν εἰς τὸ μεγάλο σχίσμα τῆς Δύσεως, τὸ δημιουργῆσαν τὴν Μεταρρύθμισιν ἢ τὸν Προτεσταντισμόν. Κατ' αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς τὴν περίοδον τῆς προετοιμασίας καὶ συγκλήσεως τῆς συνόδου Φερράρας–Φλωρεντίας, ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ Γερμανοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἄλλων ἰσχυρῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, συνεκροτήθησαν αἱ μεταρρυθμιστικαὶ σύνοδοι τῆς Κωνσταντίας (1414 - 1418) καὶ τῆς Βασιλείας (1431–1438), αἱ ὁποῖαι περιώρισαν τὰς δικαιοδοσίας τοῦ πάπα, ὑποτάξασαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον. Βεβαίως ὁ πάπας δὲν ὑπετάγη, βραδύτερον μάλιστα, εἰς τὰς συνόδους τοῦ Τριδέντου (1545–1563) καὶ τὴν Α' τοῦ Βατικανοῦ (1870) ὕψωσεν εἰς δόγμα τὸ πρωτεῖον καὶ ἀλάθητον, προκαλέσας νέον σχίσμα εἰς τὴν Δύσιν μὲ τὴν ἀπόσχισιν τῶν Παλαιοκαθολικῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἡγεσίαν τοῦ καθηγητοῦ Döllinger. Οἱ Ἀνατολικοὶ ἀναγνωρίσαντες τὴν κυριαρχίαν τοῦ πάπα ἐφ' ὁλοκλήρου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν σύνοδον Φερράρας–Φλωρεντίας, προσέφεραν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ρώμης σπουδαίαν βάσιν διὰ νὰ στηρίξῃ τὴν νομιμοποίησιν τῶν ἐπιδιώξεών της.

Ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς τὰς κυριαρχικὰς τάσεις τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἐκκλησίας γίνεται ἀπολογητὴς αὐτῶν, ἐπιχειρῶν διὰ πολὺ σαθρᾶς θεολογικῆς καὶ ἱστορικῆς ἐπιχειρηματολογίας νὰ θεμελιώσῃ τὴν ἐπὶ συνόλου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κυριαρχίαν τοῦ πάπα. Φθάνει εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀπόψεως ἀπαράδεκτον ἰσχυρισμόν, τὸν ἐξισοῦντα τὸν πάπαν πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν τελικῶς δὲ ἐξοβελίζοντα αὐτόν, νὰ ἰσχυρίζεται ὅτι «Ἡ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀρχὴ τὸ τοῦ πάπα πρωτεῖον»[1]. Ἀρκεῖ νὰ ἀναγνώσῃ κανεὶς τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειρηματολογίαν τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ διὰ νὰ σχηματίσῃ γνώμην περὶ τῆς σοβαρότητος καὶ ἀξιοπιστίας του. Διὰ τὸν Πλουσιαδηνὸν εἰς τὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν Ἐκκλησίαν οὐδέποτε ηὐδοκίμησεν ἡ ἀπιστία ἢ αἰσχρόν τι δόγμα[2]. Διὰ τὸ μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως σχίσμα δὲν εὐθύνεται καθόλου ἡ Ρώμη· αἴτιοι αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ Βυζαντίου Μιχαὴλ καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Φώτιος[3]. Εἶναι ἀλάθητος ἡ Ἐκκλησία αὕτη καὶ ἀποτελεῖ μεγάλην ἀσέβειαν ἡ σκέψις ὅτι ἠμπορεῖ ἄλλη Ἐκκλησία νὰ τὴν διορθώσῃ. Ἀντιθέτως αὐτὴ εἶναι κυβερνῆτις ὅλων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ἐμπειρότατος ἰατρὸς διὰ τὰς νοσούσας, λαβοῦσα τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ[4]. Τὰς προβλημα-

Φλωρεντίας ἀντίθεσις τῶν Κρητῶν», ἐν «Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν», 21 (1951), 110–144.

1. Ἀπολογία περὶ τῶν πέντε κεφαλαίων τῆς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ συνόδου, PG 159, 1309 κ.ἑ.

2. Ἀναίρεσις τοῦ γραμματίου τοῦ Ἐφέσου, PG 159, 1029 B.

3. Αὐτόθι, 1040 A.

4. Αὐτόθι, 1041 C· «Διόρθωσιν δὲ παρὰ σοῦ τὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν δέξασθαι Ἐκκλησίαν οὐκ ἔδει· ἐκείνη γὰρ πασῶν κυβερνῆτις ἐστὶ καὶ ταῖς νοσούσαις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἰατρὸς ἐμπειρότατος, παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαβοῦσα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὰς ἄλλας ἰθύνειν καὶ κυβερνᾶν, ἐπιστηρίζειν καὶ διορθοῦν οὐκ αὐτὴν δὲ διορθοῦσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων».

τικὰς αὐτὰς ἐκκλησιαστικοπολιτικὰς ἀπόψεις ἐπεχείρησεν ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς νὰ εἰσαγάγῃ καὶ εἰς τὴν λατρείαν μὲ τὸν κανόνα τὸν ὁποῖον συνέθεσεν εἰς τὴν Η' Οἰκουμενικὴν σύνοδον, τὴν ἐν Φερράρᾳ-Φλωρεντίᾳ δηλαδή. Εἶναι δύσκολον νὰ εὕρῃ κανεὶς εἰς τὸ σύνολον τῆς ὑμνογραφικῆς παραγωγῆς τόσον χαμηλῶν ἐπιδιώξεων καὶ τάσεων κείμενον. Παραθέτομεν δύο τροπάρια τοῦ κανόνος:

> Νῦν ὁ Ρώμης προστάτης ὁ κλεινὸς Εὐγένιος πάντας συνήθροισεν ἐν τῇ Φλωρεντίᾳ, ὡς τὴν πίστιν κατέχων ἀκλόνητον, καὶ στηρίξας πάντας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν καθοδηγήσας, τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸν λόγον ἐπλήρωσε.
>
> Ρῦσαι λιμοῦ καὶ στάσεως καὶ κινδύνων τοὺς δούλους σου, τοὺς τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ ἀληθῆ διδάσκαλον, τοῦ Πέτρου διάδοχον, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καθηγητὴν καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁδηγὸν καὶ ποιμένα καὶ θεῖον κορυφαῖον ἱερέων ἁπάντων, ὅλῃ ψυχῇ τιμώντων ὡς ἐπηγγείλω[1].

Ἀντιθέτως οὐδένα καλὸν λόγον εὑρίσκει διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Φωτίου καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀρθόδοξον Ἀνατολικὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τοὺς ἐκπροσώπους αὐτῆς. Ἐπικρίνει ἐπανειλημμένως τὸν μητροπολίτην Ἐφέσου διότι δὲν ἠκολούθησε τοὺς ἁγίους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς σχισματικοὺς Φώτιον, Καβάσιλαν, Παλαμᾶν, Φουρνῆν, Ψελλόν, Μοσχάμπαρ, Καματηρόν, Νικόλαον Μεθώνης, Πανάρετον καὶ ἄλλους[2], πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους ἑορτάζονται ὡς ἅγιοι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, γενικῶς δὲ πιστεύεται ὅτι ἐξέφρασαν τὴν αὐτοσυνειδησίαν τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων. Φθάνει μέχρι τοῦ σημείου τῆς συκοφαντίας καὶ δυσφημήσεως ἰσχυριζόμενος ὅτι οὗτοι ἀπέθανον κατὰ φρικτὸν τρόπον, δι' ἀποφράξεως, δηλαδή, τῶν ἐντέρων, τιμωρηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τὸ σχίσμα. «Οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησάς ποτε συνιέναι τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ ἑνωθῆναι τοῖς διδασκάλοις τούτοις καὶ ἁγίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξελέξω μετὰ τοῦ Παλαμᾶ καὶ Καβασιλᾶ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἶναι, οἳ τῶν βίων κατέστρεψαν εἰλεῷ»[3]. Μὲ ἐμπάθειαν ἐκφράζεται ἐναντίον τῶν μοναχῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, οἱ ὁποῖοι κατὰ τὴν ἄποψίν του ἐματαίωσαν τὴν ἕνωσιν· «Ταῦτα ἐποίησαν οἱ καλόγηροι, ἀμαθέστατοι καὶ μωροὶ ὄντες»[4]. Εἰς ἄλλο σημεῖον δὲ μεταποιῶν τὸ καλόγηρος εἰς κακόγηρος ἐρωτᾷ· «Ποῦ ἡ τῶν ἀμαθῶν καὶ ἀναισθήτων κακογήρων νομοθεσία, τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων;»[5]. Οἱ Οὐνῖται ἱερεῖς τῆς Κρήτης, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τῶν ὁποίων ὡς πρωτοπαπᾶς ἦτο ὁ Πλουσιαδηνός, εἶναι ἄριστα κατηρτισμένοι, ἐνῷ οἱ ἐμμένοντες εἰς τὴν Ὀρθοδοξίαν οὐδὲν κατανοοῦν, ἀμαθέστατοι ὄντες[6]. Εἶναι χαρακτηριστικὸν τὸ ἀκολουθοῦν χωρίον· «Ἀλλὰ συναγωγὴ πονηρὰ σχισματικῶν καὶ παπαδαρίων τινων κούφων, ἀγραμμάτων καὶ σκοτεινῶν, οἳ πάσας τὰς ἡμετέρας νήσους συνέχεάν τε καὶ συνετάραξαν»[7].

2. *Αἱ ἱστορικαὶ καὶ θεολογικαὶ του κρίσεις ἐσφαλμέναι καὶ μεροληπτικαί.* Τῆς διαπιστώσεως αὐτῆς δύο μόνον χαρακτηριστικὰ δείγματα θὰ προσαγάγωμεν. Εἶναι γνωστὸν ὅτι τὸ Filioque, ἡ φράσις δηλαδὴ περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς προσθήκη εἰς τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως ἐγένετο δεκτὴ ὑπὸ τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Ἐκκλησίας πολὺ ἀργά, μετὰ τὴν στροφὴν τῆς Ρώμης πρὸς τοὺς Φράγκους ἡγεμόνας. Ὑπῆρξαν δὲ καὶ πάπαι οἱ ὁποῖοι ἀντέδρασαν εἰς τὴν προσθήκην[8]. Οὐδεμίαν πάντως ἔχει σχέσιν πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου ἐπιβληθὲν σύμβολον πίστεως. Εἶναι μάλιστα χαρακτηριστικὸν ὅτι κατὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸ 1981 ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐπὶ τῇ συμπληρώσει 1600 ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήσεως τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου ὁ πάπας ἀπήγγειλε τὸ σύμβολον πίστεως εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν ἄνευ τῆς προσθήκης. Ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς παραποιῶν καὶ διαστρέφων τὰ πράγματα ἰσχυρίζεται ἐναντίον ἁπάσης τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἀληθείας ὅτι ἡ προσθήκη τοῦ Filioque ἐγένετο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου· «Οὐ καινὸν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας συνόδου ἐστί τε καὶ ψάλλεται ἐν τῇ Ρωμαϊκῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ»[9].

Ἡ μονομέρεια καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ρώμης μεροληπτικὴ τοποθέτησις τοῦ στερεῖ τὴν δυνατότητα στοιχειώδους ἱστορικῆς ἐκτιμήσεως καὶ ἀξιολογήσεως. Γίνεται δεκτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ συνόλου τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὅτι μεταξὺ τῆς ἀντισυνόδου τῆς Βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ πάπα ἀνεπτύχθη εἷς ἀνταγωνισμὸς ὡς πρὸς τὸ ποῖος θὰ κατώρθωνε νὰ προσελκύσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μὲ τὸ μέρος του, ὥστε νὰ ἐνισχύσῃ ἔναντι τῆς ἄλλης πλευρᾶς τὸ κῦρος καὶ τὴν δύναμίν του. Ὁ Ρωμαιοκαθολικὸς J. Gill, εἰδικὸς ἱστορικὸς τῆς συνόδου Φερράρας-Φλωρεντίας, δέχεται τὸν μεταξὺ Εὐγενίου Δ' καὶ τῆς συνόδου τῆς Βασιλείας ἀνταγωνισμὸν πρὸς ἐνδυνάμωσιν τῆς διαπραγματευτικῆς θέσεως ἑκάστης πλευρᾶς. Θὰ ἀπέκτα πρόσθετον γόητρον οἱονδήποτε τῶν δύο μερῶν κατώρθωνε νὰ φέρῃ εἰς πέρας τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων[10]. Δεῖγμα δὲ τοῦ ὑγιοῦς αἰσθητηρίου ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου ἐστηρίχθη ἡ ἀντίδρασις κατὰ τῆς συνόδου εἰς τὴν Ἀνατολήν, εἶναι ἡ πληροφορία τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς παρέχει

1. Κανὼν τῆς Ὀγδόης συνόδου, PG 159, 1097 C. 1100 C.
2. Ἀναίρεσις τοῦ γραμματίου τοῦ Ἐφέσου, PG 159, 1052. 1060 B. 1092 B.
3. Αὐτόθι, 1068 A.
4. Διάλεξις περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς Γραικῶν καὶ Λατίνων, PG 159, 1020 C.
5. Ἀπολογία, PG 159, 1253 BC.
6. Διάλεξις, PG 159, 1001.
7. Ἀπολογία, PG 159, 1240 B.
8. Βλ. ἐπὶ παραδείγματι πρόσφατον μελέτην τοῦ *Hans-Joachim Schultz*, «Das I. Konzil von Konstantinopel (381): Wegweisung für die Ökumene», Ἀνάτυπον ἀπὸ «Der Christliche Osten», 1981/2–6, σελ. 9, ἔνθα οὗτος γράφει· «So will der abendländische Einschub (der allerdings noch von Papst Leo III gegenüber einer Karolingischen Synode im Jahre 809 als nicht authentisch missbiligt wurde und den erst fränkisch-deutsche Einfluss im II. Jahrhundert auch in Rom durchsetzte)... ».
9. Ἀναίρεσις, 1061 B. Αὐτόθι, 1040 A· «Τὸ δὲ σύμβολον ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας συνόδου ἡ Ρωμαϊκὴ οὕτως ἔψαλλεν Ἐκκλησία, ὡς ἄδει καὶ σήμερον».
10. *J. Gill*, Ἡ σύνοδος τῆς Φλωρεντίας, Ἀθῆναι 1962, μετάφρ. ἐκ τοῦ ἀγγλικοῦ, σελ. 17, 55, 61.

διὰ στόματος Κρητὸς Ὀρθοδόξου, ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας συνάγεται ὅτι ὁ λαὸς εἶχεν ἀντιληφθῆ ὅτι τὰ κίνητρα τοῦ πάπα δὲν ἦσαν εἰλικρινῆ, ἀλλ' ἐπεδίωκε διὰ τῆς προσελκύσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων νὰ ἐξουδετερώσῃ τὴν σύνοδον τῆς Βασιλείας·

> «Ναὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλεσε τοὺς Γραικούς, ἵνα αὐτὸν βεβαιώσωσι, ὅτι ἱκανῶς παρὰ τοῦ ἀντιπάπα ἠνωχλεῖτο καὶ σύνοδος κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐν Βασιλείᾳ ἐγένετο. Καὶ εἰ οἱ ἡμέτεροι οὐκ ἀπῆλθον, καταδικαζόμενος παρὰ τῆς συνόδου ἐκείνης, ἔμεινεν ἂν γυμνὸς τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης· διὰ τοῦτο ἀναγκασθεὶς τοὺς Γραικοὺς ἐκάλεσε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πορευθῆναι, ὅπως διὰ τῶν Γραικῶν βεβαιωθῇ καὶ τὴν ἐν Βασιλείᾳ κατ' αὐτοῦ τροπώσηται σύνοδον καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ καταβάλῃ»[1].

Τὴν ὀρθὴν αὐτὴν ἱστορικὴν διαπίστωσιν ἐπιχειρεῖ νὰ ἀνατρέψῃ ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς μὲ τὴν θέσιν ὅτι τὸ μοναδικὸν κίνητρον τοῦ πάπα ὡς καλοῦ ποιμένος ἦτο ἡ σωτηρία τῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ σχισματικῶν Γραικῶν. Οἱ Ἕλληνες δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ βοηθήσουν τὸν πάπαν οὔτε διὰ τοῦ πλούτου οὔτε διὰ τῆς σοφίας, διότι ἦσαν πτωχοὶ καὶ ἀγράμματοι[2].

3. *Αἱ συκοφαντίαι, τὰ ψεύδη καὶ αἱ ὕβρεις καθιστοῦν τὰ συγγράμματα τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ ἀναξιόπιστα λιβελλογραφήματα.* Στόχος τῶν βωμολοχιῶν καὶ ὕβρεων τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ εἶναι κυρίως ὁ Μᾶρκος Ἐφέσου Εὐγενικός. Ἀρκεῖ νὰ συγκρίνῃ κανεὶς τὰ κείμενα τῶν δύο, ὅπως παρατίθενται εἰς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ ἐγκυκλίου γράμματος τοῦ Ἐφέσου ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, διὰ νὰ διαπιστώσῃ πρὸς ποίαν κατεύθυνσιν πρέπει νὰ ζητήσῃ τὴν ἀξιόπιστον ἀφήγησιν. Ἥρεμος, σοβαρά, ἀξιοπρεπὴς ἔκθεσις τοῦ Ἐφέσου· ἐμπαθής, ὑβριστικὴ καὶ συκοφαντικὴ ἡ τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ. Ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν Ἐφέσου «δεισιδαίμονα καὶ σεσεισμένον τὸν νοῦν»[3], ἀρέσκεται δὲ νὰ ἀναφέρεται συχνὰ εἰς ψυχοδιανοητικῆς δῆθεν φύσεως ἀσθένειάν του καὶ εἰς ἐπιληπτικὰς παροξύνσεις. Ἐπιμένει ἐπίσης εἰς τὸ οἰκτρὸν δῆθεν τέλος του κατὰ τὸ ὁποῖον διερράγη τὸ ἔντερον καὶ ἐπλήρωσε κόπρου τὸ ἀσεβὲς στόμα του[4].

Ἐκ τῶν κειμένων τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ σχηματίζει κανεὶς ἀρνητικὴν γνώμην περὶ τῆς ἀξιοπιστίας του. Ὁ ἴδιος ἠρνεῖτο τὴν ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ ἀντικειμενικότητα τῶν συγγραφέων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, διότι ὅπως λέγει «Μετὰ τὸ σχίσμα καὶ τὴν πολλὴν ἔριν εἰσὶ καὶ κακίᾳ κινούμενοι κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔγραφον»[5]. Αὐτὸ ἰσχύει περισσότερον παντὸς ἄλλου περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ. Εἰς οὐδένα τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων συγγραφέων εὑρίσκει κανεὶς τὴν μονομέρειαν, τὴν παραποίησιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ συκοφαντίας, τὴν ἐμπάθειαν καὶ τὸ μῖσος τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ. Περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ ἔχομεν καὶ ἐξωτερικὰς μαρτυρίας πρὸς ἐπιβεβαίωσιν. Ἤδη ὁ πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων Δοσίθεος εἰς ὀλίγας γραμμὰς διεζωγράφησεν ἄριστα τὸν Πλουσιαδηνὸν ἢ Ἰωσὴφ Μεθώνης:

> «Ἔχοντες οὖν τοσοῦτον νέφος μαρτύρων διὰ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀοίδιμον κοίμησιν τοῦ μακαρίου Μάρκου, περιφρονοῦμεν τῆς τάργας τῆς βλασφημούσης τὸν Ἅγιον καὶ προσφερούσης τῶν βλασφημιῶν μάρτυρα Ἰωσὴφ τὸν Μεθώνης, ἄγνωστον ἄνθρωπον τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἀνατεθραμμένον εἰς τὸ σχίσμα, εἰς τοὺς νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ εἰς τὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν Λατίνων, ὅθεν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον τῶν Λατίνων συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ ψεύστην»[6].

Οἱ χαρακτηρισμοί, συκοφάντης καὶ ψεύστης, τοῦ Δοσιθέου διὰ τὸν Πλουσιαδηνὸν ἐνισχύονται ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ ὑπὸ μαρτυριῶν τῆς ἑτέρας πλευρᾶς, τῶν Λατίνων, πρὸς τοὺς ὁποίους ἀπεστάτησεν ἐγκαταλείψας τοὺς Ὀρθοδόξους. Ὁ συνάδελφος καθηγητὴς Ζαχαρίας Τσιρπανλῆς ἔδειξεν ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει ἐγγράφου τῶν ἀρχείων τῆς Βενετίας ὅτι ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς μὲ τεχνάσματα κατώρθωσε νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ ἀπὸ τὸ Βατικανὸν βούλλας, αἱ ὁποῖαι τοῦ προσεπόριζον οἰκονομικὰ ὀφέλη· ὅταν κατόπιν τὰ συμφέροντά του ἐπέβαλλον διάφορον στάσιν, ἀπεκήρυξε τὰς βούλλας αὐτὰς ὡς ἀνυπάρκτους. Μετὰ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν δολίων αὐτῶν ἐνεργειῶν, ὁ δόγης τῆς Βενετίας εἰς ἔγγραφόν του ὀνομάζει τὸν Πλουσιαδηνὸν ψεύστην (surreptitie ac tacita veritate expressoque mendacio)[7].

Ἀναμφιβόλως ὁ Πλουσιαδηνὸς συγκαταλέγεται μεταξὺ τῶν λογίων ἀνδρῶν τοῦ ιε' αἰῶνος. Δὲν πρέπει ὅμως οὔτε ὁ ἴδιος νὰ χαρακτηρίζεται ὡς ἐπιφανὴς λόγιος, οὔτε τὰ συγγράμματά του ὡς ἐκλεκτὰ καὶ ἀξιόλογα[8]. Εἶναι μὲν πηγὴ ἱστορικὴ διὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους, κακὴ ὅμως καὶ ἀναξιόπιστος πηγή.

1. Διάλεξις, 986 D–988 A.
2. Αὐτόθι, 988–989.
3. Ἀναίρεσις, PG 159, 1024 κ.ἑ.
4. Διάλεξις, PG 159, 980 D. Ἀναίρεσις, PG 159, 1028· «Ἔνθα γὰρ ἂν ἦν καταλαβόν σε τὸ σεληναῖον πάθος ἐκαλινδοῦ ἀφρίζων καὶ ταρατόμενος». Αὐτόθι, 1068· «Οἱ δὲ ἀπεσταλμένοι ζητοῦντές σε εὑρον μαινόμενον καὶ βοῶντα φωνὰς ἀσήμους». Αὐτόθι, 1088 B· «Οὕτως οἶδεν ἡ θεία δίκη ταλαντεύειν ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, ὡς πάλαι τὸν τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμον Ἄρειον, ὃς κάτω τὰ ἔγκατα ἔπεμψεν, σὺ δὲ ἄνω τὴν κόπρον». Αὐτόθι, 1105· «τῇ γὰρ ὥρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀναλύσεως ἱλεῷ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε». Ἀπολογία, 1125 B· «Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν διεφθάρη. Καὶ τὸ στόμα ἐκεῖνο τὸ φρυάξαν κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς συνόδου, ὅπως αὐτῷ διεφθάρη καὶ αἰσχύνης ἐπληρώθη ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς πικρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀναλύσεως ἴσασιν οἱ τἀληθῆ λέγειν μεμαθηκότες».

5. Διάλεξις, 968 B.
6. Τόμος Ἀγάπης, σελ. 28–29.
7. *Z. Τσιρπανλῆ*· «Ὁ Ἰωάννης Πλουσιαδηνὸς καὶ ἡ Σιναϊτικὴ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ Κεφαλᾶ στὸ Χάνδακα», σελ. 6, Ἀνάτυπον ἀπὸ τὰ «Θησαυρίσματα», Γ'. Βλ. ἐπίσης *M. Manoussakas*, «Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadenos (Joseph Methone) (1429?–1500)», «Revue des Etudes Byzantines», 17 (1959), 44. *Π. Βασιλείου*, «Ὁ αὐτόγραφος Θρῆνος τῆς Θεοτόκου τοῦ Ἰωάννου Πλουσιαδηνοῦ», «Ἑλληνικά», 32 (1980), 274.
8. Βλ. *M. Μανούσακα*, «Ἀνέκδοτοι στίχοι καὶ νέος αὐτόγραφος κῶδιξ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Πλουσιαδηνοῦ», «Ἀθηνᾶ», 68 (1965), 52. *Στυλ. Παπαδοπούλου*, «Ἰωσήφ. Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Μεθώνης», ΘΗΕ 7, 117–119. *L. Petit*, «Joseph de Méthone», DTC 8, 2, 1526–1529, δύο ἐκ τῶν πλέον ἀναξιοπίστων ἔργων τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ, ἤτοι τὴν Ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀναίρεσιν, χαρακτηρίζει τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς «ἀξιόλογον ἀπολογίαν τῆς συνόδου» (remarquable apologie du concile), τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὡς «ἐξαίρετον ἀναίρεσιν μιᾶς ἐγκυκλίου τοῦ Μάρκου Εὐγενικοῦ ἐναντίον τῆς συνόδου» (excellente réfutation d' une circulaire de Marc d' Ephese contre le synode). Πρβλ. *Α. Βακαλοπούλου*, Πηγὲς τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, I (1204–1669), 381 κ.ἑ.

# LUTHER AND THE EASTERN CHURCES

B y

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The celebrations in 1983, of the fifth centenary of the birth of Martin Luther were world wide and attracted the attention of the learned world. There were many conferences and essays written and volumes published. Not least interesting was the participation of the authorities in Eastern Germany, the heartland of the Lutheran Reformation, and the Communist government subsidised and sponsored a great part of the official celebrations in that land. Naturally, these events brought to attention the wider question of the origins of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, that great explosion within the Western church. Luther himself was at the centre of the great church conflict which began with his protest against the late mediaeval penitential system as it had resulted in the selling of indulgences, and this in turn involved him in a challenge to the authority of the Bishop of Rome. A great deal of this was about matters which had been by-passed by the Eastern Churches and concerned issues about which they had their own proportion of faith. Thus the Eastern churches had not been directly involved in the great struggle between St. Augustine and the Pelagians and had been free from the long repercussions of that conflict, which in the later Middle Ages had been complicated by a doctrine of merit. But above all, the Eastern churhes had never acknowledged that the primacy of Rome was something which existed 'de divino jure' and they denied the extreme canonist doctrines of the 'papal plenitude of power'.

And though within the Conciliar movement and supported by such figures as Gerson, and his champions, the University of Paris, there were those who combatted the idea of extreme, papal authority, so that even Sir Thomas More as a young man thought that the papal power existed by human law only, the prevailing attitude in Germany to the authority of the Roman church was such that the first reactions of the church to Luther's protest was simply to inhibit him, and to demand obedience without question, and without any attempt to argue his case.

It was perhaps a fateful afternoon in Luther's life when on a journey in a wagon with some colleagues, his lawyer friend, Augustin Schürpf warned him that this business of protesting against Indulgences might yet bring him into serious trouble, if it brought him openly to question the authority of the Pope and of his "plenitude of power". And this is how events did move, first in his confrontations with the authorities in Germany and then more seciously his interview with the Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg in the summer of 1518. From this time onwards he began an intensive study of the canon law and of the history of the early church and to take up more and more forthright and obstinate opposition to the Roman claims.

This became apparent in the great debate in which he became involved at the Castle of the Pleissenberg in Leipzig in the summer of 1519. The Catholic theologian, humanist, biblicist, John Eck of the University of Ingolstadt was anxious to keep in with the humanists as well as with the theologians, and for a time tried to keep out of any personal confrontation with Luther himself. But he wrote some informal papers against Luther which Luther read, and to which he replied. But it was Luther's senior colleague Andrew Karlstadt who now intervened and made inevitable a public debate which was bound to attract publicity, and for Luther himself a rather dangerous situation. Karlstadt published on his own an enormous series of Theses against Eck, and the original debate was planned between Eck and Karlstadt. But Eck really had Luther in mind, and eventually Luther became included in the invitation to the confrontation. The debate between Eck and Karlstadt was to be on the themes of Grace and Free Will, subjects which were sharply divisive enough, though Eck was not rigid and unbending about his exposition of them. But by the time the debate took place Eck and Luther had already and in print taken up entirely conflicting attitudes towards the power of the Pope.

Luther, in the 22nd conclusion of his explanations of the 95 Theses of 1517, had declared that 'the Roman church in the time of Gregory the Great did not stand above the Greek Church'. To this Eck now firmly opposed an opposite view:

'Romanam Ecclesiam non fuisse superiorem aliis Ecclesiis ante tempora Sylvestri negamus. Sed eum, qui sedem beatissimi Petri habuit et idem, successorem Petri et Vicarium Christi generalem semper agnovimus'.

In this statement he had tried to push Luther into a more extreme statement than his actual utterance.

One feature of the Luther fifth centenary is that in it, after a century, the great Weimar edition of Luther's works has reached its completion and in Vol. 59. published in 1983 there is an excellent up to date edition of the disputation between Eck and Luther at Leipzig in 1519 which enables us to follow the debates blow by blow as they were recorded by the four Notaries who took them down.

1. Weimarer Ausgabe (W.A) 1883

1. 'Disputatio inter Joannem Eccium et Martinum Lutherum.' 1519. ed FT Bos. WA 59.427–606. 1983. The debate between Eck and Luther was always forceful and often angry, and frequently interrupted by Luther's protests as Eck cleverly tried to manoeuvre Luther into more and more extreme statements, and above all in the admission of views which could plausibly link him with former heretics, and above all with that of John Huss and of John Wyclif who had been condemned at the Council of Constance in 1415.

Fairly early in the debate, Eck turned to attack the record of the Eastern Churches and affirmed:

'Graecos longo tempore non solum fuisse schismaticos, sed haereticissimos, ut tot errorum cumulus et pervicax obstinatio testator, ut de spiritu sancto, de confessione, de trium evangelistarum falsitate et innumeris aliis quamvis saepe fictam fecerint ecclesiae Romanae obedientiam uti et in concilio Florentino Eugenii quarti temporibus factum est'[1]

To this Luther replied by paying tribute to the theology of the Eastern churches:

'Graecos haereticissimos ausus est appellare satis modeste, cum in universa ecclesia nulla parts dedit plures excellentiores scriptores, quam Graeca'[2].

Eck now tried to qualify his extreme statement:

'fateor eos olim fuisse christianisimos et doctissimos, cum Romanam ecclesiam primam appellebant sedem. Sed superbia elati et invidia infecti ab obedientia Romanae sedis se subtrahentes in pessimos inciderunt errores et simul fidem cum imperio perdiderunt'[3].

Against this, too Luther vehemently protested, aspersions cast against 'tot milia martyrum et sanctorum per annos MCCCC in Graeca ecclesia habitos, extra ecclesiam eiicere et nunc deman etiam regnantes in coelo velle deturnare'[4].

And Luther saw another denial of the papal supremacy in the fact that the ancient Eastern sees did not seek confirmation of their occupants from Rome:

'Graeca ecclesia usque ad nostra tempora numquam accepit episcopos confirmatos ex Roma. Ideo si fuisset just divinum per tantum tempus omnes episcopi Alexandriae, Constantinopoli, aliquot sanctissimi ut Gregorius Nazianzenus et ceteri quamplurimi essent damnati, heretici, et Bohemici qua blasphemia nihil potest detestabilitus dici'[5].

Next day, Luther had been driven to defend an article of John Huss which declared 'it was not necessary for salvation to believe the Roman church superior to others' and he added:–

'Scio quod salvati sunt Basilius magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Epiphanius, Cyprius et innumerabiles alii episcopi Graeci et tamen hunc articulum non tenuerant'[6].

Now Eck felt himself drawn to justify his criticism of the Eastern Churches and their doctors.

'Graecos laudatissimos et sanctos martyres semper laudavi'[7] and he accused. Luther of mixing together the Greek saints with heretics and schismatics. 'Nam sanctos patres Graecos canonizatos non damno'[8].

But Luther would have none of this. 'When he confesses the Greek saints to be not damned but only schismatics, this is irrelevant. Nor do I ever speak of the schismatic Greeks 'sed de sanctis, praesertim Niceni concilii, sicut nec credo ipsum sentire de schismaticis latinis quando de Romano ecclesia loquitur'[9].

This counter–attack drove Eck to name the Greek schismatics.

1. WA 59.453.514.
2. ibid. p. 456.747.
3. ibid. 458.810.
4. ibid. 462.917.
5. ibid. 462.930.
6. ibid. 466.1055.
7. ibid. 468.1112.
8. ibid. 473.1275.
9. ibid. 480.1488.

'Nonne schismaticus fuit Macedonius, Nestorius, Eutices, Achatius, Joannes Constantinopolitanus[1].

To this Luther made the simple but effective reply that if these schismatics were to be regarded as Greek fathers then of 'Possem et ego sic latinam ecclesiam describere per Pelagianos, Manichaeos, Jovinianos, Vigilantianos et similia monstra'[2].

These references to the Eastern churches were a very subsidiary part of the debate, but they were certainly part of Luther's argument– 'et erant tunc temporis in Graecia Epiphanius celeberrime laudatus a Hieronymo, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Basilius christianissimi viri: non tamen sub Romano pontifice unquam fuerunt'[3].

It might be thought that Luther was simply using the Eastern churches as an instrument with which to belabour the extreme papalist views. But it is plain that he had great esteem for the great Greek fathers, and throughout his life continued to quote and to praise Chrysostom especially, though he generally had criticism of the Fathers when he compared their authority with that of Holy Scripture, or when he disagreed with some points of scriptural exegesis.

The real theme of 'Luther and the Eastern Churches' would be much more subtle and to pursue it would demand a really intricate knowledge of the, motifs, both of Orthodox and of Lutheran thought. But Luther himself, though in many ways a typical product of the Latin and Western church was a thinker of originality, and a man of deep prayer, who wrestled throughout his life with the mysteries of Holy Scripture. So, although it is true that he made much of the teachings of St Paul, there is a deeply Johannine strand in his teaching, his preaching and devotion which brings him nearer to the Eastern divines. His doctrine of the Word, complex as it is, is founded on ancient expositions of the Logos, and his view of the uncreated and created word and of the whole creation as proceeding from the Word is in some striking ways reminiscent of Orthodox thought. And though he subordinated their authority to Scripture, it has been often shown how fundamental for him was the teaching of the Councils of Nicea and of Chalcedon for his doctrines of the Person of Christ and of the Holy Trinity.

In some ways his spirituality, devout, simple, practical Biblical might seem to leave no room for those mystical doctrines, and for the whole idea of 'Theoria' which lies deep in the Eastern tradition, but as a moralist and as a man of prayer he naturally comes close to some of the themes classically expounded by the Greek Fathers. When we turn from the shell of dogmatic theory, which is encased always in Western terms, we find Luther profoundly and fundamentally concerned with the relationship of men with God in Christ and with the gift of his grace, so that there are insights in Luther which we do not find again as profoundly in the literature of the West, until we come to Dostoevsky, himself so deeply rooted in the Orthodox tradition. It cannot be said that Luther was a great creator of liturgies, but the importance of liturgical worship for him, and above all of the eucharist cannot be gainsaid. And then, there is his devotion to singing and to music, which was so remarkable, evidenced by the fine hymns he wrote. I remember going with a church delegation to a Russian monastery at Pskov, and after our common meal the abbot said to us –'And now shall we pray together? Or perhaps better still, shall we pray and *sing* together?' There are areas of the soul and of the Christian community where, when we escape the barriers imposed by space and time and ecclesiastical custom, Christians of widely and deeply separated communions find themselves speaking in common language, and expressing a common devotion. Perhaps the last word has not yet been written on 'Luther and the Eastern churches' and the recent celebrations invite their reconsideration of this problem.

1. ibid. 482.1557.
2. ibid. 493.1848.
3. ibid. 496.1941.

# Ο ΙΕΡΟΣ ΦΩΤΙΟΣ, ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΜΑΝΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ*

Ὑπὸ

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Ὁ ἔνατος αἰὼν κατὰ τὸν ὁποῖον ἔζησε καὶ ἔδρασεν ὁ ἱερὸς Φώτιος (810–893)[1] ἦτο ἀπὸ τοὺς πλέον σημαντικοὺς αἰῶνας εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Ἡ κατάπαυσις τῆς εἰκονομαχικῆς ἔριδος ἔφερεν εἰρήνην εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ Κράτος καὶ συνετέλεσεν εἰς τὴν ἀναβίωσιν τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν καλῶν τεχνῶν. Ὁ ἐκχριστιανισμὸς τῶν Βουλγάρων, τῶν νοτίων καὶ δυτικῶν Σλάβων καὶ ἡ ἐμφάνισις τῶν Ρώσων εἰς τὸ ἱστορικὸν προσκήνιον ἦσαν γεγονότα μεγάλης σημασίας διὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον. Ἡ ὀργάνωσις τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τοῦ Μεγάλου Καρόλου εἰς τὴν Δύσιν καὶ αἱ ἐπεκτατικαὶ προελάσεις τοῦ Ἀροὺν (Ἀαρὼν) ἀλ Ρασίδ, Καλίφη τῆς Βαγδάτης, θὰ ἐντείνουν τοὺς πολιτικοὺς καὶ οἰκονομικοὺς ἀνταγωνισμοὺς μεταξὺ τῶν τριῶν μεγάλων δυνάμεων τοῦ μεσαίωνος. Κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον αἰῶνα ἤρχισαν καὶ αἱ μεγαλύτεραι ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ προστριβαὶ μεταξὺ παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας Ρώμης. Ἦτο καὶ αἰὼν μεγάλων πολιτικῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν προσωπικοτήτων, τόσον διὰ τὸν χριστιανικὸν κόσμον ὅσον καὶ διὰ τὸν ἰσλαμικόν.

Ὁ ἱερὸς Φώτιος ἔγινεν αὐτόπτης μάρτυς καὶ κατέγραψε πολλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ ἱστορικῆς σημασίας γεγονότα τοῦ ἑνάτου αἰῶνος καὶ ὁ ἴδιος διεδραμάτισε σπουδαίαν θέσιν εἰς μερικὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν. Ἀντιπροσωπευτικὸς τύπος διανοουμένου τοῦ ἐκχριστιανισμένου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, ὁ Φώτιος εἶχε σπουδάσει ἀρτίως τὴν χριστιανικὴν γραμματείαν καὶ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα. Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικώτατος, μὲ εἰδικὴν ὅμως κατάρτισιν εἰς τὴν θεολογίαν, φιλοσοφίαν καὶ φιλολογίαν, ὁ Φώτιος ἐπηρέασεν ὅσον οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὰ γράμματα κατὰ τὸν ἔνατον αἰῶνα καὶ μετέπειτα.

Προικισμένος μὲ πλούσια φυσικὰ καὶ ἐπίκτητα χαρίσματα, ὁ Φώτιος ἐνηγκαλίσθη ὄχι μόνον τὴν ζωὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς Πολιτείας. Ὑπηρέτησε τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς ἐποχῆς του ποικιλοτρόπως καὶ ἀνῆλθε διαφόρους βαθμίδας τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας διέπρεψε. Πρεσβευτὴς τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας εἰς τὴν ἰσλαμικὴν Βαγδάτην, πρῶτος μυστικοσύμβουλος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (πρωτοασηκρῆτις), ἀρχηγὸς τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς φρουρᾶς (πρωτοσπαθάριος), καθηγητὴς βασιλοπαίδων, τελικῶς «βίᾳ καὶ ἄκων»[2] ἀνῆλθε καὶ εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον, τὸν ὁποῖον ἐτίμησεν ἐπὶ δεκαοκτὼ ἔτη.

Ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἔρευνα τῶν τελευταίων πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν ἔχει ἀποκαταστήσει πλήρως τὴν φήμην τοῦ ἀνδρός, τὴν ὁποίαν ἠθέλησαν νὰ σπιλώσουν ὄχι μόνον ἐχθρικῶς διακείμενοι θεολόγοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄρχοντες τῆς Δύσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ μερικοὶ σύγχρονοι ὁμόδοξοι καὶ ὁμόφυλοί του, ὅπως ὁ μοναχὸς Νικήτας ὁ Παφλαγών. Ὁ Νικήτας ἀναγνωρίζει καὶ περιγράφει τὴν λίαν χαρισματοῦχον προσωπικότητα τοῦ Φωτίου ὡς ἑξῆς: «Ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Φώτιος οὐ τῶν ἀγενῶν τε καὶ ἀνωνύμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ περιφανῶν, σοφίᾳ τε κοσμικῇ καὶ συνέσει τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ στρεφομένων εὐδοκιμώτατος πάντων ἐνομίζετο. Γραμματικῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ποιήσεως, ρητορικῆς τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ναὶ δὴ καὶ ἰατρικῆς, καὶ πάσης ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐπιστήμης τῶν

*Τὸ παρὸν ἄρθρον εἶναι ἀναθεωρημένη ὁμιλία, τὴν ὁποίαν ἔκαμον εἰς ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἱερατικοῦ Συνδέσμου τῆς πρώτης ἀρχιεπισκοπικῆς περιφερείας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀμερικῆς, εἰς τὴν κοινοτικὴν αἴθουσαν τοῦ καθεδρικοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Νέας Ὑόρκης. Τὸ ἐθεώρησα κατάλληλον νὰ δημοσιευθῇ εἰς τὸν τόμον πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων κυρίου Μεθοδίου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔχει ἀκολουθήσει τὰ ἴχνη πατέρων –ὅπως ὁ ἱερὸς Φώτιος– εἰς τὰ γράμματα, τὴν κοινωνικὴν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν δραστηριότητα, τὴν ἱερατικὴν καὶ ἀρχιερατικὴν διακονίαν, εἰς οἰκουμενικὴν διορατικότητα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφοσίωσιν καὶ προαγωγὴν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ὀρθοδόξου θεολογίας.

1. Ἡ βιβλιογραφία διὰ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φωτίου εἶναι μεγάλη. Ἡ παροῦσα ἐργασία βασίζεται εἰς τὰ συγγράμματα καὶ μάλιστα τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Φωτίου. Ἀποτελεῖ δὲ ἑρμηνείαν θεολογικῶν ἀπόψεων τοῦ Φωτίου καὶ ὄχι ἔρευναν διὰ τὴν ἐπίλυσιν χρονολογικῶν, φιλολογικῶν ἢ θεολογικῶν προβλημάτων.

2. *Φωτίου*, Ἐπιστολαί, ἔκδοσις Ἰωάννου Ν. Βαλέττα (Λονδῖνον, 1864), σ. 151.

θύραθεν τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τὸ περιόν, ὡς μὴ μόνον σχεδὸν φάναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γενεὰν πάντων διενεγκεῖν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παλαιοὺς αὐτὸν διαμιλλᾶσθαι. Πάντα γὰρ συνέτρεχεν αὐτῷ, ἡ ἐπιτηδειότης τῆς φύσεως, ἡ σπουδή, ὁ πλοῦτος, δι' ὃν καὶ βίβλος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔρρει πᾶσα»[1].

Ἡ σπουδαιότης καὶ τὸ δημιουργικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Φωτίου ἀναγνωρίζονται σήμερον ἀπ' ὅλους τοὺς εἰδικούς. Διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὀρθοδόξους ὁ Φώτιος δὲν εἶναι ἁπλῶς ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς μεγάλους πατέρας. Θεωρεῖται ὡς ὁ πρόμαχος τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀνεξαρτησίας τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπὸ τὴν λατινικὴν Δύσιν, ὁ ἀπολογητής, ὁ ἱεραπόστολος καὶ ὁ διανοούμενος, ὁ ὁποῖος περιέσωσεν ἕνα μεγάλο μέρος τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἑλληνικοῦ πνεύματος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν σημερινὴν χριστιανικὴν Δύσιν, χάρις εἰς τὴν ἀντικειμενικὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ ἀειμνήστου πατρὸς Φράνσις Ντβόρνικ, ὁ Φώτιος δὲν φέρεται πλέον ὡς ὁ «ἀρχισατανᾶς» καὶ ὁ ὑπεύθυνος διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἔριδας μεταξὺ παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας Ρώμης.

Τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ καὶ θεολογικὰ διαφέροντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φωτίου ἦσαν ποικίλα. Τὸν ἀπησχόλησεν ὁ ἐκχριστιανισμὸς τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ τῶν Σλάβων τῆς Μοραβίας καὶ Βοημίας, ἡ ἕνωσις τῶν Ἀρμενίων μὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἡ ἐπαναφορὰ εἰς τὴν Ὀρθοδοξίαν διαφόρων αἱρετικῶν καὶ σχισματικῶν μειονοτήτων, ἡ συνεργασία μὲ τὰ πρεσβυγενῆ Πατριαρχεῖα Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, ὥστε νὰ περισωθῇ ὅ,τι ἦτο δυνατὸν ἀπὸ τὴν ἁρπακτικὴν διάθεσιν καὶ πολιτικὴν τῶν Μωαμεθανῶν. Ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνδιεφέρθη διὰ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ τὸν ἐξωραϊσμὸν τῶν ἀπογυμνωμένων ναῶν μὲ νέας εἰκόνας καὶ ἠγήθη εἰς τὴν ἀναγέννησιν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων. Ὁ Φώτιος ὑπῆρξε πρωταγωνιστὴς εἰς τὴν μελέτην καὶ τὸν ὑπομνηματισμὸν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς πρωτοχριστιανικῆς ἐποχῆς, εἰς τὴν θεολογικὴν σκέψιν τῆς ἐποχῆς καὶ τὴν θεολογικὴν ἀνάπτυξιν ἑρμηνευτικῶν, δογματικῶν, ἱστορικῶν καὶ ἀπολογητικῶν θεμάτων.

Εἰς τὴν συγγραφικὴν δραστηριότητα καὶ εἰς τὴν σκέψιν τοῦ Φωτίου παρατηροῦμεν διὰ μίαν ἀκόμη φορὰν τὸν ἁρμονικὸν συγκερασμὸν πίστεως καὶ λόγου, θεολογίας καὶ φιλοσοφίας, Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ Χριστιανισμοῦ. Ἀναμφιβόλως, ὁ Φώτιος εἶναι ὑπεράνω ὅλων χριστιανὸς διανοούμενος, γράφει ὡς χριστιανός, συνδιαλέγεται ὡς χριστιανός, πολιτεύεται ὡς χριστιανός, ἀλλὰ ὡς Ἕλλην χριστιανός. Ἕλλην ὑπὸ τὴν πολιτιστικὴν σημασίαν τοῦ ὅρου, δηλαδὴ ἐμποτισμένος μὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παραδόσεως, τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, τῆς ἑλληνικῆς σκέψεως. Τὸ σύγγραμμά του «Μυριόβιβλος», εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον διέσωσε περικοπάς, ἀποσπάσματα ἢ περιλήψεις 280 βιβλίων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τῆς πρωτοχριστιανικῆς ἐποχῆς, ἔχει χαρακτηρισθῇ ὡς «τὸ σπουδαιότερον φιλολογικὸν ἔργον τοῦ ἑνάτου αἰῶνος».

Ἐνῷ ἦτο θαυμαστὴς τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ ἀφιέρωσε πολλὰ σχόλια καὶ εἰς τοὺς δύο κολοσσοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος, ὁ Φώτιος δὲν ἐστάθη εἰς τὸν ἀποθαυμασμὸν καὶ τὴν τυφλὴν ἀπομίμησιν τῆς σοφίας των ἀλλ' ἐπροχώρησε καὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν τῶν τρωτῶν τῶν μεγάλων φιλοσόφων. Ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τὸν Συνέσιον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, τὸν μεταγενέστερόν του Μιχαὴλ Ψελλόν, τὸν τελευταῖον φιλόσοφον τοῦ Βυζαντίου Πλήθωνα Γεμιστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρωπιστὰς τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως εἰς τὴν Δύσιν, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶχον ἀπορροφηθῇ ἀπὸ τὸ ἑλληνικὸν θαῦμα τῆς προχριστιανικῆς ἐποχῆς εἰς βάρος τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ, ὁ Φώτιος ἐγνώρισε τὸ μέτρον καὶ ἐχρησιμοποίησε τὴν σοφίαν τῶν ἀρχαίων διὰ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν κατοχύρωσιν τῆς πίστεως καὶ διὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὴν κατανόησιν τῶν χριστιανικῶν δογμάτων. Μὲ παράδειγμα τοὺς ἀπολογητάς, ἰδιαιτέρως τὸν Ἰουστῖνον, τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρινοὺς Κλήμεντα καὶ Ὠριγένη, τοὺς μεγάλους Καππαδόκας Βασίλειον Καισαρείας, Γρηγόριον Ναζιανζηνὸν καὶ Γρηγόριον Νύσσης, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμόν του διὰ τοὺς κλασσικοὺς συγγραφεῖς καὶ τὸ ἔργον των, τὴν σαφήνειαν καὶ καθαρότητα τῆς γλώσσης των, ὁ Φώτιος συνιστᾷ διάκρισιν εἰς τὴν μελέτην των καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐκλογὴν χρῆσιν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας γενικῶς[2].

Δεινὸς φιλόλογος, ὁ Φώτιος ἀνεδείχθη καὶ μεγάλος παιδαγωγός. Ἐχρημάτισε διδάσκαλος πολλῶν νέων τῆς πρωτευούσης, συμπεριλαμβανομένων καὶ τῶν βασιλοπαίδων. Ἐπίστευε καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι ἡ παιδεία εἶναι τὸ καλλίτερον μέσον διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχῆ συγκρότησιν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, διὰ τὴν ψυχικὴν καὶ διανοητικήν του καλλιέργειαν, τὸ εὐεργετικώτερον μέσον διὰ μίαν εὐτυχισμένην νεανικὴν ζωὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ζωὴν ἐλπίδος, παρηγορίας καὶ ἀνεξαρτησίας κατὰ τὴν προχωρημένην ἡλικίαν. Γράφων πρὸς τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Μιχαήλ, ὁ Φώτιος τονίζει τὰ ἑξῆς βαθυστόχαστα καὶ πάντοτε ἐπίκαιρα: «Τῆς παιδείας ἡ κτῆσις τῷ γεγηρακότι κρατίστη γίνεται βίου βακτηρία, καὶ τὸν ἀνθοῦντα τὴν νέαν ἡλικίαν εἰς ἀρετῆς ὥραν ἀλύπως διαβιβάζει. Παίδευε τοίνυν σοφίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοὺς σοὺς παῖδας, ἵνα καὶ νεάζοντες ὡραίαν ἔχωσι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ γεγηρακότες μὴ δεήσωνται τῆς ἑτέρων βοηθείας»[3].

Ἡ θεολογικὴ σκέψις καὶ ἡ ἀπασχόλησις τοῦ Φωτίου μὲ θεολογικὰ θέματα φανεροῦνται ἀπὸ τὰς ὁμιλίας του, τὰ ὑπομνήματά του εἰς πατερικὰ ἔργα καὶ βιβλία τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς. Τὸ κατ' ἐξοχὴν θεολογικὸν ἔργον του εἶναι τὰ Ἀ μ φ ι λ ό χ ι α. Ὡς θεολόγος ὁ Φώτιος δὲν ἐκαινοτόμησεν, οὔτε διεκρίθη ὡς ἐμβριθὴς καὶ πρωτότυπος διανοούμενος, ὅπως λόγου χάριν ὁ Ὠριγένης, Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης ἢ ὁ Διονύσιος (Ψευδο-Διονύσιος) Ἀρεοπαγίτης. Τοὐναντίον,

1. Ἑλληνικὴ Πατρολογία, ἔκδοσις J. P. Migne, τόμ. 105, στ. 509. Εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς ΕΠΜ.

2. *Φωτίου*, Ἀμφιλόχια, ΕΠΜ, τόμ. 101, στ. 576-592 καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ ὑπ' ἀρ. 156, 165, 166.

3. Ἐπιστολαί, ἔκδ. Βαλέττα, σ. 447.

ὁ Φώτιος ἦτο παραδοσιαρχικός. Εἶναι καθ' ὅλα βιβλικός, ἀλλὰ ἀντλεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πατερικὴν σκέψιν, τὸν Χρυσόστομον, τὸν Γρηγόριον τὸν Θεολόγον καὶ ἄλλους.

Διὰ τὸν Φώτιον, θεολογία δὲν εἶναι τόσον ἡ διδασκαλία ὁρισμῶν καὶ κανόνων, ἡ ἀνάπτυξις θεωριῶν περὶ ἰδιοτήτων τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅσον ἡ γνωριμία, ὁ προσωπικὸς διάλογος μὲ τὸν Θεόν, ἡ ἔκστασις εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν βυθίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὅταν συνδιαλέγεται μὲ τὸν Δημιουργόν της, ἡ ἐμπειρία τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς καθημερινὰς ἐνασχολήσεις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Δηλαδὴ θεολογία δὲν εἶναι τόσον νοησιαρχία ὅσον πνευματικὴ ἢ ἐνδόμυχος ἐμπειρία τοῦ πιστοῦ, ὁ ὁποῖος μελετᾷ καὶ ἐφαρμόζει τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ποὺ συμμετέχει εἰς τὰς μυστηριακὰς λατρευτικὰς πράξεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐπιβεβαιώνουν τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Καὶ ἡ παρουσία εἶναι τόσον αἰσθητὴ ὅσον ἡ συνείδησις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι καθαρά, ἐναργὴς καὶ φωτισμένη. Ὁ Φώτιος συνιστᾷ τὸ «ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθαι» τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου. Ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς θεοφόρος, πρέπει νὰ συνδιαλέγεται συνεχῶς μὲ τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ὑπάρξεώς του, νὰ εἶναι εὐαίσθητος εἰς τοὺς ἐρεθισμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ νὰ ἀνταποκρίνεται εἰς τὰ μηνύματά του. Ἐν τελευταίᾳ ἀναλύσει, διὰ τὸν Φώτιον «εἰ ἀληθῶς προσεύξῃ, θεολόγος εἶ», ὅπως εἶχε γράψει κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον αἰῶνα Εὐάγριος ὁ Ποντικός.

Θεολογία ἐξυπακούει ὄχι μόνον ἀδιάλειπτον προσευχὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδελεχῆ μελέτην καὶ ἔρευναν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀνελλιπῆ μελέτην τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς. Εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτὴν εὑρίσκει ὁ πιστὸς πραγματικὴν ἡδονήν. Ἐρωτᾷ ὁ ἱερὸς Φώτιος: «Θέλεις ἡδυπαθείας εἰς κόρον ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδεμιᾶς δίκης λόγον ὑποσχεῖν, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ πολλῶν χαρίτων ἄξιον σεαυτὸν παρασχεῖν; Ἀπόβλεψον... εἰς τὸν πολυανθῆ καὶ παμφόρον τῶν ἐντολῶν Κυρίου λειμῶνα, ἀπόβλεψον καὶ μὴ ἀποστῇς· ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας ἐρείσας τὰ ὄμματα ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν τῆς τερπνότητος πολυπραγμονῶν, ὡς ἠγάπησα τὸν νόμον σου, Κύριε, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν μελέτη μου ἐστίν... Οὕτω τε γὰρ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἁγιοπρεποῦς τε καὶ μυριπνόου γλυκύτητος ἐμφορηθήσῃ, καί, ὡς γλυκέα τῷ λάρυγγί μου τὰ λόγιά σου, ὑπὲρ μέλι τῷ στόματί μου, ἔργῳ πειραθεὶς ὑμνολογήσεις»[1]. Ἡ μελέτη τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς παρέχει τὴν δυνατότητα πραγματικῆς ἡδονῆς, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ ἀναγνώστης δὲν πρέπει νὰ φοβῆται τιμωρίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν δὲν χρειάζεται ἀπολογία εἰς οὐδένα. Ὅπως εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν τῆς προσευχῆς, τοιουτοτρόπως καὶ διὰ τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῆς μελέτης τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς, ὁ Φώτιος διδάσκει ἀπὸ τὴν προσωπικήν του ἐμπειρίαν.

Ὁρισμὸς περὶ θεολογίας δὲν ὑπάρχει εἰς τὰ συγγράμματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Φωτίου, ὅπως δὲν ὑπάρχει καὶ εἰς τὴν γλῶσσαν τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν πατερικὴν σκέψιν γενικῶς ὁ ὅρος θεολογία ἀπαντᾷ διαφοροτρόπως. Συνολικῶς ὑπάρχουν δεκαεννέα κατηγορίαι εἰς τὰς ὁποίας γίνεται χρῆσις τῆς λέξεως ἢ τοῦ ὅρου θεολογία. Θεολογία δὲν εἶναι ἁπλῶς ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας περὶ Θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸ βίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἡ πνευματικὴ ἐμπειρία καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τῶν πιστῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία τελικῶς κωδικοποιεῖται καὶ γίνεται σύστημα θεωριῶν πίστεως καὶ κανόνων. Ὁ Φώτιος ἠσχολήθη μὲν μὲ τὴν θεωρίαν τῆς πίστεως, ἐνδιεφέρθη ὅμως περισσότερον μὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν, μὲ τὸ βίωμα τῆς πίστεως. Ἔγραψε περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ περὶ Μανιχαίων καὶ ἄλλων αἱρέσεων, ἐτόνισεν ὅμως περισσότερον τὴν ἠθικήν, τὴν ἐφηρμοσμένην θεολογίαν. Τοῦτο διαφαίνεται περισσότερον εἰς τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς του.

Ἐπειδὴ θεολογία εἶναι πρὸ πάντων ζωὴ καὶ ἔκφρασις, ἀγάπη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ στοργὴ πρὸς τὸν συνάνθρωπον («τὸ θεῖον εἰλικρινῶς ἀγαπᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν, καὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον ὡς σεαυτὸν στέργειν καὶ φιλεῖν»), ὁ Φώτιος συνιστᾷ ζωὴν ἐνεργοῦς προσευχῆς, ἡ ὁποία εἶναι καὶ ἡ βάσις τῆς πνευματικότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφαρμογὴ τῆς ἀγάπης μὲ ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. Διὰ τὸν Φώτιον δὲν ὑπάρχει ἀντίθεσις μεταξὺ πνευματικῆς ζωῆς καὶ κοινωνικῆς δραστηριότητος, ζωῆς προσευχῆς καὶ ζωῆς ἔργων. Ὁ πνευματικὸς ἄνθρωπος δύναται, χωρὶς νὰ σκανδαλίζεται, νὰ ἐργάζεται τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς ἀγάπης, ὅπου τὸν καλέσουν αἱ συνθῆκαι. Πνευματικὸς ἄνθρωπος εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ποὺ φλέγεται ἀπὸ θεῖον ἔρωτα, ὁ ὁποῖος μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἐλεύθερον ἀπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ὁ ὁποῖος ἀποβλέπει εἰς ἕνα σκοπόν, τὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. «Ὁ τοῦ θείου εἰλικρινὴς ἔρως, καὶ ἡ τοῦ πλησίον στοργὴ καὶ τελεία ἀγάπη, τῶν ἄλλων ἐντολῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς περιέχουσι τὰς πράξεις» γράφει ὁ μέγας πατήρ.

Ἐνδεικτικὸν τῶν ἀπόψεων τοῦ Φωτίου περὶ θεολογίας καὶ πνευματικῆς ζωῆς εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἐξοχὴν θεολογικόν του βιβλίον, τὰ «Ἀμφιλόχια». Πρόκειται περὶ ἔργου εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ Φώτιος ἔχει συλλέξει μικρὰς θεολογικὰς πραγματείας, τὰς ὁποίας ἀρχικῶς ἔγραψεν ὡς ἀπαντήσεις εἰς ἀπορίας φίλων του. Τὰς διακρίνει ὁ σεβασμὸς πρὸς τὴν παράδοσιν, ἡ βραχυλογία καὶ ἡ σαφήνεια. Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ βιβλίου αὐτοῦ ὁ Φώτιος ὁμιλεῖ περὶ θεολογίας καὶ ὀρθῆς πίστεως. Εἰς μάτην θὰ ἀναζητήσῃ ὁ ἀναγνώστης εἰς τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ ὑψηλὴν θεολογίαν. Ὁ Φώτιος δὲν ἐνδιαφέρεται διὰ φιλοσοφικὴν ἢ ἀφῃρημένην θεολογίαν. Τοὐναντίον, ὅπως καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ἔργα του, ὅταν ὁμιλῇ περὶ θεολογίας, ὁμιλεῖ περὶ ἐφαρμογῆς τῶν κωδικοποιημένων ἐντολῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, περὶ πνευματικῆς δράσεως, περὶ ἠθικῆς καὶ ποιμαντικῆς θεολογίας. Πίστις ναί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργα, ἔργα ἀγάπης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας κατ' ἀπομίμησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης, τοῦ μόνου Φιλανθρώπου.

Διὰ τὸν Φώτιον, ὁ Σωτὴρ εἶναι φιλάνθρωπος. Ἡ ἰδιότης τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς φιλανθρώπου εἶναι μία διάστασις τῆς πατερικῆς καὶ λειτουργικῆς μας θεολογίας, τὴν ὁποίαν εἴτε ἔχομεν ἐκλάβει ὡς κοινοτο-

1. *Φωτίου*, Ὁμιλίαι, ἔκδ. Βασιλείου Λαούρδα (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1959), ὁμιλία πρώτη, σ. 9.

πίαν εἴτε δὲν τὴν ἔχομεν προσέξει ἐπαρκῶς. Ἐκφράσεις τῶν λειτουργικῶν μας κειμένων καὶ τῆς ὑμνογραφίας μας, ὅπως «τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀναστήσας ὡς φιλάνθρωπος», «ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος», «ἵνα δωρήσῃ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὡς φιλάνθρωπος», «ἀκατάληπτε ἐκὼν ἐσταύρωσαι διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν», «δόξα τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ σου μόνε Φιλάνθρωπε», «καὶ πνεῦμα δοὺς ὡς φιλάνθρωπος», «δόξα τῇ συγκαταβάσει σου μόνε Φιλάνθρωπε», ποιητικαὶ ἐκφράσεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἁπαντοῦν ὡς ἐπῳδοὶ εἰς διάφορα λειτουργικά μας βιβλία (Παρακλητική, Πεντηκοστάριον, Μηναῖα κ.ο.κ.), δὲν εἶναι ρητορικὰ σχήματα, ἀλλὰ ἔννοιαι αἱ ὁποῖαι διατυπώνουν τὴν θεολογικὴν ἀντίληψιν τῶν πατέρων καὶ ὑμνογράφων, τῆς συνειδήσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας γενικῶς, περὶ τῆς πατρότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὁ Θεὸς τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας διατελεῖ εἰς ἔρωτα μὲ τὸ πλάσμα του, εἶναι πατὴρ στοργικὸς ποὺ σφοδρῶς ἐπιθυμεῖ τὴν εὐημερίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ παιδιοῦ του. Εἶναι ἡ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ὁποία ἐγγυᾶται τὴν σωτηρίαν μας, διότι «Κύριος φιλάνθρωπος ὢν καὶ μετανοῶν ἐπὶ κακίαις ἀνθρώπων ἐρεῖ... ἰδοὺ ἀπαλείφω ὡς νεφέλην τὰς ἀνομίας σου καὶ ὡς γνόφον τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου». Ἡ ἐνανθρώπησις τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔφερεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς «ἐπομβρίζουσαν» τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ γράφει ὁ Φώτιος[1]. Κατ' ἀπομίμησιν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὀφείλει νὰ εἶναι φιλάνθρωπος ὄχι ἁπλῶς μὲ πράξεις ἐλεημοσύνης, αἱ ὁποῖαι πολλάκις ἐπιβάλλονται ἀπὸ κοινωνικούς, πολιτικούς, οἰκονομικοὺς ἢ ψυχολογικοὺς λόγους (π.χ. πράξεις ἐλεημοσύνης ποὺ ἐπιβάλλονται διὰ νὰ κρατοῦνται οἱ πτωχοὶ εἰς ληθαργικὴν κατάστασιν, μὴ τυχὸν καὶ ὠργανωμένοι ἐπαναστατήσουν, ὅπως λέγουν οἱ μαρξισταί), ἀλλὰ μὲ πράξεις ἀνιδιοτελείας καὶ στοργῆς ποὺ ἀγκαλιάζουν τὸν ὅλον ἄνθρωπον.

Ὁ Φώτιος γνωρίζει τοὺς κοινωνικοὺς κινδύνους ποὺ ἐγκυμονεῖ ἡ πενία, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἐνδιαφέρεται νὰ ἀντικαταστήσῃ τὸ ἕνα κοινωνικὸν καθεστὼς μὲ τὸ ἄλλο. Ἐπιμένει εἰς τὴν χριστιανικὴν λύσιν τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ προβλήματος. Οἱ πλούσιοι ὀφείλουν νὰ ἔχουν κατανόησιν, ἀνθρωπισμόν, ἀγάπην ἀνιδιοτελῆ, ἡ ὁποία λογίζει τὸν πτωχόν, τὸν ἀσθενῆ, τὸν ἀδύνατον ὡς ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνοδοιπόρον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὄχι ὡς παράσιτον καὶ ἀνεπιθύμητον πρᾶγμα. Ἡ πενία, ἡ ἀνισότης, ἡ κοινωνικὴ ἀδικία, ἡ ἀταξία, ἡ κλοπή, αἱ φυλακαὶ καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια, ὅλα αὐτὰ εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ρυθμισθοῦν μὲ γνώμονα τὴν ἀγάπην. Ὁ Φώτιος ὁμιλεῖ ὡς ἰδεολόγος χριστιανός. Ἡ ἐφαρμογὴ τῆς ἀγάπης εἶναι ἀληθὴς θεολογία καὶ ὁ καλλίτερος γνώμων συμπεριφορᾶς, διότι καταργεῖ τὴν ἀνισότητα, προάγει ἀγαθὰς σχέσεις εἰς τὰς συναλλαγάς, διατηρεῖ ἑνότητα, καταργεῖ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ φέρει τάξιν εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν. «Διόπερ... ἐπιμελῶς τῆς ἀγάπης ἐχώμεθα· ταύτην σπουδαίως μεταδιώξωμεν, ταύτην σύνοικον ποιησώμεθα, ταύτην συνέκδημον ἐν ἀγοραῖς, ἐν ἀμφόδοις, ἐν πόλεσιν, ἐν ἐρημίαις, ἐν βουλαῖς, ἐν δικαστηρίοις· μᾶλλον δέ, ἂν ταύτης καθαρῶς ἐχώμεθα, οὐδὲ δικαστήρια ὅλως ὀψόμεθα· πηγὴ γὰρ αὕτη καθέστηκε μακροθυμίας, χρηστότητος, ἐπιεικείας, ὀργησίας, πραότητος, πίστεως, ἐλπίδος, ὑπομονῆς». Ἀγάπη καὶ πίστις εἶναι ἀλληλένδετα. Ἐκεῖνος ποὺ δὲν ἔχει ἀγάπην δὲν ἔχει καὶ πίστιν. Ὅποιος εἶναι ἐστερημένος ἀγάπης, δὲν λογίζεται μέλος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, φέρεται ὡς «τῶν πιστῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀποσπαράσσων καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξούσης Ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρηγνύμενος»[2].

Ὁ Φώτιος ἐνδιεφέρθη διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἀδύνατον, τὸν ἄρρωστον, τὸν ἠγνοημένον, τὸν πτωχόν, καὶ διὰ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνθρώπου δὲν ἐπικαλεῖται θεωρητικὴν θεολογίαν, κωδικοποιημένους στεγνοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπερπλήρωσιν τῆς καρδίας καὶ τὸν ἄγραφον νόμον τῆς συνειδήσεως. Καὶ ἐδῶ ἔγκειται καὶ ἡ οἰκουμενικότης τοῦ ἀνδρός: «Ἁπλοῦς ὁ λόγος, κοινὸς ὁ νόμος Ἕλλησι, βαρβάροις, εἰ βούλει δέ, καὶ πιστοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις» ὑπενθυμίζει ὁ μεγάλος πατριάρχης[3]. Εἶναι δυνατὸν οἱ χριστιανοὶ νὰ καυχῶνται διὰ τὴν πίστιν των, τὴν μεγαλοπρεπῆ λατρείαν των, τοὺς ὡραίους ναούς των, τὰ χρυσοποίκιλτα ἄμφια τοῦ κλήρου των, καὶ νὰ ὑστεροῦν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων εἰς ἔργα ἀγάπης, ἰσότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης· «Πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων βάρβαροι μὲν ὄντες τὰ ἄλλα τὸν δὲ φυσικὸν τοῦτον (δηλ. τῆς συνειδήσεως) ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσι νόμον». Καὶ ἐρωτᾷ ὁ Φώτιος: «εἰ μὴ τὸ δίκαιον πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθαρῶς καὶ βεβαίως φυλάξομεν, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ πιστοὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἢ πῶς σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς, δι' ὧν πράττομεν, οὐ βλασφημηθήσεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν...»[4].

Εἰς τὴν ἐποχὴν τοῦ Φωτίου, ὅπως καὶ εἰς κάθε ἐποχήν, ὑπῆρχον χριστιανοὶ μόνον κατ' ὄνομα. Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς εἶχον περιορίσει τὰ καθήκοντά των εἰς λειτουργικὰς μόνον πράξεις. Μοναχοὶ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς πενίας εἶχον προσχωρήσει εἰς πλουσίας μοναχικὰς κοινότητας καὶ χριστιανοὶ ἀριστοκράται ἐπολιτεύοντο μὲ ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν, ἐπειδὴ ἔκαμνον μερικὰς πράξεις ἐλεημοσύνης. Ἠγνόουν ὅτι λειτουργία δὲν εἶναι μόνον προσευχὴ ἀλλὰ ἔργον διὰ τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔργον διὰ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν κοινωνικῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἔργον διὰ τὴν βελτίωσιν ἠθικῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑλικῶν καταστάσεων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως τοῦ πάσχοντος ἀνθρώπου, κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Ματθ. 4:23). Διὸ καὶ παροτρύνει: «μηδεὶς ὑμῶν εἴη, μηδὲ γένοιτο, μήτε βαρβάρων ὠμότερος, μήτε τῶν ἀπίστων ἀθλιώτερος, πάντες δὲ καὶ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς κλήσεως ἀξίως πολιτευσώμεθα, τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἰσότητα καλῶς καὶ ἀπαραβάτως διασῴζοντες... Εἶδες πένητα ταλαιπωρούμενον; παρεῖδες βοῶντα τὸν ὁμόφυλον; ἀπέφραξας σεαυτῷ τῆς δεσποτικῆς φιλανθρωπίας τὰς πηγάς»[5]. Αἱ κοινωνικαὶ καὶ ἠθικαὶ ὁμιλίαι τοῦ Φωτίου περὶ ἀγάπης, ὀλιγοπιστίας, ἐλεημοσύνης, ἀγωγῆς, ὑπερηφανείας, ἐγωισμοῦ, καλῆς χρήσεως τοῦ πλούτου ἀποβλέπουν

1. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., ὁμιλία τρίτη, σ. 38–39.

2. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., ὁμιλία ἕκτη, σ. 70–71.
3. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., σ. 66.
4. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ.
5. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ.

εἰς τὴν καλλιέργειαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὡς εἰκόνος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν βελτίωσιν τῆς κοινωνίας γενικῶς.

Τόσον αἱ ὁμιλίαι ὅσον καὶ αἱ ἐπιστολαί του φανερώνουν ὅτι ὁ Φώτιος δὲν ἐνδιεφέρθη μόνον διὰ τὴν πρακτικὴν θεολογίαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ ἴδιος ἐξήσκησεν εὐρὺ ποιμαντικὸν ἔργον. Διὰ τῆς πλουσίας ἀλληλογραφίας του ἐστήριξεν εἰς τὴν πίστιν, ἐνουθέτησεν, ἤλεγξεν ἀδίκους κοινωνικοὺς καὶ κυβερνητικοὺς ἄρχοντας διὰ παρανομίας, παρηγόρησεν τοὺς θλιμμένους, ἔκαμε πατρικὰς παραινέσεις πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ἐδίδαξε καὶ ᾠκοδόμησε μὲ «τὸ κῦρος ἀποστόλου». Μερικαὶ ἀπὸ τὰς παραμυθητικὰς καὶ παραινετικὰς ἐπιστολάς του εἶναι ἀληθεῖς ἀδάμαντες. Ὅταν ἀπέθανεν ἡ ἀνεψιά του, ὁ Φώτιος ἔγραψεν εἰς τὸν ἀδελφόν του Ταράσιον μίαν λίαν συγκινητικὴν ἐπιστολήν, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν γράφει καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς: «Ἐννοήσωμεν, τίνες ἐσμέν· πόθεν γεγόναμεν; οὐκ ἐκ θνητῶν θνητοί; οὐχὶ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων μετ' ὀλίγον ἐσόμενοι;... πᾶσα φύσις ἀνθρώπων κἂν ἐξουσιάζουσα ᾖ, κἂν ἰδιῶτις, κἂν γερόντων, κἂν νέων, κἂν ἀνδρῶν, κἂν γυναικῶν, θανάτῳ πάντως τέμνεται τοῦ βίου καὶ οὐδὲν οὐ μὴ διαφύγῃ τὸ ἐκείνου δρέπανον. Οὐδὲν καινόν, οὐδὲ παράδοξον, οὐδὲ τῆς φύσεως ὑπέστημεν ὑπερόριον. Θνητὴ προελήλυθεν ἐκ σπλάγχνων θνητῶν, καὶ τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ νόμῳ φύσεως λειτουργήσασα, τῷ αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως νόμῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀθάνατον πολιτείαν ἀπεδήμησεν... Ἀπῆλθεν εἰς χῶρον ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα λύπη καὶ στεναγμὸς ἀπελήλαται... Τοιγαροῦν στῶμεν ἀνδρείως, στῶμεν εὐθαρσῶς· ὡς τοῦ οὐρανίου στρατιῶται βασιλέως τῷ ἐχθρῷ προσπλεκώμεθα»[1].

Ὁ μεγάλος ἀριθμὸς ἐπιστολῶν, ἡ ποικιλία τῶν θεμάτων, αἱ διάφοροι τάξεις ἀνθρώπων μὲ τοὺς ὁποίους διετήρει ἀλληλογραφίαν φανερώνουν ὅτι ὁ Φώτιος ἐπίστευεν εἰς ποιμαντικὴν διακονίαν προσωπικῆς φύσεως. Καὶ ἐδῶ εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἀνεύρωμέν τι, πολὺ ψυχολογημένον καὶ λίαν σύγχρονον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδικήν μας διακονίαν. Τὸ κήρυγμα ἀπὸ τὸν ἄμβωνα εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ συγκινήσῃ πρὸς στιγμὴν καὶ νὰ ἀποσπάσῃ καὶ ἐπαίνους. Πλὴν ὅμως κοινωνιολογικαὶ καὶ στατιστικαὶ μελέται ἔχουν καταδείξει ὅτι τὸ προφορικὸν κήρυγμα ἐλαχίστην ἀλλαγὴν φέρει εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἀκροατῶν. Τὰ περισσότερα κηρύγματα παραμένουν ἀπραγματοποίητοι δεοντολογίαι καὶ ρητορικὰ σχήματα. Καὶ ὁ γραπτὸς λόγος δὲν ἔχει καλλιτέραν τύχην, ἂν καὶ μία καλὴ μελέτη, ἕνα τεκμηριωμένον ἄρθρον, ἕνα πρωτότυπον βιβλίον εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἐπηρεάσῃ πολὺ περισσότερον. Εἰς τὴν ἱερατικὴν διακονίαν, εἰς τὸ ἔργον τῆς καθοδηγήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας ἀνθρώπων, ἡ προσωπικὴ ἐπαφή, ὁ πατρικὸς ἢ καὶ ἀδελφικὸς διάλογος, ἡ ποιμαντικὴ τοῦ προσώπου δὲν ἀντικαθίστανται. Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Φωτίου εἶναι ὁ καλλίτερος καθρέπτης τῆς ποιμαντικῆς διακονίας του.

Παρακινούμενος ἀπὸ πατρικὰ καὶ καθαρῶς ποιμαντικὰ διαφέροντα, ὁ Φώτιος δὲν ἀπήγγειλε μόνον ὁμιλίας, ἀλλὰ ἔγραψε καὶ γράμματα διὰ τὴν λύσιν κοινωνικῶν προβλημάτων. Δὲν ἐδειλίασε νὰ ἐλέγξῃ τυραννικοὺς καὶ φιλοχρημάτους δημοσίους λειτουργούς, κρατικοὺς ὑπαλλήλους, ἀσυνειδήτους κληρικούς. Εἰς μεγάλον ἀριθμὸν ὁμιλιῶν καὶ ἐπιστολῶν του ὁ Φώτιος συνιστᾷ δικαιοσύνην, ἰσότητα, μετριοπάθειαν. Καυτηριάζει φιλοχρημάτους φοροσυλλέκτας καὶ ὑπενθυμίζει ὅτι ἡ ἁπληστία, ἡ φιλαυτία καὶ ἡ φιλοχρηματία ἀποξενώνουν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόν. Ἡ ἔλλειψις στοργῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους καὶ καταδυναστευομένους κλείει τὴν πύλην τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ ὁποία εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἀνοιχθῇ μόνον διὰ τῆς φιλοπτωχίας. Γράφει εἴς τινα φοροσυλλέκτην, ὀνόματι Ἀναστάσιον, τὰ ἑξῆς: «οὐκ ἔστι σοι πάροδος εἰς τὴν τῆς βασιλείας πύλην, διότι σοι ταύτην ἀπετείχισεν ὁ τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἔρως. Εἰ δὲ τὸ μεσότοιχον διὰ φιλοπτωχίας λύσεις, θᾶττον ἡ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ὑποδέξεταί σε κατοικία»[2]. Προφανῶς, διὰ τὸν Φώτιον ἐλεημοσύνη δὲν εἶναι ἡ ἁπλῆ μετάδοσις ἑνὸς τεμαχίου ἄρτου ἢ ἑνὸς νομίσματος, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἔκφρασις ἐμπράκτου ἀγάπης διὰ τὸν ὅλον ἄνθρωπον, ὁποιονδήποτε ἄνθρωπον. Διὰ τοῦτο μὲ πόνον ψυχῆς συνιστᾷ ὁ Φώτιος: «ἐναγκάλισαι, ἀλλ' ἀμφίασον, ἀλλὰ διάθρεψον»[3].

Ὁ Φώτιος δὲν περιώρισε τὰς ἠθικὰς διδασκαλίας καὶ παροτρύνσεις του μόνον εἰς τὸν ἁπλοῦν λαόν, ἀλλὰ ἐνδιεφέρθη διὰ τὴν ἠθικὴν ἐξυγίανσιν καὶ ἐξέλιξιν ὅλων τῶν κοινωνικῶν τάξεων καὶ ἐπαγγελμάτων. Εἰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ λόγους ποὺ ἀπηύθυνεν εἰς αὐτοκράτορας, βασιλεῖς καὶ ἀνωτέρους κρατικοὺς λειτουργούς, ὁ Φώτιος τονίζει ἀρετὰς προσωπικοῦ ἤθους καὶ κοινωνικῆς δικαιοσύνης. Γνώρισμα τοῦ συνετοῦ καὶ καλοῦ ἄρχοντος εἶναι ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἐπιείκεια. Ἐκεῖνος ποὺ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν πρέπει νὰ κατέχῃ θεϊκὰς ἰδιότητας, πρὸ πάντων «τὸ συμπαθητικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, τὰ καὶ Θεῷ ὑπάρχοντα». Ὅπως ὁ ἱπποκόμος πρέπει νὰ ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐκεῖνος ποὺ διατρέφει κύνας νὰ ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς κύνας, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνος ποὺ θέλει νὰ ἄρχῃ ἀνθρώπων πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἐραστὴς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου[4].

Ἰδιαιτέραν σημασίαν ἔχει ἡ μακρὰ ἐπιστολὴ ποὺ ἀπηύθυνεν ὁ Φώτιος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Βουλγάρων Βόριν, ὁ ὁποῖος κατηχήθη, ἐβαπτίσθη, μετονομασθεὶς Μιχαήλ, καὶ παρέμεινε «πνευματικὸν τέκνον» τοῦ Πατριάρχου. Ὁμοῦ μὲ μίαν ἔκθεσιν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ μὲ στοιχεῖα πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας, ὁ Φώτιος γράφει ἠθικὰς παραινέσεις εἰς τὸν Βόριν-Μιχαήλ, μὲ σκοπὸν νὰ τὸν καταστήσῃ ὑπόδειγμα ἄρχοντος, διότι οἱ τρόποι τῶν ἀρχόντων γίνονται συνήθειαι καὶ νόμοι διὰ τοὺς ἀρχομένους. Τονίζει ὁ Φώτιος ὅτι ὅσον περισσότερον προέχει τις

1. *Φωτίου*, Ἐπιστολαί, ἔκδ. Βαλέττα, σ. 457–464.

2. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., σ. 454.

3. *Φωτίου*, Ὁμιλίαι, ἔκδ. Λαούρδα, ὁμιλία ἕκτη, σ. 67.

4. *Φωτίου*, Παραίνεσις διὰ γνωμιολογίας, ἔκδοσ. J. Hergenrother, Monumenta Graeca ad Photium Ejusque Historiam Pertinentia (Ratisbonae, 1869, Reoublished in 1969), σ. 48.

εἰς τὸ ἀξίωμα τόσον περισσότερον πρέπει νὰ πρωτεύσῃ εἰς τὴν ἀρετήν[1].

Δὲν ἦτο ὀλιγωτέρα ἡ ποιμαντικὴ μέριμνα τοῦ Φωτίου διὰ τὸν ἀνώτερον κλῆρον. Πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ἔδωκε τὸ καλὸν παράδειγμα τῆς παρρησίας, ταπεινοφροσύνης, ἀφιλοχρηματίας, λιτότητος καὶ στοργῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ καλοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι «τοὺς ἀστηρίκτους στηρίξαι, τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς ἐκδιδάξαι, τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους παιδεῦσαι..., τοὺς θρασεῖς ἐλκῦσαι, τοὺς βλακώδεις ἀνδρῶσαι, τοὺς φιλαργύρους πεῖσαι χρημάτων ὑπερφρονεῖν καὶ φιλοπτώχους εἶναι, τοὺς φιλοτίμους (ἤτοι τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὰς τιμὰς) χαλιναγωγῆσαι..., τοὺς ὑπερηφάνους κατασπᾶσαι καὶ μετριοφρονεῖν παρορμῆσαι..., τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας κωλῦσαι καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν παρασκευάσαι, τοὺς ὀργίλους ἡμερῶσαι, τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους παραμυθήσασθαι», ὅπως γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν Ρώμης Νικόλαον[2]. Ἡ ἐμμονή του εἰς ἠθικὰς ἀρχὰς ἔγινεν αἰτία πολλῶν ταλαιπωριῶν, ταπεινώσεων καὶ ἀδικιῶν εἰς τὴν πατριαρχικὴν πρὸ πάντων διακονίαν του.

Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ ἐπιστολάς του, μία σειρὰ ἀπὸ 214 παραινέσεις εἶναι σπουδαία πηγὴ τῆς ἠθικῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ Φωτίου. Τὸ κέντρον τῆς διδασκαλίας του εἶναι ἡ ἠθικὴ τελείωσις παντὸς ἀνθρώπου. Ἡ σημαντικωτέρα ἔνδειξις πνευματικῆς προόδου καὶ ἠθικῆς ἐξελίξεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι ἡ εὐαισθησία ποὺ ἔχει ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸν συνάνθρωπον, ἡ εὐπρέπεια καὶ ἡ στοργὴ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποὺ ἔχει ἀνάγκην εἴτε ὑλικῆς εἴτε ἠθικῆς καὶ πνευματικῆς συμπαραστάσεως. Γράφει εἰς μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς παραινέσεις του, ὅτι ἐκεῖνος ποὺ παραβλέπει τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς καὶ πενομένους, καθιστᾷ τὸν ἑαυτόν του ἀνάξιον τῆς θείας εὐμενείας[3]. Ὁ Φώτιος δὲν εἶναι ἐναντίον τοῦ πλούτου, ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῆς ἰδιοτελοῦς καὶ φιλαύτου χρήσεώς του. Ἐκεῖνος ποὺ πλεονεκτεῖ καὶ πλουτίζει μόνον διὰ τὸν ἑαυτόν του, διαπράττει ἀδικίαν εἰς τοὺς ἐνδεεῖς καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν γενικῶς. Καὶ ἡ πενία αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν δὲν εἶναι ἀρετὴ καὶ δὲν ἐγγυᾶται τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ εἶναι κανεὶς πτωχὸς εἰς περιουσίαν ἀλλὰ πλεονέκτης εἰς τὴν προαίρεσιν. Ἡ μόνη δικαιολογημένη πενία εἶναι ὅταν γίνεται πρὸς χάριν εὐαγγελικοῦ σκοποῦ, δηλαδὴ τῆς μοναχικῆς πολιτείας καὶ ζωῆς[4].

Μὲ βάσιν τὴν ἁγίαν Γραφὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλληνας κλασσικοὺς συγγραφεῖς, ἰδιαιτέρως τὸν Ἰσοκράτη, Διογένη Λαέρτιον, Πλάτωνα, Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ Πλούταρχον, ὁ Φώτιος ἠθικολογεῖ ἐπὶ διαφόρων θεμάτων. Τὸ νὰ δίδῃς χωρὶς νὰ ἀναμένῃς ἀνταμοιβὴν εἶναι γνησία φιλανθρωπία· τὸ νὰ ἀναμένῃς τὰ ἴσα εἶναι ἀνθρώπινον. Τὸ νὰ ἀπαιτῇς ὅμως τόκους εἶναι μισάνθρωπον. Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὰ ἄτοκα δάνεια καὶ τὴν ἀνιδιοτελῆ φιλανθρωπίαν, ὁ Φώτιος συνιστᾷ τὴν γενναιόδωρον φιλοξενίαν. Ἐκεῖνος ποὺ ἀθετεῖ τὴν ἀβραμιαίαν ἀρετὴν ἀποκαλύπτει μισάνθρωπα αἰσθήματα[5].

Οὐδὲν φλέγον θέμα τῆς ἐποχῆς δὲν διέφυγε τῆς προσοχῆς τοῦ Φωτίου. Εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα τῶν σχέσεων μεταξὺ παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας Ρώμης ὁ Φώτιος ἀποδεικνύεται ἄνθρωπος μὲ εὐρεῖαν καὶ «οἰκουμενικὴν» ἀντίληψιν, ἀνεκτικός, φιλειρηνικός, μὲ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπεράνω προσωπικῶν φιλοδοξιῶν κατὰ νοῦν. Χωρὶς νὰ παύῃ νὰ εἶναι ὁ κατ' ἐξοχὴν ὑπέρμαχος τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀκεραιότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ δόγματος, ὅπως τοῦτο εἶχε διαμορφωθῆ διὰ τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων, ὁ Φώτιος ἐπεδίωξε τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἰς τὴν ἀλληλογραφίαν του μὲ τὸν δύσκολον Πάπαν Ρώμης Νικόλαον, ὁ Φώτιος τονίζει τὴν ἀνάγκην ἑνότητος εἰς τὰ οὐσιώδη, ἀλλὰ ἐλευθερίαν εἰς δευτερεύοντα ζητήματα. Ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ρώμης, ἡ ὁποία κατὰ τὸν μεσαίωνα ἐπεδίωκεν ἑνότητα καὶ ὁμοιομορφίαν, ὁ Φώτιος ὑπεγράμμισε τὴν Παράδοσιν τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχαίας Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία ἐγνώρισε καὶ διετήρει ἑνότητα ἐν τῇ ἀνομοιομορφίᾳ. «Ἑτερότης καὶ παραλλαγὴ» εἰς τὸν τρόπον τελέσεως τῆς θείας Εὐχαριστίας καὶ ἄλλων ἱερῶν ἀκολουθιῶν, εἰς τὴν νηστείαν, εἰς τὸν γάμον τῶν κληρικῶν, εἰς τὰ ἄζυμα, εἰς ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα, εἰς λύσεις προβλημάτων συμφώνως μὲ περιπτωτικὰς καὶ τοπικὰς ἀνάγκας δὲν πρέπει νὰ διασποῦν τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας[6].

Τὸ ὑπέρτατον ἀγαθὸν εἰς τὰς σχέσεις τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν εἶναι «ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης». Ἀλλὰ διὰ νὰ διατηροῦνται καὶ νὰ προάγωνται διεκκλησιαστικαὶ σχέσεις χρειάζεται διάλογος, παρρησία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντίλογος καὶ κριτική[7]. Ἐξ ἄλλου, τόσον ὁ πιστὸς ὅσον καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τῶν πιστῶν δὲν πρέπει νὰ φοβοῦνται τὴν κριτικήν. Ὅσον πικροὶ καὶ νὰ εἶναι οἱ λόγοι τῆς κριτικῆς, τελικῶς θὰ ἀποβοῦν εἰς ὄφελος[8].

Καιρὸς νὰ συνοψίσωμεν. Ὁ ἱερὸς Φώτιος παραμένει ἄριστον πρότυπον χριστιανοῦ καὶ μάλιστα ὀρθοδόξου ἱεράρχου, τόσον εἰς τὴν θεολογικὴν καὶ θύραθεν μόρφωσιν ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ κοινωνικὴν δραστηριότητα. Ἐπολιτεύθη καὶ ἐποίμανεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἱεράρχης τοῦ μέτρου καὶ ἠγάπησεν εἰλικρινῶς Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ζωὴ προσευχῆς, μελέτης καὶ δράσεως. Εἰς τὰς διεκκλησιαστικὰς σχέσεις του ἔδειξεν οἰκουμενικὴν διορατικότητα ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμμονὴν καὶ πίστιν εἰς τὰ πάτρια,

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1. *Φωτίου*, Ἐπιστολαί, ἔκδ. Βαλέττα, σ. 200–248 καὶ ΕΠΜ 102, 628–696: παράγρ. 51: «Ὁ τῶν ἀρχόντων τρόπος νόμος γίνεται τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα» καὶ παράγρ. 44: «Ὅσῳ δέ τις προέχει τῇ ἀρχῇ, τοσούτῳ χρεωστεῖ πρωτεύειν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ».

2. *Φωτίου*, Ἐπιστολαί, ἔκδ. Βαλέττα, σ. 146–165 καὶ ΕΠΜ 102, 593–617, ἰδιαιτέρως στήλη 612 ΑΒ.

3. *Φωτίου*, Παραίνεσις διὰ γνωμολογίας, μν. ἔργ., σ. 26.

4. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., σ. 34.

5. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., σ. 32.

6. *Φωτίου*, Ἐπιστολαί, ἔκδ. Βαλέττα, σ. 146–165 καὶ ΕΠΜ 102, 593–617, ἰδιαιτέρως στήλη 608 Β.

7. Ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Φωτίου πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν Νικόλαον, ἰδιαιτέρως στῆλ. 589 Α καὶ 596.

8. *Φωτίου*, Παραίνεσις διὰ γνωμολογίας, σ. 43.

τῶν ὁποίων ἡ ἀξία εἶχε μείνει ἀδιάβλητος. Ἐνῷ ἦτο καθόλα πιστὸς χριστιανός, ὁ Φώτιος ἐστάθη φίλος, προστάτης καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων. Εἰς τὰς σχέσεις μεταξὺ Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ὁ Φώτιος παραμένει ἕνα κλασσικὸν παράδειγμα. Ἡ στάσις του ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ συγγράμματά του βεβαιώνουν ὅτι ὅσον ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς ἀναπτύσσεται καὶ θεολογικῶς ἐξελίσσεται τόσον ἐντονώτερον ἐκδηλοῦται ὁ ἑλληνικὸς χαρακτήρ του καὶ ἡ παγκοσμιότης του.

# ST. LUKE'S PORTRAIT OF ST. PAUL

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## *I. Introduction*

More than one half of the second volume of Luke's history of Christian beginnings is devoted to an account of the career of Paul, from his activity as a leader in the campaign of persecution against Judaean Christians, in the period before his conversion, to his protracted residence in Rome under house-arrest nearly thirty years later, while he waited for his case to come up for hearing before the imperial tribunal.

Since the later part of the second century this volume of Luke's history has been known as "Acts of Apostles" (It has been conjectured that his first volume was at one time entitled "Acts of Christ"). But in fact there are only two apostles whose acts are related in the second volume–Peter and Paul. Peter's acts are recorded in the first half of the volume. He disappears from the scene after chapter 15, with its account of the Council of Jerusalem. After that, Paul (who has first been introduced at the end of chapter 7, in the description of Stephen's martyrdom) dominates the scene. Peter is not depreciated in any way in Acts: in fact, Luke appears deliberately to draw a series of parallels between him and Paul, suggesting that the two had equal status in his eyes. It is Paul who carries the gospel throughout the Gentile world, but it is Peter who first preaches the gospel to Gentiles. Peter's ministry, however, is restricted to Judaea in Luke's narrative; if Luke's plan is to trace the advance of the gospel from Judaea to Rome, then Paul must inevitably be the major figure in his story.

If our knowledge of Paul were confined to what is said of him in Acts, we should have much cause to be grateful to Luke. The Paul whose portrait Luke draws is a very impressive character. Although he sets out on his wider apostolic ministry as the junior colleague of Barnabas, who called him to Antioch in Syria to help him in preaching the gospel and building up the church in that great Gentile city, before long he appears to take the lead in the partnership. When the two men were released by the church of Antioch to carry the gospel farther afield, it is "Barnabas and Saul" who set out for Cyprus, but "Paul and his company" who set sail from Paphos for the south coast of Asia Minor. Probably the change in style is due in part to a change of source, but it fits in with Luke's general picture of the developing relation between the two. This might help to explain John Mark's return to Jerusalem after he had accompanied them as far as Perga in Pamphylia: he perhaps resented the way in which his cousin Barnabas was falling into second place.

When, at Pisidian Antioch, the synagogue authorities invited the two missionaries to address the congregation, it was Paul who responded to the invitation and preached a powerful sermon. A few weeks later, when the people of Lystra thought that the two men were divine beings visiting their city in human form, they called Barnabas "Zeus" (perhaps because of something majestic about his presence), but they called Paul "Hermes"–because, says Luke, "he was the chief speaker". At Athens, Paul holds the attention of the Council of the Areopagus until he begins to talk nonsense (as his hearers think it to be); in Jerusalem he silences an angry and hostile mob by addressing them in their own vernacular.

Is this eloquent and compelling speaker the man whose "bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account", as his critics said (2 Corinthians 10:10)? That, indeed, is what his detractors had to say (but Paul does not deny their unflattering description of him); Luke, on the other hand, is one of his admirers. Luke reports or summarizes the matter of Paul's speeches, but says little or nothing about the manner of their delivery; from Luke's silence in this regard it might be inferred that the delivery was worthy of the contents, but this could be an unwarranted inference. Paul, we may be sure, lacked the godlike dignity which was thought proper for a great orator, but he was intensely in earnest about his message, and that very fact imparts a natural eloquence to a speaker.

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## II. Comparative Biography

If we compare the biographical and other factual data about Paul provided by Luke with the information that can be drawn from Paul's own letters, we find a wide range of agreement and coincidence. Repeatedly we are told in Acts that Paul was a native of Tarsus; nothing is said about his birthplace in the epistles, but they certainly give us the impression that their author was not a Palestinian Jew. In the epistles we are told twice that Paul was born into the tribe of Benjamin. Nothing is said about this by Luke, whom we have to thank for the information that his Jewish name was Saul. Was it not natural that parents of the tribe of Benjamin should give their son the name borne by the most illustrious member of that tribe in Israel's history? And when Paul reminded his congregation in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch how God gave the Israelites as their first king "Saul the son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin" (Acts 13:21), was he not conscious as he spoke these words – or was Luke not conscious as he reported them – that the speaker himself was another Saul, a man of the tribe of Benjamin?

Paul is frequently described nowadays as a Hellenistic Jew, but he himself would probably not have accepted that description. If he calls himself a "Hebrew" (2 Corinthians 11:22) or, more emphatically, "a Hebrew born of Hebrews" (Philippians 3:6), he probably uses the word in contradistinction to "Hellenist" as Luke himself does in another connection in Acts 6:1. A "Hebrew", as distinct from a Hellenistic Jew, would attend a synagogue where the service was said in Hebrew, and at home he would habitually speak Hebrew, or more probably Aramaic (in the New Testament these two languages are indiscriminately called Hebrew). In Acts Paul is not called a Hebrew, but it is "in the Hebrew language" that the heavenly voice addresses him on the Damascus road (Acts 26:14) – is this because it was Paul's native tongue or Jesus' native tongue? – and, as we have seen, he is able to deliver an impromptu speech to the Jerusalem populace "in the Hebrew language" (Acts 22:2).

Both Luke and Paul himself testify that he was a Pharisee. It is only in Acts that Paul claims to have been a pupil of Gamaliel (Acts 22:3), introduced elsewhere by Luke as "a Pharisee..., a teacher of the law, held in honour by all the people" (Acts 5: 34). As a pupil of Gamaliel, says Paul in Acts 22:3, he was "educated according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God." To exactly the same effect he says in Galatians 1:14, "I advanced in Judaism beyond many of my own age among my people, so extremely zealous was I for the traditions of my fathers."

It was this zeal, according to both Acts and the epistles, that made Paul so energetic a persecutor of the church. "I persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it", he writes in Galatians 1:13. When, in later life as a Christian, he looked back on that earlier phase, he was filled with amazement that God should nevertheless have pardoned him, giving him moreover the commission and the power to be so effective an apostle and propagator of the faith he had once tried to exterminate. "It is by God's grace that I am what I am," he acknowledged (1 Corinthians 15:10). Luke describes Paul in that earlier phase as "ravaging the church", recording how right up to the moment of his conversion eh kept on "breathing threats and murder against the disciples of the Lord" (Acts 8:3; 9:1).

According to Luke, it was when he was approaching Damascus that Paul had the vision of the risen Christ who called him into his service and it was in Damascus that he first enjoyed Christian fellowship. This is confirmed by Paul's own account: after his conversion, he says, without consulting any one, he took his departure for Arabia, from which he "returned to Damascus" (Galatians 1:17).

In Luke's narrative of Paul's conversion emphasis is laid on the blinding light and the voice from heaven, the speaker identifying himself with the words "I am Jesus" (Acts 9:5). Paul insists repeatedly that the risen Lord appeared to him, as he had appeared to Peter, James and others soon after leaving the tomb. "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? he asks indignantly in 1 Corinthians 9:1, when some were casting doubt on his apostolic credentials. It was God, he tells the Galatians, who "was pleased to reveal his Son in me", and it was through that "revelation of Jesus Christ" that the essence of his gospel was communicated to him (Galatians 1:12, 15). That the essence of his gospel was implicit in his conversion experience is similarly indicated in Acts 22:15 in the words addressed to him by Ananias of Damascus: "you will be a witness for him [for Christ] to all mankind of what you have seen and heard". As the Paul of Acts affirms that he was "not disobedient to the heavenly vision" (Acts 26:19), so the Paul of Galatians tells how, as soon as he was commissioned to proclaim Christ among the Gentiles, he set about fulfilling this commission. Luke indeed makes him first bear witness to Christ in the synagogues of Damascus –very reasonably, if it was to those synagogues that he had been sent by the chief priests (for a very different purpose, to be sure). But Paul's witness to Christ in those synagogues is summed up in the sentence: "he is the Son of God" (Acts 9:20). Paul is the first person in Acts to frame his witness in these terms, and this may be seen as an incidental agreement with his claim in Galatians that he was charged to be a herald of the Son of God.

Luke's emphasis on the light, "brighter than the sun", which flashed around Paul on the Damascus road is probably reflected in Paul's description of the dawn of Christian faith as "seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image

of God" (2 Corinthians 4:4). And when he speaks of God "who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Corinthians 4:6), he speaks from his own vivid experience.

Before we leave Paul's sudden abandonment of his persecuting activity, there is one further question to be considered. *Where* did Paul's persecuting activity take place? Primarily in Jerusalem, according to Luke, although from there it was carried farther afield, "even to foreign cities" (Acts 26:11). Probably most readers of Paul's letters have assumed that there too, when mention is made of his former persecuting activity, Jerusalem was the place where it was carried on. But this has been contested more recently. It was, according to Ernst Haenchen, "in or near Damascus" that Paul persecuted the church, as an agent of the local synagogue, which exercised disciplinary authority over its errant members (*The Acts of the Apostles*, p. 298).

Paul's own account of the matter is: "I persecuted the church of God" (Galatians 1:13; 1 Corinthians 15:9). More briefly, he recalls in Philippians 3:6 his having been "a persecutor of the church". But if, with reference to that early stage of Christian history, one speaks of "the church of God" or simply of "the church", it is natural to think first and foremost of Jerusalem. The mother church had her headquarters there; if there were companies of believers outside Jerusalem, even as far away as Damascus, they were branches of the Jerusalem church. Luke speaks of "the church throughout all Judaea and Galilee, and Samaria" (Acts 9:31); Paul refers to the same entity (or to part of it) when he speaks of "the churches of Christ in Judaea" (Galatians 1:22). It was those churches, after Paul's departure for Syria and Cilicia, which received news from there to the effect that (as they said) "our former persecutor is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy" (Galatians 1:23). It was not the new Christians in Syria and Cilicia who described Paul as "our former persecutor"; he had not been active as a persecutor so far north as that, if indeed there were at the time any Christians there to be persecuted (which is more than doubtful). It was the Judaean churches (including the mother church) that called him "our former persecutor" as they passed the astounding news around that Paul was now propagating the gospel.

Of Paul's journey to Arabia (presumably the territory of the Nabataean King) immediately after his conversion (Galatians 1:17) Luke has nothing to say. From Arabia, Paul says, he came back to Damascus. Luke tells how he had to leave Damascus by stealth, because the local Jews were keeping watch at the city gates, hoping to assassinate him as he left. Paul's own account of this incident says that it was the ethnarch of King Aretas (the Nabataean ruler) who guarded the gates with the aim of arresting him. One way or the other, he was helped to escape danger by his Damascene friends, who lowered him to the ground outside the city through a window in a house built on to the wall. Paul mentions this in 2 Corinthians 11: 32f. because it was a recollection that kept him humble –he remembered the ridiculous figure he must have cut as he was let down through that window in a basket.

If it is argued that Luke's making the Jews Paul's enemies on this occasion is due to his anti–Jewish tendency, it should be borne in mind that Paul would be, for his part, unwilling to set them in an unfavourable light: according to Luke, who has reported the Jewish hierarchy's deadly hostility to Paul, Paul himself said, with reference to his appealing to Caesar, "I had no charge to bring against my nation" (Acts 28:19). So, if Luke would be naturally inclined to emphasize the Jews' part in the action against Paul at Damascus, Paul would be equally inclined to leave it unmentioned. But Paul's reference to the initiative taken by the ethnarch of Aretas suggests that he had done or said something in Arabia to arouse the suspicion of the Nabataean authorities.

In Acts and Galatians alike Paul is said to have set out from Damascus to pay his first post–conversion visit to Jerusalem. Luke describes that visit in generalizing terms (Acts 9:26–29) not unlike those in which he has described Paul's activity in Damascus. He evidently had little independent information about the details of Paul's Jerusalem visit; he certainly cannot have known Paul's own account of it in Galatians 1:18 f. Paul knew that other accounts of what happened during that visit were in circulation; that is why he swears so solemnly that his account is true (Galatians 1:20). It has indeed been argued that Luke's account is based on one of those misrepresentations which Paul is at pains to refute; but Luke does not suggest that Paul derived any authorization from the apostles whom he met during this visit. Paul makes it plain, as Luke does not (probably because he did not know), that the only apostles whom he met during this brief visit to Jerusalem were Peter and James the Just, and it is this that he confirms with an oath.

At the end of this visit to Jerusalem, Paul was taken down to Caesarea and put on board a ship sailing in the direction of Tarsus. So Luke informs us (Acts 9:30); Paul himself says that he "went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia" (Galatians 1:21). Tarsus was the chief city of Cilicia; Antioch was the capital of Syria. At that time Syria and Cilicia formed one united province, with the seat of government at Antioch. In due course Paul made his way to Antioch; there he figures in association with Barnabas both in his own account and in Luke's (Galatians 2:11–13; Acts 11:25 f.; 13:1). According to Galatians 2:1, it was in company with Barnabas that Paul visited Jerusalem a second time after his conversion; Luke mentions two occasions on which the two men went there together (both times from Antioch)–the famine–relief visit of Acts 11:30 and the visit to attend the

Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15:2. It is a matter of debate with which of the two visits mentioned in Acts (if with either) the visit of Galatians 2:1 should be identified. Traditionally the conference which Paul and Barnabas had with the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church has been identified with the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15. But these two meetings, so far as our record goes, dealt with different subjects: that of Galatians 2:1–10 dealt with the demarcation of mission-fields (it being agreed that Paul and Barnabas should evangelize Gentiles while Peter and his Jerusalem colleagues should concentrate on their fellow-Jewe), while that of Acts 15 dealt with the terms on which Gentiles might be admitted to church membership and its social privileges. If, on the other hand, the visit of Galatians 2:1–10 be equated with the famine-relief visit of Acts 11:30, the only possible point of contact lies in the Jerusalem leaders' request that Paul and Barnabas should "remember the poor" (Galatians 2:10), which might be construed as a request that they should *continue to remember* them–that they should go on doing what they had already begun to do. How seriously Paul treated this request is shown by his careful organization of the Jerusalem relief fund (1 Corinthians 16:1–4; 2 Corinthians 8:1–9:15; Romans 15:25–31), a subject on which Luke is strangely silent.

The sequence in Galatians 1:11–2:14 is the only sustained autobiographical passage in Paul's writings. It comes to an end with Paul's rebuke of Peter at Antioch, another subject on which Luke is silent. There is a possible link between the "certain men from James" who came to Antioch and persuaded Peter to give up table fellowship with Gentiles (Galatians 2:12) and the "men from Judaea" who came to Antioch and pressed the obligation of circumcision on the Gentile Christians there (Acts 15:1); but there is no necessity to identify the two sets of visitors. However, when Luke tells of the disagreement and separation of Paul and Barnabas in Acts 15:36–40, his narrative can be understood better when it is recalled that, in addition to their disagreement whether or not to take John Mark along with them again when they revisited the recently founded churches of Cyprus and South Galatia, Paul had already lost confidence in Barnabas when the latter joined Peter and others in ceasing to share meals with Gentile Christians.

Luke's silence about the controversy between Paul and Peter at Antioch is in line with his general policy of emphasizing the unity among the leaders of the primitive church and playing down their dissensions. By the time Luke wrote, those dissensions (important as they were when Paul was actively involved in them) were for the most part old, unhappy, far-off things; they were not likely to be of great interest to the people for whom he wrote and certainly would make no contribution to his purpose in writing. Paul and Barnabas's disagreement about John Mark was not a disagreement on a point of evangelical principle; it was a purely personal dispute, and might safely be recorded if only to remind readers that those pioneers in the Christian mission were men of like passions with ordinary mortals. Luke's silence over more fundamental disagreements does inevitably affect his portrait of Paul, but does not spring from a desire to portray Paul as other than he actually was.

There is no direct reference in Paul's letters to the apostolic decree of Acts 15:28 f.; he certainly makes no appeal to the decree when asked to give a ruling on one of the specific practices which it forbids –the eating of meat that had been sacrificed to idols. But in the very passages where Paul deals with this question (1 Corinthians 8:1–13; 10:14–30) we may detect, indirectly, the influence of the decree. There may already have been an attempt to impose on the Corinthian church conditions laid down in the Jerusalem letter sent to the churches of Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15:23–29). If so, Paul would have thought it preferable to appeal to basic principles of Christian freedom and Christian charity, rather than to the authority of the church of Jerusalem, which some visitors to Corinth were invoking in order to subvert his own apostolic authority in a church which he had planted in accordance with the commission given him by the risen Lord. Moreover, by treating the question in the light of those basic principles he provided permanently valid guidelines for dealing not only with this particular issue but with others of the same general type.

Yet in Luke's account Paul is represented as acquiescing in the terms of the decree, and even as communicating them not only to the church of Antioch and the other churches in the province of which Antioch was the capital, but also to the churches recently planted by Barnabas and himself in South Galatia (Acts 16:4). In view of the reservations with regard to the decree which may be traced in his correspondence, it may be concluded that his close association with it in the narrative of Acts is due to the conflation of a Jerusalem meeting at which he was present with one from which he was absent.

Paul's colleagues after his parting with Barnabas are introduced by Luke in Acts 15:22, 40, and 16:1–3. They are Silas, a leading member of the Jerusalem church, and Timothy, a native of Lystra, who had been converted to Christianity during the visit paid by Paul and Barnabas to that city a year or two before. Paul enlisted him to be his personal aide-de-camp. With them Paul journeyed through Asia Minor to Macedonia and Achaia, until all three settled for a period in Corinth (Acts 18:5). Thereafter Silas disappears from the narrative, but Timothy remains in Paul's company. This is exactly what could be inferred from the letters to the Thessalonians and the Corinthians. The man whom Luke calls Silas is referred to by Paul under his Roman name Silvanus. The two letters to the Thessalonians were sent from Corinth to the church of Thessalonica by "Paul, Silvanus and

Timothy". In 2 Corinthians 1:19 Paul reminds the Christians in Corinth how, as he says, "Silvanus and Timothy and I" proclaimed Jesus Christ as the Son of God among them. Silvanus then disappears from Paul's correspondence, but Timothy remains to the end as one of Paul's closest associates.

Paul's movements during these years, chronicled in Acts 16:11–20:3, are confirmed by references in his letters to the Thessalonians, the Corinthians and the Romans. From those references it is easy to follow him as he travels from Philippi to Thessalonica to Athens to Corinth to Ephesus, and then back to Macedonia and Achaia. Detailed correlation of the two sources is difficult because Paul's references to his movements are not systematic but occasional and allusive (his readers did not need to be informed about them as though they had no previous knowledge). Even Luke's narrative is not so complete as we might suppose it to be if we could not compare it with Paul's own account. For example, Luke has nothing to say about the second, "painful" visit which Paul paid to Corinth (2 Corinthians 2:1; 13:2), probably because it was bound up with one of those controversies which were things of the past by the time Luke wrote. But our two sources are consistent with each other for this phase of Paul's career, and permit us to construct a reasonably coherent outline.

A further check on the narrative of Acts is provided by Paul's personal note in Romans 15:25-33 where, writing from Corinth shortly before his departure for Judaea, he tells the Christians of Rome how, before he can pay them his promised visit, he must first go to Jerusalem and see to the delivery of the relief fund which he had been organizing in his Gentile mission field. Luke mentions that, towards the end of his ministry in Ephesus, Paul planned to visit Macedonia and Achaia and then go to Jerusalem, saying, "After I have been there, I must also see Rome" (Acts 19: 21).

In Romans 15:31 Paul expresses misgivings about the reception awaiting him in Jerusalem. The narrative of Acts 21:17–26:32 shows how well founded these misgivings were. He had much need to ask the Roman Christians to pray that he might be delivered from the unbelievers in Judaea; he was not even sure if the Gentiles' offering would be acceptable to the Jerusalem church. Many students of Acts infer from Luke's narrative that, if the offering was indeed accepted by the Jerusalem church-leaders, it was accepted only under conditions which Paul agreed to fulfil but which had disastrous consequences.

When Paul sends the Christians of Rome greetings from "all the churches of Christ" (Romans 16:16), we should remember that representatives of the various churches which he had planted were even then gathering to set sail with him for Judaea, to hand over in person their churches' respective contributions to the Jerusalem relief fund. These representatives certainly included the men who are named in Acts 20:4 as embarking on the voyage along with Paul and Luke himself. Luke evidently knew all about the relief fund and the importance which Paul attached to it. It is surprising, then, that his only allusion to it should be made when he reports Paul as saying to Felix, "After some years I came to bring my nation alms and offerings" (Acts 24:17). What can be the reason for this reticence on Luke's part?

The reason, I suggest, was apologetic. When the time came for Paul's accusers to formulate their charges against him at the hearing of his appeal before the imperial tribunal, the Jerusalem relief fund could well have been misrepresented as an interference with the collection and delivery of the annual half-shekel tax to the temple authorities in Jerusalem. The organization and conveyance of this tax enjoyed the express protection of Roman law. But the half-shekel tax was exacted from Jews; Paul's relief fund was contributed by Gentiles. Even so, it could have been argued that the Gentile contributors were potential proselytes to Judaism, whom Paul had enticed away from the synagogue into an association of his own, and that the relief fund represented an improper diversion of money which, but for Paul's activity, would have gone ultimately to swell the temple revenue. The accusation that Paul had violated the sanctity of the temple by bringing Gentiles within prohibited bounds (Acts 21:28; 24:6) could not be sustained since no witnesses could be produced; but here was a more subtle attempt to convict Paul of infringing the temple privileges, and one which a skilled advocate could present in a persuasive way. In former times it was argued by more than one scholar that Luke's narrative was written to provide Paul's counsel for the defence with factual material to be used at his trial before Caesar; if this thesis can no longer be sustained in its earlier form, it may still be argued that a document prepared for this purpose served Luke as one of his sources for this part of his narrative. (Why could such a document not have been prepared by Luke himself?) The issue of the relief fund would in that case have been too delicate to be treated in detail; Luke, or the author of his source, judged that Paul's reference to "alms and offerings" in his defence before Felix was as much as it was politic to say on this subject. If the "alms and offerings" are said to have been designed for Paul's "nation", this should not be dismissed as a *suggestio falsi:* Paul himself hints here and there in his letters that he envisaged the relief fund not only as a gift to the church of Jerusalem but also as a witness to the whole Jewish nation at the centre of its life.

## *III. Paul the man*

Thus far we have concentrated mainly on external features in our two bodies of source-material. What about their picture of Paul himself?

The Paul whom we know outside the pages of

Acts is first and foremost a letter-writer. It is his letters that provide us with direct knowledge of the man himself–knowledge more direct than anything that can be learned from Acts. A man's companion and friend (as Luke, according to tradition, was to Paul) may give us a faithful portrait of him, but that portrait shows us the man through the eyes of another. From a man's letters, especially when they come with the unstudied spontaneity that marks Paul's "capital" letters, we can see into his heart. In Paul's letters, it may be said, we recognize his self–portrait. He did not compose his letters in order to serve as a self–portrait, and their evidence is the more valuable for that. No self–portrait, whether designed or undesigned, can in the nature of the case be objective, but a self–portrait provides testimony of a kind that nothing else can supply.

But Luke says nothing about Paul as a letter–writer. We cannot deny outright that he knew, or knew of, Paul's letters; what we can say with confidence is that he makes no use of them. If he knew them, and wished to make use of them, they could have given him authoritative and welcome information. It might be said that Paul's "dear physician" and fellow–traveller had no need of the evidence of the letters, since he had personal knowledge of Paul and his movements. But he was not with Paul during all the phases of his career chronicled in Acts. Moreover, it is evident from the structure of Acts that Luke did make use of other written sources, even for some aspects of Paul's ministry. If he had no objection to using other written sources, there seems to be no reason why he should not have used Paul's letters, if they were accessible to him. It seems simplest to conclude that they were not accessible.

Why were they not accessible? If, as Adolf Harnack argued in the earlier years of the twentieth century, and as J.A.T. Robinson has argued in our own day, Acts was written in the 60s of the first century, the reason is clear: there had been no time for the collection of Paul's letters. But the perspective of Acts belongs (I think) to a period a decade or more later than the end of Paul's active career. Even so, there is not much evidence for the collection of Paul's letters and their wider circulation before the last decade of the first century. More important is the consideration that, if one of Luke's aims was the reconciliation of Pauline with non–Pauline (not anti–Pauline) versions of the gospel, Paul's letters would not have been too helpful for the achievement of this aim, even if they had been at Luke's disposal.

But on one level there is an impressive list of parallels between the Paul of Luke's narrative and the Paul of his own letters. The Paul of Acts, like the Paul of the letters, supports himself by his own labours rather than be financially burdensome to his friends and converts. That might be regarded as an incidental point in common between the two portraits, but it was integral to Paul's missionary policy. At a deeper level of missionary policy, the Paul who asserts in his letters that the order in which the gospel should be presented is "to the Jew first and also to the Greek" (Romans 1: 16) is the Paul who in Acts visits the synagogue first in one city after another, apostle to the Gentiles though he is. "It was necessary that the word of God should be spoken first to you", he tells the unresponsive Jews of Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:46); only when they have had an opportunity of accepting the message does he turn to the Gentiles and present it directly to them. It has indeed been argued that this going to the synagogue first is probably unhistorical, because the agreement reached with the leaders of the Jerusalem church was that they should be responsible for evangelizing Jews while Paul and Barnabas carried on their mission to the Gentiles. But the line of demarcation envisaged in this agreement cannot have been a clearcut one, and where would Paul go in the first instance to find a bridgehead for the gospel in the Gentile population of a new city to which he came if not to the group of Gentile "God–fearers" who attached themselves to the local synagogue?

It has been argued by some readers that Jewish hostility to the gospel is over–emphasized in Acts: riots are stirred up against Paul in most of the places which he visits, but only in two (Philippi and Ephesus) are they initiated by members of the local pagan population; elsewhere Jews are responsible. There is, however, one place in the Pauline writings where, apparently under great provocation, Jewish opponents of the gospel are denounced unsparingly as those who "displease God and oppose all human beings by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles that they may be saved" (1 Thessalonians 2:15 f.). These stern words could be intelligible against the background of the Jewish action at Thessalonica described in Acts 17:5–9, 13; they come, moreover, in a letter of which Paul was not sole author. But the description of Jews as those who "oppose all human beings" is too disturbingly close to current pagan slanders about Jews for us to be totally happy about finding it in a letter proceeding from Jewish Christians. Textual criticism has nothing to say against the genuineness of the passage, but structural arguments have been put forward for regarding 1 Thessalonians 2: 13–16, or at least verses 15 and 16, as an interpolation. If verses 15 and 16 are a post–Pauline interpolation, then the statement about wrath coming on the Jews "for good and all" could be a reference to the disaster of A.D. 70.

Much more typical of Paul is his account in Romans 9:2 of the "great sorrow and unceasing anguish" which he endures at heart because so many of his Jewish kinsfolk are unwilling to accept the gospel in which alone, he is persuaded, their true well–being can be realized. It is the same Paul who in Acts, from Damascus to Rome, persists in going to the Jews first with the saving message in spite of repeated rebuffs.

Paul, as portrayed by Luke, is the most adaptable of men. He makes himself at home in all sorts of company. It may be said that he has only one subject of conversation–the crucified and exalted Lord–but the presentation of that one subject is always suited to the audience. Whether he addresses Jews or Gentiles, learned or unlearned, Areopagus or Sanhedrin, synagogue congregation or city mob, Roman governor or King Agrippa, he chooses the right method of approach for each. This is the Paul who in 1 Corinthians 9:19–23 speaks of his becoming as a Jew to Jews, in order to win Jews, or as one outside the law in order to win those who are outside the law–that is, Gentiles, who do not live under the Jewish law. "I have become all things to all", he says, "that I might by all means save some."

The importance of these words should not be minimized, even if it is unwarranted to use them as a blanket apology for inconsistencies of every kind. Paul's basic consistency lay in his faithfulness to his commission to preach the gospel; let that be maintained, and what might appear to be inconsistencies in secondary matters did not trouble him. His statement of his overriding policy may properly be related to incidents in Acts where he accommodates himself to Jewish customs more than the author of the letter to the Galatians might be expected to do. If such accommodation did not compromise the gospel, if, rather, it promoted the work to which he was called, no further justification was necessary. He was equally tolerant with others, increasingly so as time went on. Any compromise of the essential gospel of divine grace he could not admit, but if the true gospel was preached, he was prepared to overlook unworthy attitudes in its preachers. During his imprisonment in Rome, when he learned that some Christians who did not approve of him were preaching the gospel the more energetically because of his restrictions, hoping that this would make him feel frustrated and resentful, he welcomed the news of their activity. "What does the motive matter?" he asked. "Christ is being preached; that is the important thing, and that fills me with joy" (Philippians 1:17,18).

Paul was prepared to go a long way to live like a Jew when he found himself in Jewish company. This, of course, came naturally to him: it was the way he had been brought up. Conformity to Jewish food laws in Jewish society was a matter of simple courtesy, not to speak of Christian charity. Similarly he would not outrage Jewish sentiment by ignoring the sanctity of holy days. Those who thought that a man, once emancipated from these restrictions, ought not to recognize them in any circumstances failed to reckon with the fact that the truly emancipated person is not in bondage even to his emancipation. For himself, Paul had learned to "esteem all days alike" (Romans 14:5), but he continued to reckon the passage of time in terms of Jewish festivals: "I will stay in Ephesus until Pentecost", he tells the Corinthian Christians towards the end of his Ephesian ministry (1 Corinthians 16:8). So also the Paul of Acts, a year or two later, decided, on his last voyage to Judaea, "to sail past Ephesus,... for he was hastening to be at Jerusalem, if possible, on the day of Pentecost" (Acts 20:16).

Why, then, is he so dismayed that his Galatian converts have begun to "observe days, and months, and seasons, and years" (Galatians 4:10)? Because they were Gentiles by birth, and they had no reason to adopt the Jewish sacred calendar just because they had become Christians – least of all to adopt it as a legal obligation. Once Paul himself had inherited the observance of that sacred calendar as a legal obligation, but now he had learned to exercise complete freedom as regards its observance or non-observance; it was deplorable that Gentile believers who had no ancestral motivation for observing it should place themselves under the yoke of the commandments in this or any other way.

It is true that Paul, at a later date, manifested a more relaxed attitude when, writing to the Roman Christians about their diversity of practice in the observance of special days, he said, "Let every one be fully convinced in his own mind" (Romans 14:5). The Roman Christians were not his personal converts and he had not the same sense of responsibility for their spiritual development as he had for the Galatians. But more than that: the Roman church was a mixed community. Some of the groups which made it up consisted of Jewish Christians who had been brought up to observe the sacred calendar and had never ceased to do so. There was no reason for them to make an abrupt change in their practice, any more than there was for Gentiles who had never observed the calendar to begin to do so. Let each side go on without any sense of constraint, and let neither side criticize the other.

It was reported in Jerusalem, according to Luke, that Paul urged Jews in lands of the dispersion to give up circumcising their sons and maintaining the ancestral customs. It was probably Jewish Christians that the report had in view. The leaders of the Jerusalem church did not believe the report, but were disturbed because many did believe it, and recommended Paul to undertake a certain public action in order that every one might know, as they said, "that there is nothing in what they have been told about you but that you yourself live in observance of the law" (Acts 21:24).

Luke himself plainly believed that Paul had no objection to following Jewish customs when it was expedient to do so, and this is not at all inconsistent with Paul's own testimony. The following of the customs was an ethically neutral matter in his eyes, to be adopted or not in accordance with the interests of the gospel in any situation. As he saw it, there was a wide difference in principle between doing such

things voluntarity and doing them from a sense of legal obligation.

This should be kept in mind when Luke describes Paul as undertaking a Nazirite vow (Acts 18:18) or as sponsoring others who were about to discharge such a vow (Acts 21:23–26). The latter occasion had a disastrous outcome, and Paul may not have been so sanguine as James and his colleagues were, when they advised him to take this course so as to persuade their stricter brethren that he was a perfectly observant Jew. Nevertheless, if they thought that Paul's taking this course would ease a difficult situation for them and enable them to accept the Gentile churches' gift without giving offence, then he would not refuse their request, whatever private doubts he entertained about its effectiveness. A Nazirite vow was a purely voluntary undertaking, with a long tradition of Jewish piety behind it; there was nothing in it that would compromise the gospel as Paul understood it.

It is certain that, in Jerusalem of all places, Paul would conduct himself as a practising Jew, if only out of consistency with his regular policy, which was to "give no offence to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God" and to "try to please all in everything I do, not seeking my own advantage, but that of many, that they may be saved" (1 Corinthians 10: 32 f.). There were not many Greeks in Jerusalem, but both Jews and the church of God in that city would be scandalized if he failed to "observe the customs".

If this was Paul's own policy, we should not suppose that he expected other Jewish Christians to follow a different one. "Was any one circumcised when he was called?" he asks (1 Corinthians 7:18). "Let him not become uncircumcised". This probably means not merely that he should not have the marks of circumcision removed, but that he should not think it necessary to live as though he were not a Jew by birth and upbringing. If Paul had told such a person not to circumcise his sons, that would have been (for Paul) attaching undue importance to a rite which "in Christ" was neither here nor there (Galatians 5:6). Provided other Jewish Christians regarded the traditional practices as no longer divine requirements but as voluntary actions which might be undertaken or omitted as expediency directed, they might freely go on with them. What Paul was concerned about in this regard was that Jewish and Gentile Christians alike should respect each other's scruples, or lack of scruples.

But when *Gentile* Christians were being pressed to add circumcision and other Jewish observances to their faith in Christ as things which were necessary to complete their salvation and win the divine approval, then Paul remonstrated with them vigorously, because the basis of the gospel was being undermined. But even when remonstrating with his Galatian converts, he makes it plain that, in itself, circumcision is a matter of indifference: "neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation" (Galatians 6:15). This is what we should expect from Paul: for him, external and ethically neutral acts or conditions are relatively unimportant; it is when they are given religious significance and viewed as means of establishing merit in the sight of God that they are to be deplored. If circumcision be accepted as a matter of law-keeping, then Paul declares solemnly "to every man who receives circumcision that he is bound to keep the whole law" (Galatians 5:3); let it not be imagined that compliance with one small part of the law will be acceptable as a token performance of the whole law.

Surely, however, it may be argued, Luke stretches our credulity when he reports that Paul circumcised Timothy, whose home church of Lystra may indeed have been one of those churches to which the remonstrance of Galatians was addressed. Did Timothy, by receiving circumcision at Paul's hands (if Luke is to be believed), become "bound to keep the whole law"? No, he did not, for his circumcision was neither performed nor accepted as a religious requirement. Paul circumcised him, says Luke, not to enhance Timothy's status in God's sight but "because of the Jews that were in those places, for they all knew that his father was a Greek" (Acts 16:3). In Jewish law Timothy was a Jew, because he was the son of a Jewish mother; but he had not been circumcised, presumably because his Greek father would not allow the rite to be carried out. Paul was anxious to have Timothy as his junior colleague, but if Timothy had remained uncircumcised he would have ranked in Jewish eyes as an apostate and Paul would have ranked as a supporter of apostasy. If Paul was to continue to gain entrance to the synagogue in this or that place, Timothy's position had to be regularized.

No doubt many people would have detected an inconsistency in Paul's procedure. But the distinction must be made between a higher and a lower consistency. If a man of emancipated mind wishes for certain proper purposes to perform a ritual act which in itself is ethically indifferent (as circumcision now was for Paul), he will perform it, not by compulsion but of his own free will. If expediency required that Timothy should be circumcised for his greater usefulness in the gospel ministry, Paul did not hesitate to circumcise him. In those days there were many (as there are in our own days) who could not grasp the difference in principle between doing such things voluntarily and doing them by way of religious obligation, and such people charged Paul with inconsistency. It appears from Galatians 5:11 that some said that Paul, for all his insistence on justification by faith, apart from legal works, nevertheless still preached circumcision in some situations. This could have been a reference to his circumcision of Timothy, but more probably it reflected the fact that Paul,

before his conversion, had been active in winning proselytes to Judaism from paganism, and had insisted (unlike some proselytizers of that period) on their being circumcised. But, as he pointed out, if he were still following that policy, he would not be subjected to the persecution that he now experienced.

## *IV. Paul he theologian*

When Luke portrays Paul as a theologian, he does so as one who was himself a theologian. Luke had not been brought up under the law of Moses and had no experience of the displacement of the law as the foundation for life which made such a difference to Paul. It is conceivable that Luke was a proselyte to Judaism before he became a Christian, but there is no evidence for this. It is frequently said that Luke's gospel was a theology of glory while Paul's was a theology of the cross. There is a measure of truth in this, although the antithesis between the two is not so sharp as is sometimes represented. Luke has rightly been called the theologian of salvation history, but salvation history is not a concept alien to Paul's thinking. Paul had his own scheme of salvation history, in which the age of the law, running from Moses to Christ, was a parenthesis, interrupting the age of promise, which was inaugurated with Abraham and consummated in the gospel.

It has become a commonplace in the study of Acts that the speeches which it contains, including those ascribed to Paul, give expression to Luke's theology. It will be helpful to look briefly at three of the Pauline speeches in Acts: one delivered to Jews and God-fearers, one to pagans, and one to Christians.

### (a) *In the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch*

Paul's synagogue address at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:16–41) presents the gospel against the background, familiar to a synagogue congregation, of the history of Israel recorded in the Old Testament. As Paul, in Romans 1:3, says that Jesus was "descended from David according to the flesh" (perhaps quoting a primitive confession of faith), so in his synagogue address he is said to have begun by recounting the earlier phase of salvation history, the mighty acts of God from Moses to David (cf. Psalm 78:51–72), and then to have gone on: "Of David's posterity God has brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus, as he promised..." (Acts 13: 23). In this retrospect, even if it begins with the Exodus of Moses' day, there is no word about the giving of the law; it is the fulfilment of promise that is emphasized –the promise made to David, to be sure, rather than that made to Abraham. Then Paul tells of the culminating phase of salvation history, the mighty acts of God in Christ, crowned by the resurrection, in fulfilment of psalmody and prophecy.

There are marked affinities between what Paul says here and what Peter says in Jerusalem at the first Christian Pentecost (Acts 2: 22–36), but perhaps there was not much difference in substance between the Pauline and Petrine presentations of the gospel to Jewish audiences. If Paul, faced with a congregation in one of the synagogues of the dispersion, did not speak as Luke makes him speak here, then how did he speak? We may grant that there is less of the theology of the cross in this speech than we might expect from the Paul of the epistles, and when Paul here tells how the risen Christ "appeared to those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses to the people" (Acts 13:31), we may be sure that the historical Paul added, "Last of all he appeared also to me" (1 Corinthians 15:8). But a Pauline touch is introduced at the end of the address. Where others proclaimed that through Jesus forgiveness of sins was offered to all believers (cf. Acts 2:38; 10:43), Paul at Pisidian Antioch not only says that "through this man forgiveness of sins is proclaimed to you" but adds that "by him every one that believes is justified from all things, from which you could not be justified by Moses' law" (Acts 13:38, 39). True, from these words as they stand the full Pauline doctrine of justification by faith could not be deduced; but the words can be construed quite consistently with the teaching of Romans 3:20–26, that God "justifies him who has faith in Jesus" whereas "no human being will be justified in his sight by works of the law". The language of Acts 13:39 need not be taken to mean that Moses' law justifies from some offences, but that faith in Christ takes over where Moses' law fails and justifies from the remaining offences. This would indeed be a very un-Pauline thought, but it is probably as un-Lukan as it is un-Pauline.

### b) *Before the Areopagus*

Paul's address before the court of the Areopagus at Athens has been dismissed with special confidence as un-Pauline. It is set in a context not merely of salvation history but of world history. To some modern theologians salvation history can be only doubtfully squared with Paul's outlook, but a world-historical perspective is out of the question. This address, moreover, instead of setting forth the Pauline gospel, anticipates the rationalism of the apologists of the second century in its attempt to establish the true knowledge of God by an appeal to pagan poets and philosophers. The "word of the cross" is tactfully omitted, because it was known to be "folly to Gentiles" (1 Corinthians 1: 23). The Pauline emphasis on being "in Christ" by grace is replaced by a pagan emphasis on being "in God" by nature. All this, and more to the same effect, we are accustomed to hear from those who find it impossible to ascribe the Athenian speech of Acts 17: 22–31 to the real Paul.

Yet there are remarkable parallels between this speech and the first three chapters of the letter to the Romans, if it is remembered that the letter is addres-

sed to Christians who do not need to be persuaded of the folly of idolatry, whereas the speech is addressed to pagans who do require such persuasion. In the letter Paul insists that the Creator's "eternal power and divinity" can be clearly discerned in his works, to the point where failure to discern them is inexcusable (Romans 1:18–23). In the letter, too, he indicates that the saving work of Christ has brought about a change in God's dealings with mankind! Hitherto "in his divine forbearance he had passed over former sins" but now he has provided his Son as an effective "expiation to be received by faith" (Romans 3:21–26).

If the author of these words is brought to Athens and invited to expound his teaching not to fellow-believers but to cultured pagans, what will he say? We must remember that he has now for several years been an effective preacher of the gospel in the pagan world. This fact, despite his modest disclaimer in 1 Corinthians 2: 1–5 and elsewhere, implies considerable persuasiveness in speech and approach, including the ability to find and exploit an initial area of common ground with his hearers, apart from which any attempt at communication would be fruitless. This being so, I find it difficult to imagine him as saying something very different from what Luke represents him as saying. He will not alienate his hearers in the first words addressed to them, but he will tell them that idolatry is not only foolish but inexcusable, because the knowledge of the one true God is available in his works of creation and providence. He may even point out that some of their own thinkers have perceived that human beings are the offspring of the supreme God who is the source and support of their life. He will tell them, most probably, that God is willing to overlook their past ignorance of his nature, culpable though it is, since the Christ-event has introduced a new factor into the divine-human relationship, which demands a change of mind and practice. The apostle who, in Romans 2:16, speaks of "that day when, according to my gospel, God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus", could very well emphasize before a pagan audience that God "has fixed a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness by a man whom he has appointed, and of this he has given a pledge to all by raising him from the dead" (Acts 17:31).

Paul had abundant precedent in the Old Testament scriptures for stressing the folly of idolatry and of the idea that the supreme God could be accommodated in a material building, and also for his insistence that the supreme God provides all his creatures with food to eat and space to dwell in, while he himself is not dependent on anything that they may offer him. While echoes of those scriptures are recognizable in his speech to those who are familiar with them, he naturally does not introduce quotations from them when speaking to hearers who are totally unacquainted with them. In addressing synagogue congregations or in dictating letters to Christians Paul might make liberal use of such quotations to illustrate his points or confirm his arguments. But here is a different situation; therefore, if poets whom his hearers do acknowledge as authorities have expressed sentiments in general agreement with his arguments, he will quote them, giving their words a fresh nuance from the new context in which they are quoted. We underestimate Paul's versatility, his capacity to be "all things to all men", if we think that he could not have presented the teaching of the first three chapters of Romans to a pagan audience along the lines of Acts 17:22–31. True, Luke did not hear Paul's address to the court of the Areopagus, but he knew how Paul was accustomed to present his *praeparatio evangelica* to a pagan audience, and followed the Thucydidean example of giving the general purport of what was actually said. And if (as Luke assures us) some of Paul's hearers on this occasion believed his message, it could have been said of them, precisely as was said of converts in Thessalonica some weeks earlier, that they "turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come" (1 Thessalonians 1:9, 10).

c) *To the Ephesian elders*

The ship that was carrying Paul and his companions on his last journey to Judaea put in at Miletus for a few days, and Paul sent an urgent message to the elders of the church at Ephesus to come and meet him at Miletus. When they arrived, he talked with them, and the record of what he said is preserved in Acts 20: 18–35 as Paul's "last will and testament" to his Gentile converts, according to Luke.

Of all the speeches attributed to Paul in Acts this is the only one addressed to Christians; it is not surprising, then, that it presents more parallels to the thought and wording of Paul's letters than any of his other speeches in Acts, not least to the thought and wording of the letter to the Ephesians. (If both this speech and letter to the Ephesians are genuinely Pauline, the parallels are to be expected; if the genuineness of one or both documents be questioned, then some explanation in terms of literary dependence must be given.) This speech, moreover, comes in the context of one of the "we sections" of Acts, and a simple-minded reader (like the present writer) might infer from this that the narrator of the "we sections" is here reporting or summarizing an address which he himself heard.

The speech to the Ephesian elders contains the most explicit mention of the redemptive efficacy of the death of Christ to be found anywhere in Luke's history. According to the text and rendering preferred for Acts 20:28, Paul says to the elders either "Feed the church of the Lord, which he purchased by his own blood" or "Feed the church of God, which he purchased by the blood of his own (Son)." If the speech

were composed by Luke, such language would be surprising; it is by no means out of place in a speech from the lips of Paul. It has indeed been argued that the author of Acts, in composing this speech, introduced a form of words current in the church in order to give the speech a Pauline stamp. But it is easier to believe that the form of words is one of several features of this speech which mark it as authentically Paul's. Here Paul is not engaging in primary evangelism; he is addressing people who have already been evangelized and reminding them of the gospel which they accepted and of its implications for the ministry to which they have been called. Their situation is similar to that of the communities to which the Pauline letters were addressed, and the language used is correspondingly similar.

It may be felt that the Paul of Acts lacks the passionate affection and concern so characteristic of the Paul whom we know from his letters. But if that note is missing elsewhere in Acts, it is markedly present in the account of the meeting between Paul and the Ephesian elders. After he had addressed them and warned them that this was the last time they would see him, "they all wept and embraced Paul and kissed him" (Acts 20:37).

## *V. Conclusion*

The Paul whose portrait Luke paints is the real Paul. It is the real Paul viewed in retrospect by a friend and admirer, whose own religious experience was different from Paul's, who expresses a distinctive theological outlook, who writes for another constituency than that for which Paul wrote his letters. It must be remembered, too, that Luke did not set out to write a life of Paul. He is concerned to portray the Jerusalem church and its leaders as well as the Gentile mission engaged in by Paul. Even within the Gentile mission, he finds room for other preachers than Paul. He wants to give a balanced picture of the whole Christian movement of the first generation, at least along the road from Jerusalem to Rome. As Luke contemplated the mission and expansion of Christianity, he saw that both the progressive Paul and the conservative church of Jerusalem had their God-given parts to play, and he aimed at doing justice to both. Both Paul and the church of Jerusalem, not to mention others, contributed to the faith and life of the second Christian generation, and Luke was more interested in the deeper unity which they shared than in tensions and conflicts which, however distressing they were at the time, now appeared to him to be temporary and superficial and best forgotten. We are thankful for the preservation of Paul's letters, which ensures that they have not been forgotten; but Luke's interests were different from ours.

A man's own work is his greatest monument, but a juster appreciation of him can be formed if it is possible to see him as others saw him. Luke provides Paul's letters with a wider context than that which the letters themselves supply; thanks to him, we have a fuller understanding of Paul's place in the world of his day and of the impact which he made on it.

To Archbishop Methodios, church historian and theologian, himself the son of a great church founded by St. Paul, and a very distinguished alumnus of the Manchester Faculty of Theology, this paper is presented with warm congratulations and best wishes on this auspicious conjunction of anniversaries. *In multos annos*!

# ST. PATRICK: A SAINT FOR ALL TRADITIONS

By

*The Rt Rev. Bishop and Professor R.P.C. Hanson*

St. Patrick is one who deserves better from history than the treatment which he has received. Up to the nineteenth century he was treated as a wholly incredible figure of legend, his true lineaments disfigured by a senseless accretion of hagiographical embroidery. In the nineteenth and twentieth century he has been made a vehicle for denominational rivalries which are as irrelevant to him as were the mediaeval inventions about him. The historical St. Patrick needs to be discovered before we can appreciate him, and when we find him we can see that he is no unsuitable character to portray in a volume dedicated to an Orthodox Archbishop, because he lived during the period of the undivided Church; he is a saint well worthy of reverence from Orthodox, Anglicans and Roman Catholics alike; at one point he tells us that he had an experience surprisingly like an Orthodox type of prayer, as we shall see.

But anyone who approaches the subject of St. Patrick must first analyse the sources for his life, so that the rubbish may be cleared away and the gold beneath it discovered. There are three main sources which have always been called upon to reconstruct the life of Patrick. One is the mediaeval Lives of the saint, the second the Irish Annals and the third the writings of Patrick himself. These sources have been used and estimated very differently during the history of Patrician scholarship, from an xviiith century scholar who refused to believe in the existence of Patrick at all to a nineteenth century archbishop who accepted every single tradition about him, no matter how badly attested. Most of the mediaeval Lives of Patrick are written in Latin and most are acknowledged to be quite worthless historically, but two, the earliest, have been taken more seriously; those of Muirchú and of Tirechán, both written at the very end of the seventh century and both associated with the ecclesiastical centre and great monastery of Armagh. Recent research has however come to regard these lives, even though relatively early, as almost all fictional. Undoubtedly the cult of St. Patrick was sedulously maintained at Armagh from the seventh century onwards, and the earliest known MS of his *Confession*, that in the famous *Book of Armagh*, was copied in that city. But archaeological research has now shown that the great earthwork called Navan Fort just outside Armagh had long been sacked and deserted in Patrick's day; we cannot associate him with the Eoghanacht dynasty that ruled from that fort in its palmy days, and indeed the traditional association of Patrick with Armagh as the seat of his episcopal activity has become doubtful. It is impossible to discern in the Lives of Muirchú and Tirechán a continuous or written source which might suggest that they had access to reliable information about Patrick, though they both knew Patrick's works.

The Irish *Annals*, sets of which were maintained in Irish monasteries continously through a large part of the Middle Ages, almost all mention Patrick and give what appears to be at first sight much useful information about the dates of his birth and death, of his arrival as a bishop in Ireland, as well as several other alleged facts. Some scholars, notably T, F, O' Rahilly, have in the past relied on the Annals to establish the facts about Patrick while discarding the Lives. But the epoch-making work by D. A. Binchy, *Saint Patrick and his Biographers*, began the process of discrediting the *Annals* as a source of information on Patrick, and this process was completed by the American J. V. Kelleher. The earliest *Annals* which survive cannot be dated before 740, and this date is too late for us to imagine that they can have picked up reliable information about Patrick. They all unanimously give the date of his arrival in Ireland as a bishop as 432, but this is not because they have reliable tradition on the subject, but because the monastic writers knew the *Chronicle* of Prosper, and this book relates reliably that in the year 431 Palladius was sent as a missionary to Ireland and the annalists wished to place Patrick's arrival there as close to that of Palladius as possible.

We are then left with the writings of Patrick himself as the main source for his life. To this we can of course add our knowledge of contemporary history and

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conditions during his lifetime. This means that we must demolish a great deal that has passed for history about Patrick for centuries and has woven itself into the conventional picture of the saint. He did non banish snakes from Ireland. He did not teach the doctrine of the Trinity by taking a shamrock (this invention does not predate the sixteenth century); he did not climb Croagh Patrick in Co. Mayo nor institute St. Patrick's Purgatory in Co. Donegal nor spend his captivity near Mt. Slemish in Co. Antrim; nor did he have a dramatic encounter with Laoghaire High-King of Ireland (there was no High-King of Ireland in his day nor any ever for more than a very short period) on the Hill of Tara in Co. Meath. The conventional, traditional Patrick must disintegrate before the advance of scholarship and the historical, and much more attractive, Patrick take his place.

It is possible to sketch the outlines of his career. The question of when precisely he lived has proved a difficult one. Almost every scholar places him in the fifth century, but some wish to see him as living in the second half of that century, others in the first half. Concrete evidence is surprisingly hard to come by. The theory which places him in the later period, however, has some very weak links, and I am personally convinced that it is better to envisage him as having been born about 390 and dying about 460. Patrick was British, British before the English had been invented, before the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain, indeed probably under the Roman Empire during the last few years of its control of Britain. He was the son of a British aristocrat who was also a deacon (I suspect he took Holy Orders to avoid taxation) who owned a villa some where in Britain probably near the Western coast. His grandfather had been a presbyter. He was brought up as a conventional Christian but he tells us that he had no living knowledge of God until the greatest disaster of his life befell him. At the age of nearly sixteen he was kidnapped by Irish pirates who raided his father's estate and carried him away to spend six years as a slave herding sheep probably on a spot near the modern little town of Killala, near the border between Co. Sligo and Co. Mayo, on the edge of the Atlantic. In a sense Patrick never recovered from this terrible experience of being wrenched away as a teenager from everything and everybody that he knew and loved, and forced to live in a foreign land among people whose language he did not know. Even as an elderly bishop he still thinks of himself as a helpless orphan (*pupillus* is the word which he uses of himself). But in this state of complete dereliction he turned to God and found him, as he tells us in his *Confession*. When six years later he found a means of escaping from his captors and obtaining a passage (probably in a boat used by Irish raiders) back to Britain (to his *patriam et parentes*, as he calls them more than once), he was a most religious young man. Eventually he was ordained deacon and priest in the British Church, because though he probably paid a visit to Gaul it is now evident that the first half of his career lay in Britain, not, as the Lives suggest, the Continent, and it was from the British Church that he was sent to Ireland. While he was absent from Britain (no doubt in Gaul) he was chosen by the British Church to go as a bishop to Ireland, where there were already a good many Christians. He was duly despatched and spent the rest of his life in Ireland. We know little of his time there. He was constantly exposed to danger, to pillaging, to captivity and to death. But his mission was successful. He converted, baptised and communicated thousands of people, ordained many clergy and encouraged many, both men and women, to take up a monastic life, not in communities but as individuals living by an ascetic rule. We know of one incident in which a British war-lord or *tyrannus*, ruling some part of Britain after that country had thrown off allegiance to Rome in 410, raided a part of Ireland where Patrick had just baptised and communicated a number of Christians, murdered many of them and carried the rest into captivity. Later an attempt was made by people, probably bishops, in Britain, to discredit and perhaps even to depose Patrick, instigated by one who had been his close friend and confidant. But this attempt failed, and Patrick ended his days as a bishop in Ireland (he never mentions any other bishops though he may perhaps at one point hint that others had evangelised there before him). We do not know when or where he died. Graves of St. Patrick shown in Ireland to-day are of doubtful authenticity.

Two of his writings have come down to us. They are both written in a remarkable kind of Latin, very different from the literary and rhetorical Latin used by the great majority of Patristic writers. Patrick was very sensitive about his lack of education. He missed the education in literature and rhetoric which the third stage of Roman education was intended to confer. He feels himself inferior to others (probably British bishops) who have this capacity to write good Latin which he is conscious of lacking. Even when as a bishop equipped with all a bishop's capacity to excommunicate, even when he is employing this capacity to excommunicate marauding British soldiery, he cannot help calling himself «very badly educated» *(indoctus scilicet)*. He is not only incapable of writing literary Latin, he cannot write any Latin at all with fluency; he tells us so himself. His Latin is a strange mixture of Vulgar Latin, as spoken in Britain, ecclesiastical Latin, and Biblical Latin. It tells us both that Patrick cannot have spent any long period in Gaul, where he would have learnt to speak and write Latin (some sort of Latin) fluently, and that he had read almost no other literature except the Latin Bible (pre-Vulgate, of course), which however he knew very well indeed. He was *unius libri homo*. But his Latin, devoid of rhetoric or literary device, has a certain charming transparency about it, so that we feel that we know Patrick's real sentiments and character much better than we can know those of his contemporaries like Sulpicius Severus or even Augustine.

He wrote an indignant Letter to the war-lord

Coroticus whose soldiers had attacked Patrick's converts. It is a short, sharp and sorrowful letter, lamenting the outrage and excommunicating Coroticus and his men. He also wrote a much longer work at the end of his life, designed to record his gratitude to God for his goodness to Patrick during all his career and to vindicate that career, modestly and piously, for posterity. He called this work his *Confession*, and it is a minor Christian classic, not as well known as it deserves to be. For instance, though it has been edited for the *Sources Chrétiennes* Series, it has appeared in neither the *Corpus Christianorum* nor the *CSEL*. This is not a confession of sin, but what the Greeks would call an ἐξομολόγησις, a recording publicly of what Patrick owes to God. Patrick always maintained that God had punished his sin, kindly and for his own good, when he caused him to be captured by the pirates. This work is a spiritual biography and though it tells us much about Patrick's life it leaves much tantalizingly unspoken. It affords us, however, the first opportunity in history of actually knowing the personality of an ancient Briton, and constitutes one of the most moving and authentic accounts of a human soul in the whole of Patristic literature.

Patrick was a person of extreme, almost pathological, modesty and tendency to self-abasement. His protests about his worthlessness go well beyond the protests of unworthiness which were then conventional in Christian literature. «Before I was humiliated,» he says, «I was like a stone that lies in deep mud, and he who is mighty came and in compassion raised me up and set me on the top the wall» (one of the very few metaphors in Patrick not taken from Scripture). «I see that I have been promoted above measure by the Lord in this present age, and I was not worthy nor the kind of person to whom he might grant this, since I know for certain that poverty and disaster are more suitable for me than riches and luxury». But he is no self-pitying introvert. He displays remarkable courage, both in undertaking to go Ireland, unprotected and vulnerable, and in rebuking and excommunicating a powerful nominally Christian war-Lord (indeed it may be that Coroticus was behind the attack later made upon Patrick). In this respect he contrasts favourably with Gildas in Britain and Gregory of Tours in Gaul. Patrick is above all a man of faith. He has unwavering faith in God's goodness and providence; not that he expects God to deliver him from danger and trouble, on the contrary he expects both. But his whole personality is deeply committed to God. It is remarkable that of the books of the New Testament which Patrick quotes it is the Epistle to the Romans which appears most often in his works. He also exhibits a wonderful joy and cheerfulness; he constantly breaks off his account in the *Confession* to praise God and acknowledge his goodness. His doctrine, which has been searched minutely by both Catholics and Protestants in Ireland to afford them ammunition for their sectarian warfare, stands up well to any test. He is both fully Catholic and finely Evangelical. He maintains the authority of the Church and of the bishop. He administers baptism, confirmation and the eucharist, he ordains clergy and institutes monks and nuns. But he is also deeply imbued with the great truths of the Gospel, the goodness and love of God declared in Christ, the presence of the Holy Spirit in the believer, salvation offered to all who believe. In other words, he is in this a typical fifth-century bishop, or should one say he is a product of the undivided Church before even the Chalcedonian Formula has been devised, though not before the Nicene Creed was known?

One of the most interesting aspects of Patrick is his account of his spiritual experiences. Indeed, these are the main content of his *Confession* as far as it is a description of Patrick and not simply an ascription of praise to God. He relates to us no less than eight visions which he had at various critical moments in his life. He sometimes calls them «answers» *(responsa)*. Of these one is so remarkable that it must be transcribed here:

> «And another time I saw him praying within me and I as it were within my body and I heard above me, that is above my inner man, and there he was praying earnestly with groans, and while this was going on I was in amazement and I was wondering and I was considering who it could be who was praying in me but at the end of the prayer he spoke to the effect that it was the Spirit and at that I woke up · · ·»

It is hardly necessary to say how like this is to the Orthodox «prayer of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the Christian».

All Patrick's visions come to him in dreams, and all have the convincing inconsequentiality and surrealist touch of genuine dreams. Here is one of the most interesting of them, describing Patrick's call, when he had been safely in Britain for some time, to return to Ireland, coming from the people among whom he had been held captive:

> «And next a few years later I was in Britain among my parents who had received me for their son and earnestly requested me that I should now after all the troubles which I had experienced never leave them, and it was there that I saw in a vision of the night a man coming apparently from Ireland whose name was Victoricus, with an uncountable number of letters, and he gave me one of them and I read the heading of the letter which ran, 'The Cry of the Irish', and while I was reading aloud the heading of the letter I was imagining that at that very moment I heard the voice of those who were by the Wood of Voclut which is by the Western Sea, and this is what they cried as with one voice, 'Holy boy, we are asking you to come and walk among us again', and I was struck deeply to the heart and I was not able to read any further and at that I woke up. God be thanked that after

several years the Lord granted to them according to their cry».

These passages may perhaps even in translation faintly convey the taste of Patrick's paratactic, unstructured style.

Unlike his later mediaeval biographers, Patrick himself had no taste for miracles. The most thamaturgical event he records is no more than what we would call providential coincidence, when, reduced to starvation as he wanders with the Irish raiders lost in a British forest he comes across a herd of wild pigs, or when the raiders, having refused him passage across to Britain, change their minds suddenly and admit him to their number. Patrick is always credible, whether we look at his history or his psychology.

Finally, Patrick is of great interest simply as an historical phenomenon. He is the first British writer (except Pelagius) whose words have come down to us, and almost the only one; the first British contributor to Patristic literature; one of the first to mention the Picts (to whom Coroticus sold his captives and whom Patrick holds in abhorrence). We can learn quite a lot about the British Church from him. A thorough search of his Scriptural quotations would tell us much' about the text of the Bible used by the Britons. Early in the *Confession* he gives us his Rule of Faith, and this is certainly the Rule of Faith of the British Church. It shows clear influence from the controversies of the fourth century, possibly witnesses to the Nicene Creed, and is derived ultimately from that popular but by no means elegant author Victorinus of Pettau. But it gives no sign of having absorbed the controversies of the fifth century. Clearly the British Church held synods, sent out missions (Ninian had probably been sent northward before Patrick's day), valued confirmation, which Patrick specially mentions as well as baptism and the eucharist, and encouraged an early form of monasticism. Its doctrine was both Catholic and evangelical. It valued the Bible greatly. During most of Patrick's lifetime Britain must have been experiencing a period of relative freedom from external invasion and internal strife. Patrick hints at neither, and the British Church could hardly have been able to subsidise his mission continually as, he makes it clear, it did otherwise.

It is to be hoped that more people, scholars and others, of all traditions will read Patrick's works, preferably in the original Latin, and so fall victim to the peculiar fascination which he exerts over most of those who are acquainted with him*.

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* This paper is the substance of a lecture delivered by the author to an audience gathered at Bellinter House, Navan Co. Meath, Ireland, in August 1984 after the meeting there of the Anglical/Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission. Translations of Patrick's Latin here are taken from R. P. C. Hanson, *The Life and Writings of the Historical Saint Patrick*.

# Η ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΑΣ. ΠΕΝΤΕ ΕΤΗ ΠΟΙΜΑΝΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ

Ὑπὸ

*Χρήστου Ε. Γιαννούλα*

Καθηγητοῦ – Φιλολόγου

## ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Διὰ τῆς παρούσης μελέτης ἐπιχειρεῖται ἡ παρουσίασις τῆς κρατούσης καταστάσεως εἰς μίαν ἐκ τῶν πλέον δραστηρίων Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Διασπορᾶς, τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας. Τὸ ἐγχείρημα δὲν ἦτο εὔκολον. Ἂν ληφθῇ ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι ἡ διαρρεύσασα πενταετία ἦτο διὰ τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων περίοδος «κοσμογονίας», δύναται νὰ γίνῃ ἀντιληπτὸν ὅτι ἡ προσπάθεια ἡ ὁποία ἀπαιτεῖται διὰ μίαν σφαιρικὴν ἀπεικόνισιν τῆς πραγματικότητος εἶναι ἐργώδης καὶ καθίσταται ἐργωδεστέρα ἐὰν συμβαίνῃ νὰ μὴ δύναταί τις νὰ παρακολουθῇ ἐκ τοῦ σύνεγγυς, ὡς εἶναι ἡ περίπτωσις τοῦ γράφοντος, τὰς ποικίλας ἐκφάνσεις τῆς ἐκδηλουμένης δραστηριότητος. Εὐνόητον τυγχάνει ὅτι ψυχὴν καὶ πηγὴν ἐκπορεύσεως τῶν ἀναλαμβανομένων πρωτοβουλιῶν καὶ παράγοντα ἀποφασιστικὸν τῆς ὅλης ὀργανώσεως καὶ τῶν συντελουμένων ἐντὸς τῶν κόλπων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἀποτελεῖ ὁ προκαθήμενος αὐτῆς, Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος, ὅθεν καὶ δικαιολογεῖται ἡ παρατιτλοφόρησις τῆς μελέτης μας. Ἐὰν προστεθῇ τώρα καὶ ἡ ἐγγενὴς δυσκολία τοῦ νὰ μὴ δύναταί τις νὰ παρακολουθήσῃ εὐκόλως τὰς ἐκδηλώσεις μιᾶς τόσον πολυσχιδοῦς προσωπικότητος, ὡς εἶναι ἡ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, ποιμενάρχου ἀνεγνωρισμένου ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ καὶ πνευματικοῦ ἀναστήματος, δικαιολογεῖται καὶ ὁ περιορισμὸς τῆς φιλοδοξίας τοῦ γράφοντος πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν σχετικῆς πληρότητος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρουσιαζομένου θέματος.

Ἡ ὅλη προσπάθεια δὲν θὰ ἐτελεσφόρει ἐὰν δὲν προϋπετίθετο ἡ συνέχισις τοῦ ἐνδιαφέροντος νὰ ἐνημερώνωμαι, ὅσον τοῦτο ἦτο δυνατόν, ἔστω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μακρόθεν, ἐπὶ τῆς πορείας τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δράσεως τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου εἰς τὴν νέαν ἐπαρχίαν τῆς ποιμαντορίας του. Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον αὐτὸ διετήρει καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ διατηρῇ ὁ ἀνυπόκριτος θαυμασμός μου καὶ ἡ βαθεῖα ἐκτίμησις πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἱεράρχου ὡς καὶ ἡ ἀκλόνητος πεποίθησις περὶ τῶν ἐξαιρέτων ἱκανοτήτων δι' ὧν οὗτος εἶναι προικισμένος, ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ ἡ φιλοδοξία μου νὰ ἴδω ἔτι πλέον τεκμηριουμένας εἰς τὸν νέον στίβον εὐγενοῦς ἀγῶνος τὰς ἐκτιμήσεις εἰς τὰς ὁποίας εἶχον προβῆ περὶ τῆς προσωπικότητος καὶ τῶν δυνατοτήτων τοῦ Ἱεράρχου Μεθοδίου, ὅτε συνέγραφον τὴν «Ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης»[1]. Ἔγραφον ἐκεῖ: «... πιστεύουμε δὲ ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀξιόλογα προσόντα του θὰ καταξιωθοῦν περισσότερο τώρα ποὺ ὁ Ἱεράρχης ἔχει κληθεῖ νὰ ποιμάνει τὶς ἑκατοντάδες χιλιάδες τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων πιστῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας καὶ τῆς Ἐξαρχίας τῆς Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης»[2]. Θεωρῶ λοιπὸν τὴν παροῦσαν μελέτην ὡς μικρὰν προέκτασιν τοῦ τελευταίου μέρους τῆς «Ἱστορίας τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης», τοῦ ἀφιερωμένου εἰς τὴν περίοδον τῆς ἀρχιερατείας τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἀξώμης Μεθοδίου.

Εὐτυχῶς οἱ παράγοντες τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἔσχον τὴν πρωτοβουλίαν τῆς ἐπανεκδόσεως τοῦ μηνιαίου ὀργάνου ἱεραποστολῆς της ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τὸ ὁποῖον, εὑρισκόμενον ἤδη εἰς τὸ 24ον τεῦχος του, ἀποτελεῖ τὸ πανόραμα τῆς θρησκευτικῆς, ἐθνικῆς, πολιτιστικῆς, κοινωνικῆς καὶ λοιπῆς ζωῆς καὶ δράσεως αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὡς καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν ἐντὸς τῶν ὁρίων τῆς δικαιοδοσίας της, ἀπὸ ὅπου εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἀντληθοῦν πολύτιμοι πληροφορίαι. Ἐξ ἄλλου τὸ «Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ

1. *Χρήστου Ε. Γιαννούλα:* «Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης [Ἀπὸ τὸ 328 μ.Χ. μέχρι σήμερα] – Συμβολὴ στὴν Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας» ἐν «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» τ. II (1981), Ἀθῆναι, σσ 5–427.

2. *Αὐτόθι*, σ. 373.

Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας», ἐκδιδόμενον τῇ πρωτοβουλίᾳ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου διὰ πέμπτον κατὰ σειρὰν ἔτος, δίδει γενικὴν εἰκόνα τῆς ὑφισταμένης ἐν τῇ Ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ καταστάσεως, τῶν ἱδρυμάτων καὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλου ὀργανώσεως αὐτῆς καὶ περιλαμβάνει στοιχεῖα ἐκ τῆς κοινοτικῆς ὀργανώσεως τῶν παροικιῶν. Τέλος, αἱ δύο ἀξιολογώτατοι ἐπετηρίδες «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» καὶ «Texts and Studies», ἱδρυθεῖσαι καὶ ἐκδιδόμεναι μερίμνῃ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, παρέχουν τὰς διαπιστεύσεις τῆς πνευματικῆς ταυτότητος τοῦ Ἱεράρχου καὶ περιέχουν στοιχεῖα ἀνεκτίμητα, θεολογικὰ καὶ ἐπιστημονικά, τὰ ὁποῖα διευρύνουν τὰς διαστάσεις καὶ στηρίζουν ἐπὶ μονιμωτέρας βάσεως τὸ ἐπιτελούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς θεοφιλὲς καὶ ἐθνωφελές ἔργον.

Χάρις εἰς τὴν ἀδιάλειπτον φροντίδα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου κατέστη δυνατὸν νὰ ἐνημερώνωμαι συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ζητημάτων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, ἐφοδιαζόμενος μὲ τὰ ἑκάστοτε ἐκδιδόμενα ἔντυπα, καὶ μοῦ ἐδόθη ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ συνεργασθῶ ὡρισμένας φορὰς εἰς τὰ προαναφερθέντα ἐπιστημονικὰ περιοδικά, ὥστε διαπραγματευόμενος τὰ τῆς παρούσης μελέτης νὰ κινοῦμαι εἰς χῶρον οἰκεῖον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀσφαλῶς ago gratias πρὸς τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον Μεθόδιον.

Δεδομένου ὅτι αἱ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Διασπορᾶς ἀποτελοῦν ἀποδεδειγμένως τὴν «Κιβωτὸν τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας» εἰς τὴν ξένην καὶ ἐπειδή, ὡς θὰ καταδειχθῇ ἐν συνεχείᾳ, ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων ἀποτελεῖ τὸ διηθητικὸν σῶμα τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν ἐπιτρέπει νὰ διέλθῃ πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον, καθίσταται προφανὴς ἡ ἀξία καὶ σημασία μελετῶν μὲ ἀντικείμενον ὡς τὸ τῆς παρούσης.

## 1. Ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας.

α. *Ἱστορικὴ ἀναδρομή*[1]*:* Ἡ ἵδρυσις τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων μὲ ἕδραν τὸ Λονδῖνον ὀφείλεται εἰς ἱστορικὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ ἀλήστου μνήμης Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Μελετίου Δ' Μεταξάκη, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς οἴακας τῆς Πρωτοθρόνου Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας εἰς στιγμὰς κρισίμους διὰ τὸ Ἔθνος καὶ τὴν Ἕδραν τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, δὲν ἀφέθη νὰ παρασυρθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς δίνης τῶν δυσμενῶν διὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν συγκυριῶν οὔτε κατελήφθη ὑπὸ ἀποθαρρύνσεως καὶ ἀπαισιοδοξίας λόγῳ τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις ἀπειλῶν συρρικνώσεως τῆς δικαιοδοσίας τοῦ παλαιφάτου Πατριαρχείου ἐξ ἀπωλείας τῶν παραδοσιακῶν μητροπολιτικῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιδεινώσεως τῆς θέσεώς του. Ὅταν αἱ ἀπειλαὶ ἐγένοντο πραγματικότης ἀμετάτρεπτος, ὁ Πατριάρχης καὶ οἱ ἄξιοι συνεργάται του δὲν ἀπηλπίσθησαν «ἀλλ' ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἀνεπλήρωσαν τὴν χρείαν», κατὰ τὴν φράσιν τοῦ Θουκυδίδου. Ἀπεφασίσθη λοιπὸν ἡ δημιουργία Μητροπόλεων ἐν τῇ Δυτικῇ Εὐρώπῃ μὲ κανονικὴν ἐξάρτησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καὶ μὲ πρώτην τὴν ἐπονομασθεῖσαν ἐκ τῆς πάλαι διαλαμψάσης Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς. Ἡ ἀπόφασις αὕτη ὑλοποιήθη διὰ τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ καὶ Συνοδικοῦ Τόμου «Ἱδρύσεως τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων καὶ Ἐξαρχίας Εὐρώπης Δυτικῆς καὶ Κεντρῴας», γενομένου τὸν Ἀπρίλιον τοῦ 1922, ἐν συνεχείᾳ πρὸς τὴν «Πρᾶξιν ἄρσεως καὶ ἀκυρώσεως τοῦ προεκδεδομένου Πατριαρχικοῦ καὶ Συνοδικοῦ ὑπὸ ἡμερομηνίαν 8 Μαρτίου 1908 Τόμου περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ Ἐκκλησιῶν», τῆς 1ης Μαρτίου 1922, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον ἐπανέκτα τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Ἑλληνικῶν Παροικιῶν τῆς Διασπορᾶς, ἡ ὁποία εἶχεν ἐκχωρηθῆ διὰ τοῦ ἀκυρωθέντος Τόμου εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος[2]. Εἰς τὸν ἱδρυτικὸν Τόμον μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναγράφονται καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς: «... ἔγνωμεν ἱδρῦσαι ἐκ τῶν παροικιῶν τούτων μίαν ἐνιαίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ ἀρχιερατικὴν περιοχήν, ἰδίαν ἀποτελοῦσαν Μητρόπολιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄμεσον κανονικὴν ἐξάρτησιν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγιωτάτου Ἀποστολικοῦ καὶ Πατριαρχικοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν αὐτῆς ἔχουσαν, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν καὶ τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Πατριαρχικοῦ κλίματος Ἱερῶν Μητροπόλεων, ἐπωνυμίαν δέ, τιμητικῶς πρὸς τὴν πάλαι διαλάμψασαν Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Θυατείρων, τὴν ἀκόλουθον φέρουσαν, ἤτοι "Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Θυατείρων καὶ Ἐξαρχία Εὐρώπης Δυτικῆς καὶ Κεντρῴας".

»Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι ἀποφαινόμενοι γράφομεν καὶ ὁρίζομεν ὅπως πᾶσαι αἱ ἐν τῇ Δυτικῇ καὶ τῇ Κεντρῴᾳ Εὐρώπῃ ἔξω τῶν ὁρίων τῶν παλαιότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Πατριαρχικοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου χειραφετηθεισῶν καὶ εἰς Αὐτοκεφάλους ἀνυψωθεισῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν εὑρισκόμεναι ὀρθόδοξοι παροικίαι, αἵ τε νῦν ὑφιστάμεναι καὶ αἱ μέλλουσαι ἱδρυθῆναι, ὑπάρχωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ παρὰ πάντων γινώσκωνται ὡς μέρη καὶ Κοινότητες τῆς οὕτως ἐν ὥραις αἰσίαις συστάσης κανονικῶς νέας ταύτης τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγιωτάτου Ἀποστολικοῦ καὶ Πατριαρχικοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων καὶ Ἐξαρχίας Εὐρώπης Δυτικῆς καὶ Κεντρῴας.

»Ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει ταύτῃ ἑκάστοτε κανονικῶς ἀποκαθιστάμενος ἀρχιερεύς, τὴν ἕδραν αὐτοῦ ἐν Λονδίνῳ ἔχων, τιτλοφορείσθω " Ἱερώτατος Μητροπολίτης Θυατείρων ὑπέρτιμος καὶ Ἔξαρχος Εὐρώπης Δυτικῆς καὶ Κεντρῴας", ἀριθμείσθω δὲ εἰκοστὸς ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ χορείᾳ τῶν τοῦ Θρόνου Μητροπολιτῶν...».

Πρῶτος ἐκλήθη νὰ στερεώσῃ καὶ νὰ ποιμάνῃ τὴν νεοϊδρυθεῖσαν Μητρόπολιν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ ἔκφρασιν τοῦ Κ. Β. Καλλινίκου «ἀνεπανάληπτος μέγας ἀνὴρ»[3] Γερμανὸς Στρηνόπουλος, Μητροπολίτης Σελευκείας, Σχολάρχης τῆς Ἱ. Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης[4], περὶ τῆς λίαν ἐπιτυχοῦς καὶ μακροχρονίου διαποιμάνσεως τοῦ ὁποίου εἰς τὴν νέαν

1. Περὶ τῆς ἱδρύσεως καὶ τῆς πορείας τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων μέχρι σήμερον βλ. ἐν *Βασιλείου Ν. Ἀναγνωστοπούλου:* «Ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἱδρυσις τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων» ἐν «Texts and Studies», τ. Ι, Λονδῖνον (1982), σσ 21–37 καὶ *Κωνσταντίνου Β. Καλλινίκου:* «Ἡ ἀναγκαιότης καὶ ἡ σημασία τῶν νέων ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ἱδρυθεισῶν Ἱ. Μητροπόλεων καὶ Ἐξαρχιῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου», αὐτόθι, σσ 38–68· περὶ τῆς πρώτης περιόδου βλ. ἐπίσης καὶ *A. Tillyrides:* «Contributions to the history of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and the Exarchate of Western Europe» ἐν «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» τ. ΙΙ (1981), σσ 765–859.

2. Βλ. *Β. Ἀναγνωστοπούλου:* ἔνθ' ἀν. σσ 24–27. Ἀμφότερα τὰ κείμενα, ἤτοι τοῦ ἱδρυτικοῦ Τόμου καὶ τῆς ἀκυρωτικῆς Πράξεως βλ. ἐν *Κ. Καλλινίκου:* ἔνθ' ἀν., σσ 49–51 καὶ 35–37 ἀντιστοίχως· τὸ κείμενον τοῦ ἱδρυτικοῦ Τόμου παρέχει ἐπίσης καὶ ὁ *A. Tillyrides:* ἔνθ' ἀν., σσ 789–791.

3. Βλ. *Κ. Καλλινίκου:* ἔνθ' ἀν.: σ. 40.

4. Λεπτομερῆ εἰκόνα τῆς πολυχρονίου διαποιμάνσεως τοῦ Θυατείρων Γερμανοῦ ὡς καὶ στοιχεῖα περὶ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δράσεως τοῦ Ἱεράρχου παρέχει ὁ *A. Tillyrides:* ἔνθ' ἀνωτέρω. Ἐνδιαφερούσας ἐπίσης πτυχὰς τῶν δραστηριοτήτων τοῦ Ἱεράρχου παρουσιάζει ὁ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν του: «Archbishop Germanos Strenopoulos and the Ecumenical Movement» ἐν «Texts and Studies», τ. Ι (1982) σσ 69–184 καὶ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Ζηνουπόλεως *Ἀρίσταρχος* εἰς τὰ «Ἀνέκδοτα Μητροπολίτου Θυατείρων Γερμανοῦ», αὐτόθι, σσ 185–206.

Μητρόπολιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ 1922 μέχρι τὸ 1951, ὁ Β. Ν. Ἀναγνωστόπουλος γράφει ἐπὶ λέξει τὰ ἑξῆς: «Ὁ Πατριάρχης Μελέτιος ὑπῆρξεν ὁ ἐμπνευστὴς τῆς ἰδέας τῆς ἱδρύσεως τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων καὶ ὁ θεμελιωτής, ὁ Θυατείρων Γερμανὸς ὑπῆρξεν ὁ ἱκανὸς καὶ ἐπιδέξιος ἐκτελεστὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς αὐτῆς. Ἡ ἵδρυσις τῆς Μητροπόλεως εἶναι ἔργον, ἀποκλειστικῶς, τοῦ Πατριάρχου Μελετίου, ἡ ἀρραγὴς ὅμως θεμελίωσίς της, ἡ ἀνάπτυξις καὶ ἐξέλιξις αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ ἡ προβολή της, καὶ τελικὰ ἡ πραγμάτωσις τῶν προσδοκιῶν καὶ ὁραματισμῶν τοῦ Πατριάρχου διὰ μίαν ζωντανὴν καὶ ἐνεργὸν παρουσίαν καὶ δρᾶσιν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἤτοι εἰς τὸν Διαχριστιανικὸν κόσμον τῆς Δύσεως εἶναι ἔργον καὶ ἐπίτευγμα τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Θυατείρων Γερμανοῦ»[1]. Κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς 29ετοῦς ποιμαντορίας τοῦ Θυατείρων Γερμανοῦ ἡ Μητρόπολίς του μετέβαλε δύο φορὰς τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν της, τὴν πρώτην περιοριστικῶς καὶ τὴν δευτέραν ἀποκαταστατικῶς· ἤτοι, τὸ 1924 ἀποσπῶνται αἱ παροικίαι Κεντρικῆς καὶ Νοτίου Εὐρώπης (Αὐστρίας, Οὐγγαρίας καὶ Ἰταλίας) καὶ ὑπάγονται εἰς τὴν νεοϊδρυθεῖσαν Μητρόπολιν Κεντρῴας Εὐρώπης μὲ ἕδραν τὴν Βιέννην, τὸ δὲ 1936 ὑπάγονται καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Μητρόπολιν Θυατείρων[2].

Τὸ 1951, μετὰ τὰς διαμορφωθείσας νέας συνθήκας ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ Β΄ Παγκοσμίου πολέμου, ἡ ἐπαύξησις τοῦ Ἑλληνορθοδόξου ποιμνίου εἰς τὰς χώρας τῆς Εὐρώπης ὡδήγησε τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασιν νὰ προαγάγῃ τὴν Μητρόπολιν Θυατείρων εἰς Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν καὶ νὰ ἱδρύσῃ ἐπισκοπὰς ἐντὸς τῶν ὁρίων τῆς δικαιοδοσίας της. Οὕτως ἡ Ἐκκλησία Θυατείρων ἀπὸ τοῦ 1951 μέχρι τὸ 1963 φέρει τὸν τίτλον «Ἱερὰ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Ἐξαρχία Δυτικῆς καὶ Κεντρῴας Εὐρώπης». Τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ἐποίμανεν ἀπὸ τοῦ 1951 μέχρι τὸ 1962 ὁ Ἀθηναγόρας Α΄ Καββάδας.

Ἡ περαιτέρω ἐξέλιξις τῶν πραγμάτων μέχρι τὸ 1963 ὁδηγεῖ τὴν Μητέρα Ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸν περιορισμὸν τῆς δικαιοδοσίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων διὰ τῆς ἱδρύσεως νέων Μητροπόλεων ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τῆς ἐπαναγωγῆς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων εἰς Μητρόπολιν, φέρουσαν μέχρι τὸ 1968 τὸν τίτλον «Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, Ἐξαρχία Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, Ἰρλανδίας καὶ Μελίτης καὶ πάσης Σκανδιναυίας».

Τὸ 1969, διὰ τῆς ἱδρύσεως τῆς Μητροπόλεως Σουηδίας καὶ πάσης Σκανδιναυίας, περιορίζεται ἡ δικαιοδοσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην Βρεταννίαν, Ἰρλανδίαν καὶ Μελίτην, ἀλλὰ προάγεται αὕτη εἰς Ἀρχιεπισκοπήν, φέρουσα ἔκτοτε τὸν τίτλον «Ἱερὰ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, Ἐξαρχία Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, Ἰρλανδίας καὶ Μελίτης». Διάδοχος τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρου Α΄ ὑπῆρξεν ὁ Ἀθηναγόρας Β΄ Κοκκινάκης, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐθήτευσεν ἐπιτυχῶς εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων μέχρι τοῦ θανάτου του, τὸ 1979[3]. Ἀπὸ τῆς 4ης Νοεμβρίου 1979 διαποιμαίνει τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, ὁ ὁποῖος ὄχι μόνον ἀναδεικνύεται ἄξιος συνεχιστὴς τῶν προκατόχων του, ἀλλὰ ἐνεκαινίασε μίαν νέαν ἐποχὴν διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων, ὡς θὰ καταδειχθῇ ἐν τοῖς κατωτέρω.

β. *Ἡ σύγχρονος περίοδος:* Ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων συνεπλήρωσε κατὰ τὸ τρέχον ἔτος 62 ἔτη ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδρύσεώς της καὶ κατὰ τὴν περίοδον αὐτὴν ἐδικαίωσε τὰς προσδοκίας τῆς Μητρὸς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὁποίας ἀπετέλεσε καὶ ἀποτελεῖ τὸ προκεχωρημένον φυλάκιον εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Εὐρώπης. Παρὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ β΄ ἡμίσεος τοῦ αἰῶνος μας περιωρίσθη σταδιακῶς ἡ δικαιοδοσία της, ἐξακολουθεῖ ἡ Ἐκκλησία Θυατείρων νὰ διατηρῇ ἰδιαιτέραν αἴγλην καὶ νὰ κατέχῃ τὴν πρώτην θέσιν μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Εὐρώπης, ὡς Μήτηρ Ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν. Τεταγμένη εἰς τὸν ὁριακὸν χῶρον τῶν Βρεταννικῶν νήσων καὶ τῆς Μελίτης προστατεύει ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην της τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἑλληνοκυπρίων πιστῶν, τῶν ὁποίων ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἀναβιβάζεται εἰς 250.000[4].

Ἡ σύγχρονος περίοδος ἤρχισε μὲ τὴν ἐνθρόνισιν τοῦ νέου προκαθημένου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου. Ἡ τελετὴ τῆς ἐνθρονίσεως ἔλαβε χώραν μετὰ πάσης ἐπισημότητος τὴν 4ην Νοεμβρίου 1979 εἰς τὸν Καθεδρικὸν Ναὸν τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας τῇ συμμετοχῇ καὶ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Γαλλίας Μελετίου, ὡς ἐκπροσώπου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου διὰ τὴν ἐνθρόνισιν, τοῦ ἐκλελεγμένου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας Robert Runcie τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Westminster Καρδιναλίου Basil Hume τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ Ἐκκλησίας, τῶν ἐκπροσώπων τῶν Προτεσταντικῶν ὁμολογιῶν, τοῦ Παπικοῦ Δελεγάτου, τοῦ ἐκπροσώπου τῆς Βρεταννικῆς Κυβερνήσεως Ὑφυπουργοῦ Χιοῦ Ρόσσι, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ Κυπριακῶν Διπλωματικῶν Ἀρχῶν καὶ πλήθους πιστῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παροικίας. Αἴσθησιν ἐνεποίησαν αἱ προσφωνήσεις τῶν ξένων Ἱεραρχῶν καὶ ὁ βαρυσήμαντος ἐνθρονιστήριος λόγος τοῦ νέου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου. Πάντα ταῦτα καθὼς καὶ ἡ συγκινητικὴ ὑποδοχὴ τῆς ὁποίας ἔτυχεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Κλήρου, τῆς Παροικίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Κυπριακῆς Διπλωματικῆς Ἀποστολῆς προοιώνισαν λαμπρὸν τὸ μέλλον τῆς διακονίας τοῦ νέου Ἀρχιε-

1. *Β. Ν. Ἀναγνωστοπούλου:* ἔνθ' ἀν., σσ 28–29.
2. *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ,* αὐτόθι, σσ 40–41.
3. Βλ. *Β. Ν. Ἀναγνωστοπούλου:* ἔνθ' ἀν., σ. 29 καὶ *Κ. Καλλινίκου:* ἔνθ' ἀν., σ. 41.
4. *Κ. Καλλινίκου:* ἔνθ' ἀν., σ. 42.

πισκόπου ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ[1]. Ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ὡρίσθη συγχρόνως διὰ Πατριαρχικῆς 'Επιστολῆς 'Αποκρισάριος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου εἰς τὸ Λάμπεθ[2].

**2. Αἱ γενικαὶ ἀρχαί, τὸ πρόγραμμα δράσεως καὶ ἡ γραμμὴ πλεύσεως τῆς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, ὅπως διαγράφονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Προκαθημένου καὶ ἄλλων φορέων αὐτῆς.**

Εἶναι προφανὲς ὅτι οἱαδήποτε 'Εκκλησία εἰς τὴν ξένην ἀποτελεῖ ἰδιότυπον ὀργανισμὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ σώματος τῆς ξένης κοινωνίας εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἐμφυτεύεται. Βεβαίως, ἡ ἐξυπηρέτησις τῶν θρησκευτικῶν ἀναγκῶν τῶν πιστῶν της εἶναι ἡ «raison d' être» εἰς τὸν χῶρον εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ὑφίσταται, δὲν συνιστᾷ ὅμως καὶ ἐπαρκῆ λόγον πρὸς δικαίωσιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς της. 'Εὰν ἦτο ἐπαρκὴς ὁ λόγος αὐτὸς θὰ ἤρκει ἡ εὐόδωσις τῆς προσπαθείας συσπειρώσεως τῶν πιστῶν περὶ τὴν 'Εκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ προσηλώσεώς των εἰς τὰς θρησκευτικὰς παραδόσεις, διὰ νὰ θεωρῆται ἐκπληρωθεὶς ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς 'Εκκλησίας ταύτης. 'Αλλὰ τοῦτο θὰ περιέκλειε τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐὰν μὲν ἡ 'Εκκλησία ὑφίσταται ἐντὸς κατωτέρου θρησκευτικοῦ καὶ πολιτιστικοῦ περιβάλλοντος, νὰ δημιουργηθῇ εἰς τὰ μέλη τῆς 'Εκκλησίας συναίσθημα ἀλαζονείας τῆς ὑπεροχῆς μὲ συνέπειαν τὴν ἀποκοπὴν ἐκ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐντὸς τῆς ὁποίας ζοῦν, ἐὰν δὲ τὸ περιβάλλον εἶναι ἀνώτερον, ὁ κίνδυνος θὰ ἦτο νὰ παρουσιάζωνται φυγόκεντροι τάσεις τῶν πιστῶν, διότι ἡ 'Εκκλησία θὰ ἐφαίνετο παρείσακτος καὶ ἀναχρονιστικὴ ἐντὸς τοῦ σώματος τῆς ξένης κοινωνίας. 'Εὰν πάλιν ἡ 'Εκκλησία, πιεζομένη ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀντιστοιχίσεώς της πρὸς τὰ προβλήματα, τὰς τάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις τοῦ περιβάλλοντος, ἀπεμπολήσῃ τὰς παραδόσεις καὶ τὸ ἰδεολογικόν της ὑπόβαθρον, πρὸς ὄφελος ἀμφιβόλου ἀποτελεσματικότητος νεωτερισμῶν, ἡ συνέπεια θὰ εἶναι νὰ ἀποπροσανατολισθῇ καὶ νὰ ἀποστῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ της, καθισταμένη διακοσμητικὸν στοιχεῖον.

Εἶναι λοιπὸν εὔκολον ἡ 'Εκκλησία νὰ περιχαρακώνεται περὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς αὐτάρκους κλειστῆς κοινωνίας, ὅπως εἶναι εὔκολον νὰ διαχέεται εἰς κοσμικὰς δραστηριότητας, τὸ δύσκολον εἶναι νὰ ἐπιτύχῃ τὴν λεπτὴν ἐξισορρόπησιν τῶν δύο ἀντιθέτων τάσεων ὥστε νὰ ὑπηρετῇ τὸν διττὸν σκοπόν της, ὡς σωτηριακοῦ πνευματικοῦ ὀργανισμοῦ καὶ ὡς σώματος δρῶντος καὶ ἀγωνιζομένου ἐντὸς τῆς κοινωνίας.

'Ιδιαιτέρως λεπτὴ εἶναι ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῆς 'Ελληνορθοδόξου 'Εκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς, ἡ ὁποία εἶναι ἐπιφορτισμένη μὲ τὴν εὐθύνην τῆς διατηρήσεως τῆς εὐτυχοῦς συζεύξεως τῆς 'Εθνικῆς καὶ 'Ορθοδόξου Παραδόσεως. 'Οφείλει αὕτη νὰ ἐνστερνίζεται ἀδιαλείπτως καὶ νὰ μεταδίδῃ τοὺς παλμοὺς τοῦ 'Εθνικοῦ Κέντρου καὶ τοῦ Κέντρου τῆς 'Ορθοδοξίας. 'Οφείλει νὰ διατηρῇ καὶ νὰ ἐπαυξάνῃ τὴν αἴγλην τοῦ 'Ελληνισμοῦ καὶ τῆς 'Ορθοδοξίας, νὰ ὑπηρετῇ καὶ νὰ διαδίδῃ τὰς διαχρονικὰς ἀξίας ἐκείνας, τῶν ὁποίων τὸ "Εθνος καὶ ἡ 'Εκκλησία εἶναι φορεῖς. 'Οφείλει νὰ προφυλάσσῃ τὰ μέλη της ἀπὸ τὸν ἀφελληνισμὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπομάκρυνσιν ἀπὸ τὴν 'Ορθόδοξον πίστιν καὶ παράδοσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ ἐμπνέῃ τὸν σεβασμὸν εἰς τοὺς ξένους πρὸς τὸν 'Ελληνισμὸν καὶ τὴν 'Ορθοδοξίαν. 'Οφείλει ἐν ἑνὶ λόγῳ νὰ καταξιώνῃ τὴν θρησκευτικὴν καὶ ἐθνικὴν ἀποστολήν της. Διὰ νὰ τὰ ἐπιτύχῃ ὅμως αὐτὰ θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ καταστήσῃ αἰσθητὴν τὴν παρουσίαν της καὶ νὰ ἀποσπάσῃ τὴν ἀναγνώρισιν τῆς κοινωνίας ἐντὸς τῆς ὁποίας ὑφίσταται.

'Εκ πάντων τῶν ἀνωτέρω καθίσταται σαφὲς πόσον ἀποφασιστικὸν ρόλον παίζει ἡ ἐκλογὴ καταλλήλου προκαθημένου τῆς 'Εκκλησίας διὰ τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς της καί, κατὰ συνέπειαν, πόσον ἐπιτυχὴς ἦτο ἡ ἀπόφασις τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Συνόδου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου εἰς τὸν 'Αρχιεπισκοπικὸν θρόνον τῆς 'Εκκλησίας Θυατείρων.

Ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, ἱεράρχης κατηξιωμένος ἐκ τῆς μέχρι τοῦδε θητεύσεώς του εἰς τὸν εὐγενῆ στίβον τῆς πνευματικῆς καὶ ἠθικῆς δράσεως, ἔχει ἀποσπάσει τὴν ἀναγνώρισιν καὶ τὴν ἐκτίμησιν τῆς παγκοσμίου πνευματικῆς κοινωνίας. Εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ὁποῖος καθ' ὅλην τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς ζωῆς του ὑπηρέτησεν ἀκλινῶς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἰδέας τοῦ "Εθνους καὶ τῆς 'Εκκλησίας. Εἶναι ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ταγός, ὁ ὁποῖος κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς ὑπερδεκαετοῦς θητείας του εἰς τὸν Μητροπολιτικὸν θρόνον τῆς 'Ιερᾶς Μητροπόλεως 'Αξώμης ἀπέδειξεν ὅτι ἡ ἐμμονὴ καὶ ἡ προσήλωσις εἰς τὸν ἐπιδιωκόμενον σκοπὸν δύναται νὰ ἀναπληρώσῃ τὰ ἐλλείποντα καὶ νὰ ἀντιπαρέλθῃ τὰς ἀντιξοότητας. Συνέπεια εὐτυχὴς τῆς ὀρθῆς θέσεως καὶ τῆς ἀγωνιστικῆς στάσεως τοῦ ἱεράρχου ἦτο νὰ ἀποφευχθῇ ὁ κίνδυνος νὰ ὀργανωθῇ ἡ 'Ελληνορθόδοξος 'Εκκλησία τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ὑπὸ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς κλειστῆς θρησκευτικῆς κοινωνίας, τῆς ἀντλούσης ἀποκλειστικῶς ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὰ μέσα καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑπάρξεώς της, ἀλλ' ἀντιθέτως νὰ κατορθωθῇ ὥστε ἡ μέχρι τότε ἄσημος ἐν πολλοῖς Μητρόπολις 'Αξώμης νὰ ἀποκτήσῃ παγκόσμιον πνευματικὴν ἀκτινοβολίαν.

Οἱ τρόποι καὶ τὰ μέσα τὰ ὁποῖα μετῆλθεν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος διὰ νὰ ἀνασύρῃ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀσημότητα τὴν Μητρόπολιν 'Αξώμης καὶ νὰ καταστήσῃ τὴν φωνήν της ἀκουστὴν εἰς τὴν παγκόσμιον ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κοινότητα, ἀπέρρευσαν ἐν πολλοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἰδιοσυστασίας τῆς προσωπικότητος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐξαι-

1. Τὰ τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου καὶ λεπτομερῆ περιγραφὴν τῆς ἐνθρονίσεως αὐτοῦ βλ. ἐν τῷ Μηνιαίῳ 'Οργάνῳ 'Ιεραποστολῆς τῆς 'Ιερᾶς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας «'Ορθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», Περίοδος Β', τεῦχος Α', σσ 8-9.

2. *Αὐτόθι*, σ. 2.

ρέτων ἰδιωμάτων τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ ἱεράρχου. Ἐν πρώτοις ἐχρησιμοποίησε τὴν ἀδιαμφισβήτητον πειστικήν του ἱκανότητα διὰ νὰ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ ὅλους ὅσοι θὰ ἠδύναντο νὰ συνδράμουν ἠθικῶς, πνευματικῶς καὶ ὑλικῶς εἰς τὸ ἔργον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, προβάλλων ἑαυτὸν ὡς παράδειγμα ἀνθρώπου μετ' ἀφοσιώσεως ὑπηρετοῦντος τὸν σκοπὸν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐτάχθη, μὲ ἀκατάπονητον ἐργατικότητα, μὲ ἀνυστερόβουλον διάθεσιν καὶ διαφανῆ τὴν πρόθεσιν νὰ προσφέρῃ πᾶν τὸ δυνατὸν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἐξυπηρετήσεως καὶ τῆς προαγωγῆς τῶν καλῶς νοουμένων συμφερόντων τοῦ ποιμνίου του. Καὶ ἡ προσπάθειά του αὕτη ἀπέδωσεν ἀγλαοὺς καρποὺς διότι, ὅπως ἀναφέρομεν εἰς τὴν «Ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης»[1], «... ὁ ἱεράρχης ἀπέδειξε ὅτι προορισμός του ἦταν νὰ προσφέρει καὶ ὄχι νὰ πάρει. Ὅ,τι πάλι τοῦ προσφέρθηκε δὲν τὸ οἰκειοποιήθηκε γιὰ δικό του ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀξιοποίησε ὥστε νὰ ἀνταποδώσει πολλαπλάσια».

Ἡ βασικὴ ἔκφανσις τῆς πνευματικῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ ἱεράρχου ἦτο ἡ διὰ τῆς γραφίδος προβολὴ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μόχθου του, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δημιουργία στίβου εὐγενοῦς, ὅπου ἠδύναντο νὰ ἀγωνίζωνται «τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν» ὄχι μόνον αἱ πνευματικαὶ προσωπικότητες τοῦ Ἑλληνορθοδόξου χώρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ ἀνοιχτὰ πνεύματα τῆς παγκοσμίου Χριστιανικῆς κοινότητος. Τοῦτο κατωρθώθη χάρις εἰς τὴν εὐρύτητα τοῦ πνεύματος ποὺ διακρίνει τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Μεθόδιον, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐπρωτοστάτησεν εἰς πολλὰς ἐκδηλώσεις καὶ προσπαθείας πρὸς προώθησιν τοῦ διαδογματικοῦ διαλόγου καὶ εὐόδωσιν τῆς «Οἰκουμενικῆς κινήσεως». Οὕτως, ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος δὲν ἐφείσθη μόχθων καὶ ἀγώνων προκειμένου νὰ ὑλοποιήσῃ τὰ σχέδιά του. Ὁ στίβος τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀγῶνος τὸν ὁποῖον ἐδημιούργησεν ἦσαν τὰ δύο ἀξιολογώτατα περιοδικὰ ποὺ ἐξέδωκεν, ὁ «Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος» καὶ τὸ «Abba Salama»[2]· μὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἀνεζωογόνησε τὴν ληθαργοῦσαν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ πνευματικὴν κίνησιν τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας, μὲ τὸ δεύτερον δέ, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτο ἡ ἐπετηρὶς τῆς «Ἑταιρείας Ἑλληνοαιθιοπικῶν Σπουδῶν», ἰδικῆς του καὶ πάλιν ἐμπνεύσεως, ἐπεδίωξε τὴν σύσφιγξιν τῶν ἑλληνοαιθιοπικῶν σχέσεων εἰς ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ πνευματικὸν ἐπίπεδον. Ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν τῶν δύο αὐτῶν περιοδικῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἦσαν προσιταὶ εἰς ὅλους τοὺς πνευματικοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῆς παγκοσμίου Χριστιανικῆς κοινωνίας, ἀνεξαρτήτως δόγματος, εἶδον τὸ φῶς τῆς δημοσιότητος μελέται σημαντικαὶ γενικοῦ καὶ εἰδικοῦ ἐνδιαφέροντος. Κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον καὶ μὲ τὴν συνδρομὴν καὶ ἄλλων προσπαθειῶν τοῦ προκαθημένου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀξώμης, κυρίως δὲ μὲ τὴν ἔμφασιν ποὺ ἐγνώριζε νὰ δίδῃ εἰς τὰ σημεῖα ποὺ ἑνώνουν καὶ ὄχι εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα ποὺ χωρίζουν, κατέστη δυνατὸν ὄχι μόνον νὰ ἐξασφαλισθῇ ἡ καλὴ πίστις τῆς Αἰθιοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ κοινωνίας πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν ἐν γένει, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ ἐπιτευχθῇ εἰς εὐρυτέραν κλίμακα ἡ γνωριμία καὶ ἡ προσέγγισις ἐκ μέρους πολλῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς διεθνοῦς κοινωνίας πρὸς τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου πνευματικῆς παρακαταθήκης. Ὑποθέτομεν ὅτι ἀρκετοὶ θὰ εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι εἰς τοὺς ὁποίους ἐδόθη ἡ δυνατότης νὰ ἐπηρεασθοῦν πρὸς τὸ καλλίτερον ἀπὸ τὰ πάντοτε ἐπίκαιρα διδάγματα τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Παραδόσεως καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶχον τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ἀνακαλύψουν ἐντὸς τῶν στηλῶν τῶν προαναφερθέντων περιοδικῶν τὴν ἀκένωτον σοφίαν τῶν Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἄλλοι, δεχόμενοι τὰ διαχρονικὰ σωτηριακὰ μηνύματα τῆς ζώσης Παραδόσεως, νὰ ἀναθεωρήσουν τὴν ἐσφαλμένην ἐντύπωσιν ὅτι πρόκειται περὶ ἑνὸς ἀπηρχαιωμένου συστήματος ἠθικοθρησκευτικῶν ἀξιῶν. Εἰς ὅσην ἔκτασιν ἐπετεύχθη τοῦτο, ὀφείλομεν νὰ ἀναγνωρίσωμεν ὅτι εἶναι ἔργον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου καὶ τῶν ἀξίων συνεργατῶν του καὶ ἀποδεικνύει τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς τακτικῆς τὴν ὁποίαν ἠκολούθησε καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὁ ἱεράρχης πρὸς εὐόδωσιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς.

Ἐξ ἄλλου ἡ ἀρτία ἐσωτερικὴ ὀργάνωσις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπεδίωξε καὶ ἐπέτυχεν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος, διεφύλαξε τὸ κῦρος της καὶ ἀπέναντι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰδίου τοῦ σώματος αὐτῆς. Τέλος, αἱ τελεσφόροι προσπάθειαι πρὸς ὀργάνωσιν τῶν σχολείων διὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν τῶν Ἑλληνοπαίδων, ἡ προώθησις τῶν διεκκλησιαστικῶν σχέσεων, ἡ πρόσκλησις καὶ φιλοξενία ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ πνευματικῶν προσωπικοτήτων, ὑπῆρξαν ὡρισμένοι ἀπὸ τοὺς τρόπους καὶ τὰ μέσα διὰ τῶν ὁποίων ὁ ἱεράρχης κατώρθωσε νὰ δικαιώσῃ τὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ νὰ καταξιώσῃ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας του, μὲ βαθεῖαν πάντοτε τὴν συναίσθησιν ὅτι ἐνεργεῖ ὡς διάκονος τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τοῦ Ἔθνους.

Προέβημεν εἰς τὴν ἀναδρομὴν αὐτήν, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν κατεβάλομεν προσπάθειαν νὰ παρουσιάσωμεν τὸ σχέδιον δράσεως τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς ἀρχιερατείας του εἰς τὴν Μητρόπολιν Ἀξώμης, διὰ νὰ καταστῇ εὐχερεστέρα ἡ παρακολούθησις τοῦ προγράμματος ἐνεργειῶν καὶ τῆς γραμμῆς πλεύσεως τὴν ὁποίαν καθιέρωσεν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος ὡς Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων. Εὐκόλως θὰ ἀναγνωρίσῃ ὁ ἀναγνώστης τὴν ὕπαρξιν τῶν αὐτῶν βασικῶν ἀρχῶν, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντίληψιν περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς καὶ τοὺς αὐτούς, mutatis mutandis, τρόπους πρὸς καταξίωσιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς της. Βεβαίως τὰ μέσα τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχει εἰς τὴν διάθεσίν της ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων εἶναι ἀσυγκρίτως ἀνώτερα ἀπὸ τὰ μέσα τῆς Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης, ἀλλὰ δὲν πρέπει νὰ μᾶς διαφεύγῃ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι τὸ περιβάλλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποίου δραστηριοποιοῦνται οἱ φορεῖς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς εἶναι κατὰ πολὺ ἀπαιτη-

1. *Χρήστου Ε. Γιαννούλα:* «Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱ. Μ. Ἀξώμης...», ἔνθ' ἀν., σ. 372.

2. Τὸ ἱστορικὸν τῆς ἐκδόσεως τῶν δύο αὐτῶν περιοδικῶν καὶ τὰ σχετικὰ περὶ τὴν συνέχισιν τῆς παρουσιάσεως αὐτῶν βλ.. *αὐτόθι*, σσ 397-404.

τικώτερον καὶ συνεπῶς ὅτι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ πρωθιεράρχου καὶ τῶν συνεργατῶν του δὲν εἶναι εὔκολον. Εὐνοϊκὴν προϋπόθεσιν πάντως διὰ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἀπετέλεσεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ ὅτι ὁ χῶρος εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἐκλήθη νὰ προσφέρῃ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας του ἦτο εἰς αὐτὸν οἰκεῖος ἐκ τῆς περιόδου κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἐφοίτα εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον τοῦ Manchester, διακονῶν συγχρόνως καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων[1]. Ἄλλωστε καὶ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν προσώπων, τόσον τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, ὅσον καὶ τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ Ἐκκλησίας ἦσαν εἰς αὐτὸν γνώριμα ἐκ τῶν προηγουμένων ἐπαφῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δραστηριοτήτων του εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην Βρεταννίαν. Ἄλλο ἐπίσης εὐνοϊκὸν στοιχεῖον, τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ ἀπετέλεσε διὰ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον πρόκλησιν πρὸς δραστηριωτέραν ἐνεργοποίησιν, ἦτο ἡ ἀξιόλογος ὑποδομὴ ἡ ὑφισταμένη εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν καὶ κληροδοτηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν προκατόχων του, ἔργον ἐπίσης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν φορέων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ταύτης, οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ὁποίων ἐξακολουθοῦν νὰ διακονοῦν αὐτὴν καὶ σήμερον, καθὼς καὶ τῶν δραστηρίων μελῶν τῆς Παροικίας, τὰ ὁποῖα διακρίνονται διὰ τὸν πατριωτικὸν καὶ θρησκευτικόν των ζῆλον.

Τὸ πανόραμα τῶν προγραμματικῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς διακονίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου περιέχεται εἰς τὸν ἐνθρονιστήριον λόγον του, τὸν ὁποῖον καὶ θὰ παρουσιάσωμεν ἐν συνεχείᾳ, προβαίνοντες καὶ εἰς σχολιασμὸν τῶν λεγομένων, ὅπου κρίνομεν ἀπαραίτητον[2]. Ὁ ἐνθρονιστήριος λόγος τοῦ ἱεράρχου ἀποτελεῖ τὴν συμπεπυκνωμένην διατύπωσιν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, τῆς βιοθεωρίας καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεώς του περὶ τῆς θέσεως καὶ τοῦ προορισμοῦ τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς εὐθύνης καὶ τῶν ὑποχρεώσεων τοῦ ἰδίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν φορέων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων καθὼς καὶ τοῦ Χριστεπωνύμου πληρώματός της.

Κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἀφοῦ μεταφέρῃ τὸ μήνυμα ἀγάπης τοῦ προκαθημένου καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τῆς Πρωτοθρόνου Μητρὸς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ μνησθῇ τοῦ προκατόχου του εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, προβαίνει εἰς τὴν παρουσίασιν τοῦ τρόπου μὲ τὸν ὁποῖον θὰ προσφέρῃ τὴν διακονίαν του ἀπὸ τοῦ νέου ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ του ἀξιώματος, τονίζων ὅτι ἡ προσφορά του θὰ εἶναι θυσία ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς του. Ἐν συνεχείᾳ προβάλλει τὸ πρότυπον τοῦ ἀξίου μέλους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὅπως ὁ ἴδιος τὸ φαντάζεται καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖ, παρέχων συγχρόνως καὶ τὸν «modus vivendi» δι' ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν. Ἡ ταυτότης τοῦ Ἕλληνος Ὀρθοδόξου συνίσταται ἐκ τῆς πνευματικότητος καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρκείας καὶ τοῦ αὐστηροῦ τρόπου ζωῆς τοῦ κατατείνοντος εἰς τὴν ἐξυπηρέτησιν ἑνὸς ἀνωτέρου σκοποῦ. Εἶναι ὁ συγκερασμὸς τῶν δύο ἀρχαίων κληροδοτημάτων τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, τῆς Ἀθηναϊκῆς Πολιτείας καὶ τῆς Σπαρτιατικῆς ζωῆς, διαπεποτισμένων ἀπὸ τὰ νάματα τῆς μακραίωνος Ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως. Οἱ δύο πόλοι μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ διακινῶνται ὅλαι αἱ προσπάθειαι εἶναι τὸ Ἔθνος καὶ ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία καὶ ὁ ἀπώτερος σκοπὸς θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ εἶναι ἡ προβολὴ εἰς παγκόσμιον κλίμακα τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων ἰδεωδῶν. Ἂς παρακολουθήσωμεν ὅμως αὐτολεξεὶ τὰς ἰδέας αὐτὰς τοῦ ἱεράρχου: «Ἡ διακονία μου εἶναι προωρισμένη διὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ὀρθοδόξους, ἀπογόνους τῆς Ἀθηναϊκῆς Πολιτείας τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς σοφίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Σπαρτιατικῆς ζωῆς. Ἂς μὴ λησμονῶμεν τὴν διπλῆν αὐτὴν ἰδιότητα ἡμῶν, ἥτις ὁλοκληρώνει τὴν ταυτότητα τοῦ Ἕλληνος. Τὴν ταυτότητα ταύτην δὲν πρέπει νὰ τὴν ἀλλοιώσωμεν, διότι εἶναι αὕτη πολύτιμον στοιχεῖον ἐντὸς τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, καὶ ἐντὸς τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῆς. Ἡ Ἑλληνικότης πρέπει νὰ αὐξάνῃ τοπικῶς καὶ χρονικῶς, πνευματικῶς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ. Θὰ ὁμιλῶ ὡς Ἕλλην Ἱεράρχης καὶ θὰ ἀποβλέπω πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Λαοῦ».

Συνεχίζων ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος διαβεβαιώνει ὅτι θὰ τεθῇ ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν συμφερόντων τοῦ Ἔθνους καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀποξενούμενος ἐκ προσωπικῶν θεμάτων καὶ ἐπιδιώξεων καὶ καλεῖ καὶ τὰ μέλη τῆς Ἐκκλησίας του νὰ διαθέσῃ ἕκαστος ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύματος τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοῦ πνεύματός του ἐπὶ τῷ τελικῷ σκοπῷ νὰ καταστῇ αἰσθητὴ ἡ παρουσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων ἐντὸς τῆς Βρεταννικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ νὰ στερεωθῇ ἡ ὑπόστασίς της. Ὡς κύριον μέσον διὰ τὴν προβολὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας του ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐπιλέγει τὸν καὶ μέχρι τότε δεδοκιμασμένον καὶ προσφιλῆ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα εἰς τὸν πνευματικὸν στίβον, πρὸς ἀνέλιξιν τοῦ ὁποίου ποιεῖται ἔκκλησιν πρὸς πάντα δυνάμενον νὰ βοηθήσῃ, διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς λόγων: «Ἀπευθύνομαι πρὸς τὸν πνευματικὸν κόσμον τῆς φυλῆς ἡμῶν ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ καὶ παρακαλῶ αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐν τῇ συναισθήσει τῆς προγονικῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν ἐνταχθῇ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ζωὴν ὡς συνεργάτης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, παραβλέπων ἐκεῖ ἔνθα ἡ φύσις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιβάλλει συγκατάβασιν καὶ συμβάλλων θετικῶς πάντοτε. Ἔχω σχέδια διὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἡμῶν ἀκτινοβολίαν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ διακεκριμένα μέλη τῆς Παροικίας ἡμῶν θὰ κληθῶσι νὰ διαδραματίσωσι τὸν ἡγετικὸν ρόλον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ κινήσει ταύτῃ. Ἡ ἱστορία τῆς δημιουργικῆς πορείας τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ θὰ συνεχισθῇ διὰ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ Κερδῴου μὲ τὸν Λόγιον Ἑρμῆν. Στρέφω λοιπὸν τὴν προσοχήν μου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιστήμονας καὶ σπουδάζοντας ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοὺς παρακαλῶ ὅπως διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐφοδίων των θερμάνωσι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁποίων ἡ φροντὶς ἡμῶν ἔσεται συνεχής. Παρακαλῶ αὐτοὺς νὰ ἐπιδείξωσι προσήνειαν, καλωσύνην καὶ ἀγάπην ἀδελφικήν».

Εἶναι κοινὴ διαπίστωσις ὅτι ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ πνευματικὴ παρουσία ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ εἶναι αἰσθητὴ

1. *Αὐτόθι*, σσ 368–369.

2. Ὁ ἐνθρονιστήριος λόγος δημοσιεύεται ὁλόκληρος εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», περίοδος Β', τεῦχος Α' (Ἰανουάριος 1980), σσ 1, 7.

καὶ εἶναι δικαιολογημένη ἡ χαρὰ τὴν ὁποίαν αἰσθάνεται ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος τούτου καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τὴν ὁποίαν τρέφει ὅτι θὰ καταστῇ δυνατὴ ἡ ἀξιοποίησις τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ὑλοποίησιν τῶν σχεδίων του, διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν προτροπὴν πρὸς τὰ μέλη τῆς παροικίας νὰ συσπειρωθοῦν περὶ τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον, ὡς τὸν κύριον φορέα τῶν ἰδεωδῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνοχριστιανικοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ καὶ νὰ μὴ θελχθοῦν ἀπὸ τὰς Σειρῆνας τῶν καινοφανῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ τῶν φυγοκέντρων τάσεων, δίδει μὲ ἱκανοποίησιν τὸ στίγμα τῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ ἰδίου διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς: «Ἐὰν ἐπιθυμῆτε νὰ ἔχητε, κατόπιν τούτων, σαφεστέραν ἰδέαν τῆς αὐθεντίας μου, δύναμαι νὰ διατυπώσω αὐτὴν ἀπεριφράστως ὡς πνευματικήν».

Περαιτέρω ὁ ἱεράρχης τοποθετεῖ ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ χειραγωγοῦ τῶν πιστῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐπικαλεῖται τὴν ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν ἑκάστου ὥστε νὰ θελήσῃ νὰ ἑνώσῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰς προσπαθείας εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐθνικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπάλξεως, ὡς διακηρύσσει τὴν θέσιν τοῦ προκαθημένου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων. Λέγει ἀκριβῶς: «Διακηρύσσω πάντως ὅτι τὴν θέσιν μου ἐνταῦθα θεωρῶ ἔπαλξιν ἐθνικὴν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν μὲ προεκτάσεις πέραν τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπικῆς μου Περιφερείας».

Ἔχων συναίσθησιν τοῦ ἀξιολόγου καὶ ἀπαιτητικοῦ περιβάλλοντος ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποίου ὑφίσταται ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας νὰ γίνῃ ἡ καλλιτέρα δυνατὴ ἀξιοποίησις τούτου ἐκ μέρους τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ παράγοντος καὶ νὰ καταξιωθῇ ἡ θέσις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐντὸς τῆς Βρεταννικῆς κοινωνίας, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐπισημαίνει ἐν συνεχείᾳ τὰ ἑξῆς: «Δὲν πρέπει νὰ λησμονῶμεν ὅτι ζῶμεν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ Λαοῦ, ἑνὸς μεγάλου πνευματικοῦ κέντρου παγκοσμίου πνευματικῆς ἀκτινοβολίας. Ἔχομεν νὰ ὠφεληθῶμεν ἐὰν προσέξωμεν τὰ μεγάλα προτερήματα τῆς Βρεταννικῆς σκέψεως καὶ πρακτικῆς ζωῆς. Τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο δὲν πρέπει νὰ λησμονῆται ποτέ, διότι ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν εἶναι συνυφασμένη μὲ τὸν Ἀγγλικὸν Λαὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ χειρισμοῦ τῶν θεμάτων ἡμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ ἐθνικῶν θὰ ἐξαρτηθῇ καὶ ὁ βαθμὸς τῆς Βρεταννικῆς συμπαραστάσεως εἰς τὴν ἐπίλυσιν αὐτῶν».

Δὲν διαφεύγει τῆς προσοχῆς τοῦ ἱεράρχου ὅτι ὁ χῶρος εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον δραστηριοποιοῦνται οἱ φορεῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων εἶναι χῶρος ὅπου δύνανται νὰ ἀναπτυχθοῦν πρωτοβουλίαι καθοριστικαὶ διὰ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιλύσεως τοῦ μεγάλου ἐθνικοῦ θέματος, τοῦ Κυπριακοῦ, ἡ συναίσθησις τῆς σοβαρότητος τοῦ ὁποίου βαρύνει ἰδιαιτέρως εἰς τὴν συνείδησιν ὅλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Τέλος ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος προβαίνει εἰς «ἐπίθεσιν» ἀγάπης καὶ στοργῆς πρὸς ὅλους τοὺς πιστούς, ἐπικαλεῖται καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἀγαθὴν προαίρεσιν ὅσων δύνανται νὰ βοηθήσουν εἰς τὸ σπουδαῖον ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσκολον ἔργον τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι τεταγμένη καὶ δύναται νὰ ἐπιτελέσῃ ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή, προδιαγράφει τὰς σχέσεις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κληρικῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας του ὡς σχέσεις ἀγάπης καὶ ἀδελφοσύνης, ἀναμιμνήσκεται τῶν ὅσων σπουδαίων ἐπετελέσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ προκατόχου του εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων μὲ τὴν ἀμέριστον συνδρομὴν τῶν μελῶν τῆς παροικίας καὶ κάμνει ἐπίκλησιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς νὰ συνεχίσουν νὰ στηρίζουν καὶ τὰς ἰδικάς του προσπαθείας, διότι ὡς ἀνήσυχον πνεῦμα ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἀρκεσθῇ εἰς τὴν συντήρησιν τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε ἐπιτευγμάτων, ἀλλὰ χρησιμοποιῶν ὡς ὑποδομὴν τὰ μέχρι τοῦδε ἐπιτευχθέντα θὰ φιλοδοξήσῃ νὰ ἀνεγείρῃ μεγαλειωδέστερον τὸ οἰκοδόμημα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας του. Περὶ τούτου βεβαιοῖ ἡ κατακλεὶς τοῦ ἐνθρονιστηρίου λόγου του ἡ ὁποία εἶναι ἡ ἑξῆς: «Ἀπευθύνω ἔκκλησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς ὅπως διὰ τῆς συμμετοχῆς των διευρύνωσι καὶ πλουτίσωσι τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Δὲν ὑπηρετοῦν πρόσωπα, ἀλλὰ ἰδέας καὶ θεσμοὺς αἰωνίους. Ὅ,τι καλὸν ἐπετέλεσεν ὁ ἀείμνηστος προκάτοχός μου μὲ τὴν βοήθειαν ὑμῶν τὸ τιμῶ καὶ θὰ τὸ συνεχίσω. Ἀλλὰ δὲν θὰ σταματήσω εἰς αὐτό. Θὰ τὸ ἐπαυξήσω καὶ θὰ προχωρήσω εἰς τὴν διεύρυνσιν αὐτοῦ ἀποδίδων πάντοτε μεγάλην σημασίαν εἰς πνευματικὰ ἐπιτεύγματα. Διὰ τοῦτο ζητῶ ἀπὸ πάντας ὑμᾶς κάτι, ἀλλὰ πρὸ πάντων κατανόησιν.

»Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὶ ἀγαπητοὶ καὶ περιπόθητοι. Ἀμήν».

Καθίσταται φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρω ὅτι ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου ἐκκινήσεως τῆς ἀναλήψεως τῶν νέων του καθηκόντων, ἦτο ἐξωπλισμένος μὲ ἓν πλῆρες καὶ φιλόδοξον πρόγραμμα δράσεως, τὸ ὁποῖον ἔθεσεν ἀμέσως εἰς ἐφαρμογὴν καὶ τὸ ὁποῖον, ὡς δυνάμεθα νὰ διαπιστώσωμεν σήμερον μετὰ παρέλευσιν πενταετίας, ἀπέδωσεν εἰς πολλοὺς τομεῖς τοὺς ἀναμενομένους καρπούς.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πλείστας ἄλλας περιπτώσεις ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος δὲν κουράζεται νὰ προβάλλῃ τοὺς στόχους, νὰ περιγράφῃ τὰ πλαίσια δράσεως, νὰ χειραγωγῇ πνευματικῶς, νὰ κατευθύνῃ, νὰ διαφωτίζῃ, νὰ προφυλάσσῃ ἀπὸ παρεκκλίσεις ἐκ τῆς ὀρθῆς πορείας, νὰ καθοδηγῇ, νὰ συμβάλλῃ εἰς τὴν διαμόρφωσιν ὀρθῆς ἀντιλήψεως περὶ τοῦ προορισμοῦ καὶ τῶν καθηκόντων τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Διασπορᾶς, νὰ βοηθῇ εἰς τὴν προσπάθειαν δημιουργίας ἀξίου πληρώματος ζωῆς τῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας του, νὰ μυῇ εἰς τὰς σωτηριώδεις καὶ βαθυστοχάστους ἰδέας τοῦ Ἑλληνοχριστιανικοῦ πνεύματος μεταδίδων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν πεποίθησιν ὅτι ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλληνικὴ Παράδοσις δὲν εἶναι ἰδιότυπον καὶ παρωχημένον σύστημα ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ ἡ κιβωτὸς ἐκείνη ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας ἀπέρρευσαν αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἀξίαι τοῦ Δυτικοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ καὶ ἡ κολυμβήθρα εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ ἀναβαπτισθῇ ὁ πολιτισμὸς αὐτὸς διὰ νὰ ἀπαλλαγῇ ἀπὸ τὴν σύγχρονον μηχανιστικὴν ἀντίληψιν τῆς ζωῆς, ἡ ὁποία ἀποπροσανατολίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ κατατυραννεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν καρδίαν του καὶ ἀποδυναμώνει τὸν ἀγῶνα του πρὸς ὁλοκλήρωσιν τῆς πνευματικῆς του προσωπικότητος καὶ καταξίωσιν τῆς ζωῆς του. Διὰ τὴν σωτηριακὴν αὐτὴν προσπάθειαν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐπιφυλάσσει ἰδιαίτερον ρόλον εἰς τὸν Ἕλληνα Ὀρθόδοξον καὶ κυρίως

εἰς τὸν Ἕλληνα τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Βῆμα πρὸς βῆμα ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος ὁδηγεῖ εἰς πραγμάτωσιν τὰ σχέδιά του, διαπιστώνει μὲ ἱκανοποίησιν τὴν ὑλοποίησιν στόχων καὶ τοποθετεῖ νέους. Ἐνθαρρυνόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων καὶ ἐνισχυόμενος ἐκ τῆς ἀμερίστου συμπαραστάσεως ἐκ μέρους τῶν συνεπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κλήρου ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μελῶν τῆς παροικίας, προχωρεῖ μὲ ἀκλόνητον αἰσιοδοξίαν καὶ ἀκάματον δραστηριότητα εἰς τὴν πορείαν ἐπιτελέσεως ἔργου πολυσχιδοῦς, κοινωνικοῦ, πνευματικοῦ, θρησκευτικοῦ καὶ ἐθνικοῦ. Ὡρισμένα ἀκόμη σημεῖα ἐκ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν διαφόρων μηνυμάτων τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀπηύθυνεν εἰς πᾶσαν παρουσιαζομένην εὐκαιρίαν, θὰ παραθέσωμεν ἐν συνεχείᾳ, διὰ νὰ παρουσιασθῇ ὁλοκληρωμένη ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ προγράμματός του καὶ διὰ νὰ παρασταθῇ παραστατικώτερον ἡ ἄκαμπτος ἐπιμονή του νὰ ὑπηρετῇ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν ἀποστολήν του, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ νὰ διαφανοῦν καὶ ἄλλαι πτυχαὶ τῆς προσωπικότητός του.

Εἰς τὸ Πασχαλινὸν μήνυμά του τοῦ ἔτους 1980[1], ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος δράττεται τῆς εὐκαιρίας νὰ τονίσῃ, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὴν θετικὴν προσφορὰν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς: «Δὲν πρόκειται περὶ ἱστορίας, διότι ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς νοῦς ὁ ὁποῖος ἔντυσε τὸ γεγονὸς τῆς Ἀναστάσεως δὲν ἦτο διατεθειμένος νὰ δεχθῇ ψεύδη. Τοιουτοτρόπως τὸ γεγονὸς τῆς Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὑρέθη ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς διαδόσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ διῆλθε δι' ὅλων τῶν πεδίων τῆς κριτικῆς καὶ ἐδιδάχθημεν πάλιν διὰ τῆς ἰδίας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ὁδοῦ, χρησιμοποιηθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν μεγάλων Πατέρων, τὸν τρόπον τῆς προσεγγίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, διὰ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ διὰ τῆς καρδίας». Προβαίνων ἐν συνεχείᾳ εἰς ἀποτίμησιν τῆς ἐποχῆς μας, διαπιστώνει ὅτι χαρακτηρίζεται αὕτη ἀπὸ σκλήρυνσιν τῆς καρδίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀπροθυμίαν πρὸς μελέτην μεταφυσικῶν θεμάτων καὶ ὅτι ἡ μηχανοκρατία ὁδηγεῖ εἰς ἀγνωστικισμὸν ὁ ὁποῖος ἀποβαίνει ὀλέθριος. Ἀντιστρατευόμενος εἰς ὅσους θεωροῦν τὴν προβολὴν τῆς Παραδόσεως τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἓν εἶδος θρησκευτικοῦ σωβινισμοῦ, διακηρύσσει τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου θείας λατρείας. Γράφει συγκεκριμένως: «Ἡ μεγίστη ἀσφάλεια διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν νὰ διατηρήσῃ ζωντανὴν τὴν σημασίαν τῆς Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἶναι ἡ θεία Λατρεία ὡς τὴν κρατεῖ ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία. Δὲν πρέπει νὰ δίδωμεν σημασίαν εἰς ἐκείνους, οἵτινες κατηγοροῦν τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν, ὅτι καυχᾶται ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ πρέπει κατ' αὐτοὺς νὰ μὴ θεωρῶμεν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἡμῶν ὅτι κατέχει ὁλόκληρον τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Τὸ γράφω ἐδῶ ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ ἔνθα εἶναι ἀνεγνωρισμένον ἀπὸ ὅλας τὰς ἄλλας Χριστιανικὰς Ἐκκλησίας, ὅτι ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία διετήρησε μίαν ἀνυπερβλήτου ἀξίας θείαν Λατρείαν εἰς περιεχόμενον καὶ εἰς μεγαλεῖον ἐξωτερικόν. Ἡ λατρεία αὕτη εἶναι ἡ Πασχάλιος θεία Εὐχαριστία ὡς τὴν τελοῦμεν κάθε Κυριακήν. Δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀλλάξωμεν αὐτήν. Τοὐναντίον πρέπει νὰ τὴν προβάλωμεν μὲ ὅλην αὐτῆς τὴν λυτρωτικὴν σημασίαν καὶ νὰ τὴν καταστήσωμεν βίωμα τοῦ λαοῦ μας. Ἐδῶ εἰς τὸν τόπον ἔνθα ζῶμεν πρέπει εἰς αὐτὴν νὰ εὕρωμεν τὴν ἱκανοποίησιν ὅλων μας τῶν ἀναζητήσεων.. ».

Τὰ ἐθνικὰ θέματα δὲν ἀφίνουν ἀσυγκίνητον τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἢ μᾶλλον τὸ ὀρθότερον θὰ ἦτο νὰ εἴπωμεν ὅτι τὸν συγκινοῦν ἐξ ἴσου μὲ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, διότι εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ποὺ πιστεύει ὅτι δὲν ὑπάρχει διαχωριστικὴ γραμμὴ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Ἔθνους, ἀλλ' ἀντιθέτως ὅτι ἡ ἱστορία ἠθέλησεν ὥστε ἡ πρώτη νὰ ἀποτελέσῃ «σανίδα σωτηρίας» διὰ τὸ δεύτερον εἰς κρισίμους ἐθνικὰς περιστάσεις μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ σφυρηλατηθῇ δεσμὸς ἄρρηκτος μεταξύ τους, ὁ ὁποῖος διεμόρφωσε καὶ τὴν ταυτότητα τοῦ συγχρόνου Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Οὕτω μὲ πόνον ψυχῆς ὁ ἱεράρχης διαπιστώνει τὴν ἐμφάνισιν καινοφανῶν ἑρμηνειῶν τοῦ φαινομένου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, ἑρμηνειῶν αἱ ὁποῖαι χωρίζουν τὸν ὑπόδουλον Ἑλληνισμὸν εἰς τάξεις καὶ μετατρέπουν τὸν ἀπελευθερωτικὸν εἰς ταξικὸν ἀγῶνα. Τὴν ἀγωνίαν του διὰ τὰς ὀλεθρίας συνεπείας διὰ τὴν ἐθνικὴν ὁμοψυχίαν καὶ ὀντότητα ἐκφράζει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος εἰς «Ἐγκύκλιόν του ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐθνικῇ Ἐπετείῳ τῆς 25ης Μαρτίου», τοῦ ἔτους 1980[2], τῆς ὁποίας ἡ κατάληξις εἶναι ἡ ἑξῆς: «Τὸ δυστύχημα στὸ προκείμενο θέμα εἶναι ὅτι οἱ διαστροφεῖς τῆς ἱστορίας μας παρουσιάζονται σὰν ὀπαδοὶ τῆς προόδου καὶ ἔχουν μετατρέψει τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτὴν εἰς θρησκείαν τοῦ χειρίστου εἴδους μὲ φανατισμοὺς καὶ μὲ ἀντιπάθειες ποὺ τὶς βλέπουμε συχνὰ νὰ ἀναπτύσσωνται μεταξὺ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μας. Μὲ τέτοιο μάτι ποτὲ δὲν θὰ δυνηθοῦμε νὰ ἐκτιμήσουμε δεόντως τὰ καλὰ ἔργα τῶν προγόνων μας, οὔτε θὰ μποροῦμε νὰ φυτέψουμε στὶς καρδιὲς τῶν παιδιῶν μας τὴν ἐμπιστοσύνην διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς ἱστορίας μας. Κατὰ τὴν γνώμην μου αὐτὴ ἡ σύγχυσις εἶναι τὸ τραγικώτερο φαινόμενο τῆς ἐθνικῆς μας ζωῆς σήμερα. Ἡ ἀλήθεια φωνάζει ἀπὸ μακρυά, τὸ ψεῦδος αὐθαδιάζει ἐμπρός μας. Ἂς ἀσχοληθῇ ἡ σύγχρονη σκέψις μὲ αὐτὴν τὴν κραυγαλέαν ἀντίθεσιν τῆς ἐθνικῆς μας πορείας καὶ ἂς ἴδῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν χάριν τῆς ὁποίας ἀξίζει νὰ ζῇ ἡ σημερινὴ καὶ ἡ αὐριανὴ Ἑλληνικὴ Νεολαία».

Εἰς τὸ Χριστουγεννιάτικον μήνυμα τοῦ ἔτους 1980[3] ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἀναλογιζόμενος ἐπικαίρως τὴν Ἁγίαν οἰκογένειαν, λαμβάνει ἀφορμὴν νὰ ἀναφερθῇ εἰς τὸν θεσμὸν τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς οἰκογενείας, νὰ διαπιστώσῃ τὸν κλονισμὸν τῶν οἰκογενειακῶν δεσμῶν εἰς τὴν σύγχρονον ἐποχὴν καὶ νὰ ὑπεραμυνθῇ τοῦ θεσμοῦ τῆς παραδοσιακῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἑλληνικῆς

1. Τὸ Πασχαλινὸν μήνυμα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 4ον (Ἀπρίλιος 1980), σ. 3.

2. Ἔνθ' ἀν., σ. 7.

3. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τεῦχος 8ον (Νοέμβριος-Δεκέμβριος 1980), σσ 1, 9.

οἰκογενείας καὶ νὰ τὸν προβάλῃ ὡς τρόπον ζωῆς ἀσφαλῆ καὶ σωτήριον διὰ τὸν σύγχρονον ἄνθρωπον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ταλαντεύσεων τῆς ταραγμένης ἐποχῆς μας. Τὸν προαιώνιον αὐτὸν θεσμὸν περιφρουρεῖ, πλουτίζει καὶ ἐνισχύει ἡ Ἐκκλησία, διότι ὡς λέγει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος «Ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐκφράζει σὲ κάθε ἐποχὴ καὶ σὲ κάθε κοινωνία τὸ ἀναλλοίωτο οἰκογενειακὸ σχέδιο ποὺ συνίσταται εἰς τὸν ἀλληλοσεβασμὸν τῶν γονέων, εἰς τὴν παιδοποιίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν καλλιτεκνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς οἰκογενειακῆς πνευματικότητος». Εἰς ἄλλο σημεῖον τοῦ μηνύματος ἀναφέρει: «Δὲν πρέπει νὰ λησμονῶμεν, ὅτι κάθε οἰκογένεια εἰς τὸ σπίτι της εἶναι ἡ "κατ' οἶκον Ἐκκλησία", τὴν ὁποίαν συντηρεῖ ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ τὴν διακονοῦν ὅλα τὰ μέλη της μὲ τὸν καλὸν πατέρα, μὲ τὴν στοργικὴν μητέρα καὶ μὲ τὰ εὐάγωγα καὶ καλοπροαίρετα παιδιά των».

Ἡ κοινωνικὴ ἀποστολὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔχει ὡς βασικὴν παράμετρόν της τὴν φιλανθρωπικὴν δρᾶσιν καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται νὰ ἀντιλαμβάνεται πλήρως ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ὅταν, διατυπώνων τὴν εἰσήγησίν του εἰς τὸ Συνέδριον τῶν Σωματείων τῶν Βοηθητικῶν Ἀδελφοτήτων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς[1], λέγει μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων: «Ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ δὲν περιμένει τίποτα γιὰ τὴν ἰδία τὴν διοίκησή της, τοὐναντίον εἶναι πάντα διατεθειμένη νὰ δίνει ἀπὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά της καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖρα της, ἢ μᾶλλον εἶναι διατεθειμένη νὰ μοιράζεται μαζὶ μὲ τὰ σωματεῖα καὶ μὲ τὶς ὀργανώσεις της ὅ,τι ἔχει καὶ δὲν ἔχει. Καὶ αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ γνήσιο Χριστιανικὸ πνεῦμα μας νὰ χαιρόμαστε μαζὶ καὶ νὰ λυπούμαστε ἐπίσης μαζί. Νὰ τρῶμε καὶ νὰ πεινᾶμε μαζὶ ἂν παραστῇ ἀνάγκη».

Τὸ πόσον μεγάλην σημασίαν δίδει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος εἰς τὸ δυναμικὸν τμῆμα τῆς νεολαίας τῆς παροικίας καὶ μὲ πόσην ἀγάπην καὶ στοργὴν ἐγκύπτει εἰς τὰ προβλήματά της, θὰ διαφανῇ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῶν ἀκαμάτων προσπαθειῶν του εἰς τομεῖς ποὺ ἀφοροῦν εἰς τὴν προώθησιν ἐνεργειῶν σχετικῶν μὲ τὴν ἐξυπηρέτησιν καὶ ἀξιοποίησιν τῶν νέων καὶ κυρίως εἰς τὸν ἐκπαιδευτικὸν τομέα. Δεῖγμα τοῦ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ τοῦ ἱεράρχου καὶ τῆς ἀπροκαταλήπτου ἐμπιστοσύνης του εἰς τοὺς νέους ἀνθρώπους ἀποτελοῦν καὶ τὰ ὅσα περιέχονται εἰς ἐγκύκλιόν του πρὸς τὴν νεολαίαν τῆς παροικίας ἡ ὁποία ἀρχίζει διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς[2]: «Στὶς 15 Μαρτίου 1981 λειτούργησα στὴν Κοινότητά μας τοῦ Southampton καὶ βρέθηκα μπροστὰ σ' ἕνα ἀπροσδόκητα πρωτοφανὲς εὐχάριστο φαινόμενο. Ὅλο τὸ Διοικητικὸ Συμβούλιο τῆς Κοινότητας καὶ κατὰ σύμπτωση καὶ ὁ Ἱερέας εἶναι ὅλοι νέα παιδιά. Ἰδιαίτερα τὸ Διοικητικὸ Συμβούλιο ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ λαμπροὺς νέους ποὺ ἔχουν γεννηθεῖ στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία. Κάνουν τὴ δουλειά τους μὲ ἐξαιρετικὴ ἐπιτυχία καὶ φαίνεται ὅτι ἔχουν ἐπίγνωση τῆς ἀποστολῆς τους». Καὶ περαιτέρω: «Φυσικὰ ἀπ' ὅ,τι γνωρίζω, ἔχει ἀρχίσει καὶ σ' ἄλλες Κοινότητες ἡ ἀλλαγὴ αὐτή, ἀλλὰ πρέπει νὰ γίνει καθολική. Γιατὶ τὰ παιδιὰ αὐτὰ ἔχουν μεγαλώσει σὲ ἀτμόσφαιρα ποὺ δὲν φέρει τὶς προσωπικὲς ἀντιθέσεις ποὺ ἔχουμε ἐμεῖς οἱ μεγαλύτεροι. Σκέπτονται σύγχρονα καὶ ὅσο πιὸ γρήγορα μποῦν αὐτὰ στὴ διοίκηση τῶν Κοινοτήτων, τόσο πιὸ γρήγορα θὰ ἐκσυγχρονιστεῖ καὶ ὅλο τὸ συγκρότημα τῆς Παροικίας».

Παρόμοιαι σκέψεις ἀλλὰ καὶ νουθεσίαι καὶ βοήθεια ἀνεκτίμητος πρὸς ὀρθὸν ἐθνικοθρησκευτικὸν προσανατολισμὸν τῆς νεολαίας τῆς Παροικίας παρέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου εἰς τὴν μακροσκελῆ καὶ ἐμπνευσμένην εἰσήγησίν του εἰς τὸ Συνέδριον τῶν Συλλόγων Ὀρθοδόξου Νεολαίας Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας[3].

Ὁ Ἱεράρχης βλέπει μὲ ἱκανοποίησιν νέους ἀνθρώπους νὰ ὑπακούουν εἰς τὴν ἔκκλησίν του καὶ νὰ πυκνώνουν τὰς τάξεις τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, γεγονὸς ποὺ εἶναι παρήγορον διὰ τὴν θωράκισιν τῆς ἀμυντικῆς ἱκανότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία, διαπιστώνει μὲ πικρίαν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος, βάλλεται πανταχόθεν. Κατὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν εἰς Διάκονον τοῦ Νικολάου Σκαπούλη, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εὑρίσκει τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ἐπαναπροσδιορίσῃ τὴν ὀρθὴν γραμμὴν πλεύσεως τῆς Παροικίας μὲ πυξίδα τὰ ἐθνικοθρησκευτικὰ ἰδεώδη, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ διαπιστώσῃ τὴν πολεμικὴν ἡ ὁποία γίνεται ἐναντίον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ νὰ διακηρύξῃ τὸ σθένος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς νὰ ἀντισταθῇ. Εἰς τὴν προσφώνησίν του διατυπώνει μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς[4]: «Τὰ προσόντα τοῦ Σκαπούλη εἶναι βασικὰ δι' ἕνα Ἕλληνα Κληρικὸ στὴν ξενιτειά. Πίστη στὴν Ἐκκλησία καὶ πίστη στὸ Ἔθνος. Πίστη στὴν παράδοση καὶ ἀγάπη πρὸς τὴν Πατρίδα. Τί εἶναι αὐτὸ ποὺ θὰ σώσῃ τὴν Παροικία ἐδῶ; Μόνο ἡ Ἐκκλησία. Ὅλοι οἱ ἄλλοι ὀργανισμοὶ δὲν ἔχουν τὴν ἀντοχὴ στὸ χρόνο καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες Κύπριοι στὴν Ἐκκλησία πρέπει νὰ στηρίζουν τὶς μελλοντικές τους προσδοκίες διὰ τὴν διαιώνιση τῶν πατρογονικῶν ἀξιῶν. Κάνουν λάθος ὅσοι δὲν διδάσκονται ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας. Εἶναι αὐτὴ ποὺ μὲ τὸν Κλῆρο της ἔσωσεν ἀπὸ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν τὴν φυλή μας. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω ἐξ ἴσου ἐμπιστοσύνη στὸ ἔργο καὶ στὴν ἀξιωσύνη τοῦ λεγομένου προσοντούχου Κληρικοῦ, ὅσον καὶ τοῦ χαρισματούχου.

»Ἀγαπητοί, ὡς Ἕλλην καὶ ὡς Ἱεράρχης, ὀφείλω νὰ διακηρύξω αὐτὴν τὴν στιγμὴν ποὺ ταπεινὰ διακονῶ τὸ Γένος καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν του, ὅτι πανταχόθεν βαλλόμεθα. Βάλλεται ἡ ὑπόστασίς μας ὡς ἰδέας καὶ ὡς ὀντότητος. Τὸ φρούριον κινδυνεύει ἀπὸ μέσα καὶ ἀπ' ἔξω. Μερικοὶ ἐνεργοῦν ἀσυνείδητα καὶ ἄλλοι ἀμελέτητα. Τὸ Ἔθνος δὲν θὰ παραδοθῇ σ' ἐκείνους ποὺ δὲν γνωρίζουν τὴν ἀξίαν του καὶ ποὺ μποροῦν νὰ

1. Τὸ συνέδριον τοῦτο ἐγένετο τὴν 21ην Νοεμβρίου 1981 εἰς τὸν Καθεδρικὸν Ναὸν Γενεσίου τῆς Θεοτόκου Λονδίνου καὶ ἡ εἰσήγησις τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου περιέχεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 14ον (Ἰανουάριος 1982), σ. 6.

2. Ἡ ἐγκύκλιος δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 11ον (Μάιος –Ἰούνιος 1981), σ. 3.

3. Τὸ Συνέδριον ἔλαβε χώραν τὴν 25ην Ὀκτωβρίου 1981, ἡ δὲ εἰσήγησις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 14ον (Ἰαν. 1982), σ. 7.

4. *Αὐτόθι*, σ. 10.

τὸ ξεπουλήσουν ἀντὶ πινακίου φακῆς. Λυποῦμαι ποὺ θὰ εἴπω ὅτι μόνον ἡ Ἐκκλησία ὡς ἠθικὴ καὶ ὡς συντεταγμένη δύναμις μπορεῖ νὰ ἀναχαιτίσῃ τὸν κατήφορον φρονηματίζουσα ἐκείνους ποὺ κρατοῦν στὰ χέρια τους τὴν ὑλικὴ δύναμιν νὰ σταθοῦν ὑπερασπισταὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ Λαοῦ μας. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία μας εἶναι καὶ θὰ παραμείνῃ μητέρα τοῦ λαοῦ, τῶν ταπεινῶν, τῶν φρονίμων, τῶν πατριωτῶν, τῶν ἀδικουμένων. Θὰ σταθῇ μπροστὰ σὲ κάθε εἴδους ἐκμετάλλευση καὶ θὰ δώσῃ τὸ ἠθικὸ καὶ κοινωνικὸ δίδαγμα διὰ μιὰ ζωὴ ποὺ τὴν διέπουν οἱ ἀρχὲς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Χριστιανικῆς κληρονομιᾶς». Περαιτέρω εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν προσφώνησιν παρουσιάζει τὸν γνώμονα τοῦ ἀγῶνος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ προβάλλει καταξιωτικῶς τὴν δρᾶσιν τοῦ κλήρου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς: «Κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν λαμπρὴ ἱστορία τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ποὺ προσέφερε στοὺς Ὀρθοδόξους λαοὺς τὴν ἔννοια τῆς ἀληθινῆς γνώσεως καὶ ποὺ ἔδωκε πρώτη τὶς γραμμὲς τῆς ἐθνικῆς συγκροτήσεως τῶν λαῶν καὶ τῶν φυλῶν εὑρίσκοντο οἱ Κληρικοὶ ποὺ ὑπηρετοῦν τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ στὴν Μεγάλη Βρεταννία ὡς λειτουργοί, ὡς διδάσκαλοι, ὡς παροικιακοὶ παράγοντες καὶ ὡς ἀπόστολοι τοῦ Γένους. Ἀπ' αὐτὴ τὴ γραμμὴ τίποτα δὲν θὰ ἀποσπάσῃ τὴν Ἐκκλησία μας. Θὰ μείνῃ πάντα στὶς πρῶτες γραμμὲς διὰ τὴν μετάδοση τῶν ἐθνικῶν ἰδεωδῶν στὸ λαό μας, διὰ τὴν διάδοση τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων παραδόσεων στὴ χώρα ταύτη καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνταξία τῆς φυλῆς μας ἐκπροσώπηση τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας καὶ τῆς θεολογίας μας».

Εἰς τὸ Χριστουγεννιάτικον Μήνυμα τοῦ ἔτους 1981[1] ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος διαπιστώνει ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔχει τὰς ρίζας της εἰς τὴν ἐποχὴν τοῦ Ἡρώδου καὶ ἔκτοτε ἐξυφαίνεται μέχρι σήμερον ὑπὸ ποικιλωνύμων ἰσχυρῶν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀντίστασις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας παρέμεινε καὶ θὰ παραμείνῃ ἀκατάβλητος. Τὸ σθένος καὶ ἡ δύναμις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δυνατὸν νὰ φαίνεται ὅτι κάμπτονται κατὰ περιόδους, διότι ἐμφανίζονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματός της ἀρνηταὶ προσωρινοὶ ὡς ὁ Πέτρος καὶ προδόται ὡς ὁ Ἰούδας, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ὑπάρχει τὸ περιθώριον ἀνανήψεως καὶ μετανοίας δι' αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ δύναμις ἀντιστάσεως τῶν ὑπολοίπων, ὥστε τελικῶς τὸ οἰκοδόμημα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας νὰ παραμένῃ ἀρραγές. Τὰς ἀνωτέρω ἰδέας ἐκφράζει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος εἰς τὸ Πασχάλιον Μήνυμά του τοῦ ἔτους 1982[2].

Ἡ μέριμνα καὶ ἡ προσπάθεια τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πρὸς τὴν κατεύθυνσιν τῆς ἐνσωματώσεως τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων εἰς τὸ σῶμα τῆς Βρετανικῆς κοινωνίας ὡς μιᾶς ἰδιαιτέρας μέν, ἀλλ' ἀξιολόγου μορφῆς ἐκφάνσεως τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ζωῆς, εἶναι διαρκής. Καρπὸς ὥριμος καὶ καταξιωτικὸς τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων εἶναι ἡ πύκνωσις τῶν τάξεων τοῦ κλήρου της ὑπὸ γηγενῶν Ἄγγλων οἱ ὁποῖοι καθίστανται ζηλωταὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως καὶ παραδόσεως καὶ ἀποτελοῦν τοὺς συνδέσμους μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνορθοδόξου πληρώματος καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ Ἐκκλησίας. Τοιαύτη εἶναι ἡ περίπτωσις τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Διοκλείας Καλλίστου Ware, κατὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ ὁποίου ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος, βλέπων τὴν δικαίωσιν τῶν προσδοκιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἐκκλησίας, διαπιστώνει μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ ἱκανοποιήσεως[3]: «Δὲν εἴμεθα πλέον πάροικοι ἢ παρεπίδημοι ἐν διασπορᾷ, ἀλλὰ μόνιμος πλέον Ἐκκλησία ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ, ἔνθα ὡς γνήσιοι πολῖται τῆς χώρας ταύτης καὶ μόνιμα μέλη ἀποτελοῦμεν κοινωνικῶς ἓν σῶμα μετὰ τῶν Βρεταννῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, πνευματικῶς δὲ μέρος ἀναπόσπαστον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως». Ἐν συνεχείᾳ μετὰ δεδικαιολογημένης ὑπερηφανείας προβαίνει εἰς ἀπολογισμὸν τοῦ μέχρι τότε ἐπιτελεσθέντος ἔργου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς λέγων: «Χαιρόμεθα διότι καθημερινῶς μεταδίδομεν ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ τὸ ὀρθόδοξον μήνυμα, ἀνακαινίζοντες ἐγκαταλελειμμένους ἱεροὺς Ναούς, ἱδρύοντες σχολεῖα, ἐκπαιδευτικὰ ἱδρύματα, τόπους μοναχικῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεμελιοῦντες τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῶν μέσων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς σκέψεως καὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ προγονικῆς ἡμῶν πατερικότητος».

Ἡ συνεργασία τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων μετὰ τῶν διπλωματικῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς Πατρίδος εἶναι ἀπροκατάληπτος ἐφ' ὅσον ὁ σκοπὸς τὸν ὁποῖον ἐπιδιώκουν καὶ αἱ δύο πλευραὶ εἶναι κατὰ μέγα μέρος κοινός. Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος διατυπώνει τὴν λογικὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας νὰ γίνεται σεβαστὴ ἐκ μέρους τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ νὰ ἀναγνωρίζεται ἡ προσφορά της πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν τῆς Διασπορᾶς εἰς ἐθνικὸν καὶ πνευματικὸν ἐπίπεδον· ἐκ παραλλήλου ἀναγνωρίζει τὴν ὑποχρέωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας νὰ μὴ ἀναμειγνύεται εἰς τὴν πολιτικήν, διότι προορισμός της εἶναι νὰ ἑνώνῃ καὶ ὄχι νὰ χωρίζῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἀποτελεῖ τὴν σκέπην ὑπὸ τὴν ὁποίαν προστατεύονται πάντες, ἀνεξαρτήτως ἰδεολογικοπολιτικῶν τοποθετήσεων. Οὕτως ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος κατὰ τὴν δεξίωσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ Πρέσβεως τῆς Ἑλλάδος κ. Νικολάου Κυριαζίδη, διαπιστώνει ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ Παροικία εἶναι ἡνωμένοι καὶ συνεργάζονται ἁρμονικῶς[4].

Τὸν ἑνωτικὸν ρόλον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὴν ἐθνικὴν διάστασιν τῆς προσφορᾶς της δὲν παύει νὰ τονίζῃ ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος εἰς πᾶσαν παρουσιαζομένην εὐκαιρίαν καὶ κυρίως εἰς τοὺς λόγους του κατὰ τὸν

1. Τὸ μήνυμα δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 14ον (Ἰανουάριος 1982), σ. 1.

2. Τὸ μήνυμα δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθ. Κήρυκα», τ. 16ον, σ. 8.

3. Περὶ τῆς εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονίας τοῦ Ἀρχιμ. Καλλίστου Ware θὰ ὁμιλήσωμεν ἐκτενέστερον κατωτέρω· ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν ὁμιλία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 17ον (Δεκ. 1982), σ. 3.

4. Ἡ δεξίωσις ἔλαβε χώραν τὴν 30ὴν Δεκ. 1982. Λεπτομέρειαι ταύτης ὡς καὶ αἱ ἀνταλλαγεῖσαι προσφωνήσεις δημοσιεύονται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδ. Κήρυκα», τ. 18ον (Ἰανουάριος 1983), σσ 1, 3.

ἑορτασμὸν τῶν ἐθνικῶν ἐπετείων, ὁ ὁποῖος γίνεται μετὰ πάσης λαμπρότητος εἰς τοὺς ναοὺς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ἱδρύματα καὶ ὀργανισμοὺς ποὺ λειτουργοῦν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐποπτείαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Οὕτως, εἰς σχόλιόν του ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «25 Μαρτίου 1983»[1], ἀφορμώμενος ἀπὸ τοὺς προσφάτους βανδαλισμοὺς εἰς βάρος τῶν ἀνδριάντων τῶν ἐθνεγερτῶν καὶ ἀγωνιστῶν τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὸ δρακὸς ἀνερματίστων καὶ ἀφελληνισμένων δραστῶν ποὺ ἐξυπηρετοῦν ἀνομολογήτους σκοπούς, ἀναλογίζεται μὲ θλῖψιν βαθυτάτην τὰς προσπαθείας διαστρεβλώσεως τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἱστορίας καὶ παραγνωρίσεως τοῦ ἔργου τῶν πρωτοστατῶν τῆς Ἐθνικῆς παλιγγενεσίας, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων ἐξέχουσαν θέσιν κατέχουν τὰ ἡρωϊκὰ τέκνα καὶ λειτουργοὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ καταλήγει: «Ἐμεῖς προσευχόμαστε γιὰ τὴν θρησκευτική, πολιτική, ἐπιστημονικὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ ἐλευθερία ποὺ ἐκφράζεται πολιτισμένα καὶ ἐθνικὰ ἑνωμένα, ποὺ δὲν ὑπονομεύει τὴν ἐλευθερία στὸν ἐθνικὸ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸ χῶρο ἐδῶ καὶ στὴ γενέτειρά μας. Προσευχόμαστε γιὰ τὴν ἐθνικὴ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἑνότητα, γιὰ τὴν ἡμέρευση τῶν ψυχῶν μας ποὺ χωρὶς αὐτὴ δὲν ἐπέρχεται ἡ ὁμόνοια καὶ ἡ συνεργασία γιὰ τὴν προκοπή μας». Ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς τὸν πανηγυρικόν του λόγον διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπέτειον[2] προβάλλει τὴν νηφαλιότητα ὡς ἀρετὴν βασικὴν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τὴν προτείνει ὡς ἀντίδοτον εἰς τὴν μισαλλοδοξίαν, τὸν φανατισμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐμπάθειαν, διότι, ὡς διαπιστώνει, «Ἡ ὑπεραξία αὐτὴ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἰδέας κράτησε τὴν τιμὴ καὶ τὴν ἀκμή της σὲ περιόδους ἐλευθερίας καὶ σὲ χρόνια σκλαβιᾶς».

Τὴν λύπην του διὰ τὴν προσπάθειαν παραγνωρίσεως τῆς συμβολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοῦ Ἔθνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ποὺ συνεπάγεται μία τοιαύτη ἀντίληψις διὰ τὴν ἐθνικὴν ὀντότητα καὶ τὴν πορείαν τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἐπισημαίνει ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἰς τὸ μήνυμά του τοῦ ἔτους 1984, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπετείῳ τῆς 25ης Μαρτίου[3].

Εἰς τὰ ἑόρτια μηνύματά του ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγάλαις ἑορταῖς τῆς Χριστιανοσύνης, τῶν Χριστουγέννων καὶ τοῦ Πάσχα καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ νέῳ ἔτει, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εὑρίσκει τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ ἀπευθύνῃ πρὸς τὰ μέλη τῆς Παροικίας λόγους ἀγάπης, νὰ προτρέψῃ εἰς ὁμόνοιαν, ἀνάνηψιν καὶ πίστιν Χριστοῦ, νὰ φιλοσοφήσῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων, νὰ ἐπισημάνῃ τὰς διαστάσεις τῶν γεγονότων, νὰ ἑρμηνεύσῃ τὰ μηνύματα τῶν καιρῶν, νὰ τονίσῃ ὅτι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καταφύγιον ἐν τῇ δίνῃ τῆς μεταβατικῆς καὶ ἀντιπνευματικῆς ἐποχῆς μας ἀποτελεῖ τὸ σωτηριακὸν σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, νὰ διαπιστώσῃ ὅτι πυξίδα διὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν ἐθνικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν πορείαν τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἀποτελοῦν αἱ κατηξιωμέναι ἰδέαι τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Παραδόσεως.

Πάντα τὰ ἀνωτέρω δὲν συνιστοῦν εἰ μὴ μόνον μικρὰ δείγματα τῆς ἀκενώτου πνευματικῆς εὐτοκίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ εἶναι θαυμασμοῦ ἄξιον, ἂν ἀναλογισθῇ τις ὅτι καλύπτουν ἓν μικρὸν μόνον μέρος τῆς ποικίλης δραστηριότητός του, πόσον ἀνεξάντλητος εἶναι ἡ πνευματικὴ δεξαμενὴ ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας ἀντλοῦνται. Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμπνεύσεων, ἡ ἐπικαιρότης τῶν γραφομένων καὶ λεγομένων, ἡ βαθυστόχαστος ἑρμηνεία τῶν φαινομένων καὶ γεγονότων, ἡ ἀταλάντευτος πόρευσις ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς γραμμῆς, ἡ διεισδυτικότης καὶ ἡ προορατικότης ποὺ διακρίνουν τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον, δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν παρὰ νὰ ἀποτελοῦν δείγματα μιᾶς χαρισματικῆς προσωπικότητος. Ἡ αἰσιοδοξία, ἡ ἐμμονή, ἡ συναντίληψις, ὁ ὀρθὸς σχεδιασμός, ἡ ἀρτία ὀργάνωσις, ἡ μεθοδευμένη πορεία πρὸς ὑλοποίησιν τῶν σκοπουμένων, παριστάνουν ἡγετικὴν φυσιογνωμίαν ἀδιαφιλονίκητον. Πάντα ταῦτα ἐπιδέχονται τὴν ἑξῆς συμπληρωματικὴν ἐξήγησιν: Πρόκειται περὶ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ὁποῖος συνειδητοποίησε τὴν ἀποστολήν του, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀντλεῖ τὴν ἀκάματον ἐνεργητικότητά του ἐκ τῆς ἀτρεμοῦς πίστεως εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν αὐτήν, ὁ ὁποῖος πιστεύει ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταξιώνεται ἐὰν ἀναλώνεται διὰ τὴν ἐξύψωσιν τῆς ζωῆς τῶν ἄλλων, ὁ ὁποῖος ὑποτάσσει ἀνεπιφυλάκτως τὸν κόσμον τῆς ὕλης εἰς τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἰδεῶν. Οὕτως ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ συμβῇ ἄλλως εἰ μὴ τὸ πρόγραμμα πορείας τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων νὰ διαμορφωθῇ εἰς πρόγραμμα ἀγῶνος πνευματικότητος, πρόγραμμα ζωῆς καὶ δράσεως, πρόγραμμα σωτηρίας καὶ καταξιώσεως, πρότυπον ἐθνικῆς καὶ θρησκευτικῆς ζωῆς.

Εἶναι φυσικὸν ἓν τόσον πληθωρικὸν πρόγραμμα δράσεως νὰ συσπειρώνῃ περὶ τὸν καθηγούμενον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων καὶ πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς φορεῖς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ κυρίως τὰ ἐπίλεκτα στελέχη τοῦ κλήρου αὐτῆς, τὰ ὁποῖα συμβάλλουν ἀποτελεσματικῶς εἰς τὴν συγκρότησιν τοῦ ὅλου πλέγματος τῶν δραστηριοτήτων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ταύτης. Δεδομένου τοῦ φωτεινοῦ παραδείγματος τοῦ προκαθημένου, εἶναι ἐπόμενον οἱ μὲν παλαιότεροι νὰ ἐνθαρρύνωνται εἰς τὴν συνέχισιν τῶν προσπαθειῶν των, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι νὰ καταλαμβάνωνται ὑπὸ ἐνθέου ζήλου πρὸς ἐπιτέλεσιν ἔργων θεαρέστων, καὶ ὅλων αἱ προσπάθειαι νὰ συγκλίνουν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, δηλαδὴ εἰς τὴν καταξίωσιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἰς τὰς γραμμὰς ποὺ ἀκολουθοῦν θὰ παρουσιάσωμεν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἰδέας καὶ τὸν τρόπον μὲ τὸν ὁποῖον ἀντιλαμβάνονται τὴν ἀποστολήν των καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων ὡρισμένα ἀπὸ τὰ διακεκριμένα στελέχη αὐτῆς, διὰ νὰ ἔχωμεν ὁλοκληρωμένην τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς πορείας τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπέλεξε νὰ ἀκολουθήσῃ καὶ τοῦ ἔργου ποὺ ἐπιτελεῖ ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων.

Ὁμολογουμένως εὐτυχὴς ἦτο ἡ ἀπόφασις τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων νὰ ἐγκαινιάσῃ τὴν Β' περίοδον τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ ἐπισήμου μηνιαίου ὀργά-

1. Δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδ. Κήρυκα», τ. 20ὸν (Ἀπρίλ.-Μάιος 1983), σ. 1.

2. *Αὐτόθι*.

3. Τὸ μήνυμα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 24ον (Μάρτιος - Ἀπρίλιος 1984), σ. 4.

νου της, τοῦ «Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος», ὁ ὁποῖος κατώρθωσε σὺν τῇ παρόδῳ τοῦ χρόνου νὰ καταστῇ τὸ βῆμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁποίου μεταδίδεται ἡ φωνὴ ὄχι μόνον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς Παροικίας. Εἰς τὸ β' τεῦχος τοῦ «Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος» καθορίζεται καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ἐκδόσεώς του, τὸν ὁποῖον καὶ παραθέτομεν, ὡς ἐνδεικτικὸν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιδιώξεων τῆς Διευθύνσεως καὶ τῆς Συντάξεως τοῦ μηνιαίου αὐτοῦ δελτίου, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, διευθύνεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου καὶ συντάσσεται ὑπὸ ἑξάδος Ἀρχιμανδριτῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς[1]: «Ὅταν ἐξεδόθη τὸ πρῶτο φύλλο τοῦ Ὀρθόδοξου Κήρυκα, σίγουρα οἱ ἀναγνῶστες θὰ διερωτήθηκαν διὰ ποιὸ σκοπὸ ἐκδόθηκε τὸ ὄργανο αὐτό. Ἀπαντῶντες χωρὶς περιστροφές, λέμε ὅτι ὁ σκοπὸς εἶναι πνευματικὸς καὶ ἡ μέθοδός μας εἰρηνική. Καὶ πιστεύουμε πὼς δὲν θὰ μᾶς προκαλέσῃ κανεὶς νὰ μεταχειριστοῦμε ἄλλη μέθοδο. Δὲν ἀκολουθοῦμε πολιτικὲς ἰδεολογίες, γιατὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ πνευματικότητα εἶναι τὸ σπουδαιότερο ἰδανικὸ τὸ ὁποῖον οἱ Ἕλληνες χριστιανοὶ πρέπει νὰ ἔχουν σὰν γνώρισμά τους.

»Κύριος στόχος μας εἶναι οἱ Ἑλληνορθόδοξες Κοινότητές μας μὲ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ παραδοσιακὴ ὀργάνωσή τους, μὲ τοὺς παροικιακοὺς ναούς τους, μὲ τὰ σχολεῖα τους καὶ μὲ τὰ φιλανθρωπικὰ σωματεῖα τους. Δὲν ἀποκλείουμε κανένα ἑλληνικὸ σωματεῖο, τοὐναντίον ἀπὸ ὅλα περιμένομε συνεργασία μιὰ καὶ ὁ σκοπός μας δὲν εἶναι κερδοσκοπικός.

»Ὁ στόχος αὐτὸς δίδει αὐτόματα τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκα σὰν παροικιακοῦ ὀργάνου στὴ διάθεση τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων μας, τῶν Σχολείων μας, τῶν Ἐπιστημόνων μας καὶ τῶν Φοιτητῶν μας.

»Τὰ κοινοτικὰ καὶ σχολικὰ ζητήματα μαζὶ μὲ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ θὰ μᾶς ἀπασχολοῦν πολὺ καὶ μὲ ὅση μποροῦμε ἁπλότητα καὶ ταπείνωση θὰ συνεργαζόμαστε μὲ ὅλα τὰ συμβούλια καὶ τοὺς παράγοντες τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ποὺ εἶναι οἱ φορεῖς τοῦ Ἱεραποστολικοῦ μας ἔργου στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία.

»Ἐνῶ ὅλοι μποροῦν νὰ εἶναι συνεργάτες μας, δίπλα μας παραστέκονται κοντά μας τὰ πιστὰ καὶ αφωσιωμένα μέλη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Πίστεως, μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα ἐλπίζουμε νὰ μεταδίδουμε εὐρύτερα τὸ μήνυμα τῆς Πατρίδας μας καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας.

»Ἀκόμη δὲν τὰ καταφέραμε νὰ ἔχουμε ὕλη καὶ στὰ Ἀγγλικά, γιὰ νὰ ἐπικοινωνοῦμε ἀπ' εὐθείας καὶ μὲ τὴν νεολαία μας ποὺ εἶναι μορφωμένη ἀγγλικά, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο εἶναι μέσα στὸ πρόγραμμά μας καὶ γρήγορα θὰ ἐγκαινιάσωμε καὶ ἀγγλικὲς στῆλες».

Εἰς τὸ κύριον ἄρθρον τοῦ 3ου τεύχους, μὲ τὸν τίτλον «Ἡ Ἐκκλησία», καθορίζεται ἐκτὸς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ κοινωνικὸς ρόλος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων, ὁ ὁποῖος τὴν καταξιώνει ὡς Ἐκκλησίαν δρῶσαν καὶ ἀγωνιζομένην. Μεταφέρομεν ἐν ἀπόσπασμα: «Ὅταν λέγωμεν ἱερατικὴν καὶ ἱεραποστολικὴν διακονίαν ἐννοοῦμε τὴν παρακολούθησιν τοῦ Χριστιανικοῦ Λαοῦ μας εἰς τὴν κοινωνικήν του ζωήν, ἐκεῖ ποὺ συχνάζουν οἱ Χριστιανοί μας μὲ τὶς οἰκογένειές των καὶ ἰδιαίτερα εἰς τὶς ἐθνικές, κοινοτικὲς καὶ σχολικὲς ἐκδηλώσεις των. Ἐκεῖ ἐπιβάλλεται ἡ παρουσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ μάλιστα μὲ ἔντασιν, ὥστε ὁ Χριστιανικὸς λαός μας νὰ διδαχθῇ, νὰ κατηχηθῇ, νὰ πληροφορηθῇ καὶ νὰ ἐνισχυθῇ. Ἡ στήλη αὐτὴ μὲ χαρὰ καὶ μὲ Χριστιανικὴ καύχησιν σημειώνει τὸ ἄνοιγμα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων πρὸς τὴν Χριστιανικὴν Ἑλληνικὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας καὶ αἰσθάνεται ἱκανοποίησιν διότι ἁπλοῖ Χριστιανοί, ἢ κάποτε καὶ ἀδιάφοροι πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἄνθρωποι, μᾶς εἶπαν δημοσίως "συγχαρητήρια διότι μὲ τὴν νέαν μορφὴν τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκα ξεφύγατε ἀπὸ τὸν ἀπόκοσμον καὶ μονότονον τρόπον μεταδόσεως τῆς Χριστιανικῆς διδασκαλίας"».

Εἰς τὸ ἑπόμενον (4ον) τεῦχος τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος, εἰς τὸ κύριον ἄρθρον μὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τίτλον, ἐπισημαίνεται ἡ ἀξία τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου λατρευτικῆς παραδόσεως καὶ παρουσιάζεται τὸ πρόγραμμα δράσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μὲ κέντρον τὸν ἱερὸν Ναὸν ἑκάστης Κοινότητος. Ἀναγράφεται αὐτολεξεί: «Ἕκαστος Ναὸς πρέπει νὰ μεταβληθῇ εἰς κύτταρον καλλιεργείας πνευματικῆς μὲ εὐρύτατες διαστάσεις καὶ μὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπίδρασιν ἐπὶ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν μελῶν ἑκάστης Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Κοινότητος. Εἴπαμεν ὅτι τὰ μέσα θὰ εἶναι ἡ ἑλληνορθόδοξος παράδοσις καὶ ὁ ἑλληνικὸς πολιτισμὸς καὶ οἱ φορεῖς θὰ εἶναι ὁ ἱερὸς κλῆρος, τὰ Διοικητικὰ Συμβούλια τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων, τὰ Σχολεῖα μὲ τὰς Σχολικὰς Ἐπιτροπὰς καὶ τοὺς Συλλόγους Γονέων καὶ μὲ τὶς Βοηθητικὲς Ἀδελφότητες».

Εἰς τὸ 5ον τεῦχος τοῦ αὐτοῦ δελτίου γίνεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ ἔργου ποὺ ἐπετέλεσεν ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν Ἑλληνοπαίδων καὶ ἐκφράζεται ἡ πεποίθησις ὅτι διὰ νὰ εἶναι ὁλοκληρωμένη ἡ προσφορὰ τῶν σχολείων ὥστε νὰ κερδηθῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἔθνους ἡ νέα γενεὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας, πρέπει νὰ ἀναγνωρισθῇ ὁ παιδαγωγικὸς ρόλος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ νὰ ἀνατεθῇ εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ δύσκολον ἔργον τῆς ὀργανώσεως τῶν σχολείων, τὸ ὁποῖον εὐχαρίστως ἐπωμίζεται ὡς μίαν ἐκ τῶν κυρίων ἀποστολῶν της[2]. Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θέματος ἐπανέρχεται ὁ ἀρθρογράφος εἰς ἑπόμενον τεῦχος τοῦ δελτίου[3], ὅπου τονίζει μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι: «Ἡ Ἐκκλησία εἰς τὴν προκειμένην περίπτωσιν δὲν κάμνει τίποτε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τὴν ἐφαρμογὴν τοῦ προγράμματος τοῦ Ἔθνους, καὶ εἶναι φυσικόν, διότι αὕτη ἔχει καὶ τὴν πεῖραν καὶ τὴν συναίσθησιν τῆς εὐθύνης ἔναντι αὐτοῦ».

Εἶναι σκόπιμον εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο νὰ παραθέσωμεν μερικὰ στοιχεῖα ἐκ τῆς δραστηριότητος μιᾶς

1. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τ. 2ον (Φεβρ. 1980), σ. 1.

2. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τεῦχος 5ον (Μάιος - Ἰούνιος 1980), κύριον ἄρθρον ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «Ἡ Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκπαίδευσις», σσ 1, 2.

3. *Αὐτόθι*, τ. 7ον (Σεπτ. - Ὀκτώβριος 1980), σσ 1, 8.

ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων τῆς Παροικίας, διὰ νὰ καταδειχθῇ ὅτι τὸ πολύπλευρον ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων εὐοδοῦται καλλίτερον διὰ τοῦ καταμερισμοῦ του εἰς μικροτέρας κλίμακας ὑπὸ τὴν εὐθύνην τῶν Βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων καὶ τὴν συντονιστικὴν καὶ καθοδηγητικὴν ἐποπτείαν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Τὴν 25ην Ἰανουαρίου 1981 ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τὴν προεδρίαν τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡ 20ὴ συνεδρία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Κοινότητος Ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα καὶ Παναγίας Wood Green Λονδίνου. Κατ' αὐτὴν ὁ πνευματικὸς προϊστάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ 1971 Ἐπίσκοπος Τροπαίου Γρηγόριος ἔκαμε λεπτομερῆ ἀπολογισμὸν τῆς διαρρευσάσης δεκαετίας[1] παρουσιάζων τὸ ἔργον τῆς Κοινότητος ὑπὸ τὴν καθοδήγησιν καὶ ἐνεργὸν συμμετοχὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀνέφερε μεταξὺ πολλῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἀγαστὴν συνεργασίαν μεταξὺ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραγόντων τῆς Κοινότητος, χάρις εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν πολλὰ ἐπετεύχθησαν ὅπως ὁ εὐπρεπισμὸς τῶν δύο ναῶν, ἡ δημιουργία βοηθητικῶν χώρων, ἡ ὀργάνωσις τοῦ σχολείου, ἡ ἔκδοσις τοῦ δελτίου «Διακονία», ἡ δραστηριοποίησις τῆς Βοηθητικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Κυριῶν εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς περιποιήσεως τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῆς διατηρήσεως τοῦ «Σπιτιοῦ τοῦ Γέρου» καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιτεύγματα ποὺ δικαιώνουν τὸν ρόλον τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Κοινότητος. Θὰ σταθῶμεν ὅμως ἐπ' ὀλίγον καὶ εἰς τὰς προοπτικὰς ποὺ διαγράφει ὁ Θεοφιλέστατος διὰ τὴν ἐπομένην δεκαετίαν: «Φαίνεται πὼς ἡ Ἐκκλησία μας θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ ἀνανεώνῃ συνεχῶς τὶς ρίζες ποὺ τὴν τρέφουν καὶ τὴν συντηροῦν καὶ τὴν νεάζουν καὶ τὴν καθιστοῦν ζωντανή, δυναμικὴ καὶ αὐξάνουσα. Γι' αὐτὸ θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ ἀρχίσουμε ἀπὸ τὴ λατρεία μας.», «Ἡ ψαλμωδία συμπληρώνει, ἢ μᾶλλον, πλουτίζει τὴ λατρεία μας.», «Τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ οἱ ὁμιλίες νὰ πυκνωθοῦν καὶ νὰ περιστρέφονται πιὸ πολὺ στὰ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ λατρείας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας.», «Παράλληλα πρὸς αὐτὰ εἶναι τὸ γραπτὸ κήρυγμα.», «Χωρὶς τὴν προσωπικὴ ἐπικοινωνία, χωρὶς τὴν ψυχικὴ ἐπαφή, χωρὶς τὴν ἔξοδό μας ἀπὸ τὸν ἑαυτό μας καὶ τὸν περίβολο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, δὲ θὰ γίνῃ ἡ Διακονία μας ἀκουστὴ καὶ σεβαστή.», «Ἡ βαθύτερη ὀργάνωση τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ Κατηχητικοῦ Σχολείου θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ ἀπασχολήσῃ ὅλους μας.», «Ἐμεῖς οἱ κληρικοί, ἰδιαίτερα, θὰ στρέψουμε τὴν προσοχή μας στὴν ἐμβάθυνση τῆς ποιμαντικῆς μας προσφορᾶς, ἡ ὁποία εἶναι καὶ τὸ κύριο ἔργο μας.», «Ἡ στρατολόγηση πιὸ πολλῶν προσώπων γιὰ τὶς ἄμεσες χρεῖες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας», «Ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς Οἰκογένειας καὶ ἡ πιὸ στενὴ ἀλληλεγγύη μεταξὺ τῶν Ὁμογενῶν μας θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ καλλιεργηθοῦν στενότερα καὶ βαθύτερα». Ἂς παρακολουθήσωμεν ὅμως καὶ ὀλίγας ἄλλας σκέψεις τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου, διατυπωθείσας εἰς τὴν εἰσήγησίν του κατὰ τὴν συνεδρίαν τῆς Κοινότητός του εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ 1983[2]: «Πρέπει νὰ ἐπιστρατεύσουμε τὴ Νεολαία, τοὺς μορφωμένους, τοὺς ἀπομονωμένους χάρις στὶς συνθῆκες καὶ τὶς περιστάσεις τῆς ξενιτειᾶς», «Ἰδιαίτερα θὰ πρέπει νὰ προσέξουμε τὴ Νεολαία. Τὰ παιδιά, τοὺς νεώτερους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τὰ παιδιά μας. Τὸ μέλλον καὶ οἱ εὐθύνες εἶναι στοὺς δικούς μας ὤμους», «Μέλημα καὶ ἐπιδίωξή μας σὲ τούτη τὴ χρονιὰ θὰ εἶναι ὁ ἐρχομὸς τοῦ ἀποξενωμένου ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία λαοῦ μας, ἡ ἐπιστροφή του στὴν Ἁγία Τράπεζα».

Αὐτὰ εἶναι μερικὰ ἀπὸ τὰ σχέδια διὰ τὸ μέλλον, τὰ ὁποῖα, ὡς δυνάμεθα νὰ διαπιστώσωμεν ἐξ ὅσων ἀνωτέρω ἐξετέθησαν, ἐντάσσονται ἀβιάστως εἰς τὸ γενικὸν πρόγραμμα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων. Πάντα ταῦτα ὅμως προϋποθέτουν μίαν πραγματικὴν στράτευσιν εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κληρικῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ ἐξεκίνησεν ἀληθῆ σταυροφορίαν πρὸς τὴν κατεύθυνσιν αὐτήν, ἡ ὁποία δὲν ἐβράδυνε νὰ ἀποδώσῃ καρπούς. Εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς προσκλήσεως πρὸς πύκνωσιν τῶν τάξεων τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου ἐκ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Παροικίας τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν κλίσιν καὶ ἡτοιμασμένων νὰ δεχθοῦν τὴν κλῆσιν πρὸς διακονίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρος ἀπευθύνει ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος[3] ἀνοικτὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὸ Χριστεπώνυμον πλήρωμα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μὲ τὸν τίτλον «Μία ὑψηλὴ πρόσκλησις», εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν δι' ἐμπνευσμένων λόγων ἀνατέμνει τὸ μυστήριον τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ καλεῖ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς τῆς Θείας Χάριτος νὰ προσχωρήσουν. Ἐπισημαίνει μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων: «Ἡ Ἱερὰ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων μὲ τὴν πάροδον τοῦ χρόνου συνειδητοποιεῖ ὅτι ἔχει ἀνάγκην περισσοτέρων ἐργατῶν διὰ νὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ φέρῃ εἰς πέρας τὸ δύσκολον ἔργον της. Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ δυνάμενοι θὰ πρέπῃ νὰ τείνουν χεῖρα βοηθείας, ἀναλαμβάνοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς χειροτονίας, ἕνα μέρος τοῦ βάρους καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν». Καὶ καταλήγει μὲ τὴν συγκινητικὴν πρόσκλησιν: «Ναὶ σὲ περιμένουμε ἄγνωστε καὶ κρυμμένε ἀδελφέ, ν' ἀνταποκριθῇς σ' αὐτὴ τὴν πρόσκλησί μας ποὺ εἶναι κλῆσις θεϊκὴ καὶ σὰν ἀπάντησι στὸ κάλεσμά μας σταθερὰ κι ἀμετάκλητα ν' ἀκουστῇ ἡ φωνή σου. "Παρών"».

Εἰς τὰ κελεύσματα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὡς τὸ ἀνωτέρω ἱκανὴ ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ἀνταπόκρισις, ὡς μᾶς δίδεται ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ διαπιστώσωμεν εἰς ἄλλο σημεῖον. Τὸ σημαντικὸν ὅμως διὰ τὴν περίπτωσιν εἶναι ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία Θυατείρων εἶναι ἐπηνδρωμένη καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ ἐπανδρώνεται ὑπὸ κληρικῶν οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔχουν βαθεῖαν συναίσθησιν τοῦ ρόλου τὸν ὁποῖον καλοῦνται νὰ διαδραματίσουν καὶ τῆς ἀναντικαταστάτου ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὴν ὁποίαν ἐτάχθησαν νὰ ὑπηρετήσουν. Ὁ Δρ. Ἀνδρέας Χατζησαββῆς εἰς τὴν προσφώνησίν του κατὰ τὴν εἰς Πρεσβύτερον χει-

1. Ὁ ἐκτενὴς ἀπολογισμὸς δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 10ον (Μάρτιος – Ἀπρίλιος 1981), ὅπου καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὰς σελίδας 6–9.

2. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τ. 19ον (Φεβρ. – Μάρτιος 1983), σ. 6.

3. *Αὐτόθι*, τ. 3ον (Μάρτιος 1980), σ. 6.

ροτονίαν του[1] δίδει μὲ ἀδιαμφισβήτητον σαφήνειαν τὴν κοινωνικὴν διάστασιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς: «Δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν ἡ Ἐκκλησία ποὺ κηρύσσει τὴν ἀγάπη νὰ νοηθῇ ὡς ἄσχετη πρὸς τὴ ζωή, πρὸς τὴν ἀγωνία καὶ τὰ προβλήματα τῆς ἐποχῆς. Ὡς Ἐκκλησία θὰ μείνουμε μέσα στὴ ζωή, ὡς Ἐκκλησία εἴμαστε μπλεγμένοι στὴν μεγάλη ἱστορικὴ πορεία τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ποὺ ὁδηγεῖ στὴν τελείωση τῶν πάντων, ποὺ ὁδηγοῦν στὴν ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου».

Τὴν κοινὴν πεποίθησιν ὅλων τῶν φορέων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὅτι παραπλήρωμα τῆς κοινωνικῆς καὶ ἐθνικῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀποτελεῖ ἡ φροντὶς αὐτῆς διὰ τὴν ἐθνικοθρησκευτικὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν τῶν Ἑλληνοπαίδων, ἐκφράζει ὁ Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Λεόντιος Ἀριστοτέλους εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν του ἐπὶ τῇ λήξει τῶν μαθημάτων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Σχολείου Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ[2], ἀναφέρων μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων: «Γιὰ τὴν ἀνάληψη τέτοιων πρωτοβουλιῶν... ἀποτελεῖ ἀποφασιστικὸ παράγοντα ἡ πατρικὴ ἐνθάρρυνση τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου μας, ποὺ ἐμβάλλει στὶς ψυχὲς ὅλων μας τὴν πίστη του, τὴν ἀγάπη του, τὸν ἐνθουσιασμό του -ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀγωνία του- γιὰ ὅ,τι Χριστιανικὸ καὶ Ἑλληνικό... Πιστεύουμε κι ἐμεῖς μαζί του ὅτι πρέπει νὰ ζήσουμε σὲ μιὰ πραγματικότητα πολιτειακή, χωρὶς νὰ ἀλλοιώσουμε τὴν φυλετική μας ὑπόσταση, χωρὶς νὰ χάσουμε τὴ γλῶσσα μας, τὰ ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα τῆς φυλῆς μας, τὴν Ὀρθόδοξο Πίστη μας, χωρὶς νὰ ξεχάσουμε τὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ τὴν εὐγένεια τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ψυχῆς μας».

Ἐνῷ ὅμως τόσον σημαντικὴ εἶναι ἡ ἀποστολὴ καὶ τόσον καίριος ὁ ρόλος τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς δὲν λείπουν οἱ ἀμφισβητίαι, οἱ ἀρνηταὶ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ποὺ μὲ τὴν πολεμική τους πικραίνουν τοὺς ἀφωσιωμένους εἰς τὸ ἔργον των λειτουργούς της καὶ δυσχεραίνουν τὸ ἔργον της, καὶ δυστυχῶς ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτὴ ξεκινάει πολλὲς φορὲς ἀπὸ τὸ Ἐθνικὸν Κέντρον. Ἀλλ' ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἀμύνεται, ἀπολογεῖται καὶ ἀνασκευάζει τὰς εἰς βάρος της κατηγορίας. Τοιαύτη εἶναι ἡ θέσις τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, ἡ ὁποία θεωρεῖ ἑαυτὴν ὑποχρεωμένην νὰ ἀπαντήσῃ ἐξ ὀνόματος τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Διασπορᾶς εἰς δημοσίευμα εἰς τὸν ἡμερήσιον τύπον τῆς Πατρίδος διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου ἀμφισβητεῖται ἡ προσφορὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸν τῆς Διασπορᾶς[3]. Μετὰ τὴν παρουσίασιν τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ ἀνασκευὴ ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας μεταφέρομεν ὡρισμένα σημεῖα: «Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στέκει ὑπεράνω κομματικῶν ἀντιθέσεων, γιὰ τοῦτο καὶ πάντοτε συνέβαλε στὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ Ἀπόδημου Ἑλληνισμοῦ», «Μήπως δὲν εἶναι ἀλήθεια ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία μας, γιὰ νὰ μείνει πιστὴ στὴ διακονία τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ περιορίζει τὴν Ἱεραποστολικὴ δράση της ἀποκλειστικὰ στοὺς Ἕλληνες;», «Μήπως παράλληλα ἀπὸ τοὺς Ναούς της δὲν ἔχει τόσα ἄλλα ἐκπαιδευτικά, φιλανθρωπικά, πολιτιστικὰ καὶ ἐθνικὰ ἱδρύματα, ποὺ τὰ συντηρεῖ χωρὶς καμμιὰ βοήθεια ἀπὸ τὴν πατρίδα;».

Ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα διέπεται καὶ ἡ ἔκθεσις τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου (Κ.Ε.Σ.) τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν γίνεται ἡ παρουσίασις τοῦ ὄντως ἐντυπωσιακοῦ ἔργου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸν ἐκπαιδευτικὸν τομέα, ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποίαν καὶ μεταγράφομεν τὴν ἀρχήν[4]: «Ἡ παράδοση τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἄφησε βαθειὲς τὶς ρίζες στὴν παιδεία γενικά. Αὐτὴ ἡ ἄποψη δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀναφέρεται σὲ περιόδους ἐθνικῆς καὶ κοινωνικῆς συμφορᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ περιόδους εἰρήνης καὶ προόδου, ἐπειδὴ ἡ Χριστιανικὴ πίστη εἶναι ἔκφραση τῆς ἀνθρώπινης δίψας γιὰ γνώση καὶ γιὰ μόρφωση. Μὲ κανένα τρόπο δὲν πρέπει νὰ διαδραματίζει ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἀναπληρωματικὸ ρόλο γιατὶ ἡ ἀποστολή της εἶναι συνεχὴς καὶ ἀνοδική. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία δὲν ἔχει προορισμὸ νὰ "ξελασπώνει" καὶ νὰ παραχωρεῖ στὴ συνέχεια τὸ διδακτικό της ἔργο στοὺς ἐπιτηδείους "ψευτοδιδασκάλους" ποὺ ἀνατρέπουν θεσμοὺς καὶ παραδόσεις».

Θὰ ἠδυνάμεθα νὰ καλύψωμεν πολλαπλάσιον ἀριθμὸν σελίδων ἀναφέροντες καὶ ἀναλύοντες λόγους, ὁμιλίας, μηνύματα, προσφωνήσεις, ἀπολογισμούς, ἐκθέσεις, κηρύγματα, μελέτας καὶ ποικίλα ἄλλα πνευματικὰ πονήματα ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων καθημερινῶς πλουτίζεται ἡ πνευματικὴ διακονία τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, ἀλλὰ πρόθεσίς μας δὲν ἦτο νὰ παρουσιάσωμεν τὴν πνευματικὴν δραστηριότητα τῶν ἀξίων μελῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, εἰ μὴ μόνον μέσῳ, ἐν πολλοῖς τυχαίων ἢ τοὐλάχιστον προσφόρων, ἐνδεικτικῶν παραπομπῶν νὰ ἀφίσωμεν νὰ διαφανοῦν αἱ ἀρχαὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁποίων διαπνέονται καὶ βάσει τῶν ὁποίων κινοῦνται εἰς τὰς ἀκαμάτους δραστηριότητάς των οἱ φορεῖς τοῦ ὄντως γιγαντιαίου ἔργου ποὺ ἀνέλαβε καὶ διεκπεραιώνει ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ. Τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖται ἀθορύβως ὑπὸ στρατιᾶς ὅλης ἐπωνύμων καὶ ἀνωνύμων σταυροφόρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐμπνευσμένην καθοδήγησιν τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ μὲ τὴν ἀνεκτίμητον βοήθειαν τῶν Ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν συνεργατῶν των, κληρικῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν. Δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν παρὰ νὰ μνημονεύσωμεν μόνον ὡρισμένους ἐνταῦθα, ἄνευ προθέσεως ἀξιολογικῆς τινος ἱεραρχήσεως. Θὰ μᾶς δοθῇ ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ μνημονεύσωμεν καὶ ἄλλους εἰς τὰ ἑπόμενα, ἀλλὰ θὰ ὑπάρξουν καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ ὁποῖοι δὲν θὰ ἀναφερθοῦν, διότι πράγματι πρόκειται περὶ στρατιᾶς ὁλοκλήρου, ἡ ὁποία δρᾷ καὶ πορεύεται τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν ἑλληνοχριστιανικῶν

1. Τὰ σχετικὰ μὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν αὐτήν, περὶ τῆς ὁποίας κάμνομεν λόγον καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατωτέρω, δημοσιεύονται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 14ον (Ἰανουάριος 1982), σ. 9.

2. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τ. 13ον (Ὀκτώβριος-Δεκέμβριος 1981), σ. 4.

3. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 14ον (Ἰανουάριος 1982), σσ 12, 4· δημοσίευσις ἐκ τοῦ Γραφείου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον: «Μακρινοὶ Ἕλληνες» - Μιὰ σύντομη θέση τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας.

4. Ἡ ἔκθεσις δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 15ον (Φεβρουάρ. - Μάρτιος 1982), σ. 10.

ἰδεωδῶν χάριν τοῦ μεγαλείου τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Ἡ πρόταξις τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτῆς ἐθεωρήθη σκόπιμος διὰ νὰ καταστῇ σαφὲς ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτεύγματα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων δὲν εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα τυχαιότητος ἀλλὰ εὐτυχεῖς καταλήξεις ἐνεργειῶν βάσει προδιαγεγραμμένου σχεδίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κατέστη δυνατὸν νὰ ὑλοποιηθῇ χάρις εἰς τὰς ἀόκνους προσπαθείας καὶ τὴν ἀκλόνητον θέλησιν καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν αὐτοθυσίας τόσον τοῦ προκαθημένου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὅσον καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίου κλήρου καθὼς καὶ τῶν δυναμικῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παροικίας.

### 3. Ἡ ὀργάνωσις καὶ αἱ δραστηριότητες τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων.

Εἷς σύνθετος καὶ πολυπλεύρου προορισμοῦ καὶ δράσεως ὀργανισμὸς ἀπαιτεῖ ἀρτίαν ἐσωτερικὴν ὀργάνωσιν διὰ νὰ ἀποδώσῃ εἰς τὸ ἔργον του. Χρειάζεται τὴν κεντρικὴν διοίκησιν ἡ ὁποία νὰ λειτουργῇ ὡς συντονιστικὸν καὶ καθοδηγητικὸν σῶμα καὶ τὰς παρακέντρους ὀργανώσεις καὶ περιφερειακὰς μονάδας αἱ ὁποῖαι νὰ δροῦν μὲ ἀρκετὰ περιθώρια αὐτονομίας, μὴ ἀποκλίνουσαι ὅμως ἐκ τοῦ γενικοῦ σχεδίου ἐνεργειῶν καὶ κατευθύνσεων, ὥστε τελικῶς τὸ ἐπιτελούμενον ἔργον νὰ εἶναι ἐπιδεκτικὸν εἰς συσσωρευτικὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφορικὴν προσθήκην καὶ νὰ δύναται νὰ λάβῃ τὴν μορφὴν ἑνιαίας καὶ συντονισμένης δράσεως. Τὸ αὐστηρῶς συγκεντρωτικὸν σύστημα θὰ καθίστα τὸν ὀργανισμὸν δυσκίνητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀποκεντρωτικὸν θὰ περιέκλειε τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποκλίσεων, ἐπικαλύψεων καὶ ἀσυντονίστων ἐνεργειῶν αἱ ὁποῖαι θὰ ὑπεβάθμιζον τὴν δυναμικότητα τοῦ ὅλου συγκροτήματος. Τὸ πλέον ἐνδεδειγμένον διὰ τὴν περίπτωσιν εἶναι ἓν σύνθετον σύστημα εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον τὸ κέντρον καὶ οἱ παρακεντρικοὶ καὶ περιφερειακοὶ σχηματισμοὶ μὲ τὰ ἐπιτελικὰ ὄργανα, τοὺς φορεῖς καὶ τὰ βοηθητικὰ στοιχεῖα ἀποτελοῦν ἁλυσίδα ἀδιάσπαστον μὲ ἐμφανῆ τὴν σημασίαν διὰ τὴν συνοχὴν τοῦ ὅλου τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον κρίκων. Τὸ σύστημα αὐτὸ λειτουργεῖ μὲ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν ἀναπαραγομένων προτύπων, κατὰ τὸ ὁποῖον ἕκαστος ἐπὶ μέρους σχηματισμὸς ἀναπαράγει τὴν συγκρότησιν τοῦ κεντρικοῦ ὀργανισμοῦ εἰς ἐλάσσονα κλίμακα. Κατὰ τὰς ἐννοίας ταύτας ἡ συγκρότησις τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ παρασταθῇ σχηματικῶς μὲ ἀκτινωτὸν κύκλον εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἡ κίνησις εἶναι ἀμφίδρομος, ἀπὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν περιφέρειαν. Εἰς καὶ περὶ τὸ κέντρον τοῦ κύκλου ἑδράζουν τὰ ἐπιτελικὰ καὶ συντονιστικὰ ὄργανα καὶ ὀργανισμοὶ ποὺ διοχετεύουν τὴν δρᾶσιν καὶ τὰς κατευθύνσεις διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀκτίνων πρὸς τὴν περιφέρειαν, εἰς δὲ τὰς περιφερειακὰς ἀπολήξεις τῶν ἀκτίνων ὑφίστανται οἱ πυρηνικοὶ σχηματισμοὶ τῶν Κοινοτήτων αἱ ὁποῖαι δραστηριοποιοῦνται εἰς τὴν ζώνην ἐπιρροῆς των καὶ ἔχουν σημεῖον ἀναφορᾶς τὸ κέντρον τοῦ κύκλου.

Τὸ σχῆμα αὐτὸ ὀργανώσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων ὑφίστατο βεβαίως ἀπὸ παλαιότερον, ἀλλὰ κάθε ὀργανωτικὸν σχῆμα, δεδομένης τῆς συμπαρακολουθήσεως τῶν ἐξελίξεων καὶ τῶν συνεχῶς ἀναδιαμορφουμένων συνθηκῶν, εἶναι δεκτικὸν τροποποιήσεως καὶ βελτιώσεως εἰς τὸ διηνεκές. Πρὸς τὴν κατεύθυνσιν τῆς ἐνισχύσεως καὶ βελτιώσεως τοῦ ὀργανωτικοῦ σχήματος τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἔστρεψε τὴν προσοχήν του καὶ κατηύθυνε τὰς προσπαθείας του εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναλήψεως εἰς χεῖρας του τῶν οἰάκων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος. Ἡ ἐπαρκὴς στελέχωσις τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ὀργανισμοῦ, ἡ ἐπαύξησις καὶ τόνωσις τῶν διασυνδέσεων, ἡ αἰσθητοποίησις τῶν κατευθυντηρίων ἀρχῶν, ἡ ἐπιστράτευσις ὅλων τῶν δυνάμεων ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ δημιουργία προϋποθέσεων πρὸς τελεσφόρον δρᾶσιν, ἡ ἔμφασις εἰς τὴν προτυποποίησιν τῆς κεντρικῆς ὀργανώσεως διὰ νὰ διευκολυνθῇ ἡ ἀναπαραγωγικὴ διαδικασία εἰς τὴν περιφέρειαν, ὑπῆρξαν ὡρισμέναι ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξακολουθητικῶν ἐπιδιώξεων τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τῶν συνεργατῶν του.

α. *Ὁ ἱερὸς Κλῆρος:* Οἱ στυλοβάται τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι ἀναμφισβητήτως οἱ κληρικοί, διότι αὐτοὶ ἐπωμίζονται κυρίως τὸ βάρος τῆς ἱεραποστολικῆς δράσεως αὐτῆς. Ὁ βαθμὸς προσηλώσεως αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερατικὸν λειτούργημα, ἡ πνευματικότης, ἡ ὀργανωτικὴ ἱκανότης, ἡ συναίσθησις τῆς ἀποστολῆς, ἡ δραστηριότης, ἡ κένωσις τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἰδιωμάτων πρὸς χάριν τοῦ ποιμνίου, ἡ συναντίληψις εἰς τὰ προβλήματα τῶν πιστῶν, ἡ συνειδητοποίησις τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐντὸς τῆς κοινωνίας, ἀποτελοῦν ὡρισμένους ἐκ τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν παραγόντων διὰ τὴν ἐξασφάλισιν τῆς λειτουργικότητος τοῦ ὀργανισμοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς της. Δὲν εἶναι ὅμως ἀμελητέος ὁ ρόλος καὶ τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν παραμέτρων, μερικαὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων εἶναι: ἡ ἐπαρκὴς στελέχωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ὀργανισμῶν, ἡ σύμμετρος κατανομὴ τῶν καθηκόντων, ἡ ἀναβάθμισις τοῦ κλήρου, ἡ ἀνανέωσις καὶ ὁ ἐμπλουτισμὸς τοῦ σώματος τῶν κληρικῶν, ἡ ἀναδιανομὴ τῶν δυνάμεων, ἡ ἐξύψωσις τῆς πνευματικῆς στάθμης, ἡ προσέλκυσις ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαμφισβητήτου κύρους.

Θὰ διαπιστωθῇ ἐν συνεχείᾳ ὅτι αἱ προσπάθειαι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ ἰδίως τοῦ Προκαθημένου αὐτῆς ἐστράφησαν μὲ τὴν δέουσαν βαρύτητα καὶ τελεσφόρως εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς ὅλης συγκροτήσεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κλήρου. Ἐν πρώτοις ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν κληρικῶν τῶν ὑπηρετούντων εἰς τὴν Ἱερὰν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων παρατηρεῖται μία θεαματικὴ αὔξησις: ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀριθμοῦ 74 κληρικῶν καὶ μοναχῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς τὸ 1979, ἔτος τῆς ἀναρρήσεως εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθο-

δίου, σήμερον, μετὰ παρέλευσιν πενταετίας, ἔχομεν φθάσει εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὑπερεκατόν[1].

Χαρακτηριστικὸν εἶναι ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τῶν Βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐνισχύθη διὰ τριῶν νέων μελῶν. Τὴν «παλαιὰν φρουρὰν» ἀποτελοῦν: ὁ Ἀσπένδου Ματθαῖος, ὁ Τροπαίου Γρηγόριος, ὁ Κυανέων Χρυσόστομος, ὁ Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρος καὶ ὁ Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμόθεος[2]. Οἱ τρεῖς νέοι Ἱεράρχαι εἶναι ὁ Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀρίσταρχος, ὁ Πατάρων Εἰρηναῖος καὶ ὁ Διοκλείας Κάλλιστος. Ὁ πρῶτος ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὁ Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀρίσταρχος, ἦτο προηγουμένως Βοηθὸς Ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Αὐστραλίας καὶ μετετάγη τὸ 1980 εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων τῇ αἰτήσει τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου πρὸς τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον, διορισθεὶς παραλλήλως καὶ μέλος τῆς ἀντιπροσωπείας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου εἰς τὴν Θεολογικὴν Ἐπιτροπὴν διὰ τὸν Διάλογον μεταξὺ Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ Ἀγγλικανῶν. Ὁ Ἅγιος Ζηνουπόλεως ἐκλήθη νὰ ὑπηρετήσῃ ἐντὸς περιβάλλοντος οἰκείου εἰς αὐτόν, διότι εἶχε προηγουμένως ὑπηρετήσει ὡς ἐφημέριος εἰς τὸ Μάντσεστερ καὶ Λονδῖνον. Ἡ πνευματικότης του μετὰ τὴν μετάκλησίν του εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων ἐπεβεβαιώθη διὰ τῆς ἀνακηρύξεώς του διδάκτορος τῆς Φιλοσοφίας τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Durham[3].

Ὁ δεύτερος ἐκ τῶν νέων Βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων εἶναι ὁ ἀμέσως προερχόμενος ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Εἰρηναῖος Βασιλείου τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Birmingham, καταγόμενος ἐκ Κύπρου. Ἡ χειροτονία τοῦ νέου Ἐπισκόπου ἔλαβε χώραν ἐν τῷ προαναφερθέντι Ἱερῷ Ναῷ τὴν 14ην Δεκεμβρίου 1980. Τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων ἐπλαισίωσαν κατὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ὁ Μητροπολίτης Σουγδαίας Ἀντώνιος, οἱ Βοηθοὶ Ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, Τροπαίου Γρηγόριος, Κυανέων Χρυσόστομος, Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρος καὶ Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμόθεος καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι κληρικοὶ καὶ παρέστησαν αἱ διπλωματικαὶ ἀρχαὶ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου καὶ αἱ τοπικαὶ ἀρχαί[4]. Τὴν σημασίαν τῆς χειροτονίας ἑνὸς νέου Ἐπισκόπου διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὡς καὶ εἰδικῶς τὴν σημασίαν τῆς χειροτονίας τοῦ συγκεκριμένου Ἐπισκόπου διὰ τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων ἐτόνισεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος εἰς τὴν προσφώνησίν του κατὰ τὸ παρατεθὲν μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν γεῦμα διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς[5]: «Ἡ χειροτονία ἑνὸς νέου Ἐπισκόπου εἶναι συνηθισμένο φαινόμενο εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, παρ' ὅλον ποὺ ἡ σημασία του εἶναι πολὺ σημαντική. Πρόκειται περὶ ἀνανεώσεως καὶ ἐπεκτάσεως τῆς ζωῆς τῆς στρατευομένης Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸ διάστημα καὶ εἰς τὸν χρόνον». Καὶ περαιτέρω: «Μὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ νέου Ἐπισκόπου αὐξάνει ἀναμφιβόλως ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων, διότι ἡ ἐπισκοπικὴ διακονία θὰ εἶναι πιὸ προσιτὴ εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῶν Midlands. Εἶναι βασικὴ διδασκαλία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὅτι, ὅπου ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία, διὰ τοῦτο τώρα ποὺ μὲ τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ τιμᾶται μὲ ὀκτὼ ἐν ὅλῳ Ἀρχιερεῖς, δύναται νὰ ἀνταποκριθῇ εἰς τὰς ἐπειγούσας αὐτῆς ἀνάγκας. Δὲν ἀποτελοῦν αὐτοὶ πολυτέλειαν, διότι πάντες ἐκδαπανῶνται εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ Χριστεπωνύμου πληρώματος καὶ εἰς τὴν διακονίαν τῆς Παροικίας ὁλοκλήρου. Κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσημον αὐτὴν στιγμὴν ὀφείλω νὰ ἐνημερώσω τοὺς συμπατριώτας μας, ὅτι οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ὁ Ἱερὸς Κλῆρος τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐργάζονται ὡς ἀληθεῖς Ἱεραπόστολοι εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, καὶ τοὺς ἀξίζει κάθε ἔπαινος καὶ κάθε ἀναγνώρισις εἰς τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ ἐκπαιδευτικὸν τομέα».

Κορυφαίαν ὅμως καὶ ἱστορικὴν ἐνέργειαν διὰ τὴν διεύρυνσιν τοῦ ρόλου, τὴν ἐξύψωσιν τῆς θέσεως ἐντὸς τῆς Βρεταννικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ τὴν ἐν γένει προαγωγὴν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν προβολὴν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων εἰς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον ἀλλὰ καὶ παγκόσμιον Χριστιανικὴν κοινωνίαν, ἀποτελεῖ ἡ εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον Διοκλείας χειροτονία τοῦ πασιγνώστου εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κύκλους Ἀγγλορθοδόξου Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Καλλίστου Ware. Ὁ Κάλλιστος Ware, γόνος διακεκριμένης Ἀγγλικῆς οἰκογενείας, ἐγεννήθη εἰς τὸ Bath τῆς Ἀγγλίας τὸ 1934. Προσεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν τὸ 1958 καὶ ἐχειροτονήθη Διάκονος τὸ 1965 καὶ Πρεσβύτερος τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος. Αἱ περγαμηναὶ τῶν σπουδῶν του, τῆς πνευματικότητός του καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς, συγγραφικῆς καὶ ἐκδοτικῆς δραστηριότητός του εἶναι πολλαὶ καὶ ἀξιόλογοι. Διδάκτωρ τῆς Φιλοσοφίας τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Ὀξφόρδης ἀπὸ τοῦ 1965, εἶναι σήμερον Ὑφηγητὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Θεολογίας εἰς τὸ Πανεπιστήμιον αὐτό[6]. Ὡς μέλος ἀπὸ τοῦ 1973 τῆς «International Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission», προσέφερε πολλὰ εἰς τὴν προαγωγὴν τοῦ Διαλόγου μεταξὺ Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ Ἀγγλικανῶν, ὧν μέτοχος ἀμφοτέρων τῶν σκέψεων[7]. Ἡ χειροτονία ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, τὴν 6ην Ἰουνίου 1982, εἰς τὸν Καθεδρικὸν Ναὸν Ἁγίας Σοφίας Λονδίνου ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, παραστατουμένου ὑπὸ τῶν Βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρου, Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου, Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Πατάρων Εἰρηναίου, συμμετασχόντων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων Ὀρθοδόξων Κληρικῶν. Τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτὸ ἀπετέλεσε τὸ ἐγκαύχημα κλήρου καὶ λαοῦ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, ὁ δὲ ἀνταποκριτὴς τοῦ ""Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος" περιγράφει ὡς ἑξῆς τὴν ὑπο-

1. Πρβλ. τὸ «Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας», τῶν ἐτῶν 1979 καὶ 1984.
2. Ὁ πρῶτος ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶναι Πολωνός, διὰ τὴν διαποίμανσιν τῶν Σλαυωνικῆς καταγωγῆς Ὀρθοδόξων.
3. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 9ον (Ἰανουάριος-Φεβρουάριος 1981), σ. 1.
4. Τὰ τῆς χειροτονίας, τὰς προσφωνήσεις καὶ ἀντιφωνήσεις βλ. ἐν «Ὀρθοδόξῳ Κήρυκι», ἔνθ' ἀν., σσ 1 καὶ 6-8.
5. *Αὐτόθι*, σ. 6.
6. Συγχρόνως ὑπηρέτει καὶ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐνορίαν Ὀξφόρδης ὡς ἐφημέριος τοῦ ἐκεῖ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ.
7. Διὰ περισσοτέρας πληροφορίας ἐπὶ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δράσεως τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Διοκλείας Καλλίστου βλ. «Ὀρθ. Κῆρυξ», τ. 17 (Δεκ. 1982), σ. 3.

δοχήν του ὑπὸ τῆς Παροικίας[1]: «Ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἡ ἐκλογὴ τοῦ πατρὸς Καλλίστου εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον Διοκλείας ἐχαιρετίσθη μετ' ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ προεκάλεσεν ἐκδηλώσεις θερμῆς ἀγάπης πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπόν του. Σωρεία συγχαρητηρίων γραμμάτων καὶ τηλεγραφημάτων ἀπὸ τὰ μέλη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παροικίας τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας ἐβεβαίωσε τὴν ἀγάπη αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πανηγυρικὴ ἐπιδοκιμασία τῆς πράξεως τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς νὰ φέρῃ εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ Ἐπισκοπάτου της τὸν διαπρεπέστατον καὶ εὐσεβέστατον αὐτὸν Ἄγγλον Ὀρθόδοξον κληρικόν». Ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος τονίζει τὴν σημασίαν τῆς χειροτονίας τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Καλλίστου εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν του ἐπὶ τῷ χαρμοσύνῳ διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων γεγονότι διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς[2]: «Ὁ ἐψηφισμένος Ἐπίσκοπος Διοκλείας κ. Κάλλιστος εἶναι γέννημα καὶ θρέμμα τῆς Ἀγγλίας, ἀλλὰ δῶρον τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς ἡμᾶς, διότι οὕτως αἱ ρίζαι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν εἰσδύουν βαθύτερον ἐντὸς τῆς Βρεταννικῆς Κοινωνίας καὶ αἱ σχέσεις ἡμῶν μετὰ τῆς φίλης Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰσέρχονται εἰς νέον εὐοίωνον διὰ τὴν προσέγγισιν Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ Ἀγγλικανισμοῦ στάδιον. Διότι ὁ νέος Ἐπίσκοπος μετέχων ἀμφοτέρων τῶν σκέψεων θὰ καταστῇ ὁ κάλλιστος ἡμῶν ἀδελφός, ὄνομα καὶ πρᾶγμα, θὰ ἐκπροσωπῇ ἐπαξίως τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας Ἐκκλησίας ἀξίωμα ἐν τῇ Ἀγγλικανικῇ κοινωνίᾳ».

Μὲ τὴν εἴσοδον τῶν νέων Ἐπισκόπων εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν σῶμα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅτι ἐξυπηρετήθησαν λεπταὶ πτυχαὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀνεκουφίσθη κατὰ κάποιον τρόπον καὶ ἡ ὑπηρεσία τῶν ἰδίων τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, τῆς ὁποίας ὁ φόρτος εἶναι πολλάκις ὑπεράνθρωπος, διότι οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι ἐκτὸς τῶν ἰδιαιτέρων καθηκόντων μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι ἐπιφορτισμένοι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἕκαστος περιφέρειαν, εἶναι καὶ οἱ ἄμεσοι βοηθοὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ οἱ κύριοι συντονισταὶ καὶ φορεῖς τοῦ ἔργου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς συμμετέχοντες εἰς ποικίλας ἐκφάνσεις, ἐπιτροπάς, σωματεῖα, ὀργανισμοὺς καὶ ἡγούμενοι ποικιλωνύμων δραστηριοτήτων πρὸς εὐόδωσιν τῆς πολυπλεύρου ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὴν ὁποίαν διακονοῦν.

Δι' Ἀρχιεπισκοπικῆς ἀποφάσεως, ἐκδοθείσης τῇ 29ῃ Ἀπριλίου 1981, ἡ γεωγραφικὴ διαίρεσις τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας εἰς ἀρχιερατικὰς Ἐπιτροπείας ἐγένετο ὡς ἑξῆς[3]: Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος: Ἱερὸς Καθεδρικὸς Ναὸς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας καὶ Ἅγιοι Πάντες Λονδίνου, Παρεκκλήσια Ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου καὶ Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου Λονδίνου. Ἐπίσκοπος Τροπαίου Γρηγόριος: Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου Wood Green, Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Θεολόγος, Ἅγιος Δημήτριος, Ἅγιος Ἀθανάσιος Cambridge, Ἅγ. Σπυρίδων Gt. Yarmouth, Ἅγ. Χαράλαμπος Luton, Ἅγ. Μάμας Bedford, Ἅγ. Γεώργιος Malta. Ἐπίσκοπος Κυανέων Χρυσόστομος: Ἀπόστ. Ἀνδρέας, Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Βαπτιστὴς (Παλαιός), Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης Βαπτιστὴς (Νέος), Ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυροι, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Southampton. Ἐπίσκοπος Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρος: Γενέσιον Θεοτόκου, Ἅγιος Νεκτάριος, Ἅγιος Λάζαρος, Μετ. Σωτῆρος Woolwich, Ἅγ. Κων/τῖνος Croydon, Ἁγία Τριὰς Brighton, Ἅγ. Βαρβάρα Southend-on-Sea. Ἐπίσκοπος Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμόθεος: Ἅγιος Νικόλαος, Ἅγιος Γεώργιος Kingston, Ἅγιος Φανούριος Aylesbury, Ἀπ. Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος Bristol, Ἅγ. Νικόλαος Cardiff, Ἀπ. Ἀνδρέας Jersey, Ἁγ. Τριὰς Oxford, Ἅγ. Ἀνδρέας Torquay, Ἅγ. Δημήτριος Plymouth, Ἀπ. Ἀνδρέας Weston-super-Mare, Εὐαγγελισμὸς Θεοτόκου Dublin. Ἐπίσκοπος Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀρίσταρχος: Τίμιος Σταυρός, Ἅγ. Παντελεήμων, Ἅγ. Παντελεήμων Eastbourne, Ἅγ. Δημήτριος Hastings, Ἀρχάγγελος Μιχαὴλ Margate, Προφ. Ἠλίας Reading, Εὐαγγ. Λουκᾶς Glasgow. Ἐπίσκοπος Πατάρων Εἰρηναῖος: Κοίμ. Θεοτόκου Birminghan, Bradford, Μετ. Σωτῆρος Coventry, Τρεῖς Ἱεράρχαι Leeds, Ἅγ. Νικόλαος Liverpool, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος Leicester, Εὐαγγελισμὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου Manchester, Εὐαγγ. Θεοτόκου Middlesbrough, Ἅγ. Ἀντώνιος Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, Ἅγ. Νεόφυτος Northampton, Παναγία Ἐλεοῦσα Nottingham.

Ἐκ τῆς ἀνωτέρω κατανομῆς διαπιστώνομεν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν περίοδον αὐτὴν ὑφίστανται εἰς τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας καὶ Ἐξαρχίας Ἰρλανδίας καὶ Μελίτης 53 Ἱεροὶ Ναοὶ μὲ σχεδὸν ἰσαρίθμους ἐνορίας. Μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ 8ου Βοηθοῦ Ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, τοῦ Διοκλείας Καλλίστου, ἐγένετο ἀνακατανομὴ τῆς γεωγραφικῆς διαιρέσεως, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ὡς Ἐπισκοπικὴ ἕδρα τούτου ὡρίσθη ὁ Ἱερὸς Ναὸς Ἁγίας Τριάδος Ὀξφόρδης, τοῦ δὲ Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου ὁ Καθεδρικὸς Ναὸς Ἁγίας Σοφίας Λονδίνου[4].

Οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοὶ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐπιτελοῦν ἐπίσης σημαντικὸν ἱεραποστολικὸν ἔργον εἴτε εἰς τὴν ἕδραν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς εἴτε ὡς ἐφημέριοι τῶν ἐνοριῶν της, ὅπου ὡς ἱερατικῶς προϊστάμενοι τῶν Ἱερῶν Ναῶν ἀποτελοῦν κατὰ κανόνα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς ἐνορίας καὶ τῆς ἀντιστοίχου Κοινότητος, ἐπιδιδόμενοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καθηκόντων των, καὶ εἰς ποικίλας ὀργανωτικάς, φιλανθρωπικὰς καὶ ἐκπαιδευτικὰς δραστηριότητας. Διαρκὴς μέριμνα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἶναι ἡ ἐπαρκὴς καὶ κατάλληλος στελέχωσις τοῦ σώματος τῶν κληρικῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ ἡ μεγιστοποίησις τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν ποὺ προσφέρουν. Ὁ ἐμπλουτισμὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου μὲ νέα στελέχη καὶ ἡ ἀνακατανομὴ καὶ ἡ ἀναβάθμισις τῶν ὑπηρετούντων κληρικῶν ἀποτελοῦν τρόπους διὰ τῶν ὁποίων γίνεται προσπάθεια νὰ καλυ-

1. *Αὐτόθι.*
2. *Αὐτόθι.*
3. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τ. 12ον (Ἰούλιος - Σεπτέμβριος 1981), σ. 6.
4. Βλ. τὸ «Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀρχ. Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας», ἔτους 1984, σ. 74.

φθοῦν αἱ συνεχῶς αὐξανόμεναι ἀπαιτήσεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων.

Πρὸς ἐπαύξησιν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν κληρικῶν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος ἠκολούθησε δύο ὁδούς: ἀρχικῶς καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ εὐκαιριακῶς ἡ μετάκλησις κληρικῶν ἐγνωσμένης ἱκανότητος καὶ ἱερατικοῦ ζήλου καὶ ὁ διορισμός των εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων ἐκάλυψεν ὡρισμένα ἐκ τῶν ἀμεσωτέρων κενῶν. Ἤδη μία δεκὰς περίπου κληρικῶν ἐξ ἄλλων Ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπηρετοῦν εὐδοκίμως εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων. Ἡ δευτέρα ὁδὸς εἶναι ἡ χειροτονία νέων κληρικῶν, προερχομένων κυρίως ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος τῶν πιστῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, ἡ ὁποία ἀπέδωσεν ἄριστα ἀποτελέσματα χάρις εἰς τὰς προσπαθείας διαφωτίσεως καὶ τὰς ἐκκλήσεις στρατεύσεως εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, γενομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, τῇ συνδρομῇ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ εὐτυχοῦς ἐμπνεύσεως καταρτισθέντος Ἱερατικοῦ Σεμιναρίου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Κατὰ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς προσωπικὰς ἐπιτυχίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἐγγράφεται ἡ τελεσφόρος προσπάθεια νὰ προσελκύσῃ εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῦ κλήρου τὸν διαπρεπῆ ἐπὶ ἐπιστημοσύνῃ καὶ θεολογικῇ πνευματικότητι Καθηγητὴν τῆς Πατερικῆς Θεολογίας εἰς τὴν Θεολογικὴν Σχολὴν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Durham Δρα Γεώργιον Δράγαν, τοῦ ὁποίου τὸ ἐπιστημονικὸν μέλλον καὶ ἡ δρᾶσις εἰς τὴν διακονίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας προοιωνίζονται λαμπρά. Ὁ Πατὴρ Γεώργιος Δράγας μὲ τὰς ἀρίστας σπουδάς του εἰς τὰ Πανεπιστήμια Ἐδιμβούργου καὶ Πρίνστον Η. Π. Α., μὲ τὴν ἀρτιωτάτην ἐπιστημονικὴν κατάρτισιν, μὲ τὴν συμμετοχήν του εἰς διεθνῆ Συνέδρια Πατρολογικοῦ καὶ Οἰκουμενικοῦ περιεχομένου καὶ μὲ τὴν ἀκάματον συγγραφικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν δραστηριότητά του, ἀποτελεῖ ἀπόκτημα διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων ἀλλὰ καὶ πνευματικὸν κεφάλαιον ἀνεκτίμητον δι' ὁλόκληρον τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν[1]. Ὁ Γεώργιος Δράγας ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου εἰς Διάκονον τὴν 26ην Ἰανουαρίου 1980 καὶ εἰς Πρεσβύτερον τὴν ἑπομένην εἰς τὸν Ἱερὸν Ναὸν τῶν Τριῶν Ἱεραρχῶν Leeds, συμπαραστατουμένου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοφιλεστάτου Ἐπισκόπου Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀριστάρχου καὶ ἄλλων κληρικῶν[2]. Ἀργότερον ὁ Πατὴρ Δράγας ἔλαβε τὸ ὀφφίκιον τοῦ Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἐτοποθετήθη καὶ ὑπηρετεῖ εἰς τὸν Ἱερὸν Ναὸν Ἁγίας Τριάδος Βορείου Ἀγγλίας.

Εὐτυχὲς ἐπίσης γεγονὸς διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων ὑπῆρξε καὶ ἡ χειροτονία ἑτέρου διακρινομένου ἐπὶ πνευματικότητι προσώπου, τοῦ Δρος Ἀνδρέου Χατζησαββῆ. Ὁ Δρ. Ἀνδρέας Χατζησαββῆς ἐχειροτονήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς Διάκονον τὴν 21ην Ἰουνίου 1981[3] καὶ εἰς Πρεσβύτερον τὴν 15ην Νοεμβρίου τοῦ ἰδίου ἔτους[4]. Ἐπίσης προσειλκύσθη εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῦ κλήρου καὶ ἐχειροτονήθη ὁ σπουδαστὴς τῆς Θεολογίας Ἀνατόλιος (κατὰ κόσμον Ἀπόστολος) Ψυχογυιός[5].

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱκανὸς ἀριθμὸς ἁπλῶν μὲν ἀλλ' ἐνθέρμων ζηλωτῶν τοῦ ἱεραποστολικοῦ ἔργου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ δεχθέντων τὴν μυστικὴν κλῆσιν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπύκνωσε τὰς τάξεις τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων καὶ μία πλειὰς Ἱεροσπουδαστῶν τοῦ Ἱερατικοῦ Σεμιναρίου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς.

Ἐξ ἄλλου ἀξιοσημείωτον διὰ τὸν διηυρυμένον ρόλον ποὺ ἐπιφυλάσσει διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος καὶ διὰ τὴν αἴγλην ποὺ διαχέει αὕτη εἶναι καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς τῆς εἰσόδου εἰς τὸ σῶμα τῶν κληρικῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μελῶν τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ τὸ σπουδαιότερον, κληρικῶν τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὡς εἶναι ἡ περίπτωσις τοῦ τέως Ἀγγλικανοῦ Canon John Maitland Moir, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀσπασθεὶς τὴν Ὀρθοδοξίαν ἐχειροτονήθη εἰς Διάκονον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ εἰς Πρεσβύτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου[6]. Ἐπίσης δέον νὰ ἀναφερθῇ καὶ ἡ εἰς Διάκονον χειροτονία ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Τροπαίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Πέτρου Bunce, τὴν 16ην Δεκεμβρίου 1979[7].

Μιὰ λελογισμένη κινητικότης ποὺ παρατηρεῖται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τῶν κληρικῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, διὰ τῶν διαφόρων ἀνακατατάξεων καὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμίσεων τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου, ὡς εἶναι οἱ νέοι διορισμοὶ ἢ ἀναδιορισμοὶ εἰς νέας θέσεις, αἱ προαγωγικαὶ χειροτονίαι καὶ ἡ ἀπονομὴ ὀφφικίων (Ἀρχιδιακόνου, Οἰκονόμου, Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου, Ἀρχιμανδρίτου), συμβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἀπαραίτητον ἀνανέωσιν, τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀναγνωρίσεως καὶ τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἱκανοποίησιν καὶ ἀναζωογόνησιν τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ ἐξασφαλίζει λειτουργικότητα εἰς τὸν ὀργανισμὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Τὸ ἔργον τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπιτελεῖ ὁ ἱερὸς κλῆρος εἶναι ἀξιολογώτατον, ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω ἐτονίσαμεν, καὶ αἱ συνθῆκαι ὑπὸ τὰς ὁποίας καλεῖται νὰ ἐκπληρώσῃ τὴν θρησκευτικὴν καὶ ἐθνικὴν ἀποστολήν του δὲν εἶναι πάντοτε αἱ ἄρισται, τοὐναντίον εἰς ἀρκετὰς περιπτώσεις εἶναι ἀντίξοοι, δεδομένης καὶ τῆς ἀδιαφορίας ἢ τὸ χειρότερον καὶ τῆς ἀντιστρατεύσεως ποὺ ἔχει νὰ ἀντιμετωπίσῃ οὗτος ὑπὸ ὡρισμένων οἱ ὁποῖοι ὑποβλέπουν τὸ ἔργον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εὐτυχῶς διὰ τὴν περίπτωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων, αἱ ἀναμφισβήτητοι διοικητικαὶ καὶ ὀργανωτικαὶ ἱκανότητες καὶ ἡ αἴγλη τῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ Προκαθημένου αὐτῆς, ὁ ἱεραποστολικὸς ζῆλος καὶ ἡ ἀκατάβλητος θέλησις καθὼς καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα πνευματικὰ καὶ ποιμαντικὰ προσόντα τῶν Βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἡ προσήλωσις, ἡ ἀφοσίωσις καὶ ἡ ἀδελφικὴ συνεργασία μεταξὺ τῶν λοιπῶν μελῶν τοῦ κλήρου ὑπερνικοῦν τὰς δυσκολίας καὶ ἀντιπαρέρχονται τὰς ἀντιξοότη-

1. Πρὸς πλείονας πληροφορίας βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τ. 2ον (Φεβρ. 1980), σσ 4, 7.
2. Τὰ τῆς χειροτονίας περιγράφονται λεπτομερῶς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τ. τοῦ Ὀρθ. Κήρυκος, σ. 6.
3. «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τ. 12ον (Ἰούλιος–Σεπτέμβριος 1981), σσ 1, 2.
4. Ἔνθ' ἀν., τ. 14ον (Ἰανουάριος 1982), σ. 9.
5. Ἔνθ' ἀν., τ. 19ον (Φεβρ.–Μάρτιος 1983), σ. 1.
6. Ἔνθ' ἀν., τ. 13ον (Ὀκτώβρ.–Δεκέμβρ. 1981), σ. 10.
7. Ἔνθ' ἀν., τ. 1ον (Ἰανουάριος 1980), σ. 14.

τας ὥστε νὰ συνεχίζεται ἀπρόσκοπτος ἡ πορεία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἱκανὴν βοήθειαν πρὸς ἐντοπισμὸν καὶ ἐπίλυσιν τῶν ἀναφυομένων προβλημάτων, πρὸς μεθόδευσιν τῶν προσπαθειῶν καὶ συντονισμὸν τῶν ἐνεργειῶν παρέχει εἰς συλλογικὸν ἐπίπεδον τὸ ἀνελλιπῶς συγκαλούμενον κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν πενταετίαν ἐτήσιον Ἱερατικὸν Συνέδριον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς.

β. *Ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἐκπαίδευσις:* Ὀλίγους μῆνας μετὰ τὴν ἐνθρόνισίν του ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος κατώρθωσε νὰ πραγματοποιήσῃ αὐτὸ ποὺ ἀπετέλεσε τὸ ὄνειρον καὶ τὴν εὐγενῆ φιλοδοξίαν τῶν προκατόχων του εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, τὴν δημιουργίαν δηλαδὴ μιᾶς Ἱερατικῆς Σχολῆς μὲ τὴν προοπτικὴν νὰ ἀποτελέσῃ αὕτη τὸ φυτώριον τῶν νέων στελεχῶν τοῦ κλήρου, τῶν προερχομένων ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος τῆς Παροικίας. Ἴσως παλαιότερον νὰ ἐκυριάρχησεν ἡ ἰδέα τῆς ἱδρύσεως Ὀρθοδόξου Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, γνωρίζων νὰ κινῆται εἰς τὴν σφαῖραν τοῦ ἐφικτοῦ, χωρὶς νὰ ἐγκαταλείπῃ βεβαίως καὶ τὰς μεγαλεπηβόλους σκέψεις καὶ προοπτικάς, προετίμησεν εἰς πρῶτον στάδιον τὴν ἵδρυσιν τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Φροντιστηρίου. Διὰ τοῦ ἱδρύματος αὐτοῦ ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων ἐπλαισίωσε καταλλήλως τὰς ἐκκλήσεις καὶ προτροπὰς πρὸς στράτευσιν εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ τῶν τάξεων τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξεπλήρωσε καὶ μίαν ὑποχρέωσιν πρὸς τὰ ἤδη ὑπηρετοῦντα μέλη τοῦ κλήρου της, νὰ παράσχῃ δηλαδὴ πνευματικὴν βοήθειαν καὶ ἐπιμόρφωσιν εἰς τοὺς στερουμένους θεολογικῶν προσόντων ἐκ τῶν κληρικῶν αὐτῆς, ὥστε νὰ καταστήσῃ ἀποτελεσματικωτέραν καὶ ἐπωφελεστέραν τὴν ἀποστολήν των καὶ εὐκαρπότερον τὸ ἔργον των. Ἡ ἀπήχησις τῆς δημιουργίας τοῦ Ἱερατικοῦ Σεμιναρίου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὑπῆρξεν εὐμενεστάτη εἰς τὴν Παροικίαν καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσῆλθον ὡς σπουδασταὶ τόσον ὑπηρετοῦντες κληρικοὶ ὅσον καὶ ἀρκετοὶ νέοι μὲ τὴν προοπτικὴν νὰ ἱερωθοῦν εἰς τὸ μέλλον.

Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς Σχολῆς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Κυριακὴν τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας τοῦ ἔτους 1980 ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς τὸ συγκρότημα τῆς Ἐνορίας τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου Kentish Town τοῦ Λονδίνου ἡ ὁποία καὶ ἐφιλοξένησεν εἰς τὰς αἰθούσας της τὸ Σεμινάριον. Τὸ πρόγραμμα τοῦ Σεμιναρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον ὡρίσθη νὰ λειτουργῇ τρὶς τῆς ἑβδομάδος, καταρτισθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου, περιεῖχε τὰ ἑξῆς ἀντικείμενα διδασκαλίας: Πρακτικὴ λειτουργικὴ καὶ τυπικὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία καὶ κανονικὸν δίκαιον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Κυανέων Χρυσοστόμου, Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς Ἁγίας Γραφὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Τροπαίου Γρηγορίου, Ποιμαντικὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρου καὶ Δογματικὴ τῶν μυστηρίων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Μουσικὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου[1]. Πλὴν τῶν ἀνωτέρω γενικῶν μαθημάτων ἀνεπτύχθησαν εἰς τὸ Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Φροντιστήριον καὶ ἄλλα θέματα γενικοῦ καὶ εἰδικοῦ ἐνδιαφέροντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου σώματος τῶν διδασκόντων καὶ ἄλλων ἐκλεκτῶν ὁμιλητῶν. Τὸ α' τετράμηνον τοῦ ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ ἔτους 1980–81 περιελάμβανε τὰς ἑξῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ θέματα[2]: «Ἡ πορεία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ» ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, «Τὸ ἱεραποστολικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Κληρικοῦ τῆς Διασπορᾶς» ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπου Τροπαίου Γρηγορίου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἐποπτείαν τοῦ Φροντιστηρίου, «Τὸ οἰκογενειακὸν Δίκαιον καὶ ὁ Ἱερεὺς» ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπου Κυανέων Χρυσοστόμου, «Ὁ Ἱερεὺς καὶ ἡ ὀργάνωσις τῆς Ἐνορίας» ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπου Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀριστάρχου, «Ὁ Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του» ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγγλικανοῦ Ἱερέως Colin Davey, «Ἀναζήτησις ὑποψηφίων Κληρικῶν ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ» ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπου Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρου, «Περὶ Μυστηρίων» ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπου Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου, «Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Φρόνημα» ὑπὸ Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου Καθηγητοῦ Γεωργίου Δράγα καὶ «Ἡ Διακονία τοῦ Κληρικοῦ καὶ ὁ πειρασμὸς τοῦ κόσμου» ὑπὸ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Παντελεήμονος Κουλούρη. Διὰ τὸ β' τρίμηνον τοῦ ἰδίου ἀκαδημαϊκοῦ ἔτους εἶχον προγραμματισθῆ αἱ ἑξῆς ὁμιλίαι[3]: «Ὁ Κληρικὸς στὸ σύγχρονο κόσμο» ὑπὸ Ἐπισκόπου Πατάρων Εἰρηναίου, «Ὑπηρέται Χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμοι Μυστηρίων Θεοῦ. Ἡ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἱερωσύνη» ὑπὸ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Συμεὼν Lash, «The Transfiguration of Christ» (Ἡ Μεταμόρφωσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ) ὑπὸ Ἀρχιμανδρίτου Καλλίστου Ware, «Πῶς βλέπουν οἱ θετικὲς ἐπιστῆμες τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἱερέως» ὑπὸ Οἰκονόμου Χαραλάμπου Λέοντα, «Ἐξελληνισμὸς τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ ἢ ἐκχριστιανισμὸς τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ» ὑπὸ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ «Ἡ χριστιανικὴ ἠθικὴ καὶ τὸ ἰατρικὸ ἐπάγγελμα» ὑπὸ ἰατροῦ Ὁμήρου Χαπίπη. Παρεθέσαμεν ἐνδεικτικῶς ὡρισμένα ἐκ τῶν θεμάτων τῶν ἀναπτυχθέντων εἰς τὸ Ἱερατικὸν Φροντιστήριον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς διὰ νὰ καταδειχθῇ ἡ εὐρύτης τοῦ προγράμματος διδασκαλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ μεγάλη σκοπιμότης τὴν ὁποίαν ἐξυπηρετεῖ τὸ ἵδρυμα τοῦτο, τὸ ὁποῖον κατέστη δυνατὸν νὰ λειτουργήσῃ καὶ νὰ ἑδραιωθῇ χάρις εἰς τὴν θέλησιν καὶ τὰς προσπαθείας τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου μὲ τὴν ἀμέριστον συμπαράστασιν τῶν Βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν συνδρομὴν καὶ ἄλλων διακεκριμένων κληρικῶν καὶ πνευματικῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς Παροικίας. Ἀγαθοὶ καρποὶ εἶναι οἱ ἀπόφοιτοι τοῦ Σεμιναρίου ποὺ ὡπλισμένοι μὲ τὰ κατάλληλα ἐφόδια εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῦ Κλήρου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Ἡ Σχολὴ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ λειτουργῇ καὶ σήμερον ἐν Gloucester Terrace, St. James Hall, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐποπτείαν πάντοτε τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Τροπαίου Γρηγορίου καὶ

1. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 3ον (Μάρτιος 1980), σσ 1, 6 καὶ τ. 6ον (Ἰούλιος–Αὔγουστος 1980), σ. 6.

2. Ἀνακοίνωσις τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Φροντιστηρίου ἐν «Ὀρθ. Κήρυκι», τ. 10ον (Μάρτιος–Ἀπρίλιος 1981), σ. 12.

3. Ἔνθ' ἀν., τ. 11ον (Μάιος–Ἰούνιος 1981), σ. 9.

ὑπὸ τὴν Διεύθυνσιν τοῦ Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου Γεωργίου Δράγα[1].

γ. *Αἱ Ἐνορίαι, αἱ Κοινότητες καὶ οἱ Ἱεροὶ Ναοί:* Τὸ βασικὸν κύτταρον τῆς συγκροτήσεως τοῦ ὀργανισμοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων εἶναι οἱ πυρηνικοὶ σχηματισμοὶ τῶν παροικιακῶν Κοινοτήτων, αἱ ὁποῖαι εἰς τὴν συντριπτικὴν πλειοψηφίαν των ταυτίζονται μὲ τὰς Ἐνορίας τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ φέρουν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ ποὺ λειτουργεῖ εἰς αὐτάς. Ὁμάδες Κοινοτήτων ἢ Ἐνοριῶν τῆς αὐτῆς συνήθως περιοχῆς συνιστοῦν τὴν Ἐπισκοπικὴν Περιφέρειαν[2] καὶ μέσῳ αὐτῆς συνδέονται μετὰ τῆς κεντρικῆς διοικήσεως. Ἡ συγκρότησις τῆς Παροικίας εἰς Κοινότητας ἢ Ἐνορίας εἶναι κατ' ἐξοχὴν ἔργον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγνωρίζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ συνόλου σχεδὸν τῶν Παροίκων. Ἀρχικῶς ἡ ἀφετηρία συγκροτήσεως τῶν Κοινοτήτων ἦτο ἡ ὀργάνωσις τῆς κοινῆς λατρείας, ἡ ἐξασφάλισις δηλαδὴ τῆς λειτουργίας ἱεροῦ ναοῦ[3], κατὰ τὴν σύγχρονον ὅμως περίοδον, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἡ συγκρότησις ἔχει φθάσει εἰς ἱκανοποιητικὸν ἐπίπεδον, ἠκολουθήθη εἰς ἐνίας τῶν περιπτώσεων ἡ ἀντίστροφος πορεία, δηλαδὴ ἡ σύμπηξις Κοινότητος εἰς πρῶτον στάδιον μὲ ἄμεσον τὴν προοπτικὴν λειτουργίας ἱεροῦ ναοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν προϋπόθεσιν ἐξυπηρετήσεώς της ὑπὸ ἱερέως γειτονικῆς Κοινότητος.

Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος κατὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τῶν οἰάκων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων παρέλαβε μίαν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀρκούντως ὠργανωμένην εἰς ἐπίπεδον Κοινοτήτων καὶ Ἐνοριῶν, δὲν ἐπανεπαύθη ὅμως εἰς τὰ ἤδη δημιουργημένα. Ἀνάγκαι καὶ ἐλλείψεις ὑπῆρχον καὶ ἐξακολουθοῦν νὰ ὑπάρχουν, τὰ δὲ περιθώρια βελτιώσεως τῆς συγκροτήσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς περιφερειακὸν ἐπίπεδον εἶναι σχεδὸν ἀνεξάντλητα. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος ἀπεδύθη ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἡμερῶν κυριολεκτικῶς εἰς ἀγῶνα δρόμου, ἐπισκεπτόμενος καὶ τὰς πλέον ἀπομεμακρυσμένας γωνίας τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς περιφερείας του, ὅπου ὑπῆρχον ἔστω καὶ ὀλιγάριθμοι Ἑλληνορθόδοξοι, μεταφέρων μηνύματα αἰσιοδοξίας, ἱερουργῶν, ἐνισχύων ἠθικῶς καὶ ὑλικῶς, πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ προσωπικοῦ του βαλλαντίου, νουθετῶν, συντονίζων, συσκεπτόμενος μετὰ τῶν τοπικῶν παραγόντων, συγκροτῶν νέας Κοινότητας, ἱδρύων Ἱεροὺς Ναούς, συντρέχων καὶ βοηθῶν ὅπου παρίστατο ἀνάγκη. Τὸ φιλόδοξον σχέδιον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἶναι ἑκάστη Κοινότης νὰ καταστῇ αὐτοδύναμον καὶ πολυδύναμον κέντρον θρησκευτικῆς, ἐθνικῆς, κοινωνικῆς καὶ πολιτιστικῆς δραστηριότητος, μὲ ἰδιόκτητον Ἱερὸν Ναὸν καὶ συγκρότημα κτιρίων διὰ τὸ ἑλληνικὸν καὶ κατηχητικὸν σχολεῖον, κοινοτικὸν κέντρον καὶ λοιπὰ φιλανθρωπικὰ καὶ πολιτιστικὰ ἱδρύματα. Αἱ πλέον ἢ ἀγαθαὶ σχέσεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων μετὰ τῶν τοπικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ κυρίως τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς διευκολύνουν τὴν ἱκανοποίησιν τῶν λατρευτικῶν ἀναγκῶν τῶν ἑλληνορθοδόξων διὰ τῆς φιλοξενίας τῶν Ναῶν των ἐντὸς Ἀγγλικανικῶν Ναῶν ἢ διὰ τῆς παραχωρήσεώς τινων ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀποκλειστικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας.

Ὡρισμένα ἐκ τῶν λαμπρῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων τῆς τελευταίας πενταετίας εἰς τὸν ἐξεταζόμενον τομέα, τὰ ὁποῖα κατωρθώθησαν χάρις εἰς τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰς ἀόκνους προσπαθείας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀμέσου ἢ ἐμμέσου βοηθείας αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς δραστηριοποιήσεως τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ κοινοτικῶν παραγόντων εἶναι, κατὰ χρονικὴν ἀκολουθίαν, τὰ ἑξῆς: Ἡ ἀγορὰ Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς Γουέστον Σοῦπερ Μαίαρ πρὸς ἀποκλειστικὴν χρῆσιν τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων, ἡ ἀγορὰ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Τορκαίυ, ἡ ἐνεργείαις τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου παραχώρησις ὑπὸ τῆς τοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ναῶν εἰς Λοῦτον καὶ Ρέντιγκ, τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Καθεδρικοῦ Ναοῦ Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Γοὺντ Γκρήν, ἡ μεταστέγασις τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ Χαριγκέυ Λονδίνου εἰς ἰδιόκτητον Ναὸν μετὰ Σχολείου καὶ αἰθούσης κοινοτικῆς, ἡ συγκρότησις τῆς Κοινότητος τοῦ Ἁγίου Μάμαντος Μπέντφορντ, ἡ ἀγορὰ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ εἰς Δουβλῖνον, ἡ ἀγορὰ τοῦ Ναοῦ Saint Michael ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος «Τιμίου Σταυροῦ καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ» Χέντον καὶ Μπάρνετ, ἡ ἐξαγορὰ τοῦ Ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου Κέντις Τάουν Λονδίνου, ἡ ἀπόκτησις τοῦ ἰδιοκτήτου Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Δημητρίου Ἔντμοντον, ἡ ἀγορὰ τοῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Μαρίας Μαγδαληνῆς Χαίιστιγξ μετὰ τῆς Κοινοτικῆς αἰθούσης, ἡ μεταβίβασις τοῦ Ἀγγλικανικοῦ Ναοῦ St. John Maddermaket εἰς τὴν Κοινότητα Νόργουϊτς, τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ ἀνακαινισθέντος Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Σπυρίδωνος Γκρέητ Γιάρμουθ, ἡ πολυετὴς ἐνοικίασις εἰς τὴν Ἱερὰν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων τοῦ Ἀγγλικανικοῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Τριάδος πλησίον τοῦ Ντάραμ, τὰ θυρανοίξια τοῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἐλευθερίου (Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων) Whalthamstow Ἀνατολικοῦ Λονδίνου καὶ ἡ ἐπικειμένη ἀγορὰ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν αἰθουσῶν διὰ σχολεῖα, ἡ ἀποπληρωμὴ τοῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγίων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου Μπρίστολ, τὰ θυρανοίξια τοῦ νέου Ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγ. Μεθοδίου (πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου) Κόλτσεστερ καὶ ἡ ἵδρυσις νέας Κοινότητος, ἡ ἵδρυσις τῆς Κοινότητος Λήντς, ἡ ἀπόκτησις τοῦ ἰδιοκτήτου Ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τῆς Ἐλεούσης εἰς Νόττιγχαμ, ἡ διχοτόμησις τῆς Κοινότητος Μπίρμιγχαμ (ἡ νέα Κοινότης καὶ ὁ Ἱερὸς Ναὸς Ἁγίας Τριάδος φιλοξενοῦνται εἰς τὸν Ἀγγλικανικὸν Ναὸν Ἁγ. Ἰακώβου), αἱ διαπραγματεύσεις διὰ τὴν ἐνοικίασιν τοῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου Βαπτιστοῦ Χολογουαίυ Λονδίνου, ἡ ἵδρυσις τῆς Κοινότητος καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας (εἰς μνήμην τῆς προσφάτως ἐκδημησάσης εἰς Κύριον μητρὸς τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου) εἰς Bury-St. Edmunds

1. Βλ. «Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀρχ. Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας», 1984, σ. 64.

2. Βλ. ἀνωτέρω τὴν γεωγραφικὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς εἰς Ἐπισκοπικὰς Περιφερείας, ἐνότης 3α.

3. Βλ. ἡμέτερον «Πρακτικὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν Μαγκεστρίᾳ», «Texts and Studies», τ. II, London 1983, σσ 99-122, Προλογικὸν σημείωμα, σ. 99.

(Norfolk)[1]. Ὁ κατάλογος αὐτὸς τῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων τῶν Κοινοτήτων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ ἐπιμηκυνθῇ σημαντικῶς ἐὰν ἤθελε κάποιος νὰ προσθέσῃ καὶ ἄλλας δραστηριότητας αἱ ὁποῖαι κατέληξαν εἰς τὴν περαιτέρω ὀργάνωσιν καὶ συγκρότησιν τῶν ὑφισταμένων κοινοτικῶν καὶ ἐνοριακῶν σχηματισμῶν καὶ τὸν ἐμπλουτισμόν των μὲ νέα κτίρια καὶ ἱδρύματα εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα ἐστεγάσθησαν αἱ ποικίλαι δραστηριότητές των. Μίαν γενικὴν εἰκόνα τῶν ἐπιτευχθέντων παρέχει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος εἰς τὴν εἰσήγησίν του πρὸς τὴν ἐτησίαν Σύναξιν τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Κλήρου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, τὴν 18ην Ἰανουαρίου 1984[2].

Εἰς τὰ ἀνωτέρω δέον νὰ προστεθῇ καὶ ἡ ἀναβάθμισις ὡρισμένων Ἱερῶν Ναῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς διὰ τῆς ἀνυψώσεώς των εἰς Καθεδρικούς, ἤτοι: τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ Χέντον, τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Μπίρμιγχαμ, τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ Ἁγίων Πάντων Λονδίνου καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς Θεοτόκου Δουβλίνου. Ἐπίσης πρέπει νὰ ἀναφερθῇ καὶ ἡ ὑπαγωγὴ εἰς τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων τῆς Ρωσσικῆς ἐνορίας καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τῆς Κρονστάνδης καὶ τῆς Λευκορωσσικῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας Ἁγ. Εὐφροσύνης. Κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ 1984 ὑφίσταντο εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν 52 Ἱεροὶ Ναοὶ καὶ ἰσάριθμοι Κοινότητες, 7 Παρεκκλήσια, 11 Κοινότητες ὑπὸ ὀργάνωσιν ἄνευ Ἱερῶν Ναῶν καὶ 5 Ἱεραὶ Μοναί. Ἑκάστη Κοινότης εἶναι εἷς πολυδύναμος ὀργανισμὸς μὲ κέντρον τὸν Ἱερὸν Ναὸν καὶ μὲ ἀνάπτυξιν πέριξ αὐτοῦ ποικίλων ἱδρυμάτων, σωματείων καὶ ὀργανώσεων. Αἱ δραστηριότητες ἀποκλίνουν ἀπὸ Κοινότητος εἰς Κοινότητα, ἀλλ' ἐὰν παραθέσωμεν τὰς κοινὰς καὶ ἀποκλινούσας δραστηριότητας δυνάμεθα νὰ δημιουργήσωμεν τὸ πρότυπον πρὸς τὸ ὁποῖον τείνουν ὅλαι αἱ Κοινότητες. Ἡ ἀπαρίθμησις θὰ μᾶς δώσῃ τὴν κατωτέρω εἰκόνα: Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Κατηχητικὸν Σχολεῖον, Βοηθητικὴ Ἀδελφότης, Σύλλογος Γονέων καὶ Κηδεμόνων, Φιλόπτωχον Ταμεῖον, Ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθόδοξος Νεολαία, Ἱεραποστολικὴ Ἑταιρεία, Προσκοπικὸν Σῶμα, Γηροκομεῖον, Ἔκδοσις ἐντύπων, Παιδικὸς Σταθμός, Πολιτιστικὸν Κέντρον, Ἱερὰ Μονή, Ἀγγλοελληνικὸς Σύνδεσμος, Ἐκπολιτιστικὸς Σύλλογος, Ἑλληνοκυπριακὸς Σύλλογος, Ἑλληνικὴ Ἀδελφότης, Ἱερὰ Ἀδελφότης.

Ἂν συγκρίνῃ τις τὴν πρὸ πενταετίας κρατοῦσαν κατάστασιν καὶ τὴν ἐξέλιξιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅπως διεμορφώθη σήμερον, διαπιστώνει ὅτι εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς ὀργανώσεως τῶν Κοινοτήτων καὶ τῶν Ἐνοριῶν καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας τῶν Ἱερῶν Ναῶν ἐπετελέσθησαν πλεῖστα. Βεβαίως ἡ ὀργάνωσις δὲν ἔχει φθάσει ἀκόμη εἰς τὴν ἀρίστην δυνατὴν κατάστασιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπάρχουν αἱ ἐγγυήσεις διὰ τὴν εὐκταίαν ἐξέλιξιν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ εἶναι αὗται ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἡ θερμουργὸς πνοὴ τὴν ὁποίαν ἐμφυσᾷ εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν του ὁ ἄξιος Προκαθήμενός της καὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρου ἡ ἀκατάβλητος διάθεσις καὶ ἀκαταπόνητος δραστηριότης τῶν λοιπῶν ἱεραρχῶν, τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παραγόντων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς.

δ. *Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Σχολεῖα*: Εἰς τὴν πρώτην γραμμὴν τοῦ ἐνδιαφέροντος τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἐτέθη καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ τίθεται ἡ ὀργάνωσις τῆς ἑλληνοπρεποῦς ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν Ἑλληνοπαίδων τῆς Παροικίας. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ἔχουσα βαθεῖαν συναίσθησιν τῆς ἐθνικῆς της ἀποστολῆς, προσέτρεξεν ἀρωγὸς εἰς τὴν προσπάθειαν τῶν παροίκων πρὸς ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφελληνισμοῦ τῆς νέας γενεᾶς καὶ ἀφομοιώσεώς της ἐντὸς τοῦ ὑπερτέρου πολιτιστικοῦ περιβάλλοντος τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς Κοινωνίας. Οἱ φορεῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων ἐδείχθησαν πάντοτε συναντιλήπτορες εἰς τὴν ἀγωνίαν τῶν παραγόντων καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Παροικίας διὰ τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς ἑλληνοχριστιανικῆς ταυτότητος τῶν νέων. Ἔτι πλέον, ἡ Ἐκκλησία καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν περίπτωσιν ἐπρωτοστάτησεν εἰς τὴν ὀργάνωσιν τῶν ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων, φιλοξενήσασα ἐντὸς τῶν ἱερῶν Ναῶν της ἀρχικῶς καὶ εἰς ἰδιόκτητα κτίρια ἐν συνεχείᾳ τὰ σχολεῖα καὶ διαθέσασα πρὸς κάλυψιν τῶν διδακτικῶν ἀναγκῶν τοὺς ἀξίους κληρικούς της, οἱ ὁποῖοι παραλλήλως πρὸς τὴν ἱεραποστολικὴν δρᾶσιν των ἐπέδειξαν τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον καὶ ὡς ἑλληνοδιδάσκαλοι, συνεχίζοντες ἐπαξίως τὴν ἀνεκτίμητον προσφορὰν τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Διασπορᾶς εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς διατηρήσεως τῆς ἐθνικῆς ταυτότητος τῶν ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ἑλλαδικοῦ χώρου δραστηριοποιουμένων Ἑλλήνων. Θεωροῦμεν σκόπιμον νὰ μεταφέρωμεν ἐνταῦθα ὡρισμένας διαπιστώσεις διὰ τὸν ρόλον καὶ τὴν προσφορὰν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸ Ἔθνος, τὰς ὁποίας παρεθέσαμεν εἰς παρομοίαν περίπτωσιν εἰς ἄλλην μελέτην μας[3]: «Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἱστορία ἔχει τεκμηριώσει κατὰ τρόπο ἀδιαφιλονίκητο τὴ διαπίστωση ὅτι ἡ διατήρηση τοῦ φωτὸς τῆς παιδείας ἄσβηστου, καὶ διὰ μέσου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐθνικῆς συνειδήσεως, κατὰ τὶς σκοτεινὲς περιόδους τῶν ἐθνικῶν περιπετειῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, ὀφείλεται σὲ πολὺ μεγάλο μέρος στὴ μέχρι αὐταπαρνήσεως προσφορὰ τῶν ἐμπνευσμένων μελῶν καὶ ἱεραρχῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνορθόδοξου κλήρου. Παράλληλα εἶναι δίκαιο νὰ καταστεῖ εὐρύτερη συνείδηση καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἡ διαφύλαξη ὡς ἐθνικοῦ κεφαλαίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς διασπορᾶς, ὀφείλεται καὶ πάλι στοὺς ἄξιους ταγοὺς καὶ ἀφοσιωμένους στὸ θεάρεστο ἔργο τους κληρικοὺς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τοὺς θεματοφύλακες τοῦ "στῆτε καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις", χριστιανικὲς καὶ ἐθνικές. Παντοῦ ὅπου ζοῦν καὶ δραστηριοποιοῦνται Ἕλληνες, ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν

1. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τεύχη 1-24 καὶ πρβλ. τὸ «Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀρχ. Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας», τῶν ἐτῶν 1979 καὶ 1984.

2. Ἡ εἰσήγησις δημοσιεύεται εἰς τὸν «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 23ον (Ἰαν.-Φεβρ. 1984), σσ 4-5, ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «Ἡ σημειωθεῖσα πρόοδος εἰς τὶς Ἑλληνορθόδοξες Κοινότητες Βρεταννίας».

3. *Χ. Ε. Γιαννούλα*: «Ἱστορία τῆς Ἱ. Μητροπόλεως Ἀξώμης...», ἔνθ' ἀν., σ. 392.

Ἑλλαδικὸ χῶρο, ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκκλησία ἔχει ἐπεκτείνει καὶ καλύπτει κάτω ἀπὸ τὴ στοργική της σκέπη τὰ τέκνα της, καὶ κατορθώνει μὲ τοὺς ἄξιους κληρικοὺς καὶ ἱεράρχες της νὰ ἐκμηδενίζει σχεδὸν τὸν κίνδυνο τῆς ἀπαλλοτριώσεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ στοιχείου». Οὕτω καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία Θυατείρων εἱστίασεν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰς ἐνεργείας της πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐθνικοθρησκευτικῆς ἀποστολῆς της διὰ τῆς ὀργανώσεως καὶ λειτουργίας σχολείων, ἐθεώρει δὲ καὶ θεωρεῖ ἐλλιπῆ τὴν συγκρότησιν κάποιας Κοινότητος καὶ Ἐνορίας, ἂν δὲν λειτουργῇ εἰς αὐτήν, παραλλήλως πρὸς τὸν Ἱερὸν Ναὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ Κατηχητικὸν σχολεῖον. Τεραστία ὤθησις εἰς τὴν σύστασιν καὶ λειτουργίαν τῶν σχολείων ἐδόθη ἀφ' ὅτου ἀνέλαβε τὰ ἡνία τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος, τοῦ ὁποίου εἶναι ἐγνωσμένη ἡ ἀγάπη πρὸς τοὺς νέους καὶ ἡ σημασία τὴν ὁποίαν ἀποδίδει εἰς τὴν Ἐκπαίδευσιν ὡς παράγοντα ἀποφασιστικὸν διὰ τὴν βίωσιν τῶν ἐθνικοθρησκευτικῶν ἰδεωδῶν. Τὸ φιλόδοξον σχέδιον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου νὰ ἀποκτήσῃ ἑκάστη Κοινότης καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σχολεῖον καὶ μάλιστα στεγαζόμενον εἰς ἰδιόκτητον κτίριον καὶ νὰ πεισθοῦν νὰ φοιτήσουν ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν περισσότεροι Ἑλληνόπαιδες, ἔχει σήμερον ὑλοποιηθῆ κατὰ σημαντικὸν μέρος.

Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Παροικίας λειτουργοῦν εἰς ἐπίπεδον κυρίως στοιχειώδους ἐκπαιδεύσεως ὡς συμπληρωματικὰ τῶν Ἀγγλικῶν σχολείων εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα φοιτοῦν κανονικῶς τὰ Ἑλληνόπουλα, παρέχοντα γνώσεις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης καὶ ἱστορίας καθὼς καὶ πατριδογνωσίαν, μύησιν εἰς τὰ ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα τῆς Πατρίδος, διδασκαλίαν ἐθνικῶν χορῶν καὶ θρησκευτικὴν ἀγωγήν. Εἰς ὡρισμένα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων λειτουργοῦν καὶ τμήματα G.C.E., τὸ δὲ πολυπληθὲς καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλέον ἐπιτυχημένων σχολείων Ἑλληνικὸν σχολεῖον τῆς ἐνορίας τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου Kentish Town τοῦ Λονδίνου εἶναι ἀνεγνωρισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Oxford ὡς κέντρον ἐξετάσεων G.C.E. Αἱ ἐπιτυχίαι αἱ ὁποῖαι σημειώνονται κατ' ἔτος εἰς τὰς ἐξετάσεις G.C.E. διὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ Γραμματείαν, ἀποδεικνύουν τὸ ἐπιτελούμενον εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα ἔργον. Οἱ διδάσκαλοι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν Κυπριακὴν Ἐκπαιδευτικὴν Ἀποστολήν, τὴν Ἐκπαιδευτικὴν Ἀποστολὴν ἐξ Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων (κληρικοὶ καὶ λαϊκοί). Τὸν βασικὸν φορέα τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ ἀποτελεῖ κατὰ κοινὴν ἀποδοχὴν ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἀνήκει ἡ εὐθύνη διὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ μεγαλυτέρου ἀριθμοῦ τῶν σχολείων. Ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ βοηθεῖται εἰς τὸ ἐκπαιδευτικὸν ἔργον της ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποσπᾷ ἀριθμὸν Ἐκπαιδευτικῶν εἰς τὰ σχολεῖα της καὶ συμβολικῶς ὑπὸ τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἐκπαιδευτικῆς Ἀποστολῆς διὰ τῆς διαθέσεως μικροῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἐκ τῶν Ἐκπαιδευτικῶν της εἰς τὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, τὸ κύριον βάρος ὅμως ἀπομένει εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἡ ὁποία μεριμνᾷ διὰ τὴν ἐξασφάλισιν τῶν κονδυλίων διὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν σχολείων, τὴν ἐπάνδρωσιν μὲ διδασκάλους, κληρικοὺς καὶ λαϊκούς, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἴτε προσφέρονται ἀνιδιοτελῶς εἴτε βαρύνουν τὰς Κοινότητας καὶ τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπήν. Αἱ ὀργανωτικαὶ δραστηριότητες καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλων προσπαθειῶν καὶ πρωτοβουλιῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μὲ συντονιστικὰ ὄργανα τὸ Κεντρικὸν Ἐκπαιδευτικὸν Συμβούλιον (Κ.Ε.Σ.) καὶ τὴν Γραμματείαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ, διατηροῦν καὶ ἐνισχύουν τὸν πρωταρχικὸν ρόλον αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως, ρόλον ὁ ὁποῖος ἀναγνωρίζεται καὶ ὑπὸ πλείστων ἐκ τῶν φορέων τῶν λεγομένων ἀνεξαρτήτων σχολείων τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἐκπαιδευτικῆς Ἀποστολῆς, ὡς εἶναι τὰ τοῦ Manor Hill, Moss Hill, High Barnet καὶ Potters Bar.

Ἐπιτυχίαν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων, ἡ ὁποία συνετέλεσεν εἰς τὴν ἀναβάθμισιν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως ἐν Μ.-Βρεταννίᾳ, ἀπετέλεσεν ἡ κατόπιν προσωπικῶν ἐνεργειῶν καὶ παραστάσεων παρὰ ταῖς ἁρμοδίαις Ἑλληνικαῖς ἀρχαῖς τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου ἵδρυσις καὶ λειτουργία ἀπὸ τοῦ σχολ. ἔτους 1980-81 τοῦ ἀμιγοῦς Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Λονδίνου, μὲ πλῆρες Δημοτικόν, Γυμνάσιον καὶ Λύκειον καὶ μὲ φορέα τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων, ὑπαγόμενον εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς διατάξεις τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὰς ὁποίας ὑπάγονται παρόμοια Ἑλληνικὰ Σχολεῖα τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ[1]. Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Κολλέγιον τοῦ Λονδίνου ἔξι μῆνας μετὰ τὴν ἔναρξιν λειτουργίας του ἀνεγνωρίσθη ὑπὸ πέντε Ἀγγλικῶν Πανεπιστημίων, περιελάμβανε δὲ εἰς τὴν δύναμίν του 50 μαθητὰς καὶ 15 Καθηγητὰς (10 Ἕλληνας καὶ 5 Ἄγγλους)[2], μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἐστεγάσθη εἰς ἰδιόκτητον κτίριον, ἀποκτηθὲν ἐνεργείαις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου. Τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐλπιδοφόρον αὐτὸ ἐκπαιδευτικὸν συγκρότημα, μετὰ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τοῦ ρόλου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ὡς ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ φορέως αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν τῶν ἀπεσπασμένων ἐξ Ἑλλάδος Ἐκπαιδευτικῶν, ἐλειτούργησεν ἀπὸ τῆς 21ης Φεβρουαρίου 1983 ὡς ἰδιωτικὸν σχολεῖον, προσφέρον ἐντατικὴν ἀγγλικὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν καὶ διατηροῦν ἑλληνικὸν τμῆμα[3].

Ἡ προσφορὰ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως εἶναι ἀνεκτίμητος καὶ τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν παραγόντων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀδιάπτωτον. Ἐκδηλώσεις αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνδιαφέροντος καὶ συμπληρωματικὴν εἰκόνα τῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων θὰ προσπαθήσωμεν νὰ δώσωμεν κατωτέρω.

Ἡ ἔμφασις ποὺ δίδεται ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς ἐθνικοθρησκευτικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως εἶναι διαρκὴς καὶ ἐκδηλώνεται διὰ τῶν συνεχῶν ἀνακοινώσεων ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν τοῦ «Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος» καὶ τῶν ἐκκλήσεων πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς νὰ

1. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 7ον (Σεπτ.-Ὀκτώβρ. 1980), σσ 1, 6.
2. *Αὐτόθι*, τ. 11ον (Μάιος-Ἰούνιος 1981), σ. 3.
3. *Αὐτόθι*, τ. 20ὸν (Ἀπρίλιος-Μάιος 1983), σ. 3.

ἐγγράψουν τὰ παιδιά των εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα, διὰ τῆς λαμπρᾶς διοργανώσεως τῶν σχολικῶν ἑορτῶν μὲ ἀπαγγελίας, παράστασιν θεατρικῶν ἔργων καὶ σκέτς, ὁμιλίας, ἐθνικοὺς χοροὺς καὶ ἄλλας ἐκδηλώσεις κατὰ τὸν ἑορτασμὸν τῶν ἐθνικῶν ἐπετείων καὶ τῶν μεγάλων Χριστιανικῶν ἑορτῶν καθὼς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ λήξει τῶν μαθημάτων. Αἱ ἐκδηλώσεις αὗται ἀποτελοῦν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἔργου τῶν σχολείων καὶ λαμπρύνονται ἐνίοτε διὰ τῆς παρουσίας πολιτικῶν προσωπικοτήτων ἐξ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου. Ἰδιαιτέραν ἔμφασιν δίδει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Τριῶν Ἱεραρχῶν, τὴν καθιερωμένην ὡς Ἑορτὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Γραμμάτων, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν καθιέρωσε τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς μετακλήσεως ἐπιφανῶν προσωπικοτήτων διὰ νὰ ἐκφωνήσουν τὸν πανηγυρικὸν τῆς ἡμέρας. Πρῶτος ὁμιλητής, τὴν 30ὴν Ἰανουαρίου 1980, ὑπῆρξεν ὁ κολοσσὸς τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς σκέψεως ἀείμνηστος Καθηγητὴς τῆς Φιλοσοφίας τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Ἰωάννης Ν. Θεοδωρακόπουλος, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐγοήτευσε διὰ τοῦ φιλοσοφικοῦ στοχασμοῦ του τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀκροατῶν[1]. Τὸ 1981 ἡ Ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Γραμμάτων συνεδυάσθη μετὰ τοῦ Η' Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συνεδρίου τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον παρεκάθησαν προσκληθέντες ὁ Πρόεδρος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Βουλῆς Δημ. Παπασπύρου, ὁ Ὑπουργὸς Παιδείας τῆς Κύπρου Νικ. Κονομῆς καὶ ὁ Ὑπουργὸς Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ἀθ. Ταλιαδοῦρος· ὁμιλητὴς κατὰ τὴν Ἑορτὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Γραμμάτων ὑπῆρξεν ὁ τελευταῖος, μὲ θέμα τὴν Ἐκπαιδευτικὴν Μεταρρύθμισιν ἐν Ἑλλάδι[2]. Κατὰ τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος ὁμιλητὴς ἦτο ὁ Sir Steven Runciman καὶ κατὰ τὸ 1983 ὁ Καθηγητὴς καὶ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Γ. Μερίκας, κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρέχον ἔτος προσεκλήθη καὶ ὡμίλησε διὰ τοὺς Τρεῖς Ἱεράρχας ὁ διαπρεπὴς Καθηγητὴς τῆς Δογματικῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τοῦ Ἐδιμβούργου T. F. Torrance, μέλος τῆς Βρεταννικῆς Ἀκαδημίας καὶ κάτοχος τοῦ Βραβείου Templeton.

Εἰς ὀργανωτικὸν ἐπίπεδον καὶ εἰς τὸν τομέα τοῦ προβληματισμοῦ, τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς ἀπόψεων καὶ τοῦ προγραμματισμοῦ, δυνάμεθα νὰ ἀναφέρωμεν τὰς δραστηριότητας τῆς Γραμματείας ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ μὲ προϊστάμενον τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον Κυανέων Χρυσόστομον, τὸ Ἐτήσιον Ἐκπαιδευτικὸν Συνέδριον μὲ συμμετοχὴν ὅλων τῶν παραγόντων καὶ φορέων τῶν σχολείων καὶ πρόσκλησιν τῶν Ὑπουργῶν Παιδείας Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου, τὴν συγκρότησιν καὶ τὰς δραστηριότητας τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων[3], μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων καὶ τὴν σύγκλησιν Συνεδρίου Ἐκπαιδευτικῶν, τὴν συγκρότησιν εἰς σῶμα τῆς Ἑνώσεως Ἑλλήνων Ἐκπαιδευτικῶν Μ. Βρεταννίας, τὴν Συνέλευσιν Κοινοτικῶν καὶ Σχολικῶν παραγόντων καὶ πλείστας ἄλλας ἐνεργείας εἰς συλλογικὸν ἐπίπεδον.

Εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς ὑποβοηθήσεως τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ σχολείου ἀναφέρομεν τὴν ὀργάνωσιν Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Σεμιναρίου εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Λονδῖνον ὡς καὶ παιδικῶν κατασκηνώσεων, τὴν ἔκθεσιν βιβλίων καὶ βοηθημάτων ὡς καὶ ἐργασιῶν τῶν μαθητῶν εἰς τὸ Birmingham καὶ ποικίλας δραστηριότητας μὲ φορέα τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων. Τέλος εἰς τὸν τομέα τῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων ἀναφέρομεν ἐνδεικτικῶς τὰ ἑξῆς: Τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων τοῦ Ἀγγλοελληνικοῦ Νηπιαγωγείου Tokington, τὴν ἀνέγερσιν σχολικῶν κτιρίων εἰς Birmingham, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σχολεῖον Twickam, τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων Hastings καὶ Reading εἰς τὸ Κ.Ε.Σ., τὴν ἀνέγερσιν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Σχολείου Camberwell, τὴν ἀπόκτησιν ἰδιοκτήτου σχολείου Nottingham, τὸ Ἐκπαιδευτικὸν Ἵδρυμα Bristol, ποὺ ἠγόρασεν ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος καὶ ἔκτοτε φέρει τὸ ὄνομά του καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἐν Καίμπριτζ. Γενικῶς κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ 1984 τὰ σχολεῖα ποὺ ὑπάγονται εἰς τὸ Σύστημα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἀνήρχοντο εἰς 86 καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ εἰς 5.319[4], οἱ δὲ Ἐκπαιδευτικοὶ εἰς ὑπερτριακοσίους ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων περὶ τοὺς 70 μόνον εἶναι ἀπεσπασμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὑπουργείου Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἐκ τῶν ἀνωτέρω διαπιστοῦται εὐχερῶς ὅτι ὁ τομεὺς Ἐκπαίδευσις ἀποτελεῖ διὰ τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Θυατείρων ἔργον ζωῆς καὶ εἶναι δικαιολογημένη ἡ ἀντίδρασις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν γενομένην προσπάθειαν νὰ παραγνωρισθῇ ἡ προσφορά της καὶ νὰ ὑποβαθμισθῇ ὁ ρόλος καὶ ὁ λόγος τὸν ὁποῖον δικαιοῦται νὰ ἔχῃ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν θεμάτων τῆς Παροικίας ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ.

ε. *Τὰ ἐκδιδόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἔντυπα – συγγραφικὴ καὶ ἐκδοτικὴ δραστηριότης τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου*: Τὸ μέτρον τῆς πνευματικότητος τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καθορίζεται καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκδιδομένων ἐντύπων, ὅπου ἀπεικονίζεται ἡ πνευματικὴ κίνησις καὶ αἱ ποικίλαι ἱεραποστολικαί, κοινωνικαί, πολιτιστικαὶ καὶ ἐκπαιδευτικαὶ δραστηριότητες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Παροικίας ἐν γένει. Ἡ δραστηριότης αὕτη ἐκδηλοῦται τόσον εἰς κοινοτικὸν-ἐνοριακόν, ὅσον καὶ εἰς κεντρικὸν ἐπίπεδον. Εἰς περιφερειακὸν ἐπίπεδον τὰ ἐκδιδόμενα ἔντυπα εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς: ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Βορείου Λονδίνου τὸ Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον «Διακονία» καὶ τὸ Σχολικὸν Περιοδικὸν «Ἡ Φωνὴ τοῦ Σχολείου», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ καὶ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ Λονδίνου τὸ «Μηνιαῖον Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου Λονδίνου τὸ ἑβδομαδιαῖον Δελτίον «Ὀρθόδοξος Μαρτυρία», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος τοῦ Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Λονδίνου τὸ Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον «Χριστιανικὴ Διδαχή», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Edmonton τὸ

1. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδ. Κήρυκα», τ. 2ον (Φεβρ. 1980), σ. 1.
2. Ἔνθ' ἀν., τ. 10ον (Μάρτιος-Ἀπρίλιος 1981), σ. 1.
3. Τὰς βασικὰς Ἀρχὰς τοῦ Καταστατικοῦ τοῦ Κ.Ε.Σ. βλ. ἐν «Ὀρθ. Κήρυκι», τ. 11ον (Μάιος-Ἰούνιος 1981), σ. 9.
4. Βλ. «Ἡμερολόγιον Ἀρχ. Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας», (1984), σ. 83.

Ἐνοριακὸν Δελτίον «Ἡ Φωνὴ τῆς Κοινότητος», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου Bristol τὸ Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον «Φῶς Χριστοῦ» καὶ τὸ Σχολικὸν Περιοδικὸν «Ἐθνικὴ Σάλπιγγα», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀναστασίας Bury-St. Edmunds-Thetford τὸ Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον «Ἡ Προσπάθεια», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Σπυρίδωνος Great Yarmouth τὸ Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον «Ἐνοριακὴ Πνοή», ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς Θεοτόκου Manchester τὸ Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον «Ἑβδομαδιαῖο Κήρυγμα» καὶ τὸ Σχολικὸν Περιοδικὸν «Σχολικοὶ καὶ Κοινοτικοὶ Εὐαγγελισμοὶ» καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Κοινότητος Ἱ. Ναοῦ Παναγίας τῆς Μεγαλόχαρης Norwich τὸ Κοινοτικὸν Δελτίον «Ὁ Φάρος»[1].

Εἰς κεντρικὸν ἐπίπεδον ἐκδίδεται τὸ Μηνιαῖον Ὄργανον Ἱεραποστολῆς τῆς Ἱ. Ἀρχ. Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ Β′ περίοδος ἐνεκαινιάσθη τὸν Ἰανουάριον τοῦ 1980 καὶ μέχρι τὸν Ἀπρίλιον τοῦ 1984 εἶχε συμπληρώσει 24 τεύχη. Ἐκδότης τοῦ «Ὀρθοδόξου Κήρυκος» εἶναι ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων Μεθόδιος, Διευθυντὴς δὲ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμόθεος· τὴν Ἐπιτροπὴν Συντάξεως συνιστοῦν ἓξι Ἀρχιμανδρῖται τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, ἡ δὲ δαπάνη βαρύνει ἀποκλειστικῶς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπήν. Ὁ «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ» ἀποτελεῖ τὸ πανόραμα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ παροικιακῆς ζωῆς καὶ περιέχει καὶ στήλας εἰς τὴν ἀγγλικὴν μὲ ἀπωτέραν προοπτικὴν νὰ καταστῇ δίγλωσσος. Ἀπὸ τῶν στηλῶν του παρελαύνουν ὅλα τὰ ἀξιόλογα γεγονότα τῆς Παροικίας καὶ ἀπευθύνεται εἰς τὸ εὐρύτερον ἑλληνικὸν κοινόν. Μεταξὺ τῶν μονίμων στηλῶν του συμπεριλαμβάνονται ἡ στήλη τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, τῶν ἀνακοινώσεων, τῆς δραστηριότητος τῶν Κοινοτήτων, τῆς ἀναλύσεως τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, τῶν σχολείων καὶ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν νέων, τῶν χρονικῶν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως τῶν δραστηριοτήτων τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ ἡ στήλη τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Ὁ «Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ» ἀποτελεῖ προσφορώτατον μέσον ἐπικοινωνίας μεταξὺ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Παροικίας καὶ ἐνημερώσεως ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ κοινωνικῆς ζωῆς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τυγχάνει εὐμενεστάτης ἀποδοχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν παροίκων.

Ἐπίσης τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀριστάρχου ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς κατ' ἔτος τὸ Ἡμερολόγιον αὐτῆς, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκτὸς τῆς παρουσιάσεως τῆς συγκροτήσεως καὶ καταστάσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων καὶ τῶν ἱδρυμάτων αὐτῆς περιέχει καὶ πλείστας ἄλλας ἐνδιαφερούσας πληροφορίας.

Πραγματικὸν ὅμως ἐκδοτικὸν ἄθλον, ἐγγραφόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων Μεθοδίου καὶ ὀφειλόμενον εἰς τὴν ἀκάματον δραστηριότητα, τὰς πνευματικὰς ἀνησυχίας καὶ τὴν ἀμετάτρεπτον ἀπόφασιν καὶ διάθεσίν του πρὸς πνευματικὴν προβολὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας του, ἀποτελοῦν τὰ δύο ἐπιστημονικὰ περιοδικὰ «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» καὶ «Texts and Studies». Τὸ πρῶτον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποτελεῖ τὴν ἐπιστημονικὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν καὶ θεολογικὴν ἐπετηρίδα τῆς Ἱ. Ἀρχ. Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σελίδων τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε ἐκδοθέντων τεσσάρων ὀγκωδῶν τόμων του ἔχουν ἴδει τὸ φῶς τῆς δημοσιότητος ἀξιολογώτατα μελέται, ὄχι μόνον στενῶς θεολογικοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρυτέρου ἐπιστημονικοῦ περιεχομένου Ἑλλήνων καὶ ξένων θεολόγων καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιστημόνων. Ἡ «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» ἀποτελεῖ τὴν ἀνταξίαν συνέχειαν τοῦ ἐπιστημονικοῦ καὶ θεολογικοῦ περιοδικοῦ τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας «Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος», τὸ ὁποῖον ἐξέδιδεν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος ὡς Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης. Ἔχουν ἐκδοθῆ ὁ Α′ τόμος (1980) μὲ 595 σελίδας, ὁ Β′ μὲ 1156, ὁ Γ′ μὲ 1176 καὶ ὁ Δ′ μὲ 1020 σελίδας καὶ εὑρίσκεται ὑπὸ ἔκδοσιν ὁ Ε′ τόμος[2]. Οἱ τόμοι τῆς «Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Θεολογίας» ἀποστέλλονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου εἰς πνευματικοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἱδρύματα ἀνὰ τὰ πέρατα τῆς Οἰκουμένης καὶ γίνονται ἐνθουσιωδῶς καὶ εὐγνωμόνως δεκτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παραληπτῶν, ἀγλαΐζοντες καὶ προβάλλοντες παγκοσμίως τὸ ὄνομα ὄχι μόνον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλου Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας.

Τὸ ἕτερον περιοδικὸν τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκδίδει ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος εἶναι ἡ ἔκφρασις τοῦ συσταθέντος τῇ πρωτοβουλίᾳ, προνοίᾳ καὶ ἐνεργείαις τοῦ ἰδίου «Κέντρου Μελετῶν τοῦ ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ καὶ Ἰρλανδίᾳ Ἑλληνισμοῦ». Ἴδοὺ πῶς δικαιολογεῖ τὴν σύστασιν τοῦ Ἱδρύματος καὶ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῆς ἐπετηρίδος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος[3]: «Ἀλλ' ἐκτὸς τῶν καθαρῶν θρησκευτικῶν καθηκόντων αὐτῆς, ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων ἔχει καὶ καθήκοντα πρὸς τὸ Γένος, εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ ὁποίου ἵδρυσα τὸ ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΑ, ΚΑΙ ΙΡΛΑΝΔΙΑ, ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΥ, ὅπερ πιστεύω μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνδρωσίν του θὰ τεθῇ εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς Παροικίας. Ὄργανον τοῦ Κέντρου θὰ εἶναι τὸ μετὰ χεῖρας Περιοδικόν, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐλπίζω νὰ γίνῃ δεκτὸν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον συμπλήρωμα τῆς ποικίλης πνευματικῆς δραστηριότητος τῆς ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ καὶ Ἰρλανδίᾳ Ἑλληνικῆς Παροικίας». Τὸ Ἱδρυτικὸν Συνέδριον τοῦ Κέντρου μὲ τὴν παρουσίαν 38 διακεκριμένων παροίκων καὶ φιλελλήνων διανοουμένων τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς κοινωνίας καθὼς καὶ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, ἔλαβε χώραν τὴν 20ὴν Φεβρουαρίου 1982[4], ὁ δὲ σκοπός του ὁρίζεται εἰς τὴν εἰσήγησιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς[5]: «Μολονότι ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἔχουν δημιουργηθῆ ἀρκετὰ καὶ ἀξιόλογα πολιτιστικὰ Σωματεῖα ἐντὸς τῆς Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Πα-

1. *Αὐτόθι*, σσ 83–175.

2. Ἤδη κατὰ τὸν χρόνον στοιχειοθετήσεως τῆς παρούσης μελέτης ἐκυκλοφόρησε καὶ ὁ Ε′ τόμος, ἀποτελούμενος ἐκ 1018 σελίδων.

3. «Texts and Studies», τ. Ι, Λονδῖνον 1982, Πρόλογος, σ. 5.

4. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 15ον (Φεβρ.–Μάρτιος 1982), σ. 1.

5. *Αὐτόθι*, τ. 16ον (Ἀπρίλιος–Ἰούνιος 1982), σ. 3.

ροικίας ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ, ἐν τούτοις οὔτε ἕνα δὲν καλύπτει τὸν ἐρευνητικὸν τομέα ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἱστορικὴν ἐγκατάστασιν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ, ὡς πρὸς τὴν παντοίαν δραστηριότητα αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς πρὸς τὴν συμβολὴν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν ζωὴν τῆς Χώρας ταύτης»[1]. Ἤδη ἐξεδόθησαν δύο τόμοι τῆς ἐπετηρίδος «Texts and Studies» (1982, 1983) καὶ ἑτοιμάζεται ὁ τρίτος[2]. Διὰ τῶν τόμων αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ἡ ἔναρξις τῆς ἀναδιφήσεως καὶ ἐπεξεργασίας τῶν πλουσίων ἀρχείων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Κοινοτήτων ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ καὶ εἶδον τὸ φῶς τῆς δημοσιότητος ἐπιστάμεναι μελέται ἐπὶ τῆς δραστηριότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Παροικίας. Τὸ μέλλον τοῦ Ἱδρύματος καὶ τοῦ Περιοδικοῦ προδιαγράφεται λαμπρὸν καὶ ἡ ὑποδοχὴ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν ξένην ὑπῆρξε λίαν εὐμενής.

Ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος δὲν περιορίζει τὴν ἀνεκτίμητον προσφοράν του εἰς τὴν ἐκδοτικὴν μόνον δραστηριότητα, ἀλλὰ φροντίζει νὰ ἐμπλουτίζῃ τὴν ὕλην τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδομένων ἐντύπων διὰ προσωπικῶν του μελετῶν, ἄρθρων καὶ βιβλιοκρισιῶν ἀποδεικνύων ὅτι εἶναι ἀκαταπόνητος καὶ εἰς τὸν συγγραφικὸν τομέα. Θὰ πρέπῃ ἐπὶ πλέον νὰ σημειωθῇ ὅτι ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἄλλων, κατὰ τὴν πενταετίαν 1979–1984 συνεκέντρωσε καὶ ἐξέδωκε διαφόρους μελέτας του, τὰς ὁποίας εἶχε συγγράψει κατὰ τὸ παρελθόν, εἰς 8 τόμους ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «Θεολογικαὶ καὶ Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται»[3].

στ. *Λοιπαὶ δραστηριότητες τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ πρόσθετα στοιχεῖα*: Ὁ κατάλογος τῶν δραστηριοτήτων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ εἰδικώτερον τοῦ Προκαθημένου αὐτῆς εἶναι ἀτελείωτος καὶ θὰ ἤτο ματαιοπονία νὰ προσπαθήσωμεν νὰ τὸν ἐξαντλήσωμεν· ἁπλῶς θὰ ἀναφέρωμεν ὡρισμένας ἐπὶ πλέον δραστηριότητας ἐνταῦθα, ἐλπίζοντες νὰ βελτιώσωμεν, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπεχειρήσαμεν.

Εἰς τὸν ὀργανωτικὸν τομέα μᾶς ἐδόθη ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ ἀναφερθῶμεν καὶ ἀνωτέρω, θὰ προσθέσωμεν ὅμως τὴν ἀκατάπαυστον ὀργανωτικὴν δραστηριότητα ποὺ ὑφίσταται ἐντὸς τῆς Παροικίας μὲ τὰ 44 Σωματεῖα, Ὀργανώσεις καὶ Συνδέσμους εἰς δευτεροβάθμιον κυρίως ἐπίπεδον. Εἰς τὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ τὴν συγκρότησιν αὐτῶν παίζει ἐνεργὸν ρόλον ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή, συντονίζουσα, ἀναδιοργανοῦσα, συνεργαζομένη, βοηθοῦσα, ὥστε δικαίως νὰ τῆς ἀναγνωρίζεται πρωταγωνιστικὸς ρόλος εἰς τὴν ὀργάνωσιν τῆς Παροικίας.

Ἡ παρουσία τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς κοινωνίας εἶναι διαρκὴς καὶ τιμητικὴ ἡ θέσις τοῦ Προκαθημένου αὐτῆς, τῶν Ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κλήρου εἰς τὰς διαφόρους ἐκδηλώσεις. Ἐξ ἄλλου αἱ τοπικαὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ αἱ πνευματικαί, πολιτικαὶ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ προσωπικότητες τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας θεωροῦν ἔνδειξιν τιμῆς τὴν πρόσκλησιν καὶ μὲ εὐχαρίστησιν παρίστανται εἰς Κοινοτικὰς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ἐκδηλώσεις.

Ὡς πρὸς τὰς σχέσεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Θυατείρων μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ Ἐκκλησιῶν δυνάμεθα νὰ εἴπωμεν ὅτι αὗται εἶναι ἄριστα. Διὰ τὰς ἄλλας Ὀρθοδόξους Ἐκκλησίας ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων ἀποτελεῖ τὸν φορέα τῆς ἑνότητος, ἀπόδειξιν δὲ τούτου ἀποτελεῖ ὁ ὑπ' αὐτῆς κατ' ἔτος τελούμενος Πανορθόδοξος Ἑσπερινὸς εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον συμμετέχουν Ρῶσσοι, Σέρβοι, Ρουμᾶνοι καὶ ἄλλοι Ὀρθόδοξοι. Αἱ ἐπισκέψεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου εἰς τὰς τοπικὰς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας καὶ Ἰρλανδίας, Ἀγγλικανικήν, Ρωμαιοκαθολικήν, Πρεσβυτεριανὴν τῆς Σκωτίας, καὶ ἡ τιμητικὴ πρόσκλησις καὶ παράστασίς του εἰς τὰ κατὰ καιροὺς συγκαλούμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν συνέδρια, ἀποτελοῦν δεῖγμα τῆς ἐκτιμήσεως ποὺ τρέφουν αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι αὗται πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Θυατείρων καὶ τὸν Προκαθήμενον αὐτῆς. Ἰδιαιτέρως ἀγαθαὶ εἶναι αἱ σχέσεις μετὰ τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, μετὰ τῆς ὁποίας ἄλλωστε διεξάγεται Διάλογος ὁ ὁποῖος ἀποδίδει καρπούς. Ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Μεθόδιος εἶναι ἀρχηγὸς τῆς Ἀντιπροσωπείας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καὶ Πρόεδρος εἰς τὴν Διορθόδοξον Ἐπιτροπὴν διὰ τὸν θεολογικὸν Διάλογον μετὰ τῶν Ἀγγλικανῶν, συμμετέχει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμόθεος ὡς Προϊστάμενος τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Γραμματείας καὶ ἄλλοι κληρικοὶ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων μὲ Γραμματέα τὸν Δρα Γ. Δράγαν. Ὡς ἐπίδειξις καλῆς θελήσεως καὶ σεβασμοῦ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Παραδόσεως ἐκ μέρους τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας δύναται νὰ θεωρηθῇ ἡ κατὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν καὶ ἐνθρόνισιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας Robert Runcie, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν συμμετέσχε καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος, ἀπάλειψις τοῦ «Filioque» ἐκ τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Πίστεως, καθὼς καὶ ἡ γενομένη περὶ ἀπαλείψεως εἰσήγησις ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Robert Runcie πρὸς τὴν Γενικὴν Σύνοδον τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, κατὰ Ἰούλιον 1981[4].

Διὰ νὰ κλείσωμεν τὸν τελευταῖον αὐτὸν κατάλογον θὰ ἀναφερθῶμεν εἰς τὴν ἀμέριστον συμπαράστασιν καὶ συναντίληψιν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου πρὸς τὸν δοκιμαζόμενον Κυπριακὸν λαόν, ἐκφάνσεις τῆς ὁποίας ἀποτελοῦν αἱ ἀλλεπάλληλοι προσφοραὶ σημαντικῶν χρηματικῶν ποσῶν ἐξ ἰδίων, πρὸς τὸ Ταμεῖον ἀνακουφίσεως Προσφύγων Κύπρου καὶ πρὸς τὴν Συντονιστικὴν Ἐπιτροπὴν Κυπρίων Ἀγγλίας, ἡ ὀργάνωσις ἐκδηλώσεων πρὸς ἐνίσχυσιν τῶν παραπληγικῶν Λευκωσίας, ἡ καθιέρωσις τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Βαρνάβα ὡς ἡμέρας τῆς Κύπρου καὶ πλεῖσται ἄλλαι ἐνέργειαι καὶ ἐκδηλώσεις αἱ

1. Ὁ ἀγγλικὸς τίτλος τοῦ Ἱδρύματος εἶναι «Foundation for Hellenism in Great Britain».

2. Ἔχει ἐπίσης, ἐν τῷ μεταξύ, κυκλοφορήσει καὶ ὁ τρίτος τόμος (1984) τῆς ἐπετηρίδος ταύτης.

3. Εἰς λίαν ἐπαινετικὴν κριτικὴν τῶν μελετημάτων αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου προβαίνει ὁ σχολιαστὴς τῆς ἐφημερίδος «Μακεδονία» Θεσσαλονίκης εἰς τὸ φύλλον τῆς 30–7–1982 καὶ εἰς τὴν στήλην «Σκέψεις καὶ Κρίσεις», ὑπογραφόμενος μὲ τὰ ἀρχικὰ Χ.Λ.

4. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 4ον (Ἀπρίλιος 1980), σ. 7, τ. 5ον (Μάιος – Ἰούνιος 1980), σ. 1 καὶ τ. 13ον (Ὀκτ.–Δεκ. 1981), σ. 5.

ὁποῖαι φανερώνουν τὴν εὐαισθησίαν τόσον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ὅσον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φορέων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς διὰ τὸ μέγα ἐθνικὸν πρόβλημα τῆς Κύπρου. Ἀναφέρομεν ἐπίσης τὰς ἐπισκέψεις καὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐκ μέρους τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων πλείστων πολιτικῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν προσωπικοτήτων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ χώρου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων χωρῶν. Τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων ἀπονομὴν τοῦ Σταυροῦ τῶν Θυατείρων εἰς διαφόρους προσωπικότητας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πνευματικὰς δραστηριότητας τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου, ὡς εἶναι αἱ ὁμιλίαι του εἰς τὰ Πανεπιστήμια τῆς Ἀγγλίας καὶ ἡ συμμετοχή του εἰς παγκόσμια ἐκκλησιαστικὰ συνέδρια.

Ἂν ἀναλογισθῇ τις ὅτι τὰ προεκτεθέντα ἀποτελοῦν μέρος μόνον τῶν ὅσων ἐγένοντο, δὲν δύναται εἰ μὴ νὰ καταληφθῇ ὑπὸ θαυμασμοῦ διὰ τὸ ἐπιτελούμενον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ἔργον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνεξάντλητον δραστηριότητα τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου αὐτῆς. Θὰ ἦτο ὅμως παράλειψις νὰ μὴ ἀναφέρωμεν καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ συμπαράστασιν τῶν διπλωματικῶν ἀρχῶν Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου μετὰ τῶν ὁποίων ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων συνεργάζεται ἁρμονικῶς.

## 4. Ἐκδηλώσεις ἀναγνωρίσεως καὶ συμπαραστάσεως εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων Μεθοδίου. Τιμητικαὶ διακρίσεις.

Μία τόσον πολυσχιδὴς καὶ δραστηρία προσωπικότης, ὡς ἡ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν παρὰ νὰ ἀποσπάσῃ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ἐκτίμησιν καὶ τὸν θαυμασμὸν ὄχι μόνον τῆς Ἐπαρχίας του ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρυτέρου κύκλου. Σύσσωμος ἡ Παροικία διὰ τῶν ποικιλωνύμων Σωματείων της προέβη καὶ προβαίνει συνεχῶς εἰς συγκινητικὰς ἐκδηλώσεις ἀναγνωρίσεως τῆς προσφορᾶς καὶ συμπαραστάσεως εἰς τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου. Ἐπιστολαὶ ἁπλῶν παροίκων καὶ κοινοτικῶν παραγόντων ἐκφράζουν τὸν ἀνυπόκριτον θαυμασμόν των πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου καὶ τὴν ἱκανοποίησίν των διὰ τὸν τρόπον μὲ τὸν ὁποῖον χειρίζεται τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ τῆς Παροικίας, ὡρισμέναι δὲ Κοινότητες, ὡς εἶναι ἡ περίπτωσις τῆς Κοινότητος Bristol, ἀνεκήρυξαν αὐτὸν Μέγαν Εὐεργέτην των, διὰ τὰς προσφοράς του πρὸς αὐτάς. Ἀναφέρομεν ἐνδεικτικῶς ὡρισμένας ὀργανώσεις τῆς Παροικίας αἱ ὁποῖαι δι' ἐκδηλώσεών των ἐτίμησαν τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ ἐτάχθησαν ἀνεπιφυλάκτως παρὰ τὸ πλευρόν του· αὗται εἶναι μεταξὺ τῶν ἄλλων: ὁ Σύνδεσμος Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων, ἡ Ἕνωσις Κυπρίων Ἀγγλίας, τὸ Ταμεῖον Ἀνακουφίσεως Κύπρου, ἡ Κυπριακὴ Ἑστία, ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἑταιρεία Λονδίνου καὶ πολλαὶ Κοινότητες. Πλῆθος ἐξ ἄλλου προσωπικοτήτων ἐξ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου ἐξεφράσθησαν ὄχι μόνον εὐμενῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐγνωμόνως ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου.

Διὰ νὰ κινηθῇ ἡ θαυμασία καὶ πολύπλοκος μηχανὴ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ διὰ νὰ τελεσφορήσουν αἱ προσπάθειαί της, εὐνόητον εἶναι ὅτι ἀπαιτοῦνται μεγάλα χρηματικὰ ποσά, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι φυσικὸν νὰ μὴ διαθέτῃ τὸ ταμεῖον τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Ἀλλὰ καθίσταται δυνατὸν νὰ ἐξασφαλίζωνται ταῦτα διὰ τῆς ἀφειδοῦς συνδρομῆς τῶν οἰκονομικῶς εὐρώστων, χάρις εἰς τὰς πειστικὰς παραστάσεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου πρὸς αὐτούς. Αἱ διαρκῶς ἐκδηλούμεναι παρόμοιαι χειρονομίαι εἶναι μία ἐπὶ πλέον ἀπόδειξις τῆς ἀναγνωρίσεως τῆς προσωπικότητος καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου. Ἐξ ἴσου σημαντικὴ εἶναι ὅμως καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ συνδρομὴ ποὺ παρέχεται ἐκ μέρους τῶν πνευματικῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡ ὁποία ἐνισχύει τὴν ἀναληφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πνευματικὴν δραστηριότητα.

Ἡ ἀπήχησις τὴν ὁποίαν ἔχει ἡ προσωπικότης καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ἱεράρχου ἐπεκτείνεται καὶ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀγγλικῆς κοινωνίας καὶ Ἐκκλησίας. Οὕτως, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἐκδηλώσεων ἀναγνωρίσεως, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐπελέγη ὑπὸ τοῦ προκαθημένου τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας Robert Runcie, ὡς ἡ τιμωμένη προσωπικότης τοῦ ἔτους 1980 εἰς τὸ «Nikaean Club» τοῦ Lambeth Palace[1].

Ἄλλη τιμητικὴ διάκρισις ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, μὲ διεθνῆ ἀκτινοβολίαν, εἶναι ἡ κατὰ τὴν 21ην Νοεμβρίου 1983 ἀνακήρυξίς του ὡς ἐπιτίμου μέλους τῆς Διεθνοῦς Ἑνώσεως τῶν Φίλων τοῦ Robert Schuman Ἑλλάδος. Ἡ ἀνακήρυξις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὑπῆρξεν ἡ κατάληξις μιᾶς λαμπρᾶς ἐκδηλώσεως εἰς τὸ Ξενοδοχεῖον «Β. Γεώργιος» τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ἡ ὁποία περιελάμβανε συνέντευξιν τύπου καὶ ὁμιλίαν τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μεθοδίου μὲ θέμα «Ὁ Χριστιανισμὸς στὶς χῶρες τῆς Εὐρωπαϊκῆς Κοινότητος» καὶ τὴν ὁποίαν παρηκολούθησαν Ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ καὶ πολιτικοὶ ἀρχηγοί, Βουλευταί, Ὑπουργοί, Ἀκαδημαϊκοί, Καθηγηταὶ Πανεπιστημίου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπίσημοι, δημοσιογράφοι καὶ πλῆθος κόσμου. Τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον παρουσίασαν καὶ προσεφώνησαν δι' ἐγκωμιαστικῶν λόγων ὁ Πρόεδρος τῆς Ἑνώσεως Δρ. Α. Θανασούλιας καὶ ὁ Γεν. Γραμματεὺς Ι. Παπαμιχαλάκης, ὁ ὁποῖος παρουσίασε τὸ ἠχόραμα μὲ τίτλον «Μακάριος ἀνὴρ» καὶ μὲ θέμα «Ἀρχαῖες Χριστιανικὲς Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Εὐρώπης». Ἡ ὁμιλία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου κατὰ τὴν ἐν λόγῳ ἐκδήλωσιν ἐνεποίησε μεγάλην αἴσθησιν εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον[2]. Τὸ τιμητικὸν ἔγγραφον ἀνακηρύ-

1. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 6ον (Ἰούλιος–Αὔγουστος 1980), σ. 4.

2. Βλ. «Ὀρθόδοξον Κήρυκα», τ. 22ον (Δεκέμβριος 1983), σ. 1. Λεπτομερῆ περιγραφὴν τῆς ἐκδηλώσεως καὶ στιγμιότυπα βλ. εἰς Δελτίον Διοικήσεως Ἐπιχειρήσεων «Ἡ Νέα Ἐπιχείρηση», Ὀκτώβριος–Νοέμβριος 1983, σσ 91–96.

ξεως τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὡς ἐπιτίμου μέλους τῆς ὡς ἄνω Ἑνώσεως περιέχει τὰ ἑξῆς: «Τὸ Διοικητικὸν Συμβούλιον καὶ τὰ μέλη τῆς Ἑνώσεως τῶν Φίλων τοῦ Robert Schuman Ἑλλάδος, τιμῶντες τὸ μεγάλο ἐθνικό, εὐρωπαϊκό, ἐκκλησιαστικό, ἐκπαιδευτικὸ καὶ κοινωνικὸ ἔργο τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπιτελεῖται συνεχῶς εἰς Μεγάλην Βρεταννίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, Ἐξάρχου Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, Ἰρλανδίας καὶ Μελίτης Κου Κου Μεθοδίου Φούγια, Δρος Θεολογίας καὶ Φιλοσοφίας τῶν Πανεπιστημίων Μάντσεστερ καὶ Ἐδιμβούργου καὶ τὸ ὁποῖον προάγει τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς Ἡνωμένης Εὐρώπης, συγχαίρουν καὶ παμψηφεὶ τιμητικῶς ἐγγράφουν εἰς τὴν δύναμιν τῶν τακτικῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἑνώσεως τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας Κον Κον Μεθόδιον Φούγιαν»[1].

Ἐκ τῶν τελευταίων διακρίσεων τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων Μεθοδίου εἶναι ἡ πρόσφατος, κατὰ τὴν 11ην Φεβρουαρίου ἐ. ἔ., ἀναγόρευσίς του εἰς Ἐπίτιμον Διδάκτορα τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ Βοστώνης. Τὸ Διδακτορικὸν Δίπλωμα ἀπένειμεν εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Μεθόδιον ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βορείου καὶ Νοτίου Ἀμερικῆς Ἰάκωβος εἰς σεμνὴν καὶ ἐπίσημον τελετὴν εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν μετεῖχον φοιτηταὶ τῆς Θεολογίας, Καθηγηταί, Trustees, ἐπισκέπται, ὁ Διευθυντὴς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου, ὁ Σχολάρχης τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς καὶ ἡ συνοδεία τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου. Ἐπὶ τῇ εὐκαιρίᾳ τῆς μεταβάσεώς του εἰς Ἀμερικὴν ὁ Σεβασμιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος ἐτίμησε τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἰάκωβον διὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ Σταυροῦ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας[2]. Ἡ ἀμοιβαία αὕτη ἀπόδοσις τιμῶν μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἱεραρχῶν δύο ἐκ τῶν σημαντικωτέρων Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Διασπορᾶς ὑποδηλοῖ τὴν ἀλληλοαναγνώρισιν τοῦ ἔργου ποὺ ἐπιτελεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν Προκαθημένων των.

Καθ' ὃν χρόνον γράφονται αἱ γραμμαὶ αὗται ὁ Ροταριανὸς Ὅμιλος Ἀθηνῶν ἐτίμησε τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Μεθόδιον διὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ Μεταλλίου, διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου εἶχε τιμήσει τὸν πατριάρχην Ἀθηναγόραν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κύπρου Μακάριον. Πρὸς τιμήν του αἱ Ἀθηναϊκαὶ Ἐφημερίδες ἔδωσαν εὐρεῖαν δημοσιότητα εἰς τὸ γεγονός[3].

Αἱ ἐκδηλώσεις ἀναγνωρίσεως καὶ αἱ τιμητικαὶ διακρίσεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων Μεθοδίου εἶναι παρὰ πολλαί, θὰ ἀρκεσθῶμεν ὅμως εἰς τὰς προαναφερθείσας, ἀκολουθοῦντες, ὅσον τοῦτο εἶναι δυνατόν, καὶ τὴν μετριόφρονα τακτικὴν τοῦ ἰδίου νὰ ἀποφεύγῃ τὴν διὰ λόγων προβολὴν καὶ νὰ ἀφίνῃ νὰ ὁμιλοῦν τὰ ἔργα.

# ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ

Εἰς τὸν πρόλογον τῆς παρούσης μελέτης ἐξεφράσαμεν τὰς ἐπιφυλάξεις μας διὰ τὸ κατὰ πόσον θὰ ἠδυνάμεθα νὰ παρουσιάσωμεν μὲ ἀρτιότητα τὴν παροῦσαν κατάστασιν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ τὰς δραστηριότητας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Προκαθημένου αὐτῆς· τώρα ποὺ ἡ μελέτη ἔχει ἀποτελεσθῆ διαπιστώνομεν ὅτι αἱ ἐπιφυλάξεις μας ἐκεῖναι ἐπληθεύθησαν, διότι τὰ περιθώρια τῆς μελέτης δὲν μᾶς ἐπέτρεψαν εἰ μὴ μόνον ἐνδεικτικὴν παρουσίασιν νὰ κάμωμεν. Ἡ ἀναφορὰ εἰς δραστηριότητας καὶ πρόσωπα δὲν δυνάμεθα νὰ ἰσχυρισθῶμεν ὅτι ἀπέφυγε πάντοτε τὸν παράγοντα τῆς τυχαιότητος, ἐπειδὴ παρακολουθοῦμεν τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ μακρόθεν. Συνεπῶς ἡ ἀναφορὰ εἰς πρόσωπα καὶ γεγονότα καὶ ἡ παράλειψις ἄλλων δὲν σημαίνει κατ' ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀξιολογικὴν διαβάθμισιν αὐτῶν. Ὁπωσδήποτε παρελείφθησαν πρόσωπα καὶ πράγματα τὰ ὁποῖα παίζουν ἐνεργὸν ρόλον εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Παροικίας ἐν Μεγάλῃ Βρεταννίᾳ. Δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν εἰς μίαν τόσον περιωρισμένην μελέτην νὰ συμπεριληφθοῦν ὅλοι καὶ ὅλα. Πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπικαλούμεθα τὴν συγκατάβασιν ὅλων ὅσοι θὰ εἶχον λόγους νὰ μὴ εἶναι ἱκανοποιημένοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐνδεικτικοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῆς παρούσης μελέτης, ἐπαναπαυόμεθα δὲ εἰς τὴν σκέψιν ὅτι, ἂν τὸ παρὸν πόνημα ἀπήτει ἔκτασιν καὶ χρόνον πολλαπλάσια διὰ νὰ ἐπιτευχθῇ ἡ πληρότης, ἴσως μᾶς δοθῇ εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἡ δυνατότης πληρεστέρας παρουσιάσεως τῶν πραγμάτων.

# ASTRONOMY AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCES IN BYZANTIUM

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## *I. Introduction*

Byzantium occupied in terms of time a period of eleven centuries (330–1453 AD) and in terms of space a big area between three continents. Politically it was placed at a period of great turmoil owing to barbaric invasions and social reforms. All these facts hinder the research, which is required in order that a full picture of the development of Sciences, especially of Astronomy, during that period, may be constructed. The attempt to do so is also thought to be hampered by the simultaneous appearance and growth of Christianity which is still being considered as 'a sign of contradiction' not only for its metaphysical aspect but also for its cultural value. This is particularly the case with those who saw Byzantium as belonging to 'the dark ages', i.e. to the period marked by the prevalence of mysticism, magic and astrology, when the development of sciences, especially the natural ones, was opposed.

However, more recent studies made by distinguihshed researchers* have dispersed the slanders, overthrown the accusations and restored justice and truth, so as to make the spiritual radiance of Byzantium and its contribution to civilization even more apparent. Ch. Diehl writes that "Byzantium created a brilliant civilization, the most brilliant perhaps of all that had ever seen the light in Christian Europe up to AD 1100. It was through this civilization that Byzantium excercised a wide influence on all peoples of Eastern Europe"[1]. Also Sir W.C. Dampier observes that "the Byzantine Empire maintained a background of civilization throughout the worst times of barbarism in the west of Europe"[2].

(*)Reference is here made only to some of them: Krumbacher, Diehl, Runciman, Vasiliev, Dölger, Bréhier, Gelzer, Moss, Dvornik, Cohen, Hussey, Hunger, Tannery, Heiberg, Dalabre Amantos, Koukoules, Kougeas, Orlandos, Sotiriou, Zakythinos, Tomadakis, Tatakis, Karagiannopoulos, Drandakis, L. Benakis, Maltezos, Stephanides etc.

1. Diehl, 1943, p. 173–174.
2. Dampier, 1946, p. 47.

Prof. Vogel's article about Mathematics and Astronomy in Byzantium (1967) is very interesting, and A. Tihon is right, when she writes (1981, p. 605) that byzantine Astronomy is a sector almost unknown as yet.

Let us now have a brief look into education in Byzantium and then into the cultivation of natural sciences, especially Astronomy, mainly carried out by various sages and researchers of that time.

## *II. Education and Learning*

*Elementary "Paideusis"*. Elementary education began at the age of six or seven continuing probably for three years and not being under a uniform State programme. Education was considered by the Byzantines to be "the art of arts and the science of sciences". As St. Gregory Nazianzen writes: "all those who have sense will acknowledge that education is the first of the goods we possess"[3]. From the IXth century, if not before, the State looked after education and determined the relevant obligations of the parents. A good education was the ideal of every Byzantine. "*Apaideusia*", lack of mental training, was considered a misfortune and disadvantage and almost a crime.[4] A full educational system was developed. Teachers were paid by the pupils' parents. Education was also given to young girls who attended school with the boys or went to separate schools in women's monasteries or received education at home.[5] Buckler is right in accepting J.B. Bury's view that "in the Eastern Empire every boy and girl whose parents could afford was educated"[6].

"*Encyclios paideusis*". This kind of education began at the age of eleven and ended at an age between sixteen and eighteen or even twenty. It comprised a curriculum of non-Christian subjects which was often characterized as "profane learning" (θύραθεν

3. (MPG, 35, 425 and 36, 508).
4. Runciman, 1966, p. 223.
5. Koukoules, 1948, p. 35 fol.
6. Buckler 1949, p. 200.

παιδεία, ἔξωθεν παίδευσις) or as "wisdom from without" (ἔξω σοφία). It was given in seven stages: Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy. The Fathers of the Church were as a rule its main supporters. St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen studied in Athens and loved Greek science. St. Gregory Nazianzen reproaches the Christians who abhorred "wisdom from without" (ἔξωθεν σοφία) for not judging correctly[7]. St. Gregory of Nyssa recommends the study of Geometry and Astronomy, for by them "the intellect is provoked to virtue".[8]

*Universities and Schools of Higher Education.* At the dawn of the Byzantine era Alexandria had already been the highest centre of science since the third century B.C. It had a very rich library, out of which Julius Caesar would have sent 700,000 books to Rome had it not been burned during the siege in 47 B.C. There was a Museum, scientific collections, a zoological garden and an Observatory. Natural Sciences, and Medicine were thriving until the city was burned by the Arabs in 641 A.D.

In Constantinople a high educational establishment known as "The Auditorium" was set up by the Emperor Constantine (330); but there were also various other Schools. A set of subjects known as the "quadrivium" (namely, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music) was taught at the "Auditorium". This institution was reorganized by Theodosius II in 425 A.D. and renamed "Pandidacterion". From that time it became renowned. It had a staff of thirty one professors. The "Pandidacterion", except for some short interruptions, reorganizations and completions went on until 1453, when Constantinople was captured by the Turks. It was at its peak during the periods when famous masters such as Leo the Mathematician (836 A.D.), Constantine Porphyrogenitos (845 A.D.) and Michael Psellos (1018–1078), taught there. It is worth noting that the programme of studies drawn up by Olympiodoros (5th century) who had taught first in Alexandria and later in Constantinople, was found to be nearly the same during the ninth, eleventh and twelveth centuries.[9] Astronomy and Mathematics were considered indispensable subjects and were taught to the students during the last years of their attendance.[10] In the capital there were also "the Patriarchal School", the "Ecumenical Didascaleion", the Maurolycos School etc. Universities or schools of high education were also at Berytos, Antioch, Gaza, Caesaria, Damascus, Ephesus, Edessa, Thessaloniki and other places. The University which was established at Nicaea during John Vatatzes' reign (1225–1254) gave a new drive to education generally, in the Empire of Nicaea.

7. MPG, **36**, 508.
8. MPC **46**, 181.
9. Bréhier, 1950, p. 444.
10. Koukoules, 1948, p. 131–32.

The University of Athens took up a new splendour after Hypatia's death (415) with the flight from Alexandria of many professors, such as Proclos (410–485). Many gentiles and Christians went there to study philosophy, physics and mathematics. Among them were St. Basil, St. Gregory, Julian the Apostate and Theodore, who in 662 became Archbishop of Canterbury and worked in England for twenty years with excellent results. We must also mention the "High School of Natural Sciences" in Trebizond of Pontos, which was marked by unusual vivacity during the reign of Megalocomnenoi (1204–1461). In this school, astronomy was specially cultivated and very probably there was an Observatory in the town.[11]

### *III. Astronomy and Mathematical Sciences*

*Ist Period.* Historians fully agree that in Byzantium Astronomy and Mathematics made the most of the progress. The Byzantines wrote commentaries where they collected, systematized and commented on the works of ancient Greeks and Alexandrians. The followers of the neo-Platonic school, Porphyrios, Iamblichos and Proclos revived the spirit of Plato, preserved mathematical science and gave it a new drive to further development.

Alexandria remained for a long time the "scientific metropolis of the empire", where various researchers published interesting works on Mathematics and Astronomy. *Theo of Alexandria* (330–395 AD) wrote a commentary on the Almagest of Ptolemy giving astronomical information concerning Hipparchos and recorded two eclipses of the sun in 365 and 372. He also dealt with Geometry and Arithmetic and published "Euclid's Elements" with commentary. *Synesios Bishop of Cyrene* (370–414) – a pupil and admirer of Hypatia – also dealt with Astronomy and Physics, condemmed the astrologers and made an astrolabe by himself[12]. We should also mention: *Marinos* (end of the fifth century) and *Simplicios* (beginning of the sixth century) who wrote commentaries on Euclid and Aristotle, and also *Cosmas Indicopleustes* who, around 547, published his "Christian Topography" which contains many, very ingenious, notions of cosmography. In Athens, *Proclos* was distinguished as a geometrician and astronomer. He published: I) *On the Ist of Euclid's Elements;* 2) *A sketch of Astronomical theories*, 3) *A Selection from the works of Hipparchos, Aristarchos and Ptolemy* 4) *Remarks on Ptolemy's Tetrabiblos*, 5) *On the Sphere, viz. celestial cycles*, and 6) *Elements of Physics, or on Movement.*

The Emperor Julian the Apostate (336–363) occupied himself with the study of Astronomy and was a supporter of the heliocentric system. In his work "To the king sun" he writes that the planets revolve round the sun "as if they were dancing round a king".

11. Plakidis, 1943 p. 78–87.
12. MPG, **66**, 1577–1588.

Constantinople acquired many professors of science who came from Alexandria after it had been captured by the Arabs (seventh century), and some of them were actually invited there. Such were: *John Philoponos* (sixth century) a pupil of Hammonios, and *Stephen of Alexandria*. Philoponos was an excellent philosophical and scientific intellectual. Beginning as a serious student and critic of Plato and Aristotle, Philoponos developed his own original ideas which are considered today as being far higher than those of Copernicus and Galileo. We especially note his ideas of the movements of bodies and his critical observations about *impetus* and *inertia*. Bodies, he says, move because of the impetus they have in themselves, having no need of God's intervention. Movements of heavenly bodies are natural and as such may be investigated by science. He wrote monographs on Astronomy and Mathematics, and strove against apocryphal sciences.

In the sixth century there was built the architectural masterpiece of Constantinople, a combination of theoretical study and applied sciences. The architect *Isidore of Miletos* was systematically occupied with mathematics and published a treatise on the construction of concave mirrors. He invented an intrument for drawing a hyperbola and set up a School for Engineers. In cooperation with *Anthemios of Tralles* he built St. Sophia – the wonder of the ages. Anthemios dealt with geometry and optics – parabolic mirrors, the properties of the parabola etc. Also to the same period belongs *Domninos the Philosopher* who, in his works on Arithmetic revealed a critical and creative ability, and *Eutocios of Askalona* who published a commentary on the works of Archimedes, a treatise on Apollonios' "Conics" and gave a good deal of authentic information on mathematical subjects such as the Delian problem. We note also Emperor *Heraclios* (610–641) who published a commentary on Ptolemy and a work on the construction of "Aratus' Sphere".

*2nd Period.* "The ninth century saw a revival of learning in philosophy and science"[13] which was warmly supported by the Emperors. Emperor Bardas (850) refounded the old University of Constantinople, and professors of geometry, astronomy and philology were appointed. Thus the ninth century marked the benginning of a new era of Greek–Christian revival in the natural Sciences, which is normally divided into two stages; the *early revival* (IX–XI century) and the *main revival* (XIII–XV century). The twelfth century is mainly characterized as a period of literary revival.

The only interruption to spiritual progress in Byzantium occurred during the period AD 650–850, which is often spoken of by certain historians as dark ages. During that period there were certain disturbances due to the Iconoclastic disputes on the one hand and to barbaric raids on the other. However, the spiritual decay observed during this period was by no means universal nor was it applicable to all subjcets. A real decay was observed *only* in classical studies, while on the contrary there was progress in legisative, administrative and strategic works. It was then that beautiful buildings were built, and the ecclesiastical poetry and hymnography were at their peak. It was exactly then that *John of Damascus* and *Romanos the hymn-writer* lived. John of Damascus (first half of the eighth century) also dealt with Astronomy and generally with nature and strongly attacked Astrology and the art of divination[14]. Also Akhmîm's papyrus of Arithmetic has given us very important information concerning the practice of numbers by the Byzantines during the seventh or eighth centuries [15].

Classical studies completely disappeared during that period owing to the destruction by the Arabs (641) of the spiritual centers of Alexandria, Gaza and of all Egypt. Alexandria had for a thousand years been the treasury of Greek letters. On the other hand, from the ninth century the Greek East ceased to be concerned with dogmatic matters. From then on the Emperors were no more called Roman[16] but Greek as it is stated in the official chronicles of the Western Church.

*Patriarch Photios* (820–891) was distinguished for his philosophical and mathematical knowledge and became famous for his "Myriobiblos". During the reign of Theophilos (829–842) the University opened again and *Leo the Mathematician* was distinguished as its head teacher. Besides philosophy, he taught the "Quadrivium"–that is, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music. Other regular professors were *Theodegios* of Astronomy and *Theodore* of Geometry. Mathematical sciences constituted the completion of the whole circle of education. According to Fuchs (1926, p. 18–19), it was then that a revival of mathematical studies was established. Leo, who received world renown, had worked for the collection and publication of Archimedes' works, and it was from these manuscripts that they were handed down to us. Also, it was then that the astronomical works of Ptolemy were published. A chronicler of that time wrote that "Leo had cultivated science to the utmost, going through all the branches of philosophy and its sister sciences i.e. Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy".

13. N.H. Baynes, 1952, p. 161–62.

14. MPG, **94**, 896; **93**, 894; **93**, 1701.

15. Theodorides, 1957, p. 493.

16. Although during the first centuries of Byzantium the Emperors were eager to call themselves «*Romaioi*» and to claim for their own a Roman tradition their training was purely Greek. Theodosius II in A.D. 425 appointed to the University of Constantinople both Latin and Greek teachers. Later, Latin became almost unknown in Byzantium (Buckler, 1949, p. 201).

*IV. Latest centuries of Byzantium.*

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a new endeavour was made for the cultivation of mathematical sciences. Here we should mention *Michael Psellos* (1018–1096) who was considered to be the "supreme of the philosophers" and "the soul of the University". He studied in Athens and occupied himself with every kind of knowledge. He taught in the order followed by Plato and mentioned in his "Republic". Grammar, Rhetorics and Dialectics were followed by the "Quadrivium" which was followed by Philosophy and Metaphysics. Physics and Mathematics were taught with special care according to the precepts of Nicomachos, Euclid, Diophantos and Theo. He used Plato's method of interrogation. He was also distinguished as a writer of astronomical, mathematical and physical treatises. Krumbacher considers him as equal to R.Bacon. His fame was spread outside the Byzantine Empire, in the Latin West, Persia, Babylonia, and Egypt.

*Theodore Prodromos* (twelfth century) dealt with Mathematics and Astronomy. *John Tzetzes* (1110–1180) wrote astronomical works and the Emperor *Manuel Commenos* (1141–1180), though in favour of astronomical studies, consciously served astrology. This is proved by the fact that John Kamateros composed a long astrological poem addressed to the Emperor[17].

Historians have observed an exceptional flowering of physical and mathematical sciences, especially of Astronomy during the last three centuries of Byzantium mainly during the times of the Palaeologi (1258–1453). Speaking about these times *Tannery* writes: "Si ils n'ont pas eu un grand genie, ils n'en sont pas moins, comme sciences et comme connaissances philosophiques, tout à fait à la hauteur, sinon audessus de la plupart des auteurs occidentaux" de la même époque".[18] We are now before a period of intense revival of letters and sciences. We shall refer to the chief representatives of that period. They are:

*Nicephoros Blemmydes* (1197–1272), who according to Bréhier was "the most prominent sage of his time". His "Epitome of Physics" (MPG, *142* 1032–1302) is notable for its clarity, exactitude, and systematic presentation. In thirty-one chapters he expounds subjects of general physics, mathematics, astronomy and meteorology. He left an unpublished work on "Heaven and Earth, the Sun, the Moon Time and Days". He also wrote an astronomical poem addressed to the King John Vatatzes (1241). He cherised a special esteem for Plato.

*George Pachymeres* (1242–1310). According to Krumbacher he was "the notable representative of the multiformity of writing" during the thirteenth century. In his two-volume history he gives much information on natural knowledge. More notable and interesting is his "quadrivium" *(Quadrivium de Georges Pachymeres*, Roma 1940, p. ci 457) a pioneering work for his time. Pachymeres dealt with Diophantos and solved the problem of indefinite equations of second-degree.

*Maximos Planudes* (1260–1332) was distinguished as a mathematician. He wrote a work entitled: "A system of figures, called the great, according to the Indians" (1303) introducing the arabic numerical symbols for the first time into Byzantium. M. Cantor writes [19] that the arabic figures were made known in Byzantium during the fourteenth century, but Tannery having made a more detailed investigation into the matter maintains that this system was already in use in the twelfth century.[20]

*Theodore Metochites* (1260–1332) has been an exceptionally remarkable scientific personality, the greatest forerunner of the humanist renaissance of the fifteenth century, the precursor of the revival of astronomical studies in Byzantium and, according to H. Beck, the main representative figure of the world -view (Weltbild) of the fourteenth century. As is known, Aristotle was prominent in the West, while in Byzantium the study of Plato had already begun since the eleventh century. Metochites maintained that Plato should be seen as equal to, if not more esteemed, than Aristotle. He wrote several astronomical works, and contributed significantly to the cleansing of Astronomy from the impure elements and prejudice of astrology. We quote Fuchs' very characteristic remark: "In the programme of the fifteenth century education, astronomy played an important part, the relevant preparation being made through the research of Manuel Bryennios and Theodore Metochites[21].

*Theodore Meliteniotes* (1361) was, according to Bréhier, "the greatest – next to Gregoras – astronomer of Byzantium". He served as Rector of the Patriarchal School between 1360–1388. His work: "Astronomical Tribiblos" (1361) is a classic. In the first two volumes he uses the original works mainly of Ptolemy, but also of Pappos, Theo, and Philoponos, and in the third he highly praises Astronomy as a science and attacks astrology and sorcery. This work has been characterized as "the most erudite astronomical writing" (Krumbacher) and "the most voluminous and most scientific astronomical work of the entire Byzantine era.[22]

Another most remarkable figure of Byzantium was *Nicephoros Gregoras* (1295–1359/60) who through his entire scientific and many-sided activity, became

17. This was published by L. Weigl under the title: Johannes Kamaterus Εἰσαγωγὴ Ἀστρονομίας (An Introduction to Astronomy) Leipzig and Berlin 1908, p. 142.

18. P. Tannery-J. Heiberg Vol. IV 1920, p. 427.

19. 1907, p. 511.

20. 1920, p. 205.

21. 1926, p. 64.

22. Tatakis, 1949, p. 244.

the pioneer astronomer of his time. He calculated all the eclipses of the sun for the preceding one thousand-year period, and foresaw many such eclipses of the sun and the moon for the future. He constructed an original astrolabe (having in mind the works of Ptolemy, Synesios of Cyrene, Hammonios and Philoponos), and closely studied the question of the calendar and of the determination of Easter Day (paschalion). He ascertained the error that had been made in the calculation of the first full moon after vernal equinox, and on the basis of his whole study he drew up a draft for the correction of both the calendar and the determination of Easter Day Paschalion. This draft he submitted for discussion before a group of learned men known as "The Logical Assembly" (λογικὴ πανήγυρις) and subsequently to Emperor Andronicos II in 1234. After a long discussion the Emperor was convinced that the correction was right and was willing to put it immediately into operation. But as Gregoras writes in his History, he did not do so "in order not to raise confusion among the ignorant, and cause a division in the Church for which he had so much toiled". ('Αλλ' ἵνα μὴ τούτου σύγχυσις μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀμαθέσι φανῇ καὶ μερισμὸν ἐπαγάγῃ τῇ 'Εκκλησίᾳ "ἦν αὐτὸς πολλοῖς τε ἱδρωσί τε καὶ πόνοις συνεστήσατο" σεσιγήμενον ἄφηκε τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὅλως ἀνεπιχείρητον).

Gregoras' disciple, *Isaak Argyros*, a mathematician, astronomer and theologian, who continued his teacher's struggle for the correction of the Paschalion, informs us further that the darft of the calendar reform had been submitted to a committee of Church representatives who praised it and expressed the opinion that it should be put into effect. Unfortunately the reform was not made in 1324 but in 1578 by Pope Gregory XIII. Had it been made at that time the calendar would perhaps have still been called Gregorian–in honour of Nicephoros Gregoras. L. Bréhier writes that of all the works of Gregoras those that are marked by a "véritable progrès" are the "forecast of the eclipses" and the "draft correction of the calendar" (1950–p. 448), while R. Guilland regards more notable the works on "the astrolabe and the Paschalion". These assertions are significant pointers to the value of Gregoras' astronomical work. Gregoras fought, decisively against the astrologists who were by no means negligible in number. There were many of them in Byzantium as well as in the West and in Arabia where even distinguished astronomers were not quite free from this kind of superstition.[23]

In Trebizond, *Greg. Chioniades*, *Manuel*, *K. Lukites* and *G. Chrysokokkis* became known as celebrated astronomers (circa 1335–1336). In Byzantium there were *G. Acropolites* (1220–1282), *M. Moschopoulos* and *Nic. Rabdas* who, in about 1341, wrote two mathematical treatises one of which, according to M. Cantor, "constitutes the first Civil Arithmetic known to us".[24] In the steps of Gregoras, *N. Cabasilas* wrote a commentary on Ptolemy's Almagest, and as Cantor notes[25], through him begins a new generation "which prepares the revival of classical science in Europe". To this revival great contribution was made by humanists such as *G.Scholarios* (mid-fifteenth century) and *G. Gemistos* or *Plethon* (1355–1452). Gemistos wrote a treatise on the calendar where he suggested the introduction of a special Lunar-Solar Calendar. He believed in the sphericity of the earth, and contributed much to the publicity of Strabo's works in the West where they were quite unknown before the fifteenth century. Moreover, he inspired Cosmas the governor with the idea of establishing a Platonic Academy in Florence, Italy.[26]

### *V. General Conclusions*

The following conclusions may be drawn:

1) The Byzantine period is a continuation of the classical and Alexandrian era. During the Byzantine period the scientific and hellenic texts were further cultivated.[27] Bréhier writes: "Without any interruption the public schools of the late classical antiquity continued their activities within the Eastern Empire and similar schools were set up in Constantinople. The basic lines of operation and outlook of these establishments remained the same".[28] "Despite any inevitable opposition or misunderstanding, the ancient and the Christian worlds were harmoniously united in Byzantium so that the assiduous study of Greek texts went on especially from the fourth century onwards", writes M. Stephanides (p. 212), a specialist in the history of physical Sciences. "Christianity was from the very beginning favourably disposed to the tradition of learning"... "The close link between the Greek and the Christian culture means remained firm", observes (p. 451) the historian S. Kougeas.[29]

23. Kotsakis, 1954, p. 228 and Heller, 1882, p. 202.

24. 1907, p. 517.

25. *ibid.* p. 509.

26. After the occupation of Greece by the Turks (1453) the scientific movement was naturally interrupted. Later on, however, the cultivation of natural sciences especially of Astronomy started again under the conqueror's rule. (See *D. Kotsakis*: Die Astronomie in Griechenland am 18. Jahrhundert., Med. Lunds. Astr. Observatory, 1939. Also, *same writer*: L'étude de l'astronomie chez les Grecs au XVIII siècle, Lund 1940.

27. Kotsakis, 1982, 1983, p. 87.

28. 1950, p. 456.

29. E. Gibbon wrongs early Christianity in making it responsible for the downfall of the Roman Empire «let his love for the Rome lead him into sarcasm in dealing with the early Christianity which he makes responsible for her downfall». S. Runciman admitting this great injustice writes that, although a great historian, Gibbon was not such for medieval Greece and that he could have easily been called a Roman. Although he admired classical Greece he never understood the Greek spirit. He despised the Byzantines and considered them as Greeks who were the usurpers of the heritage of Rome (Runciman, S.: English Historians of Medieval and Modern Greece, *Anglo-Greek Review*, Athens 1946, p. 106–107 (in Greek).

It is rightly observed that «worst of all, the calm judgement is sometimes obscured where Gibbon's prejudices and prefe-

2) Astronomical and mathematical sciences were not cultivated in Byzantium as in ancient Greece. After the first scientific period (sixth to third century B.C.) a turn began to appear in the sciences from the second century B.C. In Byzantium, Architecture, Engineering, Shipbuilding, Metallurgy, Art, Painting, Sculpture and the art of Decorating were intensely cultivated. In the field of Art the sense of *beauty* of the classical antiquity and the sense of *highness* of medieval times were harmoniouly and successfully united. The cultural contribution of Byzantium was vast. Its beneficial influence was felt in Asia – as far as India and China – in Egypt and Africa, in Russia, Western Europe and the British Isles.

3) To a certain extent the astronomical and the mathematical sciences were also cultivated. The other peoples (in the near and far East) did no *more* than collect observation material, while in ancient Greece *pure science* was first cultivated through the introduction of 'the theory of proof' especially in Geometry, (an achievement peculiar to the Greeks). The Byzantines by publishing and commenting on ancient, scientific texts contributed to the progress of science, the more so as they often expressed original ideas. The spiritual potential flowering of science in Byzantium was the result of internal causes. The Greeks felt again the power of their own superiority and their long tradition. The contribution of the Arabs to the revival of sciences in Byzantium was very poor. Their science soon collapsed and the Byzantines came back to their original sources.[30]

4) The fact that persistent attack against astrology and apocryphal sciences was carried out at that time, contitutes a proof of the right scientific approach to various problems and of the critical ability of the Byzantines. Fathers of the Church, Church Councils and Byzantine Sages condemned astrology and recommended pure science.[31]

5) There is a general consensus among scholars that Astronomy and Mathematics were particularly cultivated during the period of the Paleologi. Krumbacher characteristically writes: "N. Blemmydes, G. Pachymeres, Th. Metochites and N. Gregoras did no less for empirical and natural research in the limited circle of Byzantium than R. Bacon did in the West.[32]

As regards Gregoras, it can be said that he stands at an even higher level, if one bears in mind what A. Crombie and E. Dijksterhuis say about Bacon.

6) The Greek historian, Professor J. Karagiannopoulos writes: "Byzantium is a State of Orthodox Christian dogma and religion, which, however, did not use clergymen in administration and, by law, prevented them from interfering in the affairs of the State. Consenquently, it is a secular State. Its society draws upon the cultural traditions of Greek antiquity, at the same time, however, it is inspired by the Christian spirit and is led by the Christian moral law". Further on, the same researcher writes: "The Byzantine Church, in spite of its weakness and faults, in spite of its dark periods – which are unavoidable in every earthly institution – raised figures of distinguished virtue and piety; it was spiritually united with the people and after the fall of the State, during the dark centuries of servitude (1453–1821), it succeeded in keeping the nation united and capable to regain its lost freedom".[33]

7) The spiritual and scientific flowering of Byzantium would have been accelerated if it did not succumb to the Mohamedan force. In any case the flowering of sciences was carried to the West long before the fall of Constantinople (1453). After this Fall, however, the Byzantines who came to the West helped to create the Italian Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the whole scientific movement that followed in Western Europe.

8) In conclusion we may repeat the confirmation of L. Bréhier and P. Valery: In Byzantium we find united the three basic elements of the European Civilization: Hellenic Thought, Roman Law and Christian faith.

rences are involved» *(Everyman's Encyclopaedia*, Vol. VI, 4th ed. London 1958, p. 749).

30. Krumbacher 1897, p. 437, Heller 1882, p. 162–165, Dijksterhuis 1956, p. 326.

31. Kotsakis 1983 p. 69.

32. 1897, p, 437. As we have already shown elsewhere (1956A, p. 21–23) Krumbacher's statement is absolutely right.

33. 1980, p. 72, 92.

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# PATRIARCH JEREMIAS II AND THE PATRIARCHATE OF MOSCOW

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It has too often been the fashion, even amongst the Orthodox, to dismiss all the Patriarchs who reigned in Constantinople during the centuries of the Turcocratia as men of small moral fibre whose main talent was for intrigue. The charge is unjustified. Had not some of them shown courage, devotion and a fine political sense, it is unlikely that the Patriarchate could have survived.

Of the Patriarchs reigning in the sixteenth century none was more remarkable than Jeremias II[1]. Jeremias Tranos was born at Anchialos in about 1530 and educated at the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople. Not much is known of his earlier career, which was mainly spent as a priest in Constantinople, where he won a great reputation among the faithful for his zeal, his integrity and his administrative gifts. When the Patriarch Metrophanes III was deposed by the Holy synod in 1572, popular clamour demanded the election of Jeremias. But he always had enemies in the Synod, who resented his reforming energy and his battle against corruption. In 1579 they managed to secure his deposition; and Metrophanes was reinstated. But the popular outcry was so great that after nine months Jeremias was restored. In 1584 a renegade Greek who had acquired a post at the Sultan's court denounced him for hoarding wealth, while a prelate, Theoleptos, who aimed at the Patriarchal throne, so successfully bribed the Sultan's ministers that Jeremias was again deposed and was sent into exile in Rhodes. After two years Sultan Murad, who seems to have had a certain respect for Jeremias and none for Theoleptos, insisted on the former's return to the Patriarchate. But when he returned he found that the Sultan had just annexed the Patriarchal church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos and its surrounding buildings and had converted into the Fethiye Cami, the Mosque of Victory, to celebrate a successful campaign against the Persians. He was told that he must build a new Patriarchal church and offices. In the meantime he had to make use of the small church of Saint Demetrios Kanabou, lent to him by the Patriarch of Alexandria, to whom it belonged.[2]

A new church would be costly, and the Patriarchal funds were low. Help must be found from outside. Jeremias decided that it must come from Russia. It was a shrewd decision; for he knew that he could offer something in return that the Russians were eager to obtain.

The fall of Constantinople had left the Great Prince of Muscovy the leading Orthodox sovereign in the world. The King of Georgia was only of local importance. The Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, despite a brave struggle, were soon obliged to accept a vassal-status under the Sultan. But Russia had been expanding under the Muscovites. Tartar suzerainty had been thrown off before the end of the fifteenth century; and in 1498 the Great Prince Ivan III had been crowned by the Matropolitan of Moscow as 'Tsar, Great Prince and Autocrat of All the Russias'. As the Tsars dominions increased, so did the number of his Orthodox subjects. Not unnaturally be began to see himself as the heir to the Byzantine Emperor. Early in the sixteenth century the theory was circulating in Russia that Moscow was the Third Rome.[3]

In such circumstances it seemed to the Russians wrong that the head of their Church should be only a Metropolitan, under the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In fact, since the middle of the fifteenth century the Great Prince had appointed the Metropolitan of Moscow without reference to the Patriarch; and Russia's refusal to accept the Union of Florence had given him some justification. In 1470 Ivan III had declared that the Patriarchate was deprived of any

1. For Jeremias II see C. Sathas, *Βιογραφικὸν Σχεδίασμα περὶ Πατριάρχου 'Ιερεμίου* B' (Athens 3870) and L. Petit, 'Jeremie II Tranos' in *Dictionaire de théologie catholique*, ed. Vacant & Mangeot, VIII, I, coll. 886–894. the history of his reign in given in *Historia Patriarchica*, (ed. Niebuhr, Bonn, 1849), pp. 173–191 and in Dorotheus of Monemvasia, *Σύνοψις 'Ιστοριῶν*, (Venice, 1818,) pp. 439–440. Dorotheus disliked Jeremias and accuses him, unreasonably, of being dullwitted.

2. M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοὶ Πίνακες*, (Constantinople, 1890), p. 530.

3. See S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 321–5.

rights over the Russian Church.[4] But tradition died hard; the Metropolitan of Moscow still liked to have his title confirmed by Constantinople. The Tsar, too, liked to be recognized as Emperor by the Patriarch. In return for generous alms, the Patriarchate was ready to comply. But a gentle suggestion, made by the Patriarch Joasaph II in 1561, that he ought to be crowned again by a legate representing the Patriarchate, was firmly ignored by Ivan IV[5].

Ivan IV, the Terrible, was determined to keep the Russian Church under his sole control. A synod that he convoked in 1551 decreed that Russian ritual usages that did not conform with those of Constantinople were wholly correct; and the Tsar, while copying the Byzantine formulae that called him the 'son' of the Church, claimed an authority over it that no Emperor in Constantinople would have dared to claim. When in 1569 the Metropolitan Philip ventured to criticise Ivan for his monstrous cruelty, he was arrested and put to death. The Patriarchate, grateful though it was for generous gifts from the Russians, was not in such circumstances eager to raise Moscow to a Patriarchate.[6]

Ivan IV died in 1584. His son and heir, Feodor, was a mild man, dominated by his pious Tsaritsá, Irene, and her brother, Boris Godunov. In 1585 Joachim, Patriarch of Antioch, came to visit Moscow in search of alms. It seems that in his conversations with the Tsar and the Tsaritsa they suggested that the time was ripe for seeking the elevation of the Moscow Metropolitanate.[7] As a preliminary gesture, the Tsar rescinded the decree of 1551 that proclaimed Russian ritual usages to be solely correct. Before an assembly of boyars at which Joachim was present he spoke of his wishes for a Patriarchate; and Joachim promised to consult with his fellow-Patriarchs and the authorities of the two holy mountains, Athos and Sinai, to see what could be done. The Tsar seems to have asked that the Moscow Patriarchate should rank third, after Constantinople and Alexandria, but before Antioch and Jerusalem. It is not known how the Patriarch of Antioch reacted to that suggestion.

Whatever he may have thought, on his way home he stopped in Constantinople and told the Patriarch Jeremias of the Tsar's request. It was not an unreasonable request; and it could be granted without damaging the current theory that the Church should be governed by a Pentarchy of Patriarchs. Rome, which had been the senior Patriarchate, had fallen into the Apollinarian heresy by unilaterally inserting the word *Filioque* into the Creed. There was thus a vacancy, which could be filled by Moscow, which, as the seat of the greatest Orthodox potentate, could be regarded as a Third Rome, though not *the* Third Rome.

Jeremias at once sent a Greek priest called Nicholas to Moscow, to say that he was consulting with his fellow Patriarchs about arrangements for granting the Tsar's request and suggesting that the Patriarch of Jerusalem might go to Moscow with full authority to perform the necessary ceremony. The choice of the Patriarch of Jerusalem may well have been a hint that the new Patriarchate would have to rank at the bottom of the five, below Antioch and Jerusalem; but it may also have been due to practical reasons. Jeremias had only just been re-instated in the Patriarchate. He had many administrative problems to settle, after the inefficient rule of Theoleptos, in particular the finding of temporary accommodation for the Patriarchate; and it was not always easy for a Patriarch of Constantinople to obtain leave from the Sultan to go abroad. A Patriarch of Jerusalem, with only a small see to administer and being of no great political significance, was far freer to travel.

We do not know what answer the priest Nicholas brought back from Moscow. He was perhaps told that the Patriarch of Jerusalem did not command sufficient prestige to be welcome. In any case, Jeremias, whose need for money to build his new church buildings was urgent, decided to make the journey himself. In the spring of 1588, rather to his surprise, he obtained permission from the Sultan to go abroad to collect alms. He wisely set out at once, lest the permit might be withdrawn; but he had no time to warn Moscow of his coming.

In May of that year the Tsar received a dispatch from the governors of the frontier town of Smolensk, announcing the arrival there of the Ecumenical Patriarch, accompanied by the Metropolitan of Monemvasia and the Archbishop of Elasson, and a large suite of monks, merchants and servants. They enclosed a letter from the Patriarch himself, asking to be allowed to visit Moscow. The Tsar at once ordered that His Holiness should be sent on with every honour to Moscow. But being, like all Russians down the ages, highly suspicious of fo-

4. *Acts collected in the libraries and archives of the Russian Empire by the Archaeographical Expedition of the Imperial Academy of Sciences*, (in Russian), 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1836,) I, I, no. 80.

5. The letter is given in *Russian Historical Library*, (in Russian) St. Petersburg, 1908, XXII, 1, coll. 67–75.

6. For the Council of 1551 and its decrees, known as the *Stoglav*, (the Hundred Chapters), see W.K. Medlin, *Moscow and East Rome*, (Geneva, 1952), pp. 107–113. For the martyrdom of the Metropolitan Philip, see S.M. Soloviev, *A History of Russia from the Earliest Times*, 29 volumes, (in Russian, St. Petersburg, 1851–78), VI, col. 171.

7. The negotiations, letters, speeches and accounts of the ceremonies connected with Jeremias's visit to Moscow are given in the *Collection of State Charters and Treatises*, ed. A. Malinovsky, 4 vols., (in Russian, Moscow, 1813–28), II, pp. 95–103. A full account in English is given in A.N. Mouravieff, *A History of the Church of Russia*, trans. R.W. Blackmore, (Oxford, 1842), pp. 289–324. Unfortunately the author does not make it clear when he is quoting from the sources or adding his own commentary. See also N. Kapterev, *Character of Russian Relations with the Orthodox East in* 16th *and* 17*th centuries*, (in Russian, Moscow, 1885,) pp. 53 ff.. An account of the visit, written in verse by the Archimandrite Arsenios, who was on Jeremias's staff, is published in C. Sathas, *op. cit.* pp. 35–84. It does not add anything of importance.

reigners, he first reproved the governors for not having found out that the Patriarch was approaching; and he told them to find out carefully from His Holiness and his suite whom they had met on their journey, particularly in Lithuania. He also wrote to the Patriarch welcoming him, but asking pertinent questions. He wished to know what was happening in Lithuania and, still more, information about the Sultan's foreign commitments: also, where was the ex-Patriarch Theoleptos now? The Tsar clearly wanted to be re-assured that Jeremias had not come because he had been again deposed or that he was not likely to be deposed again in his absence from Constantinople. The answers must have been satisfactory, as the Patriarch was sent slowly and honourably on his way to Moscow. The journey from Smolensk took ten days. On 13 June, at the outskirts of the capital a Commissioner of State met the party and escorted in to the palace of the Archbishop of Riazan, which had been prepared for its reception. Orders were given that none of the party was to meet any foreigners or any Russians other than those appointed to look after it, at least until the Patriarch had been received by the Tsar.

This solemn ceremony took place on Sunday, 21 June, in the Kremlin, in the Golden Hall of the Sign Manual. The Russian sources describe in detail the splendour of the scene, the Tsar seated enthroned, wearing his crown and holding his sceptre and orb, in the midst of his gold-clad boyars. The Tsar condescended to rise to meet his guest. Then there were formal speeches, with interpreters present, as the Patriarch did not speak Russian, and then an exchange of gifts. The Patriarch's gifts to the Tsar consisted of icons and fragments of the holiest relics in the Patriarchal collection, taken from the True Cross and the instruments of the Passion, with some relics of female saints, destined for the Tsaritsa. The Tsar's gifts to his visitors were pieces of plate, silks, velvets and sables, and some cash.

When the formal reception was over, the Patriarch retired to a small audience chamber, to hold discussions with the Tsar's chief minister, his brother-in-law Boris Godunov. To him Jeremias reported on the situation in Constantinople and on his experiences on his journey. They then held discussions in private, no doubt in connection with the establishment of a Russian Patriarchate.

On receiving his brother-in-law's report the Tsar consulted with the Tsaritsa and announced a new proposal to his boyars, which was forwarded to the Patriarch. This was that the Ecumenical Patriarch should remain in Russia, with his residence at the former capital, Vladimir. It seems that the Tsar wished to have the Ecumenical Patriarchate within his own dominions, but did not wish it to interfere in the affairs of the Russian Church,which would remain under the authority of the Metropolitan of Moscow. It was hardly a practicable plan. It would have created great administrative difficulties; and it left the future of the Orthodox within the Ottoman Empire uncertain and precarious. Was there to be a new, but junior, Patriarch of Constantinople, or was the Patriarch expected to administer the whole see from a Russian city?

Not unnaturally, Jeremias rejected the scheme. He politely pointed out that it was his duty and his wish to return to his flock in Constantinople and Ottoman lands. He did not know the Russian language; and he thought that it would be wrong for a Patriarch not to be in close contact with the Imperial authority. He seems tactfully to have insisted on the last point, so as not to give the impression that he had no wish to live in Russia; but he probably knew that the Tsar would not want so high-powered a hierarch to be resident in Moscow. The Metropolitan Job, whom he trusted and could control, suited theTsar better. He therefore rejected the idea that Jeremias should stay in Moscow. At the same time he was annoyed that Jeremias would not accept the plan; and to punish him he forbade the Patriarch to leave Russia.[8] But Jeremias held firm, though clearly he was increasingly eager to return home. Months passed. Some time in the autumn the Tsar begged Jeremias, if he would not stay in Russia himself, to appoint and consecrate a Russian as Patriarch to reside at Vladimir. Jeremias clearly thought this to be administratively unsuitable for the Russian Church. Eventually, on 13 January, 1589, Boris Godunov came to see Jeremias with a request from the Tsar that he would consecrate a Patriarch for All the Russias, apparently indicating that the Patriarchate should be sited at Moscow and bestowed upon Job, the actual Metropolitan of Moscow. Jeremias replied that as the Tsar was now 'the sole pattern of a Christian monarch', Rome having fallen into heresy and Constantinople into the hands of the infidel, this great work should be accomplished, adding a request that he then be allowed to return home.

On 19 January a synod of all the leading ecclesiastics in Russia met in Moscow; and the Tsar informed it of his wish to have a Patriarch for Russia and of the Patriarch Jeremias's consent. When the Synod had given its approval, the Tsar sent to Jeremias to ask him about the correct procedure for the consecration of a Patriarch. If the Russian sources are to be credited, Jeremias's reply did not accurately describe the procedure at Constantinople. Circumstances were too different. Russia did not have a Holy Synod of Metropolitans, meeting regularly and forming the supreme administrative authority in the Church; and in any case the elevation of someone to occupy an entirely new Patriarchal throne was unprecedented.

8. It is not clear whether the Tsar actually intended to move the Ecumenical Patriarchate to his own dominions or whether he wished Jeremias to become the Patriarch for Russia. In either case Jeremias clearly could not accept.

Jeremias composed a ritual to suit the situation, in which the Patriarch elect made it clear that he owed his throne to the Patriarch of Constantinople as well as to the Tsar. The Tsar himself then slightly altered the ritual, to make it conform closer to the ritual followed by his father when appointing a Metropolitan of Moscow; but the alterations do not seem to have affected the role of Constantinople.

The ceremony of consecration took place on Thursday, 23 January, in the church of the Immaculate Virgin. When the bishops were all assembled, two of them, the bishops of Suzdal and Riazan, went to escort the Patriarch to the church, to the ringing of bells throughout the city; and other groups of bishops met him as he approached the church and again on its steps and at the entrance. Having blessed the assembly on his entry he moved to the chapel of the Praise of the Mother of God, followed by all the bishops, who took their seats there; and a document was passed round for their signatures, announcing the selection of three candidates, Job of Moscow, Alexander of Novgorod and Pskov and Barlaam of Rostoff and Yaroslave, to be Patriarch. Three candidates were also nominated for the sees of Novgorod and of Rostoff, the actual incumbents heading the list.

When all had signed the document the whole company moved in procession to the Palace, with the Patriarch at its head. The Tsar came to the door of the Golden Hall to greet the Patriarch who was given a chair next to the throne. The secretary of the synod then began to read out the names of the candidates chosen for the new Patriarchate; but the Tsar stopped him at the name of Job, whom he declared to be elected. Messangers were then sent to fetch Job from the cell where he was waiting. When he arrived at the Palace the Tsar met him at the door or the Golden Hall, and led him up to receive the Patriarch's salutation, telling him not to lay aside his crozier, as he was now of equal standing. His election was then formally announced, together with those of the Archbishops of Novgorod and Rostoff, the candidates at the top of the list being chosen

When the ceremony was over the Tsar conducted the two Patriarchs to the outer hall of the Palace, and the ecclesiastics returned to the church. Jeremias had suggested that Job should then read out his thanks to the Patriarch of Constantinople and to the synod. But this was not done, presumably on the Tsar's instructions. Jeremias and Job merely exchanged kisses and left by separate doors.

Next Sunday the same church was decorated for the actual consecration of the new Patriarch. On a raised dais in front of the apse the Tsar's throne was placed, covered in gold cloth, and on either side thrones covered in black cloth for the Patriarchs. When the procession entered the church, the Tsar and Jeremias went to their thrones, and Job stood at a lectern shaped like an eagle and made his confession of faith. He then was blessed by Jeremias and did obeisance to the Tsar, and retired into a chapel. After the divine service had begun he appeared at the Royal Gates, and Jeremias joined him and laid his hands on him and held the Gospel over his head before repeating the whole order for the consecration of a bishop, to show that he was now a bishop of bishops. The two Patriarchs then celebrated the liturgy together. When it was over Job seated himseld on his throne; and Jeremias gave him the holy staff of the Russian saint, Peter the Wonder-worker, and the Tsar robed him in costly vestments, making him a speech of welcome.

After the end of the service the two Patriarchs were invited to a great banquet at the Palace, where the tables were loaded with precious plates of all sorts, the splendour of which, we are told, astounded the Greek visitors. We are also told that they were given Cyprus and Malmsey wines to drink. After the meal sumptuous gifts of equal value were handed by the Tsar's treasurer to each Patriarch.

Next day the Patriarch Jeremias was invited to dinner by the Patriarch Job. But before the banquet both Patriarchs were summoned to be received by the Tsaritsa, along with the bishops of the synod. The only other men present at the interview were the Tsar and the Tsaritsa's brother, Boris Godunov. The Russian sources describe in detail the splendour of her reception hall and the beauty of her robe and her jewels. Behind her were ranged the wives of the boyars, according to their husbands' rank, all clad in white, holding their hands crossed in front of their breasts. When all were assembled the Tsaritsa herself presented to the Ecumenical Patriarch a golden chalice studded with gems, and her brother then gave both Patriarchs gifts of equal value, plate, silks and sables and a hundred gold roubles. Jeremias made a speech of thanks, and he and Job gave her gifts in return; and the Tsaritsa replied, closing with a moving appeal for the Patriarchs' prayers that she and the Tsar might be vouchsafed a son and heir; for the Imperial couple were childless. After the Patriarchs had taken leave of the Tsaritsa they went on to the banquet given by the Patriarch Job, in the course of which he presented his own gifts to Jeremias.

With this banquet the ceremonies were ended; and Jeremias asked for permission to return to Constantinople. But the Tsar pointed out the difficulties of travel in mid-winter and begged him to remain in Moscow till after Easter. Jeremias could not well refuse the invitation. He spent the intervening time paying a visit of several days to the great monastery of the Troitsa, close to the capital, and in helping Job to re-organise the Church in Russia, creating and re-arranging bishoprics to suit the needs of the time. Both Patriarchs took part in the Easter celebrations; and at last, in early May, Jeremias was allowed to depart.

His final reception by the Tsar was, we are told, marked by even greater splendour than his previous rece-

ptions. The Tsar personally handed him a mitre of great beauty and value; and there were gifts for every member of his entourage. Elaborate arrangements were made for his comfort during his journey through Russian lands; and the Lithuanian authorities were requested by the Russians to give him every amenity. When he reached the Russian frontier he was overtaken by a messenger from Moscow, bringing a letter from Boris Godunov, in which, after expressions of gratitude for his work in Russia, he was asked to report on the situation in Lithuania. Boris also enclosed a letter from the Tsar to Sultan Murad, for the Patriarch to deliver on his arrival in Constantinople. In it the Tsar asked the Sultan to give his special protection to Jeremias and the whole Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire. Also, most usefully for Jeremias, the sum of a thousand gold roubles was given to him, to be specially devoted to the erection of a new Patriarchal church. Jeremias sent back formal thanks to the Tsar; and he was soon able to assure Boris that there was a new friendly government in Lithuania, where he had been well received.

Jeremias was back in Constantinople by midsummer. He found that nothing had gone amiss during his absence and that he still enjoyed the goodwill of the Sultan. Indeed, it is likely that Murad approved of his mission; for the Sultan and the Tsar shared in common a fear of the strength of the Polish-Lithuanian kingdoms.

.With the funds that he had brought from Russia Jeremias was able to start work on the erection of a new Patriarchal church and offices for his Court. But he had a further duty to perform with regard to the Russian Patriarchate. He had consulted with his fellow-Patriarchs before going to Moscow; but in elevating and consecrating the new Patriarch he had perhaps acted beyond his legal powers. It was necessary to have the formal approval of all the Orthodox Church. He therefore summoned the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem to Constantinople to attend an Ecumenical Synod. Joachim of Antioch and Sophronius of Jerusalem were both present; but Sylvester of Alexandria died before he could obey the summons. It seems, however, that amongst the forty-two metropolitans, nineteen Archbishops and twenty Bishops who attended the Synod the Alexandria Patriarchate was well represented. The Synod acknowledged and ratified the appointment of the Lord Job as Patriarch of Moscow and ordained that he should take his place in the prayers for the Patriarchs after the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The Synod then nominated Dionysios, Metropolitan of Tirnovo and Archbishop of Bulgaria, a man who claimed kinship to the Palaeologue and Cantacuzene dynasties, to go to Moscow to inform the Tsar of the Synod's decision. Dionysios arrived there in the summer of 1590. The ceremonies arranged for his reception, with the speeches and the letters that were exhanged and the gifts that were made, are all described fully in the Russian sources. Naturally there was not quite the same lavish splendour as was displayed for the visit of the Ecumenical Patriarch; and it is noticeable that Dionysios was kept waiting for some time before he was given an audience with the Tsar. This can be ascribed to the letter that he sent to the Tsar on his arrival, in which the Synod's placing of the Moscow Patriarchate below that of Jerusalem was announced. The Tsar had not given up his hope that Moscow should rank after Alexandria. It seems that Jeremias during his visit had avoided the issue. If it arose he would doubtless have said that it was a matter on which an Ecumenical Synod must decide. Now the Tsar seems to have understood that he could not dispute the ruling of the Synod and let the matter drop.

In a letter which Dionysios handed on to the Tsar Patriarch Jeremias announced that he had spent six thousand gold pieces on buying and clearing a site for the Patriarchal church and offices. He begged the Tsar to reimburse him. The Tsar in his reply seems to suggest that he thought the Patriarch to have been rather extravagant. He did not send him cash but merchandise which could be sold for the benefit of the church. The consignment consisted of sixteen hundred sable skins, twelve hundred marten skins, ten ermine skins and fifteen poods, (roughly two hundred and fifty kilograms,) of walrus ivory. Dionysios was also entrusted with gifts of a mitre, plate, cloths and sables for each of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. There were gifts for the monastery of Panteleimon on Mount Athos and the monastery of Saint Sabbas in Palestine, and a special sum to Sophronios of Jerusalem for the erection of a church at Gethsemane. Dionysios and the members of his suite were also beneficiaries of the Tsar's bounty. Dionysios left, laden with all these gifts, in February, 1591, and was safely back in Constantinople by Easter.

One point was left unresolved. Dionysios had asked the Patriarch Job to appoint some Greek bishop to act as his legate at the Patriarchal Court in Constantinople. Job replied that he must consult the Tsar about it; and no appointment seems to have been made.[9]

Jeremias lived on till 1595, when he died in office, deeply respected even by the Ottoman Court. His new Patriarchal church was not ready for use till some ten years after his death, chiefly owing to the financial difficulties of the Patriarchate. His own preoccupation in his later years was a reform of the Patriarchal Academy, broadening and modernising its curriculum. He had shown his diplomatic skill early in his reign, when he had to deal with the German Lutherans who were eager to form some sort of union with the Orthodox. He was able to convince them

9. For Dionysios's journey see Mouravieff, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–245.

that union was theologically and ecclesiastically impracticable, without losing their goodwill. His diplomacy was needed again in his later years, to combat the formidable attempts of the Polish kingdom to force the Orthodox in the Ukraine into admitting the supremacy of Rome. But his supreme diplomatic achievement was the establishment on the Russian Patriarchate. It was clearly right that the large and increasing congregations of the Orthodox in Russia should be granted religious autonomy under a suitably exalted head. Indeed, it would have been far more difficult to combat the encroachments of Rome into Russian lands had there not been a Patriarchate in Moscow. But traditions must be maintained. The new Patriarchate could not be allowed to rank before the ancient Patriarchates of the East, reduced and improverished through they had become; and it must be made clear that Constantinople still unquestionably held the primacy. But at the same time the Orthodox were in need of a lay protector; and the Tsar of Muscovy was now the one great Orthodox potentate. Jeremias was therefore ready to recognize him as the heir to the Emperors of Rome and Byzantium, as the holy Emperor, the head of the Christian community. He was ready to accept the theory of Moscow as the Third Rome to this secular extent. He was, indeed, anxious that the Tsar should thus regard himself as responsible for the welfare of the Orthodox throughout the world, as the protector of the Orthodox living under alien rule, rather as the Emperor in Constantinople had been for the Orthodox congregations living in the lands of the old Caliphate. The Tsars were prepared, when they could, to accept this responsibility. Indeed, in later centuries they were to be too eager, involving the Greeks in acts of disloyalty against their Ottoman masters. But so long as Muscovy and the Ottoman Empire were on friendly terms, this worked well, and was certainly of material benefit to the Eastern Patriarchates.[10]

For Russia the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate was of high importance and was to prove of the greatest value in the troubled years that were to come. Tsar Feodor died in 1598. The prayers of the Patriarchs that he might have a son were not granted; and his only daughter died in infancy. His young half-brother Dimitri died under mysterious circumstances in 1591; and it was generally believed that Boris Godunov had arranged for his murder. The old dynasty was ended. Boris, who had in fact ruled the country in his brother-in-law's name, was elected Tsar, to find that an upstart Tsar did not enjoy the same respect as did the minister of a monarch of an ancient dynasty. When he died in 1605, the tragic, haunted figure known to us from Pushkin's drama and Moussorki's opera, most of the nobles were intriguing against him, while a False Dimitri, backed by the Polish army, was advancing triumphantly on Moscow. During the next few years, with two False Dimitris on the throne, interrupted by the brief reign of the boyar Vassily Shuisky, it was the Church that preserved Orthodoxy and headed the national identity against the Poles. The Patriarch Job was forced to retire, blind and enfeebled, when Boris died. His successor Hermogenes, appointed after a hiatus, by Shuisky, maintained the struggle till he was strarved to death in prison by the partisans of the second False Dimitri.[11] When eventually order was restored with the election of Mikhail Romanov to be Tsar in January, 1613, he appointed his own father to be Patriarch, Philaret, born Feodor Romanov, whose aunt had been Tsar Feodor's mother. It was not till 1619 that Philaret was released from captivity in Poland to take over the Patriarchate. Thenceforward, being the young Tsar's physical as well as spiritual father and having a far stronger character, he in fact ruled the country till his death in 1633, raising the Patriarchate to a greater political power than even any Patriarch of Constantinople had enjoyed.[12] The Patriarch Nikon, who succeeded to the Patriarchal throne in 1653, after two less noteworthy reigns, attempted to extend his power even further; but that was more than either the Tsar or public opinion could stand. After a reign of six years he was deposed.[13] The next Patriarchs were of a less formidable calibre. But in 1700, on the death of the Patriarch Adrian, Peter the Great only appointed an 'exarch in charge of the Patriarchate'; and in 1721 the Patriarchate was formally abolished and the whole Church put under a Holy Synod, which was in fact a department of state. Strictly speaking, with the Patriarchate abolished, it should have returned to the authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. But in fact the other Patriarchs considered the Metropolitan of Moscow as still enjoying Patriarchal rank.[14] Eventually the Patriarchate of Moscow was re-established, without reference to Constantinople, in 1917, during the early months of the Russian revolution.

But all that was hidden in the far future when Jeremias returned from his journey to Moscow. What he had achieved there had been wise and practical and beneficial both to the Russian Church and his own congregations. In his conduct there, as in his other works, he had shown his worthiness to be considered as one of the most admirable of the Patriarchs of Constantinople.

10. In fact, owing to the troubles in Russia, the Church of Constantinople did not receive any material benefits from the Tsars till well into the seventeenth century.

11. See Soloviev., *op. cit.*, VIII, *passim*, for the whole time of troubles.

12. See Medlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–141.

13. See Madlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–191.

14. Mouravieff, *op. cit.*, pp. 413–415. The Eastern Patriarchs could not well afford to offend the Tsar by not recognising the Synod.

# UNITY OF THE CHURCH: THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POINT OF VIEW

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## I. *One Church: A General, Christian View*

"We believe in the one... Church" (*Credo unam... ecclesiam*). Thus it says in the Confession of Faith. In this confession, spoken by all Christians, is thus the statement of belief in the *one* Church. The unity of the Church expressed in this confession, is a given reality of faith. It exists, all appearances to the contrary, because it is a gift of God to us.

*Why* only *one Church?* One can answer this question in different ways and, in fact, it has been answered even completely in opposite ways.

(1) One familiar argument runs: There is only one God. The Church proceeds (however that may be understood) from the hand of the one and only God. There exists, therefore, only one Church. Because one argues in this case from one God, one may speak of a *monotheistic* foundation of the (believed) unity of the Church.

(2) Somewhat different is the Second Vatican Council. In reliance upon the early theologian and Church Father Cyprian, the assembly of the Church said in the Constitution of the Church ("Lumen Gentium"), "the universal Church is seen to be a people brought into unity from the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit" (LG, 1, 4). As one sees, it is thought to have been given by God insofar as he exists, according to Christian faith in three persons. This is the *trinitarian* foundation of the unity of the Church.

(3) There are also theologians and Christians who see above all the Holy Spirit at work in the unity of the Church. It is said that the Holy Spirit is active in the Church in a particular way. One certainly sees that the Spirit is mentioned together with the Church in the Confession of faith (in the third article), "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy...Church..." The Council too, expounded the Holy Spirit as particularly important for the unity of the Church. It says that the Holy Spirit, "which dwells in the faithful and leads and governs the whole Church, creates this wonderful fellowship of the faithful and binds them so intimately in Christ, that he is the principle of the unity of the Church." This is thus the foundation of the unity of the Church in the Holy Spirit, the *pneumatological* foundation.

(4) Particularly frequently one encounters the fourth, the *Christological* foundation of the unity of the Church. The unity of the Church, so runs the basic thought, is determined and guaranteed by Jesus Christ and the fellowship in him. He who thinks thus can support his views in certain ways from Holy Scripture. According to the witness of Scripture, Jesus Christ is the one and only. His work is the unification of that which was separated and alienated. "He has made us both (Jews and Gentiles) one," says the Letter to the Ephesians, and, more pointedly, Paul says in the Letter to the Galatians, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (III, 28). Unity in this view, is grounded ultimately in the saving work of Christ. Because the saving work of Christ is present in the Church, through the Church, one may therefore consider him as the head and her (the Church) as the body. Consider, too, the corresponding passages in Scripture – First Corinthians twelve, Colossians one, Ephesians five. If there is *one* head, then there is also only *one* body: this goes without saying.

I repeat, *the unity of the Church is, in the general, Christian understanding, already in existence.* That this is so is plainly evident in the confessions, prayers, liturgies, and doctrines of the individual Christian fellowships (which does not mean that the doctrine of the unity of the Church would continually be in the consciousness of the average Christian –in fact, the opposite seems true). True unity of the Church already exists and it is a matter of relative indifference whether one establishes this unity monotheistically, trinitarianly, christologically, or pneumatologically. Decisive is the insight that the one Church already exists as a gift of God to humanity. This gift cannot be diminished or totally suppressed by humanity. The German Roman Catholic ecumenist Heinrich

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Fries says, "The one Church as the presence of the one Christ is so essentially one that she cannot be divided at all – every visible split to the contrary."

I must express one point differently, however. I have spoken of four possible arguments of the unity of the Church and I said that it is relatively the same whichever one chooses. The same, but surely only "*relatively*" the same; because in this choice, through this choice, the prior decisions for the understanding of the Church are filtered. He who chooses the *monotheistic* starting point does not, as a rule, differentiate strictly between the Church as a reality of faith and its visible realization. Unity of thought and action earmarks the churchly as well as the political arena and concretizes itself in the monarchic, patriarchal principle at all levels. It is not surprising that the Church was thus understood in the First Vatican Council. It is argued that the Church is not divided, nor split. She is worthy of faith precisely because of her unity, uniqueness, uniformity, she, the perfect society ("societas perfecta") with the Pope as head. It is obvious that this concept of unity does not cover multiformity.

If one argues from the *trinitarian* starting point, one assumes, on the one hand, that the unity of the Church is a given, a gift of God, a reality of faith. On the other hand, such an understanding of unity remains open to various forms in the dimension of the visible. Certainly one could criticize such an understanding theologically that thereby it is not made clear enough that the divine persons (Father, Son, Spirit) are each to be grasped differently in their activity towards humanity. It makes good theological sense when one says that the Father created us (and not, perhaps, the Holy Spirit has created us), or that the Son has redeemed us. The theologian thinks immediately of the so-called doctrine of appropriation.

If one begins with the Holy Spirit, and thus *pneumatologically*, one finds it especially easy to legitimize even a diversity in the Church. The Spirit gives different gifts and thus there is a broad and colourful spectrum in the Church of God. Small fellowships outside the larger Churches have always and readily chosen this manner of foundation. The Holy Spirit, the invisible God, created the one Church as she exists through all churches and fellowships. At the same time he wills and preserves the many and various groups. In this starting point difficulties emerge, above, all in Christology. Where here is the place of Jesus Christ who certainly is involved in a special way with the Church and her unity?

On the contrary one can say that an exclusively *Christological* argument for the unity of the Church allows the Holy Spirit to come off badly; the Holy Spirit who stands above all in the Church for the eventful, the dynamic, the incalculable.

I mention all this, so that you do not think that the matter of the foundation of the unity of the Church is merely theological frivolity. In such attempts are reflected the concrete churchly life and self-understanding of the centuries. At the same time these attempts (as focal points) make clear what one understands as the Church globally and basically.

What then, in terms of content, does this given unity of the Church *mean?* In this believed unity of the Church it has, above all, to do with faith, hope, and love. It has to do with that which we designate with the word "grace". The reality of grace is preserved beyond all confessional division. One remembers in this connection the well-known words in the Letter to the Ephesians: one Lord, one faith, one baptism, the one God who reveals himself to humanity (that is surely the central meaning of the theological concept of "grace" (God who reveals himself to humanity) the one faith on the part of the individual believer. Baptism and possibly even the Lord's Supper one could see this as a content of the unity of the Church, as God gives it). Finally, one surely sees that one cannot locate the unity of the Church principally and completely in the invisible.

As least the great confessions (by this I mean churches and denominations) agree that the unity of the Church also has visible aspects. Baptism, for example, the one Christian baptism, is one such visible aspect of unity. There is not here a Roman Catholic and there an Anglican baptism. Generally, the understanding of the unity of the Church may be grasped only very inadequately with the early platonic differentiation of "visible" and "invisible". It is a matter of the secret hidden *in* the Church, which can only be grasped by faith. The unity of the Church, therefore, is not a purely spiritual dimension next to, behind, above the visible fellowship. For just this reason the unity of the Church must also be present symbolically, visibly. A well-known ecumenical circle in Germany, the so-called Jäger-Stählin Circle (forty top-flight Roman Catholic and Evangelical-Lutheran theologians belong to it) have concerned themselves in recent months with the symbols of the unity to the Church. This was done in connection with the "Confessio Augustana", that early Lutheran confession whose four hundred and fiftieth anniversary occured in nineteen-eighty. The theologians were above all in agreement that the unity of the Church is a reality of faith and already exists as a gift of God (somewhat in the sense in which I have presented it). One asks, then, for symbolic, visible realizations of such unity. This dimension of unity has been determined in three ways.

First, the unity of the Church (visible, symbolic) is given in the confession of the one Gospel.

Second, the unity of the Church becomes visible in the sacrament of baptism. The reciprocal recognition of baptism forms a fundamental unity of churches and groups.

Third, unity becomes clear in that it (unprejudiced

and independent of the arrangements in the individual churches) is rather like an office which knows itself to be connected in its mission with the service of the apostles.

These statements and formulas of the ecumenical circle are, as said, made in connection with the text of the "Confessio Augustana". As you can easily see, however, they run in much the same direction, content-wise, as my earlier statements in connection with Scripture.

Certainly the Christian sees less than the unity of the Church. He sees himself confronted above all with the fact that Christianity consists of many churches and churchly fellowships. He is not, therefore, convinced of the fact of the already given unity of the Church. All the more must it be the task of the theologians and all who participate in the proclamation to refer again and again to the gift of God, the unity of the Church. It must be added immediately that the work of humanity must correspond to this gift of God. We humans have obviously not done justice to this task. Christianity is divided, and so much so that until not all-too long one was excluded, considered a heretic, precisely in the name of the Gospel. That this was a situation which should not have existed is obvious.

## II. *The One Church - The Roman Catholic Church*

Until a few decades ago this was certainly no problem for the Roman Catholic Church. By the *one* Church of which the creeds spoke one always thought of oneself, the Roman Catholic Church. Naturally one could not overlook the fact that there were several groups which designated themselves as Christian churches or fellowships. For the Roman Catholic Church the answer to the question "Where among the many who call themselves Christians is the true Church?" can only be "The true Church is that which brings together the characteristics of unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity". This, of course, exists in the Roman Catholic Church. The one Church willed by Christ, so one says, is the apostolic-authority-bearing, world-wide Roman Catholic Church. She is, so to speak, united by three bonds: she is *one* in faith, she is completely *one and uniform* in liturgy, and she is *united* under the hierarchy and through the hierarchy at whose head stands the (one) Pope.

What, then, of the others, the non-Roman Catholic groups? Long ago one saw in them only the devil at work, the anti-christ. Others were thus, on the whole, dissidents, heretics. This attitude was never actually covered theologically, because at all times one had held the idea that God is not necessarily bound to the Church in mediating his salvation. The others were certainly saved (that was the main thought at that time) because they, as it were, were off-shoots of the Faith which was represented firmly and purely only in the Roman Catholic Church.

This became quite different in our century. Already long before the Council it was confessed on the Roman Catholic side that "even in those who are separated, ecclesiological elements of unity exist". One can read this in the third volume of the large theological lexicon, "Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche" (page seven hundred and fifty-four). Pius the Eleventh had said earlier, in nineteen twenty-seven, of the Orthodox churches, "A piece broken off a goldbearing stone also bears gold as well". (Oss. Rom. tenth/eleventh of January, nineteen twenty-seven).

Thus there are before the Second Vatican Council at least two stages in the Roman Catholic theology of the unity of the Church. The one stage is distinguished by controversy between the confessions (by confessions, of course, I mean the different confessional churches). All others are in untruth, one himself has the true faith, himself actualizes church unity completely and fully. The second stage was already introduced in the last century and is particularly clear in the decades before the Council – there is surely only one Church which may legitimately call itself the Church, and this is the Roman Catholic Church. Nonetheless, the concept of unity is so comprehensive and broad that one must at least see and accept certain elements of unity-visible, concrete unity – in the others.

## III. *New Theological Insights*

A third stage is the Second Vatican Council. Naturally it did not fall out of the blue with its ideas but rather had been long prepared in the life of the Roman Church and in the thinking of theologians.

What, however, is *new* in the statements of the Council?

The Council no longer identified the Roman Catholic Church with the Church of Christ without further ado. We must remember that in earlier times it was clear that the one Church of Christ equalled the Roman Catholic Church. In the church constitution a cautious formula is chosen: it says that the Church of Christ "subsistit" (has her being, exists, endures above all, has her concrete form of existence) in the Roman Catholic Church. This is not just splitting hairs. As we know from the fall of the Council it was formulated with full intent to reckon with new theological thinking. The Church of the Council no longer understands itself simply as identical with the Church of Christ, but believes that she actualizes this in essence. In the same text it will be recognized "that many elements of sanctification and truth are found outside its visible confines" (16 I, 8). The somewhat later Decree on Ecumenism is even more clear. The Church constitution spoke of "ecclesiastical denominations" in order not to have to desi-

gnate the non-Roman Catholic groups as "churches", but there, in the Decree on Ecumenism, the others were quite clearly named "churches". It deals, therefore, not with "so-called" churches which cannot actually be recognized as churches, but rather with actual churches. One place in the Decree on Ecumenism (UR Three, nineteen) is of greatest importance for theologians and Christians in general. It says, namely, that the non-Roman Catholic groups are differentiated from the Roman Catholic Church "above all in the interpretation of the revealed truth". One must pay special attention to this. Earlier on one said, "We have the truth, others are in untruth". Today it is said, or at least implied, "The truth is greater than we. We, the Roman Catholics, interpret the God-given revelation thus: non-Roman Catholics interpret it differently." Different interpretations, however, do not have to exclude, but rather can even complement each other.

What one formulated there in the Council did not (as I have indicated) fall from the blue, but rather was the result of church life and theological work over a long period of time. Here I wish to refer only briefly to biblical scholarship, to exegesis. Earlier on one was of the view that the "early Christians" were of one heart and soul. Exegesis has taught us that there were divisive tendencies already in the early Church. Both letters to the Corinthians, for example, are a clear witness to that. We know that after the death of the Apostles the Catholic Church did not embody Christianity uncontested. From time to time strong groups contested the field. One thinks of the course of Arianism which did not exist as small sects but rather as a rival, great church. Over a thousand years ago it finally came to the first great schism, to a separation of Eastern Church and Western Church (ten fifty-four). Finally then, the Reformation brought the great split in the Occident and new divisions arose within the groups coming into existence through the Reformation.

Groups also split off from the Roman Catholic Church, however – the "old Catholics" after the First Vatican Council, for example. The Lutheran theologian Rückert believes that, "One can say that in the two thousand years of Church History there has never been church unity". I do not know if one may express is so drastically. In any case the Roman Catholic Church could not and cannot simply argue, blind to history, that Jesus Christ founded only one Church, and that we are that one Church from zero hour of her founding to today. One must also take into consideration the tendencies toward division and actual divisions from the New Testament era through modern times.

The Council established that *visible unity is no longer present, it is lost.* One need only read the first sentence of the Decree on Ecumenism. "To create the unity of all Christians is one of the main tasks of the Council". And later in the text it says (UR Two, five), "The concern for the re-creation of unity is a matter for the whole Church, the faithful as well as those here, and it applies to each according to his abilities in his daily life as well as in theological and historical research. This concern makes it clear to some extent that a brotherly relationship already exists between all Christians, and it is this which finally, according to the gracious will of God, leads to full and perfect unity." What sense could these statements have if the Church of the Council would believe that the unity of the Church is already fully realized in the Roman Catholic Church?

A certain difficulty results, however, for the Roman Catholic theologians. May one now no longer speak of the *one* Church, if one means the Roman Catholic Church? I believe so. The Roman Catholic Church is one community. She is set over against the others actually through one certain form of faith, one liturgy, and one hierarchy. In order, however, to be fair about the matter under discussion one should formulate it somewhat differently. It is surely now accepted at the highest levels that the Roman Catholic Church certainly has the truth in a certain breadth or fullness, but that others, too, have the truth. The Roman Catholic Church can learn from the others, can increase her own riches by accepting some things from the others. I have, therefore, suggested twice in recent years in theological journals that one should speak of a "fragmentary" unity of the Roman Catholic Church, of the unity of the Roman Catholic Church in fragmentary form. Yet this is more a question of *expression*, which need not be disputed. What is important is *what is meant*. The Roman Catholic Church knows that she does not have the complete fullness of the truth. She can and must allow herself to be enhanced. A few years ago the Church of West Germany held a synod. At this synod a series of texts– so to speak as witness of the faith of a regional and national church–was passed. One of the texts concerned itself with ecumenism. What is said in this is of greatest importance for us here. If it is not a question of a universal church voice, then it is a matter of a very weighty voice of Roman Catholic origin. It says of the relationships between the churches: "To the degree in which a diversity in our own churches is accepted and actualized the capability and readiness to perceive and value the richness and limits of such diversity in other churches and churchly fellowships grows as well. As a result there are also new perspectives for a drawing closer and unification of heretofore separated churches and churchly fellowships. In this not only can they preserve their particular traditions, but bring them into a greater whole. For me, this was a main reason for speaking of "unity in fragmentary form". So long as the Roman Catholic Church lacks the full richness of other groups she, too, exists only in a "fragmentary form".

At this point a few notes on the concept of unity are brought to bear. The scholastic concept of unity,

which the Roman Catholic hand-and textbook use as a rule, means simply that a being is undivided and complete in itself and is thus removed from any other ("unitas est proprietas qua res est indivisa in se et divisa a qualibet alia"). In such a perspective it naturally makes no sense to speak of "fragmentary" unity. On the contrary, it is to be said (as I pointed out earlier) that on the basis of *this* concept of unity the thesis of the unity and uniqueness of the Roman Catholic Church remains correct. There is, however, another meaning of unity.

Its roots lie in the nineteenth century. The Romantics saw above all the total fullness and dynamic of life realized in "organic unity" and strove for such unity in all fields of knowledge and activity. The Tübingen theologian Johann Adam Möhler, for example, argued on this level that the Church is life and abundance. Precisely this constitutes her unity. *This* meaning of "unity" appears to me to play the decisive role in the texts of the Council as well. See the Decree on Ecumenism, Number One, four. "While preserving unity in essentials, let everyone in the Church, according to the office entrusted to him, preserve a proper freedom in the various forms of spiritual life and discipline, in the variety of liturgical rites, and even in the theological elaborations of revealed truth. In all things let charity prevail. If they are true to this course of action, they will be giving ever richer expression to the authentic catholicity and apostolicity of the Church." In the effort for unity it is a matter of presenting, "a more perfect realization of the very mystery of Christ and the Church". Here unity is thus publicly alive, fulfilled richness, fullness and breadth in the spectrum of faith, in its customs, in spiritual life and the liturgy. This unity is simply not completely realized in the Roman Catholic Church, because she does not have all that the others have.

The new fundamental (or systematic) theologian and ecumenist in Münich, Heinrich Döring, successor to the well-known ecumenist and Newman-researcher Heinrich Fries, attempts to unite the more classic view with these new points of interpretation, perhaps in order to especially meet half-way the theologians in the pastoral care, if congregations who were all educated in different concepts do now meet with great difficulties with the new. Döring uses the image of concentric circles. The degree of the existence of the Church grows in the measure of the greater actualization of visible symbolic elements (that is, confessions of faith, sacraments, leadership). To the degree and extent to which the concrete existence of the Church grows, so will church unity also become symbolically realized and outwardly visible. In this sense, however, the Roman Catholic Church understands itself as a particularly intensive realization of church unity, encompassing, so to speak, particularly many circles. In spite of this, the realization of church unity is not complete in her, because she does not have all, in terms of wealth, which the others have. A few years ago the current Bishop of Münich, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, himself a theologian of the Council, said, "Churches should remain churches, but first become the one Church".

## IV. *The Value of Confessionalism*

If one takes all this seriously (and what I have said is not personal opinion, but rather a very official expression of the Roman Catholic Church), one must naturally see the relationship between the one Church and the many confessions differently. It no longer suffices on the Roman Catholic side simply to say, "The unity of the Church is permanently given by God but broken in its visible realization. This situation is deplorable and we must work as quickly as possible at recreating unity." This is a correct viewpoint which still occupies us, but it implies a too negative view of the individual confessions.

God, who, we believe, has willed (instituted, founded – however one wishes to say it) the Church, has also allowed Christianity to develop in various confessions. That it cannot be the will of God that the confessions wage war upon each other is obvious. God cannot desire hate and hostility. The question remains, however, whether one must look upon the diversity of confessions, therefore, as bad and harmful.

I believe not.The different Churches and Christian groups grew out of quite certain, historical circumstances. In the course of time they have worked out certain aspects of Christianity existentially, so to speak, but also theologically. One example which is particularly close to me because of the situation in Germany are the Lutheran Christians. Because of Martin Luther they have stressed the sinfulness of humanity from the beginning and likewise that humanity will be saved through God's grace and mercy alone. In most Churches of the Reformation it was always primarily a matter of the proclamation of the Word. Over against this the Roman Catholic Church always stressed that humanity is surely sinful but is also a good creation of God. Besides this, the sacraments, at least from time to time, were placed very much in the foreground. Does it not appear at first glance that here lie the crucial points which in themselves are valuable and can complement each other? Had there been no division perhaps some essential and important aspects of Christendom would not be so present to us. "God writes straight even on crooked lines", says one German proverb.

For the present, one may only add that the intensity of the confessional movement in our days makes clear to each concerned party how much the groups have of each other when they are, and remain, in conversation. They can learn an enormous amount from each other. Each side can also, however, ask critical questions of certain standpoints. One can

make progress on the way to unity through the exchange of different confessional riches. The Synod of the Federal Republic of Germany has issued an unfortunately much-too-little-known statement, "Hence, in the multitude of traditions of the different confessions it is justifiable to recognize and value positively a legitimate diversity. The Synod hopes for a development in which the heretofore church-dividing contrasts will be broken down and overcome and in which heretofore divided Churches and churchly fellowships will become bearers of such diversity in the one Church of Jesus Christ" (Past. Zus. Four, thirty-three). Thus it is here said that different churches and churchly fellowships exist next to one another, which means, mainly, legitimate diversity. This legitimate diversity should not disappear at all, but rather should enter into the diversity of the one Church of Jesus Christ.

I will make the two questions which one can ask of this text the leading questions for my exposition in two brief final sections. One can first ask, "Should there be a *visible* unity of the Church at all?" We have certainly heard that the unity of the Church already exists! The co-existence of the confessions is valued as legitimate diversity, as richness, by the previously-mentioned Synod. Does this not suffice? Does it not suffice when Christendom presents itself in a diverse co-existence? Why should this be eliminated?

And the second question could run, "*If* we should come further on the way to realizing unity (as I presume we should), how could, how should it happen?" But to get to the point: Should there be a visible unity of the Church at all?

## V. *The Necessity of Visible Unity*

From the beginning I have said, and repeated several times, that the unity of the Church already exists as a gift of God. We have also heard that this unity is not totally invisible even if it has been largely lost through divisions in the Church. We have, for example, a visible expression of such unity in baptism.

One must confirm, however, that there is relatively little in terms of visible unity. Again the question, "Should this small amount be increased? should there be more visible unity?" The answer to this question is already indirectly given, "One remembers that the Church is anchored in Christ". This foundation suggests a visible unity because he, the God-with-us, is not pure Idea nor is he myth but rather is God in the flesh. We refer particularly to the Gospel of John, chapter seventeen. According to this text the disciples are, so to speak, to illustrate and represent the unity of the Father and the Son. Still further; this unity is necessary for witness in the world;"...that the world may know that thou has sent me and has loved them even as thou has loved me". The former General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Visser t' Hooft, comments on this passage in this way, "The words, '...that the world may know that thou has sent me...' can only mean that something is visible here and that this unity is revealed in a way which is, for the eyes and ears of the world, unusual enough to have humanity looking and listening".

Finally, it is the duty to witness and the mission situation of the Church which postulate her visible unity. So, as the confessions live next to one another today (as they in some cases still live, as it were, *against* each other)! the sought-after status is not yet in existence. Nor does it suffice to refer *only* to an invisible Church. Even the non-Roman Catholic theologians, who earlier stressed the invisible side of the Church so strongly, are today almost of one voice with the Roman Catholics in the opinion that a still more complete, visible form of unity must be achieved, as a reversal, as it were, of the event of the Reformation.

The Second Vatican Council had still produced the thought that the Church should be symbol, and, so to speak, model of the unity of humanity: "Since the Church, in Christ, is in the nature of sacrament – a sign and instrument, that is, of communion with God and of unity among all men – she here proposes... her own nature and universal mission." (LG One, one). How should the Church be able to perceive this, her mission, if only little that is visible of this unity has come to light?

Thus a greater amount of visible unity is required. All that has grown and exists in the different traditions should be brought into this new unity. Therefore the German Synod said, "The Synod hope for a development in which heretofore divided Churches and churchly fellowships will become bearers of such diversity in the one Church of Jesus Christ."

## VI. *Concretizing Church Unity*

All sides are seeking a way to form more fully on a visible level that unity of the Church which already exists invisibly so "... that the world may believe." That is, to form it in such a way that the individual churches and churchly fellowships do not have to give up their individuality.

Hence it follows that certain earlier concepts are non-negotiable. What the Popes once frequently demanded, for example, is out of the question, that is, *return to your common childhood home* (we would say, your common *Vaterhaus*). Return to the Roman Catholic Church which you once abandoned! You will be received graciously, you only must give up your (mistaken) ideas. This concept of the development of the one (the visible-one) Church out of the many confessions is regarded as out of date. After all I have said I need not develop this any further. No Pope and hardly any theologians would any longer use this argument. Further abandoned models are the *addition and subtraction methods*. In these, each

takes everything over from the other or each gives up that which does not allow them to arrive at a common denominator. The creeds of the Churches of the Reformation will be as binding for all as the documents of the Second Vatican Council. One easily sees that this would lead to a loss of substance and surely would effect no genuine unification. Very different groups would simply come together under one roof.

Today there is a series of models under discussion. In this the same concepts are used in different ways (as indeed already the word "ecumenism" means something different in its use by Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics). The efforts to create concrete forms of units have a long history. In this area I would particularly like to refer to the "Lambeth-Quadrilateral" of Eighteen eighty-eight. The Conference for "Faith and Order" in Nineteen thirty-seven outlined three different interpretations of the concretizing of churchly unity: "Federation or alliance of Churches with the goal of practical work together, "Communion" which presupposes the full or partial reciprocal recognition of the churches, and finally "Organic unity" or "corporate union" as the unification of the churches in a particular place".

It is common to all these models that they do not wish to take into account the unresolved tension between "unity" and "diversity", that unity must have a certain pluralism.

The model of the "Federation of churches" was and is to this day discussed in Roman Catholic circles, too. The Church should above all work together on a practical level. They should do together that which they want to do together. Unanimity on theological questions or decisions is to be relinquished. In questions of church order, too, one is satisfied with minimum agreement. To this one must first say that in post-war Germany where the confessions live quite close together and at almost equal strength, this model has long been realized - here more, there less. They work together at the social level, hold common worship services, the pastors of different confessions meet together in regular, practical consultations. The Christian fellowships of one city publish a common magazine - in Marburg, for example, all the Christian groups are publishers of the monthly "Kirche in Marburg" ("The Church in Marburg") in which the common concerns and events are spelled out as well as the (separate) services and events in the individual churches. One must ask, however, whether this model, is, in the end, not rather non-obligatory. It is not rather an intermediate stage which, according to what has been said, must be overtaken and surpassed!

In a certain way "*Communion*" belongs to the model of "*Organic unity*". Presupposed is agreement in the following points: faith and confession, worship and sacrament, office and constitution of the Church. These were the essential concerns of the "Lambeth-Quadrilateral". This model seeks no rigid conformity or complete uniformity. Certainly it will be objected (by the Roman Catholic side, but also from other sides), that when the new Church has her own form, the traditions of the individual Churches seem to be eliminated. Would it be possible on a practical level to bring the individual confessions into, as it were, a new Church without the individuals being forced to give up something essential? And were the Roman Catholic Church to participate, would she not surely overwhelm the others because of her numerical superiority? On purely theological, grounds this way appears to me to be, from the Roman Catholic side (if not today, then surely in the foreseeable future), a possibility because there is hardly a doctrinal point any longer which necessarily must be divisive for the Church.

Two further concepts remain to be discussed about the mentioned models. The one is the model of "Conciliar fellowship" formulated in Dar es Salaam in nineteen seventy-three and accepted in Nairobi in nineteen seventy-five. This model has rather association and fellowship on a regional level in mind.Conciliar deliberations and decisions should (in the style of an open trial) prompt further unification.

From the Roman Catholic standpoint this appears to me to be more a sort of basis pattern in the unification process and less a goal. As the aim for the concept of unity I would sooner accept the "Church fellowship" in the sense of a "reconciled-diversity". This model was outlined in nineteen seventy-four by the representatives of the confessional world union and was accepted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Lutheran World Union in Dar es Salaam in nineteen-seventy-seven. This model, too, is open- it is an open model of a progressive approaching or drawing closer. It provides for interim goals and prepares for the partners to grow together on the path of dialogue to unity. Reconciliation in diversity (the progressive "reconciliation in diversity and of diversity") would be the process and the increasingly realized goal here: "Reconciled diversity". As the concept itself says, multiformity remains preserved yet the individual groups are nonetheless increasingly marked by a common confession, common forms of piety, common religious experience, common worship, more and more, too, by common theological tradition, common church and office structure. When and how God wills, at a certain point the unity which was lost through human sin will be attained.

In conclusion I would like to bring my discussion together thematically. (1) In the view of practically all Christians the unity of the Church is a gift of God which already exists and which cannot be taken away or diminished by humanity. This gift consists essentially of the grace given to all Christians and finds partial, visible expression in baptism, among other things.

(2) Earlier Roman Catholic doctrine identified the Roman Catholic Church with the one Church of Christ. This position has become theologically and doctrinally obsolete except, perhaps, in the thought of Roman Catholic congregations and individual believers.

(3) The Second Vatican Council worked with a comprehensive concept of unity. The borders of the Roman Catholic Church and the borders of Church existence are not identical. Great value can be recognized in the others, much can be learned from them. It is suggested that the unity thus expounded is to be designated as unity in "fragmentary form".

(4) Therefore the confessions are not to be devalued from the Roman Catholic side. They arose, to be sure, from partly unhappy divisions but make clear through their existence and life the fullness of Christianity.

(5) For the sake of effectiveness in the world and for the world, that particular form of Church unity is to be sought in which the confessions can become bearers of diversity within the one Church of Christ.

(6) In sorting out concepts of models and goals for such Church unity, the model advisable is that of "Church fellowship" whose occurrence, however, need not exclude "conciliar fellowship".

# Η ΕΝ ΚΑΡΘΑΓΕΝΗ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ 419

Ὑπὸ

*Μητροπολίτου Σουηδίας Παύλου*

**α) Ἡ σύγκλησις τῆς συνόδου.**

Ἡ «ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τοῦ 419» συνεκλήθη, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὀνομασίας αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνεται, ἐν Καρθαγένῃ[1], κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 419 (25–30 Μαΐου), ὑπὸ τὴν προεδρίαν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς πόλεως ταύτης Αὐρηλίου[2], εἶναι δὲ ἀπὸ πλευρᾶς κανονικοῦ δικαίου καὶ δὴ ἱστορίας τῶν πηγῶν αὐτοῦ ἡ πλέον σημαντικὴ ἐκ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πλέον συνόδων τῶν συγκληθεισῶν ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου, ὅστις ἐν τῇ πράξει ὑπῆρξεν ὁ ἀναμφισβήτητος προκαθήμενος[3] τῆς «ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς» (=«ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας»). Τῆς συνόδου ταύτης μετέσχον συνολικῶς 217 ἐπίσκοποι, κυρίως ἐκ τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ὁπωσδήποτε δὲ «τοποτηρηταὶ» ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἓξ ἐπαρχιῶν[4] τῆς «διοικήσεως τῆς Ἀφρικῆς»[5]. Εἰς τὴν σύνοδον παρίσταντο ἐπίσης «τοποτηρηταὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ρώμης», ἤτοι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ποτεντίνης (τῆς ἐπαρχίας Πικένου) Φαυστῖνος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Φίλιππος καὶ Ἄσελλος.

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1. Εἰς τὰ βυζαντινὰ κείμενα ἡ ἀρχαία πόλις τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὀνομάζεται ἐπίσης Καρθαγένη (ἄλλαι παραλλαγαὶ γραφῆς: Καρθάγενα, Καρτάγαινα, Καρθαγέν(ν)α, Καρταγέν(ν)α, Χαρταγένη), ἀσφαλῶς ἐξ ἐπιδράσεως τῆς λατινικῆς ὀνομασίας Carthago, ὁ τύπος δὲ οὗτος «Καρθαγένη» ἀπαντᾷ διὰ πρώτην φορὰν ἐν τῇ μνείᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Κωικιλιανοῦ, ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις τῶν ἐπισκόπων, τῶν μετασχόντων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου (325) (*Mansi* 2, 929). Ἐν τούτοις, ὁ μεταφράσας κατὰ τὸν στ΄ αἰῶνα τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἐχρησιμοποίησε μόνον τὸν τύπον «Καρχηδών», τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τύπον «Καρχηδὼν» («τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Καρχηδόνα γεγενημένην ... ἱερὰν σύνοδον») χρησιμοποιεῖ καὶ ὁ συντάκτης τοῦ προλόγου τῆς πρώτης ἐκδόσεως τοῦ «Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους» (ἐκδοθέντος κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἥμισυ τοῦ στ΄ αἰῶνος), ὅστις, ὡς λέγει, «εὑρηκὼς» τοὺς κανόνας τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου, «συνέζευξε» «τῷ παρόντι σπουδάσματι» (ΡΠ 1, 6), ἤτοι εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἔκδοσιν τοῦ ἐν λόγῳ «Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους». Ἀντιθέτως οἱ συντάκται τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνελθούσης Πενθέκτης Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου (691) χρησιμοποιοῦν μόνον τὸν τύπον «Καρθαγένη» (κανόνες 2ος, 13ος, 29ος καὶ 32ος). Οἱ σχολιασταὶ τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος Ζωναρᾶς καὶ Βαλσαμὼν σημειώνουν ὅτι «Καρχηδὼν» ὀνομάζεται ἡ ἐπαρχία (τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς) καὶ «Καρθαγένη» ἡ ὁμώνυμος πρωτεύουσα ταύτης. («Ἡ γὰρ Καρθάγενα μέρος τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ Καρχηδὼν ἐπαρχία τῆς Ἀφρικῆς· ἡ γὰρ Ἀφρικὴ εἰς πολλὰς μεμέρισται μοίρας, ὧν μία ἡ Καρχηδών») (ΡΠ 3, 286). Ἡ παρατήρησις αὕτη τῶν δύο ἀνωτέρω σχολιαστῶν, ἥτις ἐπαναλαμβάνεται καὶ ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀρμενοπούλου (PG 150, 48) καὶ Ματθαίου τοῦ Βλαστάρεως (ΡΠ 6, 20), ἀληθεύει ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἓν αὐτῆς μέρος, ὅτι δηλαδὴ ἡ ἐπαρχία τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς ὀνομάζεται ἐπίσης ἐπαρχία Καρχηδόνος, δὲν τεκμηριοῦται ὅμως ἱστορικῶς ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῆς μέρος, ὅτι δηλαδὴ ὁ τύπος «Καρχηδὼν» χρησιμοποιεῖται πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς ἐπαρχίας Καρχηδόνος, ὁ δὲ τύπος «Καρθαγένη» πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς πόλεως τῆς Καρχηδόνος. Ἐνδεικτικαὶ περιπτώσεις χρήσεως τοῦ τύπου «Καρθαγένη» (καὶ τῶν παραλλαγῶν αὐτοῦ) εἰς βυζαντινὰ κείμενα δημοσιεύονται ὑπὸ τοῦ *Henricus Gelzer*, Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani, Λειψία 1890, σελ. 101 - 102. Πάντως, ἐν τῇ ἀνὰ χεῖρας μελέτῃ χρησιμοποιεῖται ὁ τύπος «Καρθαγένη», ὅστις εἶναι ὁ πλέον συνήθης ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ φιλολογίᾳ.

2. Ἡ εἰς ἐπίσκοπον Καρθαγένης ἀνάδειξις τοῦ Αὐρηλίου τοποθετεῖται μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 390 (κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης ἦτο εἰσέτι ὁ Γενέθλιος) καὶ 393 (ὅτε ὁ ἤδη ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιος προήδρευσε συνόδου ἐν Ἱππῶνι), πλέον δὲ συγκεκριμένως κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 391 ἢ 392. Ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις ἀναφερόμεναι εἰς τὴν προγενεστέραν περίοδον τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ εἶναι σχεδὸν ἀνύπαρκτοι. Εἶναι γνωστὸν μόνον ὅτι κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 388, ὅτε ὁ μετέπειτα ἐπίσκοπος Ἱππῶνος Αὐγουστῖνος ἐπέστρεψεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἰς Βόρειον Ἀφρικήν, συνηντήθη ἐν Καρθαγένῃ μετὰ τοῦ διακόνου τότε Αὐρηλίου, μετὰ τοῦ ὁποίου συνεδέθη φιλικῶς. Ὁ Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιος κατὰ τὴν μακρὰν αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερατείαν εἰργάσθη ἀόκνως διὰ τὴν καταπολέμησιν τῶν αἱρέσεων καὶ σχισμάτων ἐν τῇ ἀφρικανικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τὴν προάσπισιν τῆς αὐτοτελείας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταύτης ἔναντι τῶν ἀξιώσεων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης καὶ τὴν παγίωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας, ἔχων ἐπὶ δογματικῶν καὶ θεολογικῶν θεμάτων πολύτιμον αὐτοῦ συνεργάτην καὶ συμπαραστάτην τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἱππῶνος Αὐγουστῖνον. Ἀπεβίωσε μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 427 - 430, σῴζεται δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, γραφεῖσα τὸ ἔτος 406 ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τῆς ἐξορίας αὐτοῦ, ἐκφράζοντος πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιον εὐχαριστίας διὰ τὸ ἐπιδειχθὲν ἐνδιαφέρον: «τῆς γὰρ ἀγάπης σου τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τῆς παρρησίας καὶ τῆς εὐλαβείας ἡ εὐωδία μέχρι τὰ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν ἐσχατιᾷ τῆς οἰκουμένης καθημένων ἔφθασεν» (ἐπιστολὴ 149, PG 52, 700). Περὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου ἐκτενὲς δημοσίευμα τοῦ *A. Audollent*, ἐν DHGE 5, 726 - 738.

3. Δὲν ὑφίστανται ἐπὶ τούτῳ κανόνες οἵτινες καθορίζουν τὴν θέσιν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης ἐν τῇ ἱεραρχίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς ἢ κανόνες οἵτινες ἀπονέμουν εἰς αὐτὸν διακριτικόν τινα ἐπισκοπικὸν τίτλον. Ἀντιθέτως ὑφίσταται συνοδικὴ ἀπόφασις, ἀπαγορεύουσα εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς «πρώτης καθέδρας» (καὶ ἑπομένως καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Καρθαγένης) ὅπως προσαγορεύηται «ἔξαρχος τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἄκρος ἱερεὺς ἢ τοιουτότροπον τίποτε» ὁρίζουσα δὲ

ὅτι οὐτος δέον νὰ προσαγορεύηται «μόνον ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας» (κανὼν 39ος Καρθαγένης, ἐπαναλαμβανούσης τὸν 25ον κανόνα τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου. Ἐν τῇ ἀνά χεῖρας μελέτῃ ὁσάκις ἀναφέρεται κανὼν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου, ἄνευ ἑτέρου τινὸς προσδιορισμοῦ, ὑπονοεῖται κανὼν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419). Ἐν τῇ πράξει ὅμως ὁ ἀναμφισβήτητος προκαθήμενος ἢ «πρῶτος» τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς εἶναι ὁ ἑκάστοτε ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης, γεγονὸς εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον συνετέλεσαν κυρίως τρεῖς παράγοντες: α) Ἡ πολιτικὴ καὶ διοικητικὴ σημασία τῆς πόλεως ἧς ἐτύγχανεν ἐπίσκοπος, β) Ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἐξέλιξις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἐν τῇ λατινικῇ Βορείῳ Ἀφρικῇ. Οὕτω: Περὶ τὸ 220 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Ἀγριππῖνος συγκαλεῖ σύνοδον ἐξ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐπισκόπων, ἐν ᾗ ἐξητάσθη τὸ ζήτημα τοῦ κύρους τοῦ βαπτίσματος τῶν αἱρετικῶν. Κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 251 - 256 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Κυπριανὸς (248 - 258) συγκαλεῖ ἑπτὰ συνόδους, ἐν αἷς ἐξητάσθησαν ζητήματα ἅτινα ἀπησχόλησαν σοβαρῶς τὴν ἀφρικανικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Τὸ ἔτος 325 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Καικιλιανὸς μετέχει αὐτὸς μόνος ἐκ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου καὶ ἀναφέρεται μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπισκόπων οἵτινες ἀνεκοίνωσαν τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου εἰς ὅλας τὰς ἐκκλησίας τῆς δικαιοδοσίας αὐτῶν: «Καικιλιανὸς πόλεως Καρθαγένης, ταῖς κατὰ πάσας τὰς ἐπαρχίας, τάς τε Ἀφρικὰς καὶ τὰς Νουμιδίας καὶ Μαυριτανίας ἀμφοτέρας, οὔσαις ἁγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις» (*Mansi* 2, 929 καὶ PG 85, 1344). Τὸ ἔτος 348 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Γράτος καὶ τὸ ἔτος 390 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Γενέθλιος συγκαλοῦν ἐπίσης συνόδους ἐν Καρθαγένῃ. Τέλος, κατὰ τὴν μακρὰν αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερατείαν, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιος συνεκάλεσεν ἄνω τῶν εἴκοσι συνόδους, αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν ὁποίων συνῆλθον ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, γ) Ὡρισμέναι συνοδικαὶ ἀποφάσεις, αἵτινες ἀναγνωρίζουν συγκεκριμένα προνόμια εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Καρθαγένης. Οὕτω: Ἡ ἐν Ἱππῶνι σύνοδος τοῦ 393 (*C. Munier*, Concilia Africae, Turnhout 1974, σελ. 32) ὁρίζει ὅτι ἡ ἡμερομηνία ἑορτασμοῦ τοῦ Πάσχα διὰ τὴν ἀφρικανικὴν ἐκκλησίαν δέον ὅπως καθορίζηται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Καρθαγένης. Ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου 397 (55ος Καρθαγένης) παρέχει εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Καρθαγένης τὸ δικαίωμα ὅπως χειροτονῇ εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα κληρικοὺς ἐξ ἑτέρων ἐπισκοπῶν λαμβανομένους. Ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401 (85ος Καρθαγένης) λαμβάνει τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅπως τὰ συνοδικὰ γράμματα συντάσσωνται καὶ ὑπογράφωνται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης, ἡ δὲ σύνοδος τοῦ 403 ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει (91ος Καρθαγένης) λαμβάνει τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπόφασιν προκειμένου περὶ ἐπικοινωνίας μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν. Βεβαίως, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ τετάρτου αἰῶνος ἐμφανίζονται βαθμηδὸν «πρωτεύοντες» ἢ «ἐπίσκοποι πρώτης καθέδρας» καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐπαρχίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο οὐδόλως μειοῖ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης ἐν τῇ ἱεραρχίᾳ τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὡς τοῦτο ἐμφαίνεται σαφῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ 55ου κανόνος τῆς Καρθαγένης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιος φέρεται λέγων ὅτι «ἀντέχεται» «κατὰ συγχώρησιν Θεοῦ, πολλῶν ἐκκλησιῶν φροντίδος», ἡ δὲ σύνοδος ὁμολογοῦσα ὅτι ὄντως οὕτος «ἀνάγκην ἔχει» «πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑποστηρίζειν». Σημειωτέον ἐνταῦθα ὅτι οἱ «πρωτεύοντες» ἢ «ἐπίσκοποι πρώτης καθέδρας» εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας (δύο Νουμιδίαι, δύο Μαυριτανίαι, Τρίπολις καὶ Βυζακηνὴ) δὲν εἶναι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τῆς πρωτευούσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ ὅτι μέχρι τοῦ στ΄ αἰῶνος οἱ μόνοι διακριτικοὶ ἐπισκοπικοὶ τίτλοι οἵτινες ἐμφανίζονται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς εἶναι οἱ τίτλοι τοῦ «πρωτεύοντος» (primas), τοῦ «ἐπισκόπου πρώτης καθέδρας» (episcopus primae sedis) καὶ τοῦ «γέροντος» (senex), χρησιμοποιουμένων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ μιᾷ ἐννοίᾳ. Συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης ἐν τῇ ἱεραρχίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς εἶναι ὁ ἀναμφισβήτητος «πρῶτος», ἡ δὲ θέσις αὐτοῦ ἀντιστοιχεῖ: α) πρὸς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ «μητροπολίτου» κατὰ τὴν περίοδον καθ' ἣν εἶναι ὁ μόνος «ἐπίσκοπος πρώτης καθέδρας» ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ, καὶ β) πρὸς τὴν θέσιν τοῦ «ἐξάρχου τῆς διοικήσεως» (κανόνες 9ος καὶ 17ος Δ΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου), κατὰ τὴν περίοδον καθ' ἣν ὑφίστανται καὶ ἄλλοι «ἐπίσκοποι πρώτης καθέδρας» ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς. Οἱ τελευταῖοι οὗτοι κατ' οὐσίαν εἶναι οἱ μητροπολῖται τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν (καίτοι, ὡς ἐλέχθη, δὲν εἶναι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι τῆς πρωτευούσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πρεσβεῖα χειροτονίας ἐν αὐτῇ), ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης ὁ «ἔξαρχος» τῆς «διοικήσεως τῆς Ἀφρικῆς», ὡς αὕτη διεμορφώθη ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλητιανοῦ (284 - 305), προβάντος εἰς νέαν διοικητικὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας.

4. «τοποτηρηταῖς τῶν ἀφρικανῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, τοὐτέστι τῶν δύο Νουμιδιῶν, τῆς Βυζακηνῆς, Μαυριτανίας Σιτιφένσης καὶ Μαυριτανίας τῆς Καισαριανῆς καὶ Τριπόλεως» (ΡΠ 3, 287).

5. Κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους αἰῶνας τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ ἡ Βόρειος Ἀφρικὴ διακρίνεται εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν Βόρειον Ἀφρικὴν (Κυρηναϊκὴ καὶ Αἴγυπτος) καὶ εἰς τὴν λατινικὴν Βόρειον Ἀφρικήν. Κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Κυπριανοῦ (248 - 258) ἡ λατινικὴ Βόρειος Ἀφρικὴ διαιρεῖται πολιτικῶς εἰς τρεῖς ἐπαρχίας: α) τὴν Ἀνθυπατικὴν Ἀφρικὴν (ἢ Ἀφρικήν), ἥτις περιελάμβανεν ἐπίσης τὴν Βυζακηνὴν καὶ τὴν Τρίπολιν, β) τὴν Νουμιδίαν καὶ γ) τὴν Μαυριτανίαν. Ἐν τούτοις αἱ τρεῖς αὗται ἐπαρχίαι, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ, ἀποτελοῦν ἑνιαίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐπαρχίαν. «Latius fusa est nostra provincia, habet etiam Numidiam et Mauretaniam sibi cohaerentes», γράφει ἔν τινι ἐπιστολῇ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κυπριανὸς (ἐπιστολὴ 48, 3 κατὰ τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τοῦ *Guilelmus Hartel*, ἐν CSEL, τόμος 3ος, Βιέννη 1868 - 1871), καὶ ἐπανειλημμένως «nostra provincia» (ἐπιστολὴ 43, 3), «provinciam nostram» (ἐπιστολὴ 45, 1) καὶ «provincia nostra» (ἐπιστολὴ 55, 21), ἀναφερόμενος εἰς τὸ σύνολον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς (ἴδε, σχετικῶς: DDC 1, 296). Ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλητιανοῦ (284 - 305) ἐπραγματοποιήθη νέα διοικητικὴ διαίρεσις τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας, πλείστων ἐπαρχιῶν διαιρεθεισῶν εἰς δύο. Οὕτω, κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον αἰῶνα καὶ ἀρχὰς τοῦ πέμπτου, ὅτε συνεκλήθησαν: ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Γράτου ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τοῦ 348, ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Γενεθλίου ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τοῦ 390 καὶ ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου ἄνω τῶν εἴκοσι σύνοδοι, ἡ λατινικὴ Βόρειος Ἀφρικὴ πολιτικῶς διῃρεῖτο εἰς δύο τμήματα: α) τὸ κυρίως τμῆμα, ἤτοι ἡ «διοίκησις» (dioecesis) τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, καὶ β) τὸ τμῆμα τῆς Μαυριτανίας Τιγγιτανῆς, ἥτις ἀπετέλει μέρος τῆς «διοικήσεως» τῆς Ἱσπανίας. Ἡ «διοίκησις» τῆς Ἀφρικῆς περιελάμβανεν ἓξ (ἢ ἑπτά, ἐὰν αἱ δύο Νουμιδίαι ἀριθμηθοῦν κεχωρισμένως) ἐπαρχίας: α) τὴν Ἀνθυπατικὴν Ἀφρικὴν (ἢ Ζευγιτανήν), β) τὴν Βυζακηνήν, γ) τὴν Τρίπολιν, δ) τὴν Νουμιδίαν (διαιρουμένην εἰς τὴν Νουμιδίαν Κιρτησίαν καὶ εἰς τὴν Νουμιδίαν Militiana ἢ Limitanea), ε) τὴν Μαυριτανίαν Σιτιφιανὴν καὶ στ) τὴν Μαυριτανίαν Καισαριανήν. Βλ. προχείρως χάρτην τοῦ Ρωμαϊκοῦ Κράτους εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ 4ου αἰῶνος, μετὰ τὰς διοικητικὰς μεταρρυθμίσεις τοῦ Διοκλητιανοῦ, ἐν «Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους» (Ἐκδοτικῆς Ἀθηνῶν), τόμος 6ος, Ἀθῆναι 1976, σελ. 606 - 607. Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ διοικητικὴ διαίρεσις τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς ἠκολούθησε τὴν πολιτικὴν τοιαύτην, ἀλλ' ἡ «συμμεταβολὴ» αὕτη δὲν ἐγένετο οὔτε πάντοτε, οὔτε ἀμέσως, οὐδὲ πλήρως. Οὕτω: α) Ἡ Μαυριτανία Τιγγιτανὴ ἐκκλησιαστικῶς παρέμεινεν ἡνωμένη μετὰ τῆς Μαυριτανίας Καισαριανῆς, β) Αἱ ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ ἐπαρχίαι δὲν διεμορφώθησαν ἀμέσως, ἀλλὰ βαθμηδόν, διασῴζεται δὲ ἀπόφασις τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393 (= 17ος κανὼν Καρθαγένης), δι' ἧς ἡ Μαυριτανία Σιτιφιανὴ ἀπέκτησε τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῆς «πρωτεύοντα» (ἢ ἐπίσκοπον «πρώτης καθέδρας») ἕνα περίπου αἰῶνα μετὰ τὴν πραγματοποιηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διοκλητιανοῦ πολιτικὴν διαίρεσιν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐχὶ λόγῳ τῆς πολιτικῆς ταύτης διαιρέσεως, ἀλλὰ «διὰ τὸ μακροδαπές», ἤτοι λόγῳ τῶν ἀποστάσεων, καὶ γ) Τὰ ὅρια τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπαρχιῶν δὲν ἐταυτίσθησαν πλήρως πρὸς τὰ ὅρια τῶν πολιτικῶν, δέον δὲ ὅπως σημειωθῇ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι τὸ βόρειον τμῆμα τῆς Νουμιδίας, ἐνῷ πολιτικῶς καὶ διοικητικῶς ἀπετέλει μέρος τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ἐκκλησιαστικῶς παρέμεινεν ὡς μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς Νουμιδίας. Ἡ τελευταία αὕτη περίπτωσις εἶναι ἰδιαιτέρως ἐμφανὴς ἐν τῇ περιπτώσει τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἱππῶνος (Hippo Regius), ἥτις πολι-

Σῴζονται «εἰσαγωγικὰ σημειώματα» δύο συνεδριῶν τῆς συνόδου ταύτης: τῆς 25ης Μαΐου 419[1] καὶ τῆς 30ῆς Μαΐου 419[2], διὰ τὸν λόγον δὲ τοῦτον οἱ πλεῖστοι ἱστορικοὶ ὁμιλοῦν περὶ πρώτης καὶ δευτέρας[3] συνεδρίας τῆς συνόδου. Τὸ πιθανώτερον ὅμως εἶναι ὅτι αἱ ἐργασίαι τῆς συνόδου διήρκεσαν ἀπὸ 25ης Μαΐου μέχρι τῆς 30ῆς Μαΐου, καὶ ὅτι ἡ συνεδρία τῆς 30ῆς Μαΐου δὲν εἶναι ἡ δευτέρα συνεδρία τῆς συνόδου τοῦ 419, ἀλλ' ἡ τελευταία. Ὡς συνάγεται ἐκ τῶν σῳζομένων τούτων «εἰσαγωγικῶν σημειωμάτων» ἡ πρώτη συνεδρία τῆς συνόδου (25 Μαΐου) ἐγένετο εἰς τὸ «σήκρητον τῆς ἐκκλησίας Φαύστου» ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, ἡ δὲ τελευταία (30 Μαΐου) εἰς τὸ «σήκρητον τῆς ρεστιτούτης ἐκκλησίας» ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει.

Ἐν τῇ ἡμερησίᾳ διατάξει τῆς συνόδου, ὡς συνάγεται ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων καὶ ἄλλων συναφῶν ἐγγράφων ταύτης, φαίνεται ὅτι συμπεριελαμβάνοντο τρία θέματα: α) ἡ ἐξέτασις τῆς δημιουργηθείσης καταστάσεως εἰς τὰς σχέσεις τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς μετὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης, ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀξιώσεων τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ρώμης (Ζωσίμου καὶ Βονιφατίου) ὅπως δέχωνται ἐφέσεις οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κληρικῶν, κατὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας (δικαίωμα τῆς ἐκκλήτου), καὶ δὴ ἡ ἐξέτασις τῆς γνησιότητος δύο κανόνων (τῶν κανόνων 5 καὶ 14 τῆς ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνόδου), οἵτινες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνωτέρω ἐπισκόπων Ρώμης ἐφέροντο ὡς κανόνες τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἐστήριζον τὰς περὶ ἐκκλήτου ἀξιώσεις αὐτῶν, β) ἡ θεώρησις καὶ βεβαίωσις, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀφρικανικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἰσχύοντος κανονικοῦ δικαίου, καὶ γ) ἡ θέσπισις νέων κανονικῶν διατάξεων ἐπὶ διαφόρων ἀπασχολούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς ζητημάτων ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας καὶ δικονομίας.

Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου[4], συνταχθέντα ὡς εἰκὸς εἰς τὴν λατινικὴν γλῶσσαν, διεσώθησαν κατὰ τὸ μεῖζον αὐτῶν μέρος, διαιροῦνται δὲ εἰς τρία μέρη, καὶ εἰς παράρτημα. Τὸ πρῶτον μέρος περιλαμβάνει τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνεδρίας τῆς 25ης Μαΐου 419 καὶ τοὺς κανόνας: 1–33, τὸ δεύτερον μέρος τὰ πρακτικὰ (πιθανῶς) τῶν συνεδριῶν 26–29 Μαΐου 419 καὶ τοὺς κανόνας: 34–127, τὸ τρίτον μέρος τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνεδρίας τῆς 30ῆς Μαΐου 419 καὶ τοὺς κανόνας: 128–133, τὸ δὲ παράρτημα πέντε κείμενα σχετιζόμενα μὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου καὶ τὰς σχέσεις τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης. Εἰς τὴν διάσωσιν τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 συνέβαλε τὰ μέγιστα ὁ σκύθης μοναχὸς Διονύσιος ὁ Μικρὸς (πρῶτον ἥμισυ ἕκτου αἰῶνος)[5], ὅστις περιέλαβε ταῦτα (πρακτικὰ-κανόνας) εἰς τὴν κανονικὴν αὐτοῦ συλλογήν, τὴν γνωστὴν ὡς Collectio Dionysiana[6], ὑπὸ τὸν γενικὸν τίτλον: Synodus apud Carthaginem Africanorum, quae constituit canones CXXXVIII[7].

Τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 μετέσχον, ὡς δὶς σημειοῦται ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς[8], «διακόσιοι δεκαεπτὰ» ἐπίσκοποι[9]. Πλήρης κατάλογος τῶν ἐπισκόπων τούτων δὲν διεσώθη. Τὰ ὀνόματα περίπου 30 ἐπισκόπων καθίστανται γνωστά: α) ἐκ τῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν σημειωμάτων τῶν συνεδριῶν τῆς 25ης καὶ 30ῆς Μαΐου, β) ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν ὑπογραψάντων τὰ πρακτικὰ ἐπισκόπων[10], καὶ γ) ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης

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τικῶς μὲν ὑπήγετο εἰς τὴν Ἀνθυπατικὴν Ἀφρικήν, ἐνῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῶς ἀπετέλει ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπαρχίας Νουμιδίας (καὶ πλέον συγκεκριμένως Νουμιδίας τῆς Κιρτησίας). Συναφῶς, σημειωτέον ἐπίσης ἐνταῦθα, ὅτι ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς δὲν ἀπησχόλησεν ἰδιαιτέρως τὰς οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους (τὰς τέσσαρας πρώτας καὶ τὴν Πενθέκτην), αἵτινες ὁρίσασαι τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν (Ρώμη - Κωνσταντινούπολις - Ἀλεξάνδρεια - Ἀντιόχεια - Ἱεροσόλυμα - Κύπρος) καὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς δικαιοδοσίας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας διέλαβον.

1. ΡΠ 3, 287.

2. ΡΠ 3, 594.

3. *Friedrich Maassen*, Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters, τόμος 1ος (ὁ μόνος ἐκδοθείς), Gratz 1870, σελ. 173. *Hefele - Leclercq*, Histoire des conciles, Paris (1907 - 1931), τόμος 2ος, σελ. 208. *G. Bardy*, Afrique, ἐν DDC 1, 291. *Pericles - Pierre Joannou* (= Ἰωάννου), Discipline générale antique, Roma (1962–1964), τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 191.

4. PL 67 (1848) 181 - 230 (τὸ λατινικὸν κείμενον). ΡΠ 3 (1853) 286 - 624 (ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις). Τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνες τῆς συνόδου ταύτης (λατινικὸν κείμενον-ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις) ἐδημοσιεύθησαν τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τοῦ *Χριστοφόρου Ἰουστέλλου* τὸ ἔτος 1614 ἐν Παρισίοις, ὑπὸ τὸν (οὐχὶ ἀπολύτως ἀκριβῆ) τίτλον: Codex canonum ecclesiae africanae.

5. DDC 4, 1131 - 1152. ΘΗΕ 5, 57 - 59.

6. PL 67, 133 - 230 (ἡ δευτέρα σύνταξις τῆς Dionysiana). Σημειωτέον πάντως ὅτι Διονύσιος ὁ Μικρὸς ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ πρώτῃ συντάξει τῆς κανονικῆς αὐτοῦ συλλογῆς (ἥτις διεσώθη μόνον εἰς δύο χειρόγραφα: 1) Τὸ Cod. Vatic. Pal. lat. 577, δημοσιευθὲν ὑπὸ *A. Strewe*, Die Canonessammlung des Dionysius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion, Leipzig 1931, καὶ 2) Τὸ Cod. Theol. Quart 1, ἐν τῇ Landesbibliothek τοῦ Kassel, περιγραφὲν ὑπὸ *Karl Christ*: Eine unbekannte Handschrift der ersten Fassung der Dionysiana und der Capitula e Canonibus Excerpta a. 813, ἐν Festschrift für Georg Leidinger, München 1930, σελ. 25 - 36) εἶχε περιλάβει τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνας (κανόνες 1 - 33) μόνον τῆς πρώτης συνεδρίας (25 Μαΐου) τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀμέσως τὰ κείμενα τὰ σχετιζόμενα μὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου (παράρτημα).

7. PL 67, 181 - 230.

8. ΡΠ 3, 287 καὶ 607. Ἐπίσης ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν «διακοσίων δεκαεπτὰ» ἐπισκόπων, τῶν «παραγενομένων» ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ταύτῃ, ἀναγράφεται καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, ἣν «ἡ ἐν Ἀφρικῇ σύνοδος» ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Βονιφάτιον (ΡΠ 3, 608).

9. Οἱ συγγραφεῖς τοῦ Πηδαλίου (Ἀθῆναι 1957⁶, σελ. 463) σημειοῦν ὅτι τῆς συνόδου «κατὰ τὸν Φώτιον» μετέσχον 225 ἐπίσκοποι. Ὄντως, ὁ ἱερὸς Φώτιος περὶ 225 ἐπισκόπων ὁμιλεῖ ἐν τῇ «Βιβλιοθήκῃ» αὐτοῦ (κεφ. 53, PG 103, 92: « . . . οἷς συνήδρευον ἐκ διαφόρων ἐπαρχιῶν ἄνδρες διαπρέποντες ἱερωσύνῃ, τὸν ἀριθμὸν σκε'»), δὲν ἀναφέρεται ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδον τοῦ ἔτους 419, ἀλλὰ εἰς ἑτέραν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει «συστᾶσαν» κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 418 σύνοδον «κατὰ Πελαγίου καὶ Κελεστίου».

10. Κατὰ τὸν *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 180 - 181, ὁ κατάλογος οὗτος τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἀνήκει εἰς τὴν πρώτην συνεδρίαν (25 Μαΐου) τῆς συνόδου (πρβλ. καὶ πρώτην σύνταξιν τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ: *Adolf Strewe*, Die Canonessammlung des Diony-

Βονιφάτιον ἐπιστολῆς τῆς συνόδου. Μεταξὺ αὐτῶν διεκρίνοντο ἀσφαλῶς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι: Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιος, Ἱππῶνος Αὐγουστῖνος καὶ Ταγάστης (ἢ «Θεαγαστέων»[1]) Ἀλύπιος[2].

**β) Ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου.**

Τὸ πρῶτον καὶ κύριον θέμα μὲ τὸ ὁποῖον ἠσχολήθη ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τοῦ 419 (ἤτοι ἡ ἀντιμετώπισις τῶν ἀξιώσεων τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ρώμης ὅπως δέχωνται ἐφέσεις ἐπισκόπων καὶ κληρικῶν τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας) ἐδημιουργήθη, καὶ ἐτέθη ἐν συνεχείᾳ πρὸς συζήτησιν ἐπὶ συνόδου, ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου[3], τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Σίκκης (Sicca Veneria) ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ὅστις ὑποβληθεὶς εἰς «ἀκοινωνησίαν»[4] ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰκείου ἐπισκόπου Οὐρβανοῦ, διὰ βαρέα τινὰ παραπτώματα, ἅτινα δὲν ἀναφέρονται λεπτομερῶς εἰς τὰ διασωθέντα κείμενα, προσέφυγε πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ρώμης Ζώσιμον (417–418), προσβάλλων τὴν ληφθεῖσαν καταδικαστικὴν δι' αὐτὸν ἀπόφασιν. Δὲν εἶναι γνωστὴ ἡ κανονικὴ διαδικασία ἥτις ἠκολουθήθη ἐν τῇ περιπτώσει τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου, εἶναι ὅμως γνωστὸν ὅτι ὑφίσταντο δύο προγενέστεροι κανόνες: ὁ 10ος τῆς ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 390 (=12ος Καρθαγένης) καὶ ὁ 8ος τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 397 (=20ὸς Καρθαγένης), συμφώνως πρὸς τοὺς ὁποίους διὰ τὴν κρίσιν πρεσβυτέρου ἀπῃτεῖτο ἡ παρουσία τοὐλάχιστον «ἐξ ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου» ἐπισκόπου (12ος Καρθαγένης), τοὐτέστι συνολικῶς ἑπτὰ ἐπισκόπων, οὐδεμία δὲ ἔνδειξις ὑπάρχει ὅτι ἐν προκειμένῳ δὲν ἐτηρήθησαν αἱ δικονομικαὶ διατάξεις αἵτινες ἴσχυον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς. Ἐπὶ πλέον ἡ προσφυγὴ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ζώσιμον ἤρχετο εἰς ἀντίθεσιν πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας[5], ὑφίστατο δὲ καὶ συγκεκριμένη ἀπόφασις τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 1ης Μαΐου 418, ἀπαγορεύουσα εἰς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πᾶσαν προσφυγὴν «πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης». Πάντως, συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταύτην (17ος τῆς συνόδου ταύτης= 28ος καὶ 125ος Καρθαγένης), ἥτις δὲν εἰσήγαγε καινόν τι ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ἀνήγαγεν εἰς κανόνα δικαίου τὰ ἄχρι τότε παρ' αὐτῇ ἐθιμικῶς κρατοῦντα, οἱ καταδικαζόμενοι πρεσβύτεροι εἶχον τὸ δικαίωμα (τὸ ἔνδικον μέσον τῆς ἐφέσεως) νὰ προσβάλλουν τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν καταδικαστικὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ ὑποδεεστέρου δικαστηρίου πρωτοβαθμίως ἐνώπιον τῆς ἐπαρχιακῆς συνόδου, προεδρευομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ «πρωτεύοντος» τῆς ἐπαρχίας, δευτεροβαθμίως δὲ ἐνώπιον τῆς γενικῆς συνόδου, προεδρευομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης, ὄχι ὅμως καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν νὰ «ἐκκαλῶνται» τὰ «περαματικὰ δικαστήρια» «πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης»[6].

Ἐν τούτοις, ὁ Ρώμης Ζώσιμος, «πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης», ἐδέχθη τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου καὶ αὐτὸν τοῦτον εἰς κοινωνίαν, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Καρθαγένην τριμελῆ ἀντιπροσωπείαν, ἀποτελουμένην ἐκ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ποτεντίνης Φαυστίνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀσέλλου, ἀφ' ἑνὸς μὲν πρὸς ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ εἰρημένου Ἀπιαρίου ἀφ' ἑτέρου δὲ καὶ κυρίως πρὸς στήριξιν τοῦ δικαιώματος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ρώμης ὅπως δέχηται (ὡς ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης) ἐφέσεις ἐπισκόπων καὶ (ὡς πλησιόχωρος ἐπίσκοπος) ἐφέσεις κληρικῶν τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι οὗτοι τοῦ Ρώμης Ζωσίμου εἶχον λάβει προφορικὰς καὶ γραπτὰς ὁδηγίας («κομμονιτώριον»[7] = ἐνταλτήριον), αἵτινες καθίστανται γνωσταὶ κυρίως ἐκ τοῦ περιεχομένου τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν ἡ σύνοδος τοῦ 419 ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν διάδοχον τοῦ Ζωσίμου «Βονιφάτιον, τὸν τῆς ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον» (418–423)[8]. Ὡς ἀναγράφεται ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ, οἱ παπικοὶ λεγᾶτοι εἶχον τὴν ἐντολὴν νὰ διαπραγματευθοῦν μετὰ τῶν ἀφρικανῶν ἐπισκόπων τὰ ἑξῆς τέσσαρα θέματα: «ἕν, περὶ ἐκκλήτων ἐπισκόπων πρὸς τὸν τῆς ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἱερέα· δεύτερον, ἵνα ἐπὶ τὸ κομιτᾶτον ἐπίσκοποι ὡς ἔτυχε μὴ πλεύσωσι· τρίτον, περὶ τοῦ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ζητεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐπισκόποις, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ κοινωνίας προπετῶς γένωνται· τέταρτον, περὶ Οὐρβανοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀποκοινωνητέου, ἢ ἔτι μὴν ἐν Ρώμῃ κλητέου, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὀφείλοντα διορθωθῆναι διορθωθήσεται»[9]. Ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων τούτων θεμάτων:

Τὸ δεύτερον, οὐδὲν πρόβλημα ἐδημιούργει εἰς τοὺς ἀφρικανοὺς ἐπισκόπους. Ἤδη σύνοδοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς εἶχον ἀσχοληθῆ μὲ τὸ θέμα καὶ ἀπηγόρευον τὴν ἄνευ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀδείας καὶ ἄνευ σοβαροῦ λόγου μετάβασιν τῶν ἐπισκόπων εἰς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν αὐλὴν («κομιτᾶτον»).

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sius Exiguus in der ersten Redaktion, Berlin - Leipzig 1931, σελ. 84 - 85) καὶ ὅτι ὁ κατάλογος ὑπογραφῶν τῆς τελευταίας συνεδρίας (30 Μαΐου) σῴζεται ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ τοῦ Freising (νῦν codex Monacensis Lat. 6243). Ὁ δεύτερος οὗτος κατάλογος τῶν ὑπογραφῶν ἐν *C. Munier*, Concilia Africae, σελ. 233 - 234.

1. ΡΠ 3, 290.

2. Δὲν εἶναι γνωστὸς ὁ ἀκριβὴς ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐπισκόπων, οἵτινες, ἀρχὰς τοῦ ε' αἰῶνος, ὑφίσταντο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς. Ὑπολογίζεται ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ἐπλησίαζε τοὺς πεντακοσίους. Ἴδε, σχετικῶς, *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, σελ. 1201 - 1202 καὶ *Κυζίκου Καλλινίκου*, Ἡ πρώτη ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος, Κωνσταντινούπολις 1930, σελ. 110, ὑποσημ. 1.

3. *John Chapman*, Apiarius, ἐν The Dublin Review, 1901, σελ. 98 - 122. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 196 - 201 καὶ 209 - 211. DHGE 3, 951 - 954 (Apiarius). DTC 15 : 2, 2307 - 2312 (Urbain de Sicca Veneria).

4. ΡΠ 3, 609.

5. DHGE 1, 805 - 806 καὶ DTC 15 : 2, 2307.

6. Πρβλ. κανόνας, 28ον Καρθαγένης: «οἱ δὲ πρὸς περαματικὰ δικαστήρια διεκκαλούμενοι, παρ' οὐδενὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ δεχθῶσιν εἰς κοινωνίαν», καὶ 125ον Καρθαγένης: «πρὸς δὲ τὰ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ βουλόμενος ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ μηδενὸς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ δεχθείη εἰς κοινωνίαν».

7. ΡΠ 3, 289 - 290 (ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ «κομμονιτωρίου»).

8. ΡΠ 3, 608 - 613.

9. ΡΠ 3, 610.

Τὸ τέταρτον, ἤτοι ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου, φαίνεται ὅτι διηυθετήθη ἱκανοποιητικῶς ἤδη πρὸ τῆς συγκλήσεως τῆς γενικῆς ταύτης συνόδου τοῦ 419. Οὗτος «τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ἀποκατέστη», ὑπὸ τὴν προϋπόθεσιν ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ἐπρόκειτο ὅπως ὑπηρετήσῃ ἐν ἑτέρα τινὶ ἐπισκοπῇ καὶ οὐχὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ Σίκκης. Ἡ σχετικὴ ἀπόφασις καθίσταται γνωστὴ ὡσαύτως ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Βονιφάτιον, ἔχει δὲ ὡς ἑξῆς: «Ἀπιάριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, οὗ τινος καὶ περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τῆς ἀκοινωνησίας καὶ προκλήσεως ἀνεφύη, οὐ μόνον τῇ ἐν Σίκκῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μικρὸν σκάνδαλον, περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐπλανήθη συγγνώμην αἰτήσας, τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ἀποκατέστη. Πρῶτος δὲ ὁ συνεπίσκοπος ἡμῶν Οὐρβανὸς ὁ τῆς Σίκκης, ὅσον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ διορθωτέον, ἀναμφιβόλως διωρθώσατο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς ἔδει πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι, ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα προηγήσαντο, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων ἢ καὶ βαρυτέρων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα προπαραφυλαξώμεθα, ἤρεσεν ἡμῖν, ἵνα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Σίκκῃ ἐκκλησίας ἀποκινηθῇ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀπιάριος, φυλαττομένης αὐτῷ δηλονότι τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ βαθμοῦ αὐτοῦ· καὶ λαμβάνων ἐπιστολήν, ὁπουδήποτε ἀλλαχοῦ βουληθείη καὶ δυνηθείη, τῷ καθήκοντι τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου λειτουργήσῃ· ὅπερ τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀπιαρίῳ δι' οἰκείων γραμμάτων αἰτήσαντι χωρίς τινος δυσχερείας συνεχωρήσαμεν»[1].

Τὸ πρῶτον, ὅμως, καὶ τὸ τρίτον, ἐκ τῶν θεμάτων τούτων, ὄντως ἐδημιούργουν προβλήματα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς, δι' ὃ καὶ ἀπετέλεσαν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ κύριον ἀσφαλῶς ζήτημα μὲ τὸ ὁποῖον ἠσχολήθη ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τοῦ 419. Τὸ ζήτημα ἦτο σοβαρόν, ὄχι μόνον διότι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι Ρώμης (ὁ Ζώσιμος καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ ὁ Βονιφάτιος[2]) ἤγειρον ἀξιώσεις αἵτινες ἔθιγον τὴν αὐτοτέλειαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τὴν ἀξιοπρέπειαν τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διότι τὰς ἀξιώσεις αὐτῶν ταύτας ἐστήριζον ἐπὶ δύο κανόνων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, ἀγνώστων ὅμως ἐν Ἀφρικῇ καὶ μὴ περιλαμβανομένων ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου, ὡς ταῦτα ἐφυλάσσοντο ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Καρθαγένης, ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς πόλεως ταύτης Καικιλιανοῦ, ὅστις κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 325 μετέσχε προσωπικῶς τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου. Οἱ δύο οὗτοι κανόνες ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἦσαν οἱ κανόνες 5ος καὶ 14ος τῆς ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνόδου[3], βάσει δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Ρώμης διεξεδίκει δι' ἑαυτὸν δύο δικαιώματα: α) ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τοῦ 5ου κανόνος τῆς Σαρδικῆς (ὃν ἐθεώρει, ὡς ἐλέχθη, κανόνα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου) τὸ δικαίωμα ὅπως δέχηται, ὡς ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης, ἐφέσεις τῶν ἀφρικανῶν ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς («περὶ ἐκκλήτων ἐπισκόπων πρὸς τὸν τῆς ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἱερέα»), ἐνῷ ὡς παρατηρεῖ ὁ Ζωναρᾶς «οὔτε τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου ἐστὶν ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε πάσας τὰς ἐκκλήτους τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀνατίθησιν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων αὐτῷ»[4], καὶ β) ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τοῦ 14ου κανόνος τῆς Σαρδικῆς (ὃν ἐπίσης ἐθεώρει κανόνα τῆς Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου) τὸ δικαίωμα ὅπως δέχηται, ὡς «πλησιόχωρος» ἐπίσκοπος, τὰς ἐφέσεις τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων («περὶ τοῦ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ζητεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐπισκόποις, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπὸ κοινωνίας προπετῶς γένωνται»). Τὸ δημιουργούμενον ζήτημα ἦτο ἰδιαιτέρως σοβαρόν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς δὲν ἦτο θέμα πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου (χαρακτηριστικὸν ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀπιαρίου δὲν ἀναφέρεται οὔτε εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ οὔτε εἰς τοὺς κανόνας τῆς συνόδου τοῦ 419, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἣν ἡ σύνοδος ἀπηύθυνε πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Βονιφάτιον), ἀλλὰ θέμα αὐτοτελείας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταύτης καὶ σχέσεων αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης, τοῦθ' ὅπερ δικαιολογεῖ καὶ τὸν μέγαν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, τῶν συνελθόντων ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, ἥτις ἤρξατο τῶν ἐργασιῶν αὐτῆς τὴν 25ην Μαΐου 419, ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, εἰς «τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ἐκκλησίας Φαύστου».

Αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῆς συνόδου ἐν τῷ θέματι τούτῳ (κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ταύτην φάσιν τοῦ ζητήματος) ἐλήφθησαν μετ' ἐπιφυλάξεως καὶ προσοχῆς. Ἐν πρώτοις ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἡ «ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου» καὶ οἱ «ὅροι» (κανόνες) αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡρίσθη ὅτι αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῆς συνόδου ταύτης δέον ὅπως «παντὶ τρόπῳ παραφυλαχθήσωνται»[5]. Ἐν συνεχείᾳ, διαπιστωθέντος ὅτι οἱ δύο κανόνες οἱ προβαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς Ρώμης, δὲν περιελαμβάνοντο ἐν ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι τῆς Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου καὶ ἦσαν ἄγνωστοι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς[6], προτάσει τοῦ ἐπισκό-

1. ΡΠ 3, 609.

2. Ὁ Ρώμης Ζώσιμος ἀπέθανε τὴν 26ην Δεκεμβρίου τοῦ 418. Ἡ ρωμαϊκὴ ἀντιπροσωπεία παρέμεινεν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἀναμένουσα ὁδηγίας ἐκ τοῦ διαδόχου τοῦ Ζωσίμου. Αἱ ὁδηγίαι καθυστέρησαν, λόγῳ τῆς ἐκλογῆς δύο παπῶν, τοῦ Εὐλαλίου καὶ Βονιφατίου. Ἐν τέλει ἀνεγνωρίσθη ἐπισήμως, ἀρχὰς τοῦ μηνὸς Ἀπριλίου, ὁ Βονιφάτιος, ὅστις δι' ἐπιστολῆς, ὑπὸ ἡμερομηνίαν 26 Ἀπριλίου 419 (*Mansi* 4, 451. Πρβλ. *Philippus Jaffé*, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, τόμος 1ος, Λειψία 1885², σελ. 53) καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀποσταλέντων πρεσβυτέρων, ἔδωκε τὰς σχετικὰς ὁδηγίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ παπικοὺς λεγάτους. Ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος ὅτι δὲν ἤλλαξεν ἡ στάσις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Φαυστίνου καὶ τῶν δύο συνεργατῶν αὐτοῦ συνάγεται μετὰ βεβαιότητος ὅτι ὁ Βονιφάτιος ἐν τῷ θέματι τούτῳ ἐσυνέχισε τὴν γραμμὴν τοῦ προκατόχου αὐτοῦ Ρώμης Ζωσίμου.

3. Ἡ ἐν προκειμένῳ παρεξήγησις ὀφείλετο προφανῶς εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι εἷς τινας κανονικὰς συλλογάς, ἐν χρήσει ἐν Ρώμῃ, οἱ κανόνες τῆς ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνόδου ἐδημοσιεύοντο συνημμένως μετὰ τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιγραφὴν καὶ εἰς συνεχῆ ἀρίθμησιν.

4. ΡΠ 3, 241.

5. ΡΠ 3, 297.

6. Παρὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι εἰς τὴν ἐν Σαρδικῇ σύνοδον ἔλαβον μέρος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Γράτος (*Mansi* 3, 50) καὶ ἕτεροι τριάκοντα καὶ πλέον ἐπίσκοποι τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας (ἰδε σχετικῶς: *Paul Monceaux*, Histoire littéraire de l' Afrique Chrétienne, Paris 1901 - 1923, τόμος 3ος, σελ.

που Ταγάστης Ἀλυπίου[1] ἀπεφασίσθη ὅπως: α) ζητηθοῦν παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Ἀντιοχείας «τὰ ἀληθέστατα ἴσα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου μεθ' ὑποσημειώσεως οἰκείων γραμμάτων», β) ἀναβληθῇ πᾶσα ἐπὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπόφασις μέχρι τῆς ἐξασφαλίσεως ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκκλησιῶν πιστῶν ἀντιγράφων «τῶν ὅρων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου» καὶ γ) γένηται σχετικὴ ἀπάντησις πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Βονιφάτιον, τοῦ Ρώμης Ζωσίμου, ὡς ἐσημειώθη, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἀποθανόντος (26 Δεκεμβρίου 418). Ἡ ἀπόφασις αὕτη «συμπάσης τῆς συνόδου» καταχωρισθεῖσα ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς: «Τὰ ἴσα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, τοὺς πάλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς διὰ Καικιλιανοῦ τοῦ προηγητοῦ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἁγιωσύνης προσενεχθέντας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ ἅπερ τούτοις ἑπόμενα τὰ μέρη ἐνταῦθα κατέστησαν, καὶ νῦν δὲ κοινῇ συζητήσει παρ' ἡμῶν ὡρίσθησαν, τούτοις τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐμβληθέντα μείνωσι, δηλονότι, καθὼς προλέλεκται, πρὸς τοὺς σεβασμίους ἐπισκόπους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Ἀντιοχείας, Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, γράψαι καταξιούσης τῆς ὑμετέρας μακαριότητος, ἵνα τὰ ἀληθέστατα ἴσα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου μεθ' ὑποσημειώσεως οἰκείων γραμμάτων ἀποστείλωσιν· ὅπως φανερωθείσης τῆς ἀληθείας, τὰ κεφάλαια ταῦτα, ἅπερ ἐν τῷ κομμονιτωρίῳ ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ συνεπίσκοπος ἡμῶν Φαυστῖνος καὶ οἱ συμπρεσβύτεροι Φίλιππος καὶ Ἄσελλος μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἤγαγον, ἢ ἐκεῖνα εὑρισκόμενα, ὑφ' ἡμῶν κυρωθῶσιν, ἤ, ἐὰν μὴ εὑρεθῶσι, συνηγμένης ἔτι τῆς συνόδου περὶ τούτων ἑξῆς συζητήσωμεν»[2].

Αἱ ἀποφάσεις αὗται τῆς συνόδου ἀνεκοινώθησαν δι' ἐπιστολῆς τῆς συνόδου, ἀποσταλείσης «ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ συνόδου πρὸς Βονιφάτιον, τὸν τῆς ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ Φαυστίνου ἐπισκόπου, Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀσέλλου πρεσβυτέρων, τῶν τοποτηρητῶν τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας»[3]. Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐγράφη τὴν ἑπομένην τῆς λήξεως τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς συνόδου (30 Μαΐου 419), ἤτοι τὴν 31ην Μαΐου 419[4]. Συγκεκριμένως ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἀναγράφονται αἱ ληφθεῖσαι συνοδικαὶ ἀποφάσεις, δίδονται αἱ προσήκουσαι ἀπαντήσεις ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων θεμάτων ἅτινα διελαμβάνοντο ἐν τῷ «ἐγγράφῳ κομμονιτωρίῳ» τοῦ Ρώμης Ζωσίμου καὶ ἀναφέρονται αἱ γενόμεναι ἐνέργειαι πρὸς διευθέτησιν τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου.

Ἐπίσης ληφθεισῶν τῶν ἀπαντήσεων τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττικοῦ[5] καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας Κυρίλλου[6], ἀποστειλάντων τὰ «πιστότατα ἴσα» τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου[7], ἐξ ὧν καθίστατο σαφὲς ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οἱ προβαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ρώμης δὲν ἐθεσπίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου, διεβιβάσθησαν ταῦτα «τῇ πρὸ ἓξ καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων» (=26 Νοεμβρίου 419), διὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰννοκεντίου καὶ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου Μαρκέλλου πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Βονιφάτιον[8], οὕτω δὲ ἔληξεν ἡ πρώτη φάσις τοῦ ζητήματος τοῦ ἀνακύψαντος ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου.

Ἐν τούτοις ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου δὲν ἔληξεν ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ πρώτῃ φάσει τοῦ ζητήματος. Ὁ «κλαύσιμος Ἀπιάριος»[9], ἀποκατασταθεὶς εἰς τὸν βαθμὸν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου ὑπὸ τὴν προϋπόθεσιν ὅτι ἐφ' ἑξῆς θὰ ἀνελάμβανεν ἱερατικὰ καθήκοντα ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ ἐπισκοπῇ, ὄντως δὲ προσληφθεὶς ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ Θαβράκης, ἔδειξε καὶ τὴν φορὰν ταύτην ἀνάρμοστον διαγωγὴν καὶ ὑπεβλήθη καὶ πάλιν εἰς «ἀκοινωνησίαν» δι' «ἐγκλήματα» καὶ «παμμεγέθη ἀτοπήματα» καὶ «ἀθεμίτους αἰσχρότητας»[10]. Ὁ Ἀπιάριος κεκτημένος ἤδη τὴν σχετικὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἀνεχώρησεν, ὡς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ καταδίκην, εἰς Ρώμην, καὶ προέβη εἰς ἔκκλησιν πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Καιλεστῖνον (423–432), ὅστις ἐδέχθη τὸν Ἀπιάριον εἰς κοινωνίαν, ἦλθεν εἰς ἐπικοινωνίαν σχετικῶς μὲ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιον[11] καὶ ἀπέστειλεν, ἐπὶ πλέον, εἰς Καρθαγένην τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ποτεντίνης Φαυστῖνον ἐπὶ τῷ σκοπῷ ὅπως ἀρθῇ ἡ ἐπιβληθεῖσα εἰς τὸν πρεσβύτερον Ἀπιάριον ἀκοινωνησία. Συνεκλήθη καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὸ

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216 - 217) φαίνεται ὅτι οἱ κανόνες τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἠγνοοῦντο τελείως ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ταύτῃ, ἢ, τοὐλάχιστον, ἐθεωροῦντο ὡς κανόνες αἱρετικῶν: «quod quidem concilium (Sardicense), ne te lateat, arianorum est . . .» (*Αὐγουστίνου*, Contra Cresconium, PL 43, 576), «unde apud nos constitit arianorum fuisse concilium (Sardicense)» (*Αὐγουστίνου*, ἐπιστολὴ 44, PL 33, 176).

1. ΡΠ 3, 290.

2. ΡΠ 3, 296.

3. ΡΠ 3, 608 - 613.

4. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 209, ὑποσημ. 2. DHGE 1, 807. DHGE 3, 952. *Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 196. Ἡ ἡμερομηνία: 31 Μαΐου 419, συνάγεται ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου, δηλώσαντος ἐπὶ τῇ λήξει τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς συνόδου (30 Μαΐου), ὅτι ἡ συνοδικὴ ἀπάντησις πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ρώμης Βονιφάτιον πρόκειται ὅπως γραφῇ «τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ» (ΡΠ 3, 605), ἤτοι τὴν ἑπομένην 31ην Μαΐου. Σημειωτέον, ἐν τούτοις, ὅτι ὑπάρχουν οἱ φρονοῦντες (*F. Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 180. *C. Munier*, Vers une édition nouvelle des Conciles Africains, ἐν Revue des études augustiniennes 18 (1972) 256) ὅτι οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Αὐρηλίου, δι' ὧν κατέκλεισε τὰς ἐργασίας τῆς συνόδου, δέον ὅπως τεθοῦν ἐν τέλει τῆς συνεδρίας τῆς 25ης Μαΐου (πρώτης συνεδρίας), ἤτοι ἐν συνεχείᾳ τοῦ 33ου κανόνος. Κατὰ τὴν ἄποψιν ταύτην, ὡς εἰκός, ἡ ἐπιστολὴ «τῆς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ συνόδου πρὸς Βονιφάτιον», γραφεῖσα «τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ», φέρει τὴν ἡμερομηνίαν: 26 Μαΐου 419 (*C. Munier*, Concilia Africae, σελ. 156).

5. ΡΠ 3, 616.

6. ΡΠ 3, 615 - 616.

7. Παρὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς συνόδου ὅπως γραφῇ σχετικῶς πρὸς τοὺς προκαθημένους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Ἀντιοχείας, δὲν εἶναι βέβαιον ἐὰν ἐγράφη καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀντιοχείας (Θεοδόσιον) ἢ ἐὰν ἐγράφη καὶ δὲν ἐλήφθη ἀπάντησις ἢ ἐὰν ἡ ληφθεῖσα ἀπάντησις δὲν διεσώθη.

8. ΡΠ 3, 617.

9. ΡΠ 3, 621.

10. ΡΠ 3, 618 - 619.

11. *Philippus Jaffé*, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, τόμος 1ος, Leipzig 1885², σελ. 55.

ἔτος 424[1] ἢ 425–426[2] γενικὴ σύνοδος ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, ἧς προήδρευσεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιος. Αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῆς συνόδου ταύτης εἶναι γνωσταὶ μόνον ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἣν ἡ σύνοδος ἀπέστειλεν ἀπαντητικῶς πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Καιλεστῖνον. Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνετάγη ἐξ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου, δεκατεσσάρων ἑτέρων ἐπισκόπων ὀνομαστὶ ἀναφερομένων καὶ τῶν «λοιπῶν, τῶν ἐν ἁπάσῃ τῇ συνόδῳ τῆς Καρθαγένης εὑρεθέντων»[3]. Ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη, παρὰ «τὰς παρολκὰς» τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Φαυστίνου καὶ «τὰς τριψεργίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀπιαρίου», ἐν τέλει ὁμολογήσαντος «πάντα τὰ ὑποβληθέντα αὐτῷ ἐγκλήματα»[4], ἐπεκύρωσε τὴν προτέραν καταδικαστικὴν ἀπόφασιν κατὰ τοῦ «κλαυσίμου Ἀπιαρίου», κυρίως ὅμως κατὰ τρόπον σαφῆ καὶ κατηγορηματικὸν ἀπέρριψε τὰς ἀξιώσεις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ρώμης ὅπως δέχηται ἐφέσεις κατὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς (δικαίωμα τῆς ἐκκλήτου) καὶ ἀπέκρουσε τὰς ἐπεμβάσεις τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ρώμης εἰς τὰς ἐσωτερικὰς ὑποθέσεις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταύτης. Οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ συγκληθέντες ἐν τῇ νεωτέρᾳ ταύτῃ συνόδῳ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ (424 ἢ 425–426), ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ ἐπιστολῇ αὐτῶν, ὑπογραμμίζουν εὐθέως καὶ ἄνευ περιστροφῶν: α) ὅτι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι Ρώμης ἐφ' ἑξῆς δὲν πρέπει νὰ λαμβάνουν ὑπ' ὄψιν οἱανδήτινα προσφυγὴν καὶ ἔφεσιν (ἐπισκόπων ἢ κληρικῶν) προερχομένην ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς, β) ὅτι τὰ ἀναφερόμενα «ὁτιναδήποτε πράγματα» δέον νὰ «περατοῦνται» «ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις», γ) ὅτι οἱ καταδικαζόμενοι ἔχουν τὴν δυνατότητα νὰ προσφύγουν, ἐφεσιβάλλοντες τὴν οἱανδήτινα κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπόφασιν, εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν γενικὴν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς («ὅτι καὶ ἐνὶ ἑκάστῳ συγκεχώρηται, ἐὰν περὶ τῆς δίκης τῶν διαγνωστῶν προΐσταται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς συνόδους τῆς ἰδίας ἐπαρχίας ἢ ἔτι μὴν εἰς οἰκουμενικὴν (concilium universale)[5] σύνοδον ἐκκαλέσασθαι»[6]), δ) ὅτι οὐδεὶς δύναται νὰ πιστεύσῃ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς δίδει δικαιοκρισίαν εἰς ἕνα μόνον ἐπίσκοπον, ἤτοι εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ρώμης, καὶ ὄχι εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπισκόπους, οἵτινες συνέρχονται ἐν συνόδῳ («εἰ μὴ ἀρά τίς ἐστιν, ὅστις πιστεύσει, ἑνὶ ᾧτινιδήποτε δύνασθαι τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν τῆς κρίσεως ἐμπνεῦσαι τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τοῖς δὲ ἀναριθμήτοις εἰς σύνοδον συνηθροισμένοις ἱερεῦσιν ἀρνεῖσθαι»[7]), ε) ὅτι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι Ρώμης πρέπει νὰ παύσουν νὰ ἀποστέλλουν «ἐκ τοῦ πλευροῦ» αὐτῶν ἀπεσταλμένους εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς καὶ νὰ ἀναμειγνύωνται εἰς τὰς ἐσωτερικὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτῆς, διότι οὕτως «ὁ καπνώδης τῦφος τοῦ κόσμου» εἰσάγεται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ («ἐκβιβαστὰς τοίνυν κληρικοὺς ὑμῶν τινῶν αἰτούντων μὴ θέλετε ἀποστέλλειν, μήτε παραχωρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τὸν καπνώδη τῦφον τοῦ κόσμου δόξωμεν εἰσάγειν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις τὸ φῶς τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς τὸν Θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσι προσφέρει»[8]).

Οὕτω, διὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τούτων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 424 ἢ 425–426, ἔληξε καὶ ἡ δευτέρα φάσις τῆς ὑποθέσεως Ἀπιαρίου, κυρίως δὲ τοῦ ζητήματος τοῦ ἀνακύψαντος ἐκ τῶν ἀξιώσεων τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ρώμης ὅπως δέχωνται ἐφέσεις (δικαίωμα τῆς ἐκκλήτου) κατὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῶν δικαστηρίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς.

**γ) Τὸ κανονικὸν ἔργον τῆς συνόδου.**

Ἡ σύνοδος μετὰ τὴν λῆψιν τῶν σχετικῶν ἀποφάσεων ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου θέματος τοῦ ἀναγεγραμμένου ἐν τῇ ἡμερησίᾳ διατάξει αὐτῆς (σχέσεις τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς μετὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης) προέβη εἰς κανονικὸν ἔργον, καὶ συγκεκριμένως εἰς τὴν θεώρησιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς ἰσχύοντος κανονικοῦ δικαίου (δεύτερον θέμα) καὶ εἰς τὴν θέσπισιν νέων κανονικῶν διατάξεων ἐπὶ διαφόρων ἀπασχολούντων τὴν ἀφρικανικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ζητημάτων ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας καὶ δικονομίας (τρίτον θέμα τῆς ἡμερησίας διατάξεως). Οὕτω:

Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην αὐτῆς συνεδρίαν (25 Μαΐου 419) ἡ σύνοδος διετύπωσεν ἕνα κανόνα (τὸν 1ον, ὅστις ἀποτελεῖ τὴν κατακλεῖδα τοῦ ἀπασχολήσαντος αὐτὴν πρώτου θέματος, ἅμα δὲ τὴν μετάβασιν ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου εἰς τὸ δεύτερον) καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν ἑτέρους 32 (κανόνες 2–33)[9], οἵτινες εἶχον θεσπισθῆ ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων συνόδων τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας[10].

1. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 214 - 215. DHGE 1, 819. *F. L. Cross*, History and fiction in the african canons, ἐν The Journal of Theological Studies, New Series 12 (1961) 243. *Charles Munier*, Un canon inedit du XXe concile de Carthage, ἐν Revue des Sciences Religieuses 40 (1966) 114 καὶ 118.

2. *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 183. DTC 15 : 2, 2309. *Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 196.

3. ΡΠ 3, 618.

4. ΡΠ 3, 619.

5. Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς αἱ γενικαὶ αὐτῆς σύνοδοι ὠνομάζοντο universales = οἰκουμενικαί. Πρβλ. *Βασιλείου Στεφανίδου*, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, Ἀθῆναι 1959[2], σελ. 200 - 201.

6. ΡΠ 3, 620.

7. ΡΠ 3, 620.

8. ΡΠ 3, 621.

9. Εἰς τινα χειρόγραφα (*C. Munier*, Concilia Africae, σελ. 116) οἱ κανόνες οἱ θεσπισθέντες καὶ βεβαιωθέντες κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συνεδρίαν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 (κανόνες 1 - 33), παραδίδονται ὑπὸ διάφορον κατάτμησιν καὶ ἀριθμησιν ἀνερχόμενοι εἰς 40, ἡ διαφορὰ ὅμως ἐγκειται μόνον εἰς τὴν κατάτμησιν καὶ ἀνάλογον ἀρίθμησιν, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ περιεχόμενον. Ἴδε, σχετικῶς: PL 56, 863 - 875. *F. L. Cross*, History and fiction in the african canons, ἐν The Journal of Theological Studies, 12 (1961) 246, ὑποσημ. 1. *C. Munier*, Concilia Africae, σελ. 117 - 129.

10. Ἐκ τῶν κανόνων τούτων (2 - 33), οἱ κανόνες 2-28 εἶχον διατυπωθῆ προηγουμένως ὑπὸ τῶν συνόδων: Καρθαγένης τοῦ 348, ἐπὶ Γράτου (κανὼν 5ος), Καρθαγένης τοῦ 390, ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου (κανόνες 2 - 4 καὶ 6 - 13), Ἱππῶνος τοῦ 393 (κανόνες 14 - 24), Καρθαγένης τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401 (κανόνες 25 - 27) καὶ Καρθαγένης τοῦ 418 (κανὼν 28ος), ἐνῷ δὲν ἀπαν-

Σημειοῦται σχετικῶς ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς: «ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ὅροι τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, ἐν εἴκοσι κεφαλαίοις ἀνεγνώσθησαν· ἔπειτα τὰ ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις τῆς Ἀφρικῆς νομοθετηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσι πεπραγμένοις ἐντεθειμένα γινώσκονται»[1].

Κατὰ τὰς ἑπομένας συνεδρίας (πιθανῶς συνεδρίαι 26ης-29ης Μαΐου 419), ἡ σύνοδος, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὴν κρατοῦσαν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς τάξιν, προέβη εἰς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ ἀνανέωσιν τῶν κανόνων, τῶν θεσπισθέντων ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων συνόδων τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς τοιαύτης θεωρήσεως τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἰσχύοντος κανονικοῦ δικαίου (ἐπαναλαμβανομένης κατ' ἔθος ἐν ἑκάστῃ γενικῇ συνόδῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ λατινικῇ Βορείῳ Ἀφρικῇ) καθίσταται σαφέστερος ἐκ τοῦ περιεχομένου τοῦ 2ου κανόνος τῆς Καρθαγένης (=1ος Καρθαγένης τοῦ 390, ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου), ἐν ᾧ ὑπογραμμίζεται ὅτι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ (καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ συνόδῳ), ἐν πρώτοις «ὁμολογητέα ἐστὶν» ἡ «ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πίστις», ἔπειτα δὲ «φυλακτέα» ἡ «ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τάξις», καὶ ὅτι ἡ τοιαύτη ἐπανάληψις εἶναι ἰδιαιτέρως χρήσιμος διὰ τὰς «διανοίας» «τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπων, τῶν ἐναγχος χειροτονηθέντων». Πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦτον ἐχρησιμοποιεῖτο ἡ κανονικὴ συλλογή, ἥτις ἐφυλάσσετο ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Καρθαγένης καὶ ἐν ᾗ περιελαμβάνοντο οἱ κανόνες τῶν προγενεστέρων συνόδων, κυρίως τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς καὶ τῶν συγκληθεισῶν ἐν τῇ ἀφρικανικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ἡ ἐν προκειμένῳ πλέον ἀκριβὴς ἱστορικὴ εἴδησις προέρχεται ἐκ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 5ης Φεβρουαρίου 525[2]. Κατ' αὐτὴν ἐντολῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Βονιφατίου[3] ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐπὶ συνόδου ἀποσπάσματα ἐκ δύο συλλογῶν κανόνων, αἵτινες ἐφυλάσσοντο ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας Καρθαγένης. Ἡ πρώτη ἐξ αὐτῶν περιελάμβανε λατινικὴν μετάφρασιν τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐπὶ Γράτου συνόδου τοῦ 348, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἄλλων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων, συγκληθεισῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀρχιερατείας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου[4]. Ἡ δευτέρα ἐκ τῶν συλλογῶν τούτων, ἥτις ἐπεγράφετο liber canonum temporibus sancti Aurelii[5], περιελάμβανε πρακτικὰ καὶ κανόνας συνόδων συγκληθεισῶν ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου[6]. Οὕτω, ὡς σημειοῦται καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς

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τοῦν ἀντίστοιχοι ἀποφάσεις προγενεστέρων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων προκειμένου περὶ τῶν κανόνων 29 - 33, δι' ὃ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἱστορικῶν καὶ κανονολόγων διατυποῦται ἡ γνώμη ὅτι οἱ κανόνες 29 - 33 ἐθεσπίσθησαν τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419. Τοιαύτη εἶναι ἐπὶ παραδείγματι ἡ γνώμη τῶν *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 203 - 204. Ἀντιθέτως οἱ ἀδελφοὶ *Ballerini* ἐν τῇ περισπουδάστῳ συγγραφῇ αὐτῶν: De antiquis collectionibus et collectoribus canonum (Βενετία 1757, ἐπανέκδοσις: PL 56, 9 - 354), PL 56, 120 καὶ 876 - 879, καὶ ὁ *Friedrich Maassen* (ὅστις ἐν προκειμένῳ ἀκολουθεῖ τὴν γνώμην τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ballerini), μν. ἔργον, σελ. 182, ἀποδίδουν τοὺς κανόνας 29 - 33 (καὶ τοὺς κανόνας 128 - 133) εἰς τὴν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδον τοῦ 421 (13 Ἰουνίου). Ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ *A. Boudinhon*, ἐν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μελέτῃ αὐτοῦ: Note sur le concile d' Hippone de 427, ἐν Revue d' Histoire et de Littérature religieuses 10 (1905) 267 - 274, πειρᾶται ὅπως ἀποδείξῃ ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱππῶνι σύνοδον τοῦ 427 (24 Σεπτεμβρίου), ἥτις ἀποτελεῖ τὴν τελευταίαν σύνοδον ἐν τῇ σειρᾷ τῶν ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου συγκληθεισῶν συνόδων. Τὴν γνώμην ταύτην τοῦ *A. Boudinhon* φαίνεται ὅτι δὲν ἀποκλείει καὶ ὁ *G. Bardy* (DDC 1, 291). Ἐν τούτοις, ἡμεῖς διατυποῦμεν ἑτέραν ἄποψιν, καθ' ἣν καὶ οἱ κανόνες 29 - 33 ἐσχηματίσθησαν ἐκ κανόνων προγενεστέρων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων (οἵτινες κανόνες δὲν διεσώθησαν ἄλλοθεν), ὁδηγούμεθα δὲ εἰς ταύτην: 1) ἐκ τῆς καταχωρισθείσης ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς σημειώσεως, ὅτι «τὰ ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις τῆς Ἀφρικῆς νομοθετηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσι πεπραγμένοις ἐντεθειμένα γινώσκονται» (ΡΠ 3, 297), καὶ 2) ἐκ τῆς δηλώσεως τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου (1ος κανών), ὅτι οἱ «ἑπόμενοι» κανόνες, ἤτοι οἱ κανόνες 2-33, οἱ «ὁρισθέντες» (ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων συνόδων) δέον ὅπως «φυλαχθῶσιν» ὡς ἔχουσι, θεωρούμενοι καὶ «βεβαιούμενοι» ἅπαξ ἔτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου ἐκείνης τοῦ 419 (ΡΠ 3, 297 - 298).

1. ΡΠ 3, 297.

2. *Mansi* 8, 635-656. Τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπως ἀναγινώσκωνται, ἀνανεοῦνται καὶ βεβαιοῦνται οἱ κανόνες τῶν προγενεστέρων συνόδων ἐν ἑκάστῃ συγκαλουμένῃ νέᾳ συνόδῳ μαρτυρεῖται καὶ ἐκ τῶν σημειουμένων ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Μιλέβῃ συνόδου τῆς 27ης Αὐγούστου 402, ἐν οἷς διαλαμβάνονται τὰ ἑξῆς: «ἵνα ἡ συναίνεσις πάντων ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ ὁμονοεῖν τοῖς συνδόξασι, τῶν ψηφισμάτων τῶν πάλαι εἴτε κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ἱππῶνι σύνοδον βεβαιωθέντων, εἴτε μετὰ ταῦτα τῇ ἐν Καρχηδόνι κρείττονι συνόδῳ ὁρισθέντων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ νῦν κατὰ τάξιν ἡμῶν ἀναγινωσκομένων. Τότε γὰρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀδελφότητος ἡ ὁμόνοια λαμπροτέρα τοῦ φωτὸς ἀναδειχθήσεται, ἐὰν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀνωτέραις συνόδοις νομίμως ὁρισθέντα, μὴ μόνον τῇ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πεπραγμένοις συναινέσει ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπογραφαῖς ἔτι μὴν φανερώσητε» (ΡΠ 3, 513). Σημειωτέον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τούτου τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου ἐν Μιλέβῃ οἱ συντάκται τοῦ Πηδαλίου ἐσχημάτισαν τὸν 94ον (κατὰ τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τοῦ Πηδαλίου) κανόνα, μὴ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὰς ἄλλας κανονικὰς συλλογάς.

3. *Mansi* 8, 643.

4. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 3ος, σελ. 206.

5. *Mansi* 8, 643.

6. DDC 1, 288 - 289. Ἡ ἀρίθμησις τῶν συνόδων τῶν συγκληθεισῶν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἢ ἐπὶ ἀρχιερατείας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου δὲν συμφωνεῖ οὔτε εἰς τὰς διαφόρους συλλογὰς τῶν κανόνων τῶν ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων, οὔτε εἰς τὰς διαφόρους ἐκδόσεις αὐτῶν, οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἀριθμήσει ἣν ἐχρησιμοποίησαν ἢ χρησιμοποιοῦν οἱ νεώτεροι ἱστορικοὶ καὶ κανονολόγοι. Δι' ὅ, ὁ *Aug. Audollent*, ὅστις ἐν τῷ DHGE κατέγραψε συστηματικῶς τὰς ἐν τῇ ἀφρικανικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συγκληθείσας συνόδους (DHGE 1, 811 - 822), δὲν ἐχρησιμοποίησεν ἀρίθμησιν δι' αὐτάς, διότι, ὡς παρατηρεῖ (DHGE 1, 809 - 810), ἡ ἀρίθμησις τῶν συνόδων τούτων δύναται ὅπως ὁδηγήσῃ εὐχερῶς εἰς σύγχυσιν. Πάντως, αἱ σύνοδοι τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, αἱ σχετιζόμεναι ἀμέσως ἢ ἐμμέσως μὲ τὴν ἀνὰ χεῖρας μελέτην καὶ τὴν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδον τοῦ 419, εἶναι: 1) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Γράτου (348), 2) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου (16 Ἰουνίου 390), 3) ἐν Ἱππῶνι ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (8 Ὀκτωβρίου 393), 4) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (26 Ἰουνίου 394), 5) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (26 Ἰουνίου 397), 6) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (28 Αὐγούστου 397), 7) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (27 Ἀπριλίου 399), 8) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (16 Ἰουνίου 401), 9) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (13 Σεπτεμβρίου 401), 10) ἐν Μιλέβῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (27 Αὐγούστου 402), 11) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (25 Αὐγούστου 403), 12) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (16 Ἰουνίου 404), 13) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (23 Αὐγούστου 405), 14) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (13 Ἰουνίου 407), 15) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (16 Ἰουνίου 408), 16) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (13 Ὀκτωβρίου 408), 17) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (15 Ἰουνίου 409), 18) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (14 Ἰουνίου 410), 19) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (1 Μαΐου 418), 20) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου

συνόδου τοῦ 419, καὶ «ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνόδῳ», κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, «ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἔτι μὴν» «διάφοροι σύνοδοι πάσης τῆς τῶν Ἄφρων χώρας, ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαι ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι χρόνοις Αὐρηλίου ἐπισκόπου Καρχηδόνος»[1]. Δυστυχῶς ἡ «βίβλος κανόνων» αὕτη (τὸ liber canonum) δὲν περιελήφθη ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς συνόδου τοῦ 419 ὡς εἶχε. Τὰ πρακτικὰ καὶ αἱ ἀποφάσεις ὡρισμένων συνόδων, αἵτινες εἶχον «ἐπιτελεσθῆ» πρὸ τοῦ ἔτους 419 «ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Αὐρηλίου ἐπισκόπου Καρχηδόνος», εἴτε οὐδόλως κατεχωρίσθησαν ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 εἴτε κατεχωρίσθησαν μόνον ἐν περιλήψει[2]. Ἐν τούτοις ἐν αὐτοῖς περιλαμβάνονται «ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα» 17 συνόδων, «ἐπιτελεσθεισῶν ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι χρόνοις Αὐρηλίου ἐπισκόπου Καρχηδόνος» (μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 418) καὶ 94 κανόνες (οἱ κανόνες 34–127)[3] ἐκ τῶν διατυπωθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν συνόδων τούτων.

Τέλος, κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτῆς συνεδρίαν (30 Μαΐου 419), ἡ σύνοδος ἐθέσπισεν ἓξ νέους κανόνας (κανόνες 128–133)[4].

Κατὰ ταῦτα, τὸ κανονικὸν ἔργον τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 συνίσταται:

1. Εἰς τὴν θεώρησιν καὶ βεβαίωσιν 126 κανόνων, ὁρισθέντων ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων: κανόνες 2–127, καὶ

2. Εἰς τὴν θέσπισιν 7 νέων κανόνων ἐπὶ διαφόρων ἀπασχολούντων τὴν ἀφρικανικὴν ἐκκλησίαν ζητημάτων, κυρίως ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας καὶ δικονομίας: κανόνες 1 καὶ 128–133.

### δ) Ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 καὶ ἐπίσημος ἀναγνώρισις τῶν 133 κανόνων ὑπὸ τῆς Πενθέκτης Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου.

Οἱ κανόνες τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἔγιναν γνωστοὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκ τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ (δευτέρα σύνταξις), περιληφθέντες τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν ἑλληνικῇ μεταφράσει, ἐν τῷ «Συντάγματι εἰς ΙΔ′ τίτλους» (πρώτη ἔκδοσις), ὅπερ, κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα, συνετάγη κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἥμισυ τῆς στ′ ἑκατονταετηρίδος. Ὁ συντάκτης τοῦ προλόγου τῆς πρώτης ἐκδόσεως τοῦ «Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ′ τίτλους» σημειοῖ σχετικῶς: «Τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ Καρχηδόνα γεγενημένην ἐν χρόνοις Ὀνωρίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου[5], τῶν

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(25 - 30 Μαΐου 419), 21) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (13 Ἰουνίου 421), 22) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (424), 23) ἐν Ἱππῶνι ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου (24 Σεπτεμβρίου 427), 24) ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Βονιφατίου (5 - 6 Φεβρουαρίου 525).

1. ΡΠ 3, 393.

2. Τοιαῦται εἶναι αἱ περιπτώσεις: Τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393, δι' ἣν σημειοῦται ὅτι «τὰ πεπραγμένα ταύτης τῆς συνόδου διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρισθέντα ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω δείκνυνται ἐγκείμενα» (ΡΠ 3, 393). Τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 394, δι' ἣν σημειοῦται περιληπτικῶς ὅτι «ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνόδῳ τοποτηρηταὶ ἐπελέγησαν ἐπίσκοποι ἀνθυπατιανοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀδρουμετινὴν σύνοδον» (ΡΠ 3, 393). Τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 26ης Ἰουνίου 397, δι' ἣν σημειοῦται ὅτι «τὰ πεπραγμένα ὁ ζητῶν ἐν τοῖς αὐθεντικοῖς εὑρήσει» (ΡΠ 3, 456). Τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 399, δι' ἣν σημειοῦται περιληπτικῶς ὅτι «ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνόδῳ τοποτηρησίαν ἀνεδέξαντο Ἐπιγόνιος καὶ Βικεντιανὸς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, ἵνα νόμον ἀξιωθῶσι παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων βασιλέων περὶ τῶν καταφευγόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ οἱαισδήποτε ἐγκεκλεισμένων εὐθύναις, ὥστε μηδένα τολμᾶν αὐτοὺς ἀποσπᾶν» (ΡΠ 3, 456). Τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 405, δι' ἣν σημειοῦται ὅτι «τὰ πεπραγμένα τῆς παρούσης συνόδου, διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου οὐκ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ μᾶλλον τὰ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀναγκαῖα, ἥπερ τινὰ γενικὰ ὡρίσθησαν, δι' ὧν βραχεῖα σύνθεσις τῶν σπουδασμάτων τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου διετυπώθη» (ΡΠ 3, 534). Τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 409, δι' ἣν σημειοῦται ὅτι κατ' αὐτὴν ἐλήφθη ἡ ἀπόφασις «ὥστε ἕνα ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐκδικεῖν ἑαυτοῦ διάγνωσιν» καὶ ὅτι «τὰ πεπραγμένα τῆς παρούσης συνόδου διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγράφη, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιχωρίως καὶ οὐ κατὰ κοινοῦ ἐπετελέσθη» (ΡΠ 3, 558). Ἐπίσης ἐν περιλήψει ἐσημειώθησαν αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῶν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδων τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου (ΡΠ 3, 557) καὶ 13ης Ὀκτωβρίου τοῦ 408 (ΡΠ 3, 558) καὶ τῆς 14ης Ἰουνίου τοῦ 410 (ΡΠ 3, 559). Δὲν εἶναι γνωστὸν ἐὰν αἱ παραλείψεις καὶ συντμήσεις αὗται ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἐγένοντο ὑπὸ τῶν «νοταρίων» οἵτινες ἐκράτουν τὰ πρακτικὰ ἢ ὑπὸ μεταγενεστέρων ἀντιγράφων ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ. Πάντως αἱ ἐν λόγῳ παραλείψεις καὶ συντμήσεις ἀποκαθίστανται ἐν μέρει ἐξ ἄλλων ἀρχαίων ἱστορικῶν καὶ κανονικῶν πηγῶν, καὶ συγκεκριμένως: ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 525 (*Mansi* 8, 635-656. Concilia Africae, σελ. 254 - 282), τοῦ breviatio canonum τοῦ διακόνου *Fulgentius Ferrandus* (PL 67, 949 - 962. Concilia Africae, σελ. 284 - 311) καὶ ἐκ τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Hispana (PL 84, 179 - 236. Concilia Africae, σελ. 323 - 369).

3. Ὁ *Charles Munier*, ὅστις ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ἐκδόσεως Concilia Africae (345 - 525), ἐν τῇ σειρᾷ Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 149, Turnhout 1974, ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ αὐτοῦ: Vers une édition nouvelle des Conciles Africains (345 - 525), ἐν Revue des études augustiniennes 18 (1972) 249 - 259, ὑποστηρίζει (σελ. 256) ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι (34 - 127), ὡς καὶ οἱ θεσπισθέντες κατὰ τὴν συνεδρίαν τῆς 30ῆς Μαΐου 419 (128 - 133), ἤτοι οἱ κανόνες 34 - 133, δὲν ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδον τοῦ 419, ὅτι οὗτοι προέρχονται ἔκ τινος ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἰδιωτικῆς συλλογῆς, ὅτι τὸ τμῆμα PL 67, 193A - 223B (=ΡΠ 3, 393 - 605) δέον ὅπως θεωρηθῇ παρένθετον εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, καὶ ὅτι Διονύσιος ὁ Μικρός, παρεμβάλλων τοὺς κανόνας 34 - 133 εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνας τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, ἐγένετο αἴτιος σοβαρᾶς συγχύσεως. Ἴδε, ἐπίσης σχετικὴν μελέτην: *F. L. Cross*, History and fiction in the african canons, ἐν The Journal of Theological Studies 12 (1961) 227 - 247.

4. Ὁ *Ἰωάννου* (μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 196) φρονεῖ ὅτι ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τοῦ 419, κατὰ τὴν συνεδρίαν αὐτῆς τῆς 30ῆς Μαΐου, ἐθέσπισεν ἑπτὰ νέους κανόνας, ἤτοι τοὺς κανόνας 127 - 133. Ἀντιθέτως οἱ ἀδελφοὶ *Ballerini* (PL 56, 120 καὶ 876 - 879) καὶ ὁ *Friedrich Maassen* (μν. ἔργον, σελ. 182) ἀποδίδουν τοὺς κανόνας 128 - 133 (καὶ τοὺς κανόνας 29 - 33, ὡς ἐσημειώθη ἤδη) εἰς τὴν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδον τοῦ 421. Ὁ *A. Boudinhon* (Note sur le concile d' Hippone de 427, ἐν Revue d' Histoire et de Littérature religieuses 10 (1905) 267 - 274) πειρᾶται ὅπως ἀποδείξῃ ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱππῶνι σύνοδον τοῦ 427. Τὴν γνώμην ταύτην τοῦ *A. Boudinhon* φαίνεται ὅτι δὲν ἀποκλείει καὶ ὁ *G. Bardy* (DDC 1, 291). Ἴδε ἐπίσης προηγουμένην ὑποσημείωσιν ἐν τῇ ἀνὰ χεῖρας μελέτῃ.

5. «Ἐν χρόνοις Ὀνωρίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου»: Ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τοῦ 419 δὲν συνῆλθε κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Ὀνωρίου (395 - 423) ἐν τῇ δύσει καὶ Ἀρκαδίου (395 - 408) ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, οὔτε ἐπὶ ὑπατείας αὐτῶν, ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Α′, τοῦ Μεγάλου (379–395), ἀλλ' ἐπὶ αὐτοκρατόρων Ὀνωρίου (395–423) ἐν τῇ δύσει καὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Β′, τοῦ Μικροῦ (408 - 450) ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ὡς αὐτὸ σημειοῦται ἄλλωστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Καρ-

τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως, ἱερὰν σύνοδον εὑρηκὼς πολλά τε καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν εἰσάγειν τῷ βίῳ δυνάμενα διαταξαμένην... τῷ παρόντι συνέζευξα σπουδάσματι»[1]. Δὲν εἶναι γνωστὸς τίς ὁ μεταφράσας τὰ πρακτικὰ-κανόνας τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικήν, εἶναι ὅμως ἰδιαιτέρως πιθανὸν ὅτι τὴν μετάφρασιν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ συντάκτης τῆς πρώτης ἐκδόσεως τοῦ «Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους», ὅστις «εὗρεν» τὴν «ἱερὰν σύνοδον» ταύτην καὶ περιέλαβεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταρτισθεῖσαν κανονικὴν συλλογὴν εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους. Ἡ ἄποψις αὕτη ἐνισχύεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος ὅτι, τόσον ἐν τῷ εἰρημένῳ προλόγῳ τοῦ «Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους» ὅσον καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑλληνικῷ κειμένῳ τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, πρὸς δήλωσιν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν συνόδων τῆς Καρθαγένης χρησιμοποιεῖται οὐχὶ ἡ μεταγενεστέρα ἐν τῇ βυζαντινῇ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ φιλολογίᾳ ὀνομασία «Καρθαγένη» ἀλλ' ἡ ἀρχαία τοιαύτη «Καρχηδών».

Ἀσφαλῶς ὁ συντάκτης τοῦ «Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους» «εὗρε» τὰ πρακτικὰ-κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ (δευτέρα ἔκδοσις)[2], δεδομένου ὅτι ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις ἀποτελεῖ ἀκριβῆ μετάφρασιν[3] τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου, ὡς περιελήφθη τοῦτο καὶ διεσώθη ἐν τῇ εἰρημένῃ συλλογῇ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ. Σχετικῶς, ὁ F. A. Biener παρατηρεῖ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἑλληνικῷ κειμένῳ τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου «ἀπανθίζονται ὅσα ὁ Διονύσιος ὁ Μικρὸς ἐδέχθη εἰς τὴν συλλογήν του ἀπὸ τὰ θεσμὰ τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς συνόδου τοῦ ἔτους 419, μεταφρασθέντα εἰς τὸ ἑλληνικόν. Ὅπου ὁ Διονύσιος παραλείπει κανόνας, ἀποτέμνει ἢ παραπέμπει εἰς τὰ πρακτικά, ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις συνοπτικῶς ἀκολουθεῖ. Τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ μόνον παράδειγμα, τὸ ὁποῖον δεικνύει ὅτι ἡ ἀνατολικὴ ἐκκλησία μετεχειρίσθη τοῦ Διονυσίου τὴν συλλογήν»[4] [5].

Οἱ 133 κανόνες τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, οἱ περιληφθέντες ἐν τῷ «Συντάγματι εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους», ἀνεγνωρίσθησαν ἐπισήμως καὶ ἐπεκυρώθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς Πενθέκτης Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου (2ος κανὼν) μετὰ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν, συνοδικῶν καὶ πατερικῶν κανόνων, οἵτινες περιελαμβάνοντο ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συντάξει τῆς κανονικῆς ταύτης συλλογῆς, διασωθείσης, λίαν πιθανῶς, ἐν τῷ περιφήμῳ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρογράφῳ τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς θ΄ ἑκατονταετηρίδος. Οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι (καὶ μόνον οὗτοι ἐκ τῶν κανόνων τῶν διατυπωθέντων κατὰ καιροὺς ὑπὸ ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων), ἀνεξαρτήτως θεωριῶν διαφόρων νεωτέρων μελετητῶν (ἢ ὅτι οἱ κανόνες 29-33 καὶ 128-133 δὲν συνδέονται μὲ τὴν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδον τοῦ 419, ἢ ὅτι οἱ κανόνες 34-133 περιελήφθησαν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων -ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ- εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ-κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419), διατηροῦν ἐν τῇ Ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ κῦρος αὐτῶν ὡς βεβαιωθέντες ἐν τῷ συνόλῳ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου, τῆς εἰρημένης Πενθέκτης Οἰκουμενικῆς (691).

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θαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419: «Μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων βασιλέων Ὀνωρίου τὸ δωδέκατον καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ ὄγδοον, τῶν αὐγούστων, τῇ πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν ἰουνίων, ἐν Καρχηδόνι, εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ἐκκλησίας Φαύστου» (ΠΠ 3, 287). Ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι «ἐν χρόνοις Ὀνωρίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου» συνῆλθεν ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σύνοδος τοῦ 394, ὡς δὲ λίαν εὐστόχως παρατηρεῖ ὁ *Ernest Honigmann* (Le concile de Constantinople de 394 et les auteurs du «Syntagma des XIV titres», ἐν Subsidia Hagiographica, ἀριθμ. 35: Trois mémoires posthumes d' histoire et de géographie de l' orient chrétien, Bruxelles 1961, σελ. 71 - 72), φαίνεται ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ τοῦ προλόγου τῆς πρώτης ἐκδόσεως τοῦ «Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους» ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς ἐκ παραδρομῆς παρέλειψε τὴν μνείαν τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνόδου τοῦ 394, ἅμα δὲ ἀνέμειξεν ἀθελήτως τὰς δύο χρονολογίας, ἤτοι τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνόδου τοῦ 394, συνελθούσης ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις (ἐπὶ ὑπατείας) Ὀνωρίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου, καὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, συνελθούσης ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ὀνωρίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου (τοῦ Μικροῦ).

1. ΠΠ 1 (1852) 6.

2. PL 67, 9 - 230.

3. Ἡ ἀκρίβεια καὶ πιστότης τῆς μεταφράσεως ἐπεκτείνεται μέχρι τοῦ σημείου τῆς ἑλληνικοποιήσεως ὡρισμένων λατινικῶν λέξεων. Ἐπὶ παραδείγματι: in secretario basilicae restitutae = «εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ρεστιτούτης ἐκκλησίας» (ΠΠ 3, 456), commonitorium = «κομμονιτώριον» (ΠΠ 3, 288), tracto = «τρακταΐζω» (ΠΠ 3, 288), emancipatum = «ἐμαγκίπατον» (ΠΠ 3, 396), in secretario basilicae pacis = «εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάκης» (ΠΠ 3, 393), publicum = «πούβλικον» (ΠΠ 3, 408).

4. *F. A. Biener*, De collectionibus canonum ecclesiae graecae schediasma litterarium, Berolini 1827, μετάφρασις *Παύλου Καλλιγᾶ*: Φιλολογικὸν σχεδίασμα περὶ τῶν συλλογῶν τῶν κανόνων τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Ἀθῆναι 1840, σελ. 23 (ἡ μετάφρασις ἀνεδημοσιεύθη ἐν *Παύλου Καλλιγᾶ*, Μελέται νομικαί, πολιτικαὶ καὶ οἰκονομολογικαί, τόμος 1ος, Ἀθῆναι 1899, σελ. 299 - 405).

5. Ὁ *Charles Munier*, ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ αὐτοῦ Vers une édition nouvelle des Conciles Africains (345 - 525), Revue des études augustiniennes 18 (1972) 249 - 259, ἀναφέρει (σελ. 527) ὅτι ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου, ἥτις ἦτο ἐν χρήσει παρὰ ταῖς κρατικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις τοῦ Βυζαντίου (ἴδε, ἐπίσης, Concilia Africae, σελ. 177), ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ (δευτέρα σύνταξις), καὶ παραπέμπει (ὑποσημ. 29) εἰς ἀνακοίνωσιν γενομένην ὑπὸ *Pierre L' Huillier* εἰς τὸ 6ον Διεθνὲς Συνέδριον Πατριστικῶν Μελετῶν, ἐν Ὀξφόρδῃ (6 - 11 Σεπτεμβρίου 1971). Δυστυχῶς ἡ ἀνακοίνωσις αὕτη δὲν ἐδημοσιεύθη μέχρι τῆς σήμερον (1983). Πάντως, φαίνεται ὅτι πλὴν τῆς γνωστῆς μεταφράσεως τῶν πρακτικῶν - κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑφίστατο καὶ ἑτέρα μετάφρασις τοῦ συνόλου ἢ μέρους αὐτῶν, ὡς τοῦτο εἰκάζεται ἐκ τῆς «ἐπιστολῆς, ἀντιγραφείσης (περὶ τὸ 550) παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ χριστιανικωτάτου βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ πρός τινας γράψαντας καὶ ἐκδικήσαντας Θεόδωρον τὸν δυσσεβῆ καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ δόγματα, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Ἴβα ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα Θεοδωρήτου τὰ κατὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως γεγραμμένα» (PG 86a, 1041 - 1095. PL 69, 275 - 327. Ἴδε, ἐπίσης, *Eduard Schwartz*, Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians, München 1939, ἐν Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Abteilung, Neue Folge, Heft 18, 1939), ἐν ᾗ παρατίθεται ἐπὶ λέξει τὸ κείμενον τοῦ 81ου κανόνος τῆς Καρθαγένης (PG 86a, 1091. PL 69, 323), ὅπερ ὅμως ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ αὐτοῦ μεταφράσει αἰσθητῶς διαφέρει τῆς διατυπώσεως τῆς γνωστῆς ἑλληνικῆς μεταφράσεως τῶν πρακτικῶν - κανόνων τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419.

**ε) Ἡ διάταξις τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει Ράλλη καὶ Ποτλῆ (=ΡΠ).**

Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 περιελήφθη καὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τόμῳ τοῦ «Συντάγματος τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων» (Ἀθῆναι 1853) τῶν Ράλλη καὶ Ποτλῆ. Οἱ ἐκδόται τοῦ «Συντάγματος» τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει, εἶχον ὑπ' ὄψει αὐτῶν: 1) Τὸ Συνοδικὸν τοῦ Βευερηγίου (Ὀξφόρδη 1672), 2) Τὸ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 1372 χειρόγραφον (κείμενον νῦν ἐν τῇ Ἐθνικῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ Ἀθηνῶν), τοῦ ἔτους 1779, ὅπερ ἀποτελεῖ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ περιφήμου κώδικος τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος τοῦ ἔτους 1311[1], καὶ 3) Προγενεστέρας ἐκδόσεις, αἵτινες ἀναφέρονται ἐν τοῖς προλεγομένοις (σελ. ιστ') τοῦ πρώτου τόμου τοῦ «Συντάγματος». Ὡς εἰκός, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ μέρους ἀναγραφῇ τοῦ περιεχομένου τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν ΡΠ, λαμβάνεται ὑπ' ὄψιν μόνον τὸ κείμενον τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ἑρμηνεῖαι τοῦ Ζωναρᾶ, τοῦ Βαλσαμῶνος, ἡ «σύνοψις» καὶ ἡ ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὴν «σύνοψιν» τοῦ Ἀριστηνοῦ, αἵτινες παρενείρονται ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ. Σημειωτέον ἐπίσης ἐνταῦθα ὅτι τὸ κείμενον τῆς ἑλληνικῆς μεταφράσεως τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 εἰς τινα χειρόγραφα καὶ εἰς ὡρισμένας ἐκδόσεις διαιρεῖται εἰς ἐπὶ μέρους πράξεις. Τὸ χειρόγραφον Monac. 380 (14ου αἰῶνος) διαιρεῖ αὐτὰ εἰς 12 πράξεις[2]. Εἶναι ἡ μοναδικὴ περίπτωσις διαιρέσεως τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς συνόδου ταύτης εἰς 12 πράξεις. Ἀντιθέτως ἕτερα χειρόγραφα (ἐπὶ παραδείγματι τὸ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρόγραφον τῆς Πατμιακῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, 9ου αἰῶνος) καὶ ὡρισμέναι ἐκδόσεις διαιροῦν αὐτὰ εἰς ἓξ πράξεις, ἀλλ' ἡ διαίρεσις τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τούτων εἰς 12 ἢ 6 πράξεις προέρχεται ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ τῆς πρωτοβουλίας τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς ἀντιγραφέων καὶ ἐκδοτῶν, διότι αὕτη, ὡς διαπιστοῦται καὶ ἐξ ἁπλῆς συγκρίσεως, δὲν εἶναι οὔτε γενική, οὔτε ὁμοιόμορφος, οὔτε ἐπιτυχής. Ἀρκεῖ νὰ σημειωθῇ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐκδόσεσι PG καὶ ΡΠ ἡ ἔνδειξις «πρᾶξις τρίτη» τίθεται ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ «ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος» περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 27ης Ἀπριλίου 399, διαιροῦσα οὕτω τὸ ἐν λόγῳ σημείωμα εἰς δύο μέρη, ἐξ ὧν τὸ πρῶτον μέρος παραμένει εἰς τὴν προηγουμένην «πρᾶξιν», τὸ δὲ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν ἑπομένην «τρίτην πρᾶξιν»[3].

Ἡ διάταξις τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τούτων (κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν: ΡΠ 3, 287–621) ἔχει ὡς ἀκολούθως:

*Μέρος πρῶτον:* Συνεδρία 25ης Μαΐου 419 (ΡΠ 3, 287–390).

1) Εἰσαγωγικὸν σημείωμα συνεδρίας 25ης Μαΐου 419 (ΡΠ 3, 287).

2) Ἀναλυτικὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνεδρίας ταύτης (ΡΠ 3, 287–296).

3) Τὸ «σύμβολον πίστεως» τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου (ΡΠ 3, 297)[4].

4) Σημείωμα ὅτι κατὰ τὴν συνεδρίαν ταύτην «ἀνεγνώσθησαν» ἐπίσης οἱ εἴκοσι κανόνες τῆς Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου («οἱ ὅροι τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου ἐν εἴκοσι κεφαλαίοις») (ΡΠ 3, 297).

5) Σημείωμα ὅτι ἐν συνεχείᾳ «ἐγνώσθησαν» οἱ κανόνες, οἱ θεσπισθέντες ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων («ἔπειτα τὰ ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις τῆς Ἀφρικῆς νομοθετηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσι πεπραγμένοις ἐντεθειμένα γινώσκονται») (ΡΠ 3, 297).

6) Ὁ 1ος κανὼν (ΡΠ 3, 297–298). Ἐν τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ, δίκην εἰσαγωγῆς, ἐκφράζεται ἡ πεποίθησις τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ φυλάσσονται πιστὰ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οἱ «ὁρισθέντες» ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων συνᾴδουν πρὸς τὰς ἀποφάσεις ταύτας τῆς Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, καὶ ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι δέον ὅπως φυλάττωνται ἐν τῇ ἀφρικανικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, «βεβαιούμενοι» ἅπαξ ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἐκείνῃ (τοῦ 419). Ἄλλαις λέξεσιν, ὁ 1ος κανὼν ἀποτελεῖ τὴν μετάβασιν ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου θέματος τῆς ἡμερησίας διατάξεως τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 (σχέσις τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς μετὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης) εἰς τὸ δεύτερον (θεώρησις τοῦ ἰσχύοντος ἐν τῇ ἀφρικανικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κανονικοῦ δικαίου).

7) Κανόνες 2–33 (ΡΠ 3, 299–377). Οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι ἀποτελοῦν ἀνανέωσιν προγενεστέρων ἀποφάσεων, ληφθεισῶν ἐν συνόδοις, αἵτινες συνεκλήθησαν ἐπὶ ἐπισκόπων Γράτου (τὸ 348)[5], Γενεθλίου (τὸ 390)[6]

1. Μητροπολίτου *Σουηδίας Παύλου*, Ὁ κῶδιξ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος τοῦ ἔτους 1311, ἐν «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» 3 (1982) 193 - 206. Καὶ ἀνάτυπον.

2. *Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 191.

3. PG 138, 233 καὶ ΡΠ 3, 456.

4. Πρβλ. *Ἰωάννου Καρμίρη*, Τὰ δογματικὰ καὶ συμβολικὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τόμος 1ος, Ἀθῆναι 1960², σελ. 58 - 59.

5. Δὲν εἶναι ἀπολύτως ἐξηκριβωμένος ὁ χρόνος συγκλήσεως τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Γράτου συνόδου, ἡ ἐπικρατεστέρα ὅμως χρονολογία εἶναι ἡ τοῦ ἔτους 348. Ἡ σύγκλησις τῆς συνόδου ὑπό τινων ἱστορικῶν τοποθετεῖται μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 345 - 348, ὑπὸ ἑτέρων δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔτος 349. Σῴζονται τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου μετὰ 14 κανόνων, εἰς τὴν λατινικὴν (*Mansi* 3, 143 - 158. Concilia Africae, σελ. 3 - 10). Ἐπίσης, τὸ κείμενον τῶν κανόνων: *Friedrich Lauchert*, Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den Apostolischen Kanones, Freiburg - Leipzig 1896, σελ. 152 - 157. Περὶ τῆς συνόδου, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 151 - 152. *P. Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 3ος, σελ. 221 - 225. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, σελ. 837 - 841. DHGE 1, 775 - 776 καὶ 1, 811 - 814. Concilia Africae, σελ. XIX καὶ 2. Ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Γράτος μετέσχε τῆς ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνόδου, τὸ ὄνομα δὲ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύεται ἐν τῷ 7ῳ κανόνι τῆς συνόδου ταύτης. Ἐκ τῶν 14 κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Γράτου συνόδου (348), ἐν τῇ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδῳ τοῦ 419 ἀνεγνώσθησαν καὶ ἐβεβαιώθησαν μόνον δύο (οἱ κανόνες 10 καὶ 13), οἵτινες ἀπετέλεσαν τὸν 5ον κανόνα τῆς Καρθαγένης. Χαρακτηριστικὸν ὅτι ἐν τῷ κανόνι τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Γράτου ἀντικατεστάθη διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου.

6. Ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου σύνοδος συνεκλήθη τὸ ἔτος 390 (πιθανῶς τὴν 16ην Ἰουνίου) ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ τῆς πό-

καὶ ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου[1]. Ἀναφέρονται εἰς θέματα ἠθικῆς τάξεως καὶ κυρίως εἰς θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας καὶ δικονομίας. Ἀσφαλῶς οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι (2–33), οἱ ἀναγνωσθέντες κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συνεδρίαν (25 Μαΐου) τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, δὲν εἶναι τὸ σύνολον «τῶν ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις τῆς Ἀφρικῆς νομοθετηθέντων», ἀλλ' ἐπιλογὴ ἐκ τῶν προγενεστέρων ἀποφάσεων τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, σχετιζομένων εἴτε μὲ θέματα ἄτινα ἀπησχόλουν τότε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς εἴτε μὲ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ὑποθέσεως (κανονικὰ παραπτώματα) τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου.

*Μέρος δεύτερον:* Συνεδρίαι (πιθανῶς) 26ης–29ης Μαΐου 419 (ΡΠ 3, 393–593).

1) Σημείωμα ὅτι «ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἔτι μὴν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνόδῳ διάφοροι σύνοδοι πάσης τῆς τῶν Ἄφρων χώρας, ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαι ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι χρόνοις Αὐρηλίου ἐπισκόπου Καρχηδόνος» (ΡΠ 3, 393). Ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀνάγνωσις ἐγένετο ἐκ τοῦ liber canonum temporibus sancti Aurelii, ὅπερ ἀναφέρεται ρητῶς ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 525[2]. Ἐκ τῆς «βίβλου κανόνων» ταύτης «ἀνεγνώσθησαν» (ἢ τοὐλάχιστον περιελήφθησαν ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419) τὰ «ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα» 17 συνόδων, «ἐπιτελεσθεισῶν ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι χρόνοις Αὐρηλίου ἐπισκόπου Καρχηδόνος» (μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 418) καὶ 94 κανόνες (οἱ κανόνες 34–127) ἐκ τῶν διατυπωθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν συνόδων τούτων.

2) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τῆς 8ης Ὀκτωβρίου 393[3] (ΡΠ 3, 393). Πρόκειται περὶ τῆς πρώτης συνόδου, συγκληθείσης ἐπὶ ἀρχιερατείας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου. Ἡ σύνοδος συνεκλήθη εἰς τὸ «σήκρητον τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάκης» («in secretario basilicae pacis»), τῇ συμμετοχῇ μεγάλου ἀριθμοῦ ἐπισκόπων, χαρακτηρίζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσσιδίου, τοῦ συγγράψαντος τὸν βίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ Αὐγουστίνου, ὡς «γενικὴ σύνοδος πάσης Ἀφρικῆς» («plenarium totius Africae concilium»)[4]. Ἀντὶ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς συνόδου ταύτης, οἱ «νοτάριοι» ἢ οἱ μεταγενέστεροι ἀντιγραφεῖς ἐσημείωσαν ἀσαφῶς εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ὅτι «τὰ πεπραγμένα ταύτης τῆς συνόδου διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρισθέντα, ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω δείκνυται ἐγκείμενα». Ἀτυχῶς, τὰ πρακτικὰ καὶ οἱ κανόνες τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393 δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, αἱ ἀποφάσεις δὲ αὐτῆς καθίστανται γνωσταὶ κυρίως: α) ἐκ τῆς ἐπιτομῆς ἢ «βρεβίου»[5] τῶν κανόνων (breviarium Hipponense ἢ brevis statutorum concilii Hipponensis)[6], ὅπερ ἀνεγνώσθη καὶ ἐπεκυρώθη ἐν ἑτέρᾳ συνόδῳ, συγκληθείσῃ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, τὴν 28ην Αὐγούστου τοῦ 397, καὶ β) ἐκ τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς συνόδου

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λεως (basilica Perpetuae restituta). Σῴζονται τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου μετὰ 13 κανόνων, εἰς τὴν λατινικὴν (*Mansi* 3, 691-698. Concilia Africae, σελ. 12 - 19). Ἐπίσης, τὸ κείμενον τῶν κανόνων: *Friedrich Lauchert*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 157 - 162. Περὶ τῆς συνόδου, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 152 - 153. *P. Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 3ος, σελ. 225 -228. *Hefele -Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 76 - 78. DHGE 1, 785 καὶ 1, 811 - 814. *C. Munier*, La tradition du IIe concile de Carthage (390), ἐν Revue des Sciences Religieuses 46 (1972) 193-211. Concilia Africae, σελ. XIX-XX καὶ 11 - 19. Ἐκ τῶν 13 κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου (390), ἐν τῇ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδῳ τοῦ 419 ἀνεγνώσθησαν καὶ ἐβεβαιώθησαν 9 κανόνες (οἱ κανόνες 1-4, 6-8, 10 καὶ 12), οἵτινες ἀπετέλεσαν τοὺς κανόνας 2 - 4 καὶ 6 - 13 τῆς Καρθαγένης. Χαρακτηριστικὸν ὅτι εἰς τοὺς κανόνας τούτους, τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Γενεθλίου καὶ ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων μετασχόντων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 390, ἀντικατεστάθη διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου καὶ ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων μετασχόντων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419. Ἡ ἀντικατάστασις αὕτη φαίνεται ὅτι ἐγένετο ὑπό τινος μεταγενεστέρου ἀντιγραφέως, ὅστις ἠθέλησεν ὅπως παρουσιάσῃ τοὺς κανόνας τοὺς εἰλημμένους ἐκ τῶν προγενεστέρων συνόδων τοῦ 348 (ἐπὶ Γράτου) (ἴδε προηγουμένην ὑποσημείωσιν) καὶ τοῦ 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου) ὡς κανόνας θεσπισθέντας ὑπὸ συνόδων, συγκληθεισῶν ἐπὶ ἀρχιερατείας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου.

1. Περὶ τῶν συνόδων τῶν συγκληθεισῶν ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου γίνεται ἐκτενέστερος λόγος ἐν τοῖς ἐφ' ἑξῆς. Σημειωτέον μόνον ἐνταῦθα ὅτι οἱ κανόνες 14 - 24 προέρχονται ἐκ τοῦ «βρεβίου» κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393, οἱ κανόνες 25 - 27 ἐκ τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401 καὶ ὁ κανὼν 28 ἐκ τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 418. Προφανῶς καὶ οἱ κανόνες 29 - 33 προέρχονται ἐκ κανόνων προγενεστέρων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων, μὴ διασωθέντων ἄλλοθεν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰκάζεται ἐκ τῆς κατα-χωρισθείσης ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς σημειάσεως ὅτι «τὰ ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις τῆς Ἀφρικῆς νομοθετηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσι πεπραγμένοις ἐντεθειμένα γινώσκονται» (ΡΠ 3, 297) καὶ ἐκ τῆς δηλώσεως τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου (1ος κανών), ὅτι οἱ «ἑπόμενοι» κανόνες, ἤτοι οἱ κανένες 2-33, οἱ «ὁρισθέντες» (ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων συνόδων) δέον ὅπως «φυλαχθῶσιν» ὡς ἔχουν, θεωρούμενοι καὶ «βεβαιούμενοι» ἅπαξ ἔτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου ἐκείνης τοῦ 419 (ΡΠ 3, 297 - 298).

2. *Mansi* 8, 643.

3. Ὁ *Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 194, δίδει τὴν χρονολογίαν 15 Ὀκτωβρίου 393. Ἡ γενικῶς παραδεδεγμένη χρονολογία εἶναι τῆς 8ης Ὀκτωβρίου 393, ἥτις συνάγεται ἐκ τοῦ «ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος» τοῦ περιλαμβανομένου εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, ὑπὸ τὴν προϋπόθεσιν ὅτι τὸ κόμμα ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ μεταφράσει δέον ὅπως τοποθετηθῇ πρὸ τῆς λέξεως «ὀγδόῳ» καὶ οὐχὶ μετὰ ταύτην, ἤτοι: «ὑπάτων, ὀγδόῳ εἰδοῖς Ὀκτωβρίαις», δεδομένου ὅτι ἡ ὀγδόη ἡμέρα πρὸ τῶν εἰδῶν Ὀκτωβρίου εἶναι ἀκριβῶς ἡ 8η Ὀκτωβρίου 393.

4. PL 32, 39 (πρβλ. 32, 612).

5. ΡΠ 3, 394 καὶ 395.

6. Ἡ πληρεστέρα ἔκδοσις τοῦ «βρεβίου» κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393 (breviarium Hipponense) ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν *Ballerini*, ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ αὐτῶν: De antiquis collectionibus et collectoribus canonum, ἥτις περιελήφθη εἰς τὸν τρίτον τόμον τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενομένης ἐκδόσεως τῶν ἔργων τοῦ πάπα Λέοντος τοῦ Μεγάλου, ἐν Βενετίᾳ τὸ 1757. Ἡ ἔκδοσις αὕτη τοῦ «βρεβίου» τῶν ἀδελφῶν *Ballerini* ἀνετυπώθη ἐν τῇ PL 56, 411 - 433. Νέα ἔκδοσις τοῦ «βρεβίου», ἐν Concilia Africae, σελ. 28 - 44. Τὸ «βρέβιον» τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393 περιλαμβάνει: α) τὴν συνοδικὴν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς ἡ σύνοδος τοῦ 397 διεβίβασε τὸ ἐν λόγῳ «βρέβιον» πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, β) τὸ σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως ὡς διετυπώθη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, γ) τέσσαρας ἢ πέντε κανόνας (οἱ αὐτοὶ κανόνες ὑπό τινων ἀριθμοῦνται ὡς τέσσαρες, ὑπό τινων δὲ ὡς πέντε), οἵτινες προτάσσονται τοῦ κυρίως «βρεβίου», καὶ δ) τὸ κυρίως «βρέβιον», ὅπερ ἀπαρτίζεται ἐκ 37 κανόνων. Οἱ κανόνες 14 - 24 καὶ 35 - 47α, οἵτινες περιλαμβάνονται εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, προέρχονται ἀκριβῶς ἐκ τοῦ «βρεβίου» τούτου τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου.

τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 525[1], εἰς ἃ περιελήφθησαν ἐπίσης δύο κανόνες τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393[2]. Μία ἐκ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τούτων τῆς συνόδου ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν δονατιστῶν, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι κυρίως εἰς θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας καὶ δικονομίας[3].

3) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 26ης Ἰουνίου 394[4] (ΡΠ 3, 393) καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ταύτῃ «τοποτηρηταὶ ἐπελέγησαν ἐπίσκοποι Ἀνθυπατιανοὶ» (=ἐκ τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς), ἵνα μετάσχωσι τῶν ἐργασιῶν συνόδου ἐν Ἀδρουμήτῳ («πρὸς τὴν Ἀδρουμετινὴν σύνοδον»). Αἱ μόναι ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ τῶν συνόδων τούτων ἐν Καρθαγένῃ καὶ ἐν Ἀδρουμήτῳ τῆς Βυζακηνῆς εἶναι αἱ διασωθεῖσαι διὰ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ τούτου σημειώματος, τὸ ὁποῖον περιελήφθη εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419[5].

4) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου 397 (ΡΠ 3, 393–395) καὶ οἱ κανόνες 34–56 (ΡΠ 3, 395–453). Ἡ σύνοδος συνεκλήθη εἰς τὸ «σήκρητον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ρεστιτούτης» (in secretario basilicae restitutae). Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, αἱ ἀποφάσεις δὲ αὐτῆς καθίστανται κυρίως γνωσταί: α) ἐκ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ τούτου σημειώματος, τὸ ὁποῖον περιελήφθη εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, β) ἐκ τῶν κανόνων αὐτῆς (κανόνες 34 καὶ 47β–56), οἵτινες περιελήφθησαν εἰς τὰ ἐν λόγῳ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, καὶ γ) ἐκ τῆς διασωθείσης ἐπιστολῆς[6], δι' ἧς ἡ σύνοδος διεβίβασε τὸ «βρέβιον» τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393 πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ μετέσχον 43 ἐπίσκοποι[7], προερχόμενοι, τοὐλάχιστον, ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς, τῆς Βυζακηνῆς καὶ τῆς Μαυριτανίας Σιτιφιανῆς. Οἱ βυζαντινοὶ ἑρμηνευταὶ τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος Ζωναρᾶς καὶ Βαλσαμὼν σημειοῦν σχετικῶς: «ἡμέρα ὡρίσθη συνελεύσεως τοῖς τῆς συνόδου ταύτης πατράσιν, οἵ τινες ἤλπιζον ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἁπασῶν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς τοποτηρητὰς ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον, ὧν τινες μὲν ἦλθον, τινὲς δὲ οὐκ ἀπηντήκασι, τινῶν δὲ προεκομίσθησαν γράμματα»[8]. Φαίνεται ὅτι ἡ ἔναρξις τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς συνόδου ταύτης εἶχεν ὁρισθῆ ἀρχικῶς, κατὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393[9], διὰ τὴν 23ην Αὐγούστου, καὶ ὅτι ἀνεβλήθη αὕτη διά τινας ἡμέρας ἐν ἀναμονῇ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τῶν ἐκπροσώπων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοποτηρητῶν τῶν ἐλθόντων «ἀπὸ τοσούτου μήκους τῆς Μαυριτανίας Σιτιφένσης» «διαμαρτυραμένων», «ἐπὶ πολὺ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐμβραδύνειν»[10], ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης Αὐρήλιος συνεκάλεσεν ἐν τέλει, τὴν 28ην Αὐγούστου, τὴν σύνοδον, ἥτις ἐνέκρινε τὸ «βρέβιον, τὸ ἀποδρεφθὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου» (κανὼν 34), ὅπερ κατηρτίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν «ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζακίου ἀδελφῶν» καὶ ὑπεβλήθη αὐτῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μειζονίου, ἐπισκόπου «τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας» τῆς Βυζακηνῆς[11], καὶ ἔλαβεν ἑτέρας ἀποφάσεις, αἵτινες περιλαμβάνονται εἰς τοὺς κανόνας: 47β–56. Πλέον συγκεκριμένως, ἐκ τῶν κανόνων 34–56, ὁ 34ος καταγράφει τὴν ἀπόφασιν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου τοῦ 397, δι' ἧς ἐνεκρίθη ὡς ἔχει «τὸ βρέβιον, τὸ ἀποδρεφθὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου», οἱ κανόνες 35–47α ἀποτελοῦν μέρος τοῦ «βρεβίου» κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393 (ἕτερον σημαντικὸν μέρος τοῦ «βρεβίου» τούτου, ὡς ἐσημειώθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν, ἀποτελοῦν οἱ κανόνες 14–24), οἱ δὲ κανόνες 47β–56 περιλαμβάνουν τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῆς συνόδου τοῦ 397, αἵτινες ἀναφέρονται εἰς θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας. Οἱ κανόνες 34 καὶ 47β–56 ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἀπαρτίζουν τοὺς 11 κανόνας (ἀντιστοίχως κανόνες 1–11), οὓς ἐθέσπισεν ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου τοῦ 397 καὶ οἵτινες διεσώθησαν διὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν–κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419. Ἡ σημασία τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου ταύτης (τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου 397) εἶναι σπουδαία, διά τε τὰς ληφθείσας ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀποφάσεις καὶ κυρίως διὰ τὸ «βρέβιον» τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποτελεῖ τὴν βασικὴν πηγήν, ἐξ ἧς καθίστανται γνωσταὶ αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου[12].

1. *Mansi* 8, 635 - 656. Concilia Africae, σελ. 254 - 282.

2. *Mansi* 8, 646. Concilia Africae, σελ. 269 - 270.

3. Προσφάτως ὁ *Charles Munier* ἐδημοσίευσεν ἑτέρους πέντε κανόνας, οἵτινες κατὰ τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνήκουν ἐπίσης εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἱππῶνι σύνοδον τοῦ 393: Cinq canons inedits du concile d' Hippone du 8 octobre 393, ἐν Revue de Droit Canonique 18 (1968) 16 - 29 καὶ Concilia Africae, σελ. 20-21. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 153 - 154. *P. Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 367 - 368. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 82 - 91. DHGE 1, 787 καὶ 1, 811 - 814. Concilia Africae, σελ. XX.

4. Ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ, ἐν τῷ κειμένῳ τοῦ «ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος» περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 26ης Ἰουνίου 394, ἀναγράφεται «πρὸ δεκαὲξ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων» καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑποσημειώσεσι δίδεται ἑτέρα γραφή: «πρὸ ἓξ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων». Ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν τούτων προκριτέα ἀσφαλῶς ἡ γραφή: «πρὸ ἓξ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων», διότι αὕτη συμφωνεῖ πρὸς τὴν γενικῶς παραδεδεγμένην χρονολογίαν συγκλήσεως τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου, ἤτοι τὴν 26ην Ἰουνίου τοῦ 394. Ἄλλως, δέον ὅπως γίνῃ δεκτὴ ἡ χρονολογία: 16 Ἰουνίου 394 (Concilia Africae, σελ. XX καὶ 182).

5. Περὶ τῆς συνόδου, ἴδε: *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 97. DHGE 1, 787 καὶ 1, 811 - 814.

6. PL 56, 418. *Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 253 - 255 (μετὰ γαλλικῆς μεταφράσεως). Concilia Africae, σελ. 28 - 29.

7. Ὁ κατάλογος τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἐν Concilia Africae, σελ. 48 - 49.

8. ΡΠ 3, 395.

9. ΡΠ 3, 394.

10. Κανὼν 73ος Καρθαγένης: «ἡ δὲ τῆς συνόδου ἡμέρα ἡ αὐτὴ φυλαχθῇ, ἥτις ὡρίσθη ἐν τῇ ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδῳ, τοὐτέστιν, ἡ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων» (ΡΠ 3, 489), ἤτοι ἡ 23η Αὐγούστου, καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ 21η Αὐγούστου, ὡς ὑπολογίζουν ταύτην ὅ τε Ζωναρᾶς καὶ ὁ Βαλσαμὼν (ΡΠ 3, 489).

11. ΡΠ 3, 394.

12. Περὶ τοῦ «βρεβίου» τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393, ἴδε: *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 82 - 91. *F. L. Cross*, History and fiction in the african canons, ἐν The Journal of Theological Studies, New Series, 12 (1961) 229 - 233. Concilia Africae, σελ. 22 - 27. Ἐκδόσεις τοῦ «βρε-

5) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 26ης Ἰουνίου 397 (ΠΠ 3, 456)[1], ἥτις ἀπεφάσισεν ὅπως «μηδεὶς τῶν ἐπισκόπων πλέειν (= «ἀποδημεῖν διαποντίως»[2]) χωρὶς ἀπολυτικῆς τοῦ πρωτεύοντος». Ἡ ἀπόφασις αὕτη ὅτι «ἤρεσε μηδένα τῶν ἐπισκόπων πλέειν χωρὶς ἀπολυτικῆς τοῦ πρωτεύοντος» ἀποτελεῖ κατ' οὐσίαν τὸν κανόνα τῆς συνόδου, ἀλλ' ὁ κανὼν οὗτος παρέμεινεν ἀπαρατήρητος, μὴ ἀριθμούμενος κεχωρισμένως οὔτε ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ, οὔτε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ μεταφράσει τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419. Ὁ γραφεύς, ὁ ἀντιγράψας τὸ χειρόγραφον, ἀπέφυγεν ὅπως ἀντιγράψῃ τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου τῆς 26ης Ἰουνίου 397, ἐσημείωσε δὲ ἁπλῶς ὅτι «ὁ ζητῶν» τὰ πεπραγμένα θὰ εὕρῃ αὐτὰ «ἐν τοῖς αὐθεντικοῖς», ἅτινα ὅμως δὲν διεσώθησαν. Προφανῶς πρόκειται περὶ ἐπαρχιακῆς συνόδου (τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς) καὶ οὐχὶ περὶ γενικῆς συνόδου τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, διότι ἄλλως δὲν δικαιολογεῖται ἡ σύγκλησις ἑτέρας γενικῆς συνόδου μετὰ δίμηνον, ἤτοι κατ' Αὔγουστον τοῦ 397[3].

6) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 27ης Ἀπριλίου 399 (ΠΠ 3, 456), συγκληθείσης «εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ρεστιτούτης ἐκκλησίας». Ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ταύτῃ ἀπεφασίσθη ὅπως ἀντιπροσωπεία ἐκ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ἐπιγονίου καὶ Βικεντιανοῦ ζητήσῃ «παρὰ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων βασιλέων» τὴν ἔκδοσιν νόμου «περὶ τῶν καταφευγόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν», ἤτοι νόμου κατασφαλίζοντος τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς ἀσυλίας εἰς τοὺς καταφεύγοντας εἰς τοὺς χριστιανικοὺς ναούς[4].

7) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 401[5] (ΠΠ 3, 456–457), καὶ οἱ κανόνες 57–65 (ΠΠ 3, 458–473). Ἡ σύνοδος συνεκλήθη «εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ρεστιτούτης ἐκκλησίας», πιθανῶς ὡς σύνοδος ἐπαρχιακὴ (τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἢ ὡρισμένων μόνον ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς λατινικῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς) καὶ οὐχὶ ὡς σύνοδος γενικὴ τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦτο δὲ εἰκάζεται ἀφ' ἑνὸς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος ὅτι ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους (13 Σεπτεμβρίου 401) συνῆλθεν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἑτέρα γενικὴ σύνοδος, ἀφ' ἑτέρου δὲ ἐκ τῆς εἰσηγητικῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου, εἰπόντος ὅτι ἡ «συνέλευσις» αὕτη συνήχθη «ἐν μέρει»[6]. Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου δὲν διετηρήθησαν μὲν αὐτοτελῶς, διεσώθησαν ὅμως περιληφθέντα εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ-κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, συνίστανται δὲ ταῦτα: α) ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 401 (ΠΠ 3, 456), β) ἐκ τῆς εἰσηγητικῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου (ΠΠ 3, 456–457) καὶ γ) ἐκ τῶν ληφθεισῶν ἀποφάσεων (κανόνες 57–65). Πλέον συγκεκριμένως, ἡ σύνοδος:

α) ἤχθη εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅπως ἀποσταλῇ «πρεσβεία» πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ρώμης Ἀναστάσιον καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Μεδιολάνων Βενέριον, διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέμα ὅπερ ἀπησχόλησε καὶ τὴν σύνοδον τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου 397 (κανὼν 47α)[7], «ὥστε τοὺς μικροὺς παρὰ τοῖς δονατισταῖς βαπτιζομένους, ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κληρικοὺς χειροτονεῖσθαι»[8], καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δι' ἄλλους λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν «ἔνδειαν κληρικῶν»[9], ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας ἐδοκιμάζετο ἡ ἀφρικανικὴ ἐκκλησία (κανὼν 57).

β) ἤχθη εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅπως ἀποσταλῇ «πρεσβεία» «πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα», «περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἐγκαταλείμματα τῶν εἰδώλων ἀφαιρεθῆναι» (κανὼν 58) καὶ «περὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλείστων πραγμάτων»[10] (κανόνες 59–64), καὶ

γ) ἠσχολήθη μὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Αἰκυτίου «τοῦ καταδικασθέντος» (κανὼν 65)[11].

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βίου»: PL 56, 411 - 433. Concilia Africae, σελ. 28 - 44. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου 397, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 154 - 161. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 100 - 102. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 367 - 368. DHGE 1, 811 - 814 καὶ 5, 730. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXI - XXIV.

1. Τὸ ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα τῆς συνόδου ταύτης τῆς 26ης Ἰουνίου 397 εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ-κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 παρατίθεται (ἔν τε τῷ λατινικῷ πρωτοτύπῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ μεταφράσει) μετὰ τὴν σύνοδον τῆς 28ης Αὐγούστου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους, ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ παραδρομῆς τῶν ἀντιγραφέων.

2. Ζωναρᾶς, ΠΠ 3, 456.

3. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 26ης Ἰουνίου 397, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 154. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 98 - 100. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 368. DHGE 1, 811 - 814. Concilia Africae, σελ. XX.

4. *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 161. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 120 - 121. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 368. DHGE 1, 811 - 814. DTC 7 : 1, 1256 - 1257. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXIV. Ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΠΠ, τὸ ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα τὸ ἀναφερόμενον εἰς τὴν σύνοδον ταύτην τῆς 27ης Ἀπριλίου 399 διασπᾶται εἰς δύο, τιθεμένης εἰς τὸ μέσον, ἐν ἀδικαιολογήτῳ ἀγνοήσει τῆς ἑνότητος καὶ τοῦ περιεχομένου τοῦ κειμένου, τῆς φράσεως: «πρᾶξις τρίτη» (ΠΠ 3, 456).

5. Ἐν τῷ ἱστορικῷ τούτῳ σημειώματι ἀναγράφεται ὅτι ἡ σύνοδος συνεκλήθη «πρὸ δεκαὲξ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων», ἤτοι τὴν 16ην Ἰουνίου. Πάντως, ἔν τισι χειρογράφοις παραδίδεται καὶ ἡ ἡμερομηνία τῆς 15ης Ἰουνίου. Πρβλ. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 125. DHGE 1, 815. *Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 195.

6. ΠΠ 3, 457.

7. Τὸ αὐτὸ θέμα ἀπησχόλησε προηγουμένως καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἱππῶνι σύνοδον τοῦ 393. Βλ. σχετικῶς κανόνα 37 τοῦ breviarium Hipponense (PL 56, 430 - 431. Concilia Africae, σελ. 43 - 44).

8. ΠΠ 3, 458.

9. ΠΠ 3, 457.

10. ΠΠ 3, 456.

11. Ὁ Ἀριστηνός, ἐν τῇ ἑρμηνείᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν «ἐπιτομὴν» τοῦ 65ου κανόνος τῆς Καρθαγένης, σημειοῖ ὅτι «ὁ Αἰκύτιος οὗτος» ἦτο ἐπίσκοπος «τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι καθέδρας» (ΠΠ 3, 474). Ἐν τούτοις δέον ὅπως διευκρινισθῇ ἐνταῦθα ὅτι δύο πόλεις τῆς Νουμιδίας ὠνομάζοντο «Ἱππών». Ἐν τῇ μιᾷ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίσκοπος ἦτο ὁ εἰρημένος Αἰκύτιος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ ὁ ἱερὸς Αὐγουστῖνος. Πλέον συγκεκριμένως, ἡ πόλις ἐν ᾗ ἐχρημάτισεν ἐπίσκοπος ὁ ἱερὸς Αὐγουστῖνος ὠνομάζετο Ἱππὼν ὁ Βασιλικὸς (Hippo Regius), ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐν ᾗ ἐχρημάτισεν ἐπίσκοπος ὁ Αἰκύτιος, Ἱππὼν Διάρρυτος (Hippo Diarrhytus). Ἡ πόλις Ἱππὼν Διάρρυτος ὀνομάζεται ἐπίσης Ἱππὼν

Τέλος σημειωτέον ὅτι οἱ κανόνες 57–65 ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἀπαρτίζουν τοὺς 9 κανόνας (ἀντιστοίχως κανόνες 1–9), οὓς ἐθέσπισεν ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 401[1] καὶ οἵτινες διεσώθησαν διὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν–κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419.

8) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα[2] περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401 (ΡΠ 3, 474) καὶ οἱ κανόνες 66–85 (ΡΠ 3, 475–512). Ἡ σύνοδος συνεκλήθη «εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ρεστιτούτης ἐκκλησίας». Ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνεγνώσθησαν «γράμματα τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συνιερέως Ἀναστασίου» (τοῦ Α', 399 –401), «τοῦ τῆς ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου», δι' ὧν οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος ὅπως γίνωνται δεκτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην οἱ ἐν μικρᾷ ἡλικίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν donatistῶν βαπτισθέντες, δι' ὃ εἶχεν ἀποσταλῆ πρὸς αὐτὸν (καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Μεδιολάνων Βενέριον) «πρεσβεία» ἐκ Καρθαγένης (ἀπόφασις τῆς συνόδου, τῆς συγκληθείσης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ τὴν 16ην Ἰουνίου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους), ἀπήντα γενικῶς καὶ ἀορίστως, προτρεπόμενος τοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπως μὴ ὑποχωρήσουν («μηδαμῶς παραπροσποιήσωνται») εἰς τὰς «ἐπιβουλὰς» καὶ τὴν «ἀναισχυντίαν» «τῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ σχισματικῶν donatistῶν»[3]. Ἀντιθέτως, ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401 ἔλαβε τὰς ἑξῆς ἀποφάσεις: α) αἱ ἐπαφαὶ μετὰ τῶν donatistῶν νὰ γίνωνται «ἠπίως καὶ εἰρηνικῶς», β) νὰ ἀναγνωρίζεται ἡ ἱερωσύνη τῶν donatistῶν κληρικῶν, ἐπιστρεφόντων εἰς τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, γ) ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος τούτου νὰ γραφῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ρώμης Ἀναστάσιον, καὶ δ) νὰ ἀποσταλῇ «πρεσβεία» πρὸς τοὺς donatistάς, πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν «εἰρήνης καὶ ἑνότητος, ἧς τινος χωρὶς ἡ τῶν χριστιανῶν σωτηρία καθίστασθαι οὐ δύναται»[4] (κανόνες 66–69). Ἡ σύνοδος, ἐν συνεχείᾳ, ἔλαβεν ἀποφάσεις ἐπὶ ἀπασχολούντων τὴν ἀφρικανικὴν ἐκκλησίαν διαφόρων ἄλλων ζητημάτων, κυρίως ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας καὶ κοινωνικῆς προνοίας (κανόνες: 25–27, 70–85)[5]. Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, ὡς ὅμως περιελήφθησαν εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 (ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα καὶ κανόνες 66–85), εἶναι σχεδὸν πλήρη, διὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν δὲ δέον ὅπως συμπληρωθοῦν διὰ τῶν κανόνων 25–27, οἵτινες ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνεδρίᾳ τῆς 25ης Μαΐου 419 καὶ οἵτινες ὡς μαρτυρεῖται ὑπὸ τῆς collectio Hispana (κανόνες 3[6], 4[7] καὶ 11[8] τῆς concilium Carthaginense quintum, ἀντιστοιχοῦντες πρὸς τοὺς κανόνας 25, 26 καὶ 27 τῆς Καρθαγένης) ἐθεσπίσθησαν ἐπίσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401. Κατὰ ταῦτα, οἱ κανόνες οἵτινες ἐθεσπίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401 ἀνέρχονται εἰς 22 (οἱ κανόνες 25 καὶ 70 εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιεχομένου), καὶ εἶναι δυνατὸν ὅπως ἀριθμηθοῦν, κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ἡμῶν: 1–4=66–69, 5=25 καὶ 70, 6–7=26–27, 8–22=71–85.

9) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Μιλέβῃ συνόδου τῆς 27ης Αὐγούστου 402 (ΡΠ 3, 513–514) καὶ οἱ κανόνες 86–90 (ΡΠ 3, 514–520). Ἡ σύνοδος συνῆλθε, κατὰ τὴν διατύπωσιν τῶν πρακτικῶν, «ἐν Μιλεβιτανῇ πόλει εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ἐκκλησίας», «Αὐρηλίου ἐπισκόπου τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐκκλησίας προκαθίσαντος ἐν πάσῃ τῇ συνόδῳ». Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, περιελήφθησαν ὅμως, σχεδὸν πλήρως, εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, συνίστανται δὲ ταῦτα: α) ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης, ἐν Μιλέβῃ (ΡΠ 3, 513), β) ἐκ τῆς εἰσηγητικῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου (ΡΠ 3, 513–514)[9] καὶ γ) ἐκ τῶν ληφθεισῶν ἀποφάσεων (κανόνες 86–90). Πλέον συγκεκριμένως, ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἀνεγνώσθησαν καὶ ἐβεβαιώθησαν αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῶν προγενεστέρων συνόδων, τῶν συγκληθεισῶν ἐν Ἱππῶνι (393) καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ (394 κ.ἑ.), καὶ ἐλήφθησαν νέαι ἀποφάσεις ἀναφερόμεναι εἰς θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως (86, 89–90) καὶ εἰς προσωπικὰς περιπτώσεις δύο ἐπισκόπων (87–88). Οἱ κανόνες 86–90 ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἀπαρτίζουν τοὺς 5 κανόνας (ἀντιστοίχως κανόνες 1–5), οὓς ἐθέσπισεν ἡ ἐν Μιλέβῃ σύνοδος τῆς 27ης Αὐγούστου 402 καὶ οἵτινες διεσώθησαν διὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν–κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419[10].

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Διαρετῶν (*Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, Index, Ρώμη 1964, σελ. 161). Ἡ ὑπόθεσις τοῦ καθηρημένου ἐπισκόπου Αἰκυτίου ἀπησχόλησε τρεῖς συνόδους ἐν Καρθαγένῃ: τὰς συνόδους τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 401, τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401 καὶ τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 404 (ἀντιστοίχως κανόνες 65, 78 καὶ 93 Καρθαγένης).

1. Περὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 161. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 125 - 126. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 369 - 370. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXIV.

2. Πρὸ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401, ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ δημοσιεύεται καὶ ἕτερον σημείωμα ὅτι «ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνελεύσει ἀναγνωσθείσης ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ πάπα Ρώμης Ἀναστασίου πρὸς τὴν σύνοδον περὶ τῶν donatistῶν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς δέχεσθαι καὶ ἠπίως αὐτοῖς προσφέρεσθαι, εὐχαρίστησαν οἱ Πατέρες τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ πάπᾳ» (ΡΠ 3, 474). Τὸ σημείωμα τοῦτο παραλείπεται ἐν τῷ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρογράφῳ τῆς Πάτμου (φύλλον κώδικος 127α) καί, τὸ σπουδαιότερον, ἐν τῷ λατινικῷ πρωτοτύπῳ (PL 67, 203 καὶ Concilia Africae, σελ. 198), ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκδόσει τοῦ *Ἰωάννου* (μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 303) ἀναφέρεται μόνον ἐν ὑποσημειώσει.

3. ΡΠ 3, 474.

4. ΡΠ 3, 480.

5. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 161 - 163. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 126 - 129. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 370 - 372. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXIV - XXV.

6. PL 84, 209. Concilia Africae, σελ. 356.

7. PL 84, 209. Concilia Africae, σελ. 356.

8. PL 84, 210 - 211. Concilia Africae, σελ. 358.

9. Ἐν Πηδαλίῳ (καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τοῦ Πηδαλίου) κανὼν 94ος.

10. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Μιλέβῃ συνόδου τῆς 27ης Αὐγούστου 402, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 163. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 134 - 135. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 372. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. DTC 10 : 2, 1752 - 1753 (ἄρθρον τοῦ *E. Amann*, ὅστις, πιθανῶς ἐκ παραδρομῆς, δίδει ἡμερομηνίαν συγκλήσεως τῆς συνόδου: 26 Αὐγούστου 402). Concilia Africae, σελ. XXV - XXVI.

10) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 25ης Αὐγούστου 403 (ΡΠ 3, 521–523) καὶ οἱ κανόνες 91–92 (ΡΠ 3, 523–526). Ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη, ἥτις συνῆλθεν «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σεκούνδης»[1], α) ἔλαβε γνῶσιν «τῶν πραχθέντων» ὑπὸ τῆς «πρεσβείας», τῆς ἀποσταλείσης «πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης»[2], πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους Ρώμης Ἀναστάσιον καὶ Μεδιολάνων Βενέριον (ἀπόφασις τῆς συνόδου τῆς συγκληθείσης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ τὴν 16ην Ἰουνίου 401), διὰ τὸ ζήτημα ὅπως γίνωνται δεκτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην οἱ ἐν μικρᾷ ἡλικίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν δονατιστῶν βαπτισθέντες, καὶ β) ἦχθη εἰς τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅπως «ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ τόπῳ» τῇ μεσολαβήσει «τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ τῶν πρῶτα φερόντων»[3] πραγματοποιηθοῦν συνομιλίαι μεταξὺ τῶν καθολικῶν καὶ δονατιστῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἵνα μὴ «διὰ πεῖσμα ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενεῖς ψυχαὶ καὶ ἄπειροι λαοὶ ἱεροσύλῳ τινὶ χωρισμῷ ἀπόλωνται»[4]. Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, περιελήφθησαν ὅμως, σχεδὸν πλήρως, εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, συνίστανται δὲ ταῦτα: α) ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ (ΡΠ 3, 521), β) ἐκ τῆς εἰσηγητικῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου (ΡΠ 3, 521), γ) ἐξ ἀποσπάσματος τῶν πρακτικῶν, ἀναφερομένου εἰς τὴν ἐκπροσώπησιν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ (ΡΠ 3, 521–523), δ) ἐκ τῶν ληφθεισῶν ἀποφάσεων (κανὼν 91ος) καὶ ε) ἐκ τοῦ «τύπου» τῆς προσκλήσεως, ἥτις ἐπρόκειτο ὅπως ἀπευθυνθῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγέτας τῶν δονατιστῶν (κανὼν 92ος). Οἱ κανόνες 91–92 ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἀπαρτίζουν τοὺς κανόνας 1–2 τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 25ης Αὐγούστου 403, οἵτινες διεσώθησαν διὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν–κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419[5].

11) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου[6] 404 (ΡΠ 3, 526) καὶ ὁ κανὼν 93 (ΡΠ 3, 527–531). Ἡ σύνοδος συνεκλήθη «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς βασιλικῆς σεκούνδης», ἀπεφάσισε δὲ ὅπως ἀντιπροσωπεία, ἀποτελουμένη ἐκ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Θεασίου καὶ Εὐοδίου, μεταβῇ «πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ θρησκευτικωτάτους αὐτοκράτορας»[7] Ὀνώριον (καὶ Ἀρκάδιον) «κατὰ τῶν δονατιστῶν»[8], μετὰ τοῦ αἰτήματος ὅπως τεθοῦν εἰς ἐφαρμογὴν καὶ πάλιν οἱ περὶ αἱρετικῶν σχετικοὶ νόμοι «οἱ ἐκτεθέντες παρὰ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης πατρὸς αὐτῶν Θεοδοσίου»[9] (τοῦ Α′, τοῦ Μεγάλου), καὶ κυρίως ὁ νόμος ὅστις ἐπέβαλλε τὴν χρηματικὴν ποινὴν δέκα λιτρῶν χρυσοῦ εἰς «τοὺς χειροτονοῦντας καὶ χειροτονουμένους αἱρετικούς»[10], καὶ ἕτερος ὅστις ἐστέρει τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς ἐκ τοῦ δικαιώματος τοῦ κληροδοτεῖν ἢ κληρονομεῖν ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου ἢ ἐκ διατάξεως τελευταίας βουλήσεως[11]. Ἡ αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλλαγῆς καὶ σκληρύνσεως τῆς στάσεως τῶν ἀφρικανῶν ἐπισκόπων «κατὰ τῶν δονατιστῶν» ὀφείλεται εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι οἱ δονατισταὶ ὄχι μόνον δὲν ἀνταπεκρίθησαν εἰς τὴν πρότασιν τὴν γενομένην κατὰ τὸ προηγούμενον ἔτος ὅπως «ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ τόπῳ» τῇ μεσολαβήσει «τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ τῶν πρῶτα φερόντων»[12] πραγματοποιηθοῦν συνομιλίαι μεταξὺ τῶν καθολικῶν καὶ δονατιστῶν ἐπισκόπων (ἀπόφασις τῆς συνόδου τῆς συγκληθείσης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ τὴν 25ην Αὐγούστου 403), ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλέον προέβησαν καὶ εἰς βιαιότητας ἐναντίον τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ λατινικῇ Βορείῳ Ἀφρικῇ. Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 404 δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, περιελήφθη ὅμως εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης καὶ τὸ «κομμονιτώριον» (γραπταὶ ὁδηγίαι), τὸ ὁποῖον ἔδωκεν ἡ σύνοδος πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους Θεάσιον καὶ Εὐόδιον, τοὺς ὁρισθέντας συνοδικῶς ὅπως μεταβοῦν «πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ θρησκευτικωτάτους αὐτοκράτορας»[13] (κανὼν 93)[14].

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1. Ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ ὑπάρχει ἡ γραφή: «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Σεκούνδου», ἀλλ' ἀσφαλῶς δέον ὅπως προκριθῇ ἡ γραφή: «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σεκούνδης», ἥτις ἀπαντᾷ εἰς τοὺς περισσοτέρους κώδικας (βλ. κριτικὸν ὑπόμνημα ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει *Ἰωάννου*, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 335), καὶ ἀνταποκρίνεται εἰς τὸ νόημα τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου: in basilica regionis secundae, ἤτοι εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τῆς δευτέρας περιφερείας. Ἡ γραφὴ «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σεκούνδης» ἀπαντᾷ καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρόγραφον τῆς Πάτμου (φύλλον 136α).

2. ΡΠ 3, 521.

3. ΡΠ 3, 523.

4. ΡΠ 3, 526.

5. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 25ης Αὐγούστου 403, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 163. *Hefele-Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 154 - 155. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 372 - 376. DHGE 1, 789 καὶ 1, 815-818. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVI.

6. Ἡ ἡμερομηνία συγκλήσεως τῆς συνόδου ταύτης δὲν παραδίδεται μετ' ἀκριβείας ὑπὸ τῶν πηγῶν, δεδομένου ὅτι ἄλλα ἐκ τῶν χειρογράφων ἀναφέρουν ὅτι αὕτη συνεκλήθη «τῇ πρὸ ἕξ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων» ἕτερα δὲ ὅτι συνεκλήθη «πρὸ ὀκτὼ» ἢ «δώδεκα» ἢ «δεκαὲξ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων», ἐκ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς δὲ ταύτης ἢ ἐκείνης τῆς γραφῆς ἐξαρτᾶται καὶ ἡ ἡμερομηνία ἣν δίδουν οἱ διάφοροι ἱστορικοί: 16 Ἰουνίου (*Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, Paris 1912, σελ. 376. Concilia Africae, σελ. 211), 20 Ἰουνίου (*F. L. Cross*, History and fiction in the african canons, The Journal of Theological Studies 12 (1961) 237), 26 Ἰουνίου (*Aug. Audollent*, DHGE 1, 815). Ἡ ἡμερομηνία 16 Ἰουνίου 404 ἀνταποκρίνεται εἰς τὴν γραφὴν τῆς ἐκδόσεως ΡΠ (3, 526) καὶ *Ἰωάννου* (μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 346): «τῇ πρὸ δεκαὲξ καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων». Σημειωτέον πάντως ὅτι ἱστορικοί τινες ἀναφέρουν κατὰ τρόπον γενικώτερον ὅτι ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη συνεκλήθη κατὰ μῆνα Ἰούνιον τοῦ 404 (*Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 164. *Ἰωάννου*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, σελ. 195).

7. ΡΠ 3, 527.

8. ΡΠ 3, 526.

9. ΡΠ 3, 529.

10. Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 21 (15 Ἰουνίου 392). Πρβλ. ΡΠ 3, 529.

11. Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 7 (8 Μαΐου 381). Πρβλ. ΡΠ 3, 529.

12. ΡΠ 3, 523.

13. ΡΠ 3, 527.

14. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 404, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 164. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 155 - 156. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 376 - 378. DHGE 1, 789 καὶ 1, 815-818. DTC 1 : 2, 2278 - 2279. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVI.

12) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 23ης Αὐγούστου 405 (ΡΠ 3, 534) καὶ ὁ κανὼν 94 (ΡΠ 3, 534–535). Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης, συγκληθείσης «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δευτέρου κλίματος»[1], δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, εἰς δὲ τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 περιελήφθη μόνον «βραχεῖα σύνθεσις» τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῆς συνόδου, σημειωθέντος ὑπὸ μεταγενεστέρου γραφέως ὅτι «τὰ πεπραγμένα τῆς παρούσης συνόδου διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου οὐκ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ μᾶλλον τὰ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀναγκαῖα, ἥπερ τινὰ γενικὰ ὡρίσθησαν, δι' ὧν βραχεῖα σύνθεσις τῶν σπουδασμάτων τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου διετυπώθη»[2]. Ἐκ τῆς βραχείας ταύτης συνθέσεως, «τοῦ βρεβίου τῶν κεφαλαίων»[3] (κανὼν 94), καθίσταται γνωστὸν ὅτι ἡ σύνοδος: α) ἀπεφάσισεν ὅπως ἐκφράσῃ τὰς εὐχαριστίας αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, διὰ γράμματος, κομιζομένου ὑπὸ δύο κληρικῶν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ἐκκλησίας, διὰ τὰ ληφθέντα κυβερνητικὰ μέτρα «κατὰ τῶν δονατιστῶν»[4], β) ἀπεφάσισεν, ἐπίσης, ὅπως «πεμφθῶσι γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας», ἵνα ἐπιδείξουν οὗτοι τὴν προσήκουσαν «σπουδὴν» διὰ τὴν ἐπίτευξιν τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν δονατιστῶν μετὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀφρικανικὰς ἐπαρχίας, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐπιδιωκομένη αὕτη ἕνωσις εἶχεν ἐπιτευχθῆ μέχρι τότε μόνον ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ τῆς Ἀνθυπατικῆς Ἀφρικῆς[5], καὶ γ) ἀνέγνωσε γράμμα τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ρώμης Ἰννοκεντίου (τοῦ Α', 402–417), «ἵνα οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ὡς ἔτυχε πρὸς τὰ περαματικὰ ἀπίεναι μὴ δύνανται»[6], τοῦθ' ὅπερ καὶ ἐνεκρίθη συνοδικῶς[7].

13) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Ἰουνίου[8] 407 (ΡΠ 3, 535)[9] καὶ οἱ κανόνες 95–106 (ΡΠ 3, 535–555). Τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης, συγκληθείσης «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δευτέρου κλίματος», δὲν διεσώθησαν αὐτοτελῶς, περιελήφθησαν ὅμως, σχεδὸν πλήρως, εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, συνίστανται δὲ ταῦτα: α) ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαγωγικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ (ΡΠ 3, 535), β) ἐκ τῆς εἰσηγητικῆς ὁμιλίας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου (ΡΠ 3, 535), καὶ γ) ἐκ τῶν ληφθεισῶν ἀποφάσεων (κανόνες 95–106). Πλέον συγκεκριμένως, οἱ κανόνες 95–98, 100 καὶ 102–106 ἀναφέρονται εἰς θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας, ὁ κανὼν 99 εἰς τοὺς δονατιστὰς καὶ ὁ κανὼν 101 εἰς τὰς σχέσεις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν Ρώμης καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, τῆς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας διακοπείσης (τέλη τοῦ 406 ἢ ἀρχὰς τοῦ 407) συνεπείᾳ τῆς ἀναμείξεως τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας Θεοφίλου (385–412) εἰς τὴν καταδίκην (σύνοδος παρὰ τὴν Δρῦν, τὸ ἔτος 403) καὶ τὴν ἐν συνεχείᾳ ἐξορίαν (403 καὶ 404) τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. Οἱ κανόνες 95–106 ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἀπαρτίζουν τοὺς 12 κανόνας (ἀντιστοίχως κανόνες 1–12), οὓς ἐθέσπισεν ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τῆς 13ης Ἰουνίου 407 καὶ οἵτινες διεσώθησαν διὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν–κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419[10].

14) Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 408 (ΡΠ 3, 557), συνελθούσης «εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ρεστιτούτης ἐκκλησίας». Εἰς τὸ λατινικὸν κείμενον ὑπάρχει καὶ ἡ περίληψις ληφθείσης κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον ἀποφάσεως: «in hoc concilio legationem iterum suscepit Fortunatianus episcopus contra paganos et haereticos»[11] («ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ συνόδῳ πρεσβείαν ἀνεδέξατο ἐκ δευτέρου Φουρτουνατιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος κατὰ τῶν ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν αἱρετικῶν»). Ὡς «αἱρετικοὶ» ἀσφαλῶς ἐννοοῦνται ἐνταῦθα οἱ δονατισταί. Ἡ μόνη διασωθεῖσα ἱστορικὴ εἴδησις περὶ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης εἶναι τὸ ἱστορικὸν τοῦτο σημείωμα, ὅπερ περιελήφθη εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419[12].

15) Περίληψις ἀποφάσεως τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Ὀκτωβρίου 408 (ΡΠ 3, 557–558), ὅπως «πρεσβεία» ἀπαρτιζομένη ἐκ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ρεστιτούτου καὶ Φλωρεντίου (μεταβῇ πρὸς τὸν αὐτο-

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1. «Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ δευτέρου κλίματος» μεταφράζεται τὸ λατινικόν: «in basilica regionis secundae», ὅπερ ἀλλαχοῦ μετεφράσθη: «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σεκούνδης». Πρόκειται περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλικῆς εἰς ἣν ἐπὶ Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου συνεκλήθησαν τοὐλάχιστον ἓξ σύνοδοι.

2. ΡΠ 3, 534.

3. ΡΠ 3, 534.

4. Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς δύσεως Ὀνώριος ἐξέδωκε τὴν 12ην Φεβρουαρίου 405 διάταγμα (τεθὲν εἰς ἐφαρμογὴν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ τὴν 26ην Ἰουνίου 405), δι' οὗ ἐπέβαλλε τὴν ἕνωσιν τῶν δονατιστῶν μετὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 38 (ἴδε, ἐπίσης: Codex Theodosianus 16, 6, 3 -5 καὶ Codex Theodosianus 16, 11, 2). Πρβλ. κανόνας Καρθαγένης: 94 καὶ 99.

5. ΡΠ 3, 534.

6. ΡΠ 3, 534 - 535.

7. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 23ης Αὐγούστου 405, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 164. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 156. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 378 - 379. DHGE 1, 789 καὶ 1, 815-818. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVI - XXVII.

8. Ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ ἀντὶ «εἰδοῖς Ἰουνίαις» (= 13 Ἰουνίου), «εἰδοῖς Ἰουλίαις» (= 15 Ἰουλίου), κατὰ συντριπτικὴν ὅμως πλειοψηφίαν τὰ χειρόγραφα παραδίδουν «εἰδοῖς Ἰουνίαις», σχεδὸν δὲ ἅπαντες οἱ ἱστορικοὶ ὡς χρονολογίαν συγκλήσεως τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ ταύτης συνόδου ἀποδέχονται τὴν 13ην Ἰουνίου 407.

9. Τὸ σχόλιον τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος Ζωναρᾶ καὶ Βαλσαμῶνος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ τίθεται μετὰ τὸ ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα τῆς συνόδου τῆς 13ης Ἰουνίου 407 (ΡΠ 3, 535), δέον ὅπως τεθῇ πρὸ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ τούτου σημειώματος καὶ ἐν συνεχείᾳ τοῦ 94ου κανόνος, εἰς ὃν καὶ ἀναφέρεται.

10. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Ἰουνίου 407, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 164 - 165. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 156 - 158. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 380 - 381. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVII.

11. Ἡ λατινικὴ αὕτη περίληψις δημοσιεύεται καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ (3, 558), ἐν ὑποσημειώσει.

12. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 16ης Ἰουνίου 408, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 165. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 158 - 159. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 381. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVII.

κράτορα Ὀνώριον) καὶ ζητήσῃ τὴν λῆψιν καὶ αὐθις μέτρων «κατὰ τῶν ἑλλήνων» καὶ «τῶν αἱρετικῶν» (δονατιστῶν), λόγῳ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἅτινα διεπράχθησαν «ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ» ὑπὸ τῶν δονατιστῶν. Ἐν τῷ λατινικῷ κειμένῳ, πρὸ τῆς ἀποφάσεως ταύτης, ὑπάρχει καὶ ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς συνόδου, ὅπερ παρελείφθη ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ μεταφράσει: «Basso et Philippo viris clarissimis consulibus, III idus octobris, Carthagine, in secretario basilicae restitutae»[1] («ἐπὶ Βάσσου καὶ Φιλίππου, τῶν λαμπροτάτων ὑπάτων, τρίτῳ εἰδοῖς Ὀκτωβρίαις, ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, εἰς τὸ σήκρητον τῆς ρεστιτούτης ἐκκλησίας»)[2].

16) Ὁ κανὼν 107 (ΡΠ 3, 558). Ὁ κανὼν οὗτος ἀποτελεῖται ἐκ τριῶν μερῶν: α) ἐκ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 15ης Ἰουνίου 409, συγκληθείσης «ἐν τῇ σεκούνδης ἐκκλησίᾳ»[3], β) ἐκ τῆς ἀποφάσεως τῆς συνόδου (κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δικονομίας), καὶ γ) ἐκ τοῦ σημειώματος, πιθανῶς τοῦ γραφέως, ὅτι «τὰ πεπραγμένα τῆς παρούσης συνόδου διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιχωρίως καὶ οὐ κατὰ κοινοῦ ἐπετελέσθη», ἐξ οὗ συνάγεται ὅτι ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη ἦτο ἐπαρχιακή, καὶ οὐχὶ γενικὴ σύνοδος τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας[4].

17) Ὁ κανὼν 108 (ΡΠ 3, 559) ἢ ἄλλως: ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 14ης Ἰουνίου 410[5], τῆς συνελθούσης «εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κλίματος σεκούνδης», δεδομένου ὅτι τὸ ἱστορικὸν τοῦτο σημείωμα δὲν θεωρεῖται κανὼν καὶ δὲν ἀριθμεῖται κεχωρισμένως ἐν τῇ PL, ἐν τῷ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρογράφῳ τῆς Πάτμου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκδόσεσιν ἐκείναις αἵτινες ἀκολουθοῦν τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ. Ἐν τῷ σημειώματι ἀναφέρεται ὅτι «ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ νόμος ἐδόθη, ἵνα ἐλευθέρᾳ προαιρέσει ἕκαστος τῆς χριστιανότητος τὴν ἄσκησιν ἀναδέξηται»[6] καὶ ὅτι κατηρτίσθη συνοδικῶς τετραμελὴς ἐξ ἐπισκόπων «τοποτηρησία» ἵνα μεταβῇ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ὀνώριον καὶ ζητήσῃ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τῶν δονατιστῶν ἐκ τοῦ «νόμου» τούτου, δι' οὗ ἐχορηγεῖτο θρησκευτικὴ ἐλευθερία[7].

18) Οἱ κανόνες 109–127 (ΡΠ 3, 560–593). Ἐκ τῶν κανόνων τούτων ὁ πρῶτος (109ος), ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ, ἀποτελεῖται ἐκ δύο μερῶν: Τὸ πρῶτον μέρος (109α) εἶναι ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 1ης Μαΐου 418, συγκληθείσης «ἐν τῷ σηκρήτῳ τῆς Φαύστου ἐκκλησίας», τὸ δὲ δεύτερον (109β) ὁ κανὼν «ὅτι Ἀδὰμ θνητὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἐγένετο». Τὰ δύο ταῦτα μέρη ἐν τῇ PL, ἐν τῷ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρογράφῳ τῆς Πάτμου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκδόσεσιν ἐκείναις, αἵτινες ἀκολουθοῦν τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ, ἀριθμοῦνται κεχωρισμένως, ἤτοι ὡς κανόνες 108 καὶ 109. Εἰς τὴν σύνοδον ἔλαβον μέρος ἄνω τῶν διακοσίων ἐπίσκοποι[8], ἐξ ὅλων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν τῆς «διοικήσεως» τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μαυριτανίας Τιγγιτανῆς, ἥτις ἀπετέλει τμῆμα τῆς «διοικήσεως» τῆς Ἱσπανίας. Τὰ πρακτικά, καὶ ἰδίως αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῆς συνόδου ταύτης, διεσώθησαν κατὰ τὸ μέγα αὐτῶν μέρος, περιληφθέντα εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ–κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, συνίστανται δὲ ταῦτα: α) ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος 109α (ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 1ης Μαΐου 418), καὶ β) ἐκ τῶν κανόνων 109β–127 (αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῆς συνόδου), οἵτινες ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἀπαρτίζουν τοὺς 19 κανόνας (ἀντιστοίχως κανόνες 1–19), οὓς ἐθέσπισεν ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ σύνοδος τῆς 1ης Μαΐου 418 καὶ οἵτινες διεσώθησαν διὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν–κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419. Ἡ σύνοδος, πρῶτον, ὥρισεν ὀκτὼ[9] κανόνας, δι' ὧν προέ-

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1. Τὸ λατινικὸν τοῦτο ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα δημοσιεύεται καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ (3, 558), ἐν ὑποσημειώσει.

2. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Ὀκτωβρίου 408, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 165. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 158 - 159. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 381 - 382. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVII - XXVIII.

3. Ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ ἡ γραφή: «ἐν τῇ Σεκούνδου ἐκκλησίᾳ», ἥτις ὅμως δὲν ἀνταποκρίνεται εἰς τὸ νόημα τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου: «in basilica regionis secundae».

4. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 15ης Ἰουνίου 409, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 165 - 166. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 159. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVIII.

5. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 14ης Ἰουνίου 410, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 166. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 159. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 382 - 389. DHGE 1, 815 - 818. DTC 4 : 2, 1714 - 1715. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXVIII.

6. Αἱ βιαιοπραγίαι αἵτινες διεπράχθησαν κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 408 ὑπὸ τῶν δονατιστῶν εἰς βάρος τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ δὴ ἡ σφαγὴ τριῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτῆς (ΡΠ 3, 558), καὶ ἡ ἀποστολὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ «τοποτηρησίας» τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 13ης Ὀκτωβρίου 408 πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ὀνώριον πρὸς λῆψιν καὶ αὐθις μέτρων κατὰ τῶν δονατιστῶν, εἶχεν ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα ὅπως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ὀνώριος δώσῃ ἐντολὴν ἤδη τὴν 15ην Ἰανουαρίου 409 διὰ τὴν ἐφαρμογὴν κατὰ τῶν δονατιστῶν τῶν σχετικῶν νόμων καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς τῶν προβλεπομένων ποινῶν (Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 46). Ἐν τούτοις φαίνεται ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτος 409 ἐξεδόθη ἕτερον αὐτοκρατορικὸν διάταγμα, δι' οὗ ἐχορηγεῖτο θρησκευτικὴ ἐλευθερία, «ἵνα ἐλευθέρᾳ προαιρέσει ἕκαστος τῆς χριστιανότητος τὴν ἄσκησιν ἀναδέξηται». Τὸ διάταγμα τοῦτο δὲν διεσώθη, καθίσταται ὅμως γνωστόν: α) ἐκ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 14ης Ἰουνίου 410, ὅπερ περιελήφθη ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, καὶ β) ἐμμέσως ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ διατάγματος τῆς 25ης Αὐγούστου 410 (Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 51), δι' οὗ κατηργεῖτο ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ ἐν λόγῳ διατάγματος: «oraculo penitus remoto» (ἴδε, ἐπίσης, *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 260 - 261).

7. Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ὀνώριος ἀνεκάλεσε τὸ ἐν λόγῳ αὐτοκρατορικὸν διάταγμα τὴν 25ην Αὐγούστου 410 (Codex Theodosianus 16, 5, 51).

8. 205 ἐπίσκοποι: (*Mansi* 4, 377), 225 ἐπίσκοποι: (*Φωτίου*, Βιβλιοθήκη 53 = PG 103, 92). Δυτικοὶ ἱστορικοὶ σημειοῦν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν 224 ἐπισκόπων, ὡς ἀναφερόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Φωτίου (*Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 191, ὑποσημ. 1. DTC 1 : 2, 2281), ἡ ἐν προκειμένῳ ὅμως διαφορὰ προέρχεται ἐκ τῆς λατινικῆς μεταφράσεως τῆς σχετικῆς περικοπῆς τῆς «Βιβλιοθήκης», ἔνθα ἀναφέρεται ὁ ἀριθμὸς 224, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ 225 τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ κειμένου (PG 103, 91 καὶ PL 45, 1730).

9. Ὑφίστανται, ἐπίσης, χειρόγραφα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐκτὸς τῶν ὀκτὼ τούτων κανόνων, τῶν ὁρισθέντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 1ης Μαΐου 418, περιλαμβάνουν ἕνα εἰσέτι κανόνα, τὸν ὁποῖον τοποθετοῦν τρίτον εἰς τὴν σειρὰν τῶν κανό-

βη εἰς τὴν καταδίκην τῶν κακοδοξιῶν τῆς αἱρέσεως τοῦ πελαγιανισμοῦ[1] (κανόνες 109β–116)[2], δεύτερον, ἐθέσπισε πέντε κανόνας, δι' ὧν ἐρρυθμίζοντο ζητήματα ἔχοντα σχέσιν μὲ τοὺς donatistὰς (κανόνες 117–119 καὶ 123–124), καὶ τρίτον, διετύπωσεν ἑτέρους ἓξ κανόνας, οἵτινες ἀναφέρονται εἰς θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας (κανόνες 120–122 καὶ 125–127)[3].

*Μέρος τρίτον:* Συνεδρία 30ῆς Μαΐου 419 (ΡΠ 3, 594–607).

1) Εἰσαγωγικὸν σημείωμα συνεδρίας 30ῆς Μαΐου 419 (ΡΠ 3, 594–595).

2) Οἱ κανόνες 128–133 (ΡΠ 3, 595–605). Οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι, θεσπισθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ ἔτους 419, ἀναφέρονται εἰς θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δικονομίας.

3) Ἡ ὁμιλία τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου ἐπὶ τῇ λήξει τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς συνόδου (ΡΠ 3, 605).

4) Αἱ ὑπογραφαὶ (τῶν) μελῶν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου (25–30 Μαΐου) τοῦ 419 (ΡΠ 3, 605–607).

*Μέρος τέταρτον:* Παράρτημα (ΡΠ 3, 608–621).

1) Ἐπιστολὴ ἀποσταλεῖσα «ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ συνόδου πρὸς Βονιφάτιον, τὸν τῆς ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ Φαυστίνου ἐπισκόπου, Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀσέλλου πρεσβυτέρων τῶν τοποτηρητῶν τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας» (ΡΠ 3, 608–613). Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐγράφη τὴν 31ην Μαΐου 419. Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου (πρώτη φάσις) καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῆς συνόδου τῆς Καρθαγένης τοῦ 419.

2) Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας Κυρίλλου, δι' ἧς ἀπαντητικῶς ἀποστέλλει «τὰ πιστότατα ἴσα τὰ τῆς αὐθεντικῆς συνόδου τῆς ἐν τῇ Νικαέων πόλει τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐχόμενα» (ΡΠ 3, 615–616). Τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Κύριλλον καὶ τὴν ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἀπάντησιν τούτου ἐκόμισεν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰννοκέντιος, ὅστις ἀναφέρεται καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.

3) Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττικοῦ, δι' ἧς ἀπαντητικῶς ἀποστέλλει «ἐν ὁλοκλήρῳ» τοὺς κανόνας «καθὼς ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν Πατέρων ὡρίσθησαν» (ΡΠ 3, 616). Τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττικὸν καὶ τὴν ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἀπάντησιν τούτου ἐκόμισεν ὁ ὑποδιάκονος Μάρκελλος, ὅστις ἀναφέρεται καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ.

4) Σημείωμα (ΡΠ 3, 617) ὅτι αἱ ὡς ἄνω «ἐπιστολαὶ (τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας Κυρίλλου) μετὰ (τῶν ἀποφάσεων) τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου, διὰ τοῦ μνημονευθέντος Ἰννοκεντίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Μαρκέλλου ὑποδιακόνου τῆς ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἐκκλησίας, τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ Βονιφατίῳ, ἐπισκόπῳ τῆς ρωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῇ πρὸ ἓξ καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων (=26 Νοεμβρίου 419) ἀπεστάλησαν»[4]. Διὰ τῆς ἀποστολῆς εἰς Ρώμην τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττικοῦ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας Κυρίλλου μετὰ τῶν αὐθεντικῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν κανόνων καὶ ἀποφάσεων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, ἐξ ὧν σαφῶς ἐφαίνετο ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οἱ προβαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ρώμης δὲν ἐθεσπίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰρημένης οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου, ἔληξεν ἡ πρώτη φάσις τοῦ ζητήματος τοῦ ἀνακύψαντος ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου.

5) Ἐπιστολὴ «τῆς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ συνόδου πρὸς Καιλεστῖνον τὸν πάπαν, τῆς ρωμαίων πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον» (ΡΠ 3, 618–621). Ἡ ἐπιστολὴ αὕτη ἀνήκει εἰς ἑτέραν σύνοδον, συγκληθεῖσαν ἐπίσης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ, κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 424 ἢ 425–426, περιελήφθη ὅμως εἰς τὸ τελευταῖον μέρος (παράρτημα) τῶν πρακτικῶν–κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, διότι κατ' οὐσίαν ἀποτελεῖ τὴν κατακλεῖδα ὄχι μόνον τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἀπιαρίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὁριστικὴν ἀπάντησιν τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὰς περὶ ἐκκλήτου ἀξιώσεις τῶν ἐπισκόπων Ρώμης καὶ εἰς τὴν τάσιν καὶ διάθεσιν αὐτῶν ὅπως ἀναμειγνύωνται εἰς τὰς ἐσωτερικὰς ὑποθέσεις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ λατινικῇ Βορείῳ Ἀφρικῇ[5].

νων «κατὰ τῆς αἱρέσεως Πελαγίου καὶ Κελεστίου» (ΡΠ 3, 560). Διὰ τοῦ κανόνος τούτου ἀναθεματίζονται οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι ὑφίσταται «μέσος τόπος κολάσεως καὶ παραδείσου» διὰ τὰ βρέφη, τὰ ἀποθνήσκοντα ἀβάπτιστα. Ἐξ ἄλλου, ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως *Φώτιος*, ἐν τῇ «Βιβλιοθήκῃ» αὐτοῦ (κῶδιξ 53 = PG 103, 92 - 93), καταγράφει βιβλίον τιτλοφορούμενον «ἡ κατὰ Πελαγίου καὶ Κελεστίου σύνοδος», εἰς ὃ περιελαμβάνοντο ἐννέα κανόνες τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου: «Αὕτη ἡ σύνοδος τοὺς θνητὸν πλασθῆναι τὸν Ἀδὰμ λέγοντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκ παραβάσεως τοῦτον καταδικασθῆναι ἀναθεματίζει (κανὼν 109β). Ὡσαύτως τοὺς τὰ βρέφη τὰ ἀρτίτοκα μὴ χρείαν ἔχειν βαπτίσματος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἕλκειν αὐτὰ προγονικὴν ἁμαρτίαν τὴν ἐξ Ἀδὰμ ἀναθεματίζει (κανὼν 110). Καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας μέσον τόπον κολάσεως καὶ παραδείσου, εἰς ὃν καὶ τὰ ἀβάπτιστα βρέφη μετατιθέμενα ζῆν μακαρίως, καὶ τούτους οὖν ἀναθεματίζει (ὁ τρίτος κανών, ὅστις δὲν περιελήφθη ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ). Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα ἓξ ἀναθεματίζει παραπλήσια τούτοις κεφάλαια, ἃ τοῖς Πελαγιανισταῖς καὶ Κελεστινιανοῖς πρεσβεύεται (κανόνες 111 - 116)». Πάντως, ὁ (τρίτος) κανὼν οὗτος, ὅστις δὲν περιελήφθη ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ καί, κατὰ συνέπειαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑλληνικῇ μεταφράσει τῶν κανόνων τῆς Καρθαγένης, δὲν συγκαταλέγεται εἰς τοὺς κανόνας «τῶν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ» (καὶ κατ' ἐπέκτασιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς κανόνας τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας), οὓς ἀνεγνώρισεν ἐπισήμως καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε διὰ τοῦ 2ου αὐτῆς κανόνος ἡ Πενθέκτη Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος.

1. ΘΗΕ 10, 257 - 258.

2. Ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Hispana οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι φέρονται ἐπ' ὀνόματι συνόδου ἐν Μιλέβῃ, συγκληθείσης κατὰ Σεπτέμβριον τοῦ 416 (PL 84, 229 - 231. Concilia Africae, σελ. 361 - 364).

3. Περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 1ης Μαΐου 410, ἴδε: *Friedrich Maassen*, μν. ἔργον, σελ. 169 - 173. *Hefele - Leclercq*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 2ος, σελ. 190 - 195. *Paul Monceaux*, μν. ἔργον, τόμος 4ος, σελ. 386 - 387. DHGE 1, 797 καὶ 1, 819-822. *E. Amann*, Milève (conciles de), ἐν DTC 10 : 2, 1752-1758. Concilia Africae, σελ. XXXI - XXXIII.

4. ΡΠ 3, 615.

5. Τὰ πέντε ταῦτα ἔγγραφα, ἅτινα δίκην παραρτήματος δημοσιεύονται μετὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν - κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ (PL 67, 181 - 230) καὶ ἐν τισιν ἐκδόσεσιν ἀριθμοῦνται ὡς κανόνες, φέροντας ἀριθμοὺς 134 - 138.

**στ) Συμφωνία τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ Συνόδου τοῦ 419 (κατὰ τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῆς ἐκδόσεως ΡΠ) μετὰ τῶν κανόνων προγενεστέρων συνόδων τῆς ἀφρικανικῆς ἐκκλησίας.**

Κανὼν 1ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 419 (συνεδρία 25 Μαΐου).
Κανὼν 2ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[1].
Κανὼν 3ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[2].
Κανὼν 4ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[2].
Κανὼν 5ος: 10ος καὶ 13ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 348 (ἐπὶ Γράτου)[3].
Κανὼν 6ος: 3ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[4].
Κανὼν 7ος: 4ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[5].
Κανὼν 8ος: 6ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[6].
Κανὼν 9ος: 7ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[7].
Κανὼν 10ος: 8ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[8].
Κανὼν 11ος: 8ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[8].
Κανὼν 12ος: 10ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[9].
Κανὼν 13ος: 12ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 390 (ἐπὶ Γενεθλίου)[10].
Κανὼν 14ος: 5ος καὶ 8ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[11].
Κανὼν 15ος: 9ος, 10ος καὶ 11ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[12].
Κανὼν 16ος: 15ος, 18ος, 22ος καὶ 1ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[13].
Κανὼν 17ος: 4ος, ἐκ τῶν πέντε κανόνων, τῶν προτασσομένων τοῦ κυρίως «βρεβίου» κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἱππῶνι συνόδου τοῦ 393[14].
Κανὼν 18ος: 2ος, 4ος καὶ 5ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[15].
Κανὼν 19ος: 6ος καὶ 7ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[16].
Κανὼν 20ός: 8ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[17].
Κανὼν 21ος: 12ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[18].
Κανὼν 22ος: 14ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[19].
Κανὼν 23ος: 27ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[20].
Κανὼν 24ος: 36ος (α) συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[21].
Κανὼν 25ος: 5ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401[22]=70ὸς Καρθαγένης 419.
Κανὼν 26ος: 6ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401[23].
Κανὼν 27ος: 7ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401[24].
Κανὼν 28ος: 17ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418=125ος Καρθαγένης 419.
Κανόνες 29ος–33ος: Προφανῶς καὶ οἱ κανόνες 29–33 προέρχονται ἐκ κανόνων προγενεστέρων ἀφρικανικῶν συνόδων, μὴ διασωθέντων ἄλλοθεν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰκάζεται ἐκ τῆς καταχωρισθείσης ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 σημειώσεως, ὅτι «τὰ ἐν ταῖς συνόδοις τῆς Ἀφρικῆς νομοθετηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσι πεπραγμένοις ἐντεθειμένα γινώσκονται»[25] καὶ ἐκ τῆς δηλώσεως τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Καρθαγένης Αὐρηλίου ὅτι οἱ «ἑπόμενοι» κανόνες, ἤτοι οἱ κανόνες 2–33, οἱ «ὁρισθέντες» (ὑπὸ προγενεστέρων συνόδων) δέον ὅπως «φυλαχθῶσιν» ὡς ἔχουν, θεωρούμενοι καὶ «βεβαιούμενοι» ἅπαξ ἔτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419[26].
Κανὼν 34ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 35ος: 13ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[27].
Κανὼν 36ος: 17ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[28].
Κανὼν 37ος: 23ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[29].
Κανὼν 38ος: 24ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[30].
Κανὼν 39ος: 25ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[31].
Κανὼν 40ός: 26ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[32].
Κανὼν 41ος: 28ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[33].
Κανὼν 42ος: 29ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[34].
Κανὼν 43ος: 30ὸς συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[35].

1. *Mansi* 3, 691 - 692. Concilia Africae, σελ. 12.
2. *Mansi* 3, 692 - 693. Concilia Africae, σελ. 13.
3. *Mansi* 3, 148 - 149. Concilia Africae, σελ. 8-9.
4. *Mansi* 3, 693. Concilia Africae, σελ. 13 - 14.
5. *Mansi* 3, 693. Concilia Africae, σελ. 14.
6. *Mansi* 3, 694. Concilia Africae, σελ. 14 - 15.
7. *Mansi* 3, 694. Concilia Africae, σελ. 15.
8. *Mansi* 3, 694 - 695. Concilia Africae, σελ. 16.
9. *Mansi* 3, 695 - 696. Concilia Africae, σελ. 17.
10. *Mansi* 3, 696. Concilia Africae, σελ. 18.
11. PL 56, 422 - 423. Concilia Africae, σελ. 34 - 36.
12. PL 56, 424. Concilia Africae, σελ. 36 - 37.
13. PL 56, 420, 425 - 426. Concilia Africae, σελ. 33, 38 - 39.
14. PL 56, 420. Concilia Africae, σελ. 32.
15. PL 56, 421 - 422. Concilia Africae, σελ. 33 - 34.
16. PL 56, 422 - 423. Concilia Africae, σελ. 34 - 35.
17. PL 56, 423. Concilia Africae, σελ. 35 - 36.
18. PL 56, 424. Concilia Africae, σελ. 37.
19. PL 56, 425. Concilia Africae, σελ. 37.
20. PL 56, 426. Concilia Africae, σελ. 41.
21. PL 56, 428-429. Concilia Africae, σελ. 43.
22. 3ος τῆς concilium Carthaginense quintum, ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Hispana=PG 84, 209. Concilia Africae, σελ. 356.
23. 4ος τῆς concilium Carthaginense quintum, ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Hispana = PG 84, 209. Concilia Africae, σελ. 356.
24. 11ος τῆς concilium Carthaginense quintum, ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Hispana = PG 84, 210 - 211. Concilia Africae, σελ. 358.
25. ΡΠ 3, 297.
26. ΡΠ 3, 297 - 298.
27. PL 56, 425. Concilia Africae, σελ. 37.
28. PL 56, 425. Concilia Africae, σελ. 38.
29. PL 56, 426. Concilia Africae, σελ. 39 - 40.
30. PL 56, 426. Concilia Africae, σελ. 40.
31. PL 56, 426. Concilia Africae, σελ. 40.
32. PL 56, 426. Concilia Africae, σελ. 40.
33. PL 56, 427. Concilia Africae, σελ. 41.
34. PL 56, 427. Concilia Africae, σελ. 41.
35. PL 56, 427. Concilia Africae, σελ. 41 - 42.

Κανὼν 44ος: 31ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[1].
Κανὼν 45ος: 32ος καὶ 33ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[2].
Κανὼν 46ος: 36ος (β) συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[3].
Κανὼν 47ος (α): 37ος συνόδου Ἱππῶνος 393[4].
Κανὼν 47ος (β): 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 48ος: 3ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 49ος: 4ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 50ός: 5ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 51ος: 6ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 52ος: 7ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 53ος: 8ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 54ος: 9ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 55ος: 10ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 56ος: 11ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 28ης Αὐγούστου 397.
Κανὼν 57ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 58ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 59ος: 3ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 60ός: 4ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 61ος: 5ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 62ος: 6ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 63ος: 7ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 64ος: 8ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 65ος: 9ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 401.
Κανὼν 66ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 67ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 68ος: 3ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 69ος: 4ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 70ός: 5ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401[5]=25ος Καρθαγένης 419.
Κανὼν 71ος: 8ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 72ος: 9ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 73ος: 10ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 74ος: 11ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 75ος: 12ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 76ος: 13ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 77ος: 14ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 78ος: 15ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 79ος: 16ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 80ός: 17ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 81ος: 18ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 82ος: 19ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 83ος: 20ὸς συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 84ος: 21ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 85ος: 22ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Σεπτεμβρίου 401.
Κανὼν 86ος: 1ος συνόδου Μιλέβης 27ης Αὐγούστου 402.
Κανὼν 87ος: 2ος συνόδου Μιλέβης 27ης Αὐγούστου 402.
Κανὼν 88ος: 3ος συνόδου Μιλέβης 27ης Αὐγούστου 402.
Κανὼν 89ος: 4ος συνόδου Μιλέβης 27ης Αὐγούστου 402.
Κανὼν 90ός: 5ος συνόδου Μιλέβης 27ης Αὐγούστου 402.
Κανὼν 91ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 25ης Αὐγούστου 403.
Κανὼν 92ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 25ης Αὐγούστου 403.
Κανὼν 93ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 16ης Ἰουνίου 404.
Κανὼν 94ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 23ης Αὐγούστου 405.
Κανὼν 95ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 96ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 97ος: 3ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 98ος: 4ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 99ος: 5ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 100ός: 6ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.

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1. PL 56, 427 - 428. Concilia Africae, σελ. 42.
2. PL 56, 428. Concilia Africae, σελ. 42.
3. PL 56, 429. Concilia Africae, σελ. 43.
4. PL 56, 430 - 431. Concilia Africae, σελ. 43 - 44.
5. 3ος τῆς concilium Carthaginense quintum, ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ συλλογῇ Hispana = PG 84, 209. Concilia Africae, σελ. 356.

Κανὼν 101ος: 7ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 102ος: 8ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 103ος: 9ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 104ος: 10ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 105ος: 11ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 106ος: 12ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 13ης Ἰουνίου 407.
Κανὼν 107ος: 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 15ης Ἰουνίου 409.
Κανὼν 108ος: Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 14ης Ἰουνίου 410[1].
Κανὼν 109ος (α): Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τῆς 1ης Μαΐου 418[2].
Κανὼν 109ος (β): 1ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 110ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 111ος: 3ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 112ος: 4ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 113ος: 5ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 114ος: 6ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 115ος: 7ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 116ος: 8ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 117ος: 9ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 118ος: 10ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 119ος: 11ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 120ός: 12ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 121ος: 13ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 122ος: 14ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 123ος: 15ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 124ος: 16ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 125ος: 17ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418=28ος Καρθαγένης 419.
Κανὼν 126ος: 18ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 127ος: 19ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 1ης Μαΐου 418.
Κανὼν 128ος: 2ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 419 (συνεδρία 30 Μαΐου).
Κανὼν 129ος: 3ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 419 (συνεδρία 30 Μαΐου).
Κανὼν 130ός: 4ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 419 (συνεδρία 30 Μαΐου).
Κανὼν 131ος: 5ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 419 (συνεδρία 30 Μαΐου).
Κανὼν 132ος: 6ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 419 (συνεδρία 30 Μαΐου).
Κανὼν 133ος: 7ος συνόδου Καρθαγένης 419 (συνεδρία 30 Μαΐου).

**ζ) Ἡ περίπτωσις τοῦ Πηδαλίου.**

Οἱ συγγραφεῖς τοῦ Πηδαλίου ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἐγκατέλειψαν τὸ ἄχρι τότε ἐν χρήσει κείμενον τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου καὶ προέβησαν εἰς νέαν διατύπωσιν τῶν ἐπ' ὀνόματι ταύτης φερομένων 133 κανόνων. Συγκεκριμένως: α) παρέλειψαν τὰ πρακτικὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα τὰ περιλαμβανόμενα εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ-κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, β) παρέλειψαν ὡρισμένους κανόνας αὐτῶν, γ) προέβησαν εἰς τὴν συνένωσιν ὡρισμένων κανόνων καὶ εἰς τὴν κατάτμησιν ἑτέρων, δ) ἐσχημάτισαν νέους κανόνας, ε) προέβησαν εἰς ἀνασύνταξιν τοῦ κειμένου τῶν κανόνων καὶ εἰς νέαν διατύπωσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ στ) ἐχρησιμοποίησαν νέαν ἀρίθμησιν τῶν κανόνων.

Οἱ συγγραφεῖς τοῦ Πηδαλίου ὑποσημειοῦν σχετικῶς: «Δίδομεν εἴδησιν εἰς τοὺς φιλολόγους καὶ ἀναγνώστας τῶν κανόνων τούτων, ὅτι ἐπειδὴ αὐτοί, ὄχι μόνον διάφοροι εὑρίσκονται κατὰ τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐξηγηταῖς τῶν κανόνων 137 ἀριθμοῦνται, παρὰ Δοσιθέῳ 138, παρά τισι τῶν λατίνων 148 καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις ἄλλως), ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνωμένοι μὲν εὑρίσκονται οἱ κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα διηρημένοι, διηρημένοι δὲ οἱ κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἡνωμένοι. Εἰς πολλότατα δὲ μέρη καὶ οἱ τίτλοι καὶ ἐπιγραφαί, ἢ αἱ περιλήψεις αὐτῶν, ἀντὶ κυρίων κανόνων καὶ ἀριθμοῦνται καὶ ἐξηγοῦνται ἕως καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ζωναρᾶν, Βαλσαμῶνα, Ἀριστηνὸν[3] καὶ Ἀνώνυμον[4]. Καὶ εἶναι νὰ θαυμάσῃ τινὰς πῶς οἱ εὐλογημένοι αὐτοὶ ἐξηγηταὶ ἐλανθάσθησαν τόσον, καὶ δὲν ἔκαμαν καμμίαν περιέργειαν καὶ διάκρισιν ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοὺς κυρίως κανόνας τοὺς ἐπιγραφομένους καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς αὐτῶν. Οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεγαλύτερον εἶναι, ὅτι οἱ κανόνες οὗτοι δὲν ἦσαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κανόνες καὶ

1. Τὸ ἱστορικὸν τοῦτο σημείωμα δὲν ἀριθμεῖται ἐν τῇ PL, ἐν τῷ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρογράφῳ τῆς Πάτμου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκδόσεσιν ἐκείναις αἵτινες ἀκολουθοῦν τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ.

2. Τὸ ἱστορικὸν τοῦτο σημείωμα ἐν τῇ PL, ἐν τῷ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 χειρογράφῳ τῆς Πάτμου καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκδόσεσιν ἐκείναις αἵτινες ἀκολουθοῦν τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ ἀριθμεῖται ὡς κανὼν 108.

3. Πρόκειται περὶ τῆς «ἐπιτομῆς» ἢ «συνόψεως» τῶν κανόνων.

4. Πρόκειται περὶ τοῦ Ἀριστηνοῦ, ὅστις συνέγραψεν ἑρμηνείαν εἰς τὴν «ἐπιτομὴν» τῶν κανόνων.

ὅροι κατὰ τὸ ὄνομά των, ἀλλὰ εἰς πολλότατα μέρη ἦσαν διαλέξεις μόνον καὶ διαλαλιαὶ τῶν πατέρων μετὰ ἐρωτήσεων καὶ ἀποκρίσεων, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, πράξεις καὶ πρακτικά, καὶ ἐν τῷ γίγνεσθαι κανόνες, οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ γεγενῆσθαι. Ὅθεν διὰ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπεμελήθημεν, ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν μας, καὶ μὲ πολλὴν περιέργειαν ἐκτενίσαμεν τοὺς κανόνας τούτους, τοὺς φύσει διῃρημένους διαιρέσαντες, καὶ τοὺς φύσει ἡνωμένους ἑνώσαντες, τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς ἀποβαλόντες, καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις καὶ ἐρωταποκρίσεις εἰς ὅρους καὶ κανόνας ἀνακεφαλαιώσαντες, καὶ ἵνα συντόμως εἴπω, ἤδη κανόνας τῳόντι αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσαμεν, ὄντας προτοῦ, πρακτικά. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἂς μὴ μᾶς κατηγορήσῃ τινὰς διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἂς μᾶς εὐχαριστήσῃ διὰ τὸν κόπον: α) μὲν διατὶ τοῦτο ἐποιήσαμεν ἀκολουθήσαντες εἰς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐκείνων, ὁποῦ τοιουτοτρόπως ἀνεκεφαλαίωσαν καὶ ὅρους καὶ κανόνας ἐποίησαν τὸν 29ον καὶ 30ὸν τῆς Δ' Συνόδου κανόνας, ὄντας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πράξεις καὶ ἐρωταποκρίσεις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ὁποῦ ἀνεκεφαλαίωσαν εἰς κανόνας τὰς ἐρωταποκρίσεις τῆς Σαρδικῆς, καὶ β) ὅτι τοῦτο οὐχὶ ἰδίᾳ γνώμῃ ἐποιήσαμεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐρωτήσεως καὶ βουλῆς τῶν σοφωτέρων καὶ διακριτικωτέρων ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς»[1].

Ὅσον καὶ ἐὰν ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραφέων τοῦ Πηδαλίου γενομένη ἀνασύνταξις τοῦ κειμένου τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 καὶ ἡ νέα ἀρίθμησις αὐτῶν δικαιολογοῦνται κατὰ πολὺ νομοτεχνικῶς, τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἄλλωστε πειρῶνται ὅπως καταστήσουν σαφὲς οἱ συντάκται τοῦ Πηδαλίου, ἐν τούτοις ἡ πρᾶξις αὐτῶν αὕτη δὲν παύει νὰ εἶναι «αὐθαίρετος»[2], ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ἐδημιούργησε (καὶ δημιουργεῖ ἔτι) ἀσάφειαν ἐν τῇ κατανοήσει ὡρισμένων ἐκ τῶν κανόνων τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου καὶ σύγχυσιν ἐν τῇ ἀριθμήσει αὐτῶν[3]. Ἀργότερον οἱ ἐκδόται τοῦ «Συντάγματος τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων» Ράλλης καὶ Ποτλῆς, ἀποκαταστήσαντες τὸ κείμενον τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ ἀρχικὴν αὐτοῦ μορφήν, παρατηροῦν ἐν προκειμένῳ τὰ ἀκόλουθα: «Οἱ ἐκδόται τοῦ Πηδαλίου, συντομίας βεβαίως χάριν, ἀφῄρεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν κανόνων τούτων πᾶν ὅ,τι δὲν ἀποτελεῖ τὴν κυρίαν αὐτῶν διάταξιν· ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἡ συντομία αὕτη παραβλάπτει οὐκ ὀλίγον τὴν σαφήνειαν τοῦ κειμένου, στεροῦσα τὸν ἀναγνώστην τῶν αἰτιολογιῶν τῆς διατάξεως. Ταύταις ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν δέον ν' ἀποκαταστήσωμεν, ἀκολουθήσαντες πιστῶς τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου Φωτίου καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν αὐτοῦ παραδεδεγμένον σύστημα»[4].

1. Πηδάλιον, Ἀθῆναι 1957[6], σελ. 463, ὑποσημ. 4.
2. *Νικοδήμου Μίλας*, Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Δίκαιον, Ἀθῆναι 1906, σελ. 133.
3. Σημειωτέον ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἐν τῷ Πηδαλίῳ, ἐν τοῖς «προλεγομένοις» τῆς «ἐν Καρθαγένῃ Τοπικῆς Ἁγίας Συνόδου» (σελ. 462 - 463) περιλαμβάνονται, ἰδίᾳ ὡς πρὸς τὸν χρόνον συγκλήσεως καὶ τὴν διάρκειαν τῶν ἐργασιῶν τῆς ἐν λόγῳ συνόδου, βασικὰ σφάλματα καὶ οὐσιώδεις ἱστορικαὶ ἀνακρίβειαι.
4. ΡΠ 3 (1853), σελ. ε'.

Τέλος, δέον ὅπως σημειωθῇ ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πέντε ἐγγράφων, ἅτινα συνήθως ἐκδίδονται, δίκην παραρτήματος, μετὰ τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ εἰρημένης συνόδου, οἱ συντάκται τοῦ Πηδαλίου περιέλαβον μόνον δύο: α) τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῆς συνόδου ταύτης πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Βονιφάτιον καὶ β) τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῆς συνόδου τοῦ 424 πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ρώμης Καιλεστῖνον.

### η) Ἡ ἀρίθμησις τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419.

Ἐν τῇ ἀριθμήσει τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 εἰς τὰς διαφόρους κανονικὰς συλλογὰς (χειρογράφους καὶ ἐντύπους), ἐπικρατεῖ, ὁμολογουμένως, ἀσυμφωνία τις. Μάλιστα, ἡ ἀσυμφωνία αὕτη κατέστη, προκειμένου περὶ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ κειμένου, μεγαλυτέρα, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ ἐκδόται τοῦ Πηδαλίου (1800) προέβησαν αὐτοβούλως εἰς νέαν κατάτμησιν, διατύπωσιν καὶ ἀρίθμησιν τῶν κανόνων τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου. Ἐν τῷ κατωτέρω δημοσιευομένῳ πίνακι γίνεται σύγκρισις τῆς ἀριθμήσεως τῶν κανόνων τούτων, ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῆς PL (τὸ λατινικὸν κείμενον, ὡς περιελήφθη τοῦτο ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ ἐν τῇ κανονικῇ αὐτοῦ συλλογῇ), δύο πολυτίμων ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων (Πάτμου 172 καὶ Τραπεζοῦντος τοῦ 1311) καὶ τῶν κυριωτέρων ἐν χρήσει ἐκδόσεων τῶν κανόνων τῆς εἰρημένης ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου. Τὸ συμπέρασμα ὅπερ ἐξάγεται ἐκ τῆς συγκριτικῆς ταύτης ἐργασίας εἶναι ὅτι ἡ ἀρίθμησις τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει PL 67 ἀποτελεῖ τὴν βασικὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419. Μὲ τὴν ἀρίθμησιν ταύτην συμφωνεῖ πλήρως καὶ ἡ ἀρίθμησις (ἑλληνικοῦ κειμένου) τοῦ χειρογράφου τῆς Πάτμου (καὶ ἡ ἀρίθμησις τῶν ἐκδόσεων Mansi καὶ Μήλια). Ἐν τῇ ἀριθμήσει τοῦ χειρογράφου τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ τῶν ἐκδόσεων ΡΠ καὶ Ἰωάννου (καὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων ὑπὸ Ἀμίλκα Ἀλιβιζάτου, ἥτις, ἄλλωστε, ἀποτελεῖ ἀνατύπωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐκδόσεως ΡΠ), ἐν συγκρίσει πρὸς τὴν βασικὴν ταύτην ἀρίθμησιν τῆς PL (λατινικὸν κείμενον) καὶ τοῦ χειρογράφου τῆς Πάτμου (ἑλληνικὸν κείμενον), παρατηρεῖται διαφορά τις μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀριθμήσει τῶν κανόνων 108–109. Αἱ ἄλλαι ἀριθμήσεις, τῆς PG (=Συνοδικὸν Βευερηγίου) καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῦ Πηδαλίου, δέον ὅπως ἐγκαταλειφθοῦν, διότι ἀμφότεραι προκαλοῦν σύγχυσιν, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ ἡ ἀρίθμησις τοῦ Πηδαλίου, ἣν οἱ συντάκται τοῦ Πηδαλίου εἰσήγαγον, ὡς γνωστόν, «τῇ οἰκείᾳ μᾶλλον κρίσει ἢ τοῖς χειρογράφοις ἑπόμενοι» (ΡΠ 3, 298, ἐν τῇ ὑποσημειώσει), παραμένει ἱστορικῶς ἀνέρειστος. Αἱ παραπομπαὶ αἱ σημειούμεναι ἐν τῷ κατωτέρω συγκριτικῷ πίνακι παρατίθενται εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ παρόντος κεφαλαίου.

| PL[1] | Πάτμου[2] | Τραπεζοῦντος[3] | ΡΠ[4] | Ἰωάννου[5] | PG[6] | Πηδάλιον[7] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | [8] |
| 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 14 -17 |
| 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 18 - 22 |
| 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 | 23 |
| 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18-21[9] | 24 - 26 |
| 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 22 | 27 |
| 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 23 | 28 |
| 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 21 | 24 | 29 |
| 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 25 | 30 |
| 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 26 | 31 |
| 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 27 | 32 |
| 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 | 28 | 33 |
| 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 26 | 29 | 34 |
| 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 30 | 35 |
| 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 31 | 36 |
| 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 32 | 37 |
| 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 33 | 38 |
| 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 31 | 34 | 39 |
| 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 32 | 35 | 40 |
| 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 33 | 36 | 41 |
| 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 34 | 37 | [10] |
| 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 | 38 | 42 |

| PL | Πάτμου | Τραπεζοῦντος | ΡΠ | Ἰωάννου | PG | Πηδάλιον |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 39 | 43 |
| 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 37 | 40 | 44 |
| 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 41 | 45 |
| 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 39 | 42 | 46 |
| 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 43 | 47 |
| 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 41 | 44 | 48 |
| 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 45 | 49 |
| 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 | 46 | 50 |
| 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 44 | 47 | 51 |
| 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 48-49 | 52 - 53 |
| 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 50 | 54 |
| 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 47 | 51 | 55 - 56 |
| 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 52 | 57 |
| 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 53 | 58 |
| 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 54 | 59 |
| 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 51 | 55 | 60 |
| 52 | 52 | 52 | 52 | 52 | 56 | 61 |
| 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 53 | 57 | 62 |
| 54 | 54 | 54 | 54 | 54 | 58 | 63 |
| 55 | 55 | 55 | 55 | 55 | 59 | 64 |
| 56 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 60 | 65 |
| 57 | 57 | 57 | 57 | 57 | 61 | 66 |
| 58 | 58 | 58 | 58 | 58 | 62 | 67 |
| 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 62[11] | 68 |
| 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 63 | 69 |
| 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 64 | 70 |
| 62 | 62 | 62 | 62 | 62 | 65 | 71 |
| 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 63 | 66 | 72 |
| 64 | 64 | 64 | 64 | 64 | 67 | 73 |
| 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 65 | 68 | 74 |
| 66 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 69 | 75 |
| 67 | 67 | 67 | 67 | 67 | 70 | 76 |
| 68 | 68 | 68 | 68 | 68 | 71 | 77 |
| 69 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 69 | 72 | 78 |
| 70 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 70 | 73 | [12] |

| PL | Πάτμου | Τραπεζοῦντος | ΡΠ | Ἰωάννου | PG | Πηδάλιον |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 71 | 71 | 71 | 71 | 71 | 74 | 79 |
| 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 75 | 80 |
| 73 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 76 | 81 |
| 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 74 | 77 | 82 |
| 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 78 | 83 |
| 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 76 | 79 | 84 |
| 77 | 77 | 77 | 77 | 77 | 80 | 85 |
| 78 | 78 | 78 | 78 | 78 | 81 | 86 |
| 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 79 | 82 | 87 |
| 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 83 | 88 |
| 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 81 | 84 | 89 |
| 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 82 | 85 | 90 |
| 83 | 83 | 83 | 83 | 83 | 86 | 91 |
| 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 84 | 87 | 92 |
| 85 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 88 | 93 |
| Ἱστορικὸν σημείωμα περὶ τῆς ἐν Μιλέβῃ συνόδου: 27 Αὐγούστου 402 | | | | | | 94[13] |
| 86 | 86 | 86 | 86 | 86 | 89 | 95 |
| 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 87 | 90 | 96 |
| 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 88 | 91 | [14] |
| 89 | 89 | 89 | 89 | 89 | 92 | 97 |
| 90 | 90 | 90 | 90 | 90 | 93 | 98 |
| 91 | 91 | 91 | 91 | 91 | 94 | 99 |
| 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 95 | [15] |
| 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 93 | 96 | 100-102 |
| 94 | 94 | 94 | 94 | 94 | 97 | 103 |
| 95 | 95 | 95 | 95 | 95 | 98 | 104 |
| 96 | 96 | 96 | 96 | 96 | 99 | 105-106 |
| 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 | 100-101 | 107-108 |
| 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 102 | 109 |
| 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 103 | 110 |
| 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 104 | 111 |
| 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 101 | 104[11] | 112 |
| 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 102 | 105 | 113 |
| 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 103 | 106 | 114 |
| 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 104 | 107 | 115 |
| 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 105 | 108 | 116 |
| 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 106 | 109 | 117 |
| 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 107 | 110[16] | 118 |
| [17] | [17] | 108 | 108 | 108 | 111 | 119 |
| 108 | 108 | [18] | 109 | 109 | 112 | [19] |
| 109 | 109 | 109 | | | | 120 |
| 110 | 110 | 110 | 110 | 110 | 112[11] | 121 |
| 111 | 111 | 111 | 111 | 111 | 113 | 122 |
| 112 | 112 | 112 | 112 | 112 | | 123 |
| 113 | 113 | 113 | 113 | 113 | 114 | 124 |
| 114 | 114 | 114 | 114 | 114 | 115 | 125 |
| 115 | 115 | 115 | 115 | 115 | 116 | 126 |
| 116 | 116 | 116 | 116 | 116 | 117 | 127 |
| 117 | 117 | 117 | 117 | 117 | 118 | 128 |
| 118 | 118 | 118 | 118 | 118 | 119 | |
| 119 | 119 | 119 | 119 | 119 | 120 | 129 |
| 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 121 | 130 |
| 121 | 121 | 121 | 121 | 121 | 122 | 131 |
| 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 122 | 123 | |
| 123 | 123 | 123 | 123 | 123 | 124 | 132 |
| 124 | 124 | 124 | 124 | 124 | 125 | 133 |
| 125 | 125 | 125 | 125 | 125 | 126 | 134 |
| 126 | 126 | 126 | 126 | 126 | 127 | 135 |
| 127 | 127 | 127 | 127 | 127 | 128 | 136 |
| 128 | 128 | 128 | 128 | 128 | 129 | 137 |
| 129 | 129 | 129 | 129 | 129 | 130 | 138 |
| 130 | 130 | 130 | 130 | 130 | 131 | 139 |
| 131 | 131 | 131 | 131 | 131 | 132 | 140 |
| 132 | 132 | 132 | 132 | 132 | 133 | 141 |
| 133 | 133 | 133 | 133 | 133 | 134 | |

1. PL 67 (1848) 181 - 230.

2. Χειρόγραφον ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 172 τῆς Πατμιακῆς Βιβλιοθήκης «γραφὲν πιθανώτατα περὶ τὴν θ' ἀρχομένην ἑκατονταετηρίδα ἐν καλλίστῃ περγαμηνῇ ἐν τετάρτου μεγάλου σχήματι» (*Ἰωάννου Σακκελίωνος*, Πατμιακὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀθῆναι 1890, σελ. 92 - 94). Τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτο θεωρεῖται ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ κειμένου (πρώτης ἐκδόσεως) τοῦ Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ' τίτλους, καὶ δι' ἄλλους λόγους, κυρίως δὲ ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος

**θ) Ἐκδόσεις (εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν) τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419.**

Τὰ πρακτικὰ-κανόνες τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἐδημοσιεύθησαν τὸ ἔτος 1614 ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοφόρου Ἰουστέλλου (Christophorus Justellus), ἐν Παρισίοις, εἰς δύο γλώσσας, τὸ λατινικὸν πρωτότυπον καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴν μετάφρασιν, ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον: codex canonum ecclesiae africanae graece et latina cum notis, εἰς τέταρτον. Τὸ αὐτὸ σύγγραμμα ἐκυκλοφόρησε καὶ τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος (1615), ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκδότου, μετὰ μόνης τῆς διαφορᾶς ὅτι «ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐκδόσει προσετέθησαν δύο πίνακες»[1].

Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 δημοσιεύεται ἐπίσης:

Βευερηγίου, Συνοδικόν, τόμος 1ος, Ὀξφόρδη 1672, σελ. 509–678 (=PG 138 (1865) 9–450. Εἰς ἀμφότερα μετὰ τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνειῶν τοῦ Βαλσαμῶνος καὶ Ζωναρᾶ). –Mansi 3 (1759) 699–842 (μετὰ τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου). – Σπυρίδωνος Μήλια, Ἀρχιμανδρίτου, Τῶν ἱερῶν συνόδων νέα καὶ δαψιλεστάτη συλλογή, τόμος 1ος, Βενετία 1761, σελ. 291–323[2] (ἀνατύπωσις: Θεσσαλονίκη 1981, σελ. 382–414). – Ἁγαπίου Λεονάρδου, ἱερομονάχου, Συλλογὴ πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θείων κανόνων, Βενετία 1787, σελ. 118–243. – Σύνταγμα Ράλλη καὶ Ποτλῆ, 3 (1853) 286–624 (μετὰ ἑρμηνειῶν τοῦ Ζωναρᾶ καὶ Βαλσαμῶνος, τῆς «ἐπιτομῆς» καὶ ἑρμηνείας τοῦ Ἀριστηνοῦ εἰς τὴν «ἐπιτομήν»). – Ἀμίλκα Ἀλιβιζάτου, Οἱ ἱεροὶ κανόνες, Ἀθῆναι 1949[2], σελ. 225–302. –Périclès–Pierre Joannou, Discipline générale antique, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, Ρώμη 1962, σελ. 190–436 (μετὰ τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου καὶ γαλλικῆς μεταφράσεως)[3].

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ὅτι ἡ Πενθέκτη Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος ἐπιτάσσεται ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κανόνων τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων, τοῦθ' ὅπερ σημαίνει ὅτι ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ τούτῳ παραδίδεται ἡ πρώτη ἔκδοσις τοῦ Συντάγματος εἰς ΙΔ΄ τίτλους, ὑφ' ἣν δηλαδὴ σύνταξιν καὶ σύνθεσιν εὑρίσκετο ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῇ χρήσει πρὸ τῆς συγκλήσεως τῆς ἐν Τρούλλῳ Πενθέκτης Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου (691) καὶ ὅτι οἱ κανόνες τῆς εἰρημένης Πενθέκτης Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου προσετέθησαν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων εἰς τὸ ἀρχικὸν χειρόγραφον.

3. Χειρόγραφον ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 1372, τοῦ ἔτους 1779, ἐν τῇ Ἐθνικῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ Ἀθηνῶν, ὅπερ ἐλήφθη μεγάλως ὑπ' ὄψιν ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει ΡΠ. Τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦτο ἀποτελεῖ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ περιφήμου κώδικος τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος, τοῦ ἔτους 1311, ὅστις ἀπόκειται σήμερον ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνακτόρων τοῦ Τόπκαπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ φέρει αὐξ. ἀρ. 115.

4. ΡΠ 3 (1853) 286 - 624.

5. *Périclès - Pierre Joannou*, Discipline générale antique, τόμος 1ος, μέρος 2ον, Ρώμη 1962, σελ. 190 - 436.

6. PG 138 (1865) 9 – 450 (=Συνοδικὸν Βευερηγίου, τόμος 1ος, Ὀξφόρδη 1672, σελ. 509 - 678).

7. Πηδάλιον, Ἀθῆναι 1957[6], σελ. 462 - 542. Τὸ Πηδάλιον, ἐκτὸς τῆς ἀριθμήσεως ἥτις σημειοῦται ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ στήλῃ τοῦ πίνακος, δίδει καὶ ἑτέραν «δι' ἀραβικῶν σημείων» ἀρίθμησιν, «κατὰ τοὺς ἑρμηνευτὰς Ζωναρᾶν καὶ Βαλσαμῶνα, ἵνα ὁ βουλόμενος εὐκόλως εὑρίσκῃ τοὺς κανόνας τούτους εἰς τὸ ἑλληνικόν» (σελ. 464, ὑποσημ. 1).

8. Ὁ 14ος κανὼν παραλείπεται ἐν Πηδαλίῳ. Μνεία τούτου γίνεται ἐν ταῖς ὑποσημειώσεσι (σελ. 470, ὑποσημ. 3).

9. Περιέργως, ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ τοῦ 18ου κανόνος ἐσχολιάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν Ζωναρᾶ καὶ Βαλσαμῶνος ὡς κεχωρισμένος κανών, φέρεται δὲ ἐν τάξει ἰδίου κανόνος καὶ ἐν τῷ Συνοδικῷ τοῦ Βευερηγίου (= PG). Πρβλ. Πηδάλιον, σελ. 475, ὑποσημ. 1, καὶ ΡΠ 3, 352 - 353. Παρεμπιπτόντως τίθεται ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐρώτημα: Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἢ οἱ τίτλοι τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἀποτελοῦν μέρος τοῦ κανόνος ἢ ὄχι; Ἡ ἀπάντησις εἶναι: ὄχι. Αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ προσετέθησαν ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων, δὲν ἀποκλείεται μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ, δεδομένου ὅτι αὗται ὑφίστανται μόνον ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ δευτέρᾳ ἐκδόσει τῆς κανονικῆς αὐτοῦ συλλογῆς, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ. Σημειωτέον ἐπίσης ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκδόσει τοῦ λατινικοῦ κειμένου τῶν κανόνων τούτων (PL 67) καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἐκδόσεσι τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ κειμένου, ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἑκάστου κανόνος τίθεται μετὰ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸ ταύτης.

10. Ὁ 34ος κανὼν παραλείπεται ἐν Πηδαλίῳ, μετὰ τῆς παρατηρήσεως ὅτι «ἄχρηστος πάντῃ ἐστὶ» (σελ. 485, ὑποσημ. 1).

11. Οἱ ἀριθμοὶ 62, 104 καὶ 112 ἐν τῇ PG, ἐκ τυπογραφικῆς ἀβλεψίας ἢ, μᾶλλον, ἐξ ἐπαναλήψεως παρορομάτων τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ τοῦ Βευερηγίου, ἐπαναλαμβάνονται δίς. Σημειωτέον ἐν τούτοις ὅτι ἐν τῷ Συνοδικῷ τοῦ Βευερηγίου οἱ δὶς ἐπαναλαμβανόμενοι ἀριθμοὶ εἶναι οἱ 63, 104 καὶ 112.

12. Ὁ 70ὸς κανὼν παραλείπεται ἐν Πηδαλίῳ, μετὰ τῆς παρατηρήσεως ὅτι τὸ περιεχόμενον τοῦ κανόνος «ἅπαξ καὶ δὶς ἀναφέρεται κατὰ τὸν γ΄ καὶ δ΄ κανόνα» καὶ ὅτι «εἰ, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, τὸ δὶς ἔψειν τὴν κράμβην περιττόν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον τὸ τρὶς ἔψειν αὐτήν» (σελ. 502, ὑποσημ. 2).

13. Ἐκ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος περὶ τῆς ἐν Μιλέβῃ συνόδου: 27 Αὐγούστου 402, ὅπερ περιλαμβάνεται εἰς τὰ πρακτικὰ - κανόνας τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, οἱ συντάκται τοῦ Πηδαλίου ἐσχημάτισαν ἴδιον κανόνα, ὃν καὶ ἠρίθμησαν.

14. Ὁ 88ος κανὼν παραλείπεται ἐν Πηδαλίῳ, μετὰ τῆς παρατηρήσεως ὅτι ὁ «κανὼν τόσον ἄχρηστος, ὁπόθ οὐδὲ ἑρμηνείας ἠξιώθη παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν» καὶ ὅτι, διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἐν τῷ Πηδαλίῳ δὲν «ἠξιώθη» «τάξεως καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κανόνος» (σελ. 511, ὑποσημ. 1).

15. Ὁ 92ος κανὼν παραλείπεται ἐν Πηδαλίῳ, μνεία ὅμως τοῦ περιεχομένου τοῦ κανόνος γίνεται ἐν τῇ ὑποσημειώσει 2, σελ. 511 - 512.

16. Ἐν τῇ PG ὁ κανὼν οὗτος ἀπαρτίζεται ἐκ τῶν ἱστορικῶν σημειωμάτων τῶν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδων: 16 Ἰουνίου 408 καὶ 13 Ὀκτωβρίου 408 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ 107ου κανόνος.

17. Πρόκειται περὶ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ σημειώματος τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου: 14 Ἰουνίου 410, ὅπερ δὲν ἀριθμεῖται ἐν PL, ἐν τῷ χειρογράφῳ τῆς Πάτμου, καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐκδόσεις αἵτινες ἀκολουθοῦν τὴν ἀρίθμησιν τῆς κανονικῆς συλλογῆς Διονυσίου τοῦ Μικροῦ.

18. Παραλείπεται ἐν τῷ κώδικι τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος.

19. Παραλείπεται ἐν Πηδαλίῳ.

1. *C. H. Turner*, The version called Prisca, ἐν The Journal of Theological Studies 30 (1929) 340, ὑποσημ. 1. Ἐπίσης ὁ *Charles Munier* ἀναφέρει (Vers une édition nouvelle des Conciles Africains, ἐν Revue des études augustiniennes 18 (1972) 252) ὅτι ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφρασις τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419 ἐδημοσιεύθη τὸ ἔτος 1540 ὑπὸ *Jean du Tillet*.

2. Περίεργος ἡ σημείωσις τοῦ ἀρχιμανδρίτου *Σπυρίδωνος Μήλια* ἐν τῷ περιθωρίῳ τῆς ἐκδόσεως ὅτι «τίθησι ταύτην τὴν βίβλον τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Ἀφρικῇ χάριν περιεργείας» (σελ. 291 = σελ. 382 τῆς ἀνατυπώσεως).

3. Ὡς εἰκός, δέον ὅπως σημειωθῇ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡ ἔκδοσις τῶν κανόνων τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ συνόδου τοῦ 419, ἐν τῷ Πηδαλίῳ (Λειψία 1800), ἀλλ' αὕτη, ὡς ἐσημειώθη ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ κεφαλαίῳ τῆς ἀνὰ χεῖρας μελέτης, κατ' οὐσίαν δὲν ἀποτελεῖ ἐπανέκδοσιν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς μεταφράσεως τῶν πρακτικῶν-κανόνων τῆς εἰρημένης συνόδου, ἀλλὰ νέαν διατύπωσιν αὐτῶν. Τὸ αὐτὸ ἰσχύει καὶ διὰ τὸ The Rudder, Σικάγον 1957, σελ. 601 - 712, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποτελεῖ ἀγγλικὴν μετάφρασιν τοῦ Πηδαλίου.

# DAS HISTORICHE WEGESYSTEM[1] VON DÄBRÄ TABOR UND GAYNT

Von

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Die seit 1948 verwaltungsmäßig getrennten Awradja Däbrä Tabor und Gaynt werden von einem uralten Heerweg durchzogen, der vom Ostufer des Tana-Sees nach Tschätschäho führt, hinüber nach Wadla zu dem Ort Däbrä Zäbit-noch heute die einzige Querspange zwischen den beiden Allwetter-Straßen, die von Asmara nach Addis Abeba führen via Gondar und via Dessie. (Sieht man von der viel weiter nördlich verlaufenden Verbindung Adua-Adigrat ab) Dieser Heerweg hat die Awradja Gaynt und Däbrä Tabor zu einer historischen Region zusammengeschlossen.

Die Gestaltung der Landschaft macht eine andere Wegführung unmöglich. Denn Tschätschäho bietet auf dem Niveau der Hochebene einen schmalen passierbaren Übergang von Gaynt nach Wollo zwischen den tiefeingeschnittenen Flußtälern des Bäschilo und Täkkäze.

Will man des historischen Wegesystems ansichtig werden, dann muß man die 1960 von der israelischen Firma Solleil Bohlet gebaute Allwetter-Straße Addis Zemen-Baher Dar von der Landkarte radieren. Sie hat neue Anschlußstellen an den alten Heerweg ermöglicht. Der alte Weg ist jedoch viermal straßentechnisch aufgebessert worden: Von Kaiser Tewodros, von den italienischen Okkupanten, von Gouverneur Atinafu Ayo und von der chinesischen Entwicklungshilfe.

Der erste Ansatz zum Straßenbau erfolgte unter dem Impuls der evangelischen Missionare von St. Chrischona, die Kaiser Tewodros in den sechziger Jahren des 19Jh. in Gofat hatte Gießereien anlegen lassen.

Die Missionare waren keine ausgebildeten Theologen, sondern Handwerksburschen, die durch ihren gottesfürchtigen Wandel christliche Impulse vermitteln sollten. Das verwirklichten sie auch durch Aufnahme äthiopischer Knaben als Lehrlinge. Nicht wenige von diesen vermittelten sie zur weiteren Ausbildung nach Basel-die ersten äthiopischen "Auslandsstudenten".

Der Straßenbau der Missionare war der Anfang des Straßenbaus in Äthiopien überhaupt. Die Missionare Waldmeier und Saalmüller verbesserten zunächst die Wegstrecke Gofat-Däbrä Tabor, dann die Straßen von Däbrä Tabor zur alten Kaiserstadt Gondar und über Tschätschäho zur Festung des Kaisers in Mägdäla. Dazu wurden auch Soldaten abkommandiert. Als die Soldaten gegen die befohlne Handarbeit revoltierten, stieg der Kaiser selbst vom Pferd, entledigte sich seiner kostbaren bestickten Gewandung und wälzte einen riesigen Stein zur Seite. "So", sagte er, "wer sich jetzt noch für zu vornehm für diese Arbeit dünkt, der möge sich bei mir melden!" Später wurden kriegsgefangene Galla, die in Wollo in des Kaisers Hand gefallen waren, zur Anlage einer Straße von Däbrä Tabor zur Grenze von Godjam am Blauen Nil eingesetzt. Sie wurden gut verproviantiert und regelmäßig besoldet. Im Januar 1867 wurde das Straßenbauprogramm erweitert, um eine Transportmöglichkeit für die Artillerie, die in den Gießereien der CMS-Missionare produziert war, zur Festung Mägdäla zu schaffen.

Die Italiener des Marschall Badoglio, die blitzartig nach dem Sieg bei Maitchew durch Wollo nach Addis Abeba vorgestoßen waren und am 9. Mai 1936 die Trikolore am Gebbi aufgezogen hatten, drangen auf dem alten Heerweg von Tschätschäho aus nach Däbrä Tabor vor und schufen sich längs der Heerstraße die Camps für ihre sechs Bataillone. Sie waren daran interessiert, Gondar an ihre Allwetter-Straße anzuschließen, die via Dessie die eriträische Hauptstadt mit Addis Abeba verbinden sollte. Ihre Trasse folgte von Tschätschäho nach Däbrä Tabor ungefähr dem alten Heerweg und führte dann durch die Rebniederung über Addis Zemen zur Stadt mit den Kaiserschlössern des 17. Jh. Camp Nefasmowtscha 15 km westlich von Tschätschäho wurde

1. *Richard Pankhurst,* Travellers in Ethiopia, Oxford 1965 nimmt in seine Auszüge nicht Reisestationen auf.

*J. L. Krapf,* Reisen in Ostafrika, ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837-1855, Neudruck, hrsg. H. Beck, Stuttgart 1964.

*Eduard Rüppell,* Reise in Abbessinien, Frankfurt I u. II, 1840.

bieten Beispiele von Reisebeschreibungon der Strecke Gondar-Quērata.

so gut ausgebaut, daß man später dort die Awradja-verwaltung von Gaynt mitsamt der Kirchenverwaltung des Beta Kahnet unterbringen konnte. Der Weg, mit groben Bruchsteinen bepflastert, konnte mit Vierradantrieb befahren werden. Mit zahlreichen Brücken überquerten die italienischen "Gineri", die bei ihren äthiopischen Arbeitern durchaus beliebt waren, die Bachläufe. Während Kaiser Haile Selassie nach der Rückeroberung die Straßenbauten der Italiener funktionsfähig erhielt, gab er der wegen ihrer Beteiligung an der Erhebung Ras Gugsas mit Mißtrauen betrachteten Bevölkerung von Däbrä Tabor den hintersinnigen Rat: Zerstört, was die italienischen Feinde geschaffen haben! So sprengte das Volk die italienischen Brücken. Die Region von Däbrä Tabor verlor damit ihre Verbindungswege und verfiel der Provinzialisierung. Daraus führte sie der tüchtige Gouverneur von Däbrä Tabor Fitaurari Atinafu Ayo 1970 wieder heraus, ein in Semada beheimateter und an der Entwicklung der Region interessierter Mann. Er legte selbst Hand an und verletzte sich dabei, als er eine neue kürzere Trasse von Däbrä Tabor zur mittlerweile vollendeten Allwetterroad der israelischen Firma–nur 14 km lang–nach Worretta Giyorgis anlegte.

Dieser Trasse folgte nun der vierte Straßenbau, den der chinesische Entwicklungsdienst seit 1973 unternahm. Alle nötigen Baumaschinen wurden aus China importiert. Für Tausende äthiopischer Arbeiter, denen mit der geheimen Absicht, die soziale Entwicklung anzustacheln, ein höherer Lohn als sonst üblich gezahlt wurde, richteten die Chinesen längs der Straße ihre Camps ein. Längs der Nordwestflanke des Gunnabergs legten die Chinesen die Trasse höher, damit bei Überquerung der zahlreichen vom Gunna herabkommenden Flüsse nicht allzu monumentale Brücken zu erbauen seien. Im Sommer 1979 war der chinesische Straßenbau schon bis nach Salidem Marktort, welcher dem berühmten Kloster Zuramba zugeordnet ist, gelangt, als beim Raubüberfall einer EPRP-Gruppe im Schußwechsel ein Chinese getötet wurde. Das hatte zur Folge, daß der chinesische Entwicklungsdienst seine Arbeit unterbrach. Ohnehin war man darüber verstimmt, daß, seit Sowjetrussen im revolutionären Äthiopien bestimmend geworden waren, bei allen äthiopischen Staatsakten despektierlich vom chinesischen Kommunismus gesprochen wurde.

Wenn die Chinesen-Straße durchgehend bis Waldya zu befahren sein wird, wird die landwirtschaftliche Überproduktion vom Uferstreifen des Tanasees in die Hungergebiete von Wollo rollen können. Insbesondere in Fogära ist Agrarentwicklung möglich. Schon haben deutsche evangelische Institutionen (Brot für die Welt, TaborSociety, Kindernothilfe) beiWorretta Giyorgis eine Lehrfarm der orthodoxen Däbrä Tabor Church School eingerichtet. Die Sowjetunion hat in der Nachbarschaft zur deutschen Aktion eine Großfarm von 3.000 m² angelegt, die nordkoreanische Entwicklungshilfe sich im Reisanbau versucht.

Die Stadt Däbrä Tabor, bisher eine lockere Tukul-Siedlung von etwa 20 000 Menschen, gewann durch die Chinesenstraße plötzlich eine günstige Verkehrslage, wurde von neuen Straßen durchzogen, blühte auf. Da die orthodoxe Kirchenschule 1979 die drei Kilometer, die sie von der Stadt trennte, mit einer Stromleitung (finanziert mit Geldern von "Brot für die Welt") überspannte, um Anschluß an das neue E-Werk der Stadt zu erlangen, nutzte die neue Bürgerschicht die Möglichkeit zum billigen Stromanschluß aus und legte zwischen Kirchenschule und Stadt ein völlig neues Stadtviertel an.

Der älteste Gasthof–von einem Griechen namens Petros vor einer Generation gegründet und noch im Besitz der Familie–profitiert von der fortschreitenden Urbanisierung von Däbrä Tabor.

Vom alten Heerweg zweigen seit Urzeiten benutzte Pisten ab, von den Einheimischen als Weg von einem Heiligtum zum andern beschrieben. Wer von Däbrä Tabor nach Kosch, der Woreda-Hauptstadt von Semada gelangen will, wandert von Azaur Kidanä Mihrät zur Dit chena Maryam-Kirche, von dort zur Sina Maryam-Kirche, weiter zur Gedeat Qirqos -Kirche. Gedeat bedeutet so viel wie "Massengrab". An diesem Ort haftet die Legende, dass hier einst zahlreiche Mönche hausten, die in Sünde gerieten und darum zugrunde gingen. Die Piste führt zwischen der Gat Giyorgis-Kirche und der Deskua Maryam-Kirche hindurch über einen Berg, Sintchero Gedeat genannt. Alsdann muß der Sintchero Gedel-Berg überstiegen werden, ein bedeutender Punkt, weil hier die Woreda Este und Semada aneinander grenzen. Das gesamte Gebiet trägt den Namen Tenafa. Über die Lidäta Simon-Kirche, Afqära Mädhane Aläm gelangt man schließlich nach Kosch.

Nicht fern von Kosch liegt das berühmte Kloster Däbrä Enqu, das einer der zwölf berühmten Lehrer von Däbrä Libanos gegründet hat, selbst ein Schüler des hl. Philpos. In jüngster Zeit lehrte in diesem Kloster Memhir Gettu (jetzt an der Lidäta-Kirche in Addis Abeba), Erzieher so bekannter Persönlichkeiten wie des Administrators des Patriarchats Abebaw Yigzaw.

Von Kosch aus kann man nach Amara Saint (Wollo) hinüberwechseln zur Tädebaba Maryam-Kirche, in der Kaiser Galawdewos- der Sieger über die Muslime, der auch die äthiopische Kirchentradition gegenüber der Mission der Jesuiten in dem Werk "Schatz des Glaubens" verteidigte-sein Grab fand.

Leistet schon die Abzweigung von Azaur nach Kosch die Funktion, den zentralen Ort Däbrä Tabor aus allen Himmelsrichtungen erreichbar zu machen, so kann man das gleiche von den beiden Wegverbindungen sagen, die von Däbrä Tabor nach Este, der südlichen Woredastadt–führen. Der eine dieser Wege läuft zuerst zum historischen Kirchort Därämo

am Ufer des Gumara-Flusses, der Tradition nach eine Gründung aus dem sechsten Jh., nachweisbar im 14. Jh., als König David die Kirche neu erbaute. Zu den Heilquellen von Därämo pilgern Genesung Suchende. Nicht nur die Menschen trinken vom Heilwasser, auch die Tiere. Die Straße berührt die beiden Däbr-Kirchen Q'anat Täklä Haymanot und Antara Mikael. Hier wird ein berühmtes Manuskript über die Märtyrer aufbewahrt, dessen Lesung am frühen Morgen den Hörern Heilung bringt. Nahe Este liegt die berühmte Kirchenschule Mekana Iyasus, die man eine Bischofswiege nennen könnte. Denn der berühmte Kirchengelehrte Gäbrä Giyorgis, ein Arat Ayna, d.h. "Vieräugiger", der die kirchlichen Disziplinen Liturgie, Dichtkunst, Hymnik und Schriftauslegung beherrschte, erzog die ersten Erzbischöfe von Gondar: abuna Mikael und abuna Endreyas. Die italienischen Okkupanten hatten das Kloster Mekana Iyasus-Nest des Widerstandes-niedergebrannt. Weiter führt der Weg zur Kirche Qomä Fasiladas, wo der Nil auf einer berühmten Brücke überquert werden kann, um in die Provinz Godjam zu gelangen. Den zweiten Weg nach Este wird man heute am einfachsten von der Allwetterstraße erreichen, die von Worretta Giyorgis nach Baher Dar führt. Früher war der Anschluß von Querata Wälläta Petros aus zu gewinnen. Die Route führt über Afära Wonat und die nahebei gelegene Galawdewos-Kirche, vom Kaiser als Zeichen des Sieges über die Muslime errichtet, die das Reich bedrohten. Man wandert alsdann über Schimä Maryam (Die ältere Maria) nach Este. Neugebaut von Araur aus eine Autostrasse.

Durch Kaiser Särsä Dengel (1563-1587) wurde das Gotteshaus und der dabei entstehende Markt von Mahedärä Maryam wichtig. Auf einem Feldzug starb dem Herrscher an diesem Ort seine Gattin Itege Maryam Sina. Zu ihrem Gedenken wurde die Kirche erbaut, die Kaiser Johannes IV. 300 Jahre später durch Maler Za-Yohannes ausmalen ließ. Szenen der Geburt Särsä Dengels und seines Weibes wurden in den Bilderzyklus aufgenommen. Als das Werk vollendet war, ließ der Kaiser dem Maler die Hände abschlagen, da er verhindern wollte, daß andere Kirchen in gleicher Schönheit ausgemalt würden. Als Verkehrsverbindung nach Mahedärä Maryam, die in der Periode der Yejju-Herrschaft noch wichtiger wurde, da der Kirchort Patrimonium der mächtigen Fürstin Mänän wurde, wurde ein Weg an der Südwestflanke des Tabor-Berges angelegt.

Blenden wir in die Geschichte zurück: Längs des historischen Heerweges von Tschätschäho zum Tanasee lokalisierten sich entscheidende Ereignisse. Da der Verkehr des aksumitischen Reiches nach Süden durch Wollo lief und kaum durch Semien und Woggera zum Tanasee gelangen konnte, ist anzunehmen, daß der Tanasee auf dem Heerweg von Tschätschäho aus im Marsch nach Westen erreicht und seine Inselwelt mit monastischen Vorposten besiedelt wurde. Auch nach Meinung von Conti Rossini ist Tana Qirqos die älteste Mönchssiedlung des Sees. Die Legende läßt die Gottesmutter mit dem Christuskinde, als sie nach Ägypten floh, bis hierher gelangt sein. Dass die orthodoxen Institutionen längs der Heerstraße nicht wie andernorts in der mündlichen Tradition auf die Könige Abreha und Asbeha zurückgeführt werden, sondern auf den heiligen Aragawi und den heiligen Yared, 200 jahre später, macht die Aragawi -und Yared- Tradition glaubhaft. Von Aragawi wird tradiert, er habe Zuramba Maryam gestiftet. "Zur aba, geh rundherum, Vater", habe ihm der Engel zugerufen. So habe der Heilige den Aufstieg auf den turmartigen Felsen gefunden. Als er vor dem letzten Steilanstieg das Kreuz schlug, habe sich der Fels kreuzartig gespalten und im geradeaus vor ihm klaffenden Spalt die Möglichkeit zur Kaminkletterei bis zum Gipfel geboten. Später wurde Zuramba die priviligierte Hochschule für Zemare Mawaset. Auch der heilige Yared soll Zuramba besucht haben. Er zog weiter zu Tana Qirqos und schrieb auf dieser Klosterinsel einen Teil des Deggua nieder. Noch zeigen die Mönche die Gerätschaften, mit denen Yared seine Tinte hergestellt haben soll.

Die Klöster auf den anderen Tana-Inseln datieren ihre Gründung erst auf die Zeit, da König Amda Sion das Reich nach Süden ausdehnte, und auf seinen Sohn Seifa Arad. (14. Jh.).

Als im 10. Jh. die widerchristliche Königin Judith von Damot aus gegen das christliche Aksum zog, scheint sie den Weg über die enge Passage zwischen den tiefabstürzenden Tälern des Bäschilo und Täkkäze bei Tschätschäho, die Ronald Crummey so lebendig beschrei bt[2], gewählt zu haben, das heißt, die Königin wählte den historischen Heerweg. Jedenfalls berichtet die Tradition von einer Königin, die bei Kemerdingay (=Stein-haufen) jeden ihrer Soldaten einen Stein auf einen Haufen werfen und nach der Schlacht einen jeden der Überlebenden einen Stein vom Haufen wegnehmen ließ. Durch Zählung der Reststeine konnte die Königin ihre Verluste abschätzen. Die örtliche Überlieferung gibt dieser Königin den Namen Dil Mogessa, Gattin eines orthodoxen Königs, die sich eindringenden Heiden entgegen geworfen haben soll. Doch finden sich Gelehrte, die, weil es bei Aksum eine gleiche Steinhaufen-Überlieferung gibt, die mit dem Eroberungszug der Judith in Verbindung gebracht ist, auch in der steinezählenden Königin von Kemerdingay die Judith sehen.

Als der letzte König der Lasta-Dynastie Yitbarek 1270 vor den eben durch die Mönche intronisierten Salomoniden floh, eilte er über Tschätschäho nach Gaynt und suchte in einer Kirche am Heerweg Asyl,

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1. Die Trandition sag., auch König Gäbrä Masqal, Kalebs Sohn, habe Zuramba aufgesucht.

2. *D, Crummey,* Cäcäho and the politics of the northern Wällo-Bägemder border, in: Journal of Ethiopian Studies XIII No 1 Januar 1975, 1-9.

nämlich in Enseta Qirqos. Hier wurde er von den Verfolgern ermordet. Hier zeigt man sein Grab.

Längs dieses Heeresweges zeichnen sich auch die Spuren des Zerstörungszuges des Emirs Mohammed Granj ab: In Zuramba unternahm er den Versuch, die Mönche vom Wasser abzuschneiden. In dem sechs Stunden davon entfernten Kloster Betalehem Täklä Haymanot verdeckten Wolken das Kloster vor dem Blik des Emirs. Tana Qirqos erreichte er mit Booten.

Die Stationen eines Weges werden von den Äthiopiern dieser Region als ein Marsch von einem Heiligtum zum anderen beschrieben. Dem entspricht, daß die Könige, die ihre Heere auf diesen Straßen marschieren ließen, den Weg durch Gründung von Heiligtümern markierten .Auf dem Heerweg von Tschätschäho zum Tana-Ufer ist es insbesondere König Seifa Arad, der, nachdem sein Vater Amda Sion die Tanainseln als vorgeschobene Posten der Orthodoxie besetzt hatte, hier auf dem Festlande die Gründung von Kirchen fortsetzte. Er gründete 30 km westlich von Zuramba die Däbr-Kirche von Azaur Kidanä Mihrät und weitere 14 km von Azaur die Däbr-Kirche Däbrä Tabor Iyasus, nicht fern davon Tägur Mikael. So liegen die Kirchen längs des Heerweges immer im Abstand eines Tagemarsches eines marschierenden Heeres auseinander.

Der Verbindungsweg vom Ostufer des Tanasees nach Wadla wurde zunehmend wichtiger, je mehr kirchliche und politische Zentren nahe dem Seeufer entstanden: Ein Nebura Ed, dem die kirchliche Jurisdiktion in einer weiten Region zustand, nahm Wohnung auf Tana Qirqos, Yafqerana Egzi siedelte auf den nackten Uferfelsen des Gugubi. Das Kloster Krestos Semra, der adligen Frau, die im Zorn einer Dienerin einen brennenden Holzscheit in den Rachen gestoßen hatte und über deren Tod so erschrocken war, daß sie Nonne wurde – größte Visionärin Äthiopiens – baute ihr Kloster in Nachbarschaft zu Tana Qirqos jenseits des Gumara Flusses – ein oft aufgesuchter Indulgentienort. Als sich nach dem Einfall des muslimischen Emirs von Harar Mohammed Granj entscheiden mußte, ob Äthiopien islamisiert oder christlich bleiben solle, stießen die Heere des Emirs und der aus Goa herbeigeeilten Portugiesen 1540/1541 auf dem historischen Heerweg beim Tanasee zusammen. Durch Wälätta Petros, die Heilige, die den Glaubendes heiligen Markus gegen die portugiesischen und spanischen Jesuitenväter, die am Hofe des Kaisers Susenyos erfolgreich waren, verteidigte, belebte sich das InselklosterRima Mädhane Aläm. Ihre Anhängerschaft siedelte am Ufer. Querata Wälätta Petros, Kloster und Stadtsiedlung, die hier entstanden, waren für zwei Jahrnunderte der zentrale Ort des Handels und der Kirchenwissenschaft am Ostufer. Schließlich hob die Gründung von Gondar als Kaiserliche Residenz 1635 die Wegverbindung von Gondar nach Querata in einen neuen Rang. Im Bergland, das sich ostwärts vom uferflachen Fogära erhob, schufen sich die Könige ihre Schlösser: Inferaz, Afära Wonat und Aringo.

Nach E. Rüppell verzweigen sich die Wege nach Däbrä Tabor und Quërata bei der Ba'ata-Kirche[1]. Der direkte Weg nach Querata führt am Seeufer entlang durch die Ebene von Fogära. Bei der Kirche von Ba'ata sammeln sich die Händler. Sie haben auf einer Furt, an der das Wasser 3 1/2 Fuß tief ist, den Reb zu durchwaten, ziehen an der Georgskirche, die später durch Ras Gugsa prächtig ausgemalt wurde, vorbei und durchschreiten den Gumara, der noch tiefer ist. Wer zur "Deldei-Brücke" gelangen will, zieht die Straße südwärts. Den seit der Gründung durch die Nonne Wällätta Petros blühenden Kirchen –und Marktort Quërata erreicht man in südwestlicher Richtung.

Einige königliche Heereszüge, die das historische Straßensysten benutzten, sind jetzt aufzuzählen: Susenyos gewann in Tschätschäho 1607 die Schlacht, die ihn zum Kaiser aufsteigen ließ. Fasi Iadas wählte Este zum Ausgangspunkt seiner Feldzüge und zog über Tschätschäho nach Lasta, um dort seine Herrschaft zu befestigen. Sein Sohn Yohannes I. startete 1672 vom Schloß Aringo (südwestlich Däbrä Tabor) nach Lasta.

Die Zuführung von Gondar bis zum Anschluß an den alten Heerweg wurde jetzt durch Brückenbauten passierbarer gemacht. 14 1/2 Stunden Wegs erstreckte sich die Distanz von Gondar bis zu dem berühmten Marktplatz bei der Baata-Kirche und der dortigen Weggabelung: Der eine Weg, der Querata Wälläta Petros am Tanaufer und die Abay-Brücke bei den Wasserfällen zum Übertritt nach Godjam zum Ziel hatte, lief am Tanaufer entlang. Der Weg über Däbrä Tabor nach Wadla bog in südöstlicher Richtung ab. Die Reisezeit von Gondar nach Däbrä Tabor betrug 4 Tage. 3 weitere Tage waren bis zur schmalen Gebirgsspur von Tschatschäho aufzuwenden.

Die Dynastie der Yejju, die an der Wende zum 19. Jh. von Wollo aus die Tabor-Region unterwarf und von hier aus das Kaisertum von Gondar den eigenen Wünschen gefügig machte, nicht anders Kaiser Tewodros, der sie ablöste, war gänzlich auf die Wegspur von Tschätchäho angewiesen. Diese Herrscher wollten ihren Rückhalt in Wollo nicht verlieren.

Die ethnisch den Amharen fremden und muslimischen Yejju-Galla brachen über Tschätschäho in die Tabor Region ein. Sie nahmen an den neuen Wohnsitzen den orthodoxen Glauben an und vermischten sich mit den ansässigen Amharen. Ihr Herrscher Kafai Gugsa, der im Jahre 1820 für 26 Jahre die Herrschaft übernahm, erneuerte die Iyasuskirche von Däbrä Tabor und gründete am Fuß des Kirchenhügels seine Residenz –ein Herrschaftszentrum ein Jahrhundert lang. Kafai Gugsa erneuerte auch die Inselkirchen von Tana Qirqos und Rima Mädhane

1. *E. Rüppell*, a.a.o. II 199-213.

Aläm. Der alte Heerweg war die Lebensader des Herrschaftssystems der Yejju, verband er doch ihre ehemaligen Stammgebiete mit ihrem neuen Herrschaftssitz. Dank der Wegverbindung war die Niederhaltung der Könige von Gondar ermöglicht. Dies änderte sich nicht, als 1855 Kaiser Tewodros die Yejju ablöste.

Als Kaiser Tewodros 1868 durch das aus Indien heranrückende Elefantenheer der Engländer unter Lord Napier in seiner Festung Mägdäla eingeschlossen und vernichtet war, zog des Tewodros' Feind Gobeze auf dem alten Heerweg in Richtung Däbrä Tabor und Gondar und ließ sich auf einer Wegstation (in Sali) zum Kaiser ausrufen. Menilek zog auf der gleichen Straße gegen die Mahdisten. Beim letzten Versuch eines Abkömmlings der YejjuGalla, des Ras Gugsa Wolie, der als Gatte der Menilek-Tochter Zauditu gute Aussichten auf den äthiopischen Thron besaß, sich gegen die Herrschaft Haile Selassie's aufzulehnen, zog das Heer des Fürsten auf diesem Weg nach Wollo. Letztes Ereignis, das es zu erwähnen gilt: Grazmatch Admass u Belay, Vizegouverneur von Däbrä Tabor, der 1974 die politischen Veränderungen nicht hinnehmen konnte, nächtens die Polizeistation von Däbrä Tabor überfiel und mit den erbeuteten Waffen auf den Gunnaberg abwanderte, führte seine Angriffe gegen die Regierungstruppen längs des Heerweges. Im Mai 1974 schlug er die Truppen bei Gazay.

Das historische Wegesystem von Däbrä Tabor bietet ein Exempel, wie geographische Vorgegebenheiten die Geschichte bestimmen.

Das gläubige Volk setzte Kirchen und Klöster als Wegmarken an seine un-entbehrlichen Verbindungswege.

# THE PSEUDO-ATHANASIAN WORKS *DE TRINITATE ET SPIRITU SANCTO* AND *DE INCARNATIONE ET CONTRA ARIANOS*:[1] A COMPARISON

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Montfaucon[2] seems to have been the first to notice a number of resemblances between DICA and DTSps –the latter being known to him as the 12th book of the De Trinitate attributed at that time to Vigilius of Thapsus and more recently to Eusebius of Vercelli[3]. On the assumption that DICA was an authentic work of Athanasius[4] he concluded that DTSpS was also by him and that the Latin version (which is all that we possess) must be a translation –though he offered no specific proof that it was from Greek, contenting himself with the assertion that this was manifestly the case[5].

Montfaucon was followed by Stülcken[6], and then by Shapland[7], who both similarly stated, without giving any detailed proof, that DTSps was certainly a translation from Greek. Stülcken however went considerably further than Montfaucon, in that he also argued that DICA had taken its material from DTSpS[8]. He supported this conclusion with arguments: a) where the two works have material in common, DTSpS handles it much more competently; and b) the structure of DICA shows two clear breaks between chs 8 and 9, and between chs 19 and 20, so that it falls into three distinct sections–of which the first and third are Christological, and the second is Trinitarian, and it is only in the second that similar material to that in DTSpS is to be found. These observations suggested that DICA is a conflation of material, in which the author has used DTSpS as a source for his large Trinitarian interpolation in the middle of the work[8]. These general conclusions were supported by Shapland; he also felt that DTSpS handled the material better than DICA, and that chs 9–19 of DICA were unlikely to form any part of the original text[9]. In this analysis there are thus three components:

a) DTSpS is a translation from Greek;

b) DICA is shown by its structure to be a conflation;

c) DTSpS is older than DICA as evidenced by its superior handling of its material.

These conclusions have however been rejected in whole or in part, by others. First of all T. Scher,

1. Hereafter referred to as DTSpS and DICA. The text of DICA is given in MGP 26, 983–1028; that of DTSpS in MPG 26, 1191–1218 and also as Eusebii Vercellensis De Trinitate Libellus XII. CCSL 9, ed V. Bulhart, Turnhoult, 1956, 165–205. Bulhart gives two recensions; we follow the first, giving the line numbering as printed, but also adding the MPG references for convenience.

2) In Librum De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto Monitum, MPG 26, 1189, also 1207 n 27; 1213 n 30.

3) Cf M.Simonetti, Studi sul De Trinitate Pseudoatanasiano. NuDid 3, 1949, 57–72; Bulhart, Praefatio. CCSL 9. xxx.

4) That neither DICA nor DTSpS is in fact by Athanasius may now be taken for granted. For the most important evidence against DICA cf K. Hoss, Studien über das Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius, Freiburg, 1899, 127; A. Stülcken, Athanasiana. TU 19, 4, 1899, 61–66; C.R.B. Shapland, The Letters of St Athanasius concerning the Holy Spirit, London, 1951, 14–16; and M. Tetz, Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra I. Eine markellische Schrift „De Incarnatione et contra Arianos". ZKG 75, 1964, 217–270. With the conclusive rejection of his authorship of DICA, the only ground for ascribing DTSpS to him – apart from a few resemblances of a fairly slight kind to the Letters to Serapion – is removed at the same time.

5) MPG 26, 1189: „...res est explorata et plana fuisse ex Graeco translatum."

6) Stülcken, Athanasiana, 75–76: „...zweifellos Übersetzung eines griechischen Originals, das dem 4. Jahrhundert angehört."

7) Shapland, The Letters of St Athanasius, 15: „...certainly from the Greek."

8) Athanasiana, 63–4; 76.

9) The Letters of St. Athanasius, 14–15 nn 9–10.

mann[10], and following him A. Wilmart[11] argued that DTSpS was indeed a Latin work, not a translation. More recently M. Simonetti[12], M. Tetz[13], L. Chavoutier[14] and G. Kretschmar[15] have also recorded their belief that DTSpS is a Latin writing. Of these six only Schermann produced any specific arguments to show that this is the case, although both Chavoutier and Kretschmar offer interpretations of elements in DTSpS on the assumption that it is Latin–indeed, relatively late Latin, dating from perhaps the mid fifth century– which could be taken as proofs of its Latin origin. Second, Weigl[16], Simonetti[17] and Tetz[18] have all rejected Stülcken's analysis of the structure of DICA and defended its coherence. None of these scholars except for Tetz has dealt with the third element in Stülcken's interpretation[19], namely the contrast in the handling of the common material in the two works. Nor does Tetz treat the matter very fully or compare all the common passages; his argument is rather that at one crucial point (to which we shall come below) the priority of DICA is apparent and that the whole general line of theological reflection in DICA is unified, coherent and supports his ascription of the work to Marcellus of Ancyra[19a]. The thesis I wish to propose here is that closer attention to the whole range of parallel texts tends rather to support the view of Stülcken, albeit with some modification. Before coming to that, however, the other two questions–is it plausible to regard DTSpS as a translation from a Greek original? and does the evidence indicate that DICA is a complilation from more than one source?–must also be considered.

### *Is DTSpS originally a Greek or a Latin Work?*

As we have said, Montfaucon, Stülcken and Shapland agreed that DTSPS was a translation of a Greek work, but without producting any decisive demonstration that this was in fact the case. There is, however, a considerable amount of evidence in their support. First of all DTSpS clearly reflects the concerns, the ideas and the theology which are common among Greek writers on the Trinity in the second half of the 4th century; the parallels we shall later be offering to DICA are a sufficient proof of that[19b]). Second, the Latin of the work is at many points of a kind which appears to betray an underlying Greek– and to betray also the inability of a translator to do better than reproduce Greek idions in a rather clumsy and awkward way[20]. Both these features accord

10) T. Schermann, Die griechischen Quellen des hl.Ambrosius. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhist. Seminar, München 10, 1902, 36–59, argues that DTSPS is the work of a Latin who used Greek sources. His arguments were however rejected by E. Stolz, Didymus, Ambrosius, Hieronymus. THQ 87, 1905, 372 n 4– with good reason, as we shall see.

11) A. Wilmart in Rev Bén 30, 1913, 271–2.

12) M. Simonetti, Sulla paternità del De Incarnatione Dei Verbi et contra Arianos. NuDid 5, 1953–5, 5–19. Simonetti refers (11) to Schermann as having proved „in maniera decisiva l'origine latina dell' operetta".

13) Tetz, Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra I, 229.

14) L. Chavoutier, Un libellus pseudo–Ambrosien sur le Saint-Ésprit. SE 11, 1960, 136–192 (cf esp 155–8; 177–9; 190).

15) G. Kretschmar, Neue Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Ostergottesdienstes II. Die Einführung des Sanctus in die lateinische Messliturgie. Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie 7, 1962, 79–86 (cf esp 79–80).

16) E. Weigl, Untersuchungen zur Christologie des hl. Athanasius. Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur–und Dogmengeschichte 12, 4, Paderborn, 1914, 150–8.

17) Simonetti, Sulla paternità del De Incarnatione, 9.

18) Zur Theologie des Markel von Ankyra I, 224–231.

19) Even Schermann, loc cit supra (n 10), though presenting some of the material which DICA and DTSpS have in common, did not draw conclusions from it about the order of writing, rather justifiyng his later dating of DTSpS on the assumption that it was a Latin work.

19a) It is not possible within the space of this paper to take up and discuss Tetz' arguments for ascribing DICA to Marcellus. If the interpretation I offer of the relationship between DTSpS and DICA is wellgrounded, it must put a serious question mark against Tetz' thesis, but on the basis of a different approach to the material and a different questioning of the evidence from his. – In the study in which I first engaged with this material, my Tübingen dissertation of 1972, Studies in the Trinitarian Writings of Didymus the Blind, the chapter on DICA and DTSpS substantially reproduced here was followed by one dealing directly with Tetz' ascription. Its main conclusion was that while there are undeniable echoes of Marcellus in DICA, Marcellus' authorship is not demonstrated by Tetz' arguments and must rather be regarded as improbable

19b) Resemblances, some of them very close, can also be traced to Didymus, De Spiritu Sancto, Ps. –Basil (?Didymus), Adversus Eunomium IV–V and ?Didymus, De Trinitate; these are laid out in detail in chs 4–6 of my Studies in the Trinitarian Writings of Didymus the Blind.

20) The general style of DTSpS is one which seems rather to reflect Greek than Latin ways of writing. Two features are– even on a casual reading – particularly striking: its use of present participles and its frequent particles and connectives. There are approximately 170 instances of present participles – which for a Latin writing which takes up only some thirty columns in Migne, is an unusually high proportion. Particularly common are a) the use of a present participle *(scribens, cantans, clamans* etc) combined with verbs of speaking or writing *(dicere, scribere,* etc) – some 20 instances; b) such expressions as *secundum Paulum dicentem* – some dozen instances; c) *dicens* combined with other verbs, and *dicentem* – over 40 instances of these. While this kind of use of present participles is of course to be found in geunuine Latin works of this period, the sheer number of these cases in DTSpS gives the entire work a Greek tone. The same can be said of the particles and connectives: to mention only the most common, there are almost 40 occurren ces of *enim;* over 40 of *vero* (and 16 of *quidem...vero);* almost-40 of *sicut(i);* almost 30 of *sic* and of *ergo;* in addition, *nam, itaque, igitur, ita, iterum, rursus/rursum* and *alioquin* all appear between 10 and 20 times. Here too, while these terms certainly belong to the structure of the Latin language. the total effect of so many instances is to make the entire work run and read like Greek rather than Latin.

In addition to these general stylistic features, DTSpS contains a good number of phrases and indeed whole sentences which are distinctly awkward, even in places incorrect as Latin, and thus hint at a possible Greek original. Only some of the more obvious of them need be mentioned here; these may serve as examples, though a full and detailed analysis of the work would certainly uncover more:

1097–8: ...in spiritu sancto, lumine et igne *existente;* along wtth 1224:...filius fons *existens* spiritus; and 1353–4: ...spiritus... *in propria vita et substantia existens* all use *existens* in the sense

well with the theory that DTSpS is a translation. They could perhaps however also be explained on Schermann's hypothesis that the author of DTSpS was a Latin who had borrowed heavily from Greek writings. Thus they are inadequate by themselves to prove that DTSpS as a whole was first written in Greek. On the other hand, the fact that the work survives only in Latin is equally no proof that it was first of all written in Latin. This was, however, Schermann's conclusion and we must ask what evidence he advanced to support it.

Throughout Schermann's discussion one finds repeated assertions that DTSpS is the work of a Latin author, but it is astonishing how little concrete justification for this is given. Vague generalisations to the effect that the author does not show the profound Greek spirit[21] or that he does not share the Greek love of precise formulations[22] -features which could be put down either to the fact that not all the Greeks necessarily corresponded to the picture Schermann had of them or to the possibility that a translator had not faithfully reproduced the original at all points -are scarcely enough to prove that DTSpS is not a Greek writing. But apart from these, Schermann presents only one concrete piece of evidence that the author was influenced by Latin rather than Greek theology.

The passage in question here is DTSpS 1194 B = CCSL 162 ff. According to Schermann[23], the author here refers to a previous work in which he has proved that Baptism is valid even when administered in the name of only one of the Trinity. In this he shares the opinion of Ambrose, who himself had misunderstood Athanasius and Basil; so DTSpS must itself be dependent on Ambrose, and therefore Latin. Schermann adds that the same thought recurs in DTSpS 1209 AB; 960 ff. But this does not square at all well with what DTSpS actually says. First of all 1194 B; 162 ff refers neither to Baptism nor to a previous work of the author's. It is part of a fairly long discussion in which the author is dealing with the heretical argument that in many places in Scripture the Father and Son are mentioned without the Spirit, and that therefore the Spirit is not divine as they are. To this he replies that there are other loci where the Father and Spirit are mentioned and yet the Son is not; the words to which Schermann refers are then used to state a general principle: *Licet enim singulariter sancti loquantur unius nominis mentione, id est patris vel filii vel spiritus sancti, in uno tamen nomine trinitatem se pronuntiare cognoscunt, quod novissime.* (i.e. in the immediately preceding argument) *probavimus.* (1194 B; 166–171) The point here is perfectly clear: even where Scripture on occasion mentions the name(s) of only one or two of the Trinity, the name(s) of the other(s) are to be taken as

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of ὑπάρχων ather than in its Latin meaning; while this use of *in propria vita et substantia* (also to be found at 1021–2; 1040–1; 1176; 1180–1; cf also *in substantia propria* at 485) seems at least likely to be a rendering of ἐν ἰδίᾳ ζωῇ καὶ ὑποστάσει.

382–3: ...ut sic mereatur *capere* per filium et patrem sanctificationem. *Capere* here is poor: one would rather expect *accipere* (which is indeed the reading given in the second recension). A Greek original, however, could well have used a simple λαβεῖν which could then have been reproduced with *capere*.

376–8: Pensate itaque statera mentis vestrae *concipientes*, ut vel sic considerare possitis, quod vos ipsi etiam inviti confitemini spiritus dignitatem. *Concipientes* here is (like the *capere* in the preceding example) poor. Bulhart suggests (ad loc) an emendation to *consipienter*, while the second recension has *conspicientes*. But we may suspect that in fact *concipientes* is the original reading, translating a Greek συλλάβοντες, while the structure of the whole sentence, with the awkward *ut vel sic* and the concluding *quod* clause seems to reflect Greek rather than Latin style.

914: In evangelio enim *cata* Iohannem. No comment!

37: *Non enim* Iohannes est qui dicit...? The sense here strictly demands *nonne*? but *non enim* could well be a faithful reproduction of οὐ γὰρ; which could have been used in this way in Greek.

221–2: ...*necesse est* iterum audire Paulum trinitatem praedicantem. The *necesse est* seems rather too emphatic, but would be explicable as a rendering of the much less emphatic δεῖ.

592–6: Si igitur hi, qui caelesti regeneratione generantur, ex spiritu sancto *generati* ex deo sunt *generati, cur non, si quid* magnum et divinum et trinitate dignum, de spiritu nos opinari oportet, *quantum ad* humanam possibilitatem est. The repeated *generati* is awkward (though not incorrect) and would run much better in Greek as γεννηθέντες...ἐγεννήθησαν *cur non. si quid* is even more awkward, but could reflect a Greek πῶς οὐκ εἴ τι (εἴ τι in the sense of „whatever" rather than of „if anything"); and the concluding *quantum... est* would seem to correspond to a phrase with ὡς ἐπί.

540–6: Et sicut per prophetas *est enim quando* pater et quando filius et quando spiritus sanctus loquitur, *sic* equidem pater per se ipsum *sic* de salvatore dicit ...filius vero... The text as it stands is exceedingly clumsy: the *enim* destroys the sense, while the double *sic* (each time in a different sense, or at least with a different nuance) is equally suspect. The second recension begins differently: et quemadmodum per prophetas est quidem. This avoids the *enim;* but that recension too contains the double *sic*. It is difficult to know how or whether the text of the first recension ought to be emended: it seems not altogether impossible that the words *est enim... loquitur* should be put in parentheses, and regarded as a reference back to the preceding proof in 520 ff that the Father, Son and Spirit all speak through the prophets. But we may well suspect that the infelicities here are to be put down to a not altogether successful attempt at translation from Greek – which suspicion is supported by the fact that *est...quando* corresponds to the common ἔστιν ὅτε.

877–8: *Et ne tamquam* non scripta *memorantes*...videamur. Both the predicative participle and the very clumsy *et ne tamquam non* give cause for wonder here.

These instances, while certainly not sufficing to prove that DTSpS as a whole must be a translation, do serve to demonstrate that it could very well be.

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21) Die griechischen Quellen des hl. Ambrosius, 48.

22. Op. cit., 54–55. It is worth noting that similar comments have been made about Jerome's translation of Didymus' De Spiritu Sancto – cf J. Leipoldt, Didymus der Blinde von Alexandrien. TU NF 14, 1906, 10; G. Bardy, Didyme l' Aveugle, Paris, 1910, 21–22; E. Staimer, Die Schrift De Spiritu Sancto von Didymus dem Blinden von Alexandrien. Diss, Munich, 1960, 21; 23; 32; 89.

23. Op. cit., 41–42.

read at the same time[24]. In the light of this principle (on which the author appears to put some weight) the second passage mentioned by Schermann (which, unlike the first, does refer to Baptism) is equally clear. There it is maintained in a discussion of such texts as Acts 8, 16 and 19, 5, which refer to Baptism in the name of Jesus, that the disciples did not disobey the command to baptise in the name of the whole Trinity: *Numquid ergo praevaricati sunt? absit. Nam licet filii nomen tantummondo dicatur, habet tamen et patrem et spiritum secum pronuntiatum, sicut in Scripturis sanctis probavimus.* (1209 AB; 975–979) In other words, although the texts refer to Baptism as if it had been only given in the name of Jesus, it had in fact been given in the name of Father, Son and Spirit. DTSpS here, so far from repeating Ambrose' misunderstanding, takes precisely the opposite line–though it could well be that what the author says could have been misunderstood, and perhaps even have been the source for Ambrose' own misinterpretation[25].

Schermann's chief, indeed his only real argument for the Latin origins of DTSpS cannot thus be regarded as a very strong one; though it should perhaps also be said that even if this exegesis of DTSpS were correct, it yet would supply no very decisive proof that the work could not have been written bty a Greek. As far as this evidence goes, DTSpS is still as likely to be Greek as Latin.

There remain the interpretations offered by Kretschmar and Chavoutier of material in DTSpS which allocate the work to the 5th century Latin church. One of these–relating to a possible reference to the Triple Sanctus in DTSpS 1208 C; 939 ff–will be discussed later[26]. The other (which is advanced by Chavoutier alone) has to do with DTSpS 1216 BC: 1365 ff, where Matt 12, 28 and Luke 11, 20 are correlated to show that the Spirit is the finger of God, and so divine. Chavoutier[27], who is concerned primarily with the dating of the Pseudo–Ambrosian Libellus edited in his article, compares the use of this same proof in that Libellus III, 2 (p 146) with its formulation in other works written in Latin, in DTSpS, and in Didymus, De Spir. S. 1051 B. He concludes that in the Libellus there is a neat and well-constructed statement, which compares well with the earlier ones in Didymus, Ambrose, Ambrosiaster and Pelagius, whereas in later writings–he instances DTSpS, and the works of Faustus of Riez and Caesar of Arles – we are presented with much wider–ranging and more diffuse discussions[28]. But however accurate this assessment may in general be, the remarkable feature of DTSpS is how closely in spirit and formulation it resembles both Didymus, De Spiritu Sancto 1051 B and Ps.–Basil, Adv. Eunomium IV–V 716 C. These writings belong in the the second half of the 4th century and were written in Greek. One could therefore as easily argue here for the Greek 4th century origins of DTSpS as for Latin 5th century ones. We shall find that the situation is precisely the same with the possible reference to the Triple Sanctus at 1208C; 939ff: there too the passage supplies at least as much evidence for a Greek origin as for a Latin.

This does not of itself settle the question whether DTSpS is indeed a translation of a Greek work. The question could however be settled if it were to turn out that DTSpS had been used as a source by a Greek author; at this period, in the second half of the fourth century, it was the Latins who borrowed from the Greeks, not vice versa[29]. Hence the potential significance of the comparison with DICA[30]. But at any rate it should by now be clear that the arguments which have been thought or might be thought to demonstrate that DTSpS is a Latin work lack any real force whereas a number of significant indicators point in the opposite direction.

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24. The principle is similarly expressed in Didymus, De Sp. S. 1059 CD; Ps.-Basil., Adv. Eun. 756 AB; ?Didymus, De Trin. 364 A. With the interpretation of Baptism „in the name of Jesus" in DTSpS 1209 AB; 975–9 cf also Didymus, Fr. on Acts, MPG 39, 1660 CD: ὡς διά ἕνωσιν ταύτην τὸν βαπτιζόμενον εἰς ὄνομα Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὴν τριάδα βαπτίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἀπομεριζομένου τοῦ θεοῦ περιγραφαῖς καὶ διαστάσεσι πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

25. Schermann finds a number of paralles between DTSpS and Ambrose' De Spiritu Sancto, and concludes (op cit, 58) that DTSpS may have borrowed from Ambrose. But the probability is rather the reverse–that Ambrose used DTSpS along with his numerous other Greek sources traced by Schermann.

26. Cf. infra.

27. Chavoutier, Un libellus pseudo-Ambrosien, 158.

28. Loc cit supra (n 27): „...on est on présence d'un véritable fourre-tout, ou les auteurs commentent brièvement les textes bibliques qui font allusion à l'intervention des doigts divins."

29) Simonetti's argument (Sulla paternità del De Incarnatione, 11 n 2) is absolutely correct: „È infatti assolutamente fuor di luogo avanzare soltanto l' ipotesi che nel IV secolo su argumenti concernenti la polemica ariana un autore greco abbia attinto ad un' opera latina." Only, it depends what other premise one then adds. If one takes DTSpS to be a Latin work–as Simonetti does – then the conclusion must be that DICA does not depend on it. But if on the other hand one concludes in the light of the evidence of the works themselves that DTSpS is the older, then it equally follows that DTSpS cannot be Latin.

30. Not that we have to rely *only* on the comparison with DICA. There are also strong indications that DTSpS was used as a source for ?Didymus; De Trinitate, and this would point to the same conclusion. The theme cannot be developed here nor all the parallel texts advanced, but a few instances may be mentioned:

DTSpS 1206 D f = 842 ff and DT 741 A f;
DTSpS 1213 A f = 1188 ff and DT 553 B f;
DTSpS 1210 AB = 1023 ff and DT 556 C f;
DTSpS 1192 BC = 61 ff; 1209 B = 979 ff and DT 544 C f;

For more instances I refer to my above–mentioned dissertation, chs. 4–6. All the indications are that the author of De Trin. knew and used DTSpS along with a series of other sources, including Didymus, De Spiritu Sancto, Ps. –Basil, Adversus Eunomium IV–V and some of the pseudo–athanasian Dialogues On these last: A. I.C. Heron, The Two Pseudo–Athnasian Dialogues against the Anomoeans. JTS (NS) 24.1, 1973, 101–122, esp. pp. 118 ff.

*The Structure of DICA*

According to Stülcken's account, DICA falls into three parts, of which the first (chs 1–8) and the third (chs 20–22) are Christological while the second (chs 9–19) are Trinitarian. This, together with the clear and abrupt breaks between the sections, indicates that the second does not originally belong with the first and third, and is therefore a large interpolation, in which material from DTSpS has been included[31].

Schermann, although refusing to accept that DTSpS had been a source of DICA, was not prepared to dismiss this account of structure of DICA out of hand, conceding that it might have been composed by the conflation of two different works[32]. Shortly afterwards however it was rejected by Weigl[33]. He maintained that the appearance of Trinitarian material in a work otherwise dealing with Christology was not surprising, and indeed supplied an essential complement to the proofs offered to prove the divinity of the Son. Further, there is a connexion between the end of ch 8 and the beginning of ch 9 (that is at the transition from the first, Christological part to the second, Trinitarian one) as can be seen from the passage in which the transition is made (996 C– 997 A):

He is the God who bears flesh, and we are men who bear the Spirit... he gave us the first-fruits of the Spirit from the substance of the Father that we might all become sons of God, in the likeness of the Son of God. He then, the true Son of God by nature, bears us all, that we may all bear the one God. (End of ch 8)

Therefore it is impious to say that the Spirit of God is a creature or something made...

There is thus no such clear break here as Stülcken said. And finally, there is in any case further Christological material in the Trinitarian „second part" of the work, for chs 11–12 are also Christological rather than Trinitarian.

These points made by Weigl are taken up and carried further by Simonetti, who gives an alternative explanation to Stülcken's of the structure of DICA[34]. Recognising that not only chs 1–8 and 20–22 but also 11–12 are rather Christological than Trinitarian, he suggests that the work should be seen as falling into three parts: chs 1–10; 11–19; 20–22. The first and second of these parts would thus be each first Christological and then Trinitarian, while the third would be purely Christological. Further, he suggests that if the work is divided in this way it falls into a clear and understandable pattern. All three sections deal with the divinity and humanity of Christ, but they approach them from different angles: the first emphasises that the Son is not a creature, and naturally also adds that the Holy Spirit is not a creature either; the second stresses that the Son is Creator, and then goes on to point out that the Spirit also shares in the creativity of the Father and the Son; and the third finally deals with the fundamental question of the coexistence of two natures in the Son.

These answers to Stülcken are of some importance, although Tetz in his more recent discussion refers to them only in passing[35], and appears to feel that Stülcken's account of the structure of DICA needs no very detailed refutation –he himself makes only a few general comments which do not in any way come to terms with the real problems raised by Stülcken[36]. From the points made by Weigl and Simonetti it is clear that Stülcken's analysis cannot be accepted simply as it stands: DICA has *three* Christological sections (chs 1–8; 11–12; 20–22) and not just two; and it has *two* Trinitarian ones (chs 9–10; 13–19) and not only one. Further, both Trinitarian sections are to some extent connected with the preceding Christological ones –in the transitional words we have quoted from chs 8–9, and in the association of the themes of the creative work of the Son and Spirit in chs 12–13. And in general it is not altogether surprising that both Christological and Trinitarian material should appear side by side in a work of this period. The whole of chs 9–19 cannot therefore so easily be regarded as a single massive interpolation in DICA.

Does this mean that Stülcken was wrong in principle? I believe not. The evidence presented by Weigl and Simonetti shows that the structure of DICA as it now stands makes more sense than Stülcken allowed; but the question of whether that was the original shape of the work, or whether that form has been imposed by a compiler, is not thereby settled. This evidence also shows that the structure of DICA

31. Stülcken, Athanasiana, 63.

32. Although Schermann, Die griechischen Quellen des hl. Ambrosius, 52, describes Stülcken's division of DICA into two independent works as a „gefährliche Operation", he then concedes: „Es wäre nicht unmöglich, dass Athanasius ursprünglich zwei selbständige Traktate hatte, von denen jeder aus einem anderen litterarischen Bedürfnis verfasst war...dass er aber den letzteren an passender Stelle...einschob, und zu einem Ganzen verwebte". (52-3)

33. Weigl, Untersuchungen zur Christologie des hl. Athanasius, 151-2.

34. Simonetti, Sulla paternità del De Incarnatione, 9.

35. Tetz, Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra I, 227 n 57 (on Weigl); 229 (on Simonetti).

36. Tetz, op cit, 224–5 argues that Stülcken's division of DICA is a „sehr gewagte Operation", but does not explain why; points out that „Quellenscheidung war zu Zeiten Stülckens bei vielen Exegeten (besonders des Alten und Neuen Testaments) Trumpf", which is true but by no means demonstrates that source criticism may not on occasions such as this have a valuable function to perform; and asserts that it is „fraglich, ob die Kennzeichnungen ‚christologisch' und ‚trinitarisch' sich überhaupt als Kriterien bei der Beurteilung von DICA bewähren und das zu leisten vermögen, was Stülcken sich von ihnen verspricht" – they are indeed „für das Verständnis dieser Schrift in der Stülckenschen Fassung nahezu unbrauchbar". This last assertion seems to ingore the manifest character of the texts in question, where the difference between a Christological and a Trinitarian/Pneumatological *Fragestellung* is quite as apparent as Stülcken said.

is more complex than Stülcken recognised, but this equally does not eliminate the possibility that elements in that structure are after all interpolations or additions. Four considerations suggest that Stülcken was in principle correct in his belief that DICA as it stands is the work of a compiler:

a) If the development of the argument throughout the work is followed, two distinct breaks can be seen. One of them, as Stülcken clearly saw, is at the end of ch 19 – i.e. at the end of the second Trinitarian part. The other is not, as Stülcken believed, at the end of ch 8 – for there is some connexion there – but at the end of ch 10 – i.e. at the end of the first Trinitarian part. Thus as the end of *both* Trinitarian sections of DICA no continuity can be traced, and the author returns abruptly to Christological topics.

b) While there are, as we have said, connexions linking the beginning of each of the Trinitarian parts to the end of the preceding Christological sections, these are both very noticeably transitional. Each time the author is moving from one set of concepts and arguments to another quite different set, and in each case the material which then folows the transition stands in no very clear internal relation to what had preceded it.

These two observations together do in fact suggest that the work as we have it betrays the hand of a compiler who has inserted two blocks of Trinitarian material in a work which was originally purely Christological; that each time he was indeed able to establish some transitional connexion as he moved from Christological to Trinitarian questions; but that he was unable to do the same in the opposite direction, thus leaving abrupt breaks at the points where he returned to his Christological original. (It is of course relatively easy to find a peg on which to hang an excursus, but much more difficult to integrate such an excursus so smoothly into the whole development that it will appear to be an integral part of the work!) The form of DICA thus indicates that Stülcken was basically right in his conclusion, even if the work should be seen as including two interpolations, and not simply one.

c) The material in the three Christological sections is of a different kind from that in the two Trinitarian ones. In the former, the author is concerned above all to demonstrate the divinity of Christ in spite of a number of Scriptural texts which appeared to imply thant he was subordinate to the Father: this is his expressed intention in the very opening words of ch 1, where he attacks those who misinterpret things humanly spoken of the Son of God, and apply them to his divinity[37]. He repeatedly asserts that such texts are only to be understood of Christ in his Incarnation and[38] in each of the three Christological sections he discusses certain of them – in the first, Prov 8, 22 ff; Mark 10, 18; John 20, 17; in the second, Prov 8, 25; in the third I Cor 15, 24–28; Acts 2, 36; John 17, 3[39]. But in the two Trinitarian sections –apart from the opening words of ch. 9– no heretical arguments are countered, no disputed texts interpreted, and the author presents only a series of different proofs of the co–equality of the Father, Son and Spirit. The three Christological sections could without any difficulty be combined into a single work dealing only with disputed texts, while the two Trinitarian ones could equally be put together to make a single set of proofs of the one shared divinity of Father, Son and Spirit. But as DICA now stands, the two sets of material co-exist somewhat uncomfortably.

d) Finally, the development which Simonetti tries to trace through the work, dividing it into three sections which each approach the divinity and humanity of Christ from three different angles, is not really to be found in the text. Although many different themes appear, there is no significant change in fundamental emphasis either in the Christological or in the Trinitarian parts throughout the entire work. In particular the co–existence of divinity and humanity in Christ is not approached from three sides–it is consistently dealt with from one angle, and that imposed by the necessity to answer heretical interpretations of certain texts. Some such attempt as Simonetti's has indeed to be made if one is to make sense of the structure of DICA as it now stands, but the argument of the work does not supply any clear basis for this division into three parts. That has been caused by the insertion of two blocks of Trinitarian material, not by shifts in the approach to Christological questions.

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37. DICA 984 f: οἱ κακοτέχνως τὰς θείας γραφὰς βουλόμενοι νοεῖν, τά ἀνθρώπινα ῥήματα τῆς πτωχειας τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ παράγειν βούλονται πρός τὸ συστῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν βλασφημίαν. This opening sentence sets the theme not only for the first, but for all three Christological sections of DICA: but it has no relevance at all for the two Trinitarian sections.

38. DICA 989B; 996 A; 1004 B. The principle is thus formally stated in both the first and second Christological sections; but it underlies the exegesis in the third as well.

39. That this is the significance of the handling of these texts in the third section is clear both from the way the author proceeds in dealing with them, and from the general similarity in approach to the first and second sections. The author is not in chs 20–22 engaged in the construction of a theological case on the basis of these verses: he is guarding against their misinterpretation, and thus what he is doing is of the same kind as what he does in chs 1–8 and 11–12, and radically different from his method in chs 9–10 and 13–19. Yet as the text of DICA now stands, it appears as if ch 20 were a continuation of the theological construction in the preceding chs up to ch 19 – only as the argument develops does it become clear that the author is on a quite different tack, and that there is no continuity with ch 19. The fact that this transition is so misleading is a further indication that chs 19 and 20 cannot originally have belonged together, and that 20 must originally have been preceded by matrial of the same kind as in chs 1–8 and 11–12. Incidentally all of the texts discussed in the three Christological sections of DICA are similarly discussed in the third book of Didymus, De Trinitate – where the fact that these are *disputed* texts is made abundantly clear.

For all these reasons I believe that Stülcken's thesis was fundamentally correct, though it demands some modification. DICA is basically a work concerned with refuting heretical interpretations of texts relating to the Son, and this material occupies chs 1–8; 11–12; 20–22; while two blocks of argument about the co-equality of the Trinity have been inserted as occasion suggested and now constitute chs 9–10 and 13–19. The differences between the two types of material, the fact that the two Trinitarian sections are clearly excursus which although linked to what precedes them are in no way related to what follows, and the lack of any clear development in the structure of the work as it now stands-these all combine to suggest that DICA is indeed the work of an editor or compiler rather than a single original composition. This by itself does not of course prove that the source for the material in the Trinitarian excursus was DTSpS – but it need not surprise us to find that it was.

### *The Relation between DTSpS and DICA*

While both Stülcken and Shapland believed that DTSpS must be older than DICA because its arrangement of its material seemed to them more satisfactory[40], neither offered a detailed comparison. Nor on the other hand did those who rejected Stülcken's conclusions. Tetz was the only one to produce a single comparative textual argument for the priority of DICA[41]. This is that in DICA the quotation formula ek prosopou (tinos legein) is a characteristic feature, occurring no fewer than eight times[42]. DTSps only uses the Latin equivalent *e persona (cuiusdam loqui)* three times, all in 1200 D f; 520 ff, which is parallel to DICA 1013 B f. This Tetz regardedas a decisive proof of DICA's priority. But we way well take leave to wonder. Quite apart from the fact that the relation between two works which have so much material in common as these two can hardly be finally settled by a single piece of evidence of this kind while the rest of the material is ignored, two factors indicate that this particular argument cannot bear much weight. First of all, as I have tried to show, the unity and coherence of DICA is at least questionable, while DTSpS seems very likely to be a translation from Greek: this demands that one proceed with caution before assuming either that a particular repeated feature of DICA is a characteristic of a specific author, or that DTSpS in its present form has preserved all the formulations of the original. It could well be that on the one hand the compiler of DICA found the formula in more than one of his sources, and so came to use it as often as he did; it is also impossible to be sure that the Grek original of DTSpS may not have used the formula elsewhere at points where it has been translated somewhat differently[43]. Second, the quotation formula was very widely used by many authors in many different works[44]. Some use it frequently, some only rarely; but in general it is so common that we are certainly not entitled to assume that a work in which it apparently occurs more rarely is dependent on one in which it is used more frequently. If there were absolutely no other evidence for the order of writing of DTSpS and DICA one could perhaps take this feature as tending – but not very strongly – to indicate the priority of DICA; but even than it would by no means constitute a decisive proof. As it is however, there is abundant further evidence indicating that the reality of the situation is the reverse in the parallel passages in the two writings.

The most comprehensive list of these passages is that given by Shapland[45], and it does indeed cover most of the important material, though one or two further examples also deserve to be taken into consideration. The whole series of parallels may be divided into three groups: a) those where the two works are very close to each other in detail, but where a number of indications tend to suggest the priority of DTSpS; b) those where the resemblances are still clear, though not so close, but where the contrasts supply even more evidence for the priority of DTSpS; c) those where the similarities and contrasts put the priority of DPSpS beyond all reasonable dobut.

a) Five separate arguments are stated very similarly in both writings. First of all we have:[46]

40. Stülcken, Athanasiana, 64: The Trinitarian section of DICA „(weist) geistlos und ohne innere Verknüpfung nur die einzelnen Prädicate für jede der drei göttlichen Hypostasen nach"; whereas in DTSpS „die betreffenden Stücke meist in einem grösseren Zusammenhang stehen" (p 76). Cf. Shapland, The Letters of St Athanasius, 14 n 9: „DICA is more likely to be dependent on DTSpS than vice versa. The writer of the former quarries parts of the latter, interfering with the order, and occasionally introducing lections or comments of his own. The arrangement of the material is less coherent and satisfactory than in DTSpS." As we shall see, these judgments are wholly justified.

41. Tetz, Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra I, 225.

42. DICA 988 A; 988 C; 977 A; 997 C; 1004 C; 1013 BC (three times).

43. Of particular interest here is DTSpS 1204 D f; 754ff. There, in the course of an argument proving the divinity of the Spirit, the author combines Ps 94, 8–9 with Ps 94, 9–11, describing the Spirit as speaker in both texts, but distinguishing them as follows (758 ff:) *aut non audivimus eum in nonagesimo et quarto psalmo dicentem de deo: Hodie quidem...* (Ps 94, 8–9) *de se vero: Probaverunt et viderunt...* (Ps 94, 9–11). The sense here is unclear: the *de deo* and *de se* could be taken either to mean „about God" and „about himself" or „from God" and „from himself". If the latter is the case, then it could well be that a Greek use of the quotation formula underlies the text of DTSpS – and this passage is not paralleled in DICA. That this may indeed be so is all the more likely when it is observed that ?Didymus, De Trin. 365 B – a passage with several striking similarities to this locus in DTSpS – does use the formula, stating that Ps 94, 9–11 are spoken by David ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρός.

44. C. Andresen, Zur Entstehung und Geschichte des trinitarischen Personbegriffs. ZNW 52, 1961, 1–39.

45. Shapland, The Letters of St Athanasius, 14 n 9.

46. This combination of I Cor 12, 4ff and 11 is also to be found in Ps.-Basil, Adv. Eun. IV–V, 717 AB and 729AB and ?Didymus, De Trin., 368 C and 601 C f.

| *DTSpS* 1195 *BC; 220 ff:* | *DICA* 1008 *C f:* |
|---|---|
| In prima quoque epistola ad Corinthios necesse est iterum audire Paulum trinitatem praedicantem; dicit enim: (I Cor 12, 4–6) Cum dixisset autem deum omnia in omnibus operari et professus fuisset dona, quae per spiritum ecclesiae donantur, adiecit: (I Cor 12, 11). | ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐδίδαξε λέγων· (I Cor. 12, 4–6) εἰρηκὼς οὖν, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον λέγει τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα εἶναι τὸ ἐνεργοῦν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι. (I Cor 12, 11) |

The resemblance here is clear; but it is the point of contrast which is important. Not only is DTSpS fuller than DICA (which may suggest that it is the original formulation, and that the author of DICA has trimmed it down[46a]); it is also more accurate in its reference to v 11, which says only that the gifts are the work of the Spirit, but not, as DICA asserts, that the Spirit „works all in all". DICA carries the argument further than DTSps in drawing a conclusion which DTSpS does not state, and which indeed is not strictly justified by Scripture as quoted in both writings. This suggests that DICA is a stage further removed from the original formulation, and that it dispiays an inclination to shorten and sharpen proofs and arguments taken over from DTSps. In several other cases we shall find that such a tendency is indeed one of the features of DICA.

The next set of passages follows a little later in both works:[47]

| *DTSpS* 1199 *AB; 435 ff:* | *DICA* 1012 *C f:* |
|---|---|
| Deus enim ait in Hieremia deduxisse se hunc Israhel in deserto dicens ad populum: (Jr 2, 6) Dicit autem et Esaias, qui audiendus est, spiritum sanctum deduxisse Israhel in deserto, ita: (Is 63, 13–14) | καὶ ὅτε λέγει ὁ Ἱερεμίας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὡδήγησε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· (Jer 2, 6) ὁ Ἡσαΐας τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἶπεν ὡδηγηκέναι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· ἔστι γοῦν ἀκοῦσαι αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· (Is 63, 13–14) |

DICA follows these two texts with a third – I Cor 10, 4 – to show that the Son also led Israel through the desert, while DTSpS does not. But it is impossible to draw any conclusion from this or the other slight contrasts between these two works here about the order of writing.

The next pair of passages come from the immediately following paragraph in DICA, from a slightly later paragraph in DTSpS:

| *DTSpS* 1200 *B f; 495 ff:* | *DICA* 1013 *AB:* |
|---|---|
| Et Paulus sane a deo se vocatum ait ad Galatas scribens: (Gal. 1, 15–16) Romanos vero a Christo vocatos esse ait, scribens ad eos: (Ro 1, 6) et spiritus sanctus Paulum et Barnaban a se dixit esse vocatos, ut gentibus adnuntiarent Christum. Et plane mirabile, cum salvator diceret ad Paulum in templo: (Acts 22, 21) et Paulus ad Galatas scriberet: (Gal 1, 1) spiritus tamen sanctus misit Paulum et Barnaban probatos ad praedicandum gentibus Jesus Christum. Dicit namque scriptura sic: (Acts 13, 1–4) et sic deinceps praedicatio gentibus per Paulum facta exponitur. | καὶ ὅτε λέγει ὁ Παῦλος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεκλῆσθαι αὐτόν· (Gal 1, 15–16) Ῥωμαίους δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κεκλῆσθαι λέγει γράφων πρὸς αὐτούς· (Ro 1, 6) τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Βαρνάβαν κεκληκέναι εἴρηκεν εἰς τὸ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὸν Χριστόν. καὶ τό γε θαυμαστόν, τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰπόντος Παύλῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· (Acts 22, 21) καὶ τοῦ Παύλου Γαλάταις γράφοντος, (Gal 1, 1 & 11) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀποστεῖλαν τόν τε Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Βαρνάβαν φαίνεται, κηρῦξαι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὸν Χριστόν. |

Here DTSpS is the fuller, in that it includes the full quotation of Acts 13, 1–4 on which the whole point of the argument depends (for in both works at this moment it is the divinity of the Spirit which is under discussion). That DICA, in spite of quoting

46a. In a private communication of August 14th, 1973, Prof. Tetz advanced against this and similar suggestions in my comparison of DTSpS and DICA that „Es ist ein überlieferungsgeschichtliches Gesetz, dass korrektere Zitierung, grössere Ausführlichkeit und Spezifierung im allgemeinen auf Überarbeitung bzw. sekundären Charakter schließen lassen. Sie behaupten durchgehend das Gegenteil." These observations are entirely correct: it is widely held that the more polished presentation of an argument must be the derivative and secondary one, whereas I adopt the opposite view in comparing DICA and DTSpS. I do so, however, for reasons which seem to me compelling. No „überlieferungsgeschichtliches Gesetz" can be more than a rule-of-thumb; there are copiers who improve on the material they employ and there are those who reduce it to chaos, as any Professor must know who has found his material reproduced in examinations! That DICA presents us with such a reproduction of material originally better ordered and more intelligently presented in DTSpS appears to me in the light of all the evidence I present here the only possible conclusion.

47. Cf also ?Didymus, De Trin. 365 C f, which appears to conflate this appeal to Jer. 2, 6 and Is 63, 13–14 with two other texts similarly used in Ps.-Basil, Adv. Eun. IV–V, 709 B – Deut. 32, 12 and I Cor 10, 4.

the other Biblical texts in virtually the same way as DTSpS, contents itself with a mere reference to– but not a quotation from – the Acts passage is remarkable, and again must raise the suspicion that it has abbreviated the proof from its initial length, whereas DTSpS has preserved the original form. (This may appear inconsistent with our remark above that the appearance of an extra text in DICA 1012 C f does not supply evidence for the order of writing. But the two situations are not the same. In that instance, the text which DICA included, but which was not in DTSpS, was not essential to the whole argument as the divinity of the Spirit – which there too was the chief point at issue – was covered by Is 63, which both works quote, and DICA's addition of I Cor 10 added litle more than embellishment. In this case everything depends on Acts 13, so that its ommission from DICA does tend to indicate that the author is shortening proofs he has found already more fully expressed in DTSpS).

The next argument in both works follows immediately after the preceding one:

| *DTSpS* 1200 *D f; 520 ff:* | *DICA* 1013 *Bf:* |
|---|---|
| Et est quidem quando ex persona patris loquuntur prophetae–sic David in psalmis ait: | καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ πατρὸς λαλοῦσιν οἱ προφῆται, ὡς ὅταν ἐν ψαλμοῖς λέγῃ ὁ θεός· |
| (Ps 88, 36–38) | (Ps 88, 36–38) |
| et rursum: | καὶ πάλιν· |
| (Ps 131, 11) | (Ps 131, 11) |
| sicut et Petrus: | καὶ καθὼς ὁ Πέτρος εἴρηκε· |
| (Acts 2, 30) | (Acts 2, 30) |
| quando vero ex persona filii–cum Esaias dicit: | ὅτε δὲ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὡς ὅταν λέγῃ ὁ Ἡσαΐας· |
| (Is 52, 5–6) | (Is 52, 5–6) |
| quando autem ex persona spiritus sancti – ut cum propheta Agabus dicit: | ὅτε δὲ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὡς ὅταν ὁ μὲν προφήτης Ἄγαβος λέγῃ· |
| (Acts 21, 11) | (Acts 21, 11) |
| Paulus autem ad Timotheum scribit: | καὶ πάλιν ὁ Παῦλος πρὸς Τιμόθεον γράφει· |
| (I Tim 4, 1) | (I Tim 4, 1) |
| | καὶ πάλιν· |
| | (Acts 8, 29) |

These two passages are for the most part identical, with only two smallpoints of contrast. First, DICA here again includes an extra quotation – Acts 8, 29– but as in the previous instance where we found it to have an extra text, so too here the addition supplies nothing new or vital for the construction of the argument, and could be nothing more than decoration. More significant is perhaps the contrast in the way in which Ps 88 is introduced: DTSpS refers it to David, DICA to God. As the theme of the discussion is that the *prophets* speak in the person of the Father, Son and Spirit, and as the other texts quoted are all ascribed to the men who uttered them, it seems likely that DTSpS has preserved the older form of the argument, and that the compiler of DICA has perhaps rather carelessly overlooked the point of the ascription of the text to David, and lapsed into the simple ascription of it to God.

The next (and last) argument to be compared in this group of parallels follows directly from the previous one in DICA, but not quite directly in DTSpS, where another brief proof of the equality of the Son and Spirit comes between the last one and this:

| *DTSpS* 1201 *BC; 551 ff:* | *DICA* 1016 *AB:* |
|---|---|
| Et propheta quidem Ezechiel contra veterem populum clamans dicit: | καὶ ὁ μὲν προφήτης Ἰεζεκιήλ, αἰτιώμενος τὸν παλαιὸν λαόν, ἔλεγε· |
| (Ez 16, 43) | (Ez 16, 43) |
| Paulus vero scribit ad novellum populum: | ὁ δε Παῦλος γράφει τῷ νέῳ λαῷ· |
| (Eph 4, 30) | (Eph 4, 30) |
| Et David nihilominus contra Iudaeos dicit: | καὶ ὁ μὲν Δαβὶδ περὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων λέγει· |
| (Ps 77, 40) | (Ps 77, 40) |
| Esaias etiam de iisdem ait: | ὁ δὲ Ἡσαΐας περὶ αὐτῶν· |
| (Is 63, 10) | (Is 63, 10) |
| Et ad Corinthios scribens Paulus ait: | καὶ ὁ Στέφανος ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι λέγει· |
| (II Cor 13, 3) | (Acts 7, 51) |

Such contrasts as there are between these two passages are very slight, and do not really permit us to draw conclusions about the order of priority.

Of these five sets of parallels in which DTSpS and DICA resemble each other very closely indeed, the first, third and fourth all supply contrasts which indicate that DTSpS is more likely to be the original. One other contrast points in the same direction: in DICA these passages – apart from the first – make up a single block of material. In DTSpS on the other hand, while all five passages appear in the same order as in DICA, other material is to be found between the second and the third, and again between the fourth and fifth. Thus in this section in which the two writings have so much in common, DTSpS supplies more than DICA. This at least encourages a suspicion that DICA, which we have seen may reflect a tendency to abbreviate and sharpen material taken from DTSpS, also reflects a more general tendency to excerpt from DTSpS, selecting only some of the arguments and proofs which the other work offers.

If this is so, then again it would mean that DICA is the later.

This material thus tends to suggest the priority of DTSpS over DICA, though not conclusively. But this suggestion will be confirmed in the remaining two groups of parallels, where we shall see even more clearly that DICA does abbreviate and sharpen the arguments from DTSpS, while DTSpS does indeed, as Stülcken and Shapland, saw, handle the material rather better than DICA. The parallels in the second group are all, like those already given, from the second Trinitarian section of DICA (chs 13–19); those in the third group are from the first (chs 9–10).

b) Two further passages in DICA show resemblances to DTSpS of a kind which strongly suggest that DTSpS is the older, and that DICA contains an abbreviated and to some extent muddled reproduction and reorganisation of material from DTSpS. The first of these is DICA 1005 B f, which contains material which is also to be found, much more lucidly expressed, in thee different passages in DTSpS. The opening part of DICA's statement parallels DTSpS 1201 C f; 567 ff:

| *DTSpS* 1201 *C f; 567 ff:* | *DICA* 1005 *B f:* |
|---|---|
| Et in Esaia dominus dicit: | καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ ὁ Κύριος ἐν Ἡσαΐᾳ· |
| (Is 1, 2) | (Is 1, 2) |
| In evangelio vero: | ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ λέγει· |
| (Jo 3, 6) | (Jo 3, 6) |
| Et rursum: | καὶ πάλιν· |
| (Jo 3, 8) | (Jo 3, 8) |
| Ergo haec ad initium evangelii conparans minuit spiritus sancti divinitatem? Nam in principio quidem evangelii Ioannes de salvatore et de his qui crediderunt ait: | ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰωάννης λέγει: |
| (Jo 1, 12–13) | (Jo 1, 12–13) |
| De regeneratione quoque fidelium exponens dominus et postmodum Nicodemum instruens eos qui in se credunt, hoc est qui accipiunt illum, regenerari ex spiritu sancto oportere dixit sic: | ὅσοι οὖν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐγεννήθησαν. οὗτοι ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν. |
| (Jo 3, 7–8) | |
| et commemorans ante: | |
| (Jo 3, 6) | |
| Si igitur hi, qui caelesti regeneratione generantur, ex spiritu sancto generati ex deo sunt generati, cur non, si quid magnum et divinum et trinitate dignum, de spiritu nos opinari oportet, quantum ad humanam possibilitatem est? | |

DTSpS here constructs its argument with some care and indeed at considerable length, in a way which suggests that the author is developing it in this way for the very first time – hence his repetition of the Johannine texts in the second part of his statement, by which he tries to ensure that the point he is making will be fully comprehensible[48]. In DICA on the other hand the author knows already what he wants to say, and what his conclusion is going to be, and so states both argument and conclusion very briefly–and yet in a way which very closely resembles the more laborious formulations in DTSpS Indeed he states them so briefly that even Schermann, who believed DTSps to be the later work, remarked in his comment on these passages[49] that the author of DTSpS had felt it necessary to draw out the inner structure of the argument by making explicit what in DICA is only implicit and therefore unsatisfactory. But it would surely have been more logical to conclude that the more detailed statement was in fact the original one: it is easy to understand how a dependent author could abbreviate a borrowed argument to the point of obscurity (and this is neither the first nor the last occasion on which we shall find cause to suspest the author of DICA of doing exactly that), but it is much less easy to imagine that a compressed argument in a source would have been expanded in the way in which, according to Schermann, this argument has been expanded in DTSpS. On the evidence of these passages, DTSpS is much more likely to be the original than the copy.

The immediately following sentences in DICA support this conclusion. It continues (1005 C):

48. Such repetitions of key texts are something of a characteristic of DTSps – cf e.g. the repetitions of Eph 1, 13–14 in 1210 B f; 1048 ff, and of Jer 2, 13 in 1213 A f; 1188 ff. The writer is obviously anxious to ensure that his arguments will be fully stated and clearly understandable–in which he contrasts sharply with the author of DICA, at least in the Trinitarian sections. Stülcken, Athanasiana 76, suggested that the text of DTSpS was probably not entirely intact, and advanced as evidence this repetition of Jo 3, 6–8, along with the further quotation of these vv at 1203 CD; 675 ff; but both this repetition and the further occurrence of them there are perfectly natural –in that further instance they are used in the context of a rather different argument, which is concerned not with *our* being born of the Spirit, but with his role in the Incarnation. The other evidence advanced by Stülcken to support his suggestion can for the most part be similarly accounted for: the correlation of I Thess 5, 23 with I Cor 6, 11 which appears three times (1195 C; 231 ff; 1198 C; 387 ff; 1206 B; 824 ff) is in fact introduced on the third occasion with the words *sicut ad Thessalonicenses, quod frequenter memoravimus...*; while the double appearance of Ro 8, 11 and Ps. 103, 29 ff (1199 A; 415 ff; 1205 D; 800 ff) is understandable – in the second case it is introduced by Jo 5, 21, which is not in the earlier passage. Only the repetition of much of the content of 1200 A f; 475 ff in 1215 D f; 1345 ff might suggest that the original form of the work has been distorted – though it is equally possible that this is an intentional recapitulation of a kind not uncommon in patristic writings.

49. Schermann, Die griechischen Quellen des hl. Ambrosius 46: „Der Verfasser von DTSpS fand die Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Johannesstellen in DICA offenbar unpassend, glaubte daher deren inneren Zusammenhang herstellen zu sollen."

καὶ ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν ἐβαπτίσθησαν, οὗτοι εἰς πατέρα καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐβαπτίσθησαν. καὶ πάλιν, ὅτε λέγει ὁ Πέτρος τῷ Ἀνανίᾳ· (Acts 5, 3–4) ὥστε ὁ ψευσάμενος τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, τῷ θεῷ ἐψεύσατο, τῷ κατοικοῦντι ἐν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ.

Both the points made here, about Baptism and about Ananias' lying to Peter, are even more compressed and allusive than DICA's statement of the argument to which they are appended. And both are the subject of lengthy discussion in DTSpS – Baptism at 1208 D f; 956 ff, which we have already discussed;[50] and the lie of Ananias in 1202 B f; 605 ff, shortly after the passage on the begetting of the faithful which we have just been discussing. In both cases, what DICA says is in effect a (very compressed) summary of the point made in some detail in DTSpS. Their appearance in DICA is so brief and indeed so unclear that one can scarcely suppose that DICA was the source on which the author of DTSpS drew; but it makes very good sense indeed to see in DTSpS the source from which DICA has taken its material, and whose argmuents DICA thus summarily reproduces.

The second DICA passage to be discussed here is at 1009 A f, which shows a number of resemblances to DTSps 1210 A f; 1023 ff, and which, like the previous instance, is very considerably more likely to be dependent on DTSpS than to be its source. The passage in DTSpS has just described the Spirit as the „oil of anointing", and the „seal", and so come to quote II Cor 1, 21. This verse introduces the fresh idea that the Spirit is also an „inheritance". At this point the similarities to DICA begin; but whereas in DTSpS the following discussion follows on closely from the preceding arguments, in DICA it represents the introduction of an entirely fresh statement, which stands in no close relation to what has preceded it:[51]

| *DTSpS* 1210 *B f;* 1048 *ff:* | *DICA* 1009 *AB:* |
|---|---|
| (II Cor 1, 21) | καὶ ὅτε μὲν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος διδάσκει περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὅτι ἀρραβὼν τῆς κληρονομίας ἐστὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ὁ Δαβὶδ λέγει τὸν Κύριον εἶναι τὴν κληρονομίαν· |
| et iterum ad Ephesios ait: | |
| (Eph 1, 13–14) | |
| Magna nos de spiritu sancto sapere praeparant sancti; nam cum David diceret in quinto decimo psalmo: | |
| (Ps 15, 5) | |
| et Moyses scriberet: | |
| (Deut 10, 9) | |
| et Hieremias clamaret: | |
| (Jer 51, 19) | |
| et cum dominum hereditatem sanctorum scripturae dicerent, Paulus arram hereditatis sanctorum spiritum sanctum esse dixit: | καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ λέγει· |
| (Eph 1, 13–14) | (Ps 141, 6) |
| | ὁ δὲ Ἱερεμίας λέγει ὅτι |
| | (Jer 51, 19) |
| | τῶν οὖν προφητῶν τὸν Κύριον κληρονομίαν λεγόντων τῶν ἁγίων, ὁ Παῦλος τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα κληρονομίαν εἶναι εἶπεν· |
| | (Eph 1, 13–14) |

Although not all the texts cited here are the same in both works, the structure of the argument and the language used to formulate it are recognisably very similar. Within the sections quoted by us here, there is no clear evidence as to which is or might be the earlier and more original formulation; but when it is recognised that, as we have said, the passage in DTSpS follows naturally on from what has preceded it, whereas in DICA this appears as an entirely fresh argument, it must appear more likely that DTSpS is the original version, and that DICA has excerpted from it, also making certain alterations. And if the further development in both works is taken into account, this comes to seem even more probable. First of all, DTSpS follows its second quotation of Eph 1 with two further texts – Is 54, 17 and 55, 1 – which also relate to the theme of „inheritance": it is thus here, as elsewhere, fuller than DICA. And seconds a comparison of the following passages in both work, (in DTSpS up to 1212 D; 1182, and in DICA up to 1012 A) reveals that they have much in common, and also that DTSpS is considerably clearer and more coherent than DICA. In DTSpS there is a long survey which handles the themes of the „light of the countenance"; the „fire that sanctifies"; the *spiratio* of God and its reception by men. In this discussion a large number of texts are cited including (in this order) Is 10, 17; Deut 4, 24; Acts 2, 1–4. The whole passage is throughout clearly argued; the argument develops smoothly; the various themes follow on from each other in a way which both gives each its proper weight, and also makes clear how they are connected in the mind of the author. The corresponding passage in DICA is much shorter, and by comparison with DTSpS distinctly compressed and even confused. The author there associates with the idea of the „seal" of the Spirit in Eph 1 the „sealing" of Moses when his face shone; asserts that Moses was sealed with the Spirit, the „light of the divine countenance"; refers to the prophecy that the righteous „will shine like the sun"; and reminds his readers that both the Father and the Son are „light". This light is then equated with the „fire that sanctifies"; John the Baptist's warning of a baptism in Holy Spirit and in fire is mentioned; and it is pointed out that God himself is „a consuming fire". This leads to a reference to Pentecost, when the Spirit came as fire upon the apostles;

50. Cf supra.

51. For a similar passage cf ?Didymus, De Trin. 368 B.

and the conclusion is that the apostles, in bearing the Spirit, bore light; to bear light is to put on Christ; to put on Christ is to put on the Father; and this is to put on immortality: Thus those who bear the Spirit bear immortality, and God is immortality. While one can indeed follow the train of thought (with some difficulty!) the whole passage is exceedingly compressed: the author rushes breathlessly on, never stopping to develop his arguments, and only coming at the very end to offer any kind of reasoned proof of the divinity of the Spirit. Much of what he says simply falls by the wayside because he makes no real use of it. Yet in this untidiness the themes which are also in DTSpS appear („light of the countenance", „fire" and „santification"), and the following texts are cited: Exod 34, 30; Matt 13, 43; *Is 10, 17*; Matt 3. 11; Lev 22, 16; *Deut 4*, 24; *Acts 2, 3-4*; I Cor 15, 53. By far the most natural explanation for the resemblances and the contrasts between the carefully constructed development in DTSpS and the relatively almost chaotic flood of texts and ideas in DICA is that the author of DICA has borrowed from the other work, has attempted to modify its material and add further of his own, but has found it beyond his ability to do so very successfully. The alternative hypothesis that the author of DTSpS has disentangled the confusing passage in DICA and built his own lucid discussion with the material from it is by contrast exceedingly impobable. Thus the arrangement of this material throughout these two passages, as well as the fact that in DTSpS it follows closely on what had gone before, indicate very strongly that DTSpS is the older.

The conclusion which was suggested by the first group of parallels between the two writings is thus very considerably reinforced by the evidence of the second. It will be strengthened even further by the third group, to which we now turn.

c) Finally the two passages which virtually make up the first Trinitarian section of DICA betray its dependence on DTSpS even more clearly than the material in the second Trinitarian part. The first of these passages comes shortly after the beginning of that first Trinitarian section at 997 A. The author there argues that the Spirit is to be numbered with the Father and the Son; he is given by the Father and the Son; he is indeed the fullness of the godhead which dwelt in Christ and from which we receive; he is sent by Christ as God, he descends on Christ as man (997 A–C). Then he continues (997 C f):

καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἡσαίας ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ πατρὸς βοᾷ λέγων· (Is 44, 2-3, which includes the words ἐγὼ δώσω ὕδωρ...ἐπιθήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου) ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ ὁ υἱὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται διδόναι ὕδωρ τοῖς πορευομένοις ἐν δίψει, λέγων τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· (Jo 4, 10) καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα λέγει αὐτῇ· (Jo 4, 13–14, which includes the words τὸ ὕδωρ... γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγή) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων τῷ θεῷ λέγει· ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς, ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς· (Ps 35, 10) οἶδε γὰρ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ ὄντα τὸν υἱὸν τὴν πηγὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. καὶ διὰ Ἱερεμίου ὁ υἱὸς λέγει· (Jer 2, 13, which includes the words ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ὕδατος ζῶντος).

With this citation of Jer 2, 13 the discussion abruptly ends. and the next passage we shall be considering below begins. At first sight this little paragraph may appear quite in order. It follows previous assertions that the Spirit is divine, and is to be associated with the Father and Son, who both give him. Thus the themes appearing here–that the Spirit is the „living water" given by the Father and the Son, and that therefore the Son is the „fountain" of the Spirit –are quite natural and fully in place. That is certainly true; but when the development of the thought is more closely examined a quite recognisable incoherence, or at least compression, appears. This is admittedly of a kind that is not uncommon in patristic writings, so that it would not necessarily be always a cause for suspicion. But in this case, as the comparison with DTSpS will show, there is more to it than that.

In the passage first of all the transition from Jo 4, 13–14 to Ps 35, 10 is distinctly clumsy, for that Johannine text does not say either that the Father or that the Son is a fountain, but rather that the wah ter the Son will give (i.e. the Spirit) will become a fountain. Immediately thereafter Ps 35, 10 is introduced to show that the Son is the fountain of the Spirit; and the author appears to regard these two texts as hanging very closely together (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Δαβὶδ... λέγει). But while each can well be aplied as he applies them, it is rather awkward to combine them as he does, without discussion or explanation. Nor is this all: the passage includes two Scriptural citations which add little or nothing to the argument. Ps 35, 10 is quoted in full, with the inclusion of the words „in thy light shall we see light", but those play no role in the discussion, which uses only the preceding clause „which thee is the fountain of life". And the quotation of Jer 2, 13 is tacked on at the very end as if it were simply an afterthought of the author's – it is not in any way integrated into the structure of the argument, though clearly relating to its central themes; and had it fallen out we should have had absolutely no reason to suppose that anything was missing. And in general the whole discussion is one in which, while one can clearly see the general themes which hold it together, the particular connexions between the individual stages in the development are as often as not obscure – the author proceeds more allusively and imaginatively than analytically, and while the general drift is clear, the details justifying that general drift remain veiled in kindly shadow.

All this by itself of course would not show that there was anything wrong with DICA: untidiness,

loose ends, allusive argument, compression of distinct stages in logical development into one jump – all these are features to be found in other patristic writings, not to mention elsewhere! But it does raise the question whether the author of DICA might not in fact here be reproducing material from a source – a source in which the logical connexions, the distinct stages in the argument, and the significance of the apparently superfluous material in DICA would be made clear. In fact, such a source is to be found – in DTSpS 1213 A f; 1188 ff:

Fontem vero spiritus sancti filium dei esse dicimus ipso filio in Hieremia dicente, (Jer 2, 13) Aqua vero viva spiritus sanctus, sicut Johannes docuit dixisse salvatorem ad Samaritanam mulierem: (Jo 4, 10) Et rursum: (Jo 4, 14) Nam et in medio templi clamat: (Jo 7, 37–38) et interpretatus est sic: (Jo 7, 39) Ita etiam et Esaias dominum dixisse ait: (Is 44, 3–4) Ergo manifeste scripturis sanctis profitentibus aquam vivam spiritum sanctum esse cognoscimus. Dominus se fontem esse spiritus dixit sic: (Jer 2, 13) Sic et David cantat in tricesimo quinto psalmo, dicens ad deum: Quia apud te est fons vitae. (Ps 35, 10 a) Igitur praeter dominum alium ostende fontem esse vitae, qui apud eum sit: not enim dixit Quia tu es fons vitae, sed Quia apud te. Est vero apud deum et est fillus fons existens spiritus, de quo Paulus ad Romanos scribit: (Ro 8, 10) Ita non alienum, sed proprium patris esse eum dicit; nam cum professus fuisset: Quia apud te est fons vitae, adiunxit: In lumine tuo videbimus lumen, (Ps 35, 10 b) id est in filio tuo videbimus spiritum.

The similarity and yet the contrast to DICA could hardly be more striking! All the material we have quoted from DICA is to be found here as well – but here it is developed and balanced with a lucidity both in expression and in the structuring of the argument which enable the puzzled reader of DICA to see for the first time what the author believed he was saying. First of all DTSpS carefully distinguishes the two el ated but different themes which in DICA were placed awkwardly side by side – that the Spirit is the ‚ewater of life", and that the Son is the „fountain" of th, Spirit. Each is discussed at sufficient length to make it clear how they are related to each other, whereas, in DICA such discussion is lacking and the two themes are conflated rather than distinguished. Secondly, DTSpS achieves this precise separation and balancing of the two themes by building its case round Jer 2, 13, in which both of them can be recognised: thus this verse is quoted at the beginning, then followed by the group of Johannine and Isaian texts on the theme of living water; then it is quoted again, and followed by the other texts which have to do with the Son as fountain. Thus this text which in DICA plays no very clear role is absolutely central in DTSpS. Thirdly, the second half of Ps 35, 10 has a decisive part to play in DTSpS – it supplies the concluding „punch" for the whole argument, whereas in DICA it is quoted but not used. And lastly, one can hardly avoid noticing that the point made very allusively in DICA that the Son is „beside the Father" as fountain of the Spirit is also made, much more fully and clearly in DTSpS. DTSpS is not only an incomparably neater and more satisfying presentation than DICA: it also reveals the real significance of all those elements in DICA which DICA itself does not exploit or explain. This, however, makes it quite impossible to believe that DICA could have been the source for DTSpS: rather DICA offers us a not altogether successful reformulation of material borrowed from DTSpS – a reformulation in which the original structure and balance of the material has been virtually totally lost, and in which vital elements have been so distorted or misunderstood that they have remained only as untidy awkwardnesses in DICA's discussion[52].

Following its quotation of Jer 2, 13, DICA moves on to a quite different discussion which occupies the rest of its first Trinitarian section. Here too its dependence on DTSpS emerges very clearly indeed: the entire passage in DICA 1000 B – 1001 B is nothing more or less than an abbreviated – and confused – reproduction of DTSpS 1207 B – 1208 C; 877–982, to which one or two little decorative details have been added. As both discussions are rather long, we shall not give them in full, but simply give a précis of each in which the significant similarities and contrasts can be underlined. In this case we shall begin with DTSpS, as the inadequacies in DICA,s presentation emerge more clearly when we have first seen how DTSpS sets about its construction of the argument they both present.

In DTSpS the passage in question follows one where the author has been arguing that the Spirit should be worshipped with the Father and the Son; for worship „in the Spirit" is tantamount to worship *of* the Spirit just as worship „in the Son" is tantamount to worship *of* the Son. But, feeling that this is perhaps not altogether conclusive, he goes on at 1207 B; 877 ff:

Et ne tamquam non scripta memorantes sed de nostro loqui videamur, demonstranda est his caelestium virtutum adoratio, sicut scripturis sanctis didicimus; forsitan et illi aemulatores effecti sic et venerari discant et orare. Quem visum volunt Esaiae in templo laudari et adorari et glorificari a sepaphim, patremne an filium? Forte enim aures obstruent, si audiant et spiritum sanctum.

52. Similar material to that in this passage in DTSpS is also to be found in? Didymus, De Trin. 553 C f and Ps. -Athanasius, Dialogue II 1200 BC, which quotes Jer 2, 13; Gal 3, 5; Jo 4, 14; 7, 38; 7, 39; Jer 2, 13, and thus closely resembles the first half of the statement in DTSpS. Neither De Trin. nor Dial. II show here any but remote resemblances to DICA, which may best be regarded as wandering off from the tradition more solidly represented by DTSpS, Dial II and De Trin. It clearly cannot be the source for that tradition.

Thus he sets out to show that the Spirit is worshipped by the seraphim, along with the Father and the Son. He undertakes this first by quoting Is 6, 1–11, in which the words spoken by God to Isaiah are quoted: „Go to this people and say to them, ‚Hear, and hear, and you will not understand...'"; then Jo 12, 39–41, in which these words are again quoted, and taken to prophesy the Jews' inability to recognise Jesus: „This is what Isaiah said when he saw his glory..."; and finally Acts 28, 25–27, in which Paul again quotes the same words and states that they were uttered by the Spirit: „How well the Holy Spirit spoke to your fathers through the prophet Isaiah when he said..." The author of DTSpS then continues at 1208 B; 936 ff:

Ecce Johannes quidem filium, Paulus vero spiritum sanctum esse dicit, qui sit visus Esaiae, sedens super thronum altum et elevatum, qui et adoratur et laudatur et glorificatur a seraphin. Ecclesiae autem Christi omnes ab oriente usue ad occidentem convenienter patrem a seraphim laudari profitentur in ministeriorum relatione. Dicant itaque nobis, qui venerationem spiritui sancto derogant, quisnam ex his fallit, utrumne Johannes an Paulus an vero omnes ecclesiae Christi? Si vero nemo eorum fallit – absit enim ut fallant – sed omnes veritatem dicunt, manifeste probatum est, quod etiamsi solius patris nomen dicatur, habet tamen filium et spiritum sanctum secum pronuntiatum, vel si filium, habet tamen patrem et spiritum, vel si spiritum, habet et patrem et filium. Sic venerentur, qui adorant, venerationem caelestium animalium imitantes, et non suas cogitationes sequantur.

With this conclusion, the author achieves three aims: a) he establishes that the Spirit was worshipped by the seraphim; b) he thereby fills in the gap which he felt had been left in his previous argument; c) he once more enunciates the principle, which we have already mentioned as being of some importance to him[53], that mention of only one or two of the divine Persons in Scripture is not to be taken to exclude the other(s). Thus this whole demonstration fits naturally into its context, as well as reflecting a concern that is expressed elsewhere in the work. In addition, it leads equally naturally into what follows; for he goes on at once to discuss the question of Baptism „in the name of Jesus", which he argues on the basis of the principle he has just enunciated to have been in fact Baptism in the name of the Trinity. (1208 D f; 956 ff) He then returns briefly to Isaiah's Vision at 1209 B; 979 ff:

Itaque et spiritus sanctus Sabaoth dicitur et est et cum deo et cum filio a seraphin adoratus; propter quod etiam ter dicunt Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, ut trinitatem pronuntiarent. Unde et Paulus dominum vocari spiritum domini non negat...[54].

With this he moves on to a discussion of the Spiri, as Lord, which, like the little excursus on Baptism, forms a natural development from the exegesis of Is 6.

In this whole long passage, as we have tried to show, the argument moves smoothly along: there are no awkward breaks or abrupt transitions in the development of the various themes or in the arrangement of the material; the thought is throughout fully and clearly expressed; and the entire discussion fits naturally and easily both with what precedes and with what follows. There is only one little point at which a critical reader might feel he could recognise a non-sequitur: it is certainly not a serious one, but it is of potential significance for assessing the relationship between DTSpS and DICA. This is that the conclusion that the Spirit was *seen* by Isaiah is not directly justified by the wording of Acts 28, 25–27. What Paul says there is that the Spirit *spoke through* the prophet. Certainly, given the context in Isaiah, and the fact that the words ascribed by Paul to theSpirit are in Isaiah ascribed to the Lord, whom Isaiah had seen, it is not a very big jump to conclude that the Spirit had been seen. Butwhen one notices that in what appears to be an earlier statement of the argument in Didymus, De Spir. S. 1059 Af[55], where only Is 6 and Acts 28 (but not Jo 12) are cited, the conclusion drawn is that the Spirit *spoke* to Isaiah, one should perhaps ask what brought DTSpS to take this further step. The answer is not hard to find: as compared with Didymus DTSpS has expanded the argument by including Jo 12, which states that Isaiah *saw* the glory of the Son. In the light of this addition to the argument, it is not surprising that in DTSpS the seeing is extended to include the Spirit. The author of DICA, on the other hand, concludes that all three Persons *spoke:* this is also in its own way a departure from the primary meaning of the texts, as Jo 12 states only that the Son's glory was seen. But before we discuss the possible significance of this contrast between DTSpS and DICA we must give an account of the whole DICA passage.

Immediately after the quotation of Jer 2, 13 which we have already discussed DICA continues at 1000 B:

καὶ ὅτε δοξολογοῦσι τὰ σεραφὶμ τὸν θεόν, λέγοντα τρίτον· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ,

53. Cf supra.

54. This interpretation of the Triple Sanctus rests on Origen's exegesis in Hom. in Is. 4, 1, GCS 33, 258:30–259:7. It is also to be found in Ps.-Athanasius, De Comm. Essentia, MPG 28, 48 C; In Illud, Omnia mihi tradita sunt, MPG 25, 220 AB; Basil, Adv. Eunomium III 3, MPG 29, 661 A; De Spir. S. 16, 38, ed. Pruche, 179–180; ?Didymus, De Trin. 545 AB.

55. This argument for the divinity of the Spirit and the co-equality of the Trinity is indeed to be found in several Greek and Latin works, but the oldest form I have so far been able to identify is that in Didymus' De Spir. S., while DTSpS may be the first to give a fully developed trinitarian version. For other versions cf Ps. – Basil, Adv. Eun. IV–V, 721 C f; ?Didymus, De Trin., 364 A f.

πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα δοξολογοῦσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ βαπτιζόμεθα, οὕτως καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ γινόμεθα υἱοὶ θεοῦ, οὐ θεῶν. πατὴρ γὰρ καὶ ἅγιος καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐστι. μία γὰρ ἡ θεότης καὶ εἰς θεός[56]. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἅπερ εἶπεν ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ, ὁ Ἰωάννης λέγει, ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς εἶπεν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πράξεσι ὁ Παῦλός φησιν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἶπε. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ὁ Ἡσαΐας·

Thereafter the author quotes Is 6, 1–3; 8–10, then Jo 12, 39–41. (1000 B–1001 B) Then however' instead of proceeding directly to Acts 28, he turns aside to give a little catena of texts reinforcing the implication in Jo 12 that the Son is Lord of Hosts– Ps 23, 10; 22, 1; 79, 2; Jo 10, 14, which combine to show that the Son is the Lord, the Shepherd of Israel, the Good Shepherd, who sits above the cherubim. Only then is Acts 28 referred to–and it is not even verbally quoted (1001 B):

ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα λέγει διὰ Ἡσαΐου εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἅπερ εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας, ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Σαβαὼθ μοι εἶπεν. ὁ πατὴρ οὖν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐστι.

With this, the discussion of Isaiah's Vision is completed, and DICA moves on to a quite different topic – the creative power of the Father and Son. Indeed at this point the first Trinitarian section ends, and there is no continuity with what follows. In this DICA is quite different from DTSpS, in that where the latter gives an argument which is well–anchored in the whole development of the work, and stands in a close relation both to what precedes and to what follows it, DICA shows clear breaks both before and after this passage. That by itself indicates the probability that DTSpS is the original version; but there is more significant evidence still in the way the material is handled in the two works.

The most immediately obvious contrast is that in DTSpS a wide range of inter–related ideas and proofs are offered, each being given adequate space and emphasis, whereas in DICA everythjng is flattened out, as it were, and reduced to one dimension. DICA is concerned only to show that the Father, Son and Spirit are one Lord of Hosts; and to this single theme the cry of the seraphim, the Baptismal formula, and the proof from Is 6, Jo 12 and Acts 28 are all subordinated. The rich and varied disussion in DTSpS, where the equality of the three Persons, the claim of the Spirit to be worshipped, the meaning of Baptism in the name of the Trinity, the mystery of the Triple Sanctus and the worship of the heavenly beings are all combined into an harmonious and creative presentation of faith in the Trinity which has depth as well as logical force, has in DICA been compressed and systematised into a rather featureless dogmatic formula.

First of all it is striking that whereas DTSpS carefully works out the argument from Is 6, Jo 12 and Acts 28 in detail, quoting all the texts and explaining his conclusions from them, DICA is by contrast almost careless: it announces in advance what the conclusion is going to be, and does not trouble even to quote the verses from Acts. In DTSps we may well have the first formulation of this proof, whereas in DICA it is patently one which is already familiar to the author, and only needs to be briefly stated, not argued in detail. The fact that DICA includes its little catena of texts in 1001 B points in the same direction: these are nothing more than embroidery, inserted to embellish the argument in exactly the way one might expect a copyist to attempt to make some small contribution to the argument he owes to another. They add nothing significantly new to the proof, but merely underline the sole point which the author of DICA wants to make – that the Trinity are one Lord of Hosts.

Secondly, DICA begins with its two very brief and compressed references to the Triple Sanctus and to the Baptismal formula before leading into the discussion of the Vision. But it is more than a little difficult to see why they are included there, and why they are put together, except that they do in a general way have to do with the theme of the following exegesis. But in the light of DTSpS, which not only includes these elements, but integrates them into its study of the Vision in a clear and effective, way, it becomes all too obvious what the writer of DICA has done: he has included them because he found them in DTSpS: but in his own. systematising reduction of the whole passage from DTSpS he was unable to give them their proper place. Thus he was compelled simply to include them as unexplained components in his own presentation, where – although not exactly out of place – they do not play a role in any way comparable to that assigned to them in DTSpS. This makes it impossible to believe that DTSpS here could be the later and dependent work: rather the order of dependence is entirely the other way.

Thirdly there is the point of contrast which we mentioned before: DTSpS states that all three Persons were *seen* in the Vision, while DICA asserts that all three *spoke*. As Jo 12 refers to the Son as being seen, and Acts 28 to the Spirit as speaking, it might at first seem that DTSpS and DICA here are equally close to – or far from – the actual meaning of the texts cited. But the position is not so simple, and rather suggests the priority of DTSpS; for while it argues in a way which is certainly supportable from Acts 28 that the Spirit must have been seen as well as heard, DICA makes the quite inaccurate

56. In the MPG text the words καὶ εἰς θεὸς are followed by ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι. This is, however, an interpolation – cf Tetz, Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra I 244.

statement that John says that the Son spoke the words ascribed by Isaiah to the Lord and by Acts to the Spirit. This is not the case: John says that *Isaiah* spoke these words when he saw the glory of the Son. That is, DICA here not only reveals the general tendency to abbreviate arguments taken over from the DTSpS which we have found in several passages; it also betrays the same lack of concern for accuracy in its reference to what its Biblical sources actually say which we noted above when we compared the correlation of I Cor 12, 4–6 with I Cor 12, 11 in DICA 1008 C f and DTSpS 1195 BC; 220 ff. Here, as there, DICA seems to be concerned only to summarise an established argument as briefly and pointedly as possible, but not to construct an entirely new one from the foundations up.

For all these reasons it is quite impossible seriously to maintain that DTSpS could in this passage be dependent on DICA. Rather, DICA here, as in the preceding section, patently betrays its dependence on DTSpS. The evidence of this third set of parallels confirms what the first two sets suggested and shows how well-grounded the judgment of Stülcken and Shapland was. DICA has used DTSpS; it has not been DTSpS's source. This implies that DTSpS itself was originally a Greek work, not a Latin one, for the reasons already given[57]. It also means that DICA must be recognised for what it really is: the work of a compiler who drew on other sources, notably DTSps, in constructing his work.

We are not, however, entirely finished with this excerpt from DTSpS, for it is in this passage that both Chavoutier and Kretschmar find evidence for its Latin provenance in the mid 5th century[58]. The sentence in question is one we have already quoted from DTSpS 1208 B; 939 ff:

Ecclesiae autem Christi omnes ab oriente usque ad occidentem convenienter patrem a seraphin laudari profitentur in ministeriorum relatone.

In the pseudo–Ambrosian Libellus edited by Chavoutier a statement is made which bears some resemblance to this:

Unde etiam tractum est per omnes fere orientales ecclesias et nonnullas occidentales, ut in oblationibus sacrificiorum, quae deo patri offerentur, una cum sacerdote voce populus utatur, id est: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Sabaoth, plena est omnis terra maiestate eius. Ergo secundum hoc constat prophetiam ad personam dei patris referri oportere.

In the Libellus, as in DTSpS, this statement comes in the context of the presentation of the argument from Is 6, Jo 12 and Acts 28, and is used to demonstrate the presence of the Father in Isaiah's Vision. And these two works appear to be alone among those which use the argument in finding it necessary to prove that the Father was indeed included. In the Libellus the point is very clear: the author is referring to the use of the Triple Sanctus in the liturgy, which as he indicates was at the time he was writing common in the Eastern and spreading in the Western Church. Chavoutier and Kretschmar accordingly take the statement in DTSpS to refer to the use ofthe Triple Sanctus in the liturgy, and conclude that DTSpS is dependent on the Libellus. Chavoutier contrasts the precise and emphatic reliance on the appeal to the Triple Sanctus with the vaguer, more rhetorical remark in DTSpS, and argues from this that DTSpS must be the later;[59] while Kretschmar suggests that the argument from these three texts met with difficulties when it was imported into the Church in the West (via Jerome, Ep 18a ad Damasum[60]) because of some Western uncertainty as to whether the Father had really been seen by Isaiah; and that the reference to the currently spreading use of the liturgical Triple Sanctus in the Western Church was a convenient means of establishing, against such doubts, that the Father was indeed present in the Temple[61]. Thus on this interpretation DTSpS is Latin, later than the Libellus, and reflects the period when the use of the liturgical Triple Sanctus was spreading in the West (i.e. during the 5th century).

If this interpretation is correct, we should have to conclude either that DTSpS is as a whole a Latin work from the mid 5th century; or that at this point an editor or translator has sought to improve the work by inserting a fresh line of argument. The first of these alternatives is however very hard to accept in view of the considerable evidence for the priority of DTSpS over DICA, not to mention the significant indications in DTSpS that it is a Greek work in origin. The second is equally unattractive for more than one reason. First, the reference in 1208 B; 939 ff forms an integral part of the whole discussion of Isaiak's Vision. Second, the argument from the Vision, and the emphasis on the worship of the seraphim, clearly belong to the original conception of the work: the very last words of the whole writing are (1218 C; 1470–2): *...ita sentientes de trinitate et imitantes adorationem seraphyn heredes regni caelorum effici poterimus. Amen.* These two points together make it very hard to belive that such a central element in the discussion of the Vision could be an interpolation. Third, this reference to „all the churches of Christ" (which is repeated twice a few lines later at 1208 C; 945–6) is very similar to two other references, one much earlier and one much later in DTSpS – 1197 B; 321–3:... *tamen apostoli ecclesias totius orbis docuerunt credere in patrem et filium et in spiritum san-*

57. Cf supra, n 29.

58. Chavoutier, Un libellus pseudo–Ambrosien sur le Saint–Esprit, 177–9; 190; Kretschmar, Neue Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Ostergottesdienstes II, 79–80.

59. Chavoutier, op cit, 179: „La précision de l' argument et l' importance qu'il lui accorde donnent à penser que le libellus fournit un témoignage direct à l' appui d'une idée originale. Il est la source du pseudo–Athanase."

60. Ed Labourt I, 57, 22 ff.

61. Kretschmar, loc cit.

*ctum;* and 1218 A; 1435–6: *Et cum spiritus sanctus haec promulgasset, omnes ecclesiae Christi custodiunt.* The appeal to the comon faith of the churches would thus appear to be one which the author of DTSpS was in the habit of using. But in spite of these difficulties, one or other of these two alternatives would have to be adopted if Chavoutier and Kretschmar are right. Is their interpretation, however, right–or even probable? Closer consideration of it, and of the DTSpS passage, is necessary to come to a decision on this. First of all the sentence in DTSpS should be given in its context in 1208 B; 936 ff:

Ecce Johannes quidem filium, Paulus vero spiritum sanctum esse dicit, qui sit visus Esaiae, sedens super thronum altum et elevatum qui et adoratur et laudatur et glorificatur a seraphin. Ecclesiae autem Christi omnes ab oriente usque ad occidentem convenienter patrem a seraphin laudari profitentur in ministeriorum relatione. Dicant itaque nobis, qui venerationem spiritui sancto derogant, quisnam ex his fallit, utrumne Johannes an Paulus an vero omnes ecclesiae Christi? quoniam quidem omnes ecclesiae patrem profitentur esse qui adoratur a sepaphin, Johannes autem filium, Paulus vero spiritum sanctum.

The most remarkable feature of this paragraph is one which itself puts a very large question mark against Chavoutier's and Kretschmar's interpretation. In it DTSpS does not explicitly mention the Triple Sanctus at all! All it states is that all the churches confess that the Father is worshipped by the seraphim *in ministeriorum relatione.* But it does not introduce the Triple Sanctus to prove this: that is only referred to some forty lines later (at 1209 B; 981–2), when it is used not simply to prove that the Father was present in the Vision, but rather to demonstrate what the whole Trinity was present. This use of the Triple Sanctus goes back to Origen, and is to be found in more than one Greek work (including of course DICA, as we have just seen) of the fourth century[62]. But it is quite different from the appeal to the Triple Sanctus in the Libellus, which specifically mentions the liturgical Triple Sanctus and argues that it is adressed to the Father.

The contrast here between DTSpS and the Libellus is indeed seen, but not perhaps correctly interpreted, by Chavoutier[63]. He argues that DTSpS is so vague and rhetorical that it must itself be dependent on the more precise statement in the Libellus. This would certainly be justified – *if* DTSpS and the Libellus were saying the same thing. But are they? Is DTSpS referring even indirectly to the liturgical Triple Sanctus to show that the Father is present in Isaiah's Vision? This is by no means obvious from the text of DTSpS itself: it only comes to seem obvious when DTSpS is interpreted via the Libellus on the assumption that it is saying the same as the pseudo-Ambrosian work. But if this interpretation can only really be put on DTSpS on that assumption, it can clearly supply no very strong argument for the Latin origins of DTSpS – in effect, in order to be able to interpret this passage in DTSpS in a way which will reveal the work's Latin context, one has first of all to assume that it is Latin, and can be understood via the Libellus! Chavoutier and Kretschmar naturally did assume that DTSpS belongs to the 5th century Western Church, and so accepted the equation of DTSpS's concern with that of the Libellus as self-evidently correct. But the evidence of the DTSpS passage itself scarcely gives them very strong support, while all the other evidence indicates that DTSpS does not belong in the Western Church in the 5th century.

This is not to say that the author of DTSpS may not have had the liturgical Triple Sanctus – or some other liturgical feature – in mind when he wrote the passage. The key sentence *(Ecclesiae autem Christi omnes ab oriente usque ad occidentem convenienter patrem a seraphin laudari profitentur in ministeriorum relatione)* is in its general intention perfectly clear, but in its particular reference perfectly obscure. That the author wishes to emphasise that in all the churches it is recognised that the Father is worshipped by the seraphim is obvious; but precisely when, how, or in what particular way the churches are supposed to do this remains unexplained. In the light of the other references in the work to „all the churches" it may well be that the author is only making a general remark, pointing out ironically that there can at any rate be no doubt that the Father was included in the Vision, as all the churches would recognise that he was. This would accord with the ironic tone throughout the whole discussion – a tone which indeed can clearly be recognised ie the immediately following sentence: „Let them tell us, those who deny worship to the Holy Spirit, which of these is deceived – is it John, or Paul, or even all the churches of Christ?" On the other hand it is possible that he may have had something more in mind – a particular liturgical occasion on which the churches explicitly confessed that the Father is worshipped by the seraphim.

That he may have intended something of this kind is suggested by the concluding phrase *in ministeriorum relatione.* This could be taken to refer to the liturgy and the sense would then be that „all the churches *in their worship* confess that the Father is worshipped by the seraphim". If this is the intended meaning, then the liturgical Triple Sanctus could well be what he is referring to. On the other hand, the phrase could just as easily be taken to refer to the status of the seraphim themselves and the sense would then be that „all the churches confess that the Father is worshipped by the seraphim *in the status of servants*". The text of DTSps itself does not appear to make it possible to come to a decision between these two choices. But

62. Cf supra, n 54; 55.
63. Chavoutier, loc cit.

even if the author was in fact referring to the liturgical Triple Sanctus, which we may well suspect, but of which we cannot be certain, it would still not necessarily follow that Cavoutier's and Kretschmar's interpretation should be reinstated; for *in ministeriotum relatione* is not the only ambiguous phrase in this puzzling sentence: the earlier *ab oriente usque ad occidentem* is equally open to more than one interpretation.

Chavoutier and Kretschmar take these words with the preceding *ecclesiae... Christi omnes*, so understanding it as meaning „all the churches of Christ from the east to the west". When this is then compared with the reference in the Libellus to *omnes fere orientales ecclesias et nonnullas occidentales*, it is quite natural to conclude as they do that the author of DTSpS means to say that the liturgical feature to which he is *ex hypothesi* referring – i.e. the Triple Sanctus – is used in all the churches in east and west. But even though this interpretation is understandable it is not necessarily correct: the phrase can be put in a very different light if DTSpS is not compared with the Libellus (which it in any case only remotely resembles) but with the Alexandrian Liturgy of St Mark[64].

In the Liturgy of St. Mark, where the Triple Sanctus was an established feature earlier than in the Western Church, it was immediately preceded by Mal 1, 11: „From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same My Name shall be great among the gentiles". And it is the language of this text which is echoed here in DTSpS. If the writer of the work had the Triple Sanctus in mind; if he was, as the other available evidence suggests, a Greek; and if, as there may be some ground for suspecting, DTSpS was written in or near Alexandria[65] – then it would be by no means beyond the bounds of possibility that his original Greek formulation referred not to the churches in east and west, but to the worship of God from the rising of the sun (or from the east) to its setting (or to the west) as it was described in the Liturgy. Even as the Latin text stands the phrase could, admittedly with some awkwardness, be taken in this sense; and such awkwardness as is involved would of course be no argument against this interpretation if what we now have in DTSpS is the attempt of a Latin, unfamiliar with the liturgical background of the original author, to reproduce his meaning in Latin.

In brief: no very strong argument for assigning DTSpS to a mid 5th century Latin author can be drawn from the resemblances in this excerpt to the Libellus, as to interpret DTSpS in the light of the Libellus is in effect already to assume that it comes from a similar background, and that the obscurities and ambiguities in DTSpS must be taken in the same sense as the clear formulations in the Libellus. In fact these elements in DTSpS are open to other interpretations; and even if the author is referring to the liturgical use of the Triple Sanctus – which is by no means certain – his reference could as well be understood in terms of mid 4th century Alexandria as of the mid 5th century Latin Church. Altogether this passage speaks at least as strongly for a Greek origin for the work as for a Latin one. This means that none of the arguments which have been or might be advanced on the basis of investigation so far to show that DTSpS is a Latin writing can be allowed to have any great force, or advanced as objections to the conclusion that DTSpS is in fact older than DICA, and must therefore be translated from a Greek original.

64. For the Liturgy of St Mark, see Kretschmar, Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 21, 1956, 157; 187.

65. Admittedly this cannot be more than a suspicion. I base it chiefly on the observation that DTSpS seems to reflect a similar stage and state of controversial debate to Didymus' De Spiritu Sancto and Athanasius' Letters to Serapion and that there are signs of literary dependence of DTSpS on Didymus' work which suggest some sort of direct or indirect Alexandrian influence. But that is perhaps enough to support the suggestion I hazard here that the author may have the words of the Alexandrian liturgy in mind.

# Ο ΑΓΙΟΓΡΑΦΟΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΟΒΑΣ*

Ὑπὸ

*Δρος Ἀθανασίου Παπᾶ*

Μητροπολίτου Ἐλενουπόλεως

*Συντμήσεις :

Α : Ἀπογευματινή, Μπέηογλου (Σταμπούλ) 1 (1925)—.

ΑΑ : Ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας, Σταμπούλ 1 (1951) - 13 (1964).

ΑΔ : Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1 (1916)—.

Ἀρχιερατικόν.: —, Ἀρχιερατικόν, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1971, ἔκδ. τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Βόσ. : Βόσπορος, Γαλατᾶς (Σταμπούλ) ἀρ. 1 - 8, 1 (1951).

*Μ. Γεδεών*, Θεοτόκος τῶν Κύρου.: *Γεδεὼν Μ. Ι.*, Ἐκκλησίαι βυζαντιναὶ ἐξακριβούμεναι (κυρίως ἡ Θεοτόκος τῶν Κύρου), ἐν Κων/πόλει 1900.

*Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον.: *Γεδεὼν Μ. Ι.*, Ἑορτολόγιον Κωνσταντινουπολίτου προσκυνητοῦ, ἐν Κων/πόλει 1904.

ΕΑ : Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, Κων/πολις 1 (1880)-43 (1923).

ΕΗ : *Ζερβοπούλου Σ. Ν.*, Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον Εἰκονογραφημένον, Κων/πολις 1 (1934) - 5 (1940).

Ἐμ. : Ἐμπρός, Μπέηογλου Τσαγάλογλου 1 (1953) -15 (1967). 1 (1968) - 7 (1974).

ΕΦΚΗ : Ἐθνικὰ Φιλανθρωπικὰ Καταστήματα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Ἡμερολόγιον τῶν ἐτῶν 1905-7, 3 τ., ἐν Κων/πόλει 1904 - 6.

Θεία Λειτουργία.: —, Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία, Ἀθῆναι ἄ.χ., ἔκδ. Μ. Ι. Σαλιβέρου.

Θ : Θεολογία, Ἀθῆναι 1 (1923)—.

ΘΗΕ : Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία, 12 τ., Ἀθῆναι 1962 - 8.

Ἰμ. : Ἴμβρος, Γαλατᾶς 1 - 4 (1947 - 1951), τεύχ. 1 - 5, 5 (1952), τεύχ. 11 - 12, 6 (1953), τεύχ. 1 - 4, 7 (1955).

ΙΣ : Ἰατρολογοτεχνικὴ Στέγη, Ἀθῆναι 1 (1968)—.

ΚΠΑ : Κῶδιξ Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀλληλογραφίας 1941-8, 1953 - 5. (Χειρ. κώδικες τοῦ Ἀρχειοφυλακίου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου).

*Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος.: *Λαμπίρη Η.*, Μορφὲς τῆς Πόλης. Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας, ΙΣ ἀρ. 47, 12 (1980) 58 - 70.

Λεύκωμα Βουγιούκδερε.: —, 1831 - 1891. Λεύκωμα ἑκατονταετηρίδος ἱεροῦ ναοῦ Ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς Βουγιούκδερε, ἄ.τ. 1931.

Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον.: —, Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον ἢ Ἁγιασματάριον, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1956, ἔκδ. τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

ML : Meydan Larousse. Büyük Lûgat ve Ansiklopedi, 13 τ., Ἰσταμπούλ 1969 - 1975.

MN : Μαρμαρινὰ Νέα, Ἀθῆναι 1 (1945) —.

Ο : Ὀρθοδοξία, Σταμπούλ 1 (1926) - 38 (1963).

*Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας.: *Παπᾶ Α.*, Ἐλενουπόλεως, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας (1894 - 1972), Χαριστήρια εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Γέροντος Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτωνος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1977, 422 - 451 καὶ ἀνάτ. ἄνευ τῶν πιν.

*Α. Παπᾶ*, Ἁγιογράφος.: *Παπᾶ Α.*, Ἐλενουπόλεως, Περὶ τὸν ἁγιογράφον Εἰρήναρχον Κόβαν καὶ τὸ λογοτεχνικὸν κυρίως ἔργον αὐτοῦ, Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος 60 (1978) 667 - 678 καὶ ἀνάτ.

*Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν.: *Παπᾶ Α.*, Ἐλενουπόλεως, Τὸ Συνοδικὸν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου καὶ ἡ διακόσμησις αὐτοῦ, Κληρονομία 12 (1980) 403 - 438 καὶ ἀνάτ.

RbK : Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst, Στουττγάρδη 1 (1966)–.

*Β. Σταυρίδου*, Οἰκουμενικοὶ Πατριάρχαι.: *Σταυρίδου Β. Θ.*, Οἱ Οἰκουμενικοὶ Πατριάρχαι 1860–σήμερον, 2 τ., Θεσσαλονίκη 1977, 1978.

Τ : Τέχνη, Ἰσταμπούλ 1 (1944) - 4 (1950).

Χρ. : Χρόνος, Γαλατᾶς 1 (1946) - 21 (1967).

αἰ. : αἰών.

ἀνάτ. : ἀνάτυπον.

ἀρ. : ἀριθμός.

ἄ.τ. : ἄνευ τόπου.

ἄ.χ. : ἄνευ χρόνου.

διάμ. : διάμετρος.

εἰκ. : εἰκών.

ἔκδ. : ἔκδοσις, ἐκδότης.

Λ.Τ. : Λῖραι Τουρκίας.

μ. : μέτρα.

περ. : περίπου.

πίν. : πίναξ.

πρωτ. : πρωτόκολλον.

σ. : σελίς.

τεῦχ. : τεῦχος.

τ. : τόμος, τόμοι.

ὑποσ. : ὑποσημείωσις.

χειρ. : χειρόγραφον.

AKSUM-THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

Περὶ τοῦ διαπρεποῦς ἐκ Φαναρίου ἁγιογράφου καὶ λογοτέχνου Εἰρηνάρχου (Ἄρχη) Κόβα (1894-1972), ἐξέδωσεν ὁ γράφων πρὸ ἐτῶν τρεῖς μελέτας[1]. Κατὰ τὸ διαρρεῦσαν ὅμως ἔκτοτε χρονικὸν διάστημα, ἀνεκάλυψε καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἔργα[2] αὐτοῦ, εὑρισκόμενα εἰς διαφόρους ναοὺς τῆς Ἱ. Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῇ Ἱ. Μητροπόλεων κυρίως, καθὼς καὶ εἰς ἰδιώτας τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ[3], πολλοὶ τῶν ὁποίων, μᾶλλον μετὰ τὸ 1955, ἐγκαταλείψαντες τὴν Πόλιν συναπεκόμισαν ταῦτα μεθ' ἑαυτῶν.

Διὸ καὶ ἐθεώρησε καλόν, ὅπως συμπληρώσῃ τὴν ἀρχικήν του ἐργασίαν διὰ τῆς παρούσης, ἡ ὁποία μετὰ τῆς πρώτης, οὖσα καρπὸς μακροχρονίου μετὰ τοῦ καλλιτέχνου ἐνασχολήσεως, ὁλοκληρώνει τρόπον τινὰ μίαν πρώτην περὶ τὸν Ε. Κόβαν ἔρευναν. Δὲν ἀποκλείεται ὅμως καὶ ὡρισμένα ἄλλα ἔργα αὐτοῦ νὰ εὑρίσκωνται εἰσέτι εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, καὶ κυρίως εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν, τὰ ὁποῖα ὁ γράφων δυστυχῶς δὲν κατώρθωσε νὰ ἐπισημάνῃ. Ἀρκεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ προκειμένου νὰ ἀναφερθῇ π.χ. τὸ ὅτι ὁ ἀοίδιμος Πατριάρχης Ἀθηναγόρας Α΄ (1948 - 1972) παρήγγελλε κατὰ καιροὺς διάφορα ἔργα εἰς τὸν καλλιτέχνην, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀπέστελλε κατόπιν εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν[4]. Τὰ νέα ταῦτα ἔργα τοῦ Ε. Κόβα εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς:

1. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Ἁγιογράφος. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Συνοδικόν., ἔνθα καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ βιβλιογραφία, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ὅμως προσθετέα καὶ ἡ ἑξῆς: *Α. Μ(πέρτ)*, Δύο νέα φιλολογικὰ πορτραῖτα, Α 4.8.1 (1925) 3. *Μ. Ἀναγνωστόπουλου*, Κάποιες ὧρες, Ἀθήνα 1927, 5-7. —, Νέα διάφορα, Τ 2 (1945) 67. 2 (1946) 99, 258. —, Θέατρον. Δύο μονόπρακτα ἔργα, Τ 2 (1946) 98-9. —, Ἐκδόσεις, Τ 2 (1946) 132. —, Βιβλία. Αἱ βάσεις τῆς βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Α. Χ΄΄. Ἀθανασίου, Ἐπιθεώρηση ἀρ. 8, 1 (1948) 144. —, Σύνδεσμοι. Μορφωτικὸς Σύνδεσμος Μ. Ρεύματος, Τ 4 (1949) 119. —, Πνευματικὴ κίνηση Συνδέσμων. «Μορφωτικὸς Μοδιοῦ», Τ 3 (1948) 343. —, Ἀπὸ τὴν κίνηση τῶν Μ.Συνδέσμων μας. Μορφωτικὸς Σύνδεσμος Μοδιοῦ, Τ 4 (1949) 158. Ὁ Βόσπορος, Οἱ λίγες λέξεις τοῦ πρώτου μας τεύχους..., Βόσ. ἀρ. 2, 23.8.1 (1951) 8. *Στυλιανοῦ*, Αὐστραλίας, Ὁ Πατριάρχης Ἀθηναγόρας καὶ αἱ διορθόδοξοι σχέσεις, Ἀθηναγόρας Α΄ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης ὁ Ἠπειρώτης, Ἰωάννινα 1975, 234-5, ὑποσ. 26. *Σ. Σ. Παπαδόπουλου*, Παναγία ἡ Γλυκοφιλοῦσα, Α 22.11.52 (1976) 3. *Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος. *Σ. Σ. Παπαδόπουλου*, Στιγμιότυπα, Α 16.6.56 (1981) 3. *Χ. Χαρισιάδη*, Ὁ τόπος τῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ Γένους καὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, Νέα Ἑστία τεῦχ. 1284, 109 (1981) 37. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Ἑλενουπόλεως, Πολῖται τινὲς ζωγράφοι καὶ ἁγιογράφοι τοῦ ΙΘ΄ καὶ Κ΄ αἰῶνος (ὑπὸ ἔκδ.).

2. Ἐνταῦθα δέον νὰ σημειωθῇ, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν κατωτέρω περιγραφὴν τῶν ἔργων τὰ παρεχόμενα στοιχεῖα ἐνίοτε εἶναι ἐλλιπῆ, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον ὀφείλεται εἰς τὸ ὅτι ὁ γράφων δὲν ἠδυνήθη νὰ ἔλθῃ πάντοτε εἰς ἄμεσον ἐπαφὴν μετ' αὐτῶν. Εἰς ὀλίγας δὲ εὐτυχῶς περιπτώσεις, ὡς τῆς Θ. Μικέδη καὶ τοῦ Δρος Ἀκύλα Μήλλα, δὲν κατέστη δυνατὸν νὰ διαπιστωθῇ οὔτε τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἔργων, τὰ ὁποῖα εὑρίσκονται εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν αὐτῶν.

3. Ὁ γράφων εὐχαριστεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως ταύτης τοὺς Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτωνα, Ἀμερικῆς Ἰάκωβον, Ροδοπόλεως Ἱερώνυμον, Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου Φώτιον, Μύρων Χρυσόστομον, Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ, Αὐστραλίας Στυλιανόν, Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ, Πρωτοσυγκελλεύοντα, Καρπενησίου Νικόλαον, Δαφνουσίας Γρηγόριον (†), Οἰκονόμους Π. Θεοδωρίδην, Π. Κουζινόν, Ν. Πετροπέλλην, Πρωτοπρ. Μ. Σακκουλίδην, π. Σ. Κλωστερίδην, καὶ τοὺς Γ. Ἀδόσογλου, Α. Ἀνεστίδην, Ε. Ἀρσενιάδην, Γ. Βαξεβανίδην, Λ. Βεζάνην, Ε. Γεωργιάδην, Μ. Γιαλιᾶν, Κ. Γκιουζέλογλου, Κ. Α. Γρίβαν, Ν. Δεβλέτογλου, Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδην, Ν. Ἰστεκλῆν, Γ. Μουχάλην, Ε. Μπαχτσετζῆ, Δ. Ραϊτσανόφσκυ, Κ. Στυλιανίδου, Ε. καὶ Μ. Σφακιανούδην, Κ. Τσοκώναν, Δ. Χαβιαρόπουλον, Χ. Χαρισιάδην, Θ. Χατζηαντωνιάδην, Α. Χατζόπουλον (†), F. Dapola, G. Seidl καὶ O. Valenti, διὰ τὴν βοήθειαν, τὴν ὁποίαν παρέσχον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἔρευνάν του.

4. Πρβλ. τὰς σ.312 ἑξ.τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

## Α. ΤΟ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ

### I–II. ΦΟΡΗΤΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΧΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΙ

#### Ἱ. Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Κοιμήσεως Θεοτόκου, Παναγίας Γοργοεπηκόου Ἐξ Μαρμάρων*[1] *(Esekapı).*

Η | Α | ΓΙ | Α | Μ[ΑΡ]Τ[ΥΣ] Τ(ΟΥ) Χ[ΡΙ](ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) | ΒΑΡ | ΒΑ | ΡΑ (0,62.5 × 1,62 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ἀντικολλητοῦ. Τέμπλον. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ Δ(ΟΥ)ΛΗΣ Τ(ΟΥ) ΘΕ(ΟΥ) ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΤ Ι. ΤΟΠΑΛΟΓΛΟΥ 1964. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας ἐποίει αϡξδ'.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Νικολάου Ἁγίας*[2] *(Cibali).*

Δίπτυχον ζώντων καὶ τεθνεώτων (0,28.2×0,33 μ.). Ἐλαιοχρώματα ἐπὶ ξύλου. Πρόθεσις. Ἐπιγραφαί: Κίμωνος | Ἀποστόλου | Στεφάνου | Ἀθανασίου | Συμεὼν | Κων(στ)αντίνου | Ἀλεξάνδρας | Ἀλεξάνδρου.

*Ἱ. Ἁγίασμα Ἁγ. Χαραλάμπους Ἁγίας*[3].

Διάκοσμος τῶν τοίχων τοῦ διαδρόμου εἰσόδου[4] καὶ τοῦ ὀπισθίου δωματίου τοῦ Ἁγιάσματος. Ἐλαιογραφίαι ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου. Ἐπὶ τοῦ τυμπάνου πρὸς νότον τοῦ διαδρόμου, μετάλλιον (διαμ. 0,75 μ.) μετὰ τοῦ στηθαρίου Ο | ΑΓΙ | ΟΣ ΧΑ | ΡΑ | ΛΑΜ | Π(ΟΣ) μεταξὺ δύο Ἀγγέλων[5]. Ἄνωθεν ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΑΘΛΟΦΟΡΕ ΑΓΙΕ Κ[ΑΙ] ΙΑΜΑΤΙΚΕ ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΕΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΕ ΥΠΕΡ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΩΛΩΝ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΩΝ Σ(ΟΥ)[6]. Διατήρησις κακή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου, Παναγίας Μουχλίου*[7] *(Tevkiicâfer mahallesi) Φαναρίου.*

Ο | Α | ΓΙ | Ο | Σ ΠΑΝ | ΤΕΛΕ | Η | ΜΩΝ (0,24 × 0,30.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. Δεξιὸν κλίτος. Διατήρησις μετρία[8]. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: + ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ Δ(ΟΥ)ΛΗΣ Τ(ΟΥ) ΘΕ(ΟΥ) ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΠΑΝΤ. Δ(ΟΥ)ΓΟΥΝΖΟΓΛ(ΟΥ)+. Ὄπισθεν σταυρὸς μετὰ τῶν συντμήσεων ΙΣ ΧΣ | ΝΙ ΚΑ[9] καὶ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς: Ἡ παρ(οῦ)σα (εἰ)κὼν τ(οῦ) ἁγί(ου) | Μεγαλομάρτυρος κ[αὶ] ἰαματι | κ(οῦ) Παντελεήμον(ος) ἀφιερώ|θη τῷ Ἱερῷ Ναῷ Παναγίας|τῶν Μογγολίων εἰς προσκύ|νημα τῶν πι(στ)ῶν παρὰ τῆς | δούλης τ(οῦ) Θε(οῦ) Ἀλεξάνδρας | συμβίας Παντελεήμονος | τ(οῦ) Δουγουνζόγλου | ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ αϡμζ'. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Ἐν Φαναρίῳ Κων|(στ)αντινουπόλεως (καὶ) ἔτει [σωτηρ]ίῳ αϡμζ' μηνὶ δὲ Μα(ρτ)ίῳ Εἰρή[να]ρχος Κόβας ὁ Χῖος ἐποίει+.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Ποτηρᾶ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ (Draman).*

1. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ]) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ο (ΣΤ)ΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΣ (0,33.5 × 0,46.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Βόρειος τοῖχος Προθέσεως. Ὄπισθεν σταυρὸς μετὰ τῶν συντμήσεων ΙΣ ΧΣ | ΝΙ ΚΑ καὶ τῆς χρονολογίας Αϡμα'. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

2. Ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἡτοίμαζε σχέδια εἰκόνων διὰ τὰ προσκυνητάρια τοῦ τέμπλου τοῦ ναοῦ, καθὼς καὶ σχέδια διὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν τοῦ ἱ. Ἁγιάσματος τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ, τὴν ὁποίαν ὅμως δὲν κατώρθωσε νὰ πραγματοποιήσῃ[10].

*Ἱ. ναὸς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Βαλίνου*[11] *(μεταξὺ Παλατᾶ καὶ Βλαχερνῶν).*

1. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Ο ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ

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1. *Σ. Δ. Βυζαντίου*, Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, Ἀθήνησιν 1869 - 1890, 1, 299 - 80. —, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ κοινοτικὴ ζωή. Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Κων/πόλεως, ΕΗ 3 (1936) 137-8.

2. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον. 114 - 7. —, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ κοινοτικὴ ζωή. Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Κων/πόλεως, ΕΗ 3 (1936) 133.

3. —, Αἱ ἐνορίαι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 200.

4. Πρβλ. τὸν τοξωτὸν διάκοσμον τῶν τοίχων τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. πίν. 1, 4, 12.

5. *D. I. Pallas*, Himmelsmächte. Erzengel und Engel, RbK 3 (1972) 14 - 119.

6. Πρβλ. τὸ δεύτερον Στιχηρὸν τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου: . . ., Μάρτυς ἀθλοφόρε, . . .ἱκέτευε ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. *Β. Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ*, Μηναῖον τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου, ἐν Βενετίᾳ 1852, 61.

7. *Μ. Σωφρονιάδου*, Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Παναγίας Μουχλίου, Α 20.8.7 (1932) 1. *S. Eyice*, Son devir bizans mimârisi, Ἰσταμπούλ[2] 1980, 54 - 6.

8. Ἁπλῆγη βαρέως κατὰ τὰ γεγονότα τῆς 6/7.9.1955. Εἶτα ἐκολλήθη καὶ ἐπιδιωρθώθη προχείρως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱ. προϊσταμένου τοῦ ναοῦ Οἰκον. Π. Θεοδωρίδου.

9. *Κ. Καλλινίκου*, Πρωτοπρ., Ὁ χριστιανικὸς ναὸς καὶ τὰ τελούμενα ἐν αὐτῷ, Ἀθῆναι[2] 1958, 270.

10. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Ν. Κασνάκογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 22.5.1974.

11. —, Αἱ ἐνορίαι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 201 - 2. —, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ κοινοτικὴ ζωή. Ἀρχιε-

(0,23.5 × 0,33.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ἀντικολλητοῦ. Διακονικόν. Διατήρησις καλή. Ὑπογραφή: Α. Κόβας. Ἄνευ χρονολογίας.

2. Ο | ΑΓΙ(ΟΣ) ΒΑ|ΣΙΛΕΙ|ΟΣ (1,33.5 × 1,46 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Μεθ' ὑάλου. Προσκυνητάριον δεξιοῦ κλίτους. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνοικτοῦ βιβλίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ Χ[ΡΙ](ΣΤ)Ε Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΣΥ ΓΑΡ | ΕΙ Ο ΑΡΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ | ΖΩΗΣ Η (ΠΗ)ΓΗ Τ(ΟΥ) | ΑΓΙΑΣΜ(ΟΥ) Ο ΔΩ | ΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΑ | ΘΩΝ Κ[ΑΙ] ΣΥ (ΤΗ)Ν ΔΟ | ΞΑΝ ΑΝΑΠΕΜΠΟ | ΜΕΝ ΣΥΝ (ΤΩ) ΠΑ(ΤΡ)Ι | Κ[ΑΙ] (ΤΩ) ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝ[ΕΥΜΑ]ΤΙ[1]. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Η ΠΑΡΟΥΣΑ ΙΕΡΑ ΕΙΚΩΝ (ΑΝ)Ι(ΣΤ)ΟΡΗΘΗ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ Α϶ΝΗ' ΔΑΠΑΝΗ Τ(ΟΥ) ΕΥΛΑΒ(ΟΥ)Σ ΓΟΝ(ΟΥ) (ΤΗ)Σ ΚΟΙΝΟ(ΤΗ)ΤΟΣ ΒΑΛΙΝ(ΟΥ) | ΠΑΝΟΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΩ(ΤΑ)Τ(ΟΥ) Μ. ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΡΧ(ΟΥ) | (ΤΗ)Σ Τ(ΟΥ) Χ[ΡΙ](ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΕΚΚ(ΛΗ)ΣΙΑΣ Κ[ΥΡΙ](ΟΥ) ΓΕΡΑΣΙΜ(ΟΥ) ΠΑΥΛΙΔΟΥ[2]|Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΔΩΡΗΘΗ (ΤΗ) ΦΙΛΟΠΤΩΧΩ ΑΔΕΛΦΟ(ΤΗ)ΤΙ + Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΣ+[3] 1883 + ΕΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗ ΔΕ ΕΝ (ΤΩ) ΙΕΡΩ ΝΑΩ (ΤΗ)Σ ΚΟΙ(ΜΗ)ΣΕΩΣ (ΤΗ)Σ Θ[ΕΟΤΟ] Κ(ΟΥ) ΒΑΛΙΝ(ΟΥ) ΕΙΣ (ΠΡ)ΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΙΝ +. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Παναγίας τῶν Βλαχερνῶν[4] (Ayvansaray).*

1. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ (0,23 × 0,33.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Πρόθεσις. Διατήρησις κακή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

2. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (περ. 0,63.5 × 0,81.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Γλυκοφιλούσης[5]. Ἀπωλέσθη. 1944[6].

*Ἱ. ναὸς Θείας Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ Γαλατᾶ[7] (Galata).*

1. ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΠΛΑΤΥΤΕΡΑ[8]. Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου. Ἁψίς[9].

2. ΙΕΡΑΡΧΑΙ. Ἐλαιογραφίαι ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου. Ἁψίς.

3. ΣΚΗΝΑΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων καὶ ἡ ΑΠΟΚΑΘΗΛΩΣΙΣ. Ἐλαιογραφίαι ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου. Ἱ. Βῆμα[10]. Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι αὐταὶ δὲν σῴζονται σήμερον[11]. Ἐνυπόγραφοι. 1947/8[12].

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης Σταυροδρομίου[13] (Beyoglu).*

Ὡρισμένα σχέδια τοῦ διακόσμου τῶν τοίχων τοῦ ναοῦ. Ἐλαιογραφίαι ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου. Διατήρησις

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πισκοπὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ΕΗ 3 (1936) 134. *Κ. Α. Κ Γρίβα*, Ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ «Παλίνου», Πυρσὸς 5 (1959) 3-18.

1. Τέλος τῆς Εὐχῆς τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου τῆς Εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν Θείαν Μετάληψιν. Θεία Λειτουργία. 60.

2. Περὶ αὐτοῦ ἰδέ: —, Ὁ Μ. Ἐκκλησιάρχης Μ. Εὐεργέτης, ΑΑ ἀρ. 300, 3.4.6 (1957) 3. —, Νεκρολογίαι. (†) Μέγ. Ἐκκλησιάρχης Γεράσιμος Παυλίδης, Ο 36 (1961) 319-322.

3. Αἴθουσα τῆς ἄλλοτε Φιλοπτώχου Ἀδελφότητος ταύτης εὑρηται εἰς τὸν δεύτερον δροφον τοῦ περικαλλοῦς πλινθοκτίστου κτηρίου, τοῦ στεγαζομένου πρὸς δυσμὰς τοῦ αὐλογύρου τοῦ ναοῦ.

4. *Α. Γ. Παπάτη*, Βυζαντιναὶ μελέται, ἐν Κων/πόλει 1887, 390 - 5. *Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου*, Σκέψεις περὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ἁγιάσματος Βλαχερνῶν, Χρ. ἀρ. 639, 10.5.13 (1959) 3.

5. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἡ Θεοτόκος εἰς τὴν εἰκονογραφίαν Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, Θεσσαλονίκη 1972, 36, 67-70.

6. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Θ. Χατζηαντωνιάδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 19.5.1976, ἡ εἰκὼν παρηγγέλθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν ἔναντι 150 Λ.Τ. καὶ ἀφιερώθη εἰς τὸν ναόν, ἔνθα καὶ εὑρίσκετο μέχρι τῆς ἀπωλείας αὐτῆς κατὰ τὰ γεγονότα τῆς 6/7.9.1955.

7. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἡ Θεοτόκος τῶν Κύρου. 32, 77. —, Αἱ ἐνορίαι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 191. *Τ. Σοφιανοῦ*, Πρωθιερ., Ἱστορία τοῦ ἐν Γαλατᾷ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ναῶν, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1919, 55, 59, 68 - 9. —, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ κοινοτικὴ ζωή. Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Κων/πόλεως, ΕΗ 3 (1936) 125. *Ἀγαθαγγέλου*, Κυδωνιῶν, Ναοὶ Γαλατᾶ, Ο 23 (1948) 111 - 6.

8. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 56-9.

9. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Α. Ἀνεστίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 2.11.1975.

10. Κατὰ τὸν Γρηγόριον, Δαφνουσίας, Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Ἀθῆναι 18.11.1975, 1 - 2.

11. Καθ' ὅτι, κατόπιν τῶν ἀπαλλοτριώσεων τῶν τουρκικῶν ἀρχῶν, κατηδαφίσθη τῇ 10.5.1958 ὁ ναὸς καὶ τὰ σκεύη μετὰ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ ἀντικειμένων μετεφέρθησαν εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς 1.9.1965 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ παπᾶ Εὐθὺμ εὑρισκόμενον Ἱ. ναὸν Ἁγ. Νικολάου Γαλατᾶ, καὶ ἕτερα εἰς τὴν Ἀστικὴν Σχολὴν τῆς Κοινότητος. Κῶδιξ Διοικητικῶν Πρακτικῶν Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου 1957 - 8, 374. —, Αἱ ἀπαλλοτριώσεις εἰς τὸν Γαλατᾶ, Α 10.5.33 (1958) 1, 4. —, Ἡ ἐν Γαλατᾷ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ ἐξεκενώθη χθὲς καὶ κατεδαφίζεται, Α 11.5.33 (1958) 4. —, Περὶ τὴν κατεδάφισιν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ Γαλατᾶ, Α 14.5.33 (1958) 1, 3. —, Ἡ «Χουριὲτ» διὰ τὰς κινήσεις τοῦ Πατριάρχου, Α 18.5.33 (1958) 1. —, Δελτίον Μ. Πρωτοσυγκελλίας. Ἀπὸ τὰς ἐκθέσεις τῶν Ἀρχιερατικῶν καὶ Ἱερατικῶν προϊσταμένων. Ὁ Θεοφ. Ἐπίσκοπος Δαφνουσίας κ. Γρηγόριος, Γαλατᾶ, ἀνέφερεν . . ., ΑΑ ἀρ. 365, 9.7.8 (1958) 3. —, Ἐν μιᾷ καὶ μόνῃ νυκτί . . ., Χρ. ἀρ. 1006, 22.5.20 (1966) 1.

12. Τ. ἔ. μετὰ τὴν παραλαβὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων ἀπὸ τὸν παπᾶ Εὐθύμ. —, Ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ τοῦ ἐν Γαλατᾷ Ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ, Ο 22 (1947) 177. —, Τὸ ζήτημα τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας «Χριστός». Μία συνέντευξις μετὰ τοῦ παπᾶ Εὐθύμ, République 20.6 (1947). Ὁ παπᾶ Εὐθὺμ εἶχε καταλάβει τὸν ναὸν ἐπὶ Γρηγορίου Ζ', κατὰ τὸ 1924. *Δ. Μαυροπούλου*, Πατριαρχικαὶ σελίδες, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1960, 202-3.

13. *Α. Ζωηροῦ*, Ἀναμνήσεις. Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις καὶ ἰδίως τὸ Σταυροδρόμιον κατὰ τὸ 1860, ἡ Πόλις καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἡ ἵδρυσις τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 219 - 234. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον. 339 - 361. —, Ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα. Πῶς καὶ πότε συνῳκίσθη ἡ Μεγαλώνυμος Κοινότης Σταυροδρομίου, Χρ. ἀρ. 930, 6.12.18 (1964) 1, 3. *Μ. Ἀζαμπάζογλου*, Ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα. Πῶς καὶ πότε ἱδρύθη καὶ συνῳκίσθη ἡ Μεγαλώνυμος Κοινότης Σταυροδρομίου καὶ ἐθεμελιώθησαν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ εὐαγῆ αὐτῆς ἱδρύματα, Α 26.11.45 (1968) 3. *Α. Χαβιαρόπουλου*, Λίγα λόγια γιὰ τὸ Σταυροδρόμι, Ἐμ. 29-30. 11, 1, 3. 12, 5 (1972) 3. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Τὸ Μπέηογλου μετὰ τὸ 1800, Ἐμ. 9-12, 15-7. 4, 6 (1973) 3.

καλή. Ἐκ λόγων ρυθμολογικῶν, πιθανῶς ἔργα τοῦ Ε. Κόβα. 1944.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Δημητρίου*[1] *Ταταούλων*[2] *(Kurtulus).*

1. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝ(ΝΗ)Σ Ο ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ (0,30 × 0,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Θήκη ἀμφίων καὶ εἰκόνων τοῦ Διακονικοῦ. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

2. Ο Α|Γ|[Ι]|(ΟΣ)|ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜ(ΑΡ)ΤΥΣ|Χ[ΡΙ]-(ΣΤ)(ΟΥ)|Κ[ΑΙ]|ΙΑΜ(ΑΤ)Ι|Κ(ΟΣ)|ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕ-(ΗΜ)ΩΝ + (0,28.5 × 0,39 μ.) (πίν. 14)[3]. Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Μεθ' ὑάλου. Θήκη ἀμφίων καὶ εἰκόνων τοῦ Διακονικοῦ. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: διὰ χειρὸς Εἰρηνάρχ(ου) Κόβα αχξβ'.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Ἀθανασίου*[4] *Ταταούλων.*

1. ΙΣ ΧΣ|Ο Π(ΑΝΤ)ΟΚΡΑ(ΤΩ)Ρ[5] (διάμ. περ. 1,55 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τροῦλλος. Διατήρησις χειρίστη. Ἐπιγραφὴ Εὐαγγελίου: + ΕΙΡ|ΗΝΗ|ΥΜΙΝ|ΕΓΩ|ΕΙΜΙ|ΤΟ Φ|ΩΣ Τ(ΟΥ)|ΚΟΣΜ[ΟΥ][6]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Μετὰ τὸ 1955.

2. Η ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ (0,20 × 0,23 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλὶτ καὶ ξύλου. Πρόθεσις. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ὄπισθεν ἡ ἐπιγραφή: Ἡ παροῦσα εἰκὼν τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς|Ὑπεραγίας ἡμῶν Θεοτόκ(ου) ἀνήκει τῇ τα|πεινῇ δούλῃ αὐτῆς Μαρίᾳ Τσάμπ(ου)|ἐν Πόλει, τῇ 4η|12|68. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

*Κοιμητήριον Ἁγ. Ἐλευθερίου Ταταούλων*[7].

ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ|ΤΩΝ|ΘΛΙΒΟΜΕΝΩΝ[8] (0,15.5 × 0,21 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Μεθ' ὑάλου. Μεσαῖον φύλλον τοῦ μαρμαρίνου ἐπιτυμβίου τριπτύχου τοῦ τάφου τῶν ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΤΣΑΣ Ι. ΕΥΘΥΜΙΑΔΟΥ 1898 - 1960 καὶ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΕΥΘΥΜΙΑΔΟΥ 1888 - 1968, ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀθανασίου, θέσις Α', τμῆμα Γ' τοῦ Κοιμητηρίου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ἐλεούσης. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων Φερίκιοϊ*[9] *(Feriköy).*

1. Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ.
2. Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ.
3. Ο ΑΓ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ.
4. ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ. Στεναὶ καὶ ἐπιμήκεις ἐλαιογραφίαι ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ, πιθανὸν διὰ τὸ τέμπλον τοῦ ναοῦ. Ἡμιτελεῖς[10]. Ἄγνωστον ποῦ εὑρίσκονται σήμερον[11].

*Κοιμητηριακὸς ἱ. ναὸς*
*Θείας Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος Σισλῆ*[12] *(Sisli).*

1. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ])|(ΙΑ)|ΚΩ|Β(ΟΣ)|Ο|Α|ΔΕΛ|ΦΟ|ΘΕ|ΟΣ (0,19 × 0,32 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

2. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ])|Μ(ΑΡ)Κ(ΟΣ) (0,19 × 0,32 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

3. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ])|ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ]|Ο ΘΕΟ|ΛΟ|Γ(ΟΣ) (0,19 × 0,32 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

4. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ])|ΜΑΤ|ΘΑΙ|Ο|Σ (0,19 × 0,32 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

5. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ])|Λ(ΟΥ)|ΚΑ|Σ (0,19 × 0,32 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

6. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ])|ΙΟΥ|ΔΑ|Σ|Ο|ΘΑΔ|ΔΑΙ|ΟΣ (0,19 × 0,32 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

7. Ο ΜΥΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣ (0,52 × 1,18 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον. Ἡ διατήρησις ὅλων τῶν ἀνωτέρω εἰκόνων εἶναι ἀρίστη. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

8. Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ (0,29.5 × 0,38.2 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Νάρθηξ. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ πλαισίου τό: ΑΠΟΛΥ|ΤΙΚΙΟΝ ΗΧ(ΟΣ) Δ'|ΧΡΙ(ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) ΤΗΝ ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡ|ΦΩΣΙΝ (ΠΡ)Ο|·Υ·ΠΑΝ(ΤΗ)ΣΩ|ΜΕΝ ΦΑΙ|ΔΡΩΣ ΠΑ(ΝΗ)-|ΓΥΡΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑ|(ΠΡ)ΟΕΟΡΤΙ|Α ΠΙ(ΣΤ)ΟΙ ΚΑΙ|ΒΟΗΣΩΜΕΝ|ΕΦΘΑΣΕΝ[13] Η|ΗΜΕΡΑ (ΤΗ)Σ|ΕΝΘΕ(ΟΥ) ΕΥΦΡΟ|ΣΥΝΗΣ ΑΝΕΙ|ΣΙΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ Ο|ΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΘΑ|ΒΩΡ Ο ΔΕΣΠΟ|ΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ Θ[Ε]|

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1. *Μ. Χριστοδούλου*, Παμφίλου, Τὰ Ταταῦλα, ἤτοι ἱστορία τῶν Ταταούλων, ἐν Κων/πόλει 1913, 54 - 102.

2. *Γ. Καμαράδου-Βυζαντίου*, Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Ταταῦλα, Ἀθήνα 1980.

3. Αἱ φωτογραφίαι, μερικαὶ τῶν ὁποίων προέρχονται ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ καλλιτέχνου, τῶν δοθέντων εἰς τὸν γράφοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ, ὀφείλονται εἰς τὸν Οἶκον Bilgili Color, Istanbul, Bahariye P.T.T. karsısı, Kadiköy, τὸν Δ. Παλαβίδην καὶ τὸν γράφοντα.

4. *Μ. Χριστοδούλου*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 105 - 112.

5. *Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου*, Ἡ Χριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ Εἰκονογραφία. Α'. Ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Θ 26 (1955) 7. *C. Capizzi*, Παντοκράτωρ (Saggio d' esegesi letterario - iconografica), Ρώμη 1964. *G. Egger*, Pantokrator und Deesis. Alte und moderne Kunst, Βιέννη 1970. *J. T. Matthews*, The Pantocrator: Title and Image, Νέα Ὑόρκη 1977.

6. Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιγραμμάτων ἰδέ: *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης, ἐν Ἀθήναις[2] 1885, 260 - 1, ἔκδ. Α. Κωνσταντινίδου.

7. *Μ. Χριστοδούλου*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 135.

8. *Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου*, Ἔργ. μνημ. Β'. Ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς Θεοτόκου, Θ 27 (1956) 14 - 6. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 37. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἀνθίβολον τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μέγεθος μετὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς: ΜΡ ΘΥ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΛΙ-ΒΟΜΕ|ΝΩΝ Η ΧΑΡΑ|Η ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ|ΤΩΝ ΘΛΙ-ΒΟΜΕΝΩΝ. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

9. —, Αἱ ἐνορίαι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 196 - 7.

10. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Κ. Γκιουζέλογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 3.8.1981.

11. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 18. καὶ 20.10.1980, ὁ ὁποῖος κατέχει καὶ ἀνθίβολον τῆς εἰκόνος τῶν Ἁγ. Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου (0,28 × 0,63 μ.), διὰ μολυβδοκονδύλου ἐπὶ χάρτου, ἐκτελεσθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

12. *Γ. Π. Γεωργιάδου*, Ὁ ἐν Γαλατᾷ ἱερὸς ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τῶν Χίων, ἐν Κων/πόλει 1898, 211-225. —, Αἱ ἐνορίαι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 197.

13. Ἀντὶ ἤγγικεν. —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. 420.

ΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΥ | Τ(ΟΥ) ΑΠΑ(ΣΤ)ΡΑ | ΨΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΤΗΤΟΣ[1]. Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ: ΑΠΟΛΥ | ΤΙΚΙΟΝ | Ἦχος Βαρὺς | ΜΕΤΕΜΟΡ | ΦΩΘΗΣ ΕΝ | ΤΩ ΟΡΕΙ | ΧΡΙ(ΣΤ)Ε Ο ΘΕ|ΟΣ ΔΕΙΞΑΣ | ΤΟΙΣ Μ(ΑΘ)Η|ΤΑΙΣ Σ(ΟΥ) (ΤΗ)Ν Δ(ΟΞ)ΑΝ Σ(ΟΥ) | ΚΑΘΩΣ Η | ΔΥΝΑΝΤΟ + | ΛΑΜΨΟΝ | ΚΑΙ Η-ΜΙΝ | ΤΟΙΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΩΛΟΙΣ ΤΟ | ΦΩΣ Σ(ΟΥ) ΤΟ | Α·Ι·ΔΙΟΝ (ΠΡ)ΕΣΒΕΙ | ΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚ(ΟΥ) | + ΦΩΤΟΔΟ | ΤΑ ΔΟΞΑ ΣΟΙ[2]. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφὴ μεθ' ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας: ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΟ-ΣΥΝΟΝ Τ(ΟΥ) ΦΙΛ(ΟΥ) ΙΑΤΡ(ΟΥ) ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ Τ(ΟΥ) ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΙΕΡΑΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ Ι(ΣΤ)ΟΡΗΣΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΗΣ ΚΟΒΑΣ Ο ΧΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩ Α᾽ΜΖ′ ΜΗΝΙ ΔΕ ΑΥΓΟΥ-(ΣΤ)Ω+.

9. ΙΣ ΧΣ | Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | (ΤΩ)Ν ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ | ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΣ | ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ (0,51 × 0,91.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Ἀρχιερατικὸς θρόνος. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: Ο ΠΙ-(ΣΤ)ΕΥ | ΩΝ ΕΙΣ | ΕΜΕ ΚΑΝ | ΑΠΟΘΑ | ΝΗ ΖΗ | ΣΕΤΑΙ[3], ἐνῷ πέριξ ἡ ἀκόλουθος: ΚΥΡΙΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΕΠΙΒΛΕΨΟΝ ΕΞ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΙΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ-ΣΚΕΨΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΠΕΛΟΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑ-ΤΑΡΤΙΣΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΗΝ ΕΦΥΤΕΥΣΕΝ Η ΔΕΞΙΑ ΣΟΥ[4]. Ὑπογραφή: Χειρ Εἰρηνάρχου | Κόβα. Χρονολογία: ἔτος σωτήριον | α᾽ξβ′.

*Κοιμητηριακὸς ἱ. ναὸς*
*Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Μεσαχώρου[5] (Ortaköy).*

Η | Α | Γ[ΙΑ] | Μ | [ΑΡΤ] | Υ[Σ] | Τ[ΟΥ] Χ[ΡΙΣΤ](ΟΥ) | ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑ (0,75.5 × 1,48 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Βόρειος τοῖχος. Ἡ δεξιὰ παλάμη, τὸ ἐπιμάνικον, τὸ ποτήριον, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς, καὶ ὁ φωτοστέφανός της εἶναι ἐπαργυρωμένα. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας ὁ Χῖος ἐποίει | ἐν Φαναρίῳ ἔτει σωτηρίῳ α᾽μζ′ | μηνὶ δὲ ἀπριλίῳ+.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Παμμεγίστων Ταξιαρχῶν*
*Σωσθενίου[6] (Istinye).*

Η | ΜΕΓΑ | ΛΟΜΑ | (ΡΤ) | ΥΣ | Χ([ΡΙ](ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) + Α | ΓΙΑ | ΜΑ | ΡΙ | ΝΑ (0,27.5 × 0,35.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Προσκυνητάριον τοῦ κυρίως ναοῦ. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Ἀφιέρωμα φιλοχρί(στ)ων δωρητῶν εὐλαβεῖ φροντίδι τῆς δ(ού)λης τ(οῦ) Θε(οῦ) Πολυξένης | Ζώτου προέδρ(ου) τῆς φιλοπτώχου ἀδελφότητος κυριῶν Σωσθενίου ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ α᾽να′. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας | ὁ Χῖος ἐποίει | 1951.

### Ἱ. Μητρόπολις Χαλκηδόνος (Kadıköy)[7].

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Εὐφημίας[8] Χαλκηδόνος.*

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΝΑ(ΣΤ)ΑΣΙΟΣ (0,29× 0,42.5 μ.) (πίν. 21). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης, ντουραλὶτ καὶ ξύλου. Ἀποθήκη ἱ. εἰκόνων τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν τῷ γυναικωνίτῃ. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΤΑΙΣ | ΑΡΕ-ΤΑΙΣ | (ΠΡ)ΟΒΑΙΝΕ | ΩΣΠΕΡ | ΒΑΘΜΙΣΙ | ΤΟΝ Ν(ΟΥ)Ν | ΑΝΥΨΩΝ | (ΠΡ)ΑΚΤΙ | ΚΑΙΣ | ΘΕΩ | ΡΙΑΙΣ[9]. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Ἀφιέρωμα | Ἀνα-στασί(ου) | Δ. Γεωργιάδ(ου) | 1956. Ἄνευ ὑπογρα-φῆς.

### Ἱ. Μητρόπολις Πριγκηπονν ήσων (Adalar)[10].

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου*
*Ἀντιγόνης[11] (Burgaz).*

Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ] ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΣ | ΠΑ(ΤΡ[ΙΑΡ]Χ)ΗΣ | ΚΩΝ-(ΣΤ)Α(ΝΤ)ΙΝ(ΟΥ) | ΠΟΛΕΩΣ Ο | ΟΜΟ | ΛΟ | ΓΗ-ΤΗΣ (0,63.5 × 0,81.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. Νότιος τοῖχος τῆς ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον τμῆμα τοῦ νάρθηκος φυλακῆς τοῦ Πατριάρχου Μεθοδίου Α′ (842 - 6). Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπι-γραφή: ΔΕΗΣΙΣ | Τ(ΟΥ) Δ(ΟΥ)Λ(ΟΥ) Τ(ΟΥ) Θ[ΕΟ]Υ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ | ΓΚΙΟΥΖΕΛΟΓΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ | ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩΤΗ-ΡΙΩ Α᾽ΜΖ′. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Καρύπη Ἀντιγόνης[12].*

Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ] ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] | Ο | ΧΡΥ | ΣΟ | (ΣΤ)Ο | Μ | ΟΣ | Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ] | ΓΕ | Ω | ΡΓΙ | ΟΣ Ο | (ΤΡΟ) |

1. Ἀντὶ τὴν ὡραιότητα. —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. 420.
2. —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. 421.
3. *Ἰω.* 11, 26. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 261.
4. Ἀρχιερατικόν. 12. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 261.
5. *Γ. Ι. Τσαπακέ*, Ἱστορικαὶ μελέται περὶ ἀποικήσεως τοῦ Μεσαχώρου (Ὀρτάκιοϊ) ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ καὶ ἀνεγέρσεως τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Φωκᾶ, Σταμπούλ 1956.
6. *Σ. Δ. Βυζαντίου*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 11, 142. —, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ κοινοτικὴ ζωή. Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Κων/πόλεως, ΕΗ 3 (1936) 128.
7. *Γ. Πατριαρχέα*, Ἱστορικὲς εἰκόνες ἀπὸ τὴ μεσαιωνικὴ Χαλκηδόνα, Τ 4 (1949) 329 - 335, 380 - 6. *Κωνσταντίνου*, Εἰρηνουπόλεως, Τὸ Καδή-κιοϊ κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν ἐποχήν, Ο 33 (1958) 7 - 11. *Α. Ἀλεξιάδη*, Καδή-κιοϊ Ἰσκιουδὰρ, Α 4, 7.9.53 (1978) 3.
8. *Σ. Ι. Βουτυρᾶ*, Χαλκηδών, Λεξικὸν Ἱστορίας καὶ Γεωγραφίας 3 (1881) 977. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον. 250. *Σ. Α. Χουδαβερδόγλου Θεοδότου*, Ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ σελίδες τῆς νεωτέρας ἱστορίας τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Κοινότητος Χαλκηδόνος, Ο 26 (1951) 157 - 164. *Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου*, Ἱστορικαὶ σημειώσεις. Ὁ ἱερὸς ναὸς τῆς Πανευφήμου Εὐφημίας ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, Χρ. ἀρ. 752, 9.7.15 (1961) 1, 3.
9. Ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ αὕτη ἀπαντᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ παραστάσει τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τῆς Κλίμακος. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 198.
10. *Γ. Χασιώτου*, Βυζαντιναὶ σελίδες, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1910.
11. *Γ. Π. Γεωργιάδου*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 148 - 158. *Κωνσταντίνου*, Εἰρηνουπόλεως, Μπουργὰζ ἀντᾶ - Ἀντιγόνη, Ο 35 (1960) 138 - 140. *Ο. Erdenen*, Istanbul adaları, Ἰστανπούλ 1962. 95 - 103. *H. Tekkeden*, Burgaz adası'ndaki Metamorphosis ve Ayios Georgios Karipis Manastırı ile Ayios Ioannis Prodromos Kilisesi, Σταμπούλ 1974. (Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ πτυχίῳ ἕδρας βυζαντινῆς τέχνης Πανεπιστημίου Σταμπούλ).
12. *Δ. Ἐλευθεροπούλου*, Ἅγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Καρύπης, Ἀθῆναι 1973. *H. Tekkeden*, Ἑργ. μνημ.

(ΠΑΙ) | [ΟΦΟΡ]ΟΣ | Η ΑΓ[ΙΑ] (Μ[ΑΡΤΥ]Σ) | Τ[ΟΥ] Χ[ΡΙΣΤ](ΟΥ) | ΑΙ | ΚΑ | ΤΕ | ΡΙ | ΝΑ (0,99 × 1,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Ἀμφιπρόσωπος Ὡραία Πύλη. Ἐπὶ τῆς ὀπισθίας πλευρᾶς: Ο ΙΣ ΧΣ μεταξὺ δύο Ἀγγέλων ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῶν Κυριοτήτων, Δυνάμεων καὶ Ἐξουσιῶν. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή, ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑΣ ΣΥΜΒΙΑΣ Τ(ΟΥ) ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥ ΧΕΙΡ ΔΕ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΟΒΑ Τ(ΟΥ) ΧΙΟΥ ΕΝ ΚΩΝ-(ΣΤ)Α(ΝΤ)ΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩ Α῾ΩΜΑ΄. Ὄπισθεν: ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ | ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗΣ | Ι. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥ.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Νικολάου Χάλκης*[1] *(Heybeliada).*

1. Η Α | ΓΙ | Α | (ΠΡ)Ω | ΤΟ | ΜΑΡ | ΤΥΣ Κ[ΑΙ] ΙΣΑ | ΠΟ | (ΣΤ)Ο | ΛΟΣ | ΘΕ | Κ | ΛΑ (0,68.5 × 115,5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Μεθ' ὑάλου. Προσκυνητάριον ὄπισθεν δεξιοῦ χοροῦ. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ, ΟΣΑ Ε | (ΣΤ)ΙΝ ΑΛΗΘΗ, ΟΣΑ | ΔΙΚΑΙΑ, ΟΣΑ Α | ΓΝΑ, ΟΣΑ ΠΡΟ | ΣΦΙΛΗ, ΟΣΑ ΕΥΦΗΜΑ, ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΑΡΕΤΗ Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΕΠΑΙ | ΝΟΣ, ΤΑΥΤΑ ΛΟΓΙΖΕΣΘΕ[2]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

2. Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ (0,20 × 0,27.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Προσκυνητάριον ὄπισθεν δεξιοῦ χοροῦ. Αἱ δύο παλάμαι, διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς τῶν ὁποίων κρατεῖ σταυρόν, τὰ ἐπιμάνικα καὶ ὁ φωτοστέφανος εἶναι ἐπαργυρωμένα. Διατήρησις καλή. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Διὰ χειρὸς Εἰρηνάρχ(ου) Κόβα | τ(οῦ) Χί(ου) | 1945.

*Ἱ. μονὴ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Κουδουνᾶ Πριγκήπου*[3] *(Büyükada).*

1. Η ΦΥΓΗ ΕΙΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ (0,27 × 0,35 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ἀντικολλητοῦ. Ὄπισθεν τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ θρόνου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπιγραφή: Ματθ. Β' - ΙΔ'[4]. Ὑπογραφή: (Α[ΡΧΗΣ] Κ[ΟΒΑΣ]). Ἄνευ χρονολογίας.

2. Η ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚ(ΟΥ) (0,74 × 1 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Δεξιὸν κλίτος. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ | ΟΜΙΛ(ΟΥ) ΧΡΙ(ΣΤ)ΙΑΝΩΝ | ΕΝ ΚΩΝ(ΣΤ)ΑΝΤΙΝ(ΟΥ)ΠΟΛΕΙ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩ(ΤΗ)ΡΙΩ Α῾ΩΝΔ΄. Ὑπογραφή: Διασκευὴ ἐκ μωσαϊκῆς εἰκόνος[5] διὰ χειρὸς Εἰρηνάρχ(ου) Κόβα τ(οῦ) Χίου+.

1. *Ο. Erdenen*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 90.

2. Φιλιπ. 4, 8.

3. —, Ἱστορικαὶ ἀναμνήσεις. Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου (Κουδουνᾶ), ΕΗ 4 (1937) 209 - 214. *Α. Μαλέτσκου*, Ἡ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Πριγκήπῳ ἱ. μονὴ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ Κουδουνᾶ., *Α. Μ. Βασιλειάδου*, Ἱστορία τῆς Πριγκήπου, Ἰσταμπούλ 1963, 34 - 40. *Ο. Erdenen*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 64-9. *Δ. Π. Μάνου*, Ἑλληνικὰ ἰατρικὰ χρονικά, ΙΣ ἀρ. 40, 10 (1978 - 9) 18.

4. «Ὁ δὲ ἐγερθεὶς παρέλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς καὶ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, . . .».

5. Πρβλ. τὸ μωσαϊκὸν τῆς Γεννήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Μονῆς Δαφνίου (ΙΑ΄ αἰ.). *Ο. M. Dalton*, Byzantine Art and Archaeology, Νέα Ὑόρκη[2] 1961, εἰκ. 199.

## Ἱ. Μητρόπολις Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου (Imroz, Gökçeada)[6].

*Ναὸς ἱερὸν Ἁγ. Σπυρίδωνος*[7] *Κάστρου*[8].

1. Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (0,46 × 0,61 μ.)[9]. Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

2. Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ (0,45 × 0,60 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

3. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (0,48 × 0,62 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον. Πιθανὴ ἐκτέλεσις.

4. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ (0,48 × 0,62 μ.)[10]. Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

5. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ (0,38 × 0,45 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Προσκυνητάριον. Αἱ εἰκόνες αὐταὶ ἐξετελέσθησαν κατὰ παραγγελίαν τοῦ Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου (νῦν Χαλκηδόνος) Μελίτωνος (1950-1963)[11]. Πιθανῶς περὶ τὸ 1958[12].

6. *Α. Μουστοξύδου – Β. Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ*, Ὑπόμνημα ἱστορικὸν περὶ τῆς νήσου Ἴμβρου, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ[2] 1904. *Α. Πασαδαίου*, Ἡ λαϊκὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῆς Ἴμβρου, Ἀθῆναι 1973. *Β. Γ. Ἀτέση*, πρ. Λήμνου, Ἡ Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου ἀνὰ τοὺς αἰῶνας, Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία 2 (1981) 429 - 505 καὶ ἀνάτ. *Ε. Özkan*, Ortacag boyunca Gökçeada (Imroz) tarihi, Tarih ve Edebiyat mecmuası ἀρ. 199, 7.17 (1981) 33 - 8.

7. Τοῦτο ἀνηγέρθη δαπάνῃ τοῦ εὐεργέτου Ἴμβρου Ξενοφῶντος Γρηγορίου καὶ ἀνεκαινίσθη τὸ 1954 ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου Μελίτωνος. —, Ξενοφῶν Γρηγορίου, Ἰμ. 3 (1950) 167. ΚΠΑ 1953 - 5, 271-2, 283, ἔνθα ἀναφέρονται τὰ σχετικὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀρ. 1175 καὶ ἡμερομηνίαν 22.5 καὶ 19.6.1953 εὐχετικὰ Πατριαρχικὰ πιττάκια. —, Ἑορτὴ Ἁγ. Ξενοφῶντος, Ἰμ. τεῦχ. 2, 7 (1955) 66.

8. *Α. Μουστοξύδου – Β. Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 56-8.

9. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἀνθίβολον τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης (0,48 × 0,61.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

10. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἀνθίβολον τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης (0,48 × 0,61.5 μ.) μετὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς: Ο | ΕΝ | Α | ΓΙ | ΟΙΣ | Ο | ΣΙΟΣ | ΞΕ | ΝΟ | (ΦΩ) | Ν. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΤΑΙΣ ΑΡΕΤΑΙΣ | ΠΡΟΒΑΙΝΕ ΩΣ | ΠΕΡ ΒΑΘΜΙΣΙ ΤΟΝ Ν(ΟΥ)Ν ΑΝΥ | ΨΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΙ | ΚΑΙΣ ΘΕΩΡΙΑΙΣ | ΖΗΛΟΥ ΤΑ | ΚΑΛΑ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΚΑ | ΚΑ ΑΠΕΧ(ΟΥ). Αὕτη ἀπαντᾷ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἁγ. Ἰωάννην τῆς Κλίμακος καὶ Ἀναστάσιον. Κάτωθεν ἐντὸς σταυροῦ τὸ ΚΟΝΤΑΚΙΟΝ | Ἐν αὐλαῖς ἡ | γρύπνησας, ταῖς τοῦ | Δεσπότ(ου), | τοῖς πτωχοῖς | σκορπίσας σ(ου) τὸν πλ(οῦ) | τον Μάκαρ ἱ | λαρῶς, σὺν τῇ | συζύγῳ καὶ τέκνου | σ(ου) διό κλη | ροῦσθε τὴν θείαν ἀπό | λαυσιν. —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1967, 305, ἔκδ. τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

11. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτωνος πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 23.8.1981. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει τηλεγράφημα ἐξ Ἴμβρου πρὸς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν, ἀναφερόμενον εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν εἰκόνων, μὲ τὸ ἀκόλουθον κείμενον: 139 19 10.1.1958: hreiazontai eikones templu Hristu 61 × 46 Panayias 60 × 45 Prodromu 62 × 48 ayiu Ksenofontos 62 × 48 kai ayios Speridon proskynitariu 45 × 38 stop telgrafisate timin dia na dothi.

12. Κατ' ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου Φωτίου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 22.9.1977, αἱ εἰκόνες αὐταί, ὡς ὑπαγόμεναι, βάσει τοῦ σχετικοῦ νόμου, εἰς τὸ Ἐβκάφιον (Διεύθυνσιν ἀφιερωθέντων εὐαγῶν καθιδρυμάτων), κατεχωρίσθησαν εἰς ἰδιαί-

*Ἐξωκκλήσιον Ἁγ. Νικολάου Πύργου Σχοινουδίου*[1].

1. ΙΣ ΧΣ Ο ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ (διάμ. 1,17 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Θόλος. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Δαπάνῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀθηνᾶς, Κλειοῦς καὶ Νικολάου Στυλιανίδη[2]. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Ἔργον Εἰρηνάρχου Κόβα 1950[3].

2. Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ μεταξὺ δύο Ἀγγέλων (1×1,25 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Ὡραία Πύλη[4].

3. Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (0,40×0,60 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

4. Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ (0,40×0,60 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

5. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (0,40×0,60 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

6. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ (0,40 × 0,60 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Τέμπλον.

7. Ο ΕΣΤΑΥΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ Α (0,42 × 0,48 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Πιθανῶς Ἱ. Βῆμα.

8. Ο ΕΣΤΑΥΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ Β (0,24 × 0,45 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου[5]. Τέμπλον[6].

### Ἱ. Μητρόπολις Καρπενησίου.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου χωρίου Κρέντη.*

1. Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (0,30 × 0,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ.

2. Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ (0,30 × 0,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ.

3. Ο ΑΓ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (0,30 × 0,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ.

4. Η ΣΥΛΛΗΨΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓ. ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ (0,30 × 0,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Αἱ ἀνωτέρω εἰκόνες, πιθανῶς τοῦ τέμπλου, εὑρίσκονται εἰς καλὴν κατάστασιν καὶ φέρουν τὴν ἀφιερωτικὴν ἐπιγραφήν: ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΙΜΒΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΝΕΔΟΥ ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΣΥΓΚΕΛΛΩΝ 1951. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

5. Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (0,73 × 1,46 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ.

6. Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ (0,73 × 1,46 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Παρίσταται ὡς Δεομένη.

7. Ο ΑΓ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (0,73× 1,46 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ.

8. Η ΣΥΛΛΗΨΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓ. ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ (0,73 × 1,46 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλίτ. Αἱ ἀνωτέρω εἰκόνες, πιθανῶς τοῦ τέμπλου, εὑρίσκονται εἰς καλὴν κατάστασιν καὶ φέρουν τὴν ἀφιερωτικὴν ἐπιγραφήν: ΔΕΗΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΝΤΑΛΛΑ[7] ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΜΒΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ 1954. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς[8].

### Ἱ. Μητρόπολις Χίου.

*Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Λιθίου.*

ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ. Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ἐλεούσης. Τὴν εἰκόνα ἐξετέλεσε κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ὁ Μ. Σφακιανούδης ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπίβλεψιν καὶ τὰς διορθώσεις τοῦ Ε. Κόβα. Διατήρησις καλή. Κάτωθεν ἐξάστιχος, σχεδὸν ἐσβεσμένη, ἐπιγραφή[9]: ΤΗΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΕΛΠΙΔΑ ΜΟΥ[10] . . . Περὶ τὸ 1950[11].

### Ἐκκλησία τῆς Ρώμης.

*Ναός τις ἐν Ρώμῃ*[12].

Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ «ΡΟΔΟΝ ΤΟ ΑΜΑΡΑΝΤΟΝ»[13]. Ἐλαιογραφία. Τὴν εἰκόνα ἤρχισεν ὁ Ε. Κόβας καὶ

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τερον βιβλίον ἀναπαλλοτριώτων ἀντικειμένων (Demirbas), τοῦ ὁποίου ἀντίγραφον ἀπεστάλη καὶ εἰς τὴν Γενικὴν Διεύθυνσιν Βακουφίων τοῦ Νομοῦ Δαρδανελλίων (Canakkale). Μετὰ τὸ 1964/5, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὁριστικὴ ἐγκατάλειψις τῆς Κοινότητος Κάστρου, ἡ τύχη αὐτῶν παραμένει ἄγνωστος. Κατὰ πληροφορίας δμως τοῦ Μ. Γιαλιᾶ, τέως δημοδιδασκάλου τοῦ Κάστρου καὶ γραμματέως τῆς Ἐφοροεπιτροπῆς τῆς Κοινότητος, νῦν δὲ γραμματέως τῆς Κοινότητος Σταυροδρομίου, πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 29.12.1977, αἱ εἰκόνες αὐταὶ μετ' ἄλλων ἀρχικῶς μετεφέρθησαν εἰς τὸν Ἱ. ναὸν Ἁγ. Μαρίνης Κάστρου, καὶ περὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ 1974 ἐκλειδώθησαν ἐντὸς κιβωτίων καὶ μετεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὸν μητροπολιτικὸν ναὸν τῆς Παναγίας Ἰμβρου.

1. *Α. Μουστοξύδου – Β. Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 61.

2. Κατ' ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Γ. Μουχάλη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 9.1.1978, ἡ ἐν λόγῳ οἰκογένεια ἦτο ἰδιοκτήτρια τοῦ ἐξωκκλησίου τούτου, τὸ ὁποῖον κατηδάφισαν, κατόπιν ἀπαλλοτριώσεως αὐτοῦ ἐκ μέρους τῶν τουρκικῶν ἀρχῶν κατὰ τὸ 1964, ὅτε αἱ εἰκόνες του μετεφέρθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῆς.

3. Οἰκον. Π. Κουζινοῦ, Ἱ. προϊσταμένου Σχοινουδίου, Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐν Σχοινουδίῳ 10.9.1980. Κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφιέρωσιν, ὑπογραφὴν καὶ χρονολογίαν, φέρουν καὶ αἱ ἑπόμεναι πέντε εἰκόνες.

4. Πρβλ. τὴν παράστασιν τῆς ὁπισθίας ὄψεως τῆς Ὡραίας Πύλης τοῦ Ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Καρύπη Ἀντιγόνης καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἄνω μέρους τῆς θύρας τοῦ Διακονικοῦ τοῦ Παρεκκλησίου τοῦ Ἁγ. Χαραλάμπους Ταταούλων. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 435 καὶ σ. 13, πίν. 16 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

5. Κατὰ τὸ σημείωμα τοῦ Οἰκον. Π. Κουζινοῦ, πρὸς τὴν Ἱ. Μητρόπολιν Ἰμβρου καὶ Τενέδου τῇ 25.1.1978.

6. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Ἰμβρου καὶ Τενέδου Φωτίου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 6.10.1977. Πρβλ. καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἀμερικῆς, Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Νέα Ὑόρκη 6.9.1977.

7. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτωνος πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 23.8.1981, ὁ Β. Ντάλλας, ὁ ὁποῖος ἦτο θεῖος αὐτοῦ, παρήγγειλεν τὰς εἰκόνας ταύτας κατὰ σύστασίν του εἰς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν καὶ τὰς ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τοῦ Καρπενησίου, ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου καὶ κατήγετο.

8. Κατ' ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Καρπενησίου Νικολάου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐν Καρπενησίῳ 15.9.1981.

9. Κατ' ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ π. Σ. Κλωστερίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐν Λιθίῳ 20.8.1981.

10. Πρβλ. τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωαννικίου. —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. 180.

11. Κατ' ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐν Ἀθήναις 9.2.1975, 4, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ 1951 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου, ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου κατήγοντο οἱ γονεῖς του.

12. Κατ' πληροφορίαν τοῦ π. Θ. Βαρσάμη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 12.2.1975.

13. *Δ. Ι. Πάλλα*, Ἡ Θεοτόκος Ζωοδόχος Πηγή. Ἡ Θεοτόκος Ρόδον τὸ Ἀμάραντον. Ἡ ζωγραφικὴ στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωση, ΑΔ 26 (1971) 201 - 263. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Ἡ Θεοτόκος Ρόδον τὸ Ἀμάραντον. Εἰκονογραφικὴ ἀνάλυση,

συνεπλήρωσεν ὁ K. Robolowski[1]. Μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 1970-2[2].

**Ἰδιῶται.**

Ἀρκετὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ε. Κόβα ὑπὸ μορφὴν τελείαν, ἡμιτελῆ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἧττον ἢ καὶ ὡς σχέδια εὑρίσκονται εἰς ἰδιώτας, κληρικοὺς ἢ λαϊκούς, Ἕλληνας ἢ ξένους τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ. Προέρχονται ἐκ παραγγελιῶν πρὸς τὸν καλλιτέχνην, ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἢ ἐδωρήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαφόρων ἀφορμῶν πρὸς τὰ πρόσωπα ταῦτα. Τέλος ὑπάρχουν καὶ ἱκανά, τὰ ὁποῖα περιῆλθον μετὰ τὸν θάνατόν του εἰς ὡρισμένους φίλους αὐτοῦ, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων ἰδιαιτέραν θέσιν κατέχουν τὰ τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου καὶ Κ. Α. Γρίβα. Τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς:

*Βασιλεῖς Παῦλος καὶ Φρειδερίκη (†).*

Εἰκών. Κατὰ παραγγελίαν τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α'[3].

*Ἑλενουπόλεως Ἀθανάσιος Παπᾶς*[4].

1. Η ΕΓΕΡΣΙΣ Τ(ΟΥ) ΛΑΖΑΡ(ΟΥ) (0,28 × 0,35.9 μ.) (πίν. 22). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ὄπισθεν ὁ ἀγαπητὸς εἰς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν μετ' εὐρυλήκτων κεραιῶν σταυρὸς μετὰ τῶν συντμήσεων ΙΣ ΧΣ | ΝΙ ΚΑ καὶ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς: † (ΠΡ)ΟΣ | ΔΟ | ΚΩ | (ΑΝ)Α | (ΣΤ)Α | ΣΙΝ † [5]. Κάτωθεν ἐσβεσμένη ἐξάστιχος ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή[6], ἐκτὸς τοῦ τελευταίου αὐτῆς στίχου: ἐν Φαναρίῳ ἔτει α͵νγ' μηνὶ δὲ Ἰουνίῳ +. Ὑπογραφή: (Α[ΡΧΗΣ] Κ[ΟΒΑΣ])[7].

2. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Ο ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ (0,35 × 0,44 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ὄπισθεν ὁ μετ' εὐρυλήκτων κεραιῶν σταυρὸς μετὰ τῶν συντμήσεων Α | ΙΣ ΧΣ | ΝΙ ΚΑ | Ω, καὶ τῆς ἀφιερωτικῆς ἐπιγραφῆς: Ἐν Κωνσταντίν(ου) πόλει, ἔτει σωτηρίῳ α͵μη' μηνὶ ἀπριλίῳ | ἡμέρᾳ Παρασκευῇ, (23η). | τῷ πεφιλημένῳ | ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ Ε. ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΔΗ | ὁ φιλῶν | ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ Α. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΔΗΣ. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Διὰ | χειρὸς Εἰρηνάρχ(ου) | Κόβα τ(οῦ) Χί(ου) | κγ' ἀπριλί(ου) α͵μη'[8].

3. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,23.5 × 0,30 μ.) (πίν. 23). Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας[9]. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

4. Η ΠΑΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ (0,35 × 0,89.5 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἀνθίβολον τοῦ κεντρικοῦ κατὰ μῆκος τμήματος τοῦ ἀντιγράφου τοῦ Ε. Κόβα ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνύμου εἰκόνος τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ ἱ. ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου ἐν Φαναρίῳ[10]. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας[11].

5. Ἡ δεξιὰ παλάμη τῆς Παμμακαρίστου (0,20 × 0,21 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

6. Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑΣ (0,16.5 × 0,23.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη, χρησιμοποιηθέντα ἐπὶ χάρτου τμηματικῶς καὶ ἀμφιπροσώπως. Παρίσταται κατὰ τὸν Παλαιοδιαθηκικὸν τύπον[12]. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

7. Ο | Α | Γ[ΙΟ]Σ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ (0,34.5 × 0,49 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἀνθίβολον. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

8. Περιπλοκάδες (0,35 × 0,99.5 μ.)[13]. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

*Σασίμων Ἱερεμίας Καλλιγιώργης*[14].

ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,29.5 × 0,37.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον

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καταγωγὴ τοῦ τύπου, ΑΔ 26 (1971) 225 - 238. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 205 - 6. Κατὰ πληροφορίας ὅμως τοῦ Β. Ζάμπογλου τῇ 1.3.1975 καὶ τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου τῇ 11.5.1976 πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἡ εἰκὼν παριστᾷ τὴν Παμμακάριστον καὶ εἶναι ὠοειδής.

1. Πολωνικῆς καταγωγῆς νεοεμπρεσσιονιστὴς καὶ γνωστὸς ἐν τῇ Πόλει ζωγράφος, παρὰ τῷ ὁποίῳ ἐμαθήτευσαν μερικαὶ Πολίτισσαι ζωγράφοι τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ αἰῶνος, ὡς ἡ Ἑλένη Ἀλευροπούλου, Καλλιόπη Κοτσίφη, Μάγδα Δεμιρτζῆ (Τεμπερίκογλου) καὶ Σιμόνη Ἀλέξη Τσίτση.

2. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ π. Θ. Βαρσάμη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 14.2.1975, ἡ εἰκὼν παρηγγέλθη εἰς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Πόλει Οὐνιτῶν δι' ἕνα ναὸν τῆς Ρώμης, Πρωτοσυγκελλεύοντος τοῦ Λύστρων (νῦν Πριγκηποννήσων) Καλλινίκου (1970 - 2).

3. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 22.10.1980.

4. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Bahariye, Sâir Lâtifi Sok. 17/3, Kadıköy.

5. Ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου ἄρθρου τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Πίστεως ἐπιγραφὴ αὕτη, —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. 15, ἡ ὁποία ὡς ἄριστα ἐναρμονίζεται μετὰ τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν παρισταμένου θέματος τῆς Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Λαζάρου, κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 19.4.1974, ἐχαράχθη τῇ φροντίδι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιτυμβίου πλακὸς τοῦ τάφου τοῦ καλλιτέχνου εἰς τὴν Α΄ θέσιν τοῦ Κοιμητηρίου τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἐλευθερίου Ταταούλων. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 414 ὑποσημ. 51.

6. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.5.1976, ἡ εἰκὼν ἀρχικῶς εἶχε δωρηθῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς φιλικῆς του οἰκογενείας τῶν Ξανθοπούλων, μετὰ τῆς ἀφιερώσεως, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀπέξεσεν ἀργότερον ὁ καλλιτέχνης, ὅτε ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω, λόγῳ τοῦ ὅτι ὁ νέος τῆς οἰκογενείας εἶχεν ξελογιάσει τὴν ἀνεψιάν του, προσέτι δὲ ἐπλήγη καὶ ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς 6/7.9.1955.

7. Ἡ εἰκὼν μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' ἀρ. 3 καὶ τοῦ ὑπ' ἀρ. 7 σχεδίου προέρχονται ἐκ δωρεᾶς τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 24.4.1974 καὶ 22.10.1980.

8. Ἡ εἰκὼν προέρχεται ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἀρχαιοπώλου V. Cetiner.

9. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 60 - 6.

10. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 430 καὶ πίν. 3 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

11. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἀρ. 5, 6 καὶ 8 προέρχονται ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ καλλιτέχνου, τῶν δοθέντων εἰς τὸν γράφοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ.

12. *R. M. Mainka*, Andrej Rublev's Dreifaltigkeitsikone. Geschichte, Kunst, Sinngehalt des Bildes, Ἔτταλ 1964.

13. Πρβλ. ὡρισμένα φυτικὰ μοτίβα τοῦ διακόσμου τῶν τοίχων τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 415, πίν. 4, 10, 12.

14. Κάτοικος Foyer Hellénique de Jeunes. Petite Voie des Vignes 92290 - Chatenay - Malabry.

τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Περὶ τὸ 1965[1].

*Οἰκον. Παναγιώτης Θεοδωρίδης*[2].

(Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ]) | Π | Α | Ν | ΤΕ | Λ | Ε | Η | Μ | Ω | Ν (0,22.8 × 0,29 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: + ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑ | ΒΙΚΤΩΡΙΑΣ | Δ. ΤΣΟΓΚΑΛΗ. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία : Χεὶρ Εἰρηνάρχ(ου) | Α͵ΑΜΒ'[3].

*Πρ. Μ. Ἀρχιδιάκ. Μελέτιος Κριθιώτης*[4].

ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,25 × 0,45 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Ἐνυπόγραφος. Πρὸ τοῦ 1943[5].

*Δρ. Γεώργιος Ἀδόσογλου*[6].

Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ (0,25.5 × 0,36 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου παλαιᾶς εἰκόνος. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία[7].

*Μαγδαληνὴ Ἀλεξανδρίδου*[8].

ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η ΓΛΥΚΟΜΙΛ(ΟΥ)ΣΑ (0,17 × 0,22 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. 1956[9].

*Ἀδαμάντιος Ἀνεστίδης*[10].

ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,21 × 0,27.5 μ.). Ὡογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας. Τὰς σάρκας, ἐκ τῶν ὁποίων οἱ πόδες εἶναι ἡμιτελεῖς, ἐξετέλεσεν ὁ Ε. Κόβας, ἐνῷ τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Α. Ἀνεστίδης[11]. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

*Βαρβάρα Ἀστυνάρογλου*[12].

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ | Η ΑΓΙΑ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑ (0,27 × 0,35 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Χρονολογία: ζ.ιβ.α͵ν'[13].

*Γρηγόριος Βαξεβανίδης*[14].

α. Ἐ λ α ι ο γ ρ α φ ί α ι:

1. Ο ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ (0,30 × 0,39.5 μ.). Ντουραλίτ. Ἡμιτελής.

2. ΙΣ ΧΣ | Ο ΣΩ | ΤΗΡ (0,26 × 0,34.3 μ.). Ντουραλίτ. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

3. Ο ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΣ (0,18 × 0,22.5 μ.). Ντουραλίτ. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις καλή.

4. ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η ΟΔΗ | ΓΗ(ΤΡ)ΙΑ (0,26 × 0,34.3 μ.). Ντουραλίτ. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

5. Η | ΚΥΡΙΑ | (ΤΩ) | Ν | ΑΓΓΕ | ΛΩΝ[15] (0,35 × 0,46 μ.). Ντουραλὶτ ἐπὶ ξύλου. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

6. Η ΠΑΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ. Λίαν μικρῶν διαστάσεων. Ἀντίγραφον ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνύμου εἰκόνος τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου ἐν Φαναρίῳ[16].

7. Η ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΥΧΛΙΟΥ[17].

8. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,23.5 × 0,30 μ.). Ξύλον. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

9. Ο Α | ΓΙ | (ΟΣ) | ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] | Ο | (ΠΡ)Ο | ΔΡΟ | ΜΟΣ (0,26 × 0,34.3 μ.). Ντουραλίτ. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

10. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (0,34 × 0,49.5 μ.). Ξύλον. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις καλή.

11. ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] Ο ΠΡΟ | ΔΡΟ | ΜΟΣ (0,38× 0,55 μ.). Ξύλον. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

β. Σ χ έ δ ι α:

12. Κεφαλὴ Αὐτοκράτορος (0,18.5 × 0,24.2 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

13. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΣΤ' ΚΑΝΤΑΚΟΥΖΗΝΟΣ. Ὑδατοχρώματα ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς. Ἀντίγραφον ἐκ τῆς μικρογραφίας τῆς Συλλογῆς θεολογικῶν πραγματειῶν τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἰωάννου ΣΤ' Καντακουζηνοῦ, Ἑλλην. χειρ. 1249 (1347 - 1354) τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῶν Παρισίων[18].

14. Η ΑΓ[ΙΑ] ΙΣΑ | ΠΟ(ΣΤ)ΟΛΟΣ | ΕΛΕΝΗ

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1. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Χ. Χαρισιάδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα κατὰ τὸ 1980, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Σασίμων Ἱερεμίαν ἐπὶ τῇ προαγωγῇ του εἰς ἐπίσκοπον τὸ 1970.

2. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Recep Pasa Cad. 15/14, Taksim.

3. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Οἰκον. Π. Θεοδωρίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐξετελέσθη διὰ τὴν οἰκογένειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Σαρόγλου - Ξανθοπούλου, ἡ ὁποία τῇ 23.10.1974 τὴν ἐδώρησεν εἰς αὐτόν.

4. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Αἰόλου 4, Π. Φάληρον.

5. Ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ προαγωγῇ του εἰς Μ. Ἀρχιδιάκονον τὸ 1943. Μ. Κριθιώτου, Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Ἀθῆναι 1.2. καὶ 18.3.1975, 1.

6. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Aslan Yatagı Sok. 33, Cihangir.

7. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 20.10.1980, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Γ. Ἀδόσογλου.

8. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Günesli Sok. 46/5, Cihangir.

9. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τῆς Μ. Ἀλεξανδρίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.6.1981.

10. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Βρυούλων 11 - 15Β, Ἄνω Πεύκη.

11. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Α. Ἀνεστίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 2.11.1975.

12. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν.

13. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.5.1976 καὶ 20.10.1980.

14. Νῦν κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Βασιλέως Παύλου 128, Βούλα.

15. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 37.

16. *Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου*, Κειμήλια τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1937, 23 - 4, πίν. 9. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.5.1976, τὸ εἰνονίδιον τοῦτο ἔφερεν ὁ Ε. Κόβας πάντοτε εἰς τὸν θύλακον του.

17. *Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου*, Ψηφιδωταὶ εἰκόνες τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 11 (1936) 70 - 81, εἰκ. 5-7. *Γενναδίου*, Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Θείρων, Ἱστορία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, Ἀθῆναι 1953, 1, πίν. 8.

18. Πρβλ. *A. Grabar*, La peinture byzantine, Γενεύη 1953, 184.

(0,12.5 × 0,28 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

15. Ἡ ἐν Σηλυβρίᾳ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει τῆς Βασιλόπαιδος Θεοδώρας τῆς Καντακουζηνῆς εἰς Προῦσαν τῆς Βιθυ | νίας πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς σύζυγον Σουλτὰν Ὀρχάν, γενο | μένη ὑπέρλαμπρος πρόκυψις (0,22 × 0,29 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

16. Ἡ ἐν Σηλυβρίᾳ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπελεύσει τῆς βασιλίδος | Θεοδώρας τῆς Καντακουζηνῆς εἰς Προῦσαν τῆς | Βιθυνίας πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς σύζυγον Σουλτὰν·| Ὀρχάν, γενομένη ὑπέρλαμπρος πρόκυψις (0,32 × 0,42 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

17. Η | ΕΥΣΕ | ΒΕ(ΣΤ)Α | ΤΗ | ΑΥ | Γ(ΟΥ)-(ΣΤ)Α | (ΑΓ)ΙΑ | ΘΕ | Ο | ΔΩ | ΡΑ (0,13.8 × 0,29.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

18. ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ (0,23 × 0,47 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

19. Ο Α[ΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ] Γ(ΑΒ)[ΡΙΗΛ][1] (0,12 × 0,27.5 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

20. Ο ΑΡ[ΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ] ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (0,13.8 × 0,28.8 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

21. Ο (ΑΡ)[ΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ] ΜΙΧ[ΑΗ]Λ | Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΣ (0,12.5 × 0,17 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας[2].

22. Ο Α[ΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ] ΜΙΧ[ΑΗ]Λ (0,12 ×0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

23. ΑΡΧΩΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ (0,16 × 0,20.4 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον, κρητιδογραφία καὶ ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

24. Ο ΑΡ[ΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ] ΜΙΧ(ΑΗ)Λ (0,14 ×0,29.8 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

25. ΜΡ ΘΥ (0,20 ×0,25 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

26. ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η ΑΚΑ | ΘΙ | (ΣΤ)ΟΣ[3] (0,22×0,31.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ ὑδατοχρώματα ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας[4].

27. ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ | Η ΒΡΕΧ(ΟΥ)ΣΑ (0,13.5 × 0,17 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

28. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,19 × 0,25.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ ὑδατοχρώματα ἐπὶ χάρτου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Γλυκοφιλούσης. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

29. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,23.2 × 0,31.5 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Γλυκοφιλούσης. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

30. ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η | Ε | ΛΕ | (ΟΥ) | ΣΑ (0,16 × 0,21 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ ἐπιγραφή: (ΠΝ)ΕΥ-ΜΑ Κ[ΥΡΙ](ΟΥ) ΕΠ' ΕΜΕ (ΟΥ) | ΕΝΕΚΕΝ | ΕΧΡΙΣΕ | ΜΕ ΕΥΑΓΓ | ΕΛΙΣΑΣΘΑΙ | ΠΤΩΧΟΙΣ ΑΠΕ(ΣΤ)ΑΛΚΕ[5]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

31. ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η ΕΛΕ(ΟΥ)ΣΑ (0,17 × 0,21.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

32. ΜΡ Θ(ΟΥ) | Η ΕΛΕ(ΟΥ)ΣΑ (0,21 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου τοῦ Κυρίου ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΠΝΕΥΜΑ | ΚΥΡΙ(ΟΥ) | ΕΠ' ΕΜΕ | (ΟΥ) ΕΝΕ | ΚΕΝ | ΕΧΡΙΣΕ | ΜΕ. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

33. ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η | Ε | ΛΕ | ΟΥ | ΣΑ (0,23 × 0,29.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

34. Ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς ΠΑΜΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΤΟΥ (0,26 × 0,35 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

35. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ | Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ | Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ (0,29 × 0,40 μ.). Ὑδατογραφία ἐπὶ χαρτονίου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

36. Ο ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΣ (ΤΗ)Σ Θ[ΕΟΤΟ]Κ(ΟΥ) (0,17.5 × 0,23.5 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη καὶ κρητιδογραφία ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

37. Η ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ. Χρώματα ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς.

38. Οἱ ἀπό(στ)ολοι θρην(οῦ)ν | τὴν Παναγίαν | Ἁγ. Λαύρα (0,12.5 × 0,17 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἀντίγραφον ἐκ τοιχογραφίας Θεοφάνους τοῦ Κρητὸς (1535). Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

39. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] | Ο | (ΠΡ[Ο]Δ)[Ρ]Ο-[Μ]ΟΣ (0,18 × 0,26 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

40. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ (0,36 × 0,69 μ.). Ἀνθίβολον τῆς σχετικῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ ἄμβωνος τοῦ

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1. *D. I. Pallas*, Ἔργ. μνημ.

2. Πρβλ. τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν (ΙΔ' αἰ.). *I. Hutter*, Frühchristliche Kunst byzantinische Kunst, Στουττγάρδη 1968, εἰκ. 177.

3. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 39.

4. Τοῦτο πιθανῶς εἶναι ἀνθίβολον τῆς σχετικῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ ἱ. ναοῦ Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Μουχλίου. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 431.

5. Ἀνήκει μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν τύπον τῆς Κυκκωτίσσης, ἡ ὁποία ἀποτελεῖ παραλλαγὴν τῆς Ἐλεούσης. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 69.

ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Δημητρίου Ταταούλων[1]. Διατήρησις μετρία.

41. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Λ(ΟΥ)ΚΑΣ (0,22.8 × 0,30.3 μ.). Ὑδατογραφία ἐπὶ χαρτονίου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

42. ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ, ΠΑΥΛΟΣ καὶ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ (0,55.5 × 0,58 μ.). Ὑδατοχρώματα ἐπὶ χαρτονίου. Ἀντίγραφον ἐκ τῶν τοιχογραφιῶν τοῦ ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Θέκλης (Toklu Dede)[2] (Θ' αἰ.). Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

43. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ]) ΑΝ | ΔΡ | Ε | Α | Σ | Ο | (ΠΡ)Ω | ΤΟ | ΚΛΗ | ΤΟΣ (διάμ. 0,09.4 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

44. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ (0,10 × 0,17 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἐπίτιτλον[3]. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

45. Ο | ΑΓΙ | ΟΣ | ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ | Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ (0,13.9 × 0,29.7 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ο | ΑΓΙΟΣ Ο | ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ | ΑΝΑΠΑΥ | ΟΜΕΝΟΣ | ΤΡΙΣΑΓΙΟΣ[4]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

46. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗΣ] | Ο (ΧΡ)ΥΣΟ(ΣΤ)ΟΜΟΣ (0,13.8 × 0,29.6 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

47. Ο ΑΓΙ | ΟΣ | ΑΘ(ΑΝ)ΑΣΙ | ΟΣ | ΑΛΕΞ(ΑΝ)-(ΔΡ)(ΕΙ)ΑΣ (0,12 × 0,27.5 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

48. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ | ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ | ΑΛΕΞ(ΑΝ)|ΔΡΕΙΑΣ (0,13.7 × 0,29.4 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΕΞΑΙΡΕ | (ΤΩ)Σ (ΤΗ)Σ | ΠΑΝΑ | ΓΙΑΣ Α | ΧΡΑΝ | Τ(ΟΥ)[5]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

49. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ (0,13 × 0,28.2 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

50. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

51. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ | ΠΟΛΥΚ(ΑΡ)ΠΟΣ | ΣΜΥ(ΡΝΗ)Σ (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

52. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜ(ΠΗ)Σ (0,13.7 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

53. Ο | Τ(ΟΥ) Χ[ΡΙΣΤ](ΟΥ) | (ΠΡ)Ω | (ΤΟ) | ΜΑ(ΡΤ)ΥΣ | Α | ΓΙΟΣ | ΣΤΕ | ΦΑ | ΝΟΣ (0,14 × 0,29.7 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

54. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ | ΣΤΕΦ(ΑΝ)ΟΣ | Ο ΝΕΟΣ | ΟΜΟΛΟΓΗ(ΤΗ)Σ (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΕΙ ΤΙΣ | (ΟΥ) (ΠΡ)ΟΣ | ΚΥΝΕΙ | ΤΟΝ Κ[ΥΡΙΟ]Ν | (ΗΜ)ΩΝ | ΙΗΣ(ΟΥ)Ν | ΧΡΙ-(ΣΤ)ΟΝ | ΠΕΡΙ(ΓΡ)Α | ΠΤΟΝ ΕΝ | ΕΙΚΟΝΙ | ΕΙΗ ΤΟ | (ΑΝ)ΑΘΕ | ΜΑ[6]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

55. Ο ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ | Ο (ΤΡ)ΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ (0,13.7 × 0,16.8 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

56. Ο Α | ΓΙ | ΟΣ | ΓΕ | (ΩΡ) | ΓΙ | ΟΣ (0,14 × 0,29.7 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

57. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Ο ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ (0,22.5 × 0,27 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

58. Ο Α |ΓΙ |ΟΣ | (ΔΗ) | (ΜΗ) | (ΤΡ)Ι | ΟΣ (0,13.8× 0,29.8 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

59. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗ(ΤΡ)ΙΟΣ Ο ΜΥΡΟΒΛΗΤΗΣ (0,24.8 × 0,33.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον, κρητιδογραφία καὶ ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

60. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ]) ΘΕ | Ο | ΔΩ | ΡΟΣ | Ο | ΤΗ | Ρ | Ω | Ν (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

61. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ]) ΘΕ | Ο | ΔΩ | ΡΟΣ | Ο | (ΣΤΡ)Α-| ΤΗ | ΛΑ | (ΤΗ)Σ (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

62. Ο Α | ΓΙ | ΟΣ | ΜΕΡ | Κ(ΟΥ) | ΡΙ | ΟΣ (0,14 × 0,29.8 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

63. Ο Α | ΓΙ | ΟΣ | (ΠΡ)Ο | ΚΟ | ΠΙ | ΟΣ (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

64. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ]) ΚΑΙ | ΙΑ | ΜΑ | ΤΙ | ΚΟΣ | Π(ΑΝ) | ΤΕ | ΛΕ | Η | ΜΩΝ + (0,13.5 × 0,29.6 μ.).

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1. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 435.

2. *Κ. Α. Γρίβα*, Ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα. Ὁ βυζαντινὸς ναὸς τῆς μεγαλομάρτυρος Θέκλας, Α 8, 9, 10.11.7 (1932) 3. *Α. Πασαδαίου*, Τὸ φέρον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Τοκλοῦ Ἰμπραχὴμ Ντεντὲ βυζαντινὸν κτήριον, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς (1969) 80 - 124 καὶ ἀνάτ.

3. Τὰ ὑπ' ἀρ. 42 καὶ 43 σχέδια πιθανῶς εἶναι ἀνθίβολα τῶν ἐπιτίτλων τῆς ἐφημερίδος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 442.

4. Ἀρχὴ τῆς Εὐχῆς τοῦ Τρισαγίου Ὕμνου. Θεία Λειτουργία. 42. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 190.

5. Ἐκφώνησις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας μετὰ τὸν καθαγιασμὸν τῶν Τιμίων Δώρων. Θεία Λειτουργία. 51. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 190.

6. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἑρμ. μνημ. 197.

Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

65. (Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ]) | Ο | Ν(ΟΥ) | (ΦΡ)Ι | ΟΣ (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: (ΜΗ) ΚΟΡΟΣ | ΕΝΤΕΡΩΝ | ΣΕ Χ[ΡΙΣΤ](ΟΥ) ΧΩΡΙ | ΣΗ + (ΜΗ) ΒΟΡ | ΒΟΡΟΣ ΣΕ | ΤΩΝ ΠΑΘΩΝ | ΚΑΘΗΔΥ | ΝΗ + ΕΙ Δ' (ΟΥ)Ν ΔΑ | ΚΡΥΣΕΙΣ | ΕΝ ΦΛΟΓΙ | ΤΗ ΠΑΜ | ΦΑΓΩ[1] +. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

66. Η ΑΓΙΑ Α(ΝΝ)Α Μ[ΗΤΗ]Ρ ΤΗΣ Θ[ΕΟΤΟ]-ΚΟΥ (0,13.8 × 0,29.6 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

67. Η ΑΓΙΑ | ΜΑΡΙΑ | Η ΜΑΓΔΑ | ΛΗΝΗ (0,12.2 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

68. Η ΑΓ[ΙΑ] Μ[ΑΡ]Τ | ΥΣ | Τ(ΟΥ) Χ[ΡΙΣΤ](ΟΥ) | ΑΙΚΑ(ΤΕ) | ΡΙΝΑ (0,13.8 × 0,29.6 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

69. Η | ΑΓΙ | Α | ΕΥ | ΔΟ | ΚΙ | Α (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

70. ΟΣΙΑ | ΚΑΣΣΙΑ(ΝΗ) | Η Υ(ΜΝ)Ο | ΓΡΑ-ΦΟΣ (0,13.9 × 0,29.7 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: Κ[ΥΡ]Ε Η ΕΝ | ΠΟΛΛΑΙΣ | ΑΜΑΡ | ΤΙΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΠΕ | Σ(ΟΥ)ΣΑ[2] +. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

71. Η ΜΑΡ | ΤΥΣ | ΑΓΙΑ | ΚΥ | ΡΙ | Α | ΚΗ (διάμ. 0,12 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

72. Η | ΜΑΡ | ΤΥΣ | Τ(ΟΥ) Χ[ΡΙΣΤ](ΟΥ) | Α-ΓΙΑ | ΚΥ | ΡΙΑ | ΚΗ (0,13 × 0,29 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

73. Η ΑΓΙΑ Π(ΑΡ)ΑΣΚΕΥΗ (0,12 × 0,28 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

74. Η ΑΓΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ (0,19.2 × 0,31 μ.). Κρητιδογραφία καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

75. Παράστασις διὰ τὸ Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Συσσιτίου τῆς Παναγίας Μουχλίου[3].

76. Γοργόνα μετ' ἰχθύων[4] (0,16×0,20.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

77. Ἰχθύες (0,07.5 × 0,22 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

78. Καθέκλαι (0,17×0,25 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου.

79. Καθέκλα (0,18×0,28.5 μ.). Κρητιδογραφία καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

80. Εὐλογοῦσα παλάμη (0,10×0,20 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

81. Σχέδιον μετ' ἀκανθῶν. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου.

82. Τὸ σχέδιον τῆς χαρτοσήμου σφραγῖδος τῶν γραμμάτων τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α' (διάμ. 0,10 μ.)[5]. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

*Λεωνίδας Βεζάνης*[6].

Προσχέδια τοῦ διακόσμου τοῦ βιβλίου[7] τοῦ Μ. Α. Χατζηαθανασίου, Αἱ βάσεις τῆς βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς, Σταμπούλ 1948[8].

*Φώτιος Γιαννακάκης*[9].

ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (περ. 0,25 × 0,35 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας. 1962[10].

*Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀγγέλου Καραβίας Γρίβας*[11].

1. ΙΣ ΧΣ | ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ (0,08 × 0,09.8 μ.)[12]. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

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1. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 199.

2. Δοξαστικὸν τῶν Ἀποστίχων τοῦ Ὄρθρου τῆς Μ. Τρίτης. —, Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Μεγάλη Ἑβδομάς, ἄ.τ. καὶ χ., 148, ἔκδ. τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 122.

3. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει γράμμα τοῦ Φιλαδελφείας Ἰακώβου πρὸς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν ὑπὸ ἡμερομηνίαν 7.12.1957, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν φωτογραφίας διὰ κλισέ, ἡ ὁποία θὰ ἐχρησιμοποιεῖτο εἰς τὸ Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ Συσσιτίου. Παραπέμπεται εἰς τὸ τεῦχ. τῆς Ο 9 (1934) 211, ἔνθα ὑπάρχει ἡ φωτογραφία τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας Μουχλίου καὶ γίνεται σύστασις, ὅτι θὰ ἦτο καλὸν νὰ φαίνεται πάντως καὶ τὸ Ἰωακείμειον.

4. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 18.10.1980, ὁ Ε. Κόβας εἶχεν ἐκτελέσει δι' ὑδατοχρωμάτων διάφορα σχέδια μετὰ βυθῶν, θαλασσῶν καὶ ἰχθύων, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀπωλέσθησαν. Ταῦτα ἐχρησιμοποίει ὁ Μ. Σφακιανούδης κατὰ τὸ μάθημα τῆς ζωγραφικῆς ἐν τῇ Μ. τοῦ Γένους Σχολῇ. Πρὸ τοῦ 1952.

5. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 444, καὶ πίν. 29 ἄνω, τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

6. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Bozkurt Cad. 34/4, Feriköy.

7. Κατ' ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Λ. Βεζάνη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 15.12.1978.

8. —, Βιβλία. Αἱ βάσεις τῆς βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Α. Χ." Ἀθανασίου, Ἐπιθεώρηση ἀρ. 8, 1 (1948) 144. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 439.

9. Κάτοικος Ρίτσμοντ Βιργινίας Η.Π.Α.

10. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 12.12.1976, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα εἰς αὐτόν, ὁ ὁποῖος τὴν ἐδώρησεν εἰς τὸν Φ. Γιαννακάκην ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις αὐτοῦ.

11. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Σπετσῶν 26, Κυψέλη.

12. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν *Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος. 66.

2. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,19 × 0,24.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

3. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,18.5 × 0,25 μ.)[1]. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Παρίσταται ὡς Δεξιοκρατοῦσα καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Κυκκωτίσσης. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ ὁ Κύριος διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΠΝΕΥΜΑ | ΚΥΡΙ(ΟΥ) ΕΠ' ΕΜΕ |(ΟΥ) ΕΝΕ | ΚΕΝ | ΕΧΡΙΣΕ | ΜΕ+. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

4. Ο ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΜΟΣ (0,15 × 0,19 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

5. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ (0,23.5 × 0,31.5 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐπὶ τοῦ εἰληταρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον κρατεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς, ἡ ἐπιγραφή: Ὁ ὀπί | σω (μου) | ἐρχόμε | νος ἰ | σχυρό | τερός μ(ου) ἐ(στ)ί[2]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

6. + ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΠΑ(ΤΡ)ΙΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ+ ΙΕΡΑ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΤΗΣ+Ο ΑΓ. ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ+(Ο Α-[ΓΙΟΣ]) ΑΝ | ΔΡ | Ε | Α | Σ Ο (ΠΡ)Ω | ΤΟ | ΚΛΗ | ΤΟΣ[3]. ΑΠΟ(ΣΤ)ΟΛΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ (διάμ. 0,13 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον καὶ σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

7. Ἄγνωστος ΑΓΙΟΣ | ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ | ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ (0,55.5 × 0,76.5 μ.). Ὑδατογραφία ἐπὶ χάρτου[4].

8. ΡΑΨΩΔΟΣ (0,15 × 0,15 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ὄπισθεν τὸ κείμενον: 18 Ἰανουαρί(ου) 1911 Ἀπεφάσισα ἐπῆγα. Ἡ κ. Κλεον[5]. | μᾶς ὑπεδέχθη. Εἶναι πολλὰ | λεπτὴ εἰς τοὺς τρόπους. Ἠξεύρει νὰ χειρίζηται τὸν | χρωστῆρα ἡ . . . πολὺ | εὔμορφα ἔργα εἶχε ἀλλ' ὄχι | τόσω εὔμορφα ὅσον ἤλπιζα | ἀλλ' αἱ δύο γυμνογραφίαι | καὶ μία γρηούλα ἦσαν | ἔκτακτα ἔργα. Ἐνόμιζε | κανεὶς ὅτι εἶχαν ἐκεῖνα τὰ χρώματα καρδιὰ καὶ μεγ. φυσικότητα. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: ΕΙ(ΡΗΝΑΡΧ)ΟΣ | 1910.

9. Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ (0,25 × 0,38 μ.). Ὑδατογραφία ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

10. Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΚΛΑ (0,13 × 0,16.5 μ.). Ὑδατογραφία ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἀντίγραφον ἐκ τῶν τοιχογραφιῶν τοῦ ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Θέκλης[6]. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας[7].

11. [Ο Α]ΓΙ[ΟΣ] | ΑΒ | ΕΡΚΙ | ΟΣ (διάμ. 0,10.5 μ.)[8].

12. Ο ΑΓΙΟ[Σ] | [ΠΟΛΥ]Κ[Α]Ρ | ΠΟ | Σ (0,09 × 0,10.5 μ.).

13. Β | ΛΑ | ΣΙ | ΟΣ (0,06.3 × 0,09.4 μ.).

14. Ο | Α | ΓΙ | (ΟΣ) | Ε | ΛΕΥ | ΘΕΡΙ | (ΟΣ) (διάμ. 0,10.5 μ.).

15. Ἄγνωστος ΑΓΙ[ΟΣ] (0,13 × 0,16 μ.).

16. Ἄγνωστος στρατιωτικὸς Ἅγιος (0,9.5 ×0,11 μ.).

17. [Ο Α]ΓΙ[ΟΣ] | ΔΗ | ΜΗ | (ΤΡ)Ι | (ΟΣ) (0,11 × 0,11.5 μ.).

18. Δύο Ἅγιοι, ἐξ ὧν ὁ εἷς Π[Ρ]Ο | ΚΟ | ΠΙ(ΟΣ) (0,19.5 × 0,24.5 μ.).

*Νικόλαος Δεβλέτογλου*[9].

Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ] | ΒΑ | ΣΙ | ΛΕΙ | ΟΣ | Ο | ΜΕ | ΓΑ | Σ | Η | ΑΓΙΑ | Κ | Υ | ΡΙ | Α | ΚΗ | Η | ΑΓΙΑ | ΜΑ | ΤΡΩ | ΝΑ | Η | ΧΙΟ | ΠΟ | ΛΙ | ΤΙΣ[10] | Ο Α[ΓΙΟΣ] | ΑΘΑ | ΝΑ | ΣΙ | ΟΣ | Α | ΛΕ | ΞΑΝ | ΔΡΕΙ | ΑΣ[11]. Δίπτυχον. Ἕκαστον φύλλον (0,17.5 × 0,30 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή. Δεξιά: ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΗΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΥΠΟ ΧΙΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΙΤΟΥ ΑΦΙΕΡΩ ΤΩ ΑΞΙΟΤΙΜΩ Κ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩ ΔΕΒΛΕΤΟΓΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ (ΤΟ Γ. ΚΟΛΛΑΚΗ) ΕΠ' ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΓΑΜΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΕΤ' ΕΥΧΩΝ ΔΙΑΠΥΡΩΝ ΟΛΓΑ Π. ΚΟΒΑ | ΕΝ ΦΑΝΑΡΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩ Α⸗ΜΣΤ' ΜΗΝΙ ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΩ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΔΕ ΚΖ'. Ἀριστερά: ΕΠ' ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΓΑΜΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΦΙΛΗΜΕΝΗΣ ΜΟΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ Κ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΔΕΒΛΕΤΟΓΛΟΥ ΔΩΡΩ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΑΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ ΜΕΤ' ΕΥΧΩΝ ΔΙΑΠΥΡΩΝ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΤΗ 27Η ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΥ 1946 ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΣΦΑΚΙΑΝΟΥΔΗ[12].

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1. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν ΙΣ ἀρ. 47, 12 (1980) 34.
2. *Ματθ.* 3, 11. *Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 212.
3. Ἡ Ἀδελφότης αὕτη ἱδρύθη ἐπὶ Πατριαρχίας Ἀθηναγόρου Α' τὸ 1949. —, Ἵδρυσις τῆς Ἀδελφότητος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Πρωτοκλήτου, Ο 24 (1949) 429.
4. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.5.1976, τὰ ὑπ' ἀρ. 7 καὶ 9 σχέδια ἐδωρήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Κ. Α. Γρίβαν.
5. Πιθανῶς πρόκειται περὶ τῆς ζωγράφου Κλεονίκης Ἀσπριώτου (1870 - 1938). *Α. Γαϊτάνου Γιαννιοῦ*, Ὁ Γεώργιος Γραμμανδάνης καὶ οἱ μαθήτριές του Κλεονίκη Ἀσπριώτου καὶ Θάλεια Φλωρᾶ - Καραβία, Τ 4 (1949) 205-7.
6. Πρβλ. *Κ. Α. Γρίβα*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 3 καὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἀρ. 42 ἔργον τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.
7. Τὰ αὐτὰ ἀναφέρονται καὶ εἰς τὰ ὑπ' ἀρ. 11 - 8 ἀντίγραφα.
8. *Α. Πασαδαίου*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 89, πίν. 5.
9. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Ἀχιλλέως 5, Π. Φάληρον.
10. Αἰτία τῆς ἀπεικονίσεως αὐτῆς ἦτο ἡ μεγάλη συμπάθεια τοῦ Ε. Κόβα πρὸς ὡρισμένους, πιθανῶς λόγῳ τῆς καταγωγῆς του, Ἁγίους, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔζησαν ἢ ἀπέθανον ἐν Χίῳ, ὡς αἱ Ἁγ. Ματρώνα, Μαρκέλλα, ὁ Ἅγ. Ἰσίδωρος κ.ἄ., καθὼς καὶ ἡ ἐκ Χίου καταγωγὴ τῆς δωρητρίας καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς καὶ παραληπτρίας τῆς εἰκόνος. Ν. Δεβλέτογλου, Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Ἀθῆναι 20.2.1976, 3.
11. Ὁ Ἅγ. Ἀθανάσιος ἀπεικονίσθη ὡς ἱεράρχης, πιθανῶς ἐκ λόγων συμμετρίας, ἀπέναντι τοῦ Ἁγ. Βασιλείου. Ἀλλέως θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ παρασταθῇ π.χ. ὁ Χῖος μάρτυς Ἰσίδωρος. Ν. Δεβλέτογλου, Ἔργ. μνημ. 4.
12. Μ. Σφακιανούδη, Ἔργ. μνημ. 3. Ν. Δεβλέτογλου, Ἔργ. μνημ. 3 - 4.

*Σπυρίδων Θεοφανείδης*[1].

(ΟΑ) | ΓΙ[Ο]Σ | ΣΠΥ | ΡΙ | ΔΩΝ (0,26.7 × 0,35 μ.), μετὰ τοῦ πλαισίου (0,29.5 × 0,37.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας[2]. Πρὸ τοῦ 1963.

*Ἐλευθέριος Ἰωαννίδης*[3].

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (περ. 0,30 × 0,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία καὶ σμάλτον ἐπὶ ξύλου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἐξετελέσθη ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τοῦ γραμματοσήμου τοῦ Ἁγ. Δημητρίου τῆς Διεθνοῦς Ἐκθέσεως Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ 1931[4]. Πρὸ τοῦ 1947.

*Νικόλαος Καραγεώργος (†)*[5].

1. Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ[6].
2. Ο ΑΓ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ[7].
3. Η ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΗ (0,34 × 0,49.5 μ.). Ἀπεπερατώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου[8].

*Ἠὼ Λαμπίρη*[9].

1. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ[10]. Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ἐλεούσης. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Θεοτόκε βοήθει | τῇ Σῇ δ(ού)λῃ | Χρυσάνθῃ[11] | τῷ Υἱῷ Σ(ου) ἀεὶ | μεσιτεύ(ου)σα ! εὐ[χ]έτης | ὁ ἱ(στ)ορήσας | τὴν εἰκόνα Σ(ου) | π[ό]λη | α῾λζστ΄.

2. Ο Α | Γ[Ι] | Ο | Σ | Μ[ΑΡ]Τ[ΥΣ] Χ[ΡΙ](ΣΤ)(ΟΥ)| (ΣΤ)Ε | ΦΑ | Ν | (ΟΣ) (0,23.5 × 0,30.5 μ.)[12]. Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Τὴν εἰκόνα ἤρχισεν ὁ Κ. Α. Γρίβας καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν ὁ Ε. Κόβας κατὰ τὸ 1943[13]. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

*Μιχαὴλ Μελᾶς (†)*[14].

Η ΑΓΙΑ ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗ[15]. Πιθανῶς περὶ τὸ 1945.

*Δρ. Ἀκύλας Μήλλας*[16].

*Θέκλα Μικέδη*[17].

*Εὐφροσύνη Μπαχτσετζῆ*[18].

ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η ΕΛΕ(ΟΥ)ΣΑ (0,22 × 0,32 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Κυκκωτίσσης. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Πρὸ τοῦ 1970[19].

*Δρ. Βασίλειος Μπορμπόρογλου*[20].

1. Ο Α[ΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ] ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Ο Α[ΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ] ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (0,34.5 × 0,44 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας[21].
2. ΜΡ ΘΥ μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ (0,24 × 0,31.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ἀντικολλητοῦ. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.
3. Η ΣΤΕΨΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ[22] (0,23 × 0,28 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ντουραλὶτ καὶ ξύλου. Ὄπισθεν σταυρός. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.
4. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ (0,27 × 0,34 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Ἡμιτελής. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

*Σταῦρος Νιάρχος*.

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ. Ἐλαιογραφία. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Τοῖς εὐσεβεστάτοις καὶ πεφιλημέ-

1. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Σειρήνων 20Α, Π. Φάληρον.
2. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα κατὰ Ἰούνιον 1979, ἡ εἰκὼν παρηγγέλθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν καλλιτέχνην καὶ ἐδωρήθη εἰς τὸν υἱόν του Σπυρίδωνα τὸ 1963.
3. Κάτοικος chez Mr. et Mme Lemarchand Residence Bellevue Bat. 6, 2. Avenue du general Gilles 66000 Perpignan.
4. Κατ' ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Χαλκηδὼν 27.8.1977, Πρώτη 20.8.1980, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐξετελέσθη κατὰ παραγγελίαν τῆς οἰκογενείας τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου, ἡ ὁποία ἐδώρησεν αὐτὴν ὡς γαμήλιον δῶρον εἰς τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου Ἀνδρομάχην καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον Ἐλευθερίου Ἰωαννίδην. Τὸ ζεῦγος ἀπεβίωσεν ἐν Παρισίοις τὸ 1975 καὶ οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν περιῆλθεν εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῶν Ἐλευθερίου Joannidès.
5. Γενικὸς Πρόξενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν τῇ Πόλει μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 1969 - 1973.
6. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Ν. Κασνάκογλου τῇ 22.5.1974 καὶ τοῦ Β. Ζάμπογλου τῇ 1.3.1975 πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα.
7. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Σ. Σ. Παπαδοπούλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 28.9.1974.
8. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 24.4.1974, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐπέτυχεν οὕτω νὰ δίδεται ἀπὸ τοῦ 1972 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πόλει Προξενείου τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὸν καλλιτέχνην κατὰ μῆνα μισθὸς 1000 Λ.Τ.
9. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Χάιδεν 22.
10. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν ΙΣ ἀρ. 8, 2 (1970/1) 36. *Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος. 67. Πρβλ. *Τῆς Αὐτῆς*, Ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ ἔφυγαν. Ἄρχης Κόβας, ΙΣ ἀρ. 16, 4 (1972 - 3) 69.
11. (Ἠὼ Λαμπίρη).
12. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν *Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος. 1, 65.
13. Κ. Α. Γρίβα, Ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Ἀθῆναι 16.7.1974, 6.2.1975. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κ. Α. Γρίβα πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 22.10.1980, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Η. Λαμπίρη τὸ 1980.
14. Γενικὸς Πρόξενος τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν τῇ Πόλει μεταξὺ τῶν ἐτῶν 1946 - 50.
15. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Γ. Ἀδόσογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 17.6.1980.
16. Κάτοικος νῦν Ἀθηνῶν. Ἄγνωστον εἰς τὸν γράφοντα τὸ εἶδος τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, τὰ ὁποῖα κατέχει.
17. Ἀναδεκτὴ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, Νεφέλης Κόβα - Χαλλιορῆ. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 429. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Ἀχιλλέως 44, Π. Φάληρον. Κατὰ σημείωμα τοῦ Β. Ζάμπογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα κατ' Ἀπρίλιον τοῦ 1975. Ὁ γράφων, παρ' ὅλας τὰς προσπαθείας, δὲν κατώρθωσε δυστυχῶς νὰ ἐπικοινωνήσῃ μετ' αὐτῆς. Ἐκ τῆς ἐρεύνης ὅμως τὴν ὁποίαν ἐμμέσως ἔκαμε, δὲν καθίσταται γνωστὸν ἐὰν αὕτη κατέχῃ εἰσέτι ἔργα τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, τὰ ὁποῖα μᾶλλον ἐπώλησεν.
18. Κάτοικος Θεσσαλονίκης, Θεμιστοκλέους Σοφούλη 25.
19. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τῆς Ε. Μπαχτσετζῆ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 30.8.1977, ἡ εἰκὼν ἠγοράσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός της Ε. Γεωργιάδου καὶ ἐδωρήθη αὐτῇ πιθανῶς τὸ 1970.
20. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Er meydani Sok. 53/3, Kurtulus.
21. Ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' ἀρ. 2 - 4 προέρχονται ἐκ τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου.
22. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 210-11.

νοις τῆς Μητρὸς Μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις Κυρίοις Σταύρῳ καὶ Εὐγενίᾳ | Νιάρχου καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἐντίμῳ αὐτῶν οἰκογενείᾳ ἐπὶ τοῖς | πρώτοις ὀνομαστηρίοις τοῦ προσφιλοῦς υἱοῦ αὐτῶν Σπυρίδωνος, | εἰς εὐλογίαν πατρικὴν | Φανάριον Δεκεμβρίου 12, 1953 | Ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀθηναγόρας[1].

*Μαρία Νταούτ (†)*[2].

Η ΚΥΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ (περ. 0,25 × 0,35 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ὀθόνης καὶ ξύλου. 1966[3].

*Εἰρήνη Σφακιανούδη*[4].

ΜΡ ΘΥ ΠΑ | ΝΑ | ΓΙΑ | Η | ΟΔΗ | (ΓΗ) | (ΤΡ)ΙΑ (0,19 × 0,25 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Ὄπισθεν ὁ μετ' εὐρυλήκτων κεραιῶν σταυρὸς μετὰ τῶν συντμήσεων ΙΣ ΧΣ | ΝΙ ΚΑ. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Τῷ φιλοχρί(στ)ῳ νέῳ Μιχαὴλ τ(οῦ) Κων(στ)αντίν(ου) Σφακιανούδη τ(οῦ) Χίου | ὁ Χῖος ἱστορητὴς τῆς δε ἁγίας εἰκόνος. Ἐν Φαναρίῳ ἔτει α῎ην'.

*Μιχαὴλ Σφακιανούδης*[5].

ΙΣ ΧΣ | Ο | ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ (0,43 × 0,52 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Εὐαγγέλιον ἡμιτελές[6]. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Τήν δε εἰκό | να τ(οῦ) Κ[υρί]ου | Ι[Η]Σ(ΟΥ) | Χ[ΡΙ](ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) τοῦ Θεράπον | τος δω | ρ(ού)μεθα | τῇ φιλο | χρί(στ)ῳ κ(αὶ) | πεφιλη | μένῃ ἡ | μῶν θυγα | τρὶ | Μαρίᾳ | μετ' εὐχῶν | διαπύρων | οἱ γονεῖς | αὐτῆς ΜΙΧΑΗΛ | Κ[ΑΙ] | ΑΓΓΕΛΙ | ΚΗ | ΣΦΑΚΙ | ΑΝ(ΟΥ)ΔΗ | ΕΝ ΠΟΛ(ΕΙ) | 1965 | μὴν Μάιος[7]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

*Γρηγόριος Σωτηριάδης*[8].

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΝΑΖΙΑΝΖΗΝΟΣ | Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ (περ. 0,25 × 0,35 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου[9]. Πρὸ τοῦ 1956.

*Χαράλαμπος Χαρισιάδης.*

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ | Η ΑΓΙΑ ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗ | Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ (περ. 0,30 × 0,40 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ ξύλου. Περὶ τὸ 1958 - 60[10].

*Wolf Seidl*[11].

1. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΗΣ. Ἔγχρωμον σχέδιον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Πρὸ τοῦ 1966[12].
2. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ. Ἔγχρωμον σχέδιον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Πρὸ τοῦ 1966.

*Georg Walschus*[13].

ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΒΛΑΧΕΡΝΙΤΙΣΣΑ[14]. Μικρῶν διαστάσεων. Ἐλαιογραφία. Ἀντίγραφον. Πρὸ τοῦ 1966[15].

*Ἀγνώστου κατοχῆς.*

1. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ. Ἐλαιογραφία[16].
2. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟΣ[17]. Ἐλαιογραφία. Μετὰ τὸ 1949[18].
3. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ. Ἐλαιογραφία. 1952[19].

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1. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει τὸ κείμενον τῆς ἀφιερώσεως ταύτης ἐν γραφομηχανῇ.
2. Ἄλλοτε κάτοικος Βοστώνης Η.Π.Α.
3. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 20.6.1974, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐπωλήθη εἰς τὴν ἀραβικῆς καταγωγῆς Εὐεργέτιδα τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Δωρήτριαν τῆς Ἱ. Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης.
4. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Ἁγίου Λουκᾶ 25, Πατήσια. Μ. Σφακιανούδη, Ἔργ. μνημ. 3.
5. Κάτοικος Ἀθηνῶν, Τιμοξένου 12 - 14.
6. Κατ' ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐν Ἀθήναις 8.12.1974, 2 - 3, καὶ πληροφορίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ 22.10.1980.
7. Κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, σ. 5, ἡ ἀφιέρωσις αὕτη εἶναι ἐνδιαφέρουσα, διότι ἐνῷ ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἐδώρησε τὴν εἰκόνα εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη, ἡ ἀφιέρωσις ἀναφέρει ὅτι τὴν δωρίζει εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ της, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον δεικνύει τὸ ψυχικὸν μεγαλεῖον τοῦ καλλιτέχνου. Τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτην ἠθέλησε νὰ ἀγοράσῃ ἐναντι μεγάλου ποσοῦ διαπρεπὴς καὶ διεθνοῦς φήμης τεχνοκρίτης.
8. Κάτοικος Θεσσαλονίκης.
9. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 12.12.1976, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Γ. Σωτηριάδην ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις αὐτοῦ τὸ 1956.
10. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Χ. Χαρισιάδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 1.9.1980, ἡ εἰκὼν εὑρίσκεται νῦν παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Χ. Χαρισιάδου, κατοίκῳ Ἀθηνῶν, Προμηθέως 70, Ἀχαρνῶν.
11. Κάτοικος Μονάχου Δυτικῆς Γερμανίας.
12. Κατ' ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Ε. Κόβα πρὸς τὸν Κ. Α. Γρίβαν, Πόλη 17.10.1969 (αὕτη ἐδημοσιεύθη φωτοτυπικῶς ἐν *Η. Λαμπίρῃ*, Εἰρήναρχος. 69), τοῦ Κ. Α. Γρίβα πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐν Ἀθήναις 3.5.1974, 5 καὶ W. Seidl πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Μόναχον 19.9.1977, τὸ σχέδιον τοῦτο ὡς καὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἀρ. 2 προέρχονται ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα.
13. Κάτοικος Μονάχου Δυτικῆς Γερμανίας.
14. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 174.
15. Κατ' ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Ε. Κόβα πρὸς τὸν Κ. Α. Γρίβαν, Πόλη 17.10.1969, τοῦ Κ. Α. Γρίβα πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐν Ἀθήναις 3.5.1974, 4 καὶ τοῦ W. Seidl πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Μόναχον 19.9.1977, ἡ εἰκὼν προέρχεται ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα.
16. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κ. Γκιουζέλογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 3.9.1981, ἡ εἰκὼν ἐξετελέσθη κατὰ παραγγελίαν Φιλοπτώχου Ἀδελφότητος Κοινότητός τινος, ἴσως τοῦ Βλάχσεραΐου ἢ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.
17. Πρβλ. τὰ σχετικὰ ἀνθίβολα τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου, ἀρ. 55 - 7 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.
18. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει σημείωμα ἐν γραφομηχανῇ τοῦ τότε Τριτεύοντος τῶν Πατριαρχείων Διακ. Αἱμιλιανοῦ (Κῶ) πρὸς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν, ἔχον ὡς ἑξῆς: Ἀγαπητέ μοι κ. Κόβα | Ἀνέφερον εἰς τὴν Α. Θ. Παναγιότητα διὰ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἁγίου Γε | ωργίου καὶ ἐνετάλην ὅπως Σᾶς πληροφορήσω νὰ φιλοτεχνήσητε | σχετικὸν σχέδιον ἵνα τὸ ἴδῃ. Ἐπιθυμῶ ὅπως ἡ εἰκὼν παριστάνῃ τὸν | ἅγιον Καβαλλάρην. 20/12/1949. Τιμητικῶς Τριτεύων | Αἱμιλιανός. Πρβλ. Μ. Κριθιώτου, πρ. Μ. Ἀρχιδιακ., Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, Ἀθῆναι 18.3. 1975, 2. Ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' ἀρ. 2 φαίνεται ὅτι ἀνήκουν εἰς ἐκείνας, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐξετελέσθησαν διὰ λογαριασμὸν τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α'.
19. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἀπόδειξιν ἐν γραφομηχανῇ ἔχουσαν ὡς ἑξῆς: Ἀπόδειξις Λ.Τ. 50 | Ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ κ. Μαλέτσκου (ταμίου τῶν Πατριαρχείων 1947 - 1956 καὶ βυζαντινολόγου), κατ' ἐντολὴν τῆς Α. Θ. Παναγιό | τητος λίρας Τουρκίας πεντήκοντα (ἀρ. 50) ἀξίαν μιᾶς εἰκόνος τοῦ | ἁγίου Νικολάου καὶ εἰς ἔνδειξιν. | Ἐν τοῖς Πατριαρχείοις, τῇ 25ῃ Σεπτεμβρίου 1952 | Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας.

*Κοσμικὰ ἔργα*[1].

1. Σύνθεσις μετὰ τριῶν μορφῶν καὶ τραπέζης. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
2. Κιθαρῳδὸς καὶ χορεύτρια. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
3. Τοπίον καὶ μορφαί. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
4. Τοπίον. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
5. Τοπίον. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
6. Τοπίον. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
7. Τοπίον. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
8. Νεκρὰ φύσις. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
9. Νεκρὰ φύσις. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
10. Νεκρὰ φύσις. Ἐλαιογραφία. Διατήρησις καλή.
11. Τρεῖς μορφαί. Γλυπτόν. Διατήρησις καλή.

Εἶναι ἔργα κυβιστικῆς τεχνοτροπίας, πιθανῶς ἐκτελεσθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα κατὰ τὸ διάστημα τῶν ἐν Παρισίοις σπουδῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ 1920 ἢ καὶ πρότερον[2].

## ΙΙΙ. ΜΙΚΡΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΙ

### α. Διακοσμήσεις βιβλίων.

1. ΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ | ΠΕΝΤ(ΗΚ)ΟΝΤΑΕΤ(ΗΡ)ΙΣ | Δ(ΗΜ)ΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΣΤΑΔΙ(ΟΥ) | ΣΤΑΥΡ(ΟΥ) Ι. Β(ΟΥ)ΤΥΡΑ | 1866 - 1921 ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝ(ΟΥ)ΠΟΛΙΣ. (Ἐξώφυλλον). Πιθανῶς ἔργον τοῦ Ε. Κόβα[3].
2. Ι. Γ. ΤΣΟΥΡΟΥΚΤΖΗ, Ἐφήμερα, Κωνσταντινούπολις 1929. (Ἐξώφυλλον καὶ διάκοσμος).
3. ΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ | ΤΕΛΕΙΟΦΟΙΤΩΝ | ΛΥΚΕΙΟΥ[4] | 1931 | ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ 1931. (Ἐξώφυλλον).
4. ΛΕΥΚΩΜΑ | ΤΕΛΕΙΟΦΟΙΤΩΝ | ΛΥΚΕΙΟΥ | 1933 | ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ 1933. (Ἐξώφυλλον).
5. ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΙ ΤΗΣ Μ. Γ. ΣΧΟΛΗΣ (ἐκδ.), Ὁ Μεγαλοσχολίτης, Ἰσταμπούλ 1939. (Μερικαὶ ἐπικεφαλίδες). Πιθανῶς ἔργα τοῦ Ε. Κόβα.
6. Κ. ΠΡΙΓΓΟΥ, Ἡ Πατριαρχικὴ Φόρμιγξ, 2 τ., Κωνσταντινούπολις 1952, 1953. (Ἐξώφυλλον). Πιθανῶς ἔργον τοῦ Ε. Κόβα.
7. Δ. Π. ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ, ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΝ | ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ. Ο ΕΝ ΦΑΝΑΡΙΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΣ, ἄ.τ. καὶ χ. (1961). Λεύκωμα φωτογραφιῶν. (Ἐξώφυλλον).
8. Δ. Π. ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ, ΙΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΟΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ | (ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ ΠΕΡΑΝ), ἄ.τ. καὶ χ. Λεύκωμα φωτογραφιῶν. (Ἐξώφυλλον).

### β. Διακοσμήσεις σταχώσεων βιβλίων[5].

*1. Ἀρχειοφυλάκιον*
*τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου.*

ΦΑΚΕΛΟΣ | Ἐκπαιδευτικ(ῆς) Ἐπιτροπ(ῆς) | 1919. Ἐμπροσθία πλευρὰ λινῆς σταχώσεως.
ΦΑΚΕΛΟΣ | Ἐκπαιδευτικ(ῆς) Ἐπιτροπ(ῆς) | 1920. Ἐμπροσθία πλευρὰ λινῆς σταχώσεως.

*2. Βιβλιοθήκη*
*τοῦ Συνδέσμου Ἀποφοίτων Μεγάλης Σχολῆς*[6].

Τὰ περισσότερα τῶν βιβλίων τούτων, μερικὰ τῶν ὁποίων εἶναι δωρεαὶ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, Ι. Ἀνωτίδη, Κ. Α. Γρίβα, Ε. Ἰορδανίδη, Ι. Καισαρίδη, Γ. Πατριαρχέα καὶ Γ. Σουρμελῆ πρὸς τὸν Σύνδεσμον, ὡς τοῦτο καταφαίνεται ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτῶν ἀναγραφῶν, ὑπογραφῶν, μονογραμμάτων ἢ καὶ ἀφιερώσεων τῶν δωρητῶν, προέρχονται ἐκ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ Α. Γραμματίδου[7], καίτοι οὐδεμίαν ἔνδειξιν ἔχουν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

Ε. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ (ΔΑΣΚΑΛΑΚΗ), Ἄνθρωποι, ἄ.τ. καὶ χ.

Β. ΗΛΙΑΔΗ, Ὅταν χτυποῦσαν οἱ καμπάνες, ἄ.τ. καὶ χ.

Γ. ΜΠΕΡΑΤΗ, Αὐτοτιμωρούμενος. Ὁ Κάρολος Μπωντλαὶρ ὡς τὰ τριάντα, ἄ.τ.[2] καὶ χ.

Α. ΜΑΜΜΕΛΗ, Ἀπ' τὰ σκότη στὸ φῶς, Ἀθήνα 1924.

Α. ΚΟΒΑ, Διηγήματα καὶ νεοχριστιανικὰ σκίτσα, Ἀθήνα 1925[8].

Κ. ΦΑΛΤΑΪΤΣ, Χαρίλαος Φαρέλλης. Ναυτικὸ μυθιστόρημα, Ἀθῆναι 1925.

Μ. ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Κάποιες ὧρες. Ἀκουαρέλλες - σονέττα - ὅταν ἤμουνα μόνος - ὅταν ἤμασταν οἱ δυὸ - τραγούδια τοῦ φεγγαριοῦ - μεταφράσεις, Ἀθήνα 1927 (διπλοῦν).

Δ. ΜΠΟΓΡΗ, Ἡ Δράκαινα. Δρᾶμα σὲ πράξεις τρεῖς, Ἀθῆναι ἄ.χ. (1928).

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1. Ταῦτα ἐξάγονται ἐκ σχετικῆς μελανολεύκου φωτογραφίας, τὴν ὁποίαν κατέχει ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης.
2. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 426.
3. Καθ' ὑπόδειξιν τοῦ Πρωτοπρ. Μ. Σακκουλίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 26.1.1981.
4. Τοῦ Ἑλληνογαλλικοῦ Λυκείου (Lycée greco-français) τοῦ Χ. Χατζηχρήστου. —, Ἑλληνογαλλικὸν Λύκειον Χατζηχρήστου, ΕΑ 13 (1893) 131. —, Ἑλληνικὸν Λύκειον Χατζηχρήστου, ΕΑ 15 (1896) 132. —, Ἑλληνογαλλικὸν Λύκειον Χατζηχρήστου, Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Ἀνατολῆς. Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον 2 (1902) 305 - 6. —, Ἑλληνογαλλικὸν Λύκειον Χρήστου Χατζηχρήστου, ΕΦΚΗ 1 (1905) 529. *Α. Γαϊτάνου Γιανιοῦ*, Τὸ πνευματικὸ Μακροχώρι τοῦ καιροῦ μου, Ἰσταμπούλ 1951, 81 - 90.
5. Περὶ τοῦ θέματος ἰδέ: *H. Züber*, Türk süsleme sanatı, Ἄγκυρα[2] 1972, 89 - 95. —, Türk cilt sanatı, Milliyet Türk Islâm sanatı Kültür ve sanat eki, τεῦχ. 3 (1981) 17 - 24.
6. Ἐν τῇ διευθύνσει Istanbul, Meselik Sok. 36/9, Taksim. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Ε. Ἀρσενιάδου, Γεν. Γραμματέως τοῦ Συνδέσμου, πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 9.7.1981, ἡ βιβλιοθήκη αὕτη συνεστήθη κατὰ τὸ 1946.
7. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Δ. Χαβιαροπούλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.8.1980. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 440.
8. Ὁ Δ. Παντελάρας κατέχει ἐκ δωρεᾶς τοῦ Ε. Κόβα τὸ βιβλίον του, Στὰ μάτια καὶ τὰ χείλη κι ἄλλα διηγήματα, Πόλη-Φανάρι 1935, τοῦ ὁποίου καὶ τὸ ἐξώφυλλον διεκόσμησεν ὁ καλλιτέχνης, *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 439, ὁ ὁποῖος ὅμως ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων τὸ ἐχρωμάτισε δι' ὑδατοχρωμάτων.

Φ. ΓΙΟΦΥΛΛΗ, Διηγήματα, Ἀθῆναι 1928.

Α. Μ. ΛΙΔΩΡΙΚΗ, Καινούργιοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἄλλα διηγήματα, Ἀθῆναι 1938.

Θ. ΚΑΣΤΑΝΑΚΗ, Ὁ ρασκαγιᾶς κι ἄλλα διηγήματα, Ἀθήνα 1939.

Θ. ΠΕΤΣΑΛΗ, Ἡ ἀνθρώπινη περιπέτεια. Ὁ μάγος μὲ τὰ δῶρα. Μυθιστόρημα, Ἀθῆναι 1939.

Ι. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ἑλληνικοὶ ὁρίζοντες, Ἀθήνα 1940.

Α. Δ. ΤΕΡΖΑΚΗ, Τοῦ ἔρωτα καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, Ἀθήνα 1942.

Δ. Ν. ΒΟΥΤΥΡΑ, Ὁ ἔρωτας στοὺς τάφους, Διηγήματα, Ἀθήνα 1943.

Ε. Μ. ΓΑΛΑΝΟΥ, Κόντρα στὸν ἄνεμο. Μυθιστόρημα, Ἀθήνα 1943.

Κ. ΛΩΛΟΥ, Διηγήματα σὲ πρῶτο πρόσωπο, Ἀθήνα 1943.

Ι. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Χειρόγραφα τῆς μοναξιᾶς, Ἀθῆναι 1943 (διπλοῦν).

Λ. ΠΗΝΙΑΤΟΓΛΟΥ, Μελέτες ψυχαναλυτικὲς καὶ ἄλλες γύρω στὸν ἄνθρωπο, τὴν κοινωνία καὶ τὴν τέχνη, Ἀθήνα 1943.

Α. ΣΙΚΕΛΙΑΝΟΥ, Ἀντίδωρο, Ἀθήνα 1943.

Κ. ΣΟΥΚΑ, Θάλασσα, Ἀθήνα 1943.

Χ. Π. ΖΑΛΟΚΩΣΤΑ, Τὸ περιβόλι τῶν θεῶν, Ἀθήνα 1944.

Μ. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Τὸ σπίτι μὲ τὸν κορυδαλλό, Ἀθήνα 1944.

Ι. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ κείμενα. Γ' Κωστῆς Παλαμᾶς, Ἀθήνα 1944.

Κ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗ, Eroica. Μυθιστόρημα, Ἀθήνα[2] 1944.

Π. ΧΑΡΗ, Κρίσιμη ὥρα. Σελίδες ρεμβασμοῦ καὶ περισυλλογῆς, ἄ.τ. 1944.

Α. ΧΟΥΡΜΟΥΖΙΟΥ, Κριτικὴ πορεία. Α' Ὁ Παλαμᾶς καὶ ἡ ἐποχή του, Ι, Ἀθήνα 1944.

Α. ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΥ, Ἐλούσοβα, Ἀθήνα 1945.

Μ. ΚΑΡΑΠΑΝΟΥ, Τὰ δέντρα. Μυθιστόρημα, ἄ.τ. 1945.

Σ. ΜΥΡΙΒΗΛΗ, Τὰ παγανά, Ἀθήνα 1945.

Α. ΜΠΟΥΡΤΖΗ, Ἡ τέχνη γιὰ τοὺς λόγους, Ἀθήνα 1945.

Ι. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ἀστροφεγγιά. Μυθιστόρημα, ἄ.τ. 1945 (διπλοῦν).

Ι. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Χαμοζωή. Χρονικὸ τοῦ παλιοῦ καιροῦ, Ἑλλὰς 1945.

Κ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗ, Τὸ γύρι, ἄ.τ. 1945.

Η. ΒΕΝΕΖΗ, Μπλὸκ Σ. Δρᾶμα σὲ τρεῖς πράξεις καὶ τέσσερις εἰκόνες, Ἀθήνα 1946.

Μ. ΚΑΡΑΓΑΤΣΗ, Ὁ μεγάλος ὕπνος. Μυθιστόρημα, ἄ.τ. 1946.

Ν. ΚΑΤΗΦΟΡΗ, Ὁ ἄρχοντας κι ἄλλα διηγήματα, ἄ.τ. 1946.

Α. ΚΟΒΒΑΤΖΗ, Κάτω ἀπ' τὸν γαλάζιο οὐρανό, ἄ.τ. 1946.

Η. ΛΑΜΠΙΡΗ, Τὸ ἀτσαλένιο κορίτσι, Σταμπούλ 1946.

Γ. Π. ΛΟΥΪΖΙΔΗ, Ὁ πόνος τῆς μάνας, Ἀθῆναι 1946.

Γ. ΜΠΕΡΑΤΗ, Ὁδοιπορικὸ τοῦ 43, ἄ.τ. 1946.

Ι. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ κείμενα. Δ' Κ. Π. Καβάφης, Ἀθήνα 1946.

Ε. ΒΛΑΜΗ, Γαλαξεῖδι ἡ μοίρα μιᾶς ναυτικῆς πολιτείας, Ἀθήνα 1947.

*3. Ἐλενουπόλεως Ἀθανάσιος Παπᾶς.*

ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΟΝ, ἐν Κων/πόλει 1820, ἔκδ. Πατριαρχικοῦ Τυπογραφείου. Ἐμπροσθία καὶ ὀπισθία πλευρὰ δερματίνης σταχώσεως. 1943[1].

*4. Πρωτοπρ. Μελέτιος Σακκουλίδης*[2].

Τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα προέρχονται ἐκ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ Α. Γραμματίδου, καθ' ὅτι εἰς τὸ κάτω τμῆμα τῆς ράχεως αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐφωδιασμένα μὲ τὰ ἀρχικὰ γράμματα τοῦ ὀνόματός του A.G. ἢ Α.Γ., ἐσωτερικῶς δὲ πολλάκις φέρουν τὴν ὑπογραφὴν ἢ τὴν σφραγῖδα αὐτοῦ ACHILLE GRAMMATIDÈS. Εἰς τὴν κατοχὴν τοῦ Μ. Σακκουλίδου προῆλθον τὰ μὲν ἐκ δωρεᾶς τῆς Α. Ζωγράφου Σιμαλαρίδου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ 1980, τὰ δὲ περισσότερα ἐξ ἀγορᾶς[3].

Η. ΤΑΝΤΑΛΙΔΟΥ, Παπιστικῶν ἐλέγχων τ. 3, ἐν Κων/πόλει 1850.

CHATAUBRIAND, Atala René le dernier abencerage les Natchez, Paris ἄ.χ.

W. DEEPING, Une femme passa le seuil. Roman, traduit par E. Le Princeur, Genève ἄ.χ.

MOLIÈRE, L' avare. Tartuffe. Le médecin malgré lui (Bibliothèque Prècieuse), Paris ἄ.χ.

J.-J. ROUSSEAU, Les Confessions, Paris ἄ.χ.

H. TAINE, Philosophie de l' art, 2 τ., Paris[23] ἄ.χ.

A. DAUDET, Lettres de mon Moulin, Paris 1918.

C. BAUDELAIRE, Les fleurs du mal, Paris 1925.

P. LOU·Y·S, Les chansons de Bitilis, traduites du grèc par Notor, Paris 1925.

M. DU VEUZIT, John Chauffeur russe, Paris 1931.

M. DU VEUZIT, L' automate. Roman, Paris 1935.

H. MASSIS, Notre ami Psichari, Canada 1936.

J. D' ESME, Que la vie est belle!, Paris 1938.

P. NORD, Double crime sur la ligne maginot, Paris 1938.

W. SHAKESPEARE, Macbeth. Othello (Bibliothèque de Cluny 22). Traduction de F.-V. Hugo, Paris 1938.

W. SHAKESPEARE, Romeo et Juliette. Hamlet (Bibliothèque de Cluny 28). Traduction de F.- V. Hugo, Paris 1939.

L. C. DOUGLAS, L' obsession magnifique. Roman traduit de l' anglais par C. Moleyne, Geneve[3] 1940.

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1. Τοῦτο ἦτο κτῆμα τοῦ Ροδοπόλεως Ἱερωνύμου, ὁ ὁποῖος τὸ ἐδώρησεν εἰς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 2.8.1977.

2. Ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῇ ἱ. προϊσταμενίᾳ Ἁγ. Κυριακῆς Κοντοσκαλίου, Kadırga Liman Cad. 21. Kumkapı.

3. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Πρωτοπρ. Μ. Σακκουλίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 26.1. καὶ 25.5.1981.

A. MAUROIS, Tragèdie en France (Voix de France), ἄ.τ. 1940.

L. C. DOUGLAS, Le signal vert. Roman traduit de l' anglais par C. Moleyne, Genève[3] 1941.

W. DEEPING, Sorrell et Fils. Roman traduit par V. Forbin, Genève 1942.

L. C. DOUGLAS, Le miracle de Pygmalion. Roman. Traduction de C. Moleyne, Genève 1942.

F. WERFEL, Le chant de Bernadette. Roman traduit de l' allemand par Y. Goll, New York 1942.

A.-J. CRONIN, Les clés du royaume. Romane traduit de l' anglais par G. De Tonnac - Villeneuve, Genève 1943.

E. KNIGHT, Fidèle a toi - même. Version francaise de M. Santschi, Lausanne 1943.

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*6. Κίμων Τσοκώνας*[3].

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*7. François Dapola*[5].

'Ο βυζαντινολόγος F. Dapola κατέχει μερικὰ ἀξίας βιβλία, τῶν ὁποίων τὴν δερματίνην στάχωσιν ἢ τὰς ψευδοπεργαμηνάς, αἱ ὁποῖαι καλύπτουν αὐτήν, διεκόσμησεν ἀριστοτεχνικῶς καὶ κατὰ παραγγελίαν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ε. Κόβας. 'Εκ τούτων τὰ ἔργα τῶν Blanchet, De Jerphanion καὶ Schlumberger εἶναι κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἧττον πλουσίως διακεκοσμημένα (ράχις καὶ δύο πλευραί).

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*8. Burhan Tezergil*[6].

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*9. Olinto Valenti*[8].

'Ο Dr. Ing., φιλότεχνος καὶ βιβλιόφιλος O. Valenti[9] κατέχει ἀναμφιβόλως τὴν πλουσιωτέραν ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως διακοσμήσεως συλλογὴν δερματοδέτων ἀξίας βιβλίων, τῶν ὁποίων τὰς σταχώσεις (ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὴν ράχιν καὶ τὰς δύο πλευράς) διεκόσμησε περὶ τὸ 1945 ἀριστοτεχνικῶς καὶ κατὰ παραγγελίαν αὐτοῦ[10] ὁ Ε. Κόβας. Σημειωτέον, ὅτι ὁ O. Valenti, καθ' ἃς ὁ γράφων ἔχει πληροφορίας, εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ὀλίγων, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἤμειβον τὸν καλλιτέχνην κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν του[11]. 'Ο Ε. Κόβας, κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν σταχώσεων τούτων, πολλάκις ἐνεπνέετο ἐκ τοῦ περιεχομένου τοῦ ἑκάστοτε βιβλίου, χρησιμοποιῶν πρὸς τοῦτο κατάλληλα αἰγυπτιακά, ἀρχαῖα ἑλληνικά, βυζαντινά, ἰσλαμικά, γοτθικά, βενετσιάνικα, ρωσικὰ κ.ἄ. μοτίβα.

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2. Τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα, καθ' ὑπόδειξιν τοῦ Πρωτοπρ. Μ. Σακκουλίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 17.10.1981, προέρχονται ἐκ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ Α. Γραμματίδου, καθ' ὅτι εἰς τὸ κάτω μέρος τῆς ράχεως αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐφωδιασμένα μὲ τὰ ἀρχικὰ γράμματα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ A.G.
3. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Bozkurt Sok. 45/2, Cihangir.
4. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κ. Τσοκώνα πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 28.5.1981.
5. Κάτοικος Istanbul, Zafer Sok. 13/10, Harbiye.
6. Βιβλιοπώλης ἐν Istanbul, Sahaflar Carsısı, Beyazit.
7. Προέρχεται ἐκ τῆς συλλογῆς τοῦ Α. Γραμματίδου, καθ' ὅτι φέρει τὰ ἀρχικὰ αὐτοῦ γράμματα καὶ τὴν ὑπογραφήν του μετὰ τῆς χρονολογίας 1946.
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### γ. Ἀνεξάρτητοι μικρογραφίαι.

*Α. Πιττάκια.*

1. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τῆς «Μετριότητος»[1] τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ τῆς Ἁγ. καὶ Ἰ. Συνόδου (0,38.5 × 0,55 μ.) (πίν. 24). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Κείμενον: Η ΜΕΤΡΙΟΤΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΙ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΔΙΚΩ ΣΥΓΧΩΡΗΤΗΡΙΩ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙ Ι | ΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡΤΙΜΩΝ, ΕΝ ΧΡΙ(ΣΤ)Ω ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΛΙΑΝ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΟΘΗΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΛ | ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΩΝ, ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣ ΔΩΡΕΑΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ Τ(ΟΥ) ΠΑΝΑΓΙ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΖΩΟΠΟΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΡΧΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ, ΤΗΣ ΔΟΘΕΙΣΗΣ | ΜΕΝ ΠΑΡΑ Τ(ΟΥ) ΚΥΡΙ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΘΕ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΗΣ(ΟΥ) ΧΡΙ(ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΑΥΤ(ΟΥ) ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΙΣ, ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΣΜΕΙΝ | ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΕΙΝ ΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ[2], ΕΙΡΗΚΟΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ «ΛΑΒΕΤΕ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΑΓΙΟΝ· ΑΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΑΦΗΤΕ ΤΑΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ ΑΦΙΕΝΤΑΙ | ΑΥΤΟΙΣ, ΑΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΚΡΑΤΗΤΕ ΚΕΚΡΑΤΗΝΤΑΙ»[3]· ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ «ΟΣΑ ΑΝ ΔΗΣΗΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΣΗΤΕ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΗΣ, Ε(ΣΤ)ΑΙ ΔΕΔΕΜΕΝΑ, ΚΑΙ ΛΕΛΥΜΕΝΑ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ | ΟΥΡΑΝΟΙΣ»[4]· ΕΞ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΗΜΑΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΟΔΙΑΔΟΧΩΣ ΔΙΑΒΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΕΝΩΤ(ΟΥ) ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ, ΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΣΥΓΚΕΧΩ | ΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΛΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΨΥΧΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ | ... | ΕΙΣ ΟΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ, ΩΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ, ΟΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΚΑ ΦΟΡΕΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΑΜΑΡΤΗΤΟΝ Τ(ΟΥ)ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΟΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ΗΜΑΡΤΟΝ, Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΕΠΛΗΜΜΕΛΗΣΑΝ ΛΟ | ΓΩ, Η ΕΡΓΩ, Η ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑ, ΕΚ(ΟΥ)ΣΙΩΣ ΤΕ Η ΑΚ(ΟΥ)ΣΙΩΣ[5], ΦΑΝΕΡΩΣ ΤΕ Η ΑΦΑΝΩΣ, ΕΝ ΓΝΩΣΕΙ, Η ΕΝ ΑΓΝΟΙΑ, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΠΟΝ Κ[ΑΙ] ΤΡΟΠΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΑΙΣ ΑΥ | ΤΩΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΙΣΘΗΣΕΣΙ· ΚΑΙ ΕΙΤΕ ΥΠΟ ΚΑΤΑΡΑΝ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ Η ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ, Η ΤΩ ΙΔΙΩ ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑΤΙ ΥΠΕΠΕΣΑΝ[6], Η ΟΡΚΟΝ ΩΜΟΣΑΝ, ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΝ | ΠΑΡΕΒΗΣΑΝ, Η ΕΨΕΥΔΟΡΚΗΣΑΝ, Η ΑΡΑΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ(ΣΤ)ΙΚΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΟΡΙΣΜΟΝ ΕΔΕΞΑΝΤΟ ΠΟΤΕ ΠΑΡ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ, Η ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ, Η ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧ(ΟΥ) ΔΙ' ΗΝ ΤΙΝΑ (ΟΥ)Ν ΑΙΤΙ | ΑΝ, Η ΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΙΕΡΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΑΡΕΠΙΚΡΑΝΑΝ[7] ΛΟΓΩ, Η ΕΡΓΩ, ΚΑΝΤΕΥΘΕΝ ΥΠΟ ΔΕΣΜΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΙΜΙ(ΟΥ) ΕΑΥΤ(ΟΥ)Σ ΚΑΤΕ(ΣΤ)ΗΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΑΜΕΛΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΡΑΘΥΜΙΑ ΧΡΗ | ΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΥΧΟΝ ΣΥΓΧΩΡΗΣΕΩΣ[8], Η ΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΒΛΑΨΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙ, ΚΑΙ ΕΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣΑΝ, Η ΚΑΘΗΨΑΝΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΤΙ | ΝΟΣ, Η ΘΥΜΩ ΕΞΑΦΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΕΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΗΣΑΝ, Η ΓΛΩΣΣΑ (ΠΡ)ΟΕΚΔΡΑΜ(ΟΥ)ΣΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑΣ, ΤΑ ΜΗ ΔΕΟΝΤΑ ΕΦΘΕΓΞΑΤΟ, Η ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ Τ(ΟΥ) ΘΕ(ΟΥ) ΘΕΛΗΜΑ | ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΧΡΙ(ΣΤ)ΙΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑ ΟΥΚ ΕΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΘΗΣΑΝ, ΑΛΛ' ΕΞΕΤΡΑΠΗΣΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΘΕΙΑΣ ΟΔ(ΟΥ), ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΣ Η ΩΣ ΕΙΧΕ ΤΟ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΕΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΟ, | Η ΤΑΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΑΥΤ(ΟΥ) ΕΝΤΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΝΟΜΙΚΑΣ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΑΣ ΠΑΡΕΙΔΟΝ Κ[ΑΙ] ΗΘΕΤΗΣΑΝ, Η ΠΑΘΕΙ ΥΠΕΡΗΦΑΝΕΙΑΣ ΚΡΑΤΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ, ΥΠΕΡ Ο ΔΕΙ ΕΦΡΟΝΗΣΑΝ, | ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΦΑΝΤΑΣΘΗΣΑΝ, ΦΥΣΙΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΥΠΟΒΟΛΑΣ Τ(ΟΥ) ΑΛΑ(ΣΤ)ΟΡΟΣ, Η (ΣΤ)ΟΜΑΤΙ Κ[ΑΙ] ΧΕΙΛΕΣΙΝ ΕΨΕΥΣΑΝΤΟ ΠΟΤΕ ΔΙ' ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΕΙΑΝ, Η ΑΛΛΗΝ | ΤΙΝΑ ΑΙΤΙΑΝ, Η ΥΠΟ ΜΝΗΣΙΚΑΚΙΑΣ ΟΡΓΗ ΕΜΜΟΝΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΗΝΕΧΘΗΣΑΝ, ΤΑ (ΠΡ)ΟΣ ΒΛΑΒΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΔΟΛΙΩΣ ΠΑΛΑΜΝΩΜΕΝΟΙ, Η ΥΠΟ ΠΛΕΟΝΕΞΙΑΣ | ΚΑΙ ΑΤΕΓΚΤΟΥ ΨΥΧΗΣ Τ(ΟΥ)Σ ΠΤΩΧ(ΟΥ)Σ (ΟΥ)Κ ΗΛΕΗΣΑΝ, Η ΤΗΣ ΕΝΔΙΑΤΑΚΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΦΕΙΛΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ (ΠΡ)ΟΣΕΥΧΗΣ ΑΚΗΔΙΑ ΚΑΤΑΧΑΥΝΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ, | ΠΑΡΗΜΕΛΗΣΑΝ ΠΟΤΕ, Η ΤΑΣ ΝΗ(ΣΤ)ΗΣΙΜΟΥΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΑΝΕΥ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΗΣ ΚΑΤΕΛΥΣΑΝ, Η ΤΑΣ ΕΟΡΤΑΣΙΜΟΥΣ ΟΥΚ ΗΡΓΗΣΑΝ, Η ΑΙΣΧΡΟΙΣ | ΚΑΙ ΑΤΟΠΟΙΣ ΤΙΣΙΝ ΕΝΘΥΜΗΜΑΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΝΟΗΜΑΣΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΩΡΑΙΟΝ ΑΠΗΜΑΥΡΩΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟ·Υ·ΦΑΝΤΟΝ (ΣΤ)ΟΛΗΝ Τ(ΟΥ) ΘΕΙ(ΟΥ) ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΡ | ΡΥΠΩΣΑΝ, Η ΓΟΗΤΕΙΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΓΓΑΝΕΙΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΣΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΤΑΝΙΚΑΙΣ ΕΠΩΔΑΙΣ, Η ΤΩΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΩΝ ΠΑΡΗΚΟΥΣΑΝ, | ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΦΡΟΝΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΑΙ ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΩΝ ΥΠΕΣΧΟΝΤΟ ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙΝ, Η ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΤΙΣΙΝ ΕΜΠΑΘΕΣΙΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΠΤΩΜΑΣΙΝ Ο | ΠΩΣΔΗΠΟΤΕ ΠΕΡΙΕΠΑΡΗΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΕΠΤΩΚΑΣΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΟΝ, Κ[ΑΙ] Τ' ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΡΑΞΑΝΤΟ, ΟΣΑ ΚΟΛΑΣΙΝ

1. Αὕτη εἶναι Πατριαρχικὸν καὶ Συνοδικὸν συγχωρητήριον γράμμα, ἀπονεμόμενον παλαιότερον κυρίως εἰς μοναχοὺς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Τὴν ὀνομασίαν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει, ὡς φαίνεται, ἐκ τῆς λέξεως Μετριότης, δι' ἧς ἀρχίζει καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁποίας αὐτοαποκαλεῖται ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης, ὅταν ὁμιλῇ εἰς πρῶτον πρόσωπον. *Β. Σταυρίδου*, Οἰκουμενικοὶ Πατριάρχαι. Ι, 35. ΙΙ, 69, 71, 74, 87 - 9. Πρβλ. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σχετικὰ ὑπ' ἀρ. 3, 4 καὶ 24 πατριαρχικὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

2. Πρβλ. τὴν β' συγχωρητικὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τεθνεῶτα. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 214.

3. *Ἰω.* 20, 22.

4. *Ματθ.* 18, 18.

5. Πρβλ. τὴν β' συγχωρητικὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τεθνεῶτα καὶ τὴν α' εὐχὴν τῆς Ἀκολουθίας τῶν Ἐξομολογουμένων. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 214, 131.

6. Πρβλ. τὴν α' συγχωρητικὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τεθνεῶτα. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 213.

7. Πρβλ. τὴν α' συγχωρητικὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τεθνεῶτα. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 213.

8. Πρβλ. τὴν α' συγχωρητικὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τεθνεῶτα. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 213.

ΕΜΠΟΙΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙ | ΝΗΝ ΣΑΡΚΑ ΦΟ-Ρ(ΟΥ)ΣΙΝ, ΕΙΤΑ ΕΝ ΣΥΝΑΙΣΘΗΣΕΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕ-ΝΟΙ, Κ[ΑΙ] ΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΕΣ, ΕΞΩΜΟΛΟΓΗ-ΣΑΝΤΟ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΙΣ ΠΑ-ΤΡΑΣΙ, ΚΑΙ | ΤΟΝ ΠΑΡ' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΑ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΕΔΕΞΑΝΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΠΛΗΡΩΣΑΙ ΠΡΟΕ-ΘΥΜΗΘΗΣΑΝ, ΟΥΚ ΕΦΘΑΣΑΝ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΕΚΤΕ-ΛΕΣΑΙ, ΑΡΠΑΓΕΝΤΕΣ ΥΠΟ Τ(ΟΥ) | ΧΡΕΩΝ. ΕΚ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ (ΟΥ)Ν ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΓΝΩ(ΣΤ)ΩΝ Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΓΝΩΣΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΟ-ΧΗΣ ΤΕ Κ[ΑΙ] Τ(ΟΥ) ΔΕΣΜ(ΟΥ) ΛΥΟΜΕΝ ΑΥ-ΤΟΥΣ, Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡ(ΟΥ)Σ ΕΧΟΜΕΝ, | Κ[ΑΙ] ΣΥΓΚΕΧΩΡΗΜΕΝ(ΟΥ)Σ ΑΠΟΚΑΘΙ(ΣΤ)ΩΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΓΙ(ΟΥ) Κ[ΑΙ] ΖΩΟΠΟΙ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΡΧΙΚΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ ΔΩΡΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΔΥΝΑΜΩ ΕΞ(ΟΥ)ΣΙΑ Κ[ΑΙ] ΧΑΡΙ-ΤΙ· | ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΑ ΔΙΑ ΛΗΘΗΝ, Η ΑΛΛΗΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΗΝ ΑΣΘΕΝΕΙΑΝ ΑΝΕΞΟΜΟΛΟΓΗ-ΤΑ ΕΙΑΣΑΝ, ΚΑΚΕΙΝΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΣΥΓΧΩΡΗ-ΣΕΙΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ Ο ΕΛΕΗΜΩΝ Κ[ΑΙ] | ΦΙΛΑΝ-ΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ, ΔΙ' ΙΔΙΑΝ ΑΥΤ(ΟΥ) ΦΙΛΑΝ-ΘΡΩΠΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΙΚΑ(ΣΤ)ΟΝ Α-ΓΑΘΟΤΗΤΑ. ΝΑΙ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ ΠΟΛΥΕΛΕΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΙΗΣ(ΟΥ) ΧΡΙ(ΣΤ)Ε Ο ΘΕΟΣ | ΗΜΩΝ, ΝΙΚΗΣΑΤΩ Σ(ΟΥ) ΤΟ ΑΜΕΤΡΟΝ ΕΛΕΟΣ, Κ[ΑΙ] Η ΦΙΛΑΝ-ΘΡΩΠΙΑ Η ΑΝΕΙΚΑ(ΣΤ)ΟΣ[1] Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΝΥΠΕΡΒΛΗ-ΤΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΙΔΗΣ ΤΟ ΠΛΑΣΜΑ ΤΩΝ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΣΟΥ ΚΑ | ΤΑΠΟΘΗΝΑΙ ΤΗ ΑΠΩΛΕΙΑ, ΑΛΛ' ΕΠΑΚ(ΟΥ)ΣΟΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΩ-ΛΩΝ Κ[ΑΙ] ΤΑΠΕΙΝΩΝ ΙΚΕΤΩΝ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΥΠΕΡ | . . . | ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΥ-ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕΣΜΟΝ, ΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΚΑΘ' ΕΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΚ ΣΥΝΑΡΠΑΓΗΣ, Η ΑΛΛΗΣ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΑΙΤΙΑΣ[2] Ε-ΦΕΙΛΚΥΣΑΝΤΟ, ΔΙΑΛΥΣΟΝ ΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΣ | ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΧΩΡΗΣΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΦΙΛΕΥΣΠΛΑΓΧΝΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΝ ΒΙΩ ΚΑΚΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΝΩΜΟΝΩΣ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΕΠΡΑΓ | ΜΕΝΑ, ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΣ ΠΑΡΙΔΩΝ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΣΟΝ ΑΦΑΤΟΝ ΕΛΕΟΣ, Κ[ΑΙ] ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΗΣ ΧΡΗ-(ΣΤ)ΟΤΗΤΟΣ· ΕΧΕΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΕ(ΟΥ)Σ ΑΦΘΟΝΑ ΡΕΙΘΡΑ, | ΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΠΑΘΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΛΑΓΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΠΛΑΓΧΝΙΑΣ ΑΒΥΣΣΟΝ, Κ[ΑΙ] ΑΠΑΛΛΑ-ΞΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΙΩΝΙ(ΟΥ) ΚΟΛΑΣΕΩΣ[3], ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΣΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΑΞΙΩΣΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ | ΕΚ ΔΕΞΙΩΝ Σ(ΟΥ) ΠΑΡΑ(ΣΤ)ΑΣΕΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΗΣ ΦΩΝΗΣ ΚΑΤΗΚΟΟΥΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥ-ΠΡΟΣΔΕΚΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ | ΤΥΧΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ Τ(ΟΥ) ΦΟΒΕΡ(ΟΥ) Σ(ΟΥ) Κ[ΑΙ] Α(ΠΡ)ΟΣΩΠΟΛΗ-ΠΤ(ΟΥ) ΒΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΞΙΩΣΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ (ΤΗ)Σ ΜΕΡΙΔΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΩΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΤΑ-ΞΟΝ· Κ[ΑΙ] ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΣΩ | ΜΑΤΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΕΞ ΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΤΕΘΗ (ΣΤ)ΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΔΙΑΛΥΘΗ-ΝΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΧΟΥΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΥΔΟΚΗΣΟΝ· ΣΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΠΑΣ ΚΥΡΙΕ, ΟΤΙ «ΓΗ ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΓΗΝ | ΑΠΕΛΕΥΣΗ»[4]. ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΨΥΧΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΩΡΑ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΚΗΝΑΙΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΟΝ[5], ΟΠ(ΟΥ) ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΕΙ ΤΟ ΦΩΣ Τ(ΟΥ) (ΠΡ)ΟΣΩΠ(ΟΥ) Σ(ΟΥ), ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΝ | ΠΑΝΤΑΣ Τ(ΟΥ)Σ ΑΠ' ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΓΙ(ΟΥ)Σ Σ(ΟΥ), ΟΙΚΤΩ ΚΑΜΦΘΕΙΣ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΟΙΣ, Κ[ΑΙ] ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΙΣ ΘΕΡΜΑΙΣ ΔΕΗΣΕΣΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΕΣΙΝ, ΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΕΙΝ | ΑΔΙ(ΣΤ)Α-ΚΤΩΣ ΕΤΑΧΘΗΜΕΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ Α-ΜΑΡΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ, Κ[ΑΙ] ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΛΑ(ΟΥ) Α-ΓΝΟΗΜΑΤΩΝ[6], ΤΟΥ ΕΞΗΓΟΡΑΣΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ | ΝΟΜ(ΟΥ) ΤΩ ΤΙΜΙΩ Σ(ΟΥ) ΑΙΜΑΤΙ[7], ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΕ-ΛΕΕ ΚΥΡΙΕ, ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΚΕΣΙΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΧΡΑΝΤΟΥ Σ(ΟΥ) ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΙΝΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ | ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΕΙΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ ΜΑ-ΡΙΑΣ, ΤΟΥ ΤΙΜΙ(ΟΥ) ΕΝΔΟΞ(ΟΥ) (ΠΡ)ΟΦΗΤΟΥ (ΠΡ)ΟΔΡΟΜ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΒΑΠΤΙ(ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) ΙΩΑΝ-Ν(ΟΥ), ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΕΝΔΟΞΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΕΥ | ΦΗΜΩΝ[8] ΘΕΟΚΗΡΥΚΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ-ΤΕΜΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΠΟ(ΣΤ)ΟΛΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ Σ(ΟΥ) ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ, ΤΩΝ ΑΠ' ΑΙΩΝΟΣ ΣΟΙ ΕΥΑ-ΡΕ(ΣΤ)ΗΣΑΝΤΩΝ. ΑΜΗΝ + | Α῾ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΗΝΑ

2. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τῶν πιττακίων τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου πρὸς τοὺς τελειοδιδάκτους τῆς Ἱ. Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπονομῇ εἰς αὐτοὺς τοῦ τίτλου τοῦ «Διδασκάλου τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Χριστιανικῆς Θεολογίας»[9] (πίν. 25).

3. Τὸ πιττάκιον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Βενιαμὶν Α' πρὸς τὸν καθηγητὴν τῆς Ἱ. Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης Ἰωάννην Παναγιωτίδην, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπονομῇ αὐτῷ τοῦ ὀφφικίου τοῦ «Ἄρχοντος Διδασκάλου τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου»[10]. Κείμενον: ΤΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΛΑ·Ι·ΚΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΔΟΣΕΙ ΠΟΛΛΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΔΟΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΛΟ-ΓΟΥ ΔΟΚΙΜΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΔΕΙΚΝΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΔΙΑΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΗΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΙΔΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟ-ΣΙΑ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΩΣ ΕΝΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΩΘΕ ΤΙ-ΜΑΝ Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ΟΦ-ΦΙΚΙΩΝ ΤΕ ΑΠΟΝΟΜΑΙΣ, ΤΗ ΤΑΞΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΛΗ-ΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΝΑΡΙΘΜΟΥΣΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ-ΤΑΣΣΟΥΣΑ, ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΝΔΕΙΚΝΥ-

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1. Πρβλ. τὴν β' συγχωρητικὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τεθνεῶτα. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 214.

2. Πρβλ. τὴν β' συγχωρητικὴν εὐχὴν εἰς τεθνεῶτα. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 214.

3. Πρβλ. τὴν α' εὐχὴν τῆς Ἀκολουθίας τῶν Ἐξομολογουμένων. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 131.

4. Γέν. 3, 19. Πρβλ. καὶ τὸ τέλος τῆς νεκρωσίμου (ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου) Ἀκολουθίας. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 218.

5. Πρβλ. τὸ η' νεκρώσιμον Ἰδιόμελον τῆς νεκρωσίμου Ἀκολουθίας. Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον. 205.

6. Πρβλ. τὴν α' εὐχὴν γονυκλισίας τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς. Θεία Λειτουργία. 127.

7. Πρβλ. τὸ Ἀπολυτίκιον τῆς Ἀκολουθίας τῶν Ἁγίων Παθῶν. —, Ἡ Ἁγία καὶ Μεγάλη Ἑβδομάς. 239.

8. Πρβλ. τὴν β' εὐχὴν τῆς Ἀρτοκλασίας. Θεία Λειτουργία. 9.

9. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 441. Τὸ κείμενον αὐτοῦ ἐδημοσιεύθη ἐν *Β. Σταυρίδου*, Οἰκουμενικοὶ Πατριάρχαι. ΙΙ, 222.

10. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 441, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἀρ. 22 μικρογραφικὸν ἔργον τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

ΣΘΑΙ ΜΗΤΡΙΚΗΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝ. | ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΤΟΙΝΥΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΜΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΛΛΟΓΙΜΩΤΑΤΟΣ Κ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΙΔΗΣ, ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΙΕΡΑ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΕΝ ΧΑΛΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ, ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗ ΖΗΛΩΤΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΩ ΕΠΙ ΜΑΚΡΑΝ ΗΔΗ ΣΕΙΡΑΝ ΕΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ, ΕΠΙΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΕΦΕΣΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΙΑ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΕΥΚΑΙΡΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΚΗΡΥΤΤΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩΔΗ ΔΙΔΑΓΜΑΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΛΑΜΠΑΔΕΥΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΣΥΝΑΞΕΣΙ, ΚΑΘΟΔΗΓΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝ ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ ΕΙΣ ΝΟΜΑΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΤΟΣ, Η ΜΕΤΡΙΟΤΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΥΣΕΒΗ ΕΦΕΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΙΑΝ ΙΔΙΑΖΟΝΤΩΣ ΕΚΤΙΜΩΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ' ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΤΕΚΜΗΡΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΒΡΑΒΕΥΣΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΗ, ΕΓΝΩ, ΚΑΤ' ΙΔΙΑΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΗΝ ΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΝΕΙΜΑΙ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΟ ΟΦΦΙΚΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ, ΙΔΙΑΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΑΙΣ ΧΕΡΣΙΝ ΠΡΟΧΕΙΡΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΟΦΦΙΚΙΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΛΕΣΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΤΗ ΣΤ' ΤΟΥ ΑΡΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΑ·Υ·ΔΡΙΩ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΧΑΛΚΗ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΠΗΓΙΑΚΗΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ. | ΕΦ' Ω ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΟΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΘΑ ΟΠΩΣ Ο ΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΛΛΟΓΙΜΩΤΑΤΟΣ Κ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΙΔΗΣ, ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΝ ΧΑΛΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ, ΥΠΑΡΧΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΗΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΗΤΑΙ ΕΝΤΙΜΟΛΟΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ, ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΥΣΗΣ ΤΩ ΟΦΦΙΚΙΩ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΛΑΥΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΞΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ | ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΔΕ ΕΙΣ ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΒΑΙΩΣΙΝ ΕΔΟΘΗ ΜΕΤ' ΕΥΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΩΝ ΕΓΚΑΡΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΤΩ ΕΞΟΝΟΜΑΣΘΕΝΤΙ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΩ ΗΜΙΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΥΙΩ ΕΝΤΙΜΟΛΟΓΙΩΤΑΤΩ Κ. ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΙΔΗ, ΑΡΧΟΝΤΙ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΩ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ | ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΩ Α϶ΜΓ', ΚΑΤΑ ΜΗΝΑ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΝ | ΣΤ' ΕΠΙΝΕΜΗΣΕΩΣ ΙΑ'[1].

4. Τὸ πιττάκιον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α', πρὸς τὸν Μητροπολίτην Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Θείρων Γεννάδιον[2], ἐπὶ τῷ ἑορτασμῷ τῆς τεσσαρακονταετοῦς ἀρχιερατικῆς δράσεως αὐτοῦ[3]. Κείμενον: ΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΕ ΜΗ(ΤΡ)ΟΠΟΛΙΤΑ ΗΛΙ(ΟΥ)ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΙΡΩΝ ΥΠΕΡΤΙ | ΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΑΡΧΕ ΛΥΔΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΚΑΡΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΩ ΠΝΕΥ | ΜΑΤΙ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΕ ΑΔΕΛΦΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΛΛΕΙΤ(ΟΥ)ΡΓΕ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΕ | (ΤΡ)ΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΕ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΕΙΗ ΤΗ ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑ ΙΕΡΟΤΗ | ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΠΑΡΑ ΘΕ(ΟΥ) + | Τ(ΟΥ)Σ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΙΕΡΑ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΑ ΔΙΑ(ΠΡΕ)ΠΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΕΙΔΩΣ | ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ(ΤΡ)ΟΠΩΣ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΓΕΝΕΙ ΛΥΣΙΤΕ | ΛΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤ(ΟΥ)Σ ΑΝΑΔΕΙΚΝΥΟΝΤΑΣ, ΑΞΙ(ΟΥ)Σ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ | ΕΠΑΙΝΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΚΡΙΝΟΜΕΝ + | ΕΦ' Ω ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΡ(ΟΥ)ΣΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΚΑΘ' ΗΝ Η ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑ ΛΙΑΝ[4] | ΠΕΡΙΣΠ(ΟΥ)ΔΑ(ΣΤ)ΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΤΗΣ ΑΓΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΤ(ΑΡ)ΤΗΣ | ΔΕΚΑΔΟΣ ΕΤΩΝ Τ(ΟΥ) ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΑΥΤΗΣ (ΣΤ)ΑΔΙ(ΟΥ) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΗΓ(ΟΥ)ΜΕ | ΘΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΜΑΚΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΙΑ | ΚΟΝΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ (ΟΥ) ΜΟΝΟΝ ΠΑΡ' ΗΜΩΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΟΙΔ(ΙΜΩΝ) | (ΠΡ)ΟΚΑΤΟΧΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΙΔΙΑΙΤΕΡΩΣ ΕΚΤΙΜΗΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΔΟΚΙ | ΜΟΝ ΑΜΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΙΚΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΡΑΣΙΝ ΗΣ ΑΓΑΑΟΣ ΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΣΥΝ | ΠΟΛΛΑΙΣ ΑΛΛΑΙΣ ΒΑΘΥ(ΣΤ)ΟΧΑ(ΣΤ)ΟΙΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ ΤΥΓΧΑΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΡΤΙ ΤΥ | ΠΟΙΣ ΕΚΔΟΘΕΙΣ Α' ΤΟΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΗΣ ΦΕΡΕΠΟΝΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤ' ΕΠΙ | (ΣΤΗ)ΜΗΣ[5]· ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΣΘΕΙΣΗΣ Ι(ΣΤ)ΟΡΙΑΣ Τ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ(ΣΤ)ΟΛΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΙ ΠΑ(ΤΡ)ΙΑΡΧΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚ(ΟΥ) ΘΡΟΝ(ΟΥ) ΕΟΡΤΑΣΑΙ ΠΑΝΗ | ΓΥΡΙΚΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΠΙ(ΣΤ)ΕΨΑΙ | ΕΠΑΙΝΩ ΕΚΦΡΑΣΑΙ ΤΕ ΑΜΑ ΑΥΤΗ ΕΞ ΑΠΟΦΑΣΕΩΣ, ΕΥΑΡΕΣΚΕΙΑΝ | ΕΦ' ΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΑΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ(ΣΤ)ΙΚΩΝ (ΠΡ)ΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ | ΕΥΘΥΔΡΟΜΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ (ΠΡ)ΟΑΓΩΓΗΝ ΚΑΙ (ΠΡ)ΟΣ ΠΛ(ΟΥ)ΤΙΣΜΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡ' Η | ΜΙΝ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΕΠΙ(ΣΤ)ΗΜΗΣ ΑΧΡΙ Τ(ΟΥ)ΔΕ ΔΙΕΠΟΝΗΣΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕ(ΓΡ)ΑΨΕΝ | ΕΥΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ Δ' ΟΛΟΨΥΧΩΣ ΟΠΩΣ Η ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑ ΦΙΛΗ ΙΕΡΟΤΗΣ, | ΕΠΙ ΜΑΚΡΑΝ ΕΤΙ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΝ ΕΤΩΝ ΥΓΙΩΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΣΘΕΝΩΣ (ΠΡ)ΟΣΦΕ | ΡΗ ΤΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΕΠΙ(ΣΤ)ΗΜΗ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΥΤΙΜ(ΟΥ)Σ ΥΠ(ΗΡ)ΕΣΙΑΣ | ΑΥΤΗΣ, ΑΙΤ(ΟΥ)ΜΕΘΑ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΑΙΣ ΕΠΙΔΟΣΕΣΙΝ | ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΝΙΣΧΥΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΤΑΙΩΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝ ΑΜΑ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ | ΩΔΕΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΘΕΟΥ, ΟΥ Η ΧΑΡΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΠΕΙΡΟΝ ΕΛΕ | ΟΣ ΕΙΗ ΜΕΤ' ΑΥΤΗΣ | Α϶ΝΓ' ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΚΒ'[6].

1. ΚΠΑ 1941 - 8, 55, ἀρ. Πρωτ. 266.

2. *Β. Θ. Σταυρίδου*, Γεννάδιος Μητροπολίτης Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Θείρων, ΘΗΕ 4 (1964) 293 - 5.

3. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 441.

4. [ἡμῖν ἀγαπητὴ καὶ] ΚΠΑ 1953 - 5, 319 - 20, ἀρ. Πρωτ. 2559.

5. Μετὰ ἐπιστημοσύνης ΚΠΑ 1953 - 5, 319 - 20.

6. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἀνθίβολον αὐτοῦ (0,30 ×

*Β. Διπλώματα.*

1. Τὸ δίπλωμα[1] Μεγάλου Εὐεργέτου Ἴμβρου πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην Γιάντσον[2] (0,24.5 × 0,27.5 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς. 1947. Ἀπενεμήθη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου Ἰακώβου (1926 - 1960). Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

2. Τὸ ψήφισμα εὐδοκίμου πεντηκονταετοῦς σχολικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τῆς Ἐφορείας τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον Παπαστράτον[3]. Μελάνη ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς. 1955. Κείμενον: Η ΕΦΟΡΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ | ΕΠΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ Α' | ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ ΚΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΟΥΣ | ΕΤΕΙ ΠΕΜΠΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ | ΕΝΑΚΟΣΙΟΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΧΙΛΙΟΣΤΩ | ΑΠΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΝΗΣΕΩΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΑΣ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΥ ΑΓΟΜΕΝΗΣ | ΕΨΗΦΙΣΑΤΟ ΤΑΔΕ | ΕΠΕΙΔΗ | ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ |ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ | ΤΟΙΣ ΣΧΟΛΙΚΟΙΣ ΥΠΟΔΕΙΓΜΑΣΙΝ ΟΡΘΩΣ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΣ ΑΠΕ | ΒΗ ΤΗ ΤΕ ΑΛΛΗ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΤΑ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΙΑ (ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ) ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΟΤΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΨΥΧΑΣ ΤΩ ΦΩΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ | ΗΠΑΛΥΝΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΑΝΗΛΩΣΕ | ΔΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΔΟΞΕ ΤΗ ΕΦΟΡΕΙΑ | ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΝ ΠΑΠΑΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ | ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΕΙ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΩ ΑΣΚΗΣΕΙ ΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΡ | ΓΟΥ ΩΣ ΧΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙ ΤΙΜΗΣΑΙ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΤΕ ΤΟΔΕ ΤΟ ΨΗ | ΦΙΣΜΑ ΕΙΣ ΜΕΜΒΡΑΝΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΕΠΙΔΟΥΝΑΙ ΤΩ | ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΩ ΑΜΟΙΒΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΞΙΑΣ | ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΤΟΔΕ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΜΑ·Ι·ΟΥ ΕΚΤΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΕΤΕΙ ΠΕΜΠΤΩ | ΚΑΙ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΑΚΟΣΙΟΣΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΧΙΛΙΟΣΤΩ | Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ Ο ΕΦΟΡΟΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ Ο ΣΧΟΛΑΡΧΗΣ[4].

*Γ. Τίτλοι καὶ ὑπογραφαί.*

1. Ὁ τίτλος τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας Θεοδοσίου (1959 - 1970)[5]. Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου[6]. Κείμενον: Θεοδόσιος στ' ἐλέῳ Θε(οῦ) Πα(τρ)ιάρχης τῆς Μεγάλης Θε(ου)πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας κ(αὶ) Πάσης Ἀνατολῆς[7].

2. Ἡ ὑπογραφὴ τοῦ Χαλκηδόνος Θωμᾶ (1946 - 1966)[8]. Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου[9].

3. Τὸ μονόγραμμα τοῦ O. Valenti (διάμ. 0,03 μ.), εὑρισκόμενον εἰς τὰς σταχώσεις καὶ τοὺς σελιδοδείκτας τῶν βιβλίων του, τὰ ὁποῖα διεκόσμησεν ὁ Ε. Κόβας[10].

4. Γ. ΚΟΚΚΙΝΟΥ, ΕΣΤΙΑ. Ἑβδομαδιαία φιλολογική, καλλιτεχνικὴ καὶ ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπιθεώρηση, Γαλατᾶ 1 (1943) (0,23 × 0,30.5 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. (Ἐξώφυλλον).

5. Ο. ΚΑΛΤΣΟΓΛΟΥ, FOS. ΦΩΣ. Μηνιαῖον ἠθικοθρησκευτικὸν περιοδικόν, Γαλατᾶς 1 (1946) (0,17 × 0,25 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. (Ἐπικεφαλὶς ἐξωφύλλου)[11].

6. Κ. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ. Ἑβδομαδιαία πολιτική, κοινωνική, εὐθυμογραφικὴ ἐφημερίς, Γαλατᾶ 1 (1947). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. (Ἐπικεφαλὶς ἐξωφύλλου)[12].

7. Ἓν πλαίσιον, ἀπεικονισθὲν εἰς τὴν ἐφημερίδα ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ἀρ. 899, 1.18 (1964) Ι. Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου[13].

*Δ. Λοιπαὶ ἐργασίαι.*

1. Ἡ μικρογραφία (ὁ Ἅ[γιος]) Γεώργιος | ὁ Τροπαιοφόρος (0,24 × 0,29 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Κατοχὴ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου.

2. Ἡ μικρογραφία ΚΩΝ(ΣΤ)ΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΝ Χ[ΡΙΣΤ]Ω | (ΑΥ)(ΤΟ)ΚΡΑΤΩΡ Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ (0,22.5 × 0,29.8 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Κατοχὴ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου[14].

3. Τὸ ἀντίγραφον μικρογραφίας ἐκ POST CARD.

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0,42 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

1. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν Ἴμ. 2 (1949) 204-5.

2. Οὗτος ἀπεβίωσεν ἐν Borger Texas Η.Π.Α. τῇ 7.2.1948. —, Αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη Ἰωάννου Γιάντσου Μεγάλου Εὐεργέτου τῆς Ἐπαρχίας Ἴμβρου, Ἴμ. 1 (1948) 180 - 1, 205. *Α. Ζαφειριάδη*, Ἰωάννης Γιάντσος, Ἴμ. 2 (1948) 206. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Δύο μεγάλες ἀπώλειες τῆς Ἴμβρου, Ἴμ. 1 (1948) 208. *Δ. Τερζῆ*, Ἰμβριωτικὰ πένθη. Ἰωάν. Γιάντσος-Θεμ. Ντάκος, Ἴμ. 1 (1948) 209.

3. —, Ἐκκλησιαστικὰ χρονικά. Ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Διδασκάλου, Ο 30 (1955) 240. —, Ἀντώνιος Παπαστράτος, Α 19.1.43 (1968) 4. Οὗτος, κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Ν. Ἰστεκλῆ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.3.1981, ἐγεννήθη τὸ 1884 ἐν Χιλῇ. Ἀπεφοίτησεν ἐκ τῆς Μ. τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς καὶ τοῦ διδασκαλείου αὐτῆς, ἐχρημάτισεν ἐπὶ σειρὰν ἐτῶν διδάσκαλος καὶ διευθυντὴς εἰς τὰς Κοινοτικὰς Σχολὰς Χιλῆς, Χαλκηδόνος, Βογιατζήκιοϊ καὶ Ταταούλων (1935 - 1958). Ἀπεβίωσε τὸ 1968.

4. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει τὸ ἀνθίβολον αὐτοῦ (0,22.7 × 0,26.8 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

5. *Ι. Χ. Κ(ωνσταντινίδου)*, Θεοδόσιος. Ὁ ΣΤ', ΘΗΕ 6 (1965) 175.

6. Ὁ γράφων κατέχει, ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ καλλιτέχνου τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ, τρία ἀνθίβολα αὐτοῦ (0,01.5 × 0,12 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου.

7. *Σ. Ν. Ζερβοπούλου*, Ἱστορικὰ σημειώματα, Σταμπούλ 1946, 100.

8. *Α. Γ. Τσερνόγλου*, Θωμᾶς. Ὁ Σαββόπουλος, ΘΗΕ 6 (1965) 587-8.

9. Ὁ γράφων κατέχει, ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ καλλιτέχνου τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ, τέσσαρα ἀνθίβολα αὐτῆς (0,02 × 0,07 μ.). Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου.

10. Περὶ αὐτῶν ἰδὲ σ. 317 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

11. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἀνθίβολον αὐτῆς (0,05.3 × 0,16.5 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς.

12. Αὕτη προέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐξωφύλλου τοῦ περιοδικοῦ τῶν Σ. Κυρατζοπούλου-Λ. Γεωργίου, ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ. Περιοδικὸ γραμμάτων καὶ τέχνης, Γαλατᾶ 1 (1945), τοῦ τίτλου Χρονικά, ἀντικατασταθέντος διὰ τοῦ Κεραυνός.

13. Τοῦτο παρελήφθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐξωφύλλου τοῦ ΕΗ.

14. Οὗτος κατέχει καὶ τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ πλαισίου τῆς μικρογραφίας (0,21 × 0,28 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

Illustration of a Fable. (By Anant) From a Mughal MS. Add. 18579, f. 169. b. British Museum. (0,08.5 × 0,12 μ.) (πίν. 26). Ὑδατογραφία ἐπὶ χαρτονίου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Κατοχὴ γράφοντος[1].

4. Τὸ πρωτότυπον κάρτας Η Α[ΓΙΑ] Μ[ΑΡ]-Τ[Υ]Σ | Τ[ΟΥ] Χ[ΡΙΣΤ](ΟΥ) | ΑΙΚΑΤΕ | ΡΙΝΑ (0,12.2 × 0,17.2 μ.), πιθανῶς τοῦ Σιναϊτικοῦ Μετοχίου ἐν Παλατᾷ[2]. Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Κάτωθεν τὸ Ἀπολυτίκιον τῆς Ἁγίας: Τὴν πανεύφημον νύμφην Χριστοῦ... πᾶσι τὸ μέγα ἔλεος[3]. Ὑπογραφὴ Ἄ[ρχης] Κόβας. Ἄνευ χρονολογίας.

5. Τὸ Δίπτυχον Μεγάλων Εὐεργετῶν, Εὐεργετῶν, Δωρητῶν, Ἀφιερωτῶν καὶ Συνδρομητῶν τῆς Ἱ. Κοινότητος Ἁγ. Παρασκευῆς Βαθυρρύακος (Büyükdere)[4], τῆς Ἱ. Μητροπόλεως Δέρκων (Terkos)[5] (0,32 × 0,49.5 μ.) (πίν. 28). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χαρτονίου. Πρόθεσις τοῦ ναοῦ. Διατήρησις μετρία[6]. Κείμενον: 1891 1931 ΑΙ ΨΥΧΑΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΥΛΙΣΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΓΕΝΕΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΕΑΝ[7] | ΑΙΩΝΙΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ Η ΜΝΗΜΗ | Μνήσθητι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν | ΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ | τῆς Κοινότητος ταύτης: Νικολά(ου) Αὐτοκράτορος | Καλλινίκ(ου) Ἀρχιερέως[8] | Κυρίλλου Ἀρχιερέως | Κωνσταντίν(ου) Ἐλπίδος Πέτρου | Γεωργίου Βασιλείου Μαρίας | Ἀντωνί(ου) | ΤΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ αὐτῆς | Ἀρσενίου Ἀρχιερέως[9] Αἰκατερίνης Βίκτωρος Ἀθανα | σί(ου) Ἀναστασί(ου) προσκυνητοῦ | Σαράντη | ΤΩΝ ΔΩΡΗΤΩΝ αὐτῆς | Παύλου | ΤΩΝ ΑΦΙΕΡΩΤΩΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΣΥΝΔΡΟ | ΜΗΤΩΝ τῶν εὐαγῶν αὐτῆς | Καθιδρυμάτων: | Χρήστ(ου) Ἑλένης Γεωργί(ου) Χριστο | φόρ(ου) Παρασκευῆς Πορφυρίου | Ἀγορίτσας Τζαννῆ Δημητρίου Μαργιώρας Σοφίας Μαργιώρας | Δημητρί(ου) Μιχαὴλ Ἰακώβου | Ἰωάννου Νικολάου Ἰωάννου | Δημητρίου Σοφίας Βασιλείου | Ἀλεξάνδρας Γεωργί(ου) Κων/τίν(ου) | Γεωργί(ου) Ἀμαλίας Σπυρίδων(ος) | Ἀγγελικῆς Φλωρεντίας Ἰορδάν(ου) | Γονέων, συμβίων, τέκνων, ἀδελφῶν, | συγγενῶν κ(αὶ) ἀναδόχων αὐτῶν. | Ὁ ἱερ(ου)ργῶν ἱερεὺς ὀφείλει νὰ μνημονεύῃ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν Μεγάλων Εὐεργετῶν, Εὐεργετῶν, τῶν Δωρητῶν, τῶν Ἀφιερωτῶν | κ(αὶ) τῶν Συνδρομητῶν τῆς Κοινότητ(ος) εἰς τὴν Προσκομιδὴν ἑκά(στ)(ης) Λειτ(ου)ργί(ας) κατὰ τὰ τελ(ού)μενα Γενικὰ Τρισάγια καὶ τὴν | Μεγάλην Παρασκευὴν κατὰ τὴν περιφορὰν τοῦ Ἐπιταφί(ου) | ΕΝ ΒΟΥΓΙΟΥΚ ΔΕΡΕ, ΤΗ 20 ΑΥΓ(ΟΥ)-(ΣΤ)(ΟΥ) 1932 | Ο ΙΕΡΑΤ. ΠΡΟΪΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΣ | Οἰκονόμος Φιλόθεος | Η ΕΦΟΡΟΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ | Ο ΕΠΙΤ. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ | Σ. Ν. Ζερβόπουλος | ΤΑ ΜΕ-ΛΗ | Γ. Γιούλης | Σ. Βαμβακίδης | Δ. Ρωσσόπουλος[10]. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: Διὰ χειρὸς Εἰρηνάρχ(ου) αϡλβ′.

6. Ἡ μικρογραφία τῆς προμετωπίδος ἑνὸς ἐλλιποῦς χειρογράφου. Τὸ 1939 ἢ πρότερον. Κατοχὴ Βατικανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης[11].

7. Τὸ πρωτότυπον κάρτας Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ (0,11.3 × 0,17.5 μ.) τοῦ Ἱ. Ἁγιάσματος Ἁγ. Θεράποντος Σιρκετζῆ[12]. Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: (Α[ΡΧΗΣ] Κ[ΟΒΑΣ]) α | ϡ | μ | α′.

8. Τὸ ἐσωτερικὸν ἐξώφυλλον σταχώσεως τοῦ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ | ΚΩΔΙΞ | ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ | ἀπὸ στ′ δεκεμβρί(ου) | 1923 | (0,23.8 × 0,40.7 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Μετὰ τὸ 1941[13]. Ἀρχειοφυλάκιον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου.

9. Τὸ ἐσωτερικὸν ἐξώφυλλον σταχώσεως τοῦ ΚΩΔΙΞ | ΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΙΚΩΝ | ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ | ΤΗΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ (ΚΑΙ) ΙΕΡΑΣ | ΣΥΝΟΔ(ΟΥ) | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 (0,30.5 × 0,49.3 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς. Χρονολογία: + | Μ | Ἀϡ ΜΓ′. Ἀρχειοφυλάκιον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου.

10. Τὸ σχέδιον τῆς ἐκ κόμμεος κυκλικῆς σφραγῖδος τοῦ Νεοκαισαρείας Χρυσοστόμου (1944 - 1976)[14], μετὰ τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς: Ο ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΝΕΟΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ. 1944[15].

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1. Ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ καλλιτέχνου, τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ.
2. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Θεοτόκος τῶν Κύρου. 43 - 55.
3. —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. 256.
4. *Σ. Δ. Βυζαντίου*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 11, 152. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον. 256. Λεύκωμα Βουγιούκδερε. *Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου*, Τὰ σεμνώματα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Δέρκων. Ὁ ἐν Βαθυρρύακι (Μπουγιούκντερε) ἱερὸς ναὸς τῆς Ἁγίας Παρασκευῆς, Κυριακάτικη Πρωία 6.8.21 (1967) 4.
5. *Δ. Καλέμη*, Ἡ ἐπαρχία Δέρκων, Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς 5 (1886) 135 - 157. —, Ἡ Ἐπαρχία Δέρκων, ΕΗ 1 (1934) 231 - 2. *Β. Θ. Σταυρίδου*, Δέρκων Μητρόπολις, ΘΗΕ 4 (1964) 1016 - 7.
6. Παρουσιάζει φθορὰς ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς 6/7.9.1955.
7. Ψαλμ. 24 (25), 13. Πρβλ. τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ Ἀποστόλου εἰς κοιμηθέντας: Αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀγαθοῖς αὐλισθήσονται. —, Ἀπόστολος ἤτοι Πράξεις καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καθ' ὅλον τὸ ἔτος ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγινωσκόμεναι, Ἀθῆναι ἀ.χ., 347.
8. Μητροπολίτης Δέρκων (1884 - 1924). *Σ. Α. Σιδερίδου*, Μητροπολῖται Δέρκων, Ο 8 (1933) 358 - 9 καὶ ἀνάτ. Λεύκωμα Βουγιούκδερε. 46.
9. Νεαπόλεως Ἀρσένιος (1843 - 1910), ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου ἐν τῇ Πόλει. *Ι. Χ. Κωνσταντινίδου*, Ἀρσένιος, ΘΗΕ 3 (1963) 254 - 5. Λεύκωμα Βουγιούκδερε. 46.
10. Περὶ αὐτῶν ἰδέ: Λεύκωμα Βουγιούκδερε. 48 - 9.
11. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 25.5.1976, τοῦτο εὑρεθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν τοῦ ἐν Σμύρνῃ βιβλιοπωλείου Chauvet, ἠγοράσθη ἔναντι 200 Λ.Τ., καὶ μετὰ τὴν φιλοτέχνησιν τῆς προμετωπίδος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, ἀπεστάλη εἰς τὸ Βατικανόν.
12. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον. 243. —, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ κοινοτικὴ ζωή. Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Κων/πόλεως, ΕΗ 3 (1936) 138. —, Ἀναμνηστικὸν λεύκωμα ἐπὶ τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ ἀρχαίου βυζαντινοῦ ἱεροῦ Ἁγιάσματος τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἱερομάρτυρος καὶ θαυματουργοῦ Θεράποντος, ἄ.τ. 1936.
13. Διότι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτους τούτου ἄρχονται τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Συνοδικῶν ἀρχιερέων ὑπομνήματα (σ. 143). Τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ 1923 - 1941 ἐκάησαν κατὰ τὴν πυρκαϊὰν τῆς 20/1.9. 1941. —, Ἡ ἀποτέφρωσις τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Οἴκου. 5) Χρονικόν, Ο 16 (1941) 231. Κατὰ πληροφορίας δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχειοφύλακος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου Οἰκον. Ν. Πετροπέλλη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα, συνετάχθησαν ἐκ νέου μετὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο.
14. *Β. Θ. Σταυρίδου*, Ἡ Ἱερὰ Θεολογικὴ Σχολὴ τῆς Χάλκης, Ἀθῆναι 1968, II, 39 - 42. —, Ὁ Νεοκαισαρείας Χρυσόστομος (Νεκρολογία), Ἐπίσκεψις ἀρ. 159, 15.12.7 (1976) 9 - 10. *Ἰακώβου*, Διακ., Ἐπικήδειος, Ἐκκλησία 1/15.1.54 (1977) 37 - 9.
15. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Μύρων Χρυσοστόμου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 2.4.1981.

11. Ἡ μικρογραφία Η | ΑΓΙ | Α | ΕΛΕ | (ΝΗ) | Ο ΑΓΙ | ΟΣ | Κ | Ω | Ν | (ΣΤ)ΑΝ | ΤΙ | ΝΟΣ | ΒΑ | ΣΙ | ΛΕΥΣ· | ΡΩ | ΜΑΙ | ΩΝ (0,25 × 0,31.5 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Περὶ τὸ 1945[1]. Κατοχὴ Ο. Valenti.

12. Ἡ μικρογραφία ΜΡ ΘΥ | ΙΣ ΧΣ Κ | ΩΝ | ΣΤΑΝ | ΤΙ | ΝΟΣ | Ο | ΠΑ | ΛΑΙ | ΟΛΟ | ΓΟΣ (0,25 × 0,31.5 μ.). Ἔγχρωμος σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Περὶ τὸ 1945. Κατοχὴ Ο. Valenti.

13. Τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ Ex Libris | Ο. VALENTI (0,06.4 × 0,10.5 μ.). Ἐλαιογραφία ἐπὶ τῆς ὀπισθίας ὄψεως τῆς δερματίνης σταχώσεως τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Buchon, Recherches .... II[2]. Διατήρησις ἀρίστη. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. Περὶ τὸ 1945.

14. Ἡ ἀρέσκουσα εἰς τὸν Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριάρχην Βενιαμὶν Α' προσευχή[3]. Κείμενον: Ἥμαρτον ὁμολογῶ σοι Κύριε, ὁ ἄσωτος ἐγώ, | οὐ τολμῶ, ἀτενίσαι εἰς οὐρανοὺς τὸ ὄμμα, | ἐκ(εῖ)θεν γὰρ ἐκπεσών, ἐγενόμην ἄθλιος | ἥμαρτον (εἰ)ς οὐρανοὺς κ[αὶ] ἐνώπιόν σου κ[αὶ] οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος κληθῆναι υἱός σου. Ἐμαυτὸν | ἀποκηρύττω, οὐ χρήζω κατηγόρων (οὐ) | δὲ πάλιν μαρτύρων ἔχω θριαμβεύου | σάν μου τὴν ἀσωτίαν. Ἔχω καταισχύνου | σαν τὴν παροῦσαν μου γύμνωσιν, | πρὸς ἐντροπὴν δὲ τὰ ράκη, ἃ περιβέ | βλη!ιαι. Εὔσπλαγχνε πάτερ, Υἱὲ μονο | γενής, τὸ πν[εῦμ]α τὸ ἅγιον μετανοοῦντα με δέξαι | κ[αὶ] ἐλέησόν με[4]. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: ἱστορήθη | διὰ χειρὸς | Εἰρηνάρχ(ου) | Κόβα τ(οῦ) Χίου | α ϡμε'[5].

15. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ σταυροῦ τῆς ὠοειδοῦς ἐντύπου πατριαρχικῆς σφραγῖδος (0,02.5 × 0,03.5 μ.) τοῦ ἐπιτίτλου τῶν Πιστοποιητικῶν Βαπτίσεως καὶ Κηδείας (0,22 × 0,26 μ.) τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Εἰς τὰς γωνίας τῶν κεραιῶν τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὑπάρχουν αἱ συντμήσεις: Μ[Α]Ξ[ΙΜΟΣ] | Π[ΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ] Κ[ΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ] | 1946, ΑΘ[ΗΝΑ](Γ[Ο]Ρ)[Α]Σ | Π[ΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ] Κ[ΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ] | 1948 ἢ τέλος ΔΗΜ[Η]ΤΡ[ΙΟ]Σ | Π[Α](ΤΡ)[ΙΑΡ]-Χ[ΗΣ] Κ[ΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ](Π[ΟΛΕΩ]Σ) | 1972. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς. Πιθανῶς ἔργα τοῦ Ε. Κόβα.

16. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἀριστέα τοῦ Προκοννησίου[6] (0,15 × 0,24.6 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου καὶ ὄπισθεν χαρτονίου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ὄπισθεν τοῦ χαρτονίου ἡ ἐπιγραφή: Ὁ ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἀνδριὰς Ἀριστέως τοῦ | Προκοννησίου[7], | Καθ' Ἡρόδοτον[8]. Ὑπογραφή: Ἰχνογραφία | Εἰρηνάρχου Κόβα Κων/πολις. Ἄνευ χρονολογίας. Πρὸ τοῦ 1947. Κατοχὴ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου[9].

17. Ἡ ἀπαντητικὴ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Γρατιανουπόλεως Διονυσίου Βαρούχα, Ἀποστολικοῦ Ἐξάρχου τῶν ἐν Τουρκίᾳ ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐγκύκλιον τοῦ Πάπα Πίου ΙΒ', περὶ τοῦ δόγματος τῆς μεταστάσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου[10]. Κείμενον: ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΕ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΕ ΠΑΤΕΡ | ΠΡΟΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΕ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ Θ[Ε]ΟΥ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΠΑΠΑ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΠΙΕ ΙΒ' | ΕΣΧΑΤΟΣ, ΩΣ ΕΙΚΟΣ, ΕΛΑΧΙΣΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ | ΑΠΑΝΤΩ ΤΗ ΣΕΠΤΗ ΕΓΚΥΚΛΙΩ ΤΗΣ | ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΔΙ' ΗΣ ΔΙΑΠΥΝ | ΘΑΝΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡ' ΗΜΙΝ ΠΕΡΙ Τ(ΟΥ) ΔΟΓΜΑ | ΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΟΥΡΑΝ(ΟΥ)Σ ΜΕΤΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ | ΤΗΣ ΥΠΕΡΑΓΙΑΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ | Ω! ΤΗΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ ΕΜΠΝΕΥΣΕΩΣ! | Ω! ΤΗΣ ΕΥΛΑΒΟΥΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΒΟΥΛΙΑΣ! | ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ ΓΑΡ Η ΔΙ' ΑΥΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΑΠΤΟ | ΜΕΝΗ ΤΗ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΟΡΙ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗ ΔΟ | ΞΑ . | ΑΕΙΠΟΤΕ Η ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΕΔΟ | ΞΑΖΕ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΗΓΟΡΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΟΓΜΑ | ΑΕΙΠΟΤΕ ΟΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ Κ[ΑΙ] Η ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙ | ΚΗ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΝΙΣΧΥΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΙΣΤ(ΟΥ)Σ ΕΝ | ΤΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΝ ΕΠΙΘΑΝΑΤΙΩ | ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΚΡΑΔΑΝΤΩΣ | ΤΗΝ ΜΕΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ ΔΙΟ | ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ, ΑΛ | ΛΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙ | ΜΗΣΙΝ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΟΥΣΙΝ. | ΕΙΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΤΙ Η ΠΡΟΚΗΡΥΞΙΣ | ΤΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΔΟΓΜΑ, | ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΗΣΕΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΟΜΜΑ ΝΕΟΝ | ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΤΕΥΞΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΟΤΗΤΟΣ | ΤΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ | ΑΠΑΓΕ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ! | ΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΚΤΕΟΝ ΟΤΙ, Η ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ | ΤΕΚΝΩΝ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΙΜΗ (ΠΡ)ΟΣ | ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΝ ΔΙΧΟΝΟΙ | ΑΣ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ | ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΕ Η ΜΕΣΙΤΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΤΟ | ΔΥΝΑΜΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙ | ΣΠΕΥΣΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΘΗΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ | ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΕΝΩΣΕΩΣ | ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΤ' ΕΜΗΝ ΤΑ-

1. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Ο. Valenti πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 9.3.1981.

2. Ἰδὲ σ.317 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

3. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 443, ἔνθα ἐσφαλμένως ἀναφέρεται τὸ Δοξαστικόν: «Πάτερ ἀγαθέ . . .».

4. Πρβλ. *Λουκ.* 15, 18 - 9, τὸ β' τροπάριον τῆς ζ' Ὠδῆς τοῦ Κανόνος καὶ τὰ Στιχηρὰ Ἰδιόμελα τῶν Αἴνων τῆς Κυριακῆς τοῦ Ἀσώτου. Τριῴδιον Κατανυκτικόν, ἐν Βενετίᾳ 1856, 11, 12. Ἀδελφότης Θεολόγων «Ζωή» (ἐκδ.), Προσευχητάριον (Θησαυρὸς προσευχῶν), Ἀθῆναι 1949, 115.

5. Ἡ εἰκὼν ἐδωρήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πρ. Μ. Ἀρχιδιακ. Μ. Κριθιώτου εἰς τὸν Γ. Βαξεβανίδην.

6. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν *Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου*, Ἕνας ἔνδοξος πρόγονός μας. Ὁ ποιητὴς Ἀριστέας ὁ Προκοννήσιος, ΜΝ ἀρ. 35/14, 8.2 (1947) 1. *Ν. Λαμπαδαρίδη*, Οἱ Προκόννησοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμῶν. Ἀνέκδοτος ἱστορικὴ πραγματεία ὑπὸ τοῦ Ι. Μακρῆ, ΜΝ ἀρ. 191/2, 5/6.18 (1963) 1.

7. Περὶ αὐτοῦ ἰδὲ καὶ ἐν *Ν. Σ. Λαμπαδαρίδη*, Ἐρανίσματα ἱστορικά. *Ε. Tournier*, Ἀριστέα Προκοννησίου Ἀριμάσπεια ἔπη, Παρίσιοι 1863, ΜΝ ἀρ. 35/14, 8.2 (1947) 3. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Ἀριστέας ὁ Καυστροβίου. Ὁ περίφημος Προκοννήσιος ποιητής, ΜΝ ἀρ. 50/1, 11/12.3 (1948) 6 - 7. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Ὑποσημείωσις περὶ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ποιητοῦ Ἀριστέα, ΜΝ ἀρ. 190 - 4, 5 - 9.18 (1963) 1.

8. *Ἡροδότου*, Ἱστορίαι. IV, 13 - 5.

9. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 25.5.1976, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον ἔργον τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, ἐκτελεσθὲν πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ.

10. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 443.

ΠΕΙΝΗΝ ΓΝΩ | ΜΗΝ | ΕΙΗΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΕΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΥΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΣΕ | ΠΤΗΣ ΜΟΙ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ | ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΣΤΑ | ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ | ΤΗ Κ(ΣΤ) ΜΑΡΤΙ(ΟΥ) Α᾽ϡΜΖ′ | † Ὁ Γρατιανουπόλεως Διονύσιος | ΑΠΟ(ΣΤ)ΟΛΙΚΟΣ ΕΞΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΩΝ[1]. Ὑπογραφή: ΧΕΙΡ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΟΒΑ ΤΟΥ ΧΙΟΥ. Κατοχὴ Βατικανοῦ.

18. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τοῦ προσκλητηρίου τῆς ἀναρρήσεως εἰς τὸν Θρόνον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α′ (0,08 × 0,12.5 μ.)[2]. Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Κείμενον: ΑΝΑΡΡΗΣΙΣ | ΤΗΣ Α. Θ. Παναγιότητος τ(οῦ) Ἀρχιεπισκόπ(ου) | Κων(στ)αντιν(ου)πόλεως, Νέας Ρώμης | καὶ Οἰκ(ου)μενικοῦ Πατριάρχου | Κ.Κ. ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ Α′ | ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ Πατριαρχικῷ Ναῷ τῇ | κζ′ μηνὸς Ἰαν(ου)αρί(ου) α᾽ϡμθ′ ὥρα ια′. | δι᾽ ἓν ἄτομον | αὐ(στ)ηρῶς προσωπικόν.

19. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τοῦ προσκλητηρίου τοῦ Ἑσπερινοῦ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ Πατριαρχικῷ Ναῷ (0,08 × 0,09.5 μ.)[3]. Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Κείμενον: ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ | ΤΕΛΕΤΗ | ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝΟΥ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ | 9 ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΥ 1950 | ΩΡΑ 10.

20. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τοῦ προγράμματος ΕΟΡΤΑΣΜΟΣ | ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΕΚΑΤΟΝΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΔΙ[4] | ΤΩΝ ΕΓΚΑΙΝΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΟΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ | ΠΕΡΑΝ[5] (0,16.2 × 0,19.5 μ.)[6]. Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς. Κείμενον: 1804 1954. ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ | ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ 20 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΤΗΝ 17.30′ ΩΡΑΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝΟΣ ΜΕΤ᾽ ΑΡΤΟ | ΚΛΑΣΙΑΣ ΨΑΛΛΕΙ Η ΧΟΡΩΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝ(ΔΕ)ΣΜ(ΟΥ) | ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΦΙΛΩΝ[7] ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ | 21 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ | ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΔΙΚΗ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ | ΥΠΟΔΟΧΗ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΙΚΗ ΑΙΘΟΥΣΗ | ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ 22 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ | ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΡΗΤΩΝ | ΑΦΙΕΡΩΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ | ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ 24 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ | ΤΗΝ 17ΗΝ ΩΡΑΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΝΟΣ | ΤΗΝ 19.30′ ΩΡΑΝ ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΙΚΗ ΑΙΘΟΥΣΗ ΜΕ ΘΕΜΑ: | «ΣΕΛΙΔΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ | ΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΜΑΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ» ΜΕ ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΕΙΣ ΥΠΟ | ΤΗΣ ΧΟΡΩΔΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΝΔΕ(ΣΜ)(ΟΥ) Μ(ΟΥ)ΣΙΚΟΦΙΛΩΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 25 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ | ΑΠΟΔΟΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΟΡΤΗΣ: ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗ ΛΕΙΤ(ΟΥ)ΡΓΙΑ | ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 28 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ | ΤΡΙΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΙΚΗ ΛΕΙΤ(ΟΥ)ΡΓΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ | ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΚΤΙΤΟΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ +.

21. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τῆς προσκλήσεως τοῦ ἑορτασμοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑκατονπεντηκονταετηρίδι τῶν ἐγκαινίων τοῦ ἱ. ναοῦ τῶν Εἰσοδίων τῆς Παναγίας Πέραν (0,12.2 × 0,15 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας. (1954). Κείμενον: ΠΡΟΣΚΛΗΣΙΣ | Η ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΝΑΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΟ | ΔΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ Υ | ΜΑΣ ΟΠΩΣ ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΗΘΗΤΕ ΝΑ ΤΙΜΗΣΗΤΕ | ΔΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗ ΕΚΑ | ΤΟΝΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΔΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΓΚΑΙ | ΝΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΔΙΟΡΓΑΝΟΥΜΕΝΑΣ | ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ | ΜΕΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ | Η ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ | ΣΗΜ.: Παρακαλεῖσθε ὅπως κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν κοινο | τικὴν αἴθουσαν παρουσιάσητε τὴν πρόσκλησιν ταύτην +.

22. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τοῦ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΕΟΡΤΑΣΜ(ΟΥ) | ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΔΟΣ | ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΚΗΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑΣ | ΕΛΛΟΓΙΜΩΤΑΤ(ΟΥ) ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤ(ΟΥ) | Κ(ΟΥ) ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ | ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΙΔΟΥ | ΤΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 12 Ι(ΟΥ)ΝΙ(ΟΥ) | 1955[8] (πίν. 27). Κείμενον: Α′ | ΤΕΛΕΣΙΣ ΘΕΙΑΣ ΛΕΙΤ(ΟΥ)ΡΓΙΑΣ | ΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΑ·Υ·ΔΡΙΩ ΤΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ | Β′ | ΕΙΔΙΚΗ ΤΕΛΕΤΗ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΣΥΝΟ | ΔΙΚΩ ΤΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΗΣ ΩΡΑ 15Η: | ΥΜΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΕΞΑΡΤΗΣΙΑΣ | + | ΕΙΣΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ | ΣΧΟΛΑΡΧΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΙΚΟ | ΝΙΟΥ Κ[ΥΡΙΟΥ] ΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ | + | ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥΡΚΙΣΤΙ | + | ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΕΛΛΟΓΙΜΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤ(ΟΥ) | Κ[ΥΡΙΟΥ] ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΦΩΤΙΑΔΟΥ | + | ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΦΟΙΤΟΥ | ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΕ | ΔΡΟΥ ΕΦΟΡΕΙΑΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ | ΠΡΙΓΚΗΠΟΝΝΗΣΩΝ Κ[ΥΡΙΟΥ] ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ | + | ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΙΚΟΥ ΠΙΤΤΑ | ΚΙΟΥ | + | ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΟΥ | + | ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΙΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΩΝ Υ | ΜΝΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΜΑΘΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΧΟΡΩ | ΔΙΑΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΗΓΕΣΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΡ | ΧΟΝΤΟΣ (ΠΡ)ΩΤΟΨΑΛΤΟΥ | ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΣΧΟΛΑΡΧΙΑΣ.

23. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου διὰ τὸν ἱ. ναὸν Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Τροπαιοφόρου Γέλδεγιρμεν τῆς Ἱ. Μητροπόλεως Χαλκηδόνος (0,39 × 0,71 μ.)[9]. Πιθανῶς μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. 1961.

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1. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει φωτογραφίαν αὐτοῦ (0,14 × 0,16.7 μ.), καθὼς καὶ εὐχαριστήριον κάρταν τοῦ Γρατιανουπόλεως Διονυσίου πρὸς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν τῇ 22.5.1947.

2. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν *Α. Κλώντια*, Ἀθηναγόρας Α′ ὁ Μεγάλος Πατριάρχης μας, Ἀθῆναι 1975, 10.

3. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν *Α. Κλώντια*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 10.

4. —, Τὰ 150 ἔτη τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Εἰσοδίων Σταυροδρομίου, Α 20.11.29 (1954) 1. —, Ἱερὸς ναὸς Εἰσοδίων Παναγίας Πέραν, Α 20.11.29 (1954) 4.

5. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον. 339 - 355. Ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ τοῦ ναοῦ, Ὁ ἐν Σταυροδρομίῳ ἱερὸς ναὸς τῶν Εἰσοδίων τῆς Θεοτόκου, Γαλατᾶ ἀ.χ. *Δ. Π. Καλουμένου*, Ἱερὸς ναὸς τῶν Εἰσοδίων τῆς Θεοτόκου (Παναγίας Πέραν), ἀ.τ. καὶ χ. (1961). *Μ. Δζαμπάζογλου*, Ἔργ. μνημ.

6. Τὸ ἐμπρόσθιον ἐξώφυλλον αὐτοῦ ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν *Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος. 68.

7. Ὁ Σύνδεσμος οὗτος συνεστήθη εἰς τὴν Πόλιν τὸ 1948. Τὸ 1973 ἑώρτασε τὴν εἰκοσιπενταετηρίδα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνεχίζει μέχρι σήμερον τὴν δρᾶσιν του.

8. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 443.

9. Ἐδημοσιεύθη ἐν *Α. Παπᾶ*, Ἑλενουπόλεως, Τὰ ἐπιγράμματα τοῦ Μ. Πριμικηρίου τῆς Μ. τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλη-

24. Τὸ σχέδιον τῆς ἀφιερώσεως τῆς κανδήλας[1], τῆς δωρηθείσης ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α' εἰς τὴν Ἱ. Μονὴν Λαύρας Ἄθω[2], ἐπὶ τῇ χιλιετηρίδι τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους (963 - 1963)[3]. Αὕτη ἐχαράχθη ἐπὶ ἐπιχρύσου πλακός, ἥτις ἀνηρτήθη εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν χορὸν τοῦ Καθολικοῦ ναοῦ, ἄνωθεν τῶν στασιδίων τῶν ψαλτῶν[4].

25. Ἡ Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολὴ[5] (περ. 0,10 × 0,12 μ.). Ὑδατογραφία ἐπὶ χάρτου. 1963. Κατεστράφη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ε. Κόβα[6].

26. Τὸ σχέδιον τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τῆς μαρμαρίνης πλακός, τῆς εὑρισκομένης ἄνωθεν τῆς Πηγῆς τοῦ Ἱ. Ἁγιάσματος Παναγίας τῶν Βλαχερνῶν (0,62.5 × 1,44 μ.). Κείμενον: ΤΗ ΥΠΕΡΜΑΧΩ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩ ΤΑ ΝΙΚΗΤΗΡΙΑ, | ΩΣ ΛΥΤΡΩΘΕΙΣΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΙΝΩΝ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ, | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΩ ΣΟΙ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΣΟΥ, ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ· | ΑΛΛ' ΩΣ ΕΧΟΥΣΑ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΑΠΡΟΣΜΑΧΗΤΟΝ, | ΕΚ ΠΑΝΤΟΙΩΝ ΜΕ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΣΟΝ, | ΙΝΑ ΚΡΑΖΩ ΣΟΙ· | ΧΑΙΡΕ ΝΥΜΦΗ ΑΝΥΜΦΕΥΤΕ[7]. Κάτωθεν αὐτῆς, ἐπὶ ἑτέρας πλακὸς (0,85 × 1,48 μ.), ὑπάρχει ἡ ἐπιγραφή: ΝΙΨΟΝ ΑΝΟΜΗΜΑΤΑ | ΜΗ ΜΟΝΑΝ ΟΨΙΝ[8] | ΕΙΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΑΝ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ | ΠΡΟΣΦΙΛΩΝ ΜΟΙ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ | Σ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΙΔΗΣ[9]. 1967.

27. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου διὰ τὸ μονύδριον τοῦ Προφήτου Ἠλιοῦ τῆς Κοινότητος Νέου Μαρμαρᾶ Σιθωνίας ἢ Λόγγου τῆς Ἱ. Μητροπόλεως Κασσανδρείας (0,46 × 0,70 μ.)[10]. Μολυβδοκόνδυλον ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. 1968. Κατοχὴ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου ἐν Ἀθήναις.

28. Τὸ σχέδιον τῆς διακοσμήσεως τοῦ ἐξ ἀλουμινίου μεταλλίου τοῦ ἑορτασμοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑκατονταετηρίδι τοῦ Ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων Φερίκιοϊ (διάμ. 0,04.2 μ.) (πίν. 29 κάτω). Ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς ἐμπροσθίας ὄψεως: ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΙΕΡΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΦΕΡΙΚΙΟΪ· ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΣ[11] | 1868 - 1968, τῆς ὀπισθίας: ΠΟΡΕΥΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΥΣΑΤΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ[12]. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς. 1971.

29. Τὸ πρωτότυπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐντὸς κύκλου (0,04 × 0,04 μ.) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐξωφύλλου τῆς ἀγγελτηρίου - προσκλήσεως τῆς κηδείας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α' τῇ 11ῃ Ἰουλίου 1972 ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ Πατριαρχικῷ Ναῷ (0,12.5 × 0,16.5 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χαρτονίου. Κείμενον: LE PATRIARCAT OECUMÉNIQUE ANNONCE AVEC DOULEUR QUE | LA CÉRÉMONIE SACRÉE | DES FUNÉRAILLES DE | S.S. | LE PATRIARCHE OECUMÉNIQUE | ATHENAGORAS I | AURA LIEU EN LA CATHÉDRALE | PATRIARCALE DE SAINT - GEORGES, | AU PHANAR, MARDI, | LE 11 JUILLET 1972, A | 12.00 HEURES. Κατοχὴ γράφοντος[13].

## IV. ΥΑΛΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΙ

Ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἐφιλοτέχνησε καὶ μερικὰς ὑαλογραφίας[14], ζωγραφίζων δι' ἐλαιογραφίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἄχρου ὑάλου ἀνοιγμάτων κτηρίων ἀνθρώπινα, ζωικά, φυτικὰ καὶ γεωμετρικὰ μοτίβα καὶ ἐπιγραφάς. Αὐταὶ εἶναι αἱ ἑξῆς:

### Συνοδικὸν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου[15].

Ὁ διάκοσμος τῶν ὑαλοπινάκων τῶν ἑπτὰ φύλλων τοῦ παραθύρου τοῦ βορείου τοίχου τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ[16] (0,34 × 0,35.5 μ., 0,40 × 0,67 μ., 0,34.5 × 1,06

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σίας Θεοφάνους Σ. Θεοφανείδου, Θ 50 (1979) 746 - 7. Εἰς τὸν στίχον 5 τὸ ἀμενητὰ διορθωτέον διὰ τοῦ ἀμενηνά, καὶ εἰς τὸν στίχον 8 τὸ σαώσοις διὰ τοῦ σαώζοις. Πρβλ. τὴν ἔκδοσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκ χαρτονίου εἰκόνος τοῦ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου, φερούσης τὸν ἐπίτιτλον: Ὁ ἐκ βάθρων ἀνακαινισθεὶς ἱερὸς ναὸς Ἁγίου Γεωργίου Χαλκηδόνος, ἄ.τ. 1961 καὶ κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 3.6.1980.

1. *Α. Γ. Πανώτη*, Παῦλος ΣΤ' - Ἀθηναγόρας Α'. Εἰρηνοποιοί, Ἀθῆναι 1971, εἰκ. 314.

2. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἀνθίβολον αὐτῆς (0,19 × 0,27 μ.). Μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

3. —, Ἡ χιλιετηρὶς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, Ἀρχεῖον Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ καὶ Κανονικοῦ Δικαίου 18 (1963) 133 - 143. —, Ἡ χιλιετηρὶς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, Ο 38 (1963) 432 - 9.

4. Τὸ κείμενον αὐτῆς ἐδημοσιεύθη ἐν *Κ. Λαυριώτου*, Προηγ., Ἱστορικὸν Προσκυνητάριον τῆς Βασιλικῆς, Πατριαρχικῆς καὶ Σταυροπηγιακῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους, Ἀθῆναι[2] 1976, 169.

5. *Τ. Γριτσοπούλου*, Ἡ Πατριαρχικὴ Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή, 2 τ., Ἀθῆναι 1966 - 1971.

6. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κ. Α. Γρίβα πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 22.10.1980.

7. Κοντάκιον τοῦ Ἀκαθίστου Ὕμνου. —, Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα. 529.

8. Καρκινικὸν μονόστιχον, ἀποδιδόμενον εἰς Γρηγόριον τὸν Θεολόγον. *Κ. Καλλινίκου*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 92 - 3.

9. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν φυλλαδίῳ τοῦ Ἱ. Ἁγιάσματος, ἐκδοθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ *Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου*, Ἡ ἐν τῇ δεξαμενῇ τοῦ Ἁγιάσματος ἱερὰ εἰκὼν τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου. Ἡ ἐν Βλαχέρναις Πηγὴ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Ἁγιάσματος, ἄ.τ. 1969, 2. *Φιντία (Ν. Δάμτσα)*, Χρονογράφημα. Τῇ Ὑπερμάχῳ, Α 23.3.44 (1969) 1.

10. Ἐδημοσιεύθη ἐν *Α. Παπᾶ*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 756, πίν. 3.

11. *Α. Βεζάνη*, Ὀρθόδοξος ἱερὸς ναὸς Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων Φερίκιοϊ (Feriköy on iki Apostol Rum Ortodoks Kilisesi) (Ἑκατονταετηρὶς 1868 - 1968) (100. Yıldönümü 1868 - 1968), ἄ.τ. καὶ χ. —, Ἑκατονταετηρὶς Κοινότητος Φερίκιοϊ, Α 29.5.46 (1971) 3. —, Ἑκατονταετηρὶς Κοινότητος Φερίκιοϊ, Ἐμ. 1.6.5 (1971) 4.

12. *Μάρκ.* 16, 15.

13. Ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ καλλιτέχνου, τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ.

14. Πρόκειται δηλ. μᾶλλον ὄχι περὶ ζωγραφικῆς ὄπισθεν ὑάλου (Hinterglasmalerei), *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 220 - 1, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑνὸς εἴδους ζωγραφικῆς ὑάλου (Glasmalerei) ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς πρὸς τὸ κτήριον ὄψεως αὐτῆς, γνωστῆς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄνομα Kabinettmalerei. *E. Schaffran*, Taschenlexikon der Kunst, Μόναχον[3] 1953, 111. *B. Briesenick - H. H. Hofstätter - H. H. Diedrich*, Mosaik Glasmalerei Bildteppich, Βερολῖνον 1968, 37.

15. Πρβλ. *Στυλιανοῦ*, Αὐστραλίας, Ἔργ. μνημ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 430. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Συνοδικόν. 420 - 2, πίν. 11, 12.

16. Σχεδὸν ὁλόκληρον ἀπεικόνισιν αὐτοῦ ἴδε καὶ ἐν *Β. Σταυρίδου*, Οἰκουμενικοὶ Πατριάρχαι. ΙΙ, 316, εἰκ. 11.

μ.). Ἐκτὸς ἐλαχίστων ὑπολειμμάτων δὲν σῴζεται σήμερον, καθ' ὅτι δὲν εἶχεν ἐψηθῆ ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων. 1943.

**Κομμωτήριον μεταξὺ Φαναρίου καὶ Παλατᾶ.**

Παράστασις γυναικός. Διάκοσμος τοῦ ὑαλοπίνακος τῆς προσόψεως τοῦ τουρκικοῦ γυναικείου κομμωτηρίου, ὄπισθεν τοῦ Ἰωακειμείου Παρθεναγωγείου, ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τῆς ἐνούσης τὸ Φανάριον μετὰ τοῦ Παλατᾶ, ἀπέναντι τοῦ Μετοχίου τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου, ἔνθα διέμενεν ὁ Καρατζᾶς[1]. Κατ' ἄλλους τὸ κομμωτήριον τοῦτο ἦτο τοῦ Φύκου (ἀδελφῶν Γ. Ἀδαμαντίδη)[2]. Δὲν σῴζεται σήμερον.

## V. ΣΧΕΔΙΑ ΞΥΛΟΓΛΥΠΤΩΝ

Ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἡτοίμασε καὶ διάφορα σχέδια μετὰ ζωικῶν, φυτικῶν καὶ γεωμετρικῶν μοτίβων διὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν μερικῶν πλαισίων ἱ. εἰκόνων καί τινων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπίπλων (θυρῶν, προσκυνηταρίων, πολυελαίων καὶ μεγαφώνων), τὰ ὁποῖα ἀκολούθως ἐξετελέσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τοῦ προστύπου ἢ ἐπιπεδογλύφου ἀναγλύφου[3], καὶ τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς:

**Συνοδικὸν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου[4].**

1. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ διακόσμου τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ νοτίου τοίχου τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ θύρας (0,80 × 2,14 μ.) καὶ τῆς ἐσωτερικῆς πλευρᾶς τῆς πρὸς δυσμὰς αὐτῆς ψευδοθύρας. 1943.

2. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ μεγάλου πολυκανδήλου (διάμ. 0,63 μ.) καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς κανδήλας (διάμ. 0,23 μ.) τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ. 1943.

3. Τὸ σχέδιον τῆς πλακὸς τῆς βάσεως (0,25 × 0,45 μ.) τῶν τεσσάρων πολυφώτων τοίχου (Appliques), τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ καὶ δυτικοῦ τοίχου τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ. 1943.

**Περίπτερον ἐψήσεως Ἁγίου Μύρου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου.**

Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ ἐντὸς μεταλλίου μονογράμματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ[5] (διάμ. 0,41 μ.) τοῦ ἀετώματος τῆς πύλης τοῦ περιπτέρου[6]. 1939[7].

**Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Ποτηρᾶ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ.**

Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ διακόσμου τοῦ προσκυνηταρίου τῆς εἰκόνος Θεοτόκου τῆς Γλυκοφιλούσης[8].

**Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης Σταυροδρομίου.**

Τὰ σχέδια τοῦ διακόσμου τῶν πλαισίων τῶν μικρῶν εἰκόνων τῶν προσκυνηταρίων τοῦ ναοῦ. Πιθανῶς ἔργα τοῦ Ε. Κόβα. 1944.

**Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ Δημητρίου Ταταούλων.**

1. Τὰ σχέδια τοῦ διακόσμου τῶν πλαισίων τῶν εἰκόνων τῆς Σταυρώσεως[9], τοῦ Προφήτου Ἠλιοὺ καὶ τῶν Ἁγ. Νικολάου καὶ Γεωργίου τοῦ νάρθηκος τοῦ ναοῦ.

2. Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ διακόσμου τῶν καλυμμάτων τῶν δύο μεγαφώνων τῶν πλαγίων κλιτῶν τοῦ ναοῦ.

3. Τὸ σχέδιον τῶν ὀκτακεραίων σταυρῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι κοσμοῦν τὰς κάτω θύρας τῶν θηκῶν τῶν ἀμφίων καὶ εἰκόνων τῆς Προθέσεως καὶ τοῦ Διακονικοῦ τοῦ ναοῦ.

**Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Νικολάου Χάλκης.**

Τὸ σχέδιον τοῦ διακόσμου τοῦ πλαισίου τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς Ἁγ. Θέκλης (0,68.5 × 1,15.5 μ.).

## VI. ΣΚΗΝΙΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΟΣΜΗΣΕΙΣ

Ὁ Ε. Κόβας εἶχεν ἀναλάβει καὶ τὴν σκηνογραφικὴν ἐπιμέλειαν[10] τῶν ὑπὸ ὁμογενῶν ἐρασιτεχνικῶν θεατρικῶν θιάσων τῆς Πόλεως ἀναβιβαζομένων ἔργων εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τῆς αἰθούσης τῆς Μαρασλείου Σχολῆς[11], εἰς τὸ Συσσίτιον τῆς ὁποίας ἦτο μέλος[12].

Οὕτω π.χ. κατὰ τὴν ἀναβίβασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμίλου τῆς Φιλοπτώχου Ἀδελφότητος Τζιβαλίου δύο μονοπράκτων ἔργων τοῦ Σ. Δάφνη, Τὸ πατρικὸ σπίτι, καὶ τοῦ Μ. Ἄννινου, Ζητεῖται ὑπηρέτης[13], ἀνέλαβε τὰς σκηνικὰς διακοσμήσεις.

Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει ἓν σχέδιον διὰ μίαν θεατρικὴν παράστασιν, ἡ ὁποία ἀνεβιβάσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεατρικοῦ τμήματος τοῦ Ἀθλητικοῦ Συλλόγου

1. Vodina Cad. 52. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Α. Ἀνεστίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 2.11.1975.

2. *Ε. Κόβα*, Τὸ φιλὶ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως, Α Πανηγ. τεῦχ. Πάσχα 6 (1930) 3, καὶ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Σ. Σ. Παπαδόπουλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 28.9.1974.

3. *Κ. Δ. Καλοκύρη*, Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὴν Χριστιανικὴν καὶ Βυζαντινὴν Ἀρχαιολογίαν, Θεσσαλονίκη 1970, 194 - 5.

4. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 430. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Συνοδικόν. 412 - 4, πίν. 4, 10.

5. *Γ. Α. Σωτηρίου*, Χριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρχαιολογία, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1942, I, 100-4. *E. Sauser*, Frühchristliche Kunst, Ἴννσμπρουκ - Βιέννη - Μόναχον 1966, 66, 166, 222-3, 226, 240, 245, 272, 321, 339. *K. Wessel*, Christusmonogramm, RbK 1 (1966) 1047 - 50.

6. Ἀπεικονίσθη ἐν *Β. Σταυρίδου*, Οἰκουμενικοὶ Πατριάρχαι. II, εἰκ. 18.

7. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 9.8.1977, τοῦτο ἀνηρτήθη ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τοῦ καθαγιασμοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Μύρου ἐπὶ Πατριάρχου Βενιαμὶν Α΄ κατὰ τὸ 1939, ἀντικατασταθέντος οὕτω τοῦ ἀρχαιοτέρου σταυροῦ, ΕΗ 3 (1936) 53.

8. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 431. Ὁ Γ. Βαξεβανίδης κατέχει τὸ σχέδιον τοῦτο (0,25 × 0,32.5 μ.). Σινικὴ μελάνη ἐπὶ χάρτου. Διατήρησις μετρία. Ἄνευ ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας.

9. Ἔργου τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Κυζικηνοῦ (1807). Περὶ αὐτοῦ ἴδε: *Α. Παπᾶ*, Ἑλενουπόλεως, Πολῖται ζωγράφοι. Κωνσταντῖνος Κυζικηνὸς (Kapidagi), Α 2.2.56 (1981) 4.

10. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Α. Ἀνεστίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 31.10.1977.

11. *Α. Μαζαράκη*, Ἡ Πατριαρχικὴ Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 117. —, Γρηγόριος Μαρασλῆς, ΑΑ ἀρ. 357, 14.5.7 (1958) 4.

12. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Ροδοπόλεως Ἱερωνύμου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 5.6.1978.

13. —, Θέατρον. Δύο μονόπρακτα ἔργα, Τ 2 (1946) 98 - 9.

Πέραν[1] (0,26 × 0,33 μ.). Ὑδατοχρώματα ἐπὶ χαρτονίου. Παριστᾷ τὸν ΛΕΜΠΛΕΜΠΙΤΖΗΣ | ΧΟΡΧΟΡ ΑΓΑΣ[2]. Διατήρησις καλή. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: τ(οῦ) ἀδελφικοῦ φίλ(ου) | Ἀχιλλέα Γραμματίδη Φανάρι - 21 | 2 | 948. Ὑπογραφή: (Ἀ[ρχης] Κ)όβας - 913.

## VII. ΑΝΑΣΤΗΛΩΣΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΩΝ

Ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἠσχολήθη, καίτοι περιωρισμένως, καὶ τοῦτο λίαν πιθανῶς ἐκ λόγων σεβασμοῦ πρὸς τὰ πρότυπα, καὶ μὲ τὴν ἀναστήλωσιν ὡρισμένων μνημείων (ἀποκάλυψιν μωσαϊκῶν, καθαρισμὸν καὶ στερέωσιν τοιχογραφιῶν[3] καὶ ἀποκατάστασιν (Restaurierung) τοιχογραφιῶν καὶ παλαιῶν ἱ. εἰκόνων), εὑρισκομένων εἰς τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον, ναούς, ἀνάκτορα καὶ ἰδιώτας τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ. Αἱ φθοραὶ τὰς ὁποίας εἶχον ὑποστῆ ταῦτα, ὠφείλοντο εἰς ποικίλους λόγους, καιρικούς, κλιματικούς, μηχανικοὺς (ἐνταῦθα πρέπει νὰ ἀναφερθῇ π.χ. καὶ ἡ περίπτωσις τῶν ἱ. εἰκόνων, αἱ ὁποῖαι εἶχον πληγῇ, κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἧττον, ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς 6/7ης Σεπτεμβρίου 1955[4], ὡς αἱ τῶν ναῶν Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Βαλίνου, Ἁγ. Χαραλάμπους Ταταούλων καὶ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Γέλδεγιρμεν) κ.ἄ. Ὁ καλλιτέχνης ἐξετέλεσε τὰς ἀποκαταστάσεις ταύτας προσεκτικῶς δι' ἐλαιοχρωμάτων καὶ κατὰ τρόπον ἀρκούντως ἐμφανῆ εἰς τὰ τμήματα ἐκεῖνα τῶν εἰκόνων, τὰ ὁποῖα παρουσίαζον φθορὰς (ὡς π.χ. τὰς σάρκας, τὰ ἐνδύματα καὶ δὴ τὰς χρυσογραφίας αὐτῶν, τὸ χρυσοῦν βάθος καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφάς), οὕτως ὥστε ἐκ τῆς τεχνοτροπίας του νὰ διακρίνεται, κυρίως εἰς τὸν εἰδήμονα, ὄχι δυσχερῶς ἡ ἐπέμβασίς του. Ὁ γράφων δὲν κατώρθωσε βεβαίως νὰ ἐπισημάνῃ τὸν πλήρη κατάλογον αὐτῶν, μεταξὺ τῶν ὁποίων περιλαμβάνονται καὶ αἱ ἑξῆς:

### Μυροφυλάκιον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου.

Σταυρὸς μετὰ τοῦ ΕΣΤΑΥΡΩΜΕΝΟΥ καὶ πιθανῶς στηθαρίου Προφήτου. Γλυπτὸς καὶ ἐζωγραφισμένος. Ὑπογραφὴ καὶ χρονολογία: + Χ. Ιϛ | ἔτος (αωπε΄)[5].

1. *Μ. Δ(ρόσου)*, Τὸ θέατρο Λεμπλεμπιτζῆ Χὸρ - Χὸρ Ἀγᾶ, Τ 3 (1948) 298.

2. Ἐκ τῆς ὁμωνύμου περιφήμου τουρκικῆς ὀπερέττας τοῦ *D. Cuhacıyan* (1836 - 1898). *M(eydan)*, Cuhacıyan (Dikran), ML 3 (1970) 312. *M(eydan)*, Leblebici Hor-hor, ML 7 (1972) 856. *Y. Ö(ztuna)*, Operet, Türk Ansiklopedisi 25 (1977) 453.

3. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 444.

4. —, Τὰ γεγονότα τῆς 6ης Σεπτεμβρίου, Ο 30 (1955) 476-488.

5. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Δ. Ραϊτσανόφσκυ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα περὶ τὸ 1978, ὁ Ἐσταυρωμένος οὗτος ἄλλοτε εὑρίσκετο εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Ε. Κόβα. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ 1972, παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου εἰς τὸ Μυροφυλάκιον.

### Ἱ. ναὸς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Βαλίνου.

1. ΙΣ ΧΣ | Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ | ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΣ (ΑΡ)ΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ. Τέμπλον.

2. ΜΡ Θ(ΟΥ) μετὰ τοῦ ΙΣ ΧΣ καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν Δαβίδ, Σολομῶντος, Ἡσαΐου καὶ Ζαχαρίου. Τέμπλον.

3. Ο ΑΓΙ | (ΟΣ) | ΙΩ(ΑΝΝ)ΗΣ Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜ(ΟΣ). Τέμπλον.

4. Η ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ Θ[ΕΟΤΟ]Κ(ΟΥ). Τέμπλον.

5. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ. Τέμπλον.

6. Ο (ΑΡ)ΧΩΝ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ. Θύρα τοῦ Διακονικοῦ.

7. Η ΑΓΙΑ ΤΡΙΑΣ, κατὰ τὸν δυτικὸν τύπον, μετὰ τῶν σκηνῶν τῆς Ἐξώσεως τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τῆς Εὔας ἐκ τοῦ Παραδείσου, τῆς Φιλοξενίας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, τῆς Α' ἐν Νικαίᾳ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου καὶ τῆς Ἀναστηλώσεως τῶν ἱ. εἰκόνων. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: αὕτη ἡ ἱκον τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος | ἐγένετο διὰ συνδρομυς κε | δαπανις τῶν τιμιωτάτων . . . ἀδελφὸν καὶ λοιπὸν εὐλογημε | νον ρ(ου)σφετίον εἰς μνημόσινον αὐτὸν ἐονίος-αωμέ | νωεμρί(ου) 8 (sic).

8. ΜΡ ΘΥ | Η Π(ΑΝ)ΑΓΙΑ Η ΒΛΑΧΕΡ | ΝΑ. Προσκυνητάριον Νάρθηκος. Παρίσταται ὅμως ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὁδηγητρίας.

### Παρεκκλήσιον Ἁγ. Χαραλάμπους ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Δημητρίου Ταταούλων[6].

1. ΙΣ ΧΣ. Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸ εἰκονογραφικὸν θέμα τοῦ «Ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡ Ἄμπελος»[7]. Τέμπλον.

2. Μ(ΗΡ) ΘΥ (πίν. 16). Παρίσταται ὑπὸ τὸ εἰκονογραφικὸν θέμα τῆς Ρίζης τοῦ Ἰεσσαί[8]. Τέμπλον.

### Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Γέλδεγιρμεν[9] Χαλκηδόνος.

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ. Ἔργον δυτικῆς τεχνοτροπίας, μετὰ μοτίβων σμάλτων

6. —, Αἱ ἐνορίαι τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως, ΕΦΚΗ 2 (1905) 193.

7. Κατὰ τὸ *Ἰω.* 15, 5 «ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος, ὑμεῖς τὰ κλήματα». *Α. Ξυγγοπούλου*, Σχεδίασμα ἱστορίας τῆς θρησκευτικῆς ζωγραφικῆς μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωσιν, Ἀθῆναι 1957, 169, 210, ὑποσ. 7. *Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα - Α. Δ. Παλιούρα*, Ὁδηγὸς τοῦ Μουσείου τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγ. Γεωργίου, Βενετία 1976.

8. Πρβλ. *Κ. Γκιουζέλογλου*, Κυρία ἡ Παντάνασσα - Ρίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαί. Ἐνυπόγραφη εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔτους 1788, Πυρσὸς 3 (1957) 258 - 262. *Θ. Μ. Προβατάκη*, Ἀνέκδοτα βυζαντινὰ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὰ κειμήλια τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας, Θεσσαλονίκη 1976, 103 - 9, πίν. 39.

9. *Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου*, Λόγος πανηγυρικὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐγκαινίοις τοῦ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου τοῦ Τροπαιοφόρου ἐξ ὑπογυίου ἐκφωνηθεὶς καὶ ἐξ ἠχογραφήσεως ἐκτυπωθείς, Σταμπούλ 1961. Κῶδιξ τοῦ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου ἐνδόξου Μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου τοῦ Τροπαιοφόρου ἀρξάμενος γράφεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς ἐκλεγείσης τὴν 25ην Ἰουνίου 1961 καὶ ἀποτελουμένης ἐκ τῶν Θεοφάνους Σ. Θεοφανείδου, Θωμᾶ Βέρρου, Νικολάου Κ. Χατζοπούλου, Ἰωάννου Π. Τζάννου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Γ. Ὀχανταρίδου καὶ τῶν ἐπιλαχόντων Ἰωάννου Γ. Κωνσταντινίδου, Γεωργίου Η. Μαρούτση καὶ Πέτρου Ι. Ρέτζιου, περιέχων τὰ κατὰ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὴν ἐνορίαν αὐτοῦ, ποιμαινομένην χάριτι θείᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Χαλκηδόνος κυρίου Θωμᾶ. Συνεχίζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς

ἐπὶ τοῦ πλαισίου του, ἐκτελεσθὲν ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει τὸ 1920. Προσκυνητάριον Νάρθηκος[1]. Ἀφιερωτικὴ ἐπιγραφή: Ἀφιέρωμα Ο. Σωτηριάδου 1920.

**Ναός τις ἐν Πόλει.**

Σταυρός. Ἡ ἐπιχρύσωσις αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ὑπὸ χρυσωτοῦ[2]. 1950[3].

**Νικόλαος Καραγεώργος.**

Τρίπτυχον παλαιόν. Συμπλήρωσις αὐτοῦ[4].

Ὡρισμέναι τέλος ἀποκαταστάσεις δὲν ἐξετελέσθησαν. Οὕτω π.χ. ὁ τότε Πατριαρχικὸς Ἐπόπτης Κοντοσκαλίου - Ὑψωμαθείων Εὐμενείας Νικόδημος (1966 - 1972) εἶχε καλέσει τὸν Ε. Κόβαν διὰ τὴν ἐπιδιόρθωσιν τῶν ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων τῆς 6/7. 9.1955 πληγέντων εἰκόνων τοῦ τέμπλου τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἁγ. Κυριακῆς Κοντοσκαλίου[7], καὶ ἠθέλησε νὰ ἀμείψῃ αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ γλίσχρου ποσοῦ τῶν 10 Λ.Τ. ἀνὰ μ.[2], ὅτε ὁ καλλιτέχνης μὴ συμφωνήσας ἀπεχώρησεν[8].

## Β. ΤΟ ΛΟΓΟΤΕΧΝΙΚΟΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ[5]

Ὁ Ε. Κόβας, πλὴν τῶν εἰς προγενεστέρας ἐργασίας τοῦ γράφοντος ἀναφερομένων ἔργων αὐτοῦ, συνέγραψε καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα:

**Διηγήματα, δημοσιευθέντα εἰς περιοδικὰ ἢ ἐφημερίδας.**

Α. Κόβα, Τὸ φιλὶ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως, Α Πανηγ. τεῦχ. Πάσχα 6 (1930) 3.

Α. Κόβα, Ἀνέστη Χριστός, Λεύκωμα τελειοφοίτων Ζωγραφείου, Κων/πολις 1927, 127 - 30.

Α. Κόβα, Τὸ δῶρο τῆς Ἕλλης, ἔνθ. ἀνωτ., Κων/πολις 1930, 100 - 9.

Α. Κόβα, Χαῖρε Μαρία, Ἑστία ἀρ. 4, 1 (1943) 4.

Α. Κόβα, Τὸ πονεμένο ἐρώτημα, Τ 1 (1945) 273 - 80.

Α. Κόβα, Ὁ κουδουνᾶτος. Δὲν ἐδημοσιεύθη, τὸ δὲ χειρόγραφον ἀπωλέσθη[6].

**Γράμματα.**

Α. Κόβα, Βάσανα, Βόσ. ἀρ. 2, 23.8.1 (1951) 1-2.

**Διαλέξεις.**

Εἰς τὸ λογοτεχνικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, πρέπει νὰ συμπεριληφθοῦν καὶ αἱ διαλέξεις, τὰς ὁποίας ἔδωσε κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπὶ ἀγαπητῶν του θεμάτων, ὡς ὁ Πτωχοπρόδρομος, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀντικατώπτριζον τὸν προσωπικόν του βίον[9], καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἐνίοτε ἐπανελάμβανε. Αἱ διαλέξεις αὐταὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς διάφορα ἱδρύματα τῆς Πόλεως ὡς εἰς:

1. Τὴν Κοινοτικὴν Αἴθουσαν τοῦ ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τῶν Χίων[10] ἐν Γαλατᾷ: Περὶ Χίου[11].

2. Τὴν Φιλόπτωχον Ἀδελφότητα Τζιβαλίου: Τὰ βάσανα τοῦ Πτωχοπρόδρομου[12].

3. Τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἕνωσιν[13]: Περὶ λογοτεχνίας στὴν Πόλη[14].

4. Τὸν Μορφωτικὸν Σύνδεσμον Μόδα: Ἀγάπη στὸ Arles - Ταξιδιωτικὲς ἀναμνήσεις[15], ὁ Πτωχοπρόδρομος[16], καὶ ὁ ἔρωτας στοὺς Φαναριώτας ποιητὰς[17] (13.12.1948).

5. Τὸν Μορφωτικὸν Σύνδεσμον Μ. Ρεύματος καὶ δὴ εἰς τὸ Κινηματοθέατρον «Σές»: ὁ Πτωχοπρόδρομος[18].

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ἐκλεγείσης τὴν 3ην Νοεμβρίου 1963 Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐκ τῶν Κων. Προδρόμου Πουσκιούλογλου, Ἀνανίου Δανιηλίδου, Χρήστου Κέντρου, Γεωργίου Μαρούτση καὶ Φωτίου Φωτιάδου (ἀνέκδ. χειρ. κῶδιξ τοῦ Ἀρχειοφυλακίου τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου).

1. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Θ. Σ. Θεοφανείδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 25.5.1976.

2. Καὶ τοῦτο, διότι κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Β. Ζάμπογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 1.3.1975, ὁ Ε. Κόβας δὲν εἶχε χρήματα διὰ νὰ ἀγοράσῃ τὰ ἀπαιτούμενα φύλλα τοῦ χρυσοῦ.

3. Τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο ἐγένοντο τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς ἐπιδιορθώσεως τοῦ ναοῦ. Κατὰ σημείωμα ἐπὶ ἐπισκεπτηρίου κάρτας τοῦ Δ. Π. Καλουμένου πρὸς τὸν Ε. Κόβαν, τῇ 19.7.1950, εὑρισκόμενον εἰς τὸν γράφοντα, ἐκ τῶν καταλοίπων τοῦ καλλιτέχνου, τῶν δοθέντων αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μελιτηνῆς Ἰωακείμ.

4. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Β. Ζάμπογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 1.3.1975.

5. *Λ. Μ(πέρτ)*, Ἔργ. μνημ. —, Νέα διάφορα, Τ 2 (1945) 67, 2 (1946) 99, 258. —, Ἐκδόσεις Τ 2 (1946) 132. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 445 - 50. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Ἁγιογράφος. 672-8. *Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος, 58 - 60, 66.

6. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κ. Α. Γρίβα πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 22.10.1980.

7. —, Ἐγκαίνια Ἁγίας Κυριακῆς Κοντοσκαλίου, ΕΑ 20 (1900) 218. *Μ. Γεδεών*, Ἑορτολόγιον. 248 - 9.

8. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Πρωτοπρ. Μ. Σακκουλίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 18.9.1974.

9. *Φιντία (Ν. Δάμτσα)*, «Ὁ Κοσμοκαλόγηρος», Α 29. 10.49 (1972) 1.

10. *Γ. Π. Γεωργιάδου*, Ἔργ. μνημ. Ὁ ναὸς οὗτος ἀπὸ τοῦ 1965 εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ παπᾶ Εὐθύμ. —, Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Εὐτὺμ ἐπιχειρεῖ νὰ καταλάβῃ τοὺς ναοὺς τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου Γαλατᾶ, Α 1.9.40 (1965) 1.

11. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Γ. Βαξεβανίδου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 24.11.1974 καὶ 25.10.1980, τὸ κείμενον τῆς διαλέξεως κατεῖχεν ὁ Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτων. Κατ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς πολυκοσμίας εἶχον σταματήσει οἱ τροχιόδρομοι!

12. —, Νέα διάφορα, Τ 2 (1945) 67.

13. —, Ἑλληνικὴ Ἕνωσις, Ἐμ. 14.3.9 (1955) 1. —, Ἑλληνικὴ Ἕνωσις. Ἡ ἐτησία Γεν. Συνέλευσις τῶν μελῶν της, Ἐμ. 26.5.10 (1956) 4.

14. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Δ. Χαβιαροπούλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 11.8.1980, ἡ διάλεξις αὕτη ἔγινε περὶ τὸ 1947/8 εἰς τρία μέρη, τῶν ὁποίων τὸ μεσαῖον ἦτο ἀφιερωμένον εἰς τὴν λογοτεχνίαν τῶν γυναικῶν τῆς Πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Ἠὼ Λαμπίρη ἀπήγγειλε ποιήματα.

15. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 446.

16. —, Πνευματικὴ κίνηση Συνδέσμων. «Μορφωτικὸς Μοδιοῦ», Τ 3 (1948) 343.

17. —, Ἀπὸ τὴν κίνηση τῶν Μ. Συνδέσμων μας. Μορφωτικὸς Σύνδεσμος Μοδιοῦ, Τ 4 (1949) 158.

18. —, Σύνδεσμοι. Μορφωτικὸς Σύνδεσμος Μ. Ρεύματος, Τ 4 (1949) 119.

# ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Κατόπιν τῆς παραθέσεως τοῦ ἀνωτέρω ἀναλυτικοῦ καταλόγου σχεδὸν ὅλων τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Ε. Κόβα, εἶναι ἀπαραίτητον ὅπως προβῇ ὁ γράφων εἰς ἕνα, ἔστω καὶ σύντομον, καθορισμὸν τόσον ὡρισμένων χαρακτηριστικῶν αὐτῶν, ὅσον καὶ τῆς τέχνης τοῦ δημιουργοῦ των γενικώτερον, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀναμφιβόλως κατέχει μίαν ἰδιάζουσαν θέσιν ὄχι μόνον ἐντὸς τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς θρησκευτικῆς ζωγραφικῆς τῆς Πόλεως κατὰ τὸν εἰκοστὸν αἰῶνα εἰδικῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς νεοβυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ καθόλου, καὶ τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι τὰ ἑξῆς:

1. Τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Ε. Κόβα εἶναι σημαντικὸν ὄχι μόνον ποσοτικῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως ποικιλίας καὶ ποιότητος. Βασικῶς εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ διακριθῇ εἰς δύο κατηγορίας: Α. Τὸ ζωγραφικόν, Β. Τὸ λογοτεχνικόν. Ἐκ τούτων τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ μεγαλύτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον, περιλαμβάνει: Ι. Φορητὰς εἰκόνας καὶ μερικὰ κοσμικὰ ἔργα, ΙΙ. Τοιχογραφίας, ΙΙΙ. Μικρογραφίας (α. Διακοσμήσεις βιβλίων, β. Διακοσμήσεις σταχώσεων βιβλίων, γ. Ἀνεξαρτήτους μικρογραφίας: 1. Πατριαρχικοὺς καὶ συνοδικοὺς τόμους, 2. Πιττάκια, 3. Διπλώματα, 4. Τίτλους καὶ ὑπογραφάς, 5. Λοιπὰς ἐργασίας: Μεγάλα μηνύματα, ἀντιμήνσια, δίπτυχα, ἐπιστολάς, προσευχάς, ἀφιερώσεις, ἐπιγράμματα, προγράμματα, προσκλητήρια, κάρτας πανηγύρεων ναῶν καὶ λοιπὰς τοιαύτας, σχέδια μεταλλίων καὶ σφραγίδων, Ex Libris καὶ σελιδοδείκτας), ΙV. Ὑαλογραφίας, V. Σχέδια ξυλογλύπτων, VΙ. Σκηνικὰς διακοσμήσεις καὶ VΙΙ. Ἀναστηλώσεις μνημείων.

2. Ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἦτο εἷς ἁγιογράφος, δηλ. ἱστορητὴς ἱ. εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ πλήρει τῆς λέξεως ἐννοίᾳ. Τοῦτο ἐξάγεται τόσον ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν λειτουργικοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἔργων του, τὰ ὁποῖα βεβαίως στηρίζονται ἐπὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου παραδόσεως, ὅσον καὶ ἐκ τῆς συμφόρου καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου πρὸς ταῦτα χριστιανοπρεποῦς καθόλου βιοτῆς του. Εἶναι π.χ. γνωστόν, ὅτι διεκρίνετο διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν, φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ ἀφιλοχρηματίαν του[1] καὶ ὅτι ἐνήστευεν ὁσάκις εἰργάζετο[2].

3. Τὰ ἔργα του εὑρίσκονται διεσπαρμένα κυρίως εἰς τοὺς ἱ. ναοὺς τῆς Πόλεως[3] (Ἱ. Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κων/πόλεως, τῶν παρακειμένων καὶ μὴ αὐτῇ Ἱ. Μητροπόλεων Χαλκηδόνος, Πριγκηποννήσων, Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου, Γαλλίας) καὶ εἰς λοιπὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἢ μὴ ἱδρύματα αὐτῆς (τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον: Πατριαρχικὸν Οἶκον, Βιβλιοθήκην, Ἀρχειοφυλάκιον, Μυροφυλάκιον, εἰς ἱ. μονάς, παρεκκλήσια, ἐξωκκλήσια, ἁγιάσματα, κοιμητήρια, Συνδέσμους), τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, τὰ Πατριαρχεῖα Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Βουλγαρίας, τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Ἱ. Μητροπόλεις Καρπενησίου καὶ Χίου), τὸ Βατικανὸν καὶ εἰς ἰδιώτας τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἐξωτερικοῦ (Ἀθηνῶν, Θεσσαλονίκης, Μονάχου, Παρισίων καὶ Η.Π.Α.). Ὡρισμένα ἐξ αὐτῶν μετεφέρθησαν ἕνεκα διαφόρων ἀφορμῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ των τόπου εἰς ἕτερον τοιοῦτον, ἐνῷ τέλος ἄλλα κατεστράφησαν ἢ ἀγνοεῖται ὁ τόπος, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον εὑρίσκονται.

4. Κυρίως εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν τύπον τῶν φορητῶν εἰκόνων καὶ μικρογραφιῶν, τ.ἔ. μετακινητὰ καὶ ἐνίοτε μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων (τοιχογραφίαι) καὶ δὴ ἀμέσως ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἢ ἐπὶ ὀθόνης. Εὑρίσκονται τοποθετημένα ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων, τέμπλων, πυλῶν, ἀρχιερατικῶν θρόνων, ἀμβώνων, προσκυνηταρίων τῶν ναῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τάφων καὶ φέρουν πρὸ αὐτῶν, καίτοι μᾶλλον σπανίως, ὑάλους.

5. Ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως εἰκονογραφικῆς τὰ θέματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν του ἔργων εἶναι εἰλημμένα ἐκ τῶν ἑξῆς κύκλων:

Α. Χριστολογικοῦ: α) Δωδεκάορτον (ὁ Εὐαγγελισμός, ἡ Γέννησις, ἡ Ὑπαπαντή, ἡ Βάπτισις, ἡ Μεταμόρφωσις, ἡ Βαΐφόρος, ἡ Ἔγερσις τοῦ Λαζάρου, ἡ Σταύρωσις, ἡ Ἀποκαθήλωσις, ἡ εἰς Ἅδου Κάθοδος, τὸ «Μή μου ἅπτου», ἡ Ψηλάφησις, ἡ Ἀνάληψις, ἡ Κοίμησις, ἡ Πεντηκοστή). β) Ἀνεπτυγμένον Δωδεκάορτον (ἡ εἰς Αἴγυπτον Φυγή, ὁ Μυστικὸς Δεῖπνος, ὁ Ἐπιτάφιος Θρῆνος). γ) Λοιπὰ θέματα τοῦ Χριστολογικοῦ κύκλου (ἡ Ἁγία Τριάς, ἡ Δέησις, Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, Μ. Ἀρχιερεύς, Θεράπων Σωτήρ, μεταξὺ Ἀγγέλων).

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1. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 427 - 8. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Συνοδικόν. 428.

2. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Β. Φωτιάδου τῇ 1.2.1974 καὶ τοῦ Σ. Σ. Παπαδοπούλου τῇ 1.6.1981 πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα. Ὁ Β. Φωτιάδης ἀνέφερε μάλιστα, ὅτι ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἐνήστευε κυρίως ἐκτελῶν κεφαλὰς Ἁγίων καὶ δὲν ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀνέλθῃ εἰς τὴν σκαλωσιάν. Πρβλ. *E. Benz*, Geist und Leben der Ostkirche, Ἀμβοῦργον 1957, 10.

3. Τοῦτο ἀσφαλῶς ὀφείλεται καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀμέσους ἀνάγκας, αἱ ὁποῖαι εἶχον δημιουργηθῇ διὰ τοὺς ἱ. ναοὺς τῆς Πόλεως κατόπιν τῶν γεγονότων τῆς 6/7.9.1955. *Α. Πασαδαίου*, Ἡ αἰσθητικὴ πλευρὰ τοῦ προβλήματος τῆς ἀνοικοδομήσεως τῶν ἱερῶν ναῶν τῆς Πόλεως, Ἰσταμπούλ 1956 (ἀνάτ. ἐκ τοῦ ΑΑ). *Α. Παπᾶ*, Ἑλενουπόλεως, Ὄλγα Πετρίδου, Α 1.9.54 (1979) 4.

Β. Θεομητορικοῦ: Θέματα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον (τὸ Γενέσιον τῆς Θεοτόκου, τὰ Εἰσόδια τῆς Θεοτόκου, ἡ Στέψις τῆς Θεοτόκου ὑπὸ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος, Θεοτόκος ἡ Βρέχουσα, Κυρία τῶν Ἀγγέλων, Παμμακάριστος, Παντάνασσα, Δεομένη, Πλατυτέρα, Ὁδηγήτρια, Ἐλεοῦσα ἢ Γλυκοφιλοῦσα, Γλυκομιλοῦσα, Τιμία Ζώνη, Βλαχερνίτισσα, Παραμυθία τῶν θλιβομένων, Θρηνῳδοῦσα, «Ρόδον τὸ Ἀμάραντον», Ἀκάθιστος).

Γ. Ἁγιολογικοῦ (Σεραφείμ, οἱ Ἀρχάγγελοι Γαβριὴλ καὶ Μιχαήλ, Ἄγγελοι, Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος, ἡ Σύλληψις τοῦ Προδρόμου, οἱ τέσσαρες Εὐαγγελισταὶ μετὰ τῶν συμβόλων αὐτῶν, οἱ δώδεκα Ἀπόστολοι, οἱ ἱεράρχαι Βασίλειος ὁ Μέγας, Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος, Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος, Ἀθανάσιος καὶ Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Σπυρίδων, Νικόλαος, Πολύκαρπος, Ἀβέρκιος, Θεράπων, Μεθόδιος, Μόδεστος, Σέργιος, Φώτιος, οἱ Ἅγιοι Κοσμᾶς ὁ Ποιητής, Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός, Θεοφάνης ὁ Γραπτός, Βλάσιος, Ἐλευθέριος, Ζηνόβιος, Χαράλαμπος, Στέφανος, Γεώργιος ὁ Τροπαιοφόρος, Δημήτριος ὁ Μυροβλύτης, Θεόδωρος ὁ Στρατηλάτης, Θεόδωρος ὁ Τήρων, Μερκούριος, Προκόπιος, Παντελεήμων, Ἀναστάσιος, Ἀντώνιος, Μηνᾶς, Ξενοφῶν, Ὀνούφριος, Στέφανος ὁ Νέος, Στυλιανός, Φανούριος, Φωτεινός, αἱ Ἁγίαι Αἰκατερίνη, Ἄννα, Βαρβάρα, Εἰρήνη, Εὐδοκία, Ζηνοβία, Θέκλα, Κασσιανή, Κυριακή, Μαγδαληνή, Μαρίνα, Ματρώνα ἡ Χιοπολῖτις, Παρασκευή, ἐνίοτε μετὰ σκηνῶν ἐκ τοῦ μαρτυρίου των, οἱ Αὐτοκράτορες Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Μέγας, Τιβέριος, Ἡράκλειος, Ἰωάννης ΣΤ' ὁ Καντακουζηνός, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Παλαιολόγος, Ἑλένη, Πουλχερία, Θεοδώρα).

Δ. Διακοσμητικῶν θεμάτων: σταυροί, μονογράμματα (τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων), χριστιανικὰ συμπλέγματα, μοτίβα ζωικὰ (λέοντες, δράκοντες, μυθολογικὰ τέρατα, λαγωοί, δελφῖνες, ἀετοί, γλαῦκες, πέρδικες, ταοί), φυτικὰ (ἄκανθαι, ἄμπελοι, ρόδα, περιπλοκάδες, λοιποὶ κλῶνοι καὶ φύλλα), ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ (κίονες, κιονόκρανα, βάσεις, παραστάδες, τόξα, ἐπιστήλια), γεωμετρικὰ (καρδίαι, ρόμβοι, κύκλοι, ρόδακες, πολύγωνα, βόστρυχοι, κυματοειδεῖς γραμμαὶ) καὶ ἐπιγραφαί.

6. Αἱ διαστάσεις τῶν τοιχογραφιῶν, ὡς συνήθως, εἶναι μεγαλύτεραι ἀπὸ τὰς τῶν εἰκόνων, αἱ ὁποῖαι ποικίλλουν, προτιμωμένων συνήθως τῶν μετρίων τοιούτων. Τὸ σχῆμα τῶν εἰκόνων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, εἶναι ὀρθογώνιον ἢ κυκλικόν, πολλάκις μετὰ τοξωτῆς ἀπολήξεως πρὸς τὰ ἄνω, ἐγγεγραμμένης ἐνίοτε εἰς ὀρθογώνιον[1].

7. Ὡς πρὸς τὴν τεχνικὴν των εἶναι ἐλαιογραφίαι ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου, ξύλου, ἀντικολλητοῦ, ντουραλίτ, ὀθόνης καὶ δερμάτων, μωσαϊκά, ὑδατογραφίαι, κρητιδογραφίαι ἐπὶ ψευδοπεργαμηνῆς, χάρτου καὶ χαρτονίου, σχέδια, ὑαλογραφίαι, σμάλτα καὶ γλυπτά. Αἱ μικρογραφίαι του εἶναι πρωτότυποι ἢ σχέδια, προοριζόμενα πρὸς ἐκτύπωσιν, ὡς π.χ. δι' ἀντιμήνσια, πιττάκια, προγράμματα, προσκλήσεις, κάρτας πανηγύρεων ναῶν καὶ λοιπὰς τοιαύτας, τίτλους καὶ ὑπογραφάς, σφραγῖδας, ἐξώφυλλα καὶ διάκοσμον περιοδικῶν καὶ ἐφημερίδων[2].

8. Ἀπὸ ἀπόψεως τεχνοτροπικῆς ἀκολουθοῦν τὸ ρεῦμα τῆς νεοβυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς μὲ βάσιν τὰς μικρογραφίας. Εἰς τὰς διακοσμήσεις τῶν βιβλίων καὶ τῶν σταχώσεων αὐτῶν χρησιμοποιεῖται ὁ αἰγυπτιακός, ἀρχαῖος ἑλληνικός, βυζαντινός[3], ἰσλαμικός, γοτθικός, βενετσιάνικος, ρωσικὸς καὶ Jugendstil ρυθμός.

9. Ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἦτο ἐκ φύσεως κυρίως ἀριστοτέχνης μικρογράφος. Τοῦτο γίνεται ἔκδηλον εἰς ὅλας τὰς ἐκφάνσεις τοῦ ἔργου του, ἀκόμη καὶ εἰς τὰς τοιχογραφίας[4]. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου τὰ ἔργα του διακρίνονται διὰ τὴν λεπτότητα καὶ ἐπιμελημένην ἐκτέλεσίν των. Ἡ συμμετρία καὶ σχηματοποίησις δεσπόζουν πάντοτε, ἰδιαιτέρως εἰς τὰς διακοσμητικάς του ἐργασίας. Αἱ μορφαί του ἔχουν κομψότητα, τρυφερότητα, ἐξικνουμένην ἐνίοτε μέχρι νευρικότητος, καὶ ποιητικότητα. Συνήθως εἶναι ἀσκητικαί[5], ἐπιμήκεις, μὲ μικρὰς κεφαλάς[6], τὰς ὁποίας διακρίνουν χαρακτηριστικὰ φίνα, γλυκύτης[7] καὶ μελαγχολία, λεπτὰς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, ὁμοιάζουσαι πρὸς τὰ μανιεριστικῆς πως χροιᾶς ἔργα τῆς ὑστεροβυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς (μωσαϊκὰ τῆς Μονῆς τῆς Χώρας ΙΔ' αἰ.)[8]. Ὡσαύτως ὡρισμένοι τῶν ἀνωτέρω χαρακτήρων τῶν μορφῶν του, αἱ ὁποῖαι ὑπενθυμίζουν ἐνίοτε ἀμυδρῶς καὶ τὸν Δομήνικον Θεοτοκόπουλον (Greco), καταδεικνύουν ὅτι ὁ ὅρος «προρραφαηλιτισμός», ὁ

1. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 2-22 καὶ πίν. 11, 14, 18, 19, 28 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

2. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 440.

3. Ὁ Ε. Κόβας, εἰς τὰς διακοσμητικάς του ἐργασίας, πολλάκις ἐχρησιμοποίει μοτίβα ἐκ βυζαντινῶν κτηρίων τῆς Πόλεως (πρβλ. *Α. Γιαλούρη*, Σκίτσα ἀπὸ τὸ Βυζάντιο, Πόλη 1931. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Βυζαντινὰ καὶ φαναριώτικα σκίτσα, Ἀθήνα 1939, 31. *Η. Λαμπίρη*, Εἰρήναρχος. 68. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 411, 418, 422 - 3), καθὼς καὶ ἐξ εἰκονογραφημένων χειρογράφων (*Α. Grabar*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 176, 181).

4. Ἐνταῦθα δύναταί τις νὰ παραβάλῃ τὸν δημιουργοῦντα μάλιστα τὸ αἴσθημα τοῦ horor vacui φυτικὸν καὶ γεωμετρικὸν διάκοσμον τῶν τοίχων τοῦ Συνοδικοῦ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 427, πίν. 4, 6, 11, 12.

5. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 9, 11, 19 καὶ πίν. 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 19, 21, 22 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας. Ὡρισμένοι, ὡς ἡ ζωγράφος Ο. Πετρίδου (†), ἐχαρακτήρισαν τὰς μορφάς του ὡς πασχούσας ἐκ φυματιώσεως.

6. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Β. Ζάμπογλου πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 1.3.1975, ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἐσχεδίαζε τὰ σώματα μὲ τὸ μέτρον (Modulus) τῶν δώδεκα ἢ δεκατεσσάρων ὠῶν, ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τὰ ἐννέα, τὰ ὁποῖα ὑπαγορεύει ὁ *Δ. ὁ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ*, Ἔργ. μνημ. 44. *K. Onasch*, Die Ikonenmalerei, Λειψία 1968, 68 - 70.

7. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 27 καὶ πίν. 4, 5, 7, 23 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

8. *P. A. Underwood*, The Kariye Djami (Bollingen Series 70), Νέα Ὑόρκη 1966, II, πίν. 21, 27, 46, 51, 57, 60, 79, 131, 138, 143, 149, 155, 159, 161. Ἐκ τῶν νεωτέρων θὰ ἠδύνατό τις νὰ συγκρίνῃ πως τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σ. Παπαλουκᾶ εἰς τὴν Ἱ. Μητρόπολιν Ἀμφίσσης (1927) (*Π. Α. Μιχελῆ*, Σπ. Παπαλουκᾶς, Ζυγὸς ἀρ. 31, 3 (1958) 11 - 2), ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ ρουμάνου ἁγιογράφου Gheorghe Costurin. Κατὰ πληροφορίαν τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 18.10.1980, ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἐσυνήθιζε νὰ ζωγραφίζῃ πρῶτον τὰ γυμνὰ σώματα καὶ ἀκολούθως νὰ καλύπτῃ αὐτὰ δι' ἐνδυμάτων.

ὁποῖος ἐχρησιμοποιήθη ὑπό τινων λογοτεχνῶν διά τό λογοτεχνικόν του ἔργον, φαίνεται ὅτι ἁρμόζει καί εἰς τό ζωγραφικόν του τοιοῦτον.

Τά περισσότερα τῶν ἀνωτέρω προέρχονται ἀναμφιβόλως ἐκ τοῦ μικρογραφικοῦ ταλάντου, τοῦ ἐκπηγάζοντος ἐκ τῆς λεπτῆς καί εὐαισθήτου ψυχῆς τοῦ καλλιτέχνου, τοῦ καλλιεργηθέντος ὁπωσδήποτε καί ἐξελιχθέντος κατά τάς ἐν Παρισίοις σπουδάς αὐτοῦ[1], καί προδίδουν εἰς τά ἔργα του μίαν ἰδιάζουσαν καί συμπαθῆ προσωπικήν σφραγῖδα, ἡ ὁποία σχεδόν ἀμέσως ἀποκαλύπτει τόν φιλοτεχνήσαντα αὐτά καλλιτέχνην.

Ὁ Ε. Κόβας, ὡς πρός τήν θεματογραφικήν διάταξιν, φαίνεται ὅτι βασικῶς προετίμα τάς μεμονωμένας ἤ πλείονας παραλλήλους καί ὁλοσώμους ἤ μέχρι τῆς ὀσφύος ἱ. μορφάς, παρά τάς καθαρῶς ζωγραφικάς συνθέσεις, διά τάς ὁποίας ἄλλωστε δέν ἐμφανίζει καί μεγάλην εὐχέρειαν. Ἐνταῦθα δέν εἶναι βεβαίως ὀρθόν νά παραθεωρηθῇ καί τό εἶδος τῶν παραγγελιῶν, τάς ὁποίας ἐκάστοτε ἐλάμβανε. Οὕτω π.χ. μεταξύ αὐτῶν ἀριθμητικῶς μίαν ὄχι ἀνυπολογίσιμον θέσιν καταλαμβάνουν αἱ παραστάσεις τῆς Θεοτόκου μετά τοῦ Κυρίου, ὡς καί τῶν πατρώνων Ἁγίων τῶν παραγγελιοδοτῶν, τῶν συγγενῶν, φίλων καί γνωστῶν αὐτῶν.

10. Τά περισσότερα τῶν ἔργων του εἶναι πρωτότυπα, ἐλάχιστα δέ ἀντίγραφα. Ἀπό ἀπόψεως ποιοτικῆς ἰδιαιτέρως αἱ φορηταί εἰκόνες παρουσιάζουν ὡρισμένας διαβαθμίσεις κατά τάς διαφόρους περιόδους τῆς καλλιτεχνικῆς του σταδιοδρομίας. Οὕτω π.χ. αἱ τῆς νεανικῆς καί ὡρίμου του ἡλικίας διαφέρουν ὡς πρός τό σχέδιον, τά χρώματα καί τήν ἐκτέλεσιν ἀπό τάς τῆς γεροντικῆς του τεχνοτροπίας (Altersstil). Τάς τελευταίας χαρακτηρίζει ποιά τις προχειρότης μετά τινων ἀδυναμιῶν εἰς τό σχέδιον[2] καί τυποποιήσεως[3]. Ὑπάρχει ἐνταῦθα μία ἐλευθερία τοῦ χρωστῆρος καί ἐπικράτησις τοῦ γραφικοῦ (malerisch).

Τά στοιχεῖα ταῦτα, καθώς καί ὡρισμένα στατικῶς καί αἰσθητικῶς μή δικαιολογήσιμα τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀρχιτεκτονικοῦ διακόσμου[4] ὡρίμων τινῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, δέν δύνανται βεβαίως νά ἐξηγηθοῦν διά τῆς ἐννοίας τῆς ἀποσυγκεκριμενοποιήσεως τῆς βυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς. Ἐάν δέ δέν προέρχωνται ἐκ τῶν γενικῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ γεροντικοῦ στύλ[5], πιθανόν νά ἐκπηγάζουν ἐκ τῆς ταχύτητος ἐκτελέσεως ὡρισμένων ἐξ αὐτῶν, διότι ὁ Ε. Κόβας, λόγῳ καί τοῦ μελαγχολικοῦ του χαρακτῆρος, πολλάκις εὑρίσκετο ἐκπρόθεσμος τῶν παραγγελιῶν τάς ὁποίας ἐλάμβανε, ἤ ἐκ τῆς ἐξασθενήσεως τῆς ὁράσεώς του[6] ἔτι δέ ἴσως καί τῶν χειρῶν του κατά τά τελευταῖα ἔτη τοῦ βίου του. Πάντως μεταξύ τῶν ἔργων τῆς ὡρίμου του περιόδου (1940 - 1960), ἰδιαιτέραν θέσιν κατέχουν φορηταί εἰκόνες τῶν ἱ. ναῶν Ἁγ. Δημητρίου, Χαραλάμπους, Ἐλευθερίου καί Ἀθανασίου Ταταούλων[7].

11. Τό βάθος τῶν ἔργων του πολλάκις εἶναι χρυσοῦν καί ἐνίοτε δι' ἐγχαράκτων συμμετρικῶν καί ἐσχηματοποιημένων μοτίβων (περιπλοκάδων, σταυρῶν, τετραγώνων, καρδιῶν, κηρηθρῶν)[8] (Punzierung)[9] διακεκοσμημένον. Ἄλλοτε πάλιν δίδει τήν ἐντύπωσιν τοῦ μωσαϊκοῦ[10]. Τά χρώματά των διακρίνει πλοῦτος, τρυφερότης, χρωματικαί καί τονικαί ἀντιθέσεις[11], αἱ ὁποῖαι πολλάκις δεσπόζουν εἰς τά ἐνδύματα καί ἀποτελοῦν ἓν τῶν μέσων δημιουργίας τοῦ αἰσθήματος τοῦ βάθους εἰς τάς συνθέσεις. Μερικάς φοράς ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἔκαμνε χρῆσιν ἐντυπωσιακῶν (frappant)[12] καί ἀσυνήθων ἴσως δι' ὡρισμένας μορφάς χρωμάτων, ὡς π.χ. τοῦ ἐρυθροῦ διά τό μαφόριον τῆς Θεοτόκου, τάς περικνημῖδας τοῦ Ἁγ. Μηνᾶ κ.ἄ., διαθέτων οὕτως ὡρισμένους, μᾶλλον μή εἰδήμονας, δυσμενῶς κατά τοῦ ἔργου του[13]. Ἀντιθέτως χρωματικός ἀσκητισμός ἐπικρατεῖ εἰς τά ἐκτυπωθέντα αὐτοῦ μικρογραφικά ἔργα. Εἰς τάς σάρκας προτιμᾷ τό ἀνοικτόν καστανόν χρῶμα μετά τοῦ βαθυτέρου τοιούτου εἰς τάς σκιάς. Γενικῶς αἱ σκιαί χρησιμοποιοῦνται μετά φειδοῦς, ἐνίοτε δέ ἐλλείπουν[14], προσδίδουσαι οὕτως εἰς τάς παραστάσεις ἁπλότητα, λιτότητα, τονίζουσαι τόν ἐπιφανειακόν καί διακοσμητικόν αὐτῶν χαρακτῆρα καί ἀνακουφίζουσαι οὕτω τόν προσκυνητήν.

12. Τά ἔργα του φέρουν συνήθως ἔμπροσθεν ἤ ὄπισθεν καλλιγραφικάς μεγαλο - ἤ μικρογραμμάτους ἐπιγραφάς ταυτότητος, κτητορικάς, ἀφιερωτικάς,

1. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. 428.

2. Πρβλ. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 9, 10, 13.

3. Ταύτην διαπιστώνει τις ἐμφανῶς εἰς τάς παραστάσεις τοῦ Δωδεκαόρτου τῶν ἱ. ναῶν Παναγίας τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, Ἁγ. Μηνᾶ Ὑψωμαθείων καί Ἁγ. Ἀθανασίου Ταταούλων.

4. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 425, πίν. 4, 10, 12.

5. *Χ. Χρήστου*, Τό γεροντικό στύλ στήν καλλιτεχνική δημιουργία τοῦ Pablo Picasso, Ἐπετηρίς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 13 (1974) 186, 189 - 191 καί ἀνάτ.

6. Κατά πληροφορίαν ἄλλωστε τοῦ Γ. Πατριαρχέα πρός τόν γράφοντα τῇ 18.10.1980, ὁ Ε. Κόβας, ὡς ὅλοι οἱ μικρογράφοι, ἦτο μύωψ.

7. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 15 - 22 καί πίν. 11, 12, 15, 16, 18 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

8. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 16 - 21 καί πίν. 4, 18, 19, 20 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

9. *K. Sommer*, Ikonen. Ein Handbuch für Sammler und Liebhaber, Μόναχον 1979, 19, 21 κ. ἑ., 38, 116, 272.

10. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 14, 15 καί πίν. 2, 3, 21 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας.

11. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 2 - 5, 7, 9 - 12, 16, 18, 20 καί πίν. 10, 12 - 4, 17, 19 - 21 τῆς παρούσης ἐργασίας. Πρβλ. καί ρωσικάς εἰκόνας τοῦ ΙΔ' - ΙΖ' αἰ. *J. Stuart*, Ikons, Λονδῖνον 1975, πίν. D, 1, 11, 23, 29, 32, 38, 51.

12. Κατά πληροφορίαν τοῦ Κολωνίας Γαβριήλ πρός τόν γράφοντα τῇ 4.6.1980, τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖται ἐκ τοῦ ὅτι ὁ Ε. Κόβας τελευταίως ἔπασχεν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν του. Κατά τόν γράφοντα ὅμως τοῦτο φαίνεται νά εἶναι μία ἐνσυνείδητος χρωματική διαλογή τοῦ καλλιτέχνου, ἐκφράζουσα τόν ἐσωτερικόν αὐτοῦ κόσμον.

13. Κατά πληροφορίαν τοῦ Β. Ζάμπογλου πρός τόν γράφοντα τῇ 1.3.1975. Πρβλ. *Κ. Α. Γρίβα*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. «Μνήμη θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ», Ὁ Πολίτης ἀρ. 66, 11.6 (1972) 3.

14. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας. πίν. 2 - 5, 7. *Τοῦ Αὐτοῦ*, Συνοδικόν. 427. πίν. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9. Πρβλ. τάς τοιχογραφίας τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τῆς Vence (1951) ὑπό τοῦ H. Matisse. *G. F. Hartlaub*, Matisse, Μιλᾶνον 1955, εἰκ. 45.

λειτουργικὰς νεοβυζαντινῆς προελεύσεως, αἱ ὁποῖαι, ὡς καὶ τὰ ρυθμολογικὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν παραστάσεων, ἀποτελοῦν ἓν τῶν κριτηρίων ἀναγνωρίσεως τοῦ ἐκτελεστοῦ των, ὁσάκις ταῦτα στεροῦνται ὑπογραφῆς καὶ χρονολογίας, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν συμβαίνει σπανίως καὶ φαίνεται ὅτι ἐφήρμοζεν ὁ Ε. Κόβας, ἀκολουθῶν τὴν βυζαντινὴν καὶ γενικώτερον τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν παράδοσιν, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ καλλιτέχνης ἦτο ἀνώνυμος ἐκτελεστὴς τοῦ γενικῶς ἰσχύοντος (namenlose Exekutant des Allgemeingültigen).

13. Ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ κάτω ἀριστερὸν ἢ δεξιόν των μέρος, ἔχουν ὑπογραφὴν καὶ χρονολογίαν μεγαλο - ἢ μικρογράμματον, ὁλόκληρον ἢ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἧττον συντετμημένην.

14. Εἰς μερικὰ τούτων ἔχουν συνεργασθῆ καί τινες μαθηταί, ὑπὸ τὴν εὐρυτέραν τῆς λέξεως ἔννοιαν, ἢ φίλοι τοῦ καλλιτέχνου ὡς οἱ Α. Ἀνεστίδης, Γ. Βαξεβανίδης, Α. Γραμματίδης[1], Κ. Α. Γρίβας, Ι. Καμαλακίδης (νῦν πρεσβ.), Μ. Σφακιανούδης, ἐνῷ ἕτερα εὑρίσκονται, κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἢ ἧττον, εἰς κατάστασιν ἡμιτελῆ (unvollendet). Ἡ συνεργασία δὲ αὕτη ἐκληπτέα ἐν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ, ὅτι ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἢ ἐξετέλει τμήματα αὐτῶν τινα (π.χ. τὰς σάρκας) ἢ ἐπιδιώρθωνε καὶ συνεπλήρου αὐτά.

15. Ὡρισμέναι εἰκόνες, κυρίως Ὡραίων Πυλῶν, εἶναι ἀμφιπρόσωποι, ἕτεραι δὲ ὄχι σπανίως ἐφωδιασμέναι εἰς τὴν ὀπισθίαν πλευρὰν αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ διὰ τῆς προσφορικῆς σφραγῖδος[2], συνισταμένης ἐκ τοῦ σταυροῦ μετὰ τῶν συντμήσεων ΙΣ ΧΣ | ΝΙ ΚΑ, συμπλέγματος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπαντᾷ ἐπὶ τῶν μαρμάρων, τῶν ὑπερθύρων καὶ ἄλλων ἀντικειμένων.

16. Τέλος ἡ διατήρησις τῶν ἔργων του γενικῶς εἶναι ἀρκούντως καλή. Ὡρισμένα παρουσιάζουν φθορὰς ποικίλης μορφῆς καὶ μεγέθους (σκωληκόβρωσιν, ἀποφλοιώσεις, ἀμαύρωσιν καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν τῶν χρωμάτων, ῥήγματα τοῦ φορέως τῆς παραστάσεως καὶ τῶν ἁρμῶν του), ὀφειλομένας εἰς λόγους φυσικο-χημικῆς συστάσεως τῶν ὑλικῶν των (π.χ. χρήσεως χρωμάτων μετρίας ποιότητος)[3], κλιματικῶν καὶ λοιπῶν συνθηκῶν διαφυλάξεώς των (ὑγρασίας, ὑδάτων βροχῆς, κεντρικῆς θερμάνσεως), χρήσεως αὐτῶν ἄνευ τῆς δεούσης προσοχῆς καὶ μηχανικῶν ἐπιδράσεων ἐπ' αὐτῶν (ἐνταῦθα δέον νὰ περιληφθῇ καὶ ἡ ἔστω τμηματικὴ αὐτῶν ἐπαργύρωσις).

1. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 429. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Μ. Σφακιανούδη πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 18.10.1980, ὁ Ε. Κόβας ἐπιδιώρθωνε τὰς ἀνθογραφίας τοῦ Α. Γραμματίδου, μερικαὶ τῶν ὁποίων εὑρίσκονται ἐν τῇ Πόλει, παρὰ τῇ Κασσιανῇ Παπαχαραλάμπους.

2. *Θ. Προβατάκη*, Προέλευσις καὶ διαμόρφωσις τῶν προσφορικῶν σφραγίδων τοῦ βορειοελλαδικοῦ χώρου. Τέχνη καὶ συμβολισμός, Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Α΄ Συμποσίου Λαογραφίας τοῦ βορειοελλαδικοῦ χώρου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1975 καὶ ἀνάτ.

3. *Α. Παπᾶ*, Συνοδικόν. 431. Κατὰ πληροφορίας τοῦ Κολωνίας Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τὸν γράφοντα τῇ 22.10.1980, τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν ἐκείνην χρώματα, ὡς τὸ κυανοῦν, παρεσκεύαζε διὰ τὸν Ε. Κόβαν ὁ χημικὸς καθηγ. Α. Ἰατρόπουλος.

*Πίν. 1. Ὁ Ε. Κόβας εἰς τὸν οἶκον του.*

*Πίν. 2. Ὁ Ε. Κόβας εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον τοῦ οἴκου του ἐν Ταταούλοις.*

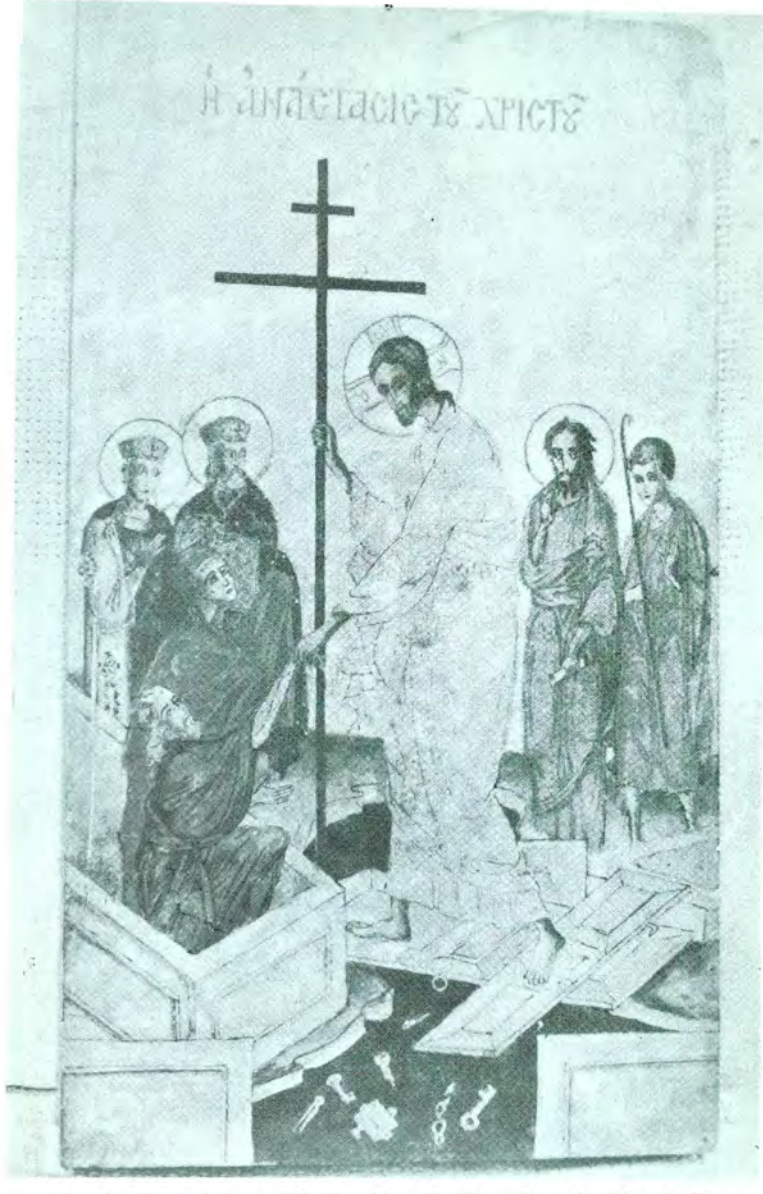
*Πίν. 3. Ἡ Παμμακάριστος. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Ἀντίγραφον.*

*Πίν. 4. ΜΡ ΘΥ ἡ Θρηνῳδοῦσα. Ἱ. ναὸς Μεταμορφώσεως νήσου Πρώτης.*

*Πίν. 5. ΜΡ ΘΥ ἡ Θρηνῳδοῦσα. Ἱ. ναὸς Μεταμορφώσεως νήσου Πρώτης. Λεπτομέρεια.*

*Πίν. 6. Ἡ Μεταμόρφωσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἱ. ναὸς Παναγίας τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.*

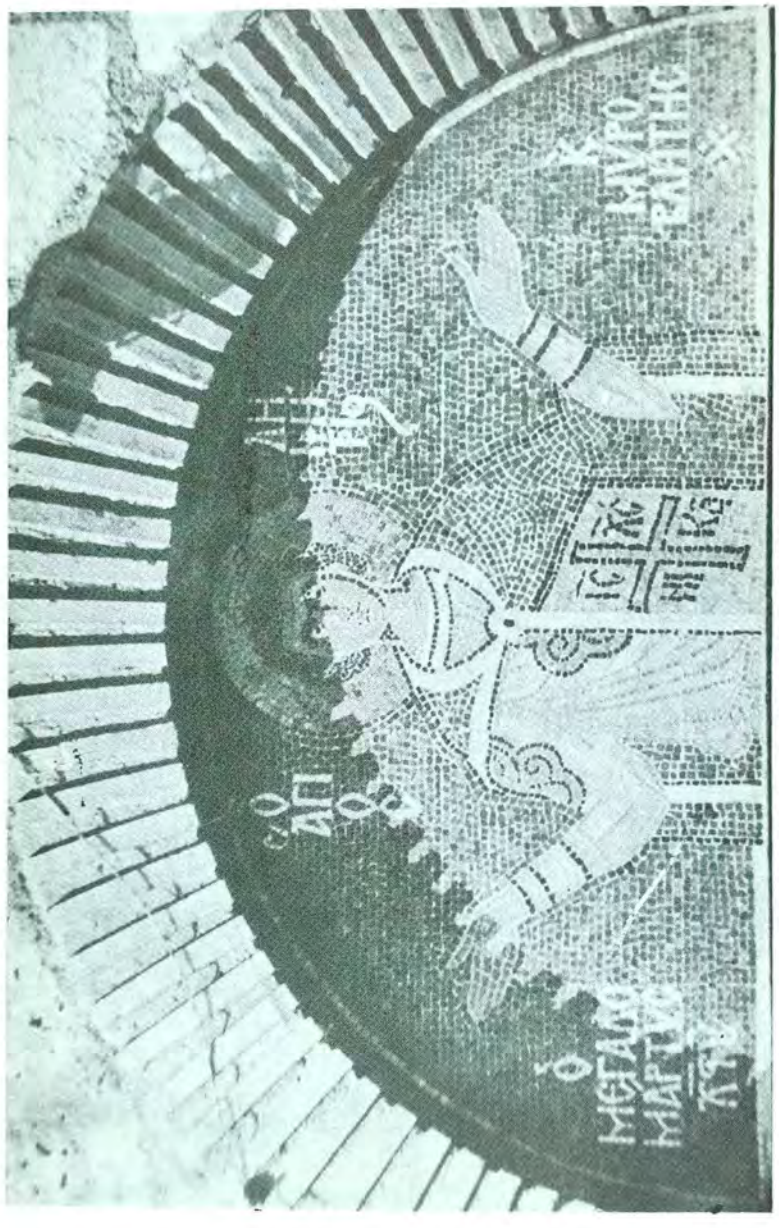
*Πίν. 7. Ἡ Σταύρωσις τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἱ. ναὸς Παναγίας τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.*




*Πίν. 8. Ἡ εἰς Ἅδου Κάθοδος. Ἱ. ναὸς Παναγίας τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.*

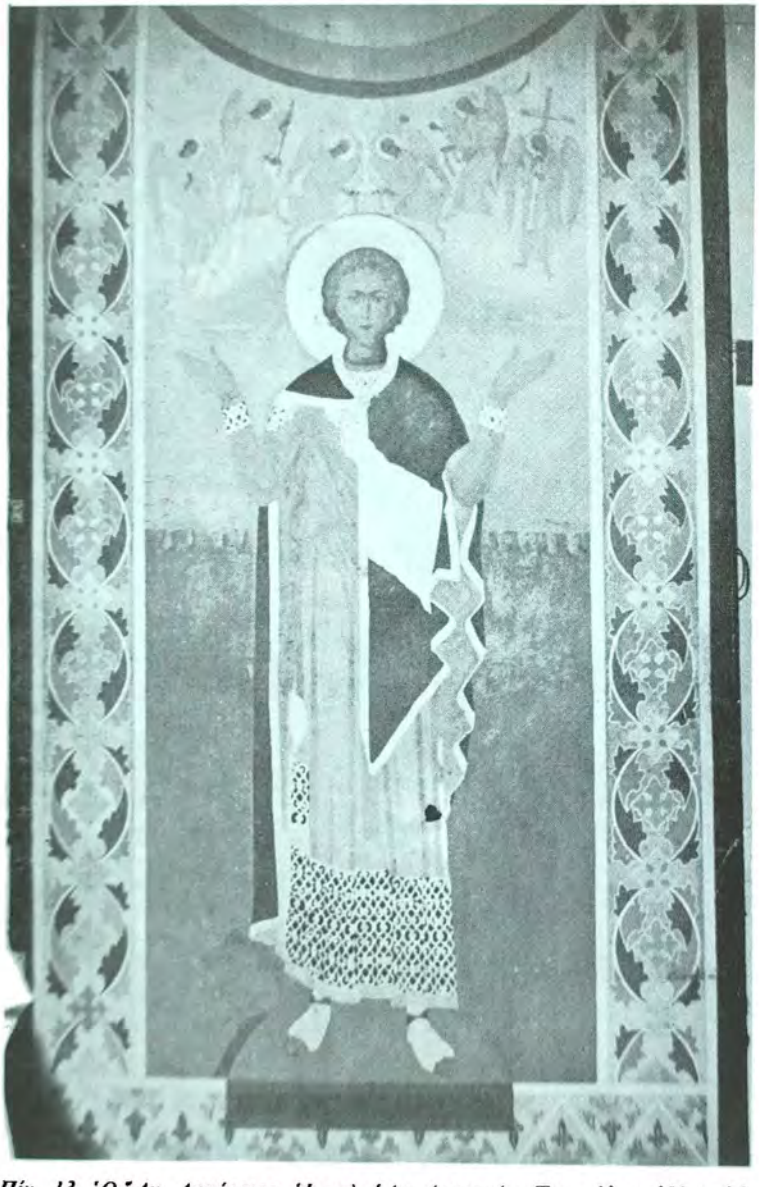
*Πίν. 9. Ἡ Ψηλάφησις τοῦ Θωμᾶ. Ἱ. ναὸς Παναγίας τῶν Βλαχερνῶν.*

*Πίν. 10. ΙC ΧC ὁ Μ. 'Αρχιερεύς. 'Ι. ναὸς 'Αγ. Μηνᾶ 'Υψωμαθείων.*



Πίν. 11. Ὁ Ἅγ. Δημήτριος. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Δημητρίου Ταταούλων.

*Πίν. 12. Ὁ Μυστικὸς Δεῖπνος. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Δημητρίου Ταταούλων.*



Πίν. 13. Ὁ Ἅγ. Δημήτριος. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Δημητρίου Ταταούλων. Ἡμιτελής.

*Πίν. 14. 'Ο "Αγ. Παντελεήμων. 'Ι. ναὸς 'Αγ. Δημητρίου Ταταούλων.*

*Πίν. 15. Ὁ Ἅγ. Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος. Παρεκκλήσιον Ἁγ. Χαραλάμπους Ταταούλων.*

*Πίν. 16. Ὁ Ἅγ. Χαράλαμπος. Παρεκκλήσιον Ἁγ. Χαραλάμπους Ταταούλων.*

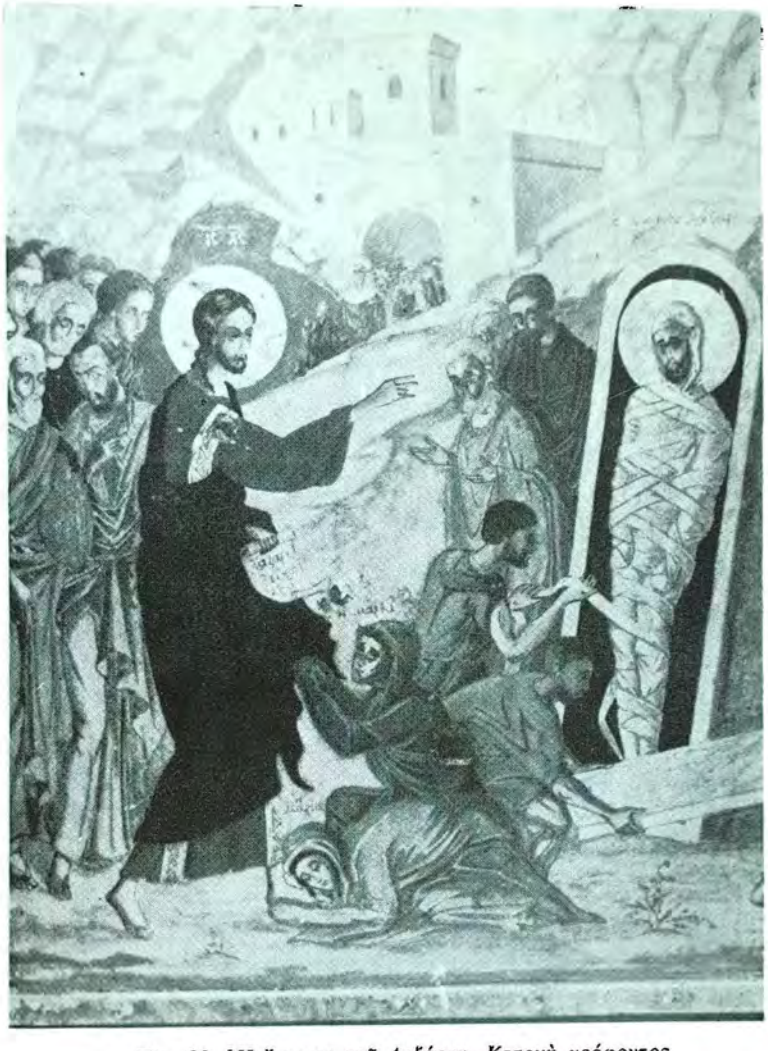
*Πίν. 17. Ὁ Μυστικὸς Δεῖπνος. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Ἀθανασίου Ταταούλων.*

*Πίν. 18. Ὁ Ἀρχάγγελος Γαβριήλ. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Ἀθανασίου Ταταούλων.*

*Πίν. 19. Οἱ Ἅγ. Ζηνοβία, Παντελεήμων καὶ Ζηνόβιος. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Τσεγκέλκιοϊ.*

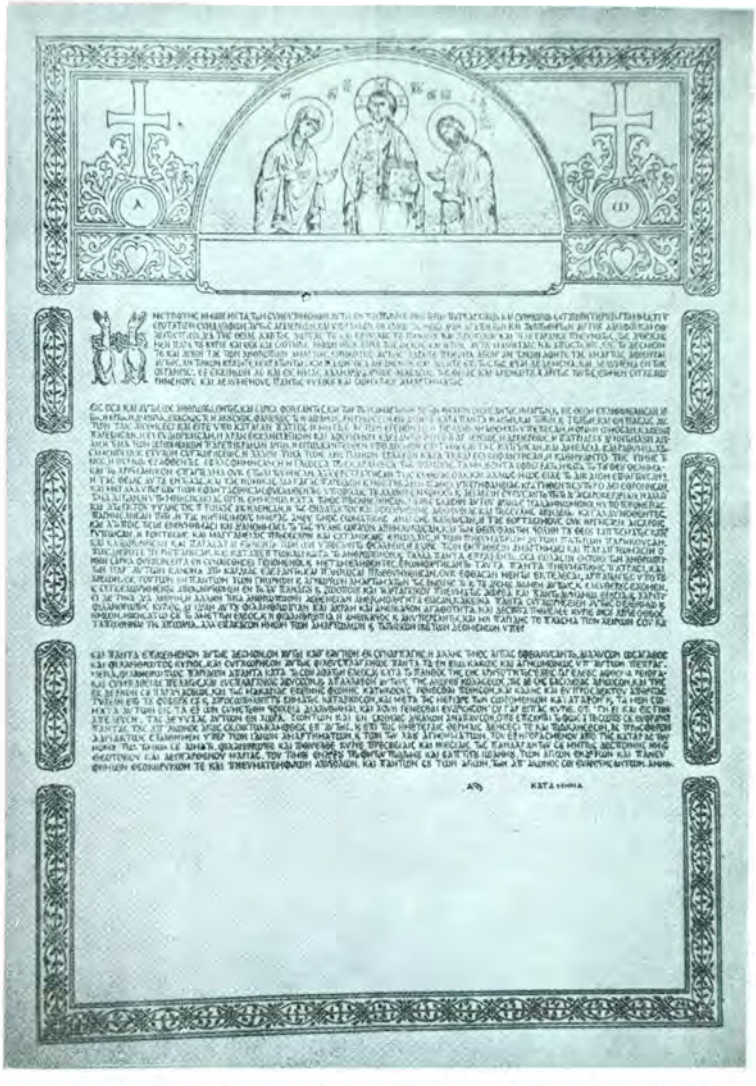
*Πίν. 20. Ὁ Ἅγ. Στυλιανός. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Γεωργίου Τσεγκέλκιοϊ.*

*Πίν. 21. Ὁ Ἅγ. Ἀναστάσιος. Ἱ. ναὸς Ἁγ. Εὐφημίας Χαλκηδόνος.*

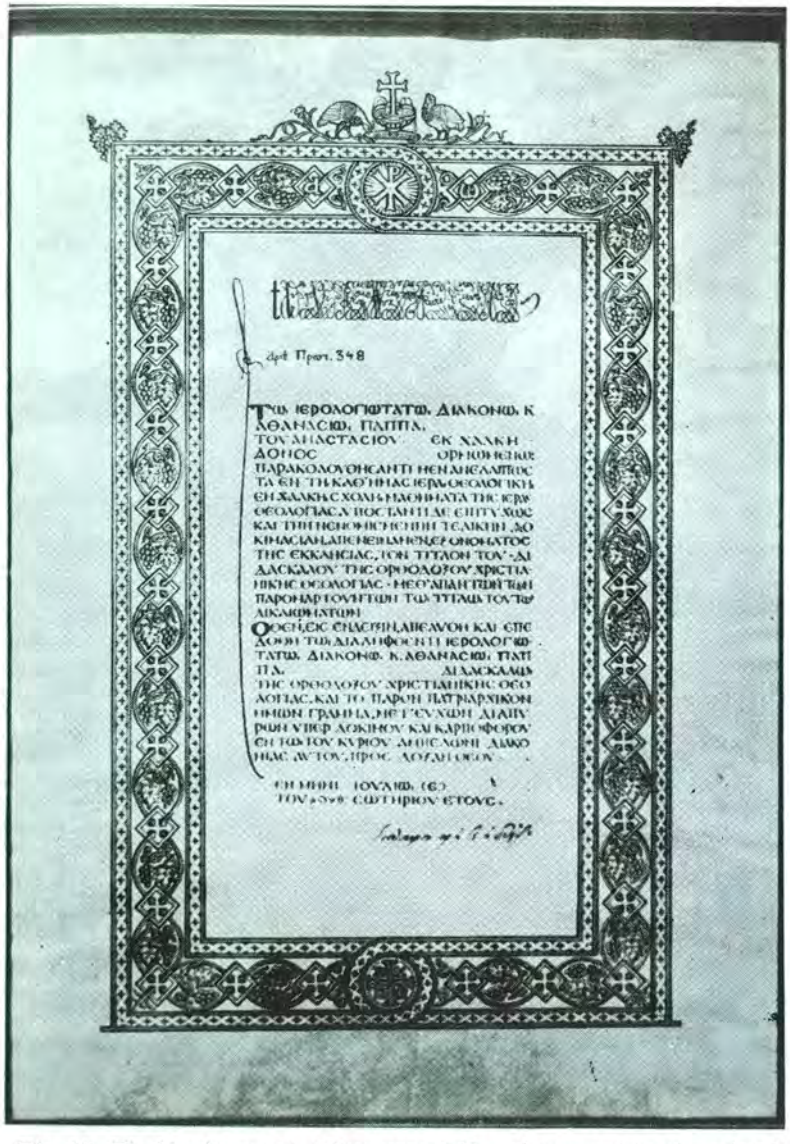


*Πίν. 22. Ἡ ἔγερσις τοῦ Λαζάρου. Κατοχὴ γράφοντος.*

*Πίν. 23. ΜΡ ΘΥ ἡ Ὁδηγήτρια. Κατοχὴ γράφοντος. Ἡμιτελής.*



*Πίν. 24. Ἡ Μετριότης τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου καὶ τῆς Ἁγ. καὶ Ἱ. Συνόδου.*



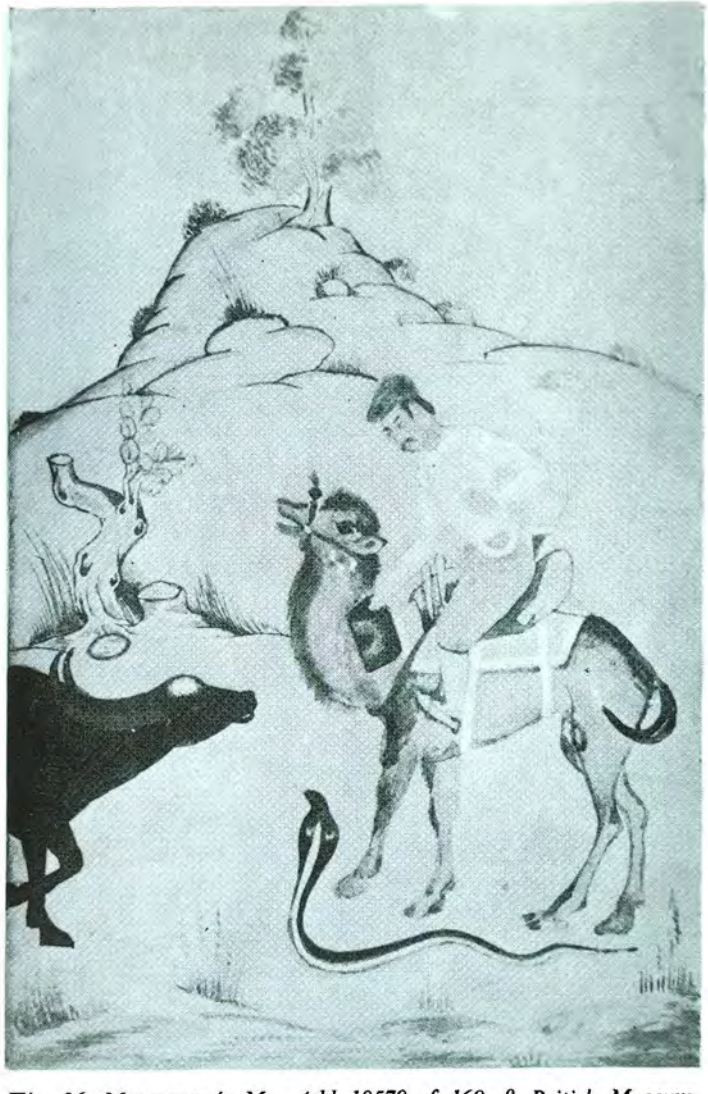
Ἀρχ. Πρωτ. 348

Τῷ ἱερολογιωτάτῳ Διακόνῳ κ(υρίῳ) Ἀθανασίῳ, πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ τῷ ἐν ἁγίοις Σταυρακίῳ ἐκ Χάλκης ἀδελφικῶς ὁρκιζόμενος παρακολουθήσαντι ἐν Ἀθήναις τὰ ἐκεῖ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερᾶς θεολογικῆς ἐν Χάλκῃ σχολῆς ἐπιστήμης τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς θεολογίας ἀποστάντι δὲ ἐπιτυχῶς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις τελείαν δοκιμασίαν ἀπενεγκαμένῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τίτλον τοῦ διδασκάλου τῆς ὀρθοδόξου χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας, νεοπαγῶς τῇδε τῇ πατριαρχικῇ τῶν ἱερῶν μονῇ τῆς Θεοτόκου τῶν Ταξιαρχῶν ἀναδεδειγμένῳ

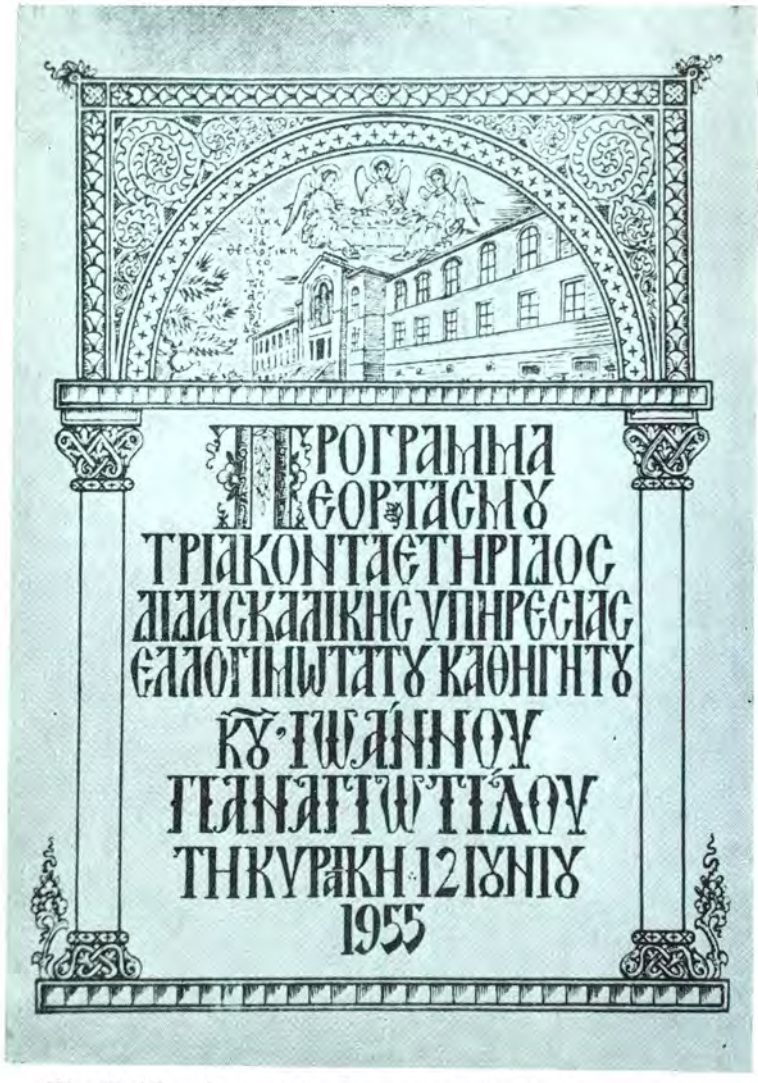
Ὅσιε, εἰς ἐπαύξησιν ἀμέλγου καὶ ἐπιδόσεως τῶν διαλαμψάντων ἱερολογιωτάτων Διακόνων κ. Ἀθανασίου, πατρὸς καὶ διδασκάλου τῆς ὀρθοδόξου χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας, καὶ τοῦ παρόντος πατριαρχικοῦ ἡμῶν γράμματος, μετ' εὐχῶν διαπυρῶν ὑπὲρ δόκιμον καὶ καρποφόρον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀμπελῶνι διακονίας αὐτοῦ πρὸς δόξαν θεοῦ.

Ἐν μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ (6) τοῦ ,ϛϡϟϠ σωτηρίου ἔτους.

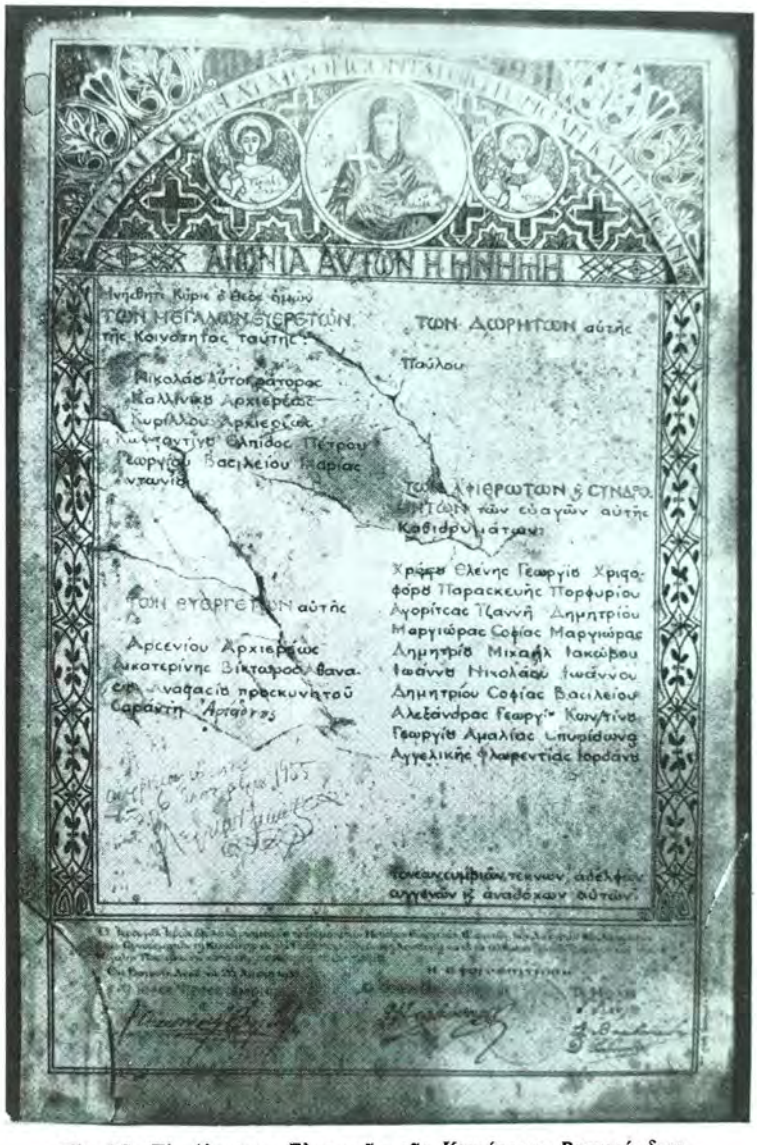
*Πίν. 25. Τὸ Πιττάκιον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου πρὸς τοὺς τελειοδιδάκτους τῆς Ἱ. Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης.*



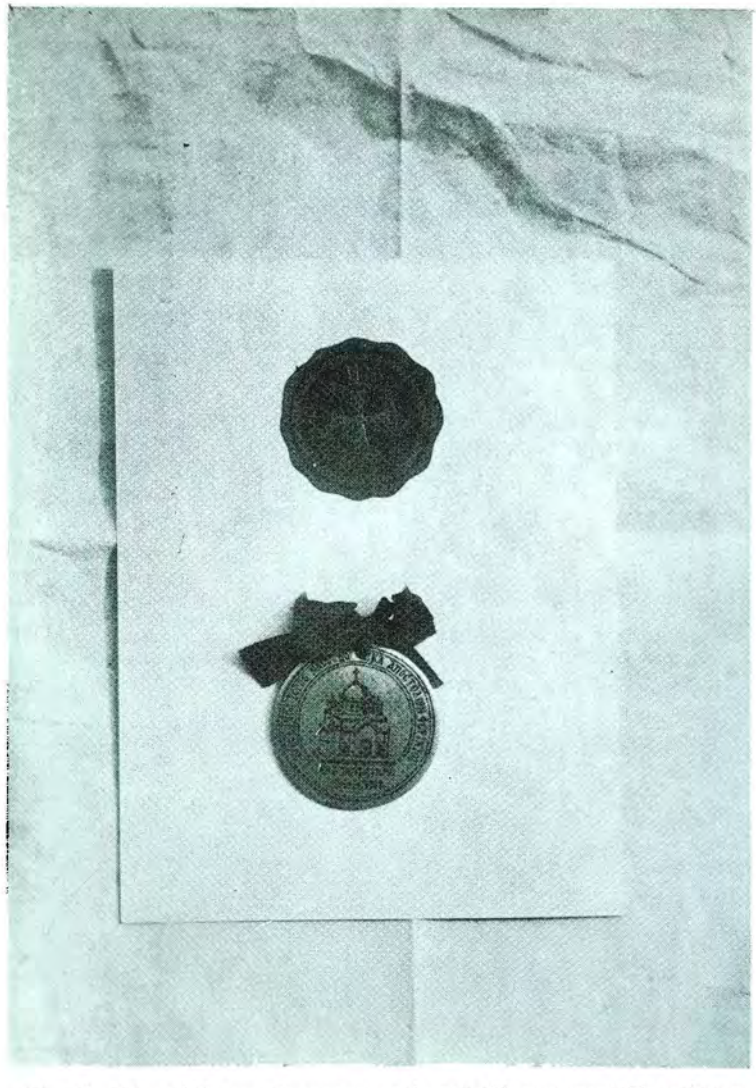
*Πίν. 26. Μικρογραφία Ms. Add. 18579, f. 169. β. British Museum. Ἀντίγραφον.*




*Πίν. 27. Τὸ πρόγραμμα τῆς Τριακονταετηρίδος Ἰ. Παναγιωτίδου.*




*Πίν. 28. Τὸ Δίπτυχον Εὐεργετῶν τῆς Κοινότητος Βουγιούκδερε.*



*Πίν. 29. Ἄνω: Ἡ χαρτόσημος σφραγὶς τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α΄. Κάτω: Τὸ μετάλλιον τῆς Ἑκατονταετηρίδος Ἱ. ναοῦ Ἁγ. Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων Φερίκιοϊ.*

# A CYPRIOT ICON IN 19th CENTURY GONDAR (ETHIOPIA)

By

*Richard Pankhurst*

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One of the more interesting, but least studied aspects of Graeco-Ethiopian cultural history is the 'immeasurably old practice', as Stanislaw Chojnacki observes, 'whereby Greek icons were imported into Ethiopia where they served as an inspiration for the local artist'.[1]

Apparently the first, as well as one of the most important, Greek icons to gain influence in Ethiopia was the Virgin of Eleousa, or Tenderness. Examples of this type of painting are thought by Chojnacki to have exerted an influence in the country in the early fourteenth century and 'poor copies' of it were being executed, he says, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[2]

Concrete evidence on the import into Ethiopia of this type of icon is provided by a Cypriot icon known to have reached the Ethiopian capital, Gondar, some time before the end of the nineteenth century.[3]

The icon, which measures 21 centimetres by 16, is of the Virgin and Child, and is painted on a solid block of plastered wood on which has been implanted a picture-moulded edge.

An inscription in Greek in the top right corner reads *Eleousa tou Kykkou*, and thus clearly identifies the picture as a Virgin of Eleousa from the notable monastery of Kykkos. This establishment, which is under the patronage of the Virgin, stands in the mountains of Western Cyprus.

The original icon at Kykkos is famous, and traditionally believed to have been painted by St. Luke. It was brought to the island, according to the Cypriot art historian Athanasius Papageorgiou, during the reign of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, i.e. in the twelveth century, and was 'the prototype of a special type of image of the Virgin which was reproduced in Byzantine painting under the name of Kykkotissa.' The original painting can no longer be viewed, for, as Papageorgiou notes, 'unfortunately' for the art student of today it is 'permanently concealed under a cover of silver gilt'.[4] Several later versions of the work can, however, be seen. One of them, in the bishop's palace, in Kyrenia, is reproducted by Papageorgiou in his study of *The Icons of Cyprus*.[5] Among the picture's distinctive features is a band or veil on the Virgin's head, and the Christ-child, who is older than in most pictures of Him and the Virgin, is turning away from Her.

Works of the *Eleousa tou Kykkou* type were produced in Cyprus for hundreds of years and were particularly popular in the sixteenth century when icon-painting developed in the villages and mountainous areas of the island. Despite a 'sharp recession of the arts' resulting from the Turkish occupation icons of artistic significance continued to be produced 'throughout the 17th century and into the early years of the 18th.'[6]

The Eleousa icon which reached Ethiopia, to judge from its appearance, may well, however, have been of a somewhat later date. The painting in the opinion of Dr. Robin Cormac of the University of London's Courtauld Institute of Art is 'most likely' of the eighteenth or nineteenth century.[7]

How this work of art actually reached Ethiopia cannot, for the present at least, be established.

The icon, it may be surmised, probably came to Gondar prior to the city's capture in 1887, by the

1. S. Chojnacki, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting* (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 428. See plate 128. On earlier Greek paintings in Ethiopia see also *idem*, pp. 428-9, and D. Spencer, «In search of St. Luke Ikons in Ethiopia», *Journal of Ethiopia Studies* (1972), IX, No. 2, pp. 67-95.

2. Chojnacki, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

3. On Ethiopian contacts with Cyprus see E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina* (Roma, 1943-7), *passim*; *idem*, «Two Ethiopian Tales on the Christians of Cyprus», *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (1967), V., No. 1, pp. 1-8.

4. A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (London, 1969), p. 42. See also G. Soteriou, *Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Kyprou* (Athens, 1935), plate 116.

5. Papageorgiou, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1.

6. *Ibid*, pp. 118, 121-4.

7. Letter of June 1, 1979, to the present author.

Dervishes from the Sudan who 'set fire to the churches' and 'destroyed the houses' as Wallis Budge notes.[8] The settlement was left desolate, and was indeed thereafter scarcely any longer visited by traders or travellers (for which reason it would seem unlikely that the icon would have been brought there during this period).

One of the first foreign observers to inspect the war-torn metropolis was Major P.H.G. Powell Cotton, a British game-hunter and ethnographer, who arrived there in 1900. He recalls in his memoirs that 'the nearer we approached Gondar the more numerous became the ruins of villages, farmsteads, and churches.'[9]

Powell-Cotton, though *par excellence* a hunter, took a scientific interest in the country. He was collecting artifacts for a museum he had established in 1896, on his estate at Quex Park, Birchington, Kent,[10] and reports that it was 'extremely difficult' to obtain examples of Ethiopian paintings. This was because they were mainly in the possession of churches or monasteries, and 'sacrilige' was 'severely punished.' Nevertheless on reaching the ruined city, which had been the cultural centre of Ethiopia for over two centuries–and was hence a potentially important source of paintings–he made enquiries as to whether any example of Ethiopian art could be procured. His perseverence was rewarded when, one evening in May 1900,

> 'a man who had undertaken, after much persuasion, to try and get me some church paintings and relics, brought several wood-panels and a long roll of coarse cotton-cloth painted with Biblical subjects.'

The traveller had 'no compunction in buying these fragments which, after escaping the hands of the Dervishes had been thrust away into dusty corners, where they were rapidly going to decay.'[11]

One of the paintings he acquired was the Cypriot icon described above which thus found its way into the Powell-Cotton Museum where it is preserved to this day. The photograph of this work of art here reproduced was kindly provided by the museum's present curator to whom thanks are due.

8. E.A. Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia* (London, 1928), 11, 404.

9. P.H.G. Powel-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia* (London, 1902), p. 299.

10. *The Powell-Cotton Museum Illustrated Guide* (Quex Park, Birchington, Kent, 1976).

11. Powell-Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

The Powell - Cotton Museum, Quex Park, Birchington, Kent.

# Ο ΡΟΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΣΠΟΡΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΥ

Ὑπὸ

*Δρος Π. Γ. Φούγια*

**α. Ὁ Ἕλληνας μετανάστης καὶ τὸ ἐθνικὸ κέντρο.**

Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων τῆς Διασπορᾶς εἶναι ἀπὸ τὰ σημαντικώτερα κεφάλαια τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ συνόλου Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ γίνεται λόγος γιὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ Διασπορὰ ἂν ἡ προσοχή μας δὲν ἑστιάζεται, κατὰ κύριο λόγο, πάνω στὸ θέμα ποὺ λέγεται ἐκπαίδευση ἑλληνική. Πρόκειται, ἀναμφισβήτητα, γιὰ τὸ ζωτικὸ στοιχεῖο ποὺ συντήρησε καὶ συντηρεῖ τὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό. Αὐτὸ ποὺ συνδέει ἀπευθείας τὸν Ἕλληνα τόσο μὲ τὴ μακραίωνα ἑλληνικὴ ἱστορία τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὰ πολιτιστικά του στοιχεῖα ὅσο καὶ μὲ τὸν χῶρο, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀνέκαθεν γνωρίζεται καὶ εἶναι ἑλληνικός, τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

Ἰδιαίτεροι ἱστορικοὶ λόγοι ὑπαγόρευσαν τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση στοὺς ἀποδήμους Ἕλληνες σὲ ὅλες τὶς ἱστορικὲς περιόδους τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Διασπορᾶς, τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον καθόσον ὁ Ἀπόδημος Ἑλληνισμὸς δὲν εἶναι δημιούργημα τῆς σύγχρονης κινήσεως τῶν λαῶν οὔτε σύγχρονο φαινόμενο τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ μόνον αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα τοῦ κοσμοπολιτικοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Ἕλληνα –ἕνα ἰδιαίτερο χαρακτηριστικὸ ποὺ τὸν διακρίνει ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία ἱστορία του μέχρι σήμερα. Στὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸ πρέπει νὰ ἀναζητήσουμε τὸ αἴτιο ποὺ ὁδήγησε στὴ δημιουργία τῶν παλιῶν ἀποικιῶν καὶ τῶν συγχρόνων ἑλληνικῶν παροικιῶν.

Ἡ ἀποικία καὶ ἡ παροικία ἀποτελοῦν δύο συγγενεῖς μορφὲς κοινωνίας τοῦ ἀποδήμου Ἕλληνα, διαφορετικὰ δομημένες. Ὡς γνωστόν, ἡ ἀποικία ἦταν μιὰ συνέχεια τῆς Μητροπόλεως, μὲ μόνη διακοπὴ τὴν ἐδαφική, μὲ ὅλες τὶς πολιτειακές, πολιτιστικές, κοινωνικὲς καὶ οἰκονομικὲς μορφές της. Ἡ σχέση αὐτὴ ἀποτελοῦσε πάντοτε τὸν ἀποχρῶντα λόγο ποὺ ἡ Μητρόπολη θεωροῦσε δικό της καθῆκον –συνάμα καὶ χρέος της– νὰ στέκεται πλάι στὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἀποικία κάθε φορὰ ποὺ ἡ δεύτερη ἀντιμετώπιζε κινδύνους, θεωροῦσε δὲ καὶ δικούς της ἐχθροὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς λαοὺς ποὺ ἀπειλοῦσαν τὴν ἐλευθερία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἀποικίας.

Ἡ παροικία, φαινόμενο τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων, ἀπὸ τὴν Ἅλωση τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἐντεῦθεν –σὲ πολὺ περιορισμένη κλίμακα ἴσως καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς αἰῶνες ἐνωρίτερα–, εἶναι κάτι διαφορετικὸ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀποικία. Ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ Ἕλληνες ὁμογενεῖς διαφόρων γενεῶν (μέχρι 5 ἢ 6 γενεῶν, ἴσως καὶ περισσοτέρων, χωρὶς νὰ εἶναι ἐφικτὴ ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἐξακρίβωση τούτου) ἢ ἀπὸ Ἕλληνες νεομετανάστες τῶν περιόδων τοῦ μεσοπολέμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶναι ὀργανωμένοι κατὰ τέτοιο τρόπο, ὥστε πολιτειακά, κοινωνικὰ καὶ οἰκονομικὰ νὰ μὴν ἔχουν δικό τους καθεστὼς στὸ χῶρο ποὺ εἶναι ὀργανωμένοι.

Ὁ παλιὸς ἄποικος Ἕλληνας εἶχε βεβαία τὴ συνείδηση ὅτι κατοικεῖ χῶρο ἑλληνικὸ ποὺ τοῦ ἀνῆκε ὅσον ἀνῆκε ὁ μητροπολιτικὸς γεωγραφικὸς χῶρος στὸν Ἕλληνα τῆς Μητροπόλεως. Ἡ Μητρόπολη μὲ τὶς ἀποικίες ἀποτελοῦσαν τὴν εὐρύχωρη Ἑλλάδα. Τὴν οἰκουμενικὴ Ἑλλάδα, ὅπως θὰ λέγαμε μὲ τὰ σημερινὰ δεδομένα. Καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ στοιχεῖο ποὺ συνέβαλε στὴ σύνδεση αὐτὴ τῆς ὑπερπόντιας ἢ διηπειρωτικῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦταν τὸ θρησκευτικό, ἡ κοινὴ πίστη, ἡ κοινὴ λατρεία μὲ τὴν ἴδια εὐσέβεια –τὸ ἦθος τὸ θρησκευτικό[1]. Ἐπίσης ἡ συνείδηση ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μὲ τὴν κοινὴ γλώσσα καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸ ἦθος.

Τὰ μέλη τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παροικίας, ὅσο κι ἂν ἔχουν ἔντονη τὴν ἀγάπη γιὰ τὴ χώρα τῆς καταγωγῆς τους, ὅσο κι ἂν σκιρτάει ἡ καρδιά τους γιὰ κάτι τὸ ἑλληνικὸ ἀπὸ τὴν κοινωνικὴ ζωὴ ἢ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ παράδοση –γιὰ τὶς ἐθνικὲς καὶ θρησκευτικὲς εἰκόνες καὶ τὰ σύμβολά τους– δένονται σφικτὰ μὲ τὸν τόπο ὑποδοχῆς καὶ τὸν λαό του. Ὅσο μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ἀπόσταση ποὺ χωρίζει τὴ δεύτερη πατρίδα ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτη τόσο πιὸ στέρεη γίνεται ἡ ἐγκατάσταση τοῦ μετανάστη Ἕλληνα στὴ χώρα ὑποδοχῆς. Ἕνα μέρος τῶν ἀρχικῶν βιωμάτων του ἀλλοιώνεται σταδιακὰ ἢ ἀνακατεύεται μὲ ἀντίστοιχα αἰσθήματα τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς δεύτερης πατρίδας.

Ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ἐνεργεῖ ἀνασταλτικὰ στὴν καταλυτικὴ δύναμη τοῦ νέου περιβάλλοντος –ἰδιαίτερα ὅταν συμβεῖ ἡ χώρα ὑποδοχῆς νὰ βρίσκεται σὲ ὑψηλότερο βιοτικό, κοινωνικὸ καὶ πνευματικὸ ἐπίπεδο– εἶναι

1. Ἀσφαλῶς τὸ θρησκευτικὸ αὐτὸ ἦθος, περισσότερο ἀπὸ ὅλα τὰ ἄλλα ἐθνικὰ στοιχεῖα, ἐμπόδισε τὴν ἀλλοτρίωση τῶν ἑλλήνων ὑποδούλων κατὰ τὴν τουρκοκρατία. Αὐτὸ τὸ στοιχεῖο διατήρησε τὴν ἰουδαϊκὴ Διασπορὰ καθὼς καὶ τὸ ἀρμενικὸ ἔθνος ποὺ ζεῖ ἐντὸς ἢ ἐκτὸς τῆς Σοβιετικῆς Ἑνώσεως.

ἡ μητρικὴ γλώσσα καὶ ἡ θρησκεία. Καὶ ὅταν λέμε θρησκεία, δὲν ἐννοοῦμε ἁπλῶς τὸ Δόγμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τύπο-τὸ τυπικό, τὸν λειτουργικὸ ἐκφραστικὸ τρόπο μὲ τὸν ὁποῖο ἐκφράζονται τὰ ἐθνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ λαοῦ. Γιὰ νὰ ξεχωρίζει ἕνας λαὸς ἀπὸ ἕνα ἄλλο χρειάζεται ἡ τυπικὴ αὐτὴ διάκριση, στὴν ὁποία χωρὶς ἀμφιβολία συμβάλλει ἰδιαίτερα ἡ θρησκεία[1].

Οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι Ἔθνος μὲ πολὺ μακρὰ ἱστορία. Ὡς Ἔθνος, ὅπως προαναφέραμε, δὲν βρέθηκε ποτὲ συγκεντρωμένο μέσα στὰ μητροπολιτικὰ γεωγραφικὰ ὅριά του.

Τὴν ἰδιοσυστασία τοῦ Ἕλληνα συνθέτουν ἔντονα χαρακτηριστικά, μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα γίνεται γνωστὴ ἡ ταυτότητά του ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ χώρου. Μὲ τὴν περιέργεια, λέγει ὁ φιλόσοφος Ἀριστοτέλης, ὁδηγήθηκε στὴ γνώση[2], μὲ τὴ δράση ὁδηγήθηκε στὴν πολιτική, τὴν κοινωνικὴ καὶ τὴν οἰκονομικὴ πρόοδο καὶ μὲ τὶς οἰκουμενικές του ἀντιλήψεις (στὶς ὁποῖες τὸν πρῶτο λόγο ἔχουν οἱ θρησκευτικὲς ἀντιλήψεις) ἔγινε κοσμοπολίτης.

Στὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρο ὁ Ἕλληνας καλλιεργεῖ ὁρισμένες ἀρετές του ποὺ ἔχουν ἀποτυπωθεῖ στὰ πολιτιστικά του στοιχεῖα (ἐπιτεύγματα στὸ χῶρο τῆς τέχνης, τῆς θρησκείας, τοῦ οἰκογενειακοῦ καὶ τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ βίου, τῆς παιδείας καὶ στὴ μορφὴ τῆς Πολιτείας) καὶ τὶς συνήθειές του, ποὺ εἶναι κι αὐτὲς ἀναγκαῖες γιὰ τὴν ἐπιβίωσή του. Ἀποκορύφωμα ὅλων αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν-στὴν πραγματικότητα δυνάμεών του- εἶναι ἡ προσήλωσή του στοὺς ἀμετακίνητους στόχους τοῦ Ἔθνους, ποὺ εἶναι ταυτόσημη μὲ τὴ φιλοπατρία. Ὅταν, ὅμως, ὁ Ἕλληνας γίνεται μετανάστης ἢ εἶναι ὁμογενὴς (στὴν κατηγορία αὐτὴ ἀνήκουν σήμερα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, οἱ Ἑλληνοκύπριοι καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆς Διασπορᾶς ἀπὸ δεύτερη γενεὰ καὶ πίσω), στὶς ἀρετὲς καὶ τὶς συνήθειές του αὐτὲς προστίθεται ἕνα ἀκόμη στοιχεῖο, ποὺ τὸν διακρίνει ἀνάμεσα στοὺς ἄλλους λαούς. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὴν πατριδολατρία, ἡ ὁποία ἐκδηλώνεται μὲ τὴν ἀφοσίωσή του στὶς ἐθνικὲς καὶ θρησκευτικές του παραδόσεις, μὲ τὶς ὁποῖες τότε μόνο μπορεῖ νὰ διατηρήσει ἀκατάλυτους δεσμοὺς μὲ τὴν Πατρίδα, ὅταν μπορεῖ νὰ διατηρήσει τὴν ἐθνική του γλώσσα καὶ τὴν Ὀρθοδοξία του στὴ θρησκεία.

Ὁ κορυφαῖος ἥρωας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως, ὁ Θεόδωρος Κολοκοτρώνης, πίστευε καὶ διακήρυττε ὅτι γιὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπο ἡ γλώσσα εἶναι ὅ,τι καὶ τὸ κλειδὶ στὰ χέρια τοῦ φυλακισμένου, μὲ τὸ ὁποῖο μπορεῖ νὰ ἀνοίξει τὴν πόρτα τῆς φυλακῆς του, ὅταν τὸ θελήσει.

Εἶναι καθολικὴ πίστη τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ ρυθμιστικὸς κανόνας τῆς σημερινῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Πολιτείας, ὅτι ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἱστορία, ἡ θρησκεία (Ὀρθοδοξία), τὰ ἤθη καὶ οἱ παραδόσεις τῆς Φυλῆς, πάντοτε μαζὶ μὲ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ γλώσσα, ἀποτελοῦν συνεκτικοὺς καὶ συντηρητικοὺς παράγοντες γιὰ νὰ συνεχισθεῖ ἡ ἐθνικὴ συνείδηση τοῦ ἀποδήμου Ἕλληνα.

Ὁ Ἕλληνας ἀποβάλλει τὶς ἀνησυχίες του, δρᾶ καὶ προοδεύει ὠφέλιμα γιὰ τὸν ἑαυτό του καὶ τὸ περιβάλλον του ἐφόσον ἔχει τὴν ἐλευθερία καὶ τοῦ παρέχεται ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ αἰσθάνεται τὸν ἑαυτό του προέκταση τοῦ λαοῦ, ποὺ κατοικεῖ τὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρο, στὸν ὁποῖο βρίσκονται οἱ ρίζες τῆς δικῆς του Φυλῆς. Αὐτὴ ἡ συνείδηση τὸν βοηθάει νὰ ἐνταχθεῖ εὐκολώτερα στὸ πολιτιστικό, τὸ πολιτικὸ καὶ τὸ οἰκονομικὸ περιβάλλον τῆς χώρας ὑποδοχῆς, ἡ ὁποία φιλοδοξεῖ νὰ τὸν δεῖ ὁλοκληρωμένο πολίτη της, μὲ αἰσθήματα φιλοπατρίας ἴδια μ' ἐκεῖνα ποὺ ἐκδηλώνει γιὰ τὴ χώρα καὶ τὸν λαὸ τῆς καταγωγῆς του.

Μέχρι πρὶν ἀπὸ 30 χρόνια ὁ Ἀπόδημος Ἑλληνισμὸς εἶχε σταθερὰ καθορίσει τὴ θέση του, τὸν προγραμματισμό του, στὶς χῶρες τοῦ κόσμου, στὶς ὁποῖες εἶχε ἐγκατασταθεῖ. Στὶς χῶρες τῆς Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ προοπτικές του δὲν ἦσαν διάφορες ἀπὸ τὶς προοπτικὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποὺ εἶχαν ἐγκατασταθεῖ σὲ χῶρες τοῦ Νέου Κόσμου (Β. καὶ Ν. Ἀμερικὴ-Καναδᾶ), τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Αὐστραλίας. Οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ἀνάμεσα σὲ λαοὺς κατωτέρους πολιτιστικῶς, πνευματικῶς καὶ οἰκονομικῶς καὶ μὲ ρίζες πολὺ βαθειές, ὀργανωμένοι μὲ βάση τὴν Κοινότητα-Ἐνορία, μέσα στὴν ὁποία συντελοῦνταν ὅλες οἱ ἐθνικές, θρησκευτικές, πνευματικὲς καὶ πολιτιστικὲς ἐξελίξεις, διαχώρισαν τὴ δική τους ἐξέλιξη ἀπὸ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐτοχθόνων λαῶν. Τὸ παράδειγμά τους τὸ βρίσκουμε καὶ στὴν ὀργάνωση μεταναστῶν ἄλλων λαῶν στὶς ἴδιες χῶρες, οἱ ὁποῖοι, ἐὰν ἀποβάλουν τὰ ἄλλα στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀποικιοκρατίας καὶ τοῦ μερκανταλισμοῦ, ἀποτελοῦν ἕνα ἀντίγραφο τῶν ὁμογενειακῶν μας κοινοτικῶν-ἐνοριακῶν ὀργανώσεων.

Ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ἰδιαίτερα διέκρινε τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς μας στὶς χῶρες τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἀπὸ τοὺς αὐτόχθονες ἦταν ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία, ἡ ὁποία ἦταν ἀμιγὴς καὶ ἀπεριόριστη, προσφερόμενη σὲ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα μὲ φορέα τὴν Ἐκκλησία καὶ τὴν Κοινότητα, μὲ ἐκπαιδευτικοὺς Ἕλληνες, ὡρολόγια, ἀναλυτικὰ προγράμματα καὶ διδακτικὰ βιβλία ἑλληνικά. Τὸ ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς Ναὸς ἦσαν τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος στὶς χῶρες αὐτές, τῆς Ἀσίας, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. Αὐτὰ τὰ δύο στοιχεῖα ἔγιναν οἱ ἀνοικτοὶ δρόμοι καὶ παραμένουν καὶ σήμερα ποὺ ὁδηγοῦν ἀπὸ τὴν ξενιτειὰ στὴν Πατρίδα καὶ στὶς ρίζες τοῦ Γένους -δὲν ἀφήνουν τὶς ἐθνικὲς μνῆμες νὰ πεθάνουν. Δὲν εἶναι ὑπερβολὴ ἐὰν δεχθοῦμε ὅτι ὁ Ἀπόδημος Ἑλληνισμὸς πραγματοποιοῦσε ὅλες τὶς θρησκευτικές, τὶς κοινοτικὲς καὶ σχολικές του συνάξεις μέσα στὸν ἐνοριακὸ Ναὸ τῆς Κοινότητος, ποὺ ἀποτελοῦσε τὸ πρῶτο ἀπόκτημά του μετὰ τὴ συγκρότησή του σὲ Κοινότητα.

1. Πρβλ. *Π. Φούγια*, Ἡ Λατρεία τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος κτλ., Ἀθῆναι 1977, σελ. 52-53.

2. *Ἀριστοτέλους*, Μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά, Α, 2. 982Β, 12: «Διὰ τὸ θαυμάζειν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν ἀπόρων θαυμάσαντες, εἶτα κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω προϊόντες καὶ περὶ τῶν μειζόνων διαπορήσαντες... ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν οἴεται ἀγνοεῖν..., ὥστ' εἴπερ διὰ τὸ φεύγειν τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐφιλοσόφησαν, φανερὸν ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ἐδίωκον».

Μέσα στὸν ὀρθόδοξο Ναὸ λειτούργησε τὸ πρῶτο ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο μὲ δάσκαλο τὸν ὀρθόδοξο ἱερέα καὶ μέσα στὸν ἴδιο ἱερὸ χῶρο ἔγιναν οἱ πρῶτοι σχεδιασμοὶ καὶ δόθηκαν οἱ πρῶτες ὑποσχέσεις τῶν ἀποδήμων γιὰ τὴ δημιουργία τῶν κοινοτικῶν καταστημάτων, τῶν διαφόρων συλλόγων (πνευματικῶν, ἀθλητικῶν, φιλοπτώχων, ἐπαγγελματικῶν, ἐκδοτικῶν κ.ἄ.) καὶ ἡ ἀνάδειξη τῶν διοικητικῶν συμβουλίων τῆς Κοινότητος.

Οἱ ἀπόηχοι τῆς κοινοτικῆς αὐτῆς φιλοσοφίας τῶν ἀποδήμων Ἑλλήνων ἔρχονται σήμερα ἀπὸ ὅσες ἑλληνικὲς κοινότητες ἐπέζησαν τῶν διαφόρων πολιτικῶν μετασχηματισμῶν ποὺ συντελέσθηκαν στὶς χῶρες τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς. Καὶ οἱ ἀπόηχοι αὐτοί, ἀντίθετοι στὸ ἀπαισιόδοξο πνεῦμα ἐκείνων ποὺ σκέπτονται ἐφήμερα καὶ προτιμοῦν τὴ φυγή, ὀφείλονται στὴν παρουσία τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία δὲν συνηθίζει νὰ ἐγκαταλείπει τὴ μάχη τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἱεραποστολῆς της.

Ἀντίθετα, ὁ Ἀπόδημος Ἑλληνισμὸς στὶς λοιπὲς χῶρες τοῦ κόσμου, γιὰ νὰ φτάσει τὸ κοινωνικό, τὸ οἰκονομικὸ καὶ πολιτιστικὸ ἐπίπεδο τῶν αὐτοχθόνων λαῶν, νὰ τοὺς κατανοήσει καὶ νὰ κερδίσει τὴ συνεργασία τους, ἔπρεπε νὰ φοιτήσει στὰ σχολεῖα τῆς χώρας ὑποδοχῆς, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ τοῦ ἐξασφάλιζαν ἴσες εὐκαιρίες μὲ ὅλα τὰ ἀρνητικὰ γιὰ τὴν ἐθνική του ταυτότητα ἐπακόλουθα. Τὸ μόνο στοιχεῖο στὴν ὑπηρεσία τῶν ἐθνικῶν του παλμῶν καὶ ὁραμάτων παρέμενε ἡ Ἐκκλησία, μὲ τὸν ἱερέα ὡς λειτουργὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ θυσιαστηρίου, φωνὴ τοῦ ἄμβωνα καὶ δάσκαλο τῶν πατριδογνωστικῶν μαθημάτων.

Τὸ ἔργο τοῦ ἱεροδιδασκάλου, ἀπὸ τὴ φύση τῶν πραγμάτων, γινόταν δύσκολο. Προσφερόταν ἀντίθετα πρὸς τὸ ρεῦμα. Ἦταν, ὅμως, ἀπαραίτητο γιὰ νὰ σωθεῖ ὁ ἀπόδημος Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ τὴν ἀλλοτρίωση, ἡ ὁποία στὴ διαδρομὴ τῆς πρόσφατης ἱστορίας, πολλοὺς λαούς, ἐγκλωβισμένους μέσα σὲ ἄλλους λαούς, ἐξαφάνισε. Γιὰ παράδειγμα: Ἕνα ἑκατομμύριο Πολωνοὶ στὰ τελευταῖα 50 χρόνια γερμανοποιήθηκαν, ἐγκαταστημένοι μέσα στὴ Γερμανία, καὶ τὸ μόνο διακριτικὸ στοιχεῖο γι' αὐτοὺς ἔμεινε τὸ ὄνομά τους. Ἔχουν ἐνταχθεῖ ἀπόλυτα στὴ γερμανικὴ κουλτούρα καὶ τὴν κοινωνικὴ καὶ ἐπαγγελματικὴ ζωή. Ὡς δημόσιοι ἄνδρες τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τους γιὰ τὰ γερμανικὰ ἐθνικὰ θέματα δὲν εἶναι μικρότερο ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνο ποὺ δείχνουν οἱ καθαρόαιμοι Γερμανοί. Ἡ θρησκεία, ποὺ θὰ ἔπαιζε κάποιο ρόλο στὴ διατήρηση τῆς ταυτότητός τους, λόγω τῆς ἀνυπαρξίας ἐθνικῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν σ' αὐτὴν (τύπων ἰδιαίτερων ὅπως θὰ λέγαμε), ὅπως συμβαίνει μὲ τὴ δική μας ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθοδοξία, δὲν συνέβαλε στή, σὲ κάποιο βαθμό, διατήρηση τῆς πολωνικῆς ταυτότητός τους, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνάμνηση περὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς τους.

Κατὰ τὰ τελευταῖα 30 χρόνια οἱ ἐξελίξεις στὶς χῶρες τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ὑπῆρξαν κοσμογονικὲς καὶ προκάλεσαν σοβαρὲς μεταβολὲς στὶς ἐκεῖ ἀνθοῦσες Ἑλληνικὲς Παροικίες. Ἀποδυναμώθηκαν ἀριθμητικῶς καὶ οἰκονομικῶς. Μερικὲς ἀπ' αὐτές, οἱ περισσότερες, συγκρινόμενες μὲ τὸ παρελθόν τους, μοιάζουν μὲ ἱστοὺς ἀράχνης. Τὰ ἐπιβλητικὰ ἐκπαιδευτήριά τους, προϊὸν μεγάλου καὶ μακροχρονίου μόχθου τῶν ἀποδήμων μας, ἄδειασαν, τὸ δὲ ποίμνιο παλαιφάτων Ὀρθοδόξων Μητροπόλεων μετακινήθηκε σὲ ἄλλες χῶρες ἢ βρῆκε καταφύγιο στὴν Πατρίδα.

Ὁ γράφων ὑπῆρξε μάρτυς τῶν ἐξελίξεων ποὺ συντελέσθηκαν σὲ χῶρες τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, μετὰ τὸν Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, οἱ ὁποῖες προξένησαν καταστροφὲς στοὺς ὁμογενεῖς μας, οἱ ὁποῖοι μετὰ ἀπὸ αἰῶνων προσπάθειες καὶ θυσίες εἶχαν πετύχει τέλεια κοινοτικὴ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ὀργάνωση (Αἴγυπτο, Τανζανία, Σουδάν, Αἰθιοπία, Λιβύη, Μαρόκο, Συρία, Λίβανο, Ἰορδανία, Τουρκία, Οὐγγαρία καὶ παλαιότερα στὴ Σοβιετικὴ Ἕνωση). Θανάσιμα κτυπήματα δέχθηκαν οἱ παροικίες μας στὶς χῶρες αὐτὲς μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα ὄχι μόνο νὰ μεταβληθεῖ ἡ φυσιογνωμία τους, ἀλλὰ νὰ ἀπολεσθεῖ τὸ μεγαλύτερο ποσοστὸ τῆς ὑπάρξεώς τους ἢ καὶ νὰ σβήσουν τελείως.

Ἐξελίξεις δὲν σημειώθηκαν μόνο στὶς χῶρες τῆς Ἀσίας, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ χῶρες τῆς Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, τῆς Β. καὶ Ν. Ἀμερικῆς καὶ τὴν Αὐστραλία. Αὐτὲς τράβηξαν τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον πολλῶν χιλιάδων Ἑλλήνων, κυρίως νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας, οἱ ὁποῖοι μετέβαλαν τὴ φυσιογνωμία τῆς παλαιομεταναστικῆς ὀργανώσεως τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παροικίας. Ἐδημιούργησαν νέες ἀπαιτήσεις, τὶς ὁποῖες δὲν εἶχαν ἀπὸ τὴν Πατρίδα οἱ παλαιομετανάστες.

Οἱ ἀπαιτήσεις τῶν νεομεταναστῶν Ἑλλήνων συνδέονται μὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμία τους νὰ ἐπαναπατρισθοῦν μίαν ἡμέρα καὶ στὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ὁρισμένες χῶρες, ὅπως ἡ Δ. Γερμανία, δὲν θεωρήθηκαν ποτὲ χῶρες μόνιμης ἐγκαταστάσεως τῶν ξένων ἐργατῶν, ἀλλὰ φιλοξενοῦσες ἐργάτες ἀπὸ ἄλλες χῶρες.

Ἡ πολιτικὴ αὐτή, προϊὸν συνθηκῶν κάτω ἀπὸ τὶς ὁποῖες ὁ νεομετανάστης τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας ἦταν ὑποχρεωμένος νὰ ζήσει καὶ νὰ ἐργασθεῖ, ὑπῆρξε καθοριστικὴ γιὰ τὸ ρόλο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Πολιτείας στὴν ὀργάνωση τῶν ἀποδήμων στὴ χώρα αὐτή. Οἱ μορφὲς ὀργανώσεως τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἑλλήνων δὲν ἀκολούθησαν τὸ προπολεμικὸ κοινοτικο–ενοριακὸ σχῆμα[1], ἀλλὰ τὸν τύπο τῶν συλλόγων, τῶν ἑνώσεων, τῶν ὁμοσπονδιῶν καὶ ὁπωσδήποτε διατηρήθηκαν καὶ οἱ παλιὲς Κοινότητες–Ἐνορίες, στὶς ὁποῖες ἡ Μητρόπολη Γερμανίας εἶναι φορέας μὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὲς κυρίως ἁρμοδιότητες. Γιὰ τὸν περιορισμὸ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴ θρησκευτικὴ μόνο διαπαιδαγώγηση τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως ἄλλωστε συμβαίνει καὶ στὶς Μητροπόλεις τοῦ Βελγίου, τῆς Σουηδίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλβετίας, καὶ γιὰ τὶς σοβαρὲς ἐπιπτώσεις ποὺ ἔχει τὸ καθεστὼς αὐτὸ καὶ γιὰ τοὺς ὁμο-

1. Βλ. τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀρχιμ. *Μεθοδίου Φούγια* (νῦν Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων), Αἱ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ Ἑλληνικαὶ Κοινότητες, Θεολογικαὶ καὶ Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται, τ. Δ', Ἀθῆναι 1984, σελ. 193–240.

γενεῖς μας καὶ γιὰ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κράτος θὰ μιλήσουμε κατωτέρω.

Ἀπὸ τὶς ἀνωτέρω ἐξελίξεις καὶ τὶς μορφὲς ὀργανώσεως τῶν ἀποδήμων Ἑλλήνων ἔχει ὑπαγορευθεῖ ἡ νέα καὶ μέχρι σήμερα πολιτικὴ τῆς χώρας μας ὅσον ἀφορᾶ στὴν ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία τῶν ἀποδήμων μας. Εἶναι μιὰ πολιτική, σὲ συνεργασία μὲ τοὺς φορεῖς τῶν ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων τῆς Διασπορᾶς –κατὰ πρῶτο λόγο τὴν Ἐκκλησία καὶ κατὰ δεύτερο λόγο ἀνεξάρτητες Ἑλληνικὲς Κοινότητες, Ἑλληνικοὺς Συλλόγους καὶ ἕλληνες ἰδιῶτες–, ποὺ στοχεύει στὴ διατήρηση τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ταυτότητος τοῦ ἀποδήμου Ἕλληνα, χωρὶς νὰ ἐμποδίζεται ἡ σταδιοδρομία του στὴ χώρα ὑποδοχῆς ἢ ἀκόμη νὰ προπαρασκευάζεται ὁ ἀπόδημος γιὰ ἀμφίδρομη ἐπαγγελματικὴ σταδιοδρομία, στὴν ἴδια τὴ χώρα ἢ τὴν Πατρίδα του.

### β. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία φορέας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως στὸ Ἐξωτερικό.

Ἔγινε ἤδη λόγος ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία παραμένει κατὰ κύριο λόγο ὁ φορέας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν ἀποδήμων Ἑλλήνων. Ἰδιαίτερα στὶς χῶρες ἐκεῖνες ὅπου ἡ ἐγκατάσταση τῶν Ἑλλήνων γιὰ πολλὲς γενεὲς θεωρεῖται μόνιμη, ὅπως π.χ. οἱ Η.Π.Α., ἡ Μεγ. Βρεταννία, ἡ Αὐστραλία, ἡ Γαλλία κ.ἄ. Ὁ ρόλος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς στὸ θέμα «ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση» εἶναι σημαντικὸς καὶ τοσοῦτον πρωταρχικὸς ὅσον καὶ ὁ θρησκευτικός της ρόλος. Θὰ μπορούσαμε νὰ ποῦμε ὅτι ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία ἐπιδεικνύει ἕνα ἐνδιαφέρον γιὰ νὰ διατηρηθεῖ ἡ ἐθνική μας γλώσσα καὶ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ συνείδηση στοὺς ἀποδήμους μας ὅσο εἶναι τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας γιὰ τοὺς καθολικούς, ἀνεξαρτήτως ἐθνικότητος, καὶ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς ἐθνότητος γιὰ τὴ διατήρηση τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς γλώσσας καὶ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς συνειδήσεως στοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Ἀσφαλῶς ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία δὲν ἔχει πετύχει τὴν πρόοδο τῶν καθολικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων στοὺς ἐθνικο–θρησκευτικοὺς αὐτοὺς τομεῖς, σ' ἕνα, ὅμως, βαθμό, κυρίως στὶς Η.Π.Α., τὴ Μεγ. Βρεταννία καὶ τὴν Αὐστραλία, οἱ ἐπιτυχίες της εἶναι μεγάλες. Τὰ ἀποτελέσματα θὰ ἦσαν ἀκόμη καλύτερα ἐὰν δὲν ὑπονομευόταν τὸ ἐκπαιδευτικὸ ἔργο της ἀπὸ διάφορα στοιχεῖα ποὺ δροῦν ἀρνητικὰ τόσο στὸ Ἐξωτερικὸ ὅσο καὶ στὸ Ἐσωτερικό. Ἐνῶ κανεὶς δὲν τῆς ἀμφισβητεῖ, μήτε κι αὐτοὶ ποὺ σήμερα ἐπιχειροῦν νὰ τῆς ἀποσπάσουν ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια τὴ σκυτάλη, ὅτι σ' αὐτὴν ὀφείλεται ἡ ὀργάνωση τῆς ἑλληνόγλωσσης ἐκπαιδεύσεως (σ' ὁποιοδήποτε τύπο), ὡστόσο ὑπάρχουν οἱ ὑποτιμῶντες τὴ δύναμή της καὶ οἱ ἀμφισβητοῦντες τὴν ἐθνική της ἀποστολὴ καὶ μὲ κάθε μέσο ἐπιχειροῦν τὴν περιθωριοποίησή της ἢ καὶ νὰ τὴν περιορίσουν στὰ καθαρῶς θρησκευτικά της καθήκοντα. Ἀγνοοῦν ὅσοι ὑποστηρίζουν τὰ ἀντίθετα, εἴτε ἰδιῶτες εἴτε καὶ ἁρμόδια ὑπηρεσιακὰ ὄργανα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Πολιτείας καὶ ὁμογενεῖς τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ (τῶν ὁποίων οἱ ἀντιλήψεις, θρησκευτικὲς καὶ ἐθνικές, εἶναι σὲ ἀντίθεση μὲ τὴν καθόλου ἑλληνοχριστιανικὴ παράδοση), ὅτι ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκκλησία εἶναι τὸ μόνιμο καὶ ἀναγνωρισμένο ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχὲς καὶ τὸ λαό κάθε χώρας καταφύγιο τοῦ ἕλληνα μετανάστη καὶ τὸ ὁρμητήριο γιὰ τὴ νέα ζωὴ στὴ δεύτερη Πατρίδα.

Μέσα στὸ ἐνοριακὸ κλίμα θὰ ἐπωασθοῦν οἱ ὁραματισμοὶ τοῦ μετανάστη καὶ ὁ ἴδιος θὰ μπολιασθεῖ μὲ τὶς ἰδέες ἐκεῖνες ποὺ θὰ βοηθήσουν νὰ ἀντέξει στὶς ἀλλοτριωτικὲς δυνάμεις τοῦ νέου περιβάλλοντος[1]. Θὰ πάρει ἀπὸ τὰ χέρια καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν λόγο τοῦ ἕλληνα ἱερέα τὸ θάρρος γιὰ νὰ κάμει τὸ ξεκίνημα. Σὲ κάθε βῆμα του θὰ ὁραματίζεται τῆς γενέτειρας τὴ ζωὴ μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποπτεία τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου ἱεροῦ Ναοῦ, ὅπως λέγει καὶ ὁ μεγάλος ἄγγλος ἱστορικὸς Sir St. Runciman ὅτι «ὁ μετανάστης, ποὺ ἐγκαθίσταται σὲ μιὰ χώρα, πρέπει νὰ ὑπακούει στοὺς νόμους καὶ νὰ προσπαθεῖ νὰ συμμορφώνεται πρὸς τὰ βασικὰ ἤθη τῆς χώρας, στὴν ὁποία ἐγκαθίσταται· ἀλλά, σ' ὅλες τὶς πολιτισμένες χῶρες, ὁ μετανάστης μπορεῖ νὰ διατηρεῖ τὴ θρησκεία του καὶ μέσω τῆς θρησκείας του μπορεῖ νὰ βρίσκεται σὲ ἐπαφὴ μὲ τὸν κόσμο, ἀπὸ τὸν ὁποῖο αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ πρόγονοί του κατάγονται. Ἡ ταυτότητά του θὰ διαφυλαχθεῖ»[2]. Δὲν θὰ περάσουν πολλὰ χρόνια καὶ θὰ δεῖ στὸν ἴδιο ἐκεῖνο χῶρο τὰ παιδιά του νὰ μαθαίνουν τὸ ἑλληνικὸ παραμύθι, τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἱστορία, τὸ τραγούδι τοῦ τόπου του, τὴ θρησκεία του, νὰ χορεύουν ἑλληνικοὺς χοροὺς καὶ στὶς ἐθνικὲς καὶ θρησκευτικὲς γιορτὲς νὰ ἐπικοινωνοῦν μὲ τὰ ἐθνικὰ σύμβολα· νὰ ζοῦν τὰ ἑλληνικὰ χρώματα καὶ νὰ φεύγει ἀπὸ μέσα τους κάθε ἀμφιβολία γιὰ τὴ δική τους Πατρίδα, ποὺ κάπου μακριὰ βρίσκεται, στὴν ὁποία ζεῖ ἕνας μεγάλος λαὸς ἀπὸ τὸν ὁποῖον ὁ ἴδιος κατάγεται καὶ τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ ἱστορία του εἶναι καὶ δική του γῆ καὶ ἱστορία.

Ἡ Ἐκκλησία μας στὴ Διασπορὰ δίνει μιὰ μεγάλη μάχη γιὰ τὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμὸ –μιὰ μάχη ἐνάντια στὸ ρεῦμα. Ἡ ἴδια κρατάει τὸ ρεῦμα μέσα στὸ ὁποῖο σβήνουν τὰ πάντα. Τὸ κρατάει ὅπως ὁ κυβερνήτης τοῦ καταποντιζόμενου πλοίου ποὺ μένει στὴ θέση του μέχρι νὰ σωθοῦν ὅλοι οἱ ἐπιβάτες του. Χάρις στὴν Ἐκκλησία δὲν χάνεται στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Διασπορὰ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ κληρονομιά, παρὰ τὶς ἐναλλασσόμενες ὑλικὲς καταστάσεις, ὑποστηρίζει ὁ Sir St. Runciman. Οἱ μοντερνιστὲς σήμερα συχνὰ ὑποτιμοῦν τὸ ρόλο της. Ἀλλ' ὅταν κανεὶς ἀνεπηρέαστα μελετᾶ καὶ κρίνει τὸ ἔργο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία, στὴν ὁποία Ἐκκλησία καὶ Ἔθνος συμ-

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1. Τὴν 25-9-1981 ὁ ἱερεὺς στὴ Βοστώνη τῶν Η.Π.Α. Σωτ. Ἀλεξόπουλος ἔγραφε πρὸς τὴν Ὑπηρεσία μας Ε.Ε.Ε. τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ μεταξὺ ἄλλων: «ἡμεῖς θὰ συνεχίσωμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα. Θὰ κρατήσωμεν ψηλὰ τὴν σημαίαν τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Θρησκείας μας καὶ τῆς ἀθανάτου ἑλληνικῆς φυλῆς. Βαδίζοντες πάνω στὰ ἴχνη τῶν πρωτοπόρων ἀδελφῶν μας, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἄνευ ἐφοδίων τὴν ἐποχὴν ἐκείνην δὲν ἐκάμφθησαν, ἀλλὰ πάλεψαν σκληρὰ καὶ δημιούργησαν τὰς ἀρίστας οἰκογενείας καὶ μᾶς παρέδωσαν τὰς Ἑλληνικάς μας Ὀρθοδόξους Κοινότητας. Τοὺς εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ τοὺς εὐγνωμονοῦμεν».

2. *Sir Steven Runciman*, Ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία, Ὁ Ρόλος της στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία, Περιοδικὸ Η ΔΡΑΣΙΣ ΜΑΣ, τ. 107, Ἰανουάριος 1984.

πορεύονται, συμπάσχουν καὶ ἀγωνιοῦν, ἰδίᾳ στοὺς σκοτεινότερους αἰῶνες αὐτῶν, ἡ Ἐκκλησία προβάλλει ὡς ἡ δύναμη ἐκείνη, ἡ ὁποία παρόλες τὶς πολλὲς δυσκολίες, τὶς πολλὲς ἀπογοητεύσεις καὶ αὐτὲς ἀκόμη τὶς ταπεινώσεις μπόρεσε ὄχι μόνο νὰ προσφέρει πνευματικὴ ἀνακούφιση, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ συντηρήσει τὶς παραδόσεις τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ[1].

Καὶ ὄντως πασχίζει ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία νὰ συγκεντρώσει στὰ διδακτήριά της, στοὺς συλλόγους της, στὶς κοινωνικὲς ἑνώσεις, ὅπως καὶ στοὺς Ναούς της, ὅλους τοὺς Ἕλληνες. Εἶναι ἡ κυρία δύναμη ποὺ κάνει ὁρατὴ τὴν παρουσία τοῦ Ἔθνους μας στὸν κόσμο καὶ ἄνετο τὸ πέρασμα τῶν συμφερόντων του μέσα ἀπὸ τὰ ἔθνη. Δὲν ἀρκεῖται στὶς ἐπισκέψεις ποὺ τῆς κάνουν οἱ ὁμογενεῖς μας, γιατὶ τοὺς ἐπισκέπτεται ἡ ἴδια, τοὺς συμπαρίσταται, τοὺς καλεῖ ἀδιακρίτως ὅλους κοντά της, τοὺς δίνει τὴν ἀγάπη της καὶ τοὺς στρατολογεῖ στὸ πολυσχιδὲς θρησκευτικὸ καὶ ἐθνικὸ ἔργο της. Κάνει διάλογο μὲ ὅλους τοὺς Ἕλληνες μὲ κριτήριο καὶ στόχο νὰ μὴν ἀπολεσθεῖ οὔτε ἕνας Ἕλληνας. Ἔτσι ἀποβαίνει πραγματικὴ κιβωτὸς τοῦ Ἔθνους.

Ἡ ἔννοια τοῦ φορέα τῆς ἑλληνόγλωσσης ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων Ἐξωτερικοῦ γιὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησία δὲν εἶναι οὔτε στενὴ οὔτε μονοσήμαντη. Δὲν ἐκφράζει μιὰ πραγματικότητα στὴν ὁποία καθοριστικὸ ρόλο παίζει τὸ κληρικὸ στοιχεῖο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὸ πλαίσιο μέσα στὸ ὁποῖο, κατὰ δημοκρατικὸ τρόπο, δραστηριοποιοῦνται μὲ ἔκφραση καὶ θέσεις ὅλα τὰ πρόθυμα μέλη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παροικίας ὑπὸ τὴν εὐθύνη κυρίως καὶ λιγώτερο ὑπὸ τὸν ἔλεγχο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Ἡ Διεύθυνση Παιδείας ἢ ἡ Γραμματεία Παιδείας ἢ τὸ Κεντρικὸ Συμβούλιο Παιδείας ἢ ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ Παιδείας, ὀνομασίες ποὺ ἔχουν δοθεῖ στὰ σχετικὰ ὄργανα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς, ἀποτελοῦνται ἀπὸ σώματα μεικτά, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ μέλη εἶναι στὸ μεγαλύτερο ποσοστὸ λαϊκοὶ καὶ μόνο ἕνα μικρὸ ποσοστὸ τὸ ἀποτελοῦν οἱ κληρικοί, ποὺ μὲ τὴν παρουσία τους δηλώνουν τὴ συνέχεια τοῦ σκοποῦ, τὴ συνέπεια τῆς ἀποστολῆς καὶ τὴν εὐθύνη τῆς πρωτοβουλίας καὶ εἶναι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ ἵδρυσαν τὶς σχολικὲς μονάδες, ποὺ τὶς διευθύνουν καὶ διδάσκουν τὰ ἑλληνόπουλα μὲ μακρὰ καὶ πολύτιμη πεῖρα. Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὰ μέλη αὐτά, τὰ ὄργανα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας εἶναι ἕτοιμα νὰ δεχθοῦν τὴ συμβουλή, τὴν ὁδηγία καὶ τὴ συνεργασία ὄχι μόνον τῶν ἁρμοδίων ἑλληνικῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν, στὸ Ἐσωτερικὸ καὶ τὸ Ἐξωτερικό, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰδικῶν ἢ πεπειραμένων παιδαγωγῶν πάνω στὴν ἐθνικοθρησκευτικὴ ἀγωγὴ τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων Ἐξωτερικοῦ. Παρέλκει νὰ μνημονεύσουμε ἐδῶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παραδειγμάτων ποὺ ἔχουμε στὴ διάθεσή μας[2].

Μέσα ἀπὸ τὸ ἔργο καὶ τὴν πεῖρα τῶν ἀνωτέρω ὀργάνων ἔχουν ξεπηδήσει οἱ περισσότεροι ἱδρυτὲς ἰδιωτικῶν σχολείων στὴν Αὐστραλία, τὸν Καναδᾶ, τὶς Η.Π.Α. καὶ τὴ Ν. Ἀφρικὴ μὲ ἀντίστοιχους παλμοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲ κερδοσκοπικοὺς στόχους. Οἱ ἴδιοι κερδοσκοπικοὶ λόγοι, σὲ κάποιο βαθμὸ πολιτικοὶ ἢ ἰδεολογικοί, ἐμποδίζουν κυρίως νεοπαγεῖς ἀνεξάρτητες ἐκκλησιαστικὲς μητροπολιτικὲς διοικήσεις[3] νὰ ἱδρύσουν δικά τους σχολεῖα ὑπὸ τὴν ἔννοια ποὺ λειτουργοῦν τὰ σχολεῖα τῶν Ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν Β. καὶ Ν. Ἀμερικῆς, Μ. Βρεταννίας, Αὐστραλίας καὶ τῆς Μητροπόλεως Γαλλίας. Ἐδῶ συμβαίνει μιὰ συγκεχυμένη ἐκτίμηση τοῦ ἔργου, μέσα στὴν εὐρεῖα ἀποστολή της, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Ἀγνοεῖται ἠθελημένα ὅτι ἡ παρουσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὸν Ἑλληνισμὸ τῆς Διασπορᾶς εἶναι συνεχὴς καὶ κινητική, ἡ δὲ πολιτική της παραμένει ἀμετάβλητη καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστη ἀπὸ πολιτικὲς ἐξελίξεις καὶ ἰδεολογικὲς κοινωνικὲς τάσεις. Γιὰ τὸ λόγο αὐτὸ δὲν μᾶς μένει καμμιὰ ἀμφιβολία ὅτι καὶ οἱ νεοπαγεῖς Μητροπόλεις στὸν εὐρωπαϊκὸ χῶρο, ὅπως τῆς Σουηδίας[4], τοῦ Βελγίου[5] καὶ τῆς Ἑλβετίας[6], ὅπου ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς

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1. Ἔνθ. ἀν.

2. Βλ. Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Παιδεία στὴν Δεκαετία 1980–1990 τοῦ *Ἐμμ. Χατζημανουήλ*, Δ/ντοῦ Παιδείας τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Β. καὶ Ν. Ἀμερικῆς, σ. 4: «Σὲ κάθε Κοινότητα ὑπάρχουν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν δεκαετία τοῦ 1980 θὰ γίνονται περισσότεροι, νέοι ἑλληνοαμερικανοὶ ἐπιστήμονες: γιατροί, δικηγόροι, ψυχολόγοι, καθηγητὲς κτλ., οἱ ὁποῖοι μποροῦν καὶ θέλουν νὰ προσφέρουν σημαντικὴ βοήθεια στὴν ὀργάνωση προγραμμάτων... Ἡ σωστὴ χρησιμοποίησή τους ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ ὅσους διαχειρίζονται τὶς κοινοτικὲς ὑποθέσεις».

3. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὶς Ἱερὲς Μητροπόλεις Βελγίου, Σουηδίας, οἱ ὁποῖες ἱδρύθηκαν τὸ ἔτος 1969, καὶ Ἑλβετίας, ἡ ὁποία ἱδρύθηκε τὸ ἔτος 1982. (Βλ. γιὰ τὶς δύο πρῶτες *Κ. Καλλινίκου*, Ἡ ἀναγκαιότης καὶ ἡ σημασία τῶν νέων ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ἱδρυθεισῶν Ἱ. Μητροπόλεων καὶ Ἐξαρχιῶν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, ἐν Texts and Studies, τ. Ι, 1982, τοῦ Foundation for Hellenism in Great Britain).

4. Ἀναφέρουμε ἐνταῦθα τὴν μέχρι ὀργῆς ἀντίδραση ἑλληνικῶν συλλόγων τῆς Σουηδίας, ὅταν πληροφορήθηκαν τὰ σχέδια τοῦ ὄντως ἱκανωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Σουηδίας κ. Παύλου, φωτισμένου Ἱεράρχου, νὰ ἱδρύσει δικά του σχολεῖα γιὰ τοὺς ἑλληνόπαιδες τῆς Μητροπόλεώς του. Οἱ ἐπιθέσεις τους ἐστράφησαν καὶ ἐναντίον μας μέσω τοῦ Τύπου γιατὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἰδιότητά μας ὡς Δ/ντοῦ Ε.Ε.Ε. τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ θὰ προσφέραμε τὴν ἀναγκαία στήριξη τῆς Ἑλλην. Πολιτείας στὸν Ἱεράρχη αὐτὸν (βλ. ἐφημ. «ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ», 20.12.1978, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἀριθ. Φ. 826/799/154379/22.12.1978 ἔγγραφο). Καὶ ὑποδείχθηκε τότε στὸν Ἅγιο Σουηδίας νὰ μὴ προχωρήσει στὴν ὑλοποίηση τῶν σχεδίων του γιὰ νὰ ἀποφευχθεῖ ἀναταραχὴ ποὺ θὰ ζημίωνε αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ μέλη τῆς Παροικίας μας στὴ Σουηδία, τὰ ὁποῖα, ὅπως πληροφορηθήκαμε ἀργότερα, δὲν ἦσαν ὅλα σύμφωνα κατὰ τῶν σχεδίων τοῦ Μητροπολίτου. Ἀξίζει, ὅμως, νὰ σημειωθεῖ, ὅτι ὁ Σεβ. Μητροπολίτης Σουηδίας ἔχει μετατρέψει τοὺς χώρους τῶν ἐνοριῶν του σὲ κέντρα τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ μὲ βιβλιοθῆκες, χώρους διαλέξεων καὶ πνευματικῶν συμποσίων, συμπαραστατούμενος ἀπὸ δυναμικοὺς συνεργάτες.

5. Μολονότι οἱ προσωπικές μας σχέσεις μὲ τὸν προηγούμενο Μητροπολίτη Βελγίου (νῦν Κῶ) κ. Αἰμιλιανὸ διαταράχθηκαν σοβαρῶς διὰ ὑπηρεσιακοὺς λόγους, ὀφείλουμε νὰ σημειώσουμε ἐνταῦθα ὅτι ὁ Ἱεράρχης αὐτὸς ἔκαμε πολλὲς καὶ μεγάλες προσπάθειες γιὰ νὰ ρίξει τὴ Μητρόπολή του στὴ μάχη γιὰ τὴ διάσωση μὲ κάθε τρόπο τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ποιμνίου. Στὸ ἀξιέπαινο ἐνεργητικό του εἶναι τὰ μεγάλης ἀξίας καὶ σημασίας κτίρια, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐξασφάλισε ἀπὸ δωρεὲς φιλογενῶν παροίκων στὸ Βέλγιο, προκειμένου σ' αὐτὰ νὰ συγκεντρωθοῦν καὶ νὰ λειτουργήσουν ὅλοι οἱ τύποι τῶν ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων. Τοῦ παρέσχομεν τὴν προσωπικὴ καὶ τὴν ὑπηρεσιακὴ συμπαράστασή μας ὄχι μόνο μὲ τὴν ἀπόσπαση πολλῶν ἱεροδιδασκάλων, ἀλλὰ συνηγορώντας στὶς διπλωματικές, τὶς προξενικὲς καὶ ἐκπαιδευτικές μας ὑπηρεσίες στὸ Βέλγιο γιὰ τὴν ἀπαραίτητη

φαίνεται νὰ ἀπολαμβάνει καλυτέρων εὐκαιριῶν μονιμότητος ἀπὸ ὅ,τι συμβαίνει στοὺς Ἕλληνες τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας, θὰ γίνουν ἀργὰ ἢ γρήγορα οἱ φορεῖς τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων στὶς χῶρες αὐτές. Οἱ διάφορες δυσμενεῖς καταστάσεις ποὺ καθιστοῦν ἀνέφικτο τοῦτο στὶς ἡμέρες μας, μὲ τὸν χρόνο θὰ ἐκλείψουν καὶ θὰ γίνει ἀντιληπτὸ ἀπὸ ὅλους ἐκείνους ποὺ ἐναντιώνονται στὴν ἵδρυση σχολείων ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία, ὅτι τὸ γενικώτερο συμφέρον δὲν ὑπαγορεύει ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπιβάλλει, τὴν ἀναγνώριση στὴν Ἐκκλησία τῆς Διασπορᾶς τὴν ἀποστολὴ αὐτή.

Θὰ ἔρθει ἡ ἡμέρα ποὺ ὁ ἑλληνικὸς χῶρος δὲν θὰ εἶναι ἐργαστήρι κομματικῶν ὀξυτήτων ποὺ ἔχουν δυστυχῶς προεκτάσεις στὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό. Ἡ τουλάχιστον, κάποτε θὰ τὸ ἀντιληφθοῦν ὅλοι οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ κομματικὲς παρατάξεις ὅτι οἱ ἀπόδημοί μας ἔχουν διαλέξει τὸν δικό τους δρόμο, στὸν ὁποῖο τὰ δικά μας κουσούρια ἐμποδίζουν τὴν προκοπή τους καὶ τὴν κοινοτικὴ-ἐνοριακὴ ἑνότητα καὶ ὀργάνωσή τους, μέσα στὴν ὁποία εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ εὐδοκιμήσει ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παράδοση, νὰ διασωθεῖ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ταυτότητα καὶ νὰ μείνει ζωντανὴ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ μνήμη.

### γ. Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση ὑπὸ ἰδιάζουσες συνθῆκες (Δ. Γερμανία).

Ὑπάρχουν, ὅμως, περιοχὲς τοῦ Κόσμου, στὶς ὁποῖες ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς μοιραίως δέχεται τὶς δυσμενεῖς ἐπιδράσεις τῶν κομματικῶν φανατισμῶν ποὺ συμβαίνουν στὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρο. Ἀναφέρουμε τοὺς ἕλληνες μετανάστες στὴ Δ. Γερμανία καὶ τὴ Σουηδία. Ἡ πρώτη διατήρησε γιὰ τοὺς ξένους ἐργάτες τὸν χαρακτηρισμὸ «φιλοξενούμενοι ἐργάτες». Εἶναι ὀνομασία στὴν προμετωπίδα τους, ἡ ὁποία ἔχει πολυσήμαντη πρακτικὴ γιὰ τὴν Ὁμόσπονδη Δημοκρατία τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γι' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ξένους ἐργάτες. Θὰ μπορούσαμε νὰ τὴν ἀποδώσουμε μὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀλόγου μὲ δυὸ κεφάλια, τὸ ἕνα νὰ βλέπει πρὸς τὴ χώρα προελεύσεως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πρὸς τὴ χώρα ὑποδοχῆς. Ἔτσι συμβαίνει, τὰ περισσότερα τέκνα τῶν μεταναστῶν νὰ ἐντάσσονται σιγὰ σιγὰ στὴ γερμανικὴ κοινωνία, ἐνῶ ὁ νοῦς τῶν γονέων καὶ ὅσων παιδιῶν οἱ ἐπαγγελματικὲς ἱκανότητες δὲν ἀνταποκρίνονται στὶς ἀπαιτήσεις τῆς γερμανικῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐργασίας νὰ εἶναι στραμμένος πρὸς τὴ γενέτειρα.

Πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴ δεκαετία τοῦ 60 οἱ παλιὲς κοινότητες τῆς Γερμανίας μαζὶ μὲ τὸν ἐνοριακὸ ἱ. Ναὸ εἶχαν καὶ τὸ ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο, στὸ ὁποῖο συνήθως δίδασκε ὁ κοινοτικὸς ἱερέας, εἴτε μόνος εἴτε βοηθούμενος ἀπὸ μετεκπαιδευομένους ἕλληνες ἐπιστήμονες. Πολλοὶ σημερινοὶ καθηγητὲς καὶ δάσκαλοι ὅλων τῶν βαθμίδων τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στὸ διδακτικὸ ἔργο ἀπὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν Κοινοτήτων, ὅπως ἄλλωστε καὶ σήμερα συμβαίνει, ὄχι μόνο στὴ Δ. Γερμανία, ἀλλὰ καὶ στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία, τὴ Γαλλία, τὴν Ἰταλία, τὴν Αὐστρία, τὶς Η.Π.Α., τὸν Καναδᾶ καὶ τὴν Αὐστραλία, ὁ δὲ ἀριθμός τους ἀνέρχεται σὲ χιλιάδες.

Γιὰ τὸ ἐκπαιδευτικὸ καθεστὼς ποὺ ἴσχυσε γιὰ τὴν ἑλληνόγλωσση διδασκαλία τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας, παλαιότερα, ὑπάρχει τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας, τὸ ὁποῖο ἐξέδωσε ὡς Ἀρχιγραμματεὺς τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ ἔτος 1955, μετὰ 3ετῆ θητεία στὴ Δ. Γερμανία ὡς Προϊστάμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Μονάχου καὶ ὡς Ἀρχιερατικὸς Ἐπίτροπος τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Θυατείρων Ἀθηναγόρα Καβάδα. Στὸ ἔργο του αὐτό, ὁ διὰ τοῦ Τόμου αὐτοῦ τιμώμενος Ἱεράρχης, κάνει λόγο γιὰ τὰ ἐνοριακὰ σχολεῖα, τὰ ὁποῖα, τὴν ἐποχὴ ἐκείνη καὶ πρὶν ἀπ' αὐτή, λειτουργοῦσαν μὲ τὴ φροντίδα τῶν ἐνοριακῶν ἱερέων, βοηθουμένων καὶ ἀπὸ Ἕλληνες, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔκαναν μετεκπαίδευση σὲ γερμανικὰ πανεπιστήμια. Ὁ τότε Ἀρχιμανδρίτης Μεθόδιος ἵδρυσε τὸ πρῶτο δίγλωσσο σχολεῖο, στὸ ὁποῖο φοιτοῦσαν ἑλληνόπαιδες καὶ Γερμανοὶ ποὺ εἶχαν διάθεση νὰ μάθουν τὴν ἑλληνικὴ γλώσσα. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὸ σχολεῖο τοῦ

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συνεργασία μαζί του. Ἀκόμη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ὑπουργοὺς Παιδείας τῆς Χώρας μας, μὲ ὑπηρεσιακὰ σημειώματα, ἐνδιαφερθήκαμε σὲ μεγάλο βαθμὸ νὰ τοῦ ἀναγνωρισθεῖ ἡ ἰδιότητα τοῦ φορέα τῆς ἑλλην. ἐκπαιδεύσεως, ἀφήνοντας τὴν ἄσκηση τῆς ὑπεύθυνης λειτουργίας, τῆς ὀργανώσεως καὶ ἐποπτείας τοῦ ὅλου διδακτικοῦ ἔργου στὸ ἐποπτικὸ ὄργανο τοῦ Ἕλλην. Ὑπουργείου Παιδείας, τὴ Σ.Ε. στὶς Βρυξέλλες. Δὲν θέλουμε νὰ ἀναφερθοῦμε περισσότερο στοὺς λόγους ποὺ οἱ προσπάθειές μας δὲν τελεσφόρησαν τότε. Ἕνα προσθέτουμε μόνο: τὶς ἀνάγκες τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Διασπορᾶς πρέπει νὰ τὶς ὑπηρετεῖ κανεὶς μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία της. Καὶ ἡ ἱστορία της δὲν εἶναι οἱ λίγες τελευταῖες δεκαετίες, ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ αἰῶνες της, οἱ ὁποῖοι βγαίνουν μέσα ἀπὸ τὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργο τῶν μεγάλων δασκάλων τοῦ Γένους, ποὺ ἀκόμη μιλοῦν μέσα ἀπὸ τὸ Φανάρι καὶ τοὺς ἐκπροσώπους του ἀνὰ τὰ πέρατα τῆς Οἰκουμένης.

Τὶς σκέψεις μας αὐτὲς ὁπωσδήποτε ἐνισχύουν οἱ ἀπόψεις τοῦ σημερινοῦ Μητροπολίτου Βελγίου κ. Παντελεήμονος, παλαιοῦ συμφοιτητοῦ μας καὶ ἀγαπητοῦ φίλου, ὁ ὁποῖος περιστασιακῶς ἔγραψε προσφάτως γιὰ τὴ συμβολὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων Ἐξωτερικοῦ τὰ ἀκόλουθα: «Ἡ μεγίστη προσφορὰ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν κληρικῶν ἐπεκτείνεται, κατὰ τρόπον θετικώτατον, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐκπαιδευτικὸν τομέα, ὅπου, λόγῳ τῶν στενῶν δεσμῶν των μὲ τοὺς μαθητὰς τῆς ἑνορίας των, συμβάλλουν ὅσον οὐδεὶς ἄλλος εἰς τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς γλώσσης καὶ τῶν ἐθνικῶν καὶ θρησκευτικῶν παραδόσεων τῆς προσφιλοῦς γενετείρας... Ἡ θέσις τῶν κληρικῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ συγκριθῇ μὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπεσπασμένους ἐκπαιδευτικοὺς τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ, οἱ ὁποῖοι δροῦν καὶ κινοῦνται ἀτομικά, ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ τὸ κοινωνικὸν σύνολον ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποίου εἶναι ταγμένοι, ἐν ἀντιθέσει μὲ τὸν ποιμένα-ἐκπαιδευτικόν, ὁ ὁποῖος κυριολεκτικὰ θυσιάζεται εἰς τὴν ξένην, ἀναλώμενος καθημερινῶς εἰς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς διακονίας τοῦ ποιμνίου του. Ὁ κληρικὸς ἐκπαιδευτικὸς δὲν εἶναι ἁπλὸς ἐκπαιδευτικός» (ἀπόσπασμα ἀπὸ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Ὑπουργὸ Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀριθ. 107/29.2.1984).

6. Ἡ Μητρόπολη Ἑλβετίας ἱδρύθηκε τὸ ἔτος 1982 καὶ παρὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι στὸ παρελθὸν ὑπῆρξαν ἀντιδράσεις στὴν παρουσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διὰ τῶν ἱερέων της στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων στὴν περιοχὴ αὐτὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιεκκλησιαστικὰ κυρίως στοιχεῖα, χάρις στὴ φιλογένεια τῆς οἰκογενείας Γκέρτσου, τοῦ πατέρα πρὶν καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀθανασίου σήμερα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλων σοβαρῶν καὶ γενναιοδώρων μελῶν τῆς ἐκεῖ Ἑλλην. Παροικίας, σήμερα δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἱκανοῦ καὶ φωτισμένου Μητροπολίτου κ. Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ τῶν συνεργατῶν του ἱερέων Παπαδέλλη, Σημανδηράκη καὶ Ἰωσηφίδη, ὡριμάζει μιὰ στενὴ συνεργασία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ Ἕλλην. Ὑπουργείου Παιδείας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλην. Κοινοτήτων.

Μονάχου, τὸ ὁποῖο καὶ οἱ Γερμανοὶ τὸ εἶδαν ὡς ἕνα καλὸ μεταπολεμικὸ σημάδι στὶς πνευματικὲς σχέσεις τῆς Χώρας μας μὲ τὴ Βαυαρία. Τὸ σχολεῖο αὐτὸ ἐξελίχθηκε σ' ἕνα καλὸ σχολεῖο, τὸ ὁποῖο ἐπὶ σειρὰ ἐτῶν διηύθυνε ὁ κ. Κ. Κωτσοβίλης καὶ στὴ συνέχεια ὑπήχθη ὡς ἀμιγὲς ἑλληνικὸ στὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κράτος[1].

Δύο σοβαρὲς αἰτίες σημάδεψαν τὴ σημερινὴ ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση στὴ Δ. Γερμανία. Ἡ πρώτη εἶναι τὰ κίνητρα τῆς μεταναστεύσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων στὴ χώρα αὐτὴ ἀπὸ τὸ 1960 καὶ πέρα μαζὶ μὲ τὸ καθεστὼς ποὺ προσέφεραν οἱ γερμανικὲς ἀρχὲς στοὺς ξένους μετανάστες γενικῶς. Ἡ δεύτερη εἶναι οἱ πολιτικὲς ἐξελίξεις στὴ Χώρα μας, ποὺ συνέπεσαν μὲ τὶς ἐκκλησιαστικὲς μεταβολὲς στὴν Ὀρθόδοξο Ἐκκλησία τῆς Δ. Εὐρώπης. Καὶ οἱ δυὸ αἰτίες δὲν εὐνόησαν τὴν Ὀρθόδοξο Ἐκκλησία νὰ παραμείνει ὁ φορέας τῶν ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας, ἐνῶ οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς Μητροπόλεως Γερμανίας συνέχισαν τὴν ἀπ' αἰώνων ἐθνικο-θρησκευτική τους φροντίδα γιὰ τοὺς ἀποδήμους μας, χωρὶς τὶς ἀπαιτήσεις ἐκεῖνες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ποὺ συναντᾶμε στὶς Η.Π.Α., τὴ Μ. Βρεταννία, τὴν Αὐστραλία καὶ τὴ Γαλλία, ὅπου ἡ Ἐκκλησία διατηρεῖ τὸν πρῶτο λόγο στὰ θέματα ἐκπαιδεύσεως, βοηθούσης, στὴ συνέχεια, καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Πολιτείας μὲ ὅσα μέσα διαθέτει αὐτὴ γιὰ τὸν σκοπὸ αὐτό.

Γιὰ νὰ ἐξασφαλίσει τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς ἐπιβολῆς δικοῦ της προγράμματος ἐκπαιδεύσεως, ἐποπτείας καὶ ἐλέγχου στὸ ἔργο τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν, ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Πολιτεία ἐγκαινίασε –μὲ πρῶτο βῆμα τὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας, τὴ δική της ἐκπαιδευτικὴ πολιτικὴ μὲ ἀνάλογη διαμόρφωση τῆς σχετικῆς νομοθεσίας, στῆς ὁποίας τὶς διατάξεις, οἱ ὁποῖες ἀνεγνώριζαν τὴν Ἐκκλησία ἢ τὶς Ἕλλην. Κοινότητες ὡς φορέα– νὰ ἀναγνωρίζονται σιγὰ σιγὰ ὡς φορεῖς τῆς Ἑλλην. Ἐκπαιδεύσεως Ἑλλην. Προξενεῖα, Ἑλλην. Σωματεῖα, Ἑλλην. Σύλλογοι καὶ ἕλληνες ἰδιῶτες.

Τὸν τελευταῖο καιρὸ παρατηρεῖται μιὰ ἔντονη δραστηριότητα τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Γερμανίας κ. Αὐγουστίνου γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων τῆς Μητροπόλεώς του. Καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ ποὺ ἦταν ἁπλὸς ἱερεὺς καὶ Ἐπίσκοπος μαζὶ μὲ τὸν μεγαλύτερο ἀριθμὸ τῶν ἱερέων τῆς Μητροπόλεως (Γρόλιο –ἐπίσκοπο Θερμῶν Δημήτριο– Παυλίδη Μακάριο, Γεωργακάκη Σταῦρο, Στεφανόπουλο, Κουρνιανό, Μαργαρίτη κ.ἄ.), πάνω ἀπὸ εἴκοσι χρόνια, δίνεται σκληρὸς ὁ ἀγώνας γιὰ τὴ διάσωση τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ταυτότητος τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων στὴν περιοχὴ αὐτή.

Μολονότι θὰ ἦταν χρήσιμο νὰ γνωρίζουν οἱ ἐνδιαφερόμενοι τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὁποίους ὁ Ἅγιος Γερμανίας χρησιμοποιεῖ γιὰ τὴ στήριξη τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία, ἀρκούμαστε νὰ σημειώσουμε ἀπόψεις του ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος, τὶς ὁποῖες ὁ ἴδιος διατύπωσε περιστασιακῶς. Μεταξὺ ἄλλων λέγει: «ἡ δυαδικὴ ἰδιότητα τοῦ ἱερέα–ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ, ποὺ ἀπορρέει ἀπὸ τὴν παράλληλη ἀποστολὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Πολιτείας, ἔχει ἱστορικὰ ἀναγνωρισθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸ Ἔθνος καὶ τὸ Κράτος, τὸ ὁποῖο τὶς ἔταξε στὴν ἁρμοδιότητα ἑνὸς καὶ ὄχι δύο Ὑπουργείων ποὺ χαρακτηριστικὰ ὀνομάζεται Ὑπουργεῖο Ἐθνικῆς Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων... Ἡ παρουσία τῶν ἱερέων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν στὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Γερμανίας εἶναι τελείως ἀπαραίτητη. Θὰ πρέπει δὲ νὰ βοηθήσουμε νὰ διορισθοῦν καὶ οἱ ὑπόλοιποι ἱερεῖς[2]..., βοηθώντας τὴν Ἐκκλησία μας στὸ Ἐξωτερικό, βοηθοῦμε τὸ μαρτυρικὸ γένος τῶν Ἑλλήνων»[3].

Ἡ νέα αὐτὴ μορφὴ ἐκπαιδεύσεως στὴ Δ. Γερμανία καὶ ὁπουδήποτε ἀλλοῦ καθιερώθηκε μὲ ἕνα σημαντικὸ κόστος γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλην. Πολιτεία καὶ γιὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησία, ἰδιαίτερα, ὅμως, γιὰ τὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό, δὲν ἔφερε ἀποτελέσματα καλύτερα ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ποὺ θὰ εἴχαμε ἐὰν παρέμενε ἡ Ἐκκλησία φορέας τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως. Τὸ συμπέρασμα τοῦτο συνάγεται ἀβίαστα καὶ ἀμερόληπτα, ἐὰν ληφθοῦν ὑπόψη ὁρισμένα στοιχεῖα ποὺ προέρχονται ἀπὸ σχολεῖα ἄλλων περιοχῶν, τὰ ὁποῖα καθορίζουν τὴν περαιτέρω ἀνάπτυξη τοῦ θέματός μας.

### δ. Ἀμφισβήτηση τῆς ἰδιότητος τοῦ φορέα στὴν Ἐκκλησία τῆς Διασπορᾶς.

Στὶς Η.Π.Α., τὸν Καναδᾶ, τὴ Μ. Βρεταννία καὶ

1. Δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἐπεκταθοῦμε στὰ αἴτια ποὺ διαμόρφωσαν τὸ σημερινὸ καθεστὼς τοῦ ἑλλην. σχολείου τοῦ Μονάχου, οὔτε στὶς διεκδικήσεις ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ προηγουμένου φορέα, ὁ ὁποῖος σήμερα λειτουργεῖ ὡς ἐκκλησιαστικὸ ἕνα Νηπιαγωγεῖο ἀναγνωρισμένο ἀπὸ τὶς Βαυαρικὲς ἐκπαιδευτικὲς ὑπηρεσίες. Ἕνα ἀκόμη ἐκκλησιαστικὸ Νηπιαγωγεῖο λειτουργεῖ στὴ Φραγκφούρτη μὲ τὴ φροντίδα τοῦ διακεκριμένου ἰατροῦ κ. Ρουφογάλη, ὁ ὁποῖος δὲν περιορίζεται μόνο στὴ μικρὴ αὐτὴ ἐκπαιδευτικὴ μονάδα, οὔτε στὸ βιοποριστικό του ἐπάγγελμα. Ἀσκεῖ εὐρύτερο κοινωνικὸ καὶ ἐθνικὸ ἔργο, τοῦ ὁποίου οἱ εὐεργετικὲς προεκτάσεις φθάνουν καὶ στὸ Ἐσωτερικὸ τῆς Χώρας μας. Τέτοιες παλιὲς φρουρές, σὰν τὸν κ. Ρουφογάλη, συναντᾶ κανεὶς πολλὲς σ' ὅλη τὴ Δ. Γερμανία καὶ τὶς λοιπὲς χῶρες τῆς Δ. Εὐρώπης. Διακατέχονται ἀπὸ σπάνιους δημιουργικοὺς πατριωτικοὺς ἐνθουσιασμούς, τοὺς ὁποίους δὲν μποροῦν νὰ κατανοήσουν οἱ νεώτεροι μετανάστες μας. Ἄλλα τρία (3) Νηπιαγωγεῖα μὲ φορέα τὴ Μητρόπολη Γερμανίας λειτουργοῦν καὶ στὶς πόλεις Ἀννόβερο, Ἀμβοῦργο καὶ Νυρεμβέργη.

2. Οἱ ἀπόψεις αὐτὲς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γερμανίας διατυπώθηκαν μὲ ἀφορμὴ τὴν ἀνάκληση τῆς ἀποσπάσεως τῶν ἱερέων–ἐκπαιδευτικῶν π. Σταύρου Γεωργακάκη καὶ Ἀλεξ. Στεφανόπουλου, γιὰ τοὺς ὁποίους ἡ ἐφημερίδα Βραδυνὴ ἔγραψε μακρὸ σχόλιο τὴ 16–7–1984, στὸ ὁποῖο ἀνεφέρετο καὶ τὸ ἑξῆς: «οἱ ἀνακαλούμενοι ἱερεῖς–ἐκπαιδευτικοὶ ἔχουν ὀργανώσει τὰ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα, ποὺ λειτουργοῦν στὶς περιοχές τους, καὶ τοὺς ἔχουν ἐξασφαλίσει ἀπὸ τὶς τοπικὲς ἀρχὲς ὅλες τὶς ἀπαραίτητες προϋποθέσεις (στέγη, ἀσφάλεια, καθαριότητα κτλ.) γιὰ τὴν ἀπρόσκοπτη λειτουργία τους...».

3. Ἐπιστολὴ Μητροπολίτου Γερμανίας κ. Αὐγουστίνου πρὸς τὸν Ὑπουργὸ Ἐθν. Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων κ. Ἀπ. Κακλαμάνη, ἀπὸ 22.2.1984. Ἐμεῖς φροντίσαμε οἱ πτυχιοῦχοι κληρικοί, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶχαν τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ σὲ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ (ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ τὸν ἱερατικό τους βαθμό), νὰ διορισθοῦν στὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Δημόσιο. Τὸ μέτρο αὐτὸ εἶχε καὶ θὰ ἔχει ἀγαθὰ ἀποτελέσματα γιὰ τὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό.

τὴν Αὐστραλία[1], τὴν πρωτοβουλία στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων Ἐξωτερικοῦ, σ' ὅλους τοὺς τύπους ἐκπαιδεύσεως, ἀπὸ τὶς ἀπογευματινὲς τάξεις μητρικῆς γλώσσας ὡς τὰ ἀμιγῆ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα, ἔχει ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Γιὰ πολλὲς δεκαετίες ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὶς περιοχὲς αὐτὲς (τὸ πρῶτο ἑλλην. σχολεῖο τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας τοῦ Λονδίνου ἔχει ἱστορία πάνω ἀπὸ 100 χρόνια) ἐξασφαλίζει τὰ κατάλληλα κτίρια, ὀργάνωση καὶ πρόγραμμα ἐκπαιδευτικὸ ἀνάλογο μὲ τὶς ἀνάγκες ποὺ ἀντιμετωπίζουν τὰ ἑλληνόπουλα Ἐξωτερικοῦ, ὥστε νὰ ἐπιβιώσουν μέσα στὸ ξένο περιβάλλον ὡς ἕλληνες ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοί.

Μὲ τὴ συσσωρευμένη πεῖρα τῶν στελεχῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας[2] γίνεται ἡ ἐπιλογὴ τῶν καταλλήλων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν καὶ ἡ σωστὴ καθοδήγησή τους στὸ ἔργο τους, προκειμένου τὰ ἑλληνικὰ προγράμματα τῆς Πατρίδος, τὰ διδακτικὰ βιβλία της καὶ οἱ ὁποιεσδήποτε ἐκπαιδευτικὲς καὶ διδακτικὲς ὁδηγίες νὰ προσαρμόζονται πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῶν μαθητῶν. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὸ ἔργο της αὐτὸ δὲν ἐνεργεῖ ἐρήμην τῶν κοινοτικῶν ἢ συλλογικῶν ὀργάνων ἢ καὶ ἀτόμων ἀκόμη τοῦ Ἀποδήμου Ἑλληνισμοῦ. Ὅπως ἔχει τονισθεῖ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, στὰ ἁρμόδια ἐκπαιδευτικὰ ὄργανά της ἡ Ἐκκλησία περιλαμβάνει μέλη ποὺ ἀντιπροσωπεύουν τὸ σύνολο τοῦ Ὀρθοδόξου Ποιμνίου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Διασπορᾶς.

Ὅπως γίνεται ἀντιληπτό, ἡ Ἐκκλησία κινεῖ ἕνα δόκιμο, εὐρὺ καὶ ἰσχυρὸ μηχανισμὸ γιὰ νὰ πετύχει τὴ συντήρηση τῆς ἑλληνορθόδοξης συνειδήσεως καὶ ταυτότητος τοῦ ἑλληνόπαιδος Ἐξωτερικοῦ. Ἕνα μηχανισμό, τὸν ὁποῖο ὁρισμένοι ἀπὸ τοὺς τὰ τελευταῖα χρόνια τοποθετημένους Συμβούλους Ἐκπαιδεύσεως δὲν μπόρεσαν νὰ ἀγγίξουν καὶ νὰ κατανοήσουν ὅπως δείχνουν τὰ ὑπηρεσιακὰ πληροφοριακά τους ἔγγραφα. Ἡ ἐκτίμηση τοῦ ἐπιτελούμενου ἔργου στὰ σχολεῖα αὐτὰ μὲ κριτήρια ἴδια μ' ἐκεῖνα μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα ἀξιολογεῖται τὸ ἔργο τῶν σχολείων Ἐσωτερικοῦ, φαλκιδεύει τὸ ἔργο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς, ἐφόσον τὸ πρόγραμμα τῶν ὁμογενειακῶν σχολείων περιλαμβάνει κυρίως διδασκαλία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσας, τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας, τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γεωγραφίας καὶ πολιτιστικὰ στοιχεῖα. Τὰ στοιχεῖα αὐτὰ ἀποτελοῦν θεμελιώδεις ἐθνικὲς δυνάμεις ποὺ ἐπενεργοῦν ὡς ἀντίδοτα στὸν κατακλυσμὸ τῶν ποικίλων ἀντιδράσεων ποὺ δροῦν καταλυτικὰ γιὰ τοὺς ἀποδήμους μας μέσα στὸ ξένο περιβάλλον στὸ ὁποῖο ζοῦν.

Μιὰ δέσμη ἀπὸ ἔγγραφα τοῦ σημερινοῦ Σ.Ε. στὴν Ἑλλην. Πρεσβεία τοῦ Λονδίνου ἀποκαλύπτουν τὴν ἄγνοια αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν προσπάθεια νὰ περιθωριοποιηθεῖ ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὸν χῶρο τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ ἴδια εἶναι δημιουργός[3]. Καὶ ἀκόμη, μὲ μιὰ προσπάθεια ὄχι ἁπλῶς πλάγια, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπονομευτική, θὰ ἐπιχειρήσει τὴν ὑπονόμευση τῆς ἐκπαιδευτικῆς πολιτικῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία θὰ διαταράξει τὴν ἠρεμία τοῦ Ἀποδήμου Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ θὰ ὁδηγήσει στὴ διάσπαση τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτοῦ, γιὰ τὴν ὁποία πολλὲς καὶ μακρόχρονες θυσίες ἔχει κάμει ἡ Ἐκκλησία. Τὸ μόνο θετικὸ στοιχεῖο στὸ ὑπ' ἀριθ. πρωτ. 343/4–7–1983 ἔγγραφο τοῦ Σ.Ε. στὸ Ἑλλην. Προξενεῖο τοῦ Λονδίνου εἶναι ἐκεῖνο τὸ σημεῖο, στὸ ὁποῖο ἀναφέρονται τὰ ἑξῆς: «Οἱ σχέσεις μεταξὺ Κυπρίων καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου φαίνεται νὰ βελτιώθηκαν ἀρκετὰ ἀπὸ τότε ποὺ στὸν Ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸ θρόνο τοποθετήθηκε ὁ κ. Μεθόδιος. Στὰ σχολεῖα, ἔτσι, τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπηρετοῦν μὲ ἀπόσπαση καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς Κύπριοι ἐκπαιδευτικοί.

»Πρέπει, ὡστόσο, νὰ ὑπογραμμισθεῖ ὅτι ὁ ρόλος ποὺ παίζουν τὰ δύο Ὑπουργεῖα (σημ. Ἑλλάδος καὶ Κύπρου) στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνόπουλων τῆς Ἀγγλίας εἶναι ἀπὸ ἀσήμαντος μέχρι ἀνύπαρκτος, περιοριζόμενος οὐσιαστικὰ στὴν παροχὴ ἐκπαιδευτικῶν τους, ποὺ μὲ αἴτησή τους ζητοῦν οἱ φορεῖς ποὺ ἀναφέραμε (Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ καὶ Ο.Ε.Σ.Ε.Κ.Α.), ἢ ἁπλὰ καὶ μόνο στὸ διδακτικὸ ἔργο ποὺ ἀσκοῦν γιὰ λογαριασμὸ τῶν φορέων αὐτῶν οἱ ἐκπαιδευτικοί τους. Ἡ χάραξη, ἔτσι, καὶ ἡ ἄσκηση μιᾶς συγκεκριμένης ἐκπαιδευτικῆς πολιτικῆς ἐπιλογῆς καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀνήκει στὶς πιὸ πάνω ὀργανωμένες ὁμάδες ποὺ ἐλέγχουν ἀπόλυτα τὸν πολιτιστικὸ καὶ ἰδεολογικὸ προσ-

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1. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία στὴν Αὐστραλία ἐλέγχει τὸ 50% περίπου τῶν ἑλλην. σχολικῶν μονάδων. Ἀπὸ τὰ μὴ ἐλεγχόμενα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία, τὰ περισσότερα ἀνήκουν στὶς παλαιὲς Κοινότητες, οἱ ὁποῖες εἶναι φορεῖς τῶν ἐνοριακῶν κοινοτικῶν τους σχολείων, τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν ἔχουν φορέα τὴν Ἑλλην. Ὀρθόδοξο Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ μὲ τὴν ἔννοια ὅτι διατηροῦνται ὁρισμένες διοικητικὲς ἐκκλησιαστικὲς διαφορὲς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς.

2. Ἐπὶ παραδείγματι οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι Κυανέων Χρυσόστομος, Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμόθεος, Τροπαίου Γρηγόριος, Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀρίσταρχος, Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρος, Πατάρων Εἰρηναῖος (στὴ Μεγ. Βρεταννία), Σασίμων Ἱερεμίας (στὴ Γαλλία), Ἀρχιμ. Ἱερόθεος Κουρτέσης (στὴν Αὐστραλία), Εὐμενείας Μάξιμος (στὴν Ὁλλανδία), δεκάδες ἱερέων στὶς Η.Π.Α., τὸν Καναδᾶ καὶ τὶς χῶρες τῆς Εὐρώπης, ὅλοι αὐτοὶ διανύουν τὴν τρίτη δεκαετία στὰ ὁμογενειακὰ σχολεῖα τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ.

Δὲν εἶναι ὑπερβολὴ ἐὰν μνημονεύσουμε ἡγέτες τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας ποὺ ὑπηρέτησαν σὲ ὁμογενειακὰ σχολεῖα. Ἡ Α.Θ.Π. ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης κ. Δημήτριος, ὡς Ἀρχιμανδρίτης δίδαξε στὸ ἑλλην. σχολεῖο τῆς Τεχεράνης, ὁ Μακαριώτατος Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας κ. Νικόλαος ὑπηρέτησε ὡς Καθηγητὴς στὸ κοινοτικὸ σχολεῖο τῆς Ἑλλην. Κοινότητος Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας, ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Β. καὶ Ν. Ἀμερικῆς κ. Ἰάκωβος δίδαξε ὡς Καθηγητὴς καὶ Σχολάρχης στὴ Θεολογ. Σχολὴ τῆς Βοστώνης, ὁ Θυατείρων κ. Μεθόδιος δίδαξε ὡς Καθηγητὴς στὸ ἑλλην. σχολεῖο τοῦ Μονάχου καὶ τὸ Γυμνάσιο τῆς Ἑλλην. Κοινότητος Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας, ὁ Ν. Ζηλανδίας Διονύσιος ἐπὶ σειρὰν ἐτῶν δίδαξε στὸ ἑλλην. σχολεῖο τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας τοῦ Λονδίνου, ὁ Βελγίου Παντελεήμων δίδαξε στὸ ὁμογενειακὸ σχολεῖο τῆς Σαρλὲ-Ρουά. Ἀκόμη στοὺς ἐκπαιδευτικοὺς τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ Ἱεράρχες ἀναφέρονται ὁ Μητροπολίτης Μέμφιδος Διονύσιος στὴ Μανσούρα, ὁ Θερμῶν Δημήτριος στὸ Μόναχο καὶ ὁ Ἐλαίας Θεοδώρητος στὴν Τεχεράνη.

3. Μνημονεύουμε ἁπλῶς τὸ θέμα καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τῶν σχετικῶν ἐγγράφων πρὸς τὸ Ὑπουργεῖο Ἐθν. Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων: α) Ἑλληνικὰ Σχολεῖα Μπέρμικχαμ, ἀριθ. πρωτ. 359/15–7–1983, β) Δημιουργία νέου σχολείου στὸ Κάρδιφ, ἀριθ. πρωτ. 358/21–7–1983· βλ. καὶ σχετ. δημοσίευμα *Μ. Τζιάλλη* στὴν ἐφημερίδα «Παροικιακὴ Χαραυγή», τῆς 6–7–1983, δικῆς του ἐμπνεύσεως, γ) Ἵδρυση πλήρους δημοσίου Ἑλληνικοῦ Σχολείου στὸ Λονδῖνο, ἀριθ. πρωτ. 343/4–7–1983.

ανατολισμὸ τοῦ ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ χώρου ἀνάλογα μὲ τὶς φιλοδοξίες καὶ τὶς πολιτικοοικονομικοκοινωνικὲς τοποθετήσεις». Στὴ συνέχεια τοῦ ἐγγράφου γίνονται προσωπικὲς ἐκτιμήσεις γιὰ τὶς δυνατότητες ὑπαγωγῆς ὅλων τῶν σχολείων ὑπὸ ἕνα φορέα, ποὺ δὲν θὰ εἶναι οὔτε ὁ ἕνας οὔτε ὁ ἄλλος ἀπὸ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντες, γιατὶ κατὰ τὴ γνώμη του ἐμποδίζουν τοὺς «πελάτες» τῶν ἀποσπασμένων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν τῶν σχολείων τους (γονεῖς – μαθητὲς) «μὲ τὸν τρόπο αὐτὸ νὰ γίνονται ὄργανα καθοδηγητικὰ τοῦ ἀποδήμου ἑλληνισμοῦ στὴν προσπάθειά του γιὰ ἐθνικὴ ἐπιβίωση καὶ κοινωνικὴ ὁλοκλήρωση στὸ νέο τόπο ἐγκατάστασης καὶ δραστηριοποίησής τους». Δηλ., κατὰ τὸν κ. Σύμβουλο, ἡ ἐπιβίωση τοῦ Ἀποδήμου Ἑλληνισμοῦ μέχρι σήμερα ὀφείλεται σὲ ἀόρατες δυνάμεις καὶ ὄχι στὸν ὀργανωμένο Ἑλληνισμὸ γύρω ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Εὐτυχῶς ποὺ ὑπάρχουν φωτισμένοι πολιτικοὶ καὶ σήμερα, σὰν τὸν Ὑπουργὸ Παιδείας κ. Ἀπ. Κακλαμάνη, ποὺ διορθώνει ὅσους σκέπτονται διεστραμμένα γιὰ τὸ ἔργο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ὁ κ. Κακλαμάνης σὲ ἐπιστολή του πρὸς τὸν Μητροπολίτη Γερμανίας κ. Αὐγουστῖνο (ἀριθ. πρωτ. 9383/2.11.1983) μεταξὺ ἄλλων λέγει: «... θέλουμε καὶ πάλι νὰ σᾶς διαβεβαιώσουμε γιὰ τὴν πεποίθησή μας, ὅτι ἡ συμβολὴ τῆς Ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας μας στὸ Ἐξωτερικὸ γιὰ τὴν πνευματικὴ καλλιέργεια τῶν συμπατριωτῶν μας καὶ τὴ διατήρηση τῆς πολιτιστικῆς καὶ ἐθνικῆς μας ταυτότητας εἶναι μεγάλη. Ἡ ὀρθόδοξη παράδοσή μας εἶναι πρωταρχικὴ δύναμη στὸν Ἑλληνισμὸ τῆς διασπορᾶς καὶ οἱ φωτισμένοι ἱερεῖς μας συμπαραστάτες τῶν συμπατριωτῶν μας τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ».

Θὰ θέλαμε νὰ ἐρωτήσουμε τὸν κ. Σύμβουλο, μήπως εἶδε πουθενὰ κανένα Σύμβουλο ἢ ἀποσπασμένο ἐκπαιδευτικὸ νὰ ξεσηκώνει τὰ ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμο ἑλληνικὰ Λόμπυ σὲ ἐθνικὲς κρίσεις ἢ ἀκόμη γιατί ὁ Πρωθυπουργὸς τῆς Χώρας μας κ. Ἀνδρ. Παπανδρέου προσκάλεσε τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Ἀμερικῆς κ. Ἰάκωβο στὴν Ἀθήνα μετὰ τὴν ἀνακήρυξη τοῦ ψευδοκράτους τοῦ Ντεκτὰς στὴν Κύπρο; Γιὰ τὸ ἴδιο θέμα ὁ Ὑπουργὸς (τότε Προεδρίας) κ. Ἀγ. Κουτσόγιωργας κάλεσε τὸν παρεπιδημοῦντα στὴν Ἀθήνα Θυατείρων κ. Μεθόδιο.

Μὲ πραγματικὴ μισαλλόδοξη ἀντίληψη ἐβλήθη τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κολλέγιο τοῦ Λονδίνου[1], τὸ ὁποῖο μὲ φορέα τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ ἦταν ἀναγνωρισμένο ἀπὸ τὶς Ἑλληνικὲς Ἀρχὲς ὅσο καὶ τὶς ἀντίστοιχες Βρεταννικές, γιὰ ἕνα καὶ μόνο λόγο, γιατὶ στὸ σχολεῖο αὐτὸ φοιτοῦσαν τὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ τέως Βασιλέως τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀκόμη γιατὶ δὲν ἐπετράπη σὲ ὁρισμένους ἀποσπασμένους στὸ σχολεῖο αὐτὸ ἐκπαιδευτικοὺς νὰ εἰρωνεύονται τοὺς μαθητὲς αὐτούς. Θέλουμε νὰ πιστεύουμε ὅτι ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Ὑφυπουργοῦ Παιδείας κ. Π. Μώραλη εἶναι αὐτὴ ποὺ διέρρευσε σχετικὰ μὲ τὸ σχολεῖο αὐτό. Φέρεται νὰ εἶπε «ὅτι σὲ δύο τρία χρόνια τὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ Βασιλιᾶ θὰ ἀποφοιτήσουν. Καὶ μόνο γι' αὐτὸ τὸν λόγο δὲν πρέπει νὰ προχωρήσουμε στὸ κλείσιμο αὐτοῦ». Τελικὰ πῆρε τὴν ἀπόφαση ἄρσεως τῆς ἀναγνωρίσεώς του ἀπὸ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κράτος καὶ ἱδρύσεως ἄλλου πλήρους ἑλληνικοῦ σχολείου. Ἡ ἐξέλιξη αὐτή, μολονότι εἶχε ὡς στόχο τὸ κλείσιμο τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου, ὁδήγησε τὸν φορέα καὶ τὴν Ἐκτελεστικὴ Ἐπιτροπὴ αὐτοῦ νὰ μεταβάλει τὸν τύπο αὐτοῦ καὶ νὰ τὸ μετατρέψει ἀπὸ καθαρῶς ἑλληνικὸ σὲ δίγλωσσο, κατὰ τὸν τύπο τῶν διγλώσσων σχολείων ποὺ λειτουργοῦν στὴν Ἀστόρια τῆς Ν. Ὑόρκης, στὸ Κάρλτον τῆς Μελβούρνης, τὸ ΣΑΧΕΤΙ τοῦ Γιοχάννεσμπουργκ, τὰ ἑλληνικὰ τμήματα στὰ Εὐρωπαϊκὰ σχολεῖα τῶν Βρυξελλῶν καὶ τοῦ Λουξεμβούργου κ.ἄ., τὰ ὁποῖα ἀναγνωρίζονται ἀπὸ τὸ Ὑπουργεῖο Ἐθν. Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἡ μετατροπὴ αὐτὴ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου δὲν ζημιώνει σὲ τίποτα τοὺς ἀποφοίτους αὐτοῦ, γιατὶ τὸ ἐπίπεδο ἐκπαιδεύσεως ποὺ παρέχει ἔχει ἤδη ἀναγνωρισθεῖ ἀπὸ πολλὰ ἀγγλικὰ πανεπιστήμια καὶ ἀκόμη στὰ τμήματά του ἔχει περιλάβει πρόγραμμα σπουδῶν γιὰ τὴν ἀπόκτηση τοῦ G.C.E. Ἡ μὴ ἀναγνώριση τοῦ σχολείου ἀπὸ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Ὑπουργεῖο Παιδείας δὲν σημαίνει στέρηση τῶν δικαιωμάτων ποὺ ἔχουν οἱ ἀπόφοιτοί του σύμφωνα μὲ τὶς διατάξεις τοῦ Ν.Δ. 650/1970 καὶ τοῦ Π.Δ. 155/1978, οἱ ὁποῖες εἶναι εὐεργετικὲς γιὰ ὅλα τὰ ἑλληνόπουλα τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ χωρὶς καμμιὰ ἐξαίρεση.

Στὴν περίπτωση ποὺ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Πολιτεία δὲν ἀναγνωρίσει τοὺς τίτλους ἀποφοίτων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Λονδίνου μόνο καὶ μόνο γιατὶ κάποιοι ἀστήρικτοι ἰδεολογικοὶ λόγοι χρησιμοποιήθηκαν γιὰ νὰ ἀρθεῖ ἡ ἀναγνώριση τῆς ἰσοτιμίας τοῦ σχολείου αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἀντίστοιχα σχολεῖα τοῦ Ἐσωτερικοῦ, ἐνῶ ἀναγνωρίζονται οἱ τίτλοι σχολείων τοῦ αὐτοῦ τύπου τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ ποὺ ἀναφέραμε ἀνωτέρω, στὴν πράξη θὰ ἐπιχειρηθεῖ διάκριση, τὴν ὁποία καμμιὰ συνταγματικὴ ἢ νομικὴ διάταξη ὁρίζει, ἀλλ' οὔτε καὶ ἐπιτρέπει. Μιὰ τέτοια ἐνέργεια, ἀκόμη, θὰ εἶναι ἀντίθετη καὶ μὲ τὸ Εὐρωπαϊκὸ Δίκαιο περὶ ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν παιδιῶν τῶν μελῶν τῆς ΕΟΚ, στὰ ὁποῖα ἀναγνωρίζεται τὸ δικαίωμα ἐκμαθήσεως τῆς μητρικῆς γλώσσας καὶ τῶν ἐθνικῶν πολιτιστικῶν στοιχείων, ὑποχρεώνει δὲ ἀκόμη τὶς χῶρες–μέλη τῆς ΕΟΚ νὰ ἱδρύσουν γιὰ τὰ τέκνα τῶν μεταναστῶν κατάλληλα σχολεῖα.

Θεωρεῖται εὐτύχημα ὅτι τὶς μεταβολὲς αὐτές, καθόλου εὐχάριστες γιὰ τὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό, τὶς προλαμβάνει ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ἡ ὁποία δὲν μετακινεῖται ἀπὸ τοὺς διαχρονικοὺς στόχους της, τοὺς ὁποίους ἐπιτυγχάνει ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ τοὺς μετασχηματισμοὺς ποὺ τῆς ὑπαγορεύουν οἱ κοινωνικοπολιτικὲς καὶ οἰκονομικὲς ἐξελίξεις τῆς χώρας στὴν ὁποία ζεῖ καὶ ἐργάζεται τὸ ποίμνιό της. Εἶναι οἱ μόνοι, ἀσφαλῶς, παράγοντες ποὺ ἰδιαίτερα λαμβάνει ὑπόψη γιὰ τὴν κοινωνικὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελματικὴ ἔνταξη τῶν ἀποδήμων μας, ἰδιαίτερα στὶς χῶρες ὅπου οἱ ἀπόδημοί μας ἔχουν μόνιμη ἐγκατάσταση. Οἱ ὑποχρεώσεις της ἀπὸ τὴ δική μας ἐθνικὴ συνείδηση

1. Πρβλ. καὶ δημοσίευμα στὴν ἐφημ. ΒΡΑΔΥΝΗ τῆς 25–2–1983.

καὶ ταυτότητα εἶναι ἡ εἰδοποιὸς δύναμη σ' ὅλες τὶς ἐνέργειές της, ποὺ ἀφοροῦν τὴν πατριδογνωστικὴ κατάρτιση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων Ἐξωτερικοῦ.

Ὁρίζοντας τὸν ρόλο τῆς Ἑλλην. Ἐκκλησίας στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία γιὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνες ὁ ἱστορικὸς Sir St. Runciman λέγει τὰ ἑξῆς περισπούδαστα: «Μιὰ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκκλησία στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία, σεβαστὴ ἀπὸ τὶς ἄλλες Ἐκκλησίες καὶ ἀπὸ τὶς πολιτικὲς ἀρχές, μπορεῖ νὰ δώσει στοὺς πιστούς της τὸ αἴσθημα αὐτὸ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ταυτότητος χωρὶς νὰ συγκρούεται μὲ τὶς ἐνέργειες τῶν μελῶν της, σὰν πολιτῶν προσωρινῶν ἢ μονίμων τῆς χώρας, στὴν ὁποία ἔχουν ἔλθει... Ἡ Ἐκκλησία φροντίζει καὶ μεριμνᾶ γιὰ τὴν αἰωνιότητα καὶ σέβεται τὴ δύναμη τῆς παραδόσεως... Εἶναι πολύτιμο γιὰ μᾶς σ' αὐτὴ τὴ χώρα (τὴ Μ. Βρεταννία) νὰ ἔχουμε μεταξύ μας μιὰ Ἐκκλησία, ποὺ δὲν ἔχει ἀρνηθεῖ τὶς παραδόσεις της καὶ τοὺς αἰώνιους κανόνες της καὶ συνεχίζει νὰ ζεῖ σταθερὰ μὲ τὸν ἴδιο τρόπο καὶ μὲ τὴ Χάρη τοῦ Θεοῦ θὰ συνεχίσει νὰ ζεῖ, γιὰ νὰ πληροῖ τὶς ἀνάγκες τοῦ λαοῦ της... (καὶ καταλήγει)... δὲν πρέπει νὰ φοβούμεθα γιὰ τὸ μέλλον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία, ἐφόσον διατηρεῖ τὶς ὑψηλὲς ἀρχές της, ἐφόσον οἱ Ἕλληνες πιστοί της παραμένουν νομοταγεῖς στὶς παραδόσεις της καὶ αἰσθάνονται ὑπερήφανοι γι' αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφόσον δέχεται μὲ καλωσύνη φίλους ἀπὸ ἀλλοῦ»[1].

### ε. Ἐπίσημα κείμενα μιλοῦν γιὰ τὸ ρόλο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση.

Μερικὰ κείμενα, ἀποσπάσματα τῶν ὁποίων παραθέτουμε κατωτέρω, μιλοῦν εὔγλωττα γιὰ τοὺς στόχους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς πάνω στὸ θέμα τῆς λειτουργίας τοῦ κοινοτικοῦ-ἐνοριακοῦ σχολείου.

α) Στὸ νέο ἀναλυτικὸ πρόγραμμα μαθημάτων, ποὺ συνέθεσε τὸ Γραφεῖο Παιδείας τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἀμερικῆς καὶ ἐνέκριναν τὸ Ἀνώτατο Ἐκπαιδευτικὸ Συμβούλιο καὶ ἡ 25η Κληρικολαϊκή, ὁ ἔμμεσος καὶ τελικὸς σκοπὸς τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ κοινοτικοῦ σχολείου ὁρίζεται ὡς ἑξῆς: «...Νὰ βοηθήσει τὸ μαθητὴ νὰ διαμορφώσει ἑλληνικὸ ἦθος καὶ χαρακτήρα. Στὸ ἑλληνικὸ ἀπογευματινὸ σχολεῖο δὲν διδάσκουμε γιὰ νὰ πλουτίσουμε μόνο τὶς γνώσεις τοῦ μαθητῆ, ἀλλὰ γιὰ νὰ βοηθήσουμε ἐνημερώνοντάς τον στὰ στοιχεῖα ποὺ συνθέτουν τὴν πνευματικὴ παράδοση τοῦ λαοῦ μας (γλώσσα, θρησκεία καὶ πολιτιστικὴ ἱστορία), νὰ ζήσει, νὰ ἀγωνισθεῖ καὶ νὰ προοδεύσει στὸν Ἀμερικανικὸ χῶρο σὰν εὐσυνείδητο καὶ δημιουργικὸ καὶ ὑπερήφανο γιὰ τὴν καταγωγή του μέλος τῆς Ὁμογενείας.

»Τὸ ἀπόσταγμα τῆς διαφωτισμένης γνώσεως τῆς Ἑλληνοχριστιανικῆς πνευματικῆς παραδόσεως πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἕνας κώδικας ἠθικῶν ἀξιῶν, ποὺ καθορίζουν τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀτομικῆς καὶ κοινωνικῆς βιοτῆς. Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Παιδεία ποὺ περιορίζεται στὸν γνωσιολογικὸ τομέα καὶ δὲν ἐπηρεάζει τὴν ἀτομικὴ καὶ κοινωνικὴ συμπεριφορὰ εἶναι ἀνεπαρκής». Στὴ συνέχεια ἀναφέρονται οἱ ἀπαραίτητες θεμελιώδεις ἀναπροσαρμογὲς στὶς διάφορες περιοχὲς τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ σχολικοῦ προγράμματος, προκειμένου νὰ ἐπιτευχθεῖ τὸ ἐκπαιδευτικὸ ἰδεῶδες στοὺς κοινοτικοὺς σχολικοὺς τύπους, τὰ διδακτικὰ μέσα, τὶς μεθόδους διδασκαλίας, τὸ διδακτικὸ προσωπικὸ κτλ. στὴ δεκαετία τοῦ 1980. Ἡ Ἑλλην. Ἐκκλησία εἶναι «ὁ θεματοφύλακας καὶ ὑπεύθυνος ἐπόπτης καὶ διαχειριστὴς τῆς πνευματικῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους μέσα στὸ πολυεθνικὸ καὶ πολυπολιτιστικὸ περιβάλλον τῆς ἀμερικανικῆς μας Πατρίδος, ποὺ διοικητικὰ ἀντιπροσωπεύεται ἀπὸ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξο Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Βορείου καὶ Νοτίου Ἀμερικῆς», λέγει ὁ Διευθυντὴς Παιδείας τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς κ. Ἐμμ. Χατζηεμμανουήλ, γιατὶ μόνο «ὅσοι γνωρίζουν καλὰ τὴ φύση καὶ τὴν ὑφὴ καὶ ἱστορικὴ διαμόρφωση τῆς πνευματικῆς μας κληρονομιᾶς, καθὼς καὶ τὴν ἱστορικὴ ἐξέλιξη καὶ διαμόρφωση τῆς ἀμερικανικῆς κουλτούρας, ἀντιλαμβάνονται καθαρὰ ὅτι ὁ θρησκευτικὸς καὶ ὁ πολιτιστικὸς βίος τῶν ἑλληνικῆς καταγωγῆς ἀμερικανῶν πολιτῶν δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ διαχωρισθοῦν, οὔτε νὰ γίνουν ὑπόθεση καὶ εὐθύνη κανενὸς ἄλλου φορέα, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθόδοξο Ἐκκλησία Ἀμερικῆς»[2]. Ἡ καλλιέργεια αὐτὴ δὲν μπορεῖ πρακτικὰ νὰ ἀσκηθεῖ ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν ἑλληνοαμερικανικὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ κοινότητα, ὑποστηρίζει ὁ ἴδιος ὁ κ. Χατζηεμμανουήλ, γιατὶ ἡ κοινότητα ἀποτελεῖ τὴ φυσικὴ προέκταση τῆς ἑλληνοαμερικανικῆς οἰκογένειας καὶ κατ' ἐπέκταση εἶναι ὁ συνδεκτικὸς κρίκος πρὸς τὸ ἑλληνικὸ Ἔθνος καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ πνευματικὴ κληρονομιά[3].

Οἱ ἀνωτέρω ἀντιλήψεις εἶναι τεκμηριωμένες ἀπὸ τὴν ἴδια τὴν ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἐθναρχικῆς δυνάμεως στὸν χῶρο ὄχι μόνο τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῶν Η.Π.Α., ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου[4].

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1. *Sir Steven Runciman*, Ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία, μν. περιοδικό, σελ. 9 καὶ 22.

2. *Ἐμμ. Χατζηεμμανουήλ*, Ἡ Φύση καὶ ἡ Παιδαγωγικὴ Ἀξία τῆς Ἑλληνοχριστιανικῆς Κοινοτικῆς Παιδείας, 1981, σελ. 1-2.

3. Ἔνθ. ἀν.

4. Στὴν ἑορτὴ τῶν Γραμμάτων ποὺ ὀργανώνει κάθε χρόνο ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας μὲ τὴ συμμετοχὴ ἐκπροσώπων ὅλου τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας, τὴν 31-1-1981 μὲ τὴν παρουσία τοῦ Προέδρου τῆς Βουλῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κ. Δ. Παπασπύρου καὶ τῶν Ὑπουργῶν Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς Κύπρου κ.κ. Ταλιαδούρου Ἀθ. καὶ Κονομῆ Νικ. ὁ Πρόεδρος τῆς Παγκοσμίου Συνομοσπονδίας Ἀποδήμων Ἑλλήνων Δρ. Ὅμηρος Χαμπίπης ὁμιλῶν γιὰ τὰ προβλήματα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ στὶς ἡμέρες μας καὶ γιὰ τὴν ἀντιμετώπισή τους, μεταξὺ ἄλλων εἶπε: «Γιὰ ὅλα αὐτὰ πρέπει ἀπὸ ὅλα νὰ ἀναγνωρίσουμε τὸν ρόλο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἶναι ἐδῶ ποὺ τὸ λάδι καὶ τὸ νερὸ μποροῦν νὰ ἑρθουν σὲ στενὴ ἐπαφὴ καὶ νὰ μετατραποῦν σὲ λαδόνερο. Εἶναι ἐδῶ ποὺ ὅλοι οἱ Ἕλληνες μποροῦν νὰ ὑπάρξουν ἐπὶ ἴσοις ὅροις. Εἶναι μὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησία ποὺ ἀρχίζουμε ὅλοι μας καὶ τελειώνουμε τὴ ζωή μας. Ὁ ρόλος καὶ ἡ εὐθύνη της γιὰ τὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμὸ μᾶς θυμίζει τὴν μοναρχία, τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς ὁποίας καθορίζει ὁ ἴδιος ὁ μονάρχης. Ὁ Προκαθήμενος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μπορεῖ νὰ διαλέξει τὸ ἀπολυταρχικὸ πολίτευμα ἢ μπορεῖ, ὅπως ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος

β) Στὰ πλαίσια τῆς ἐκπαιδευτικῆς πολιτικῆς ποὺ ἔχει χαράξει ἡ 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴ 'Αμερικῆς κινεῖται γιὰ τὸ ἴδιο θέμα καὶ ὁ 'Επίσκοπος Τορόντο κ. Σωτήριος. Γνωρίσαμε καὶ ἐκτιμήσαμε τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον του γιὰ νὰ δημιουργηθοῦν συνθῆκες ἀνάλογες καὶ κατάλληλα προγράμματα, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ φέρουν καὶ θὰ κρατήσουν τὴν ἀπόδημη νεολαία μας μέσα στὴ ζωὴ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν κοινοτήτων. Τὰ θέματά αὐτὰ ἀπετέλεσαν ἔργο τῆς Κληρικολαϊκῆς Συνελεύσεως τῶν Κοινοτήτων τῆς 'Επισκοπῆς του τὸ ἔτος 1981. Οἱ πρωτοβουλίες του αὐτὲς ὑπὲρ τῆς δημιουργίας ἑνιαίου φορέα γιὰ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα τοῦ Καναδᾶ παρεξηγήθηκαν ἀπὸ στοιχεῖα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀμφισβητοῦν τέτοια ἀποστολὴ στὴν 'Εκκλησία τῆς Διασπορᾶς. Οἱ κατήγοροι, ὅμως, τοῦ 'Επισκόπου γιὰ τὴ θέση του αὐτὴ δὲν μποροῦν νὰ βροῦν συνηγόρους ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς 'Ορθοδόξου 'Εκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς, γιατὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια εἶναι ὅτι ἡ 'Εκκλησία ἀπὸ τὴ φύση της ἔχει ὡς ἀποστολὴ νὰ διακηρύττει καὶ νὰ ἐπιδιώκει τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ ἑλληνορθοδόξου ποιμνίου της καὶ βρίσκει τὴν ἐκπαίδευση ὡς ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ πιὸ ἀποτελεσματικὰ μέσα[1].

γ) Μὲ ἀφορμὴ τὴν ἵδρυση τοῦ 'Ελληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Λονδίνου ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας κ. Μεθόδιος παραχώρησε συνέντευξή του στὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐφημερίδα τοῦ Λονδίνου ΠΑΡΟΙΚΙΑΚΗ ΧΑΡΑΥΓΗ (4.11.1980), ὅπου, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδέα νὰ συγκροτηθεῖ κοινὸς ἐκπαιδευτικὸς φορέας γιὰ ὅλα τὰ λειτουργοῦντα ἑλλην. σχολεῖα στὴ Μεγ. Βρεταννία, θεωρεῖ «μόνο τὴν 'Εκκλησίαν ὡς κέντρον καὶ φορέα συντηρήσεως τῆς ἐθνικῆς ταυτότητος τῆς Νεολαίας μας. Εἰς τὸ σημεῖο τοῦτο (λέγει) εἶμαι ἕτοιμος νὰ συζητήσω τὸ θέμα μὲ ὁποιονδήποτε καὶ νὰ τοῦ δώσω νὰ καταλάβει ὅτι ἔτσι ἔχει τὸ θέμα». Μὲ τὴν πολιτική του αὐτὴ ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος πέτυχε νὰ ἐπιβάλει τὸν σεβασμὸ τοῦ κάθε φορέως πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον καὶ νὰ παύσουν τὰ σχολεῖα διαφόρων φορέων ('Αρχιεπισκοπικά, Ο.Ε.Σ.Ε.Κ.Α. καὶ ἀνεξάρτητα) νὰ εἶναι ἀνταγωνιστικά, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ κάποιες ἐκδηλώσεις νὰ συνεργάζονται, κυρίως στὴ λειτουργία σεμιναρίων ἢ σὲ ἐκδηλώσεις γιὰ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα ἢ μὲ τὴ λήξη τῶν μαθημάτων.

Δὲν ἀναφερόμεθα σὲ παλαιότερες ὀξύτητες μεταξὺ τῶν φορέων τῶν σχολείων μας στὴ Μ. Βρεταννία, γιατὶ οἱ λόγοι δὲν εἶχαν σχέση μὲ τὴν οὐσία, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σχετίζονταν μὲ μικροαδυναμίες ποὺ ἀναφέρονται σὲ τοπικισμοὺς ποὺ θὰ συναντούσαμε καὶ σὲ σχολεῖα τοῦ 'Εσωτερικοῦ, ἐάν ποτε θὰ δημιουργούσαμε σχολεῖα μὲ μαθητὲς ἀπὸ διάφορα διαμερίσματα τῆς Χώρας. 'Η συνείδηση τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου καὶ τῶν 'Επισκόπων τῆς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς, ποὺ στὶς περιφέρειές τους ἔχουν τὴν κυρία εὐθύνη σωστῆς ὀργανώσεως καὶ λειτουργίας τῶν σχολείων τῆς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς, εἶναι ἴδια μὲ ἐκείνη ποὺ συνέχει κάθε ἀπόδημο "Ελληνα, νὰ διατηρήσει δηλ. ὅλα τὰ ἰδιάζοντα ἑλληνοχριστιανικὰ χαρακτηριστικά, ποὺ θὰ τὸν βοηθήσουν νὰ μείνει ὀρθόδοξος "Ελληνας καὶ μέσα στὸ ἴδιο κλίμα θὰ διαπλάσει καὶ τὰ παιδιά του.

Οἱ θέσεις αὐτὲς φαίνονται ἀμετάβλητες γιὰ τὴν 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, ὅπως φανερώνουν τὰ ὑποσημειούμενα κείμενα[2].

δ) Τὴν ἀγωνία τους γιὰ τὴν τύχη τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν 'Αποδήμων 'Ελλήνων στὴν Αὐστραλία ἔχουν διατυπώσει μὲ ὑπομνήματα καὶ ἀναφορὲς πρὸς τὶς ἁρμόδιες ἑλλην. ὑπηρεσίες τόσον ὁ 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Αὐστραλίας κ. Στυλιανός, ὅσον καὶ ἰδιοκτῆτες ἀμιγῶν, διγλώσσων ἢ ἀπογευματινῶν σχολείων.

Τὴν προσπάθεια τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Στυλιανοῦ ἔρχεται νὰ ἐνισχύσει μὲ τὸ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 92/2.10.1978 σημείωμά του πρὸς ἁρμόδια ἑλληνικὴ ὑπηρεσία τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο. Εἰς τὸ σημείωμα τοῦτο ἀναφέρεται ὅτι κατὰ τὸν Σεβασμιώτατο 'Αρχιεπίσκοπο Αὐστραλίας οἱ 4 Σύμβουλοι 'Εκπαιδεύσεως, ποὺ τοποθέτησε τὸ ΥΠΕΠΘ πρὶν 7 χρόνια στὴν Αὐστραλία, ἀπεστάλησαν «ἵνα οὗτοι ἐπιβλέπωσι, συντονίζωσι καὶ ὀργανῶσιν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω τὰ ἀπὸ ἐτῶν λειτουργοῦντα ἐκεῖ διάφορα ἀπογευματινά, ἐκκλησιαστικά, κοινοτικὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικὰ σχολεῖα. Οἱ ἐκπαιδευ-

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Μεθόδιος, νὰ κερδίσει τὴν συνεργασία καὶ τὴν καλὴ θέληση τοῦ ποιμνίου του χρησιμοποιώντας τὴν πατρική του ἐπίδραση καὶ ἐξουσία. Πρέπει νὰ μείνει πάντα μακριὰ ἀπὸ κάθε κομματικὴ καὶ ἰδεολογικὴ κατάταξη. 'Η ἰδεολογία του εἶναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιο τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τὸ ποίμνιό του ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ ὅλους ἐκείνους ποὺ ἔχουν ἀποδεχθεῖ τὴν χάρι τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ τὶς ἰδεολογικές τους κατατάξεις. Στὴν Μ. Βρεταννία ἡ συνταύτισή του μὲ τὴ μάζα τοῦ ποιμνίου του ποὺ ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ Κυπρίους, εἶναι ἀπαραίτητη. 'Ο 'Αρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος κατάγεται φυσικὰ ἀπὸ τὴν Κύπρο ἢ ἔτσι τουλάχιστον ἄρχισαν νὰ πιστεύουν πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς συμπατριῶτες μας. Κέρδισε τὴν καρδιὰ τῶν Κυπρίων γιατὶ υἱοθέτησε τοὺς πόνους, τοὺς ἀγῶνες καὶ τὶς ἐλπίδες τους καὶ παρέβλεψε τὶς ἀτέλειές τους, τὶς ἀτέλειες μας. Δὲν παραγνωρίζω τὰ ἐπιτεύγματα τοῦ παρελθόντος οὔτε τὶς εἰδικὲς δυσκολίες ἢ τὶς ἀντιδράσεις ποὺ ὑπῆρξαν. "Ισως εἶναι ἀκριβέστερο νὰ πῶ ὅτι ὁρισμένα σφάλματα πιθανῶς ἦσαν ἀναπόφευκτα, ὅπως τὸ προπατορικὸ ἁμάρτημα, καὶ ὅτι μαθαίνουμε ὅλοι μας ἀπὸ τὰ λάθη τοῦ παρελθόντος. Τὸ γεγονὸς εἶναι ὅτι τώρα, ὅλοι οἱ 'Έλληνες τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας, ὅπως ἐπίσης καὶ οἱ ἀντιπρόσωποι τῶν Κυβερνήσεων τῆς 'Ελλάδος καὶ τῆς Κύπρου, συναντιόμαστε ἐπὶ ἴσοις ὅροις, κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν σκέπη τῆς 'Εκκλησίας. Τὸ χρέος μας πρὸς τὸν Σεβασμιώτατον εἶναι μεγάλο καὶ θὰ ἦτο παράλειψις νὰ παραγνωρίσουμε τὴ σημασία τοῦ ἐπιτεύγματος αὐτοῦ».

1. Σχετικὸ εἶναι τὸ ἔγγραφό μας πρὸς τὴ 10η Δ/νση 'Αποδήμων 'Ελλήνων τοῦ ΥΠΕΞ ΕΜΠ. Φ. 820/37/2198/15–7–1981, ὅταν ἤμασταν Δ/ντὴς τῆς Ε.Ε.Ε. τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ, στὸ ὁποῖο μεταξὺ ἄλλων σημειώναμε καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς: «'Η Ὑπηρεσία μας δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ δεχθῇ τὸν ἰσχυρισμὸ τῆς ἀνωτέρω 'Επιτροπῆς ὅτι ὁ 'Επίσκοπος Τορόντο Σωτήριος ἐνεργεῖ διασπαστικὰ γιὰ τὴν ἑλλην. παροικία, αὐτὸν τὸν χαρακτηρισμὸ δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ δεχθῇ καὶ γιὰ τὸν ἐκπαιδευτικὸ κ. Πριφτάκη, τοῦ ὁποίου οἱ ἀπόψεις συμπίπτουν μὲ ἐκεῖνες τοῦ 'Επισκόπου κτλ.».

2. α) 'Εγκύκλιος 'Απριλίου 1983 τοῦ 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου πρὸς τὰ Διοικητικὰ Συμβούλια τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν Κοινοτήτων, 'Εκκλησιῶν, Σχολικῶν 'Εφορειῶν καὶ Βοηθητικῶν 'Αδελφοτήτων τῆς ἰδίας 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων. β) 'Η ἀπὸ 12.10.1982 ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ ἰδίου 'Αρχιεπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν 'Εκπαιδευτικὸ Σύμβουλο στὸ Λονδῖνο καὶ γ) 'Η ἀπὸ 12.4.1983 ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ 'Επισκόπου Τροπαίου κ. Γρηγορίου πρὸς τὸ Σ.Ε. στὸ Λονδῖνο. Καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ἰδίου σχετικὴ ἐγκύκλιος ἀπὸ 26–6–1983 γιὰ τὴ γιορτὴ τῶν ἐξετάσεων τῶν σχολείων τῆς 'Αρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων.

τικοί. ὅμως, οὗτοι σύμβουλοι, καίπερ οἱ ἴδιοι ἰσχυριζόμενοι ὅτι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐν προκειμένῳ ἀποστολὴν καὶ εὐθύνην τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐν τούτοις δὲν συμβάλλονται ἐπαρκῶς εἰς τὸ πρόγραμμα καὶ τὰς σχετικὰς προσπαθείας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας». Τὸ παρατηρούμενο δὲ χάος καὶ ἡ ἐμπορικὴ ἐκμετάλλευση τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἀπὸ ἀνεύθυνους ἰδιῶτες ἢ καὶ συλλόγους ἀκόμη μόνον ἡ Ἐκκλησία, μὲ τὴν ἠθική της δύναμη καὶ τὴ συνεργασία τῶν ἐκπροσώπων τῆς Ἑλλην. Πολιτείας, μπορεῖ νὰ ἐξαλείψει.

Τὸ ὁμογενειακὸ στοιχεῖο στὴν Αὐστραλία, τὸ ὁποῖο ἀνέρχεται σὲ 650.000 περίπου, εἶναι κυρίως πρώτης ἢ δευτέρας γενιᾶς καὶ ἐλάχιστο τρίτης. Δηλ. εἶναι λίγοι ἐκεῖνοι ποὺ ἐγκαταστάθηκαν πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸν Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο. Μεγάλος ἀριθμὸς ἐγκαταστάθηκε στὰ ἔτη 1948–52 καὶ οἱ περισσότεροι τὸ ἔτος 1958.

Τὰ στοιχεῖα ποὺ ἐπηρεάζουν κοινωνικοπολιτικὰ τοὺς μετανάστες μας καὶ συμβάλλουν στὴ διαμόρφωση τοῦ εἴδους τῆς ὁμογενειακῆς νοοτροπίας εἶναι ὁ τύπος, ἡ Ἐκκλησία καὶ τὸ σχολεῖο. Ὁ πρῶτος παράγων εἶναι σημαδεμένος ἀπὸ τὶς πολιτικὲς τάσεις ποὺ ἐκφράζουν οἱ ἐφημερίδες τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ καλλιεργοῦνται καὶ ἐκεῖ πολιτικὲς ὀξύτητες καὶ οἱ πατριῶτες μας νὰ διασπῶνται σὲ κομματικὲς παρατάξεις. Ἡ εἰδησεογραφία ἀντλεῖται ἀπὸ τὶς ἐφημερίδες αὐτὲς καὶ ἀναδημοσιεύονται εἰδήσεις ποὺ ἔχουν σχέση μὲ σκάνδαλα στὴν οἰκονομία, τὴν παιδεία, τὴν Ἐκκλησία ἢ τὸ Ἑλλην. Κοινοβούλιο. Στὴν περίοδο τῆς Κυβερνήσεως τῆς Ν. Δημοκρατίας ὀργίαζε ἡ ἀντιπολιτευτικὴ εἰδησεογραφία, ἐνῶ θέματα καυτὰ ἐθνικὰ δὲν ἔμπαιναν στὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τους.

Ὁ δεύτερος παράγων, ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ὅπως στὸ παρελθόν της ἔτσι καὶ σήμερα, διαδραματίζει τὸν σοβαρώτερο ρόλο μέσα στὴν ὁμογένεια. Σ' αὐτὴν καταφεύγουν οἱ μετανάστες τῆς πρώτης γενιᾶς, αὐτὴν ἀκοῦνε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὴν ἐπηρεάζονται, ἀπ' αὐτὴν ὀργανώθηκαν τὰ σχολεῖα ὅλων τῶν τύπων καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἐθνικὲς πολιτιστικὲς ἐκδηλώσεις.

Ἡ ἐκστρατεία τῶν ἐφημερίδων κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἢ τῶν ἐκπροσώπων της δὲν ἔχει ὡς κίνητρα πραγματικὰ ἢ φανταστικὰ σφάλματά τους. Κίνητρο πάντα εἶναι τὸ ἀντιεκκλησιαστικό τους φρόνημα καὶ στόχος τους νὰ πληγεῖ καὶ νὰ μειωθεῖ ὁ κοινωνικὸς καὶ παιδευτικὸς ρόλος της. Εἶναι μέγα δυστύχημα ὅταν ἡ ἐκστρατεία αὐτὴ σιωπηρὰ ἔχει τὴν εὐλογία κάποιου ἀόρατου κέντρου στὴ Χώρα μας, ἢ κάποια ὑποπτα ὄργανα βρίσκονται πίσω ἀπὸ τοὺς τολμητίες ἀνευλαβεῖς ἀρθρογράφους. Ὅταν τελικὰ ἐπιτευχθεῖ ὁ σκοπὸς μιᾶς τέτοιας καμπάνιας καὶ ἕνα κοινοτικὸ κομμάτι ἀπομακρυνθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸ-κοινοτικὸ χῶρο, τότε ἐπακολουθοῦν, διαφανεῖς πλέον, οἱ ἀριστερὲς τάσεις, οἱ ὁποῖες μεθοδεύουν σχέδια γιὰ περαιτέρω διεύρυνση τοῦ ἐλέγχου τους μέσα στὴν ὁμογένεια.

Κάθε μεθόδευση, ἐπίσημη ἢ ἀνεπίσημη, νὰ ἀφαιρεθοῦν δυνατότητες ἀναπτύξεως τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία εἶναι καὶ ἕνα μεγάλο σφάλμα. Ὅλα τὰ ὄργανα τῆς Ἑλλην. Πολιτείας ἀπὸ τὸν χῶρο τῆς ὁμογενείας μας εἶναι περαστικὰ καὶ μόνιμα εἶναι μόνο τὰ ὄργανα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὰ ὁποῖα γνωρίζουν, προβληματίζονται, προσαρμόζονται στὶς διαμορφούμενες καταστάσεις στὸν ἴδιο βαθμὸ ποὺ καὶ οἱ ὁμογενεῖς μας εἶναι ὑποχρεωμένοι νὰ ἐγκλιματίζονται στὸ ἑκάστοτε πολιτικοκοινωνικὸ κλίμα τῆς χώρας ποὺ ζοῦν.

Ἔμπειρο πρόσωπο στὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, τὰ κοινοτικὰ καὶ τὰ σχολικὰ θέματα τῆς Ὁμογενείας μας στὴν Αὐστραλία μᾶς παρέσχε πρόσφατα καὶ ὑπεύθυνα τὴν πληροφορία ὅτι ὅταν τὰ σχολεῖα φεύγουν ἀπὸ τὸν ἔλεγχο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μετατρέπονται σὲ κομματικὰ φυτώρια ἢ σὲ κέντρα ποικίλων δραστηριοτήτων. Γι' αὐτὸ ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ποὺ ἐκφράζει τὴ συνεχῆ ἑνότητα τοῦ Ἔθνους στὴ Διασπορά, πρέπει νὰ γίνει ὁ κεντρικὸς φορέας ὅλων τῶν σχολείων καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴ νὰ ἀποσπῶνται τόσο οἱ ἐκπαιδευτικοὶ ὅσο καὶ οἱ Σύμβουλοι Ἐκπαιδεύσεως. Ἀκόμη θὰ μποροῦσε νὰ δημιουργηθεῖ μιὰ ἀνωτέρα σχολή, ὅπως τῆς Βελλᾶς, ἡ ὁποία θὰ βγάζει δασκάλους καὶ ἱερεῖς γιὰ νὰ ἐργασθοῦν μόνιμα στὰ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Αὐστραλίας χωρὶς νὰ τοὺς καλλιεργεῖται ἡ ἰδέα τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς. Τὴν ἰδέα αὐτὴ εἴχαμε περιλάβει στὸ πρόγραμμά μας, ἡ ὁποία ματαιώθηκε, ἐφόσον καὶ τὸ ταξίδι μας ἐκεῖνο ματαιώθηκε ἀπὸ τὴ σημερινὴ Κυβέρνηση.

Εἶναι πρὸς τιμὴ τοῦ ἀνωτέρω ὁμογενειακοῦ παράγοντα[1], καίτοι εἶναι φορέας ἀνεξαρτήτου ἑλλην. σχολείου, νὰ ὑπερασπίζεται τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Στυλιανοῦ, γιὰ τὸ ὁποῖο λέγει ἐπὶ λέξει τὰ ἑξῆς ἐνδιαφέροντα: «Ὁρισμένοι ἀναφέρονται στὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Αὐστραλίας ἔρχεται σὲ ἀντίθεση μὲ κοινότητες. Κανεὶς ὅμως ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀντιδρῶντες δὲν προσπάθησε νὰ συνεργασθεῖ μαζί του γιὰ νὰ βρεθοῦν λύσεις καὶ νὰ ἠρεμήσουν τὰ πράγματα. Τὰ ἀληθῆ γεγονότα ὅμως σχεδὸν πάντοτε διαστρεβλώνονται καὶ μεγαλοποιοῦνται ἀπὸ τὸν ὁμογενειακὸ τύπο».

Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Στυλιανὸς εἶναι ἀντίθετος σὲ κάθε ἀνταγωνιστικὴ προσπάθεια σχολείων ἄλλων φορέων, ποὺ θὰ δημιουργοῦσε διαρροὴ τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων σὲ σχολεῖα ποὺ δὲν ἔχουν τὴν ἐποπτεία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ὅπως ἀναφέρει ἐμπιστευτικὴ ἔκθεση Ἕλληνα διπλωμάτη, σὲ συνέδριο τῆς Ὁμογενείας, στὸ ὁποῖο πῆραν μέρος πάνω ἀπὸ δυὸ χιλιάδες Ἕλληνες, κοινοτάρχες, ἄνθρωποι τῶν γραμμάτων, διπλωματικοὶ ὑπάλληλοι καὶ ὁ ἴδιος ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ὁ τελευταῖος φέρεται εἰπών, ὅτι ὅποιος ἀποτολμήσει νὰ ἀνοίξει σχολεῖο γιὰ νὰ ἀνταγωνισθεῖ σχολεῖο τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς θὰ πάει καὶ θὰ τὸ κλείσει ὁ ἴδιος.

Σχολιάζοντες τὴ σκληρὴ αὐτὴ θέση τοῦ Ἀρχιε-

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1. Τὶς σκέψεις του διατύπωσε εὐρύτερα καὶ ὑπεύθυνα μὲ ἐπιστολή του πρὸς τὸν τότε Πρωθυπουργὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κ. Γ. Ράλλη, τὴν 27-8-1980, ὁ ὁποῖος ὄχι μόνο συμμερίστηκε αὐτές, ἀλλ' ἔδωσε ἐντολὴ γιὰ νὰ κινηθεῖ ἡ ὑπηρεσιακὴ διαδικασία, γιὰ νὰ ὑλοποιηθοῦν οἱ προτάσεις τοῦ ἀποστολέα. Μιὰ ἀπ' αὐτὲς ἦταν τὸ ματαιωθὲν ταξίδι μας στὴν Αὐστραλία.

πισκόπου Στυλιανοῦ, ποὺ μᾶς θυμίζει παρόμοιες προειδοποιήσεις ἑλληνορθοδόξων ἡγετῶν ἄλλων Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Διασπορᾶς πρὸς ὄργανα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Πολιτείας, τὴ θεωροῦμε ἐκφράζουσα περισσότερο ἀγανάκτηση γιὰ τὴν ἐπιλογὴ τοῦ χώρου τῆς παιδείας προκειμένου ὁρισμένα ἄτομα ἢ σύλλογοι, κινούμενοι ἀπὸ ἀντιεκκλησιαστικὸ φρόνημα, νὰ πλήξουν τὸ κύρος καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας ἀνάμεσα στὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό. Καὶ μπορεῖ κανείς, ἀπὸ ἔλλειψη ἀκριβοῦς γνώσεως τῶν ἀδυναμιῶν αὐτῶν ποὺ φαίνεται νὰ εὐδοκίμησαν σὲ ἕλλην. παροικίες τὰ παλαιότερα χρόνια ἢ σὲ νεοπαγεῖς, νὰ παρεξηγήσει τὴ δυναμικὴ ἐπέμβαση τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴν ὀργάνωση καὶ τὴ λειτουργία τῆς ἑλληνόγλωσσης παιδείας τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων Ἐξωτερικοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅποιος γνωρίζει καλὰ τὸν ρόλο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Διασπορὰ ἀφ' ἑνὸς καὶ δὲν διακατέχεται ἀπὸ ἀντιεκκλησιαστικὸ πνεῦμα ἀφ' ἑτέρου, τὸν ὑπερβολικὸ ζῆλο τοῦ εἴδους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτιμᾶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ συντάσσεται ὁλόθυμα καὶ ἀνεπιφύλακτα μὲ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς μας ἡγέτες στὸ Ἐξωτερικό, ὁποιουδήποτε βαθμοῦ καὶ ἂν εἶναι. Τὰ τρία ἀξιώματα τοῦ κληρικοῦ (διοικητικό, ἱερατικὸ καὶ διδασκαλικὸ) ἐνσαρκώνονται ἀναντίρρητα στὸν ἱερὸ κλῆρο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς, ὅπως μαρτυρεῖ ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Ἔθνους μας ἀπὸ τὴν Ἅλωση μέχρι σήμερα.

Ἀξίζει νὰ σημειώσουμε ἐνταῦθα μιὰ τιτάνια προσπάθεια ποὺ γίνεται ἀπὸ ἕνα φλογερὸ καὶ φωτισμένο ἕλληνα κληρικό, τὸν Ἀρχιμ. Ἱερόθεο Κουρτέση, στὴ Μελβούρνη Αὐστραλίας. Ὁ κληρικὸς αὐτὸς κατόρθωσε νὰ ἱδρύσει καὶ νὰ λειτουργήσει τὰ τελευταῖα 6 χρόνια δίγλωσσο σχολεῖο, Δημοτικό, Γυμνάσιο καὶ Λύκειο, ἐφάμιλλο τῶν καλυτέρων καθολικῶν καὶ ἑβραϊκῶν σχολείων ποὺ λειτουργοῦν στὴν Αὐστραλία[1]. Τὴν προσπάθειά του ἐξετίμησε καὶ ἐνίσχυσε σὲ ἱκανοποιητικὸ βαθμὸ τὸ Ὑπουργεῖο Παιδείας τῆς Χώρας μας μετὰ ἀπὸ σχετικὴ εἰσήγησή μας. Τὸ σχολεῖο αὐτὸ φέρει τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου καὶ εἶναι ἱδρυμένο στὸ Κάρλτον τῆς Μελβούρνης.

Ἔχοντας ὑπόψη τὰ θετικὰ ἀποτελέσματα τοῦ ἀνωτέρω σχολείου καὶ τὶς πολλὲς ἀνάγκες τῆς Ὁμογενείας μας στὴν Αὐστραλία, πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀναχώρησή μας ἀπὸ τὴ Δ/νση Ε.Ε.Ε. τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ, εἴχαμε εἰσηγηθεῖ τὴν ἵδρυση ἄλλων ἕξι ὁμοίου τύπου σχολείων, χωρίς, ὅμως, μέχρι στιγμῆς νὰ ἔχει ὑλοποιηθεῖ ἡ εἰσήγησή μας ἐκείνη. Φρονοῦμε ὅτι ἡ ὥρα γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων τῆς Αὐστραλίας, μὲ περισσότερη φροντίδα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Πολιτεία, ἔχει φθάσει πρὸ πολλοῦ. Καὶ δὲν εἶναι ἁπλῶς ὁ χρόνος ὁ παράγοντας ἐκεῖνος ποὺ ἔχει ὡριμάσει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ μελέτη τόσο ἀπὸ ἑλληνικῆς πλευρᾶς ὅσο καὶ ἀπὸ αὐστραλιανῆς τοῦ ὅλου θέματος ἔχει ὁλοκληρωθεῖ μετὰ ἀπὸ τρεῖς σοβαρὲς ἀποστολὲς δύο δ.ακεκριμένων ἐμπειρογνωμόνων στὰ θέματα ἐκπαιδεύσεως ἑλληνοπαίδων Ἐξωτερικοῦ, τῶν κ.κ. Καραγιαννίδη Δημ. (2 φορὲς) καὶ Γκικοπούλου Παν., καὶ ἀφοῦ ἔχει ἤδη ὑπογραφεῖ ἡ ἑλληνο-αυστραλιανὴ μορφωτικὴ συμφωνία καὶ ἔχουν δοκιμασθεῖ προγράμματα μορφωτικῶν ἀνταλλαγῶν (μονομερῶς βεβαίως).

### στ. Ἡ ὁμογενειακὴ ἐκπαίδευση στὴν Πόλη.

Ἡ ἐκπαίδευση στὰ ὁμογενειακὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἶναι ταυτισμένη μὲ τὴ μοίρα τοῦ Κέντρου τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τὶς περιπέτειες τῶν ὁμογενῶν μας ἐκεῖ. Εἶναι τὸ ἐλάχιστο ποὺ ἔχει ἐπιζήσει ἀπὸ τὴν πνευματικὴ ζωὴ τῶν ἑκατομμυρίων Ἑλλήνων ποὺ ζοῦσαν στὶς τουρκικὲς ἐπαρχίες τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου. Τὰ συνεχῆ κτυπήματα ποὺ δέχθηκε τὸ ἑλληνικὸ στοιχεῖο ἐπὶ 500 χρόνια εἶχαν ὡς συνέπεια τὶς γνωστὲς συμφορὲς καὶ περιπέτειές του, ὥστε σήμερα νὰ μιλᾶμε γιὰ μερικὲς μόνο χιλιάδες.

Γιὰ νὰ γράψει κανεὶς γιὰ τὰ ὁμογενειακὰ σχολεῖα στὴν Τουρκία θὰ πρέπει νὰ γεμίσει πολλοὺς τόμους. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἵδρυση τῆς πρώτης Πατριαρχικῆς Σχολῆς, ἀμέσως μετὰ τὴν Ἅλωση, ὡς τὶς ἡμέρες μας τὰ πάντα στὸν χῶρο τῆς παιδείας ἐκκολάφθηκαν στὸν κόλπο τῆς Μητρὸς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία δὲν πῆρε αὐθαίρετα τὸν τίτλο τῆς Ἐθναρχεύουσας Ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπέκτησε στὴν πράξη καὶ τὸν τίμησε μὲ πολλὲς θυσίες ἀπὸ τὴ μιὰ ἄκρη ὡς τὴν ἄλλη τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας[2]. Τὸν διατηρεῖ καὶ σήμερα σὲ ὅλη τὴν ἑλληνικὴ Διασπορά. Τὴν πραγματικότητα αὐτή, ποὺ ὁρισμένοι τὴ θεωροῦν ὑπερβολικὴ ἢ καὶ εἶδος ἀλαζονείας, τὴν ἐπιβάλλουν ἡ φύση τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ οἱ συνθῆκες κάτω ἀπὸ τὶς ὁποῖες ἐνεργεῖ.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν λαμπρὲς ἐκεῖνες ἡμέρες τῆς Ὁμογενείας μας στὴν Τουρκία δὲν ὑπάρχουν πιὰ σήμερα, παραμένει, ὅμως, στοὺς θεματοφύλακες τῶν παραδόσεών μας τὸ ἴδιο πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἴδια ἀγωνιστικότητα γιὰ τὸ μέλλον. Τὸ διαπιστώσαμε τὸ φαινόμενο αὐτὸ στὰ φοιτητικά μας χρόνια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ζήσαμε ἐντονώτερα ὡς ὑπεύθυνο ὄργανο τῆς Ἑλλην. Πολιτείας.

Λόγω ἰδιαίτερης φύλαξης τῶν στοιχείων μας παραθέτουμε ἐλάχιστα μόνο ἀπ' αὐτὰ γιὰ νὰ παρουσιάσουμε ποῦ ἔχει φθάσει ἡ ὁμογενειακὴ ἐκπαίδευση ἐξαιτίας τῆς συνεχοῦς καὶ ποικίλης καταπιέσεως ποὺ ὑφίσταται, δημιουργώντας καυτὸ πρόβλημα, στὸ ὁποῖο προσπαθήσαμε καὶ πιστεύουμε ὅτι πετύχαμε τὶς πρέπουσες, σταθερὲς καὶ μόνιμες λύσεις. Σ' αὐτὴ τὴν προσπάθεια ἀναφέρεται καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθο ἀπόσπασμα: «ἀντιμετωπίσαμε χαλκέντερους γραφειοκράτες καὶ ἀδιαφόρους ὑπηρεσιακοὺς παράγοντες ἱκανοὺς νὰ πνίξουν μέσα σὲ μιὰ σταγόνα νερὸ αὐτὸ ποὺ ἡ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἐθνικὴ ἐπιταγὴ ἐπέβαλε... Τί νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ἀγαπητέ μας κ. Φούγια, σταθήκαμε τυχεροί, πολὺ τυχεροί, ποὺ ἡ Θεία Πρόνοια σᾶς ἔ-

1. Πρβλ. Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ (περιοδικό), τ. 375, Ἰούνιος 1984, ἀφιερωμένο στὸν Ἑλληνισμὸ τῆς Αὐστραλίας.

2. Πρβλ. *Βασ. Στεφανίδου*, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, Ἀθῆναι 1948, σελ. 663-669.

φερε στὴ θέση ποὺ κατέχετε, σὲ μιὰ περίοδο τόσο κρίσιμη... Ὁ ἀγωνιστικός σας χαρακτήρας, ἡ πειστικότητα τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων σας, ἡ ἐμμονὴ στὶς δίκαιες θέσεις ποὺ ὑποστηρίζατε καὶ πάνω ἀπ' ὅλα ἡ ἀγάπη σας γιὰ τὴν..., καὶ τὸν Δάσκαλο ποὺ ἀφιέρωσε τὴν ζωή του σ' αὐτή, τὸν Δάσκαλο ποὺ τὸν ζήσατε καὶ τὸν ἐκτιμήσατε ἀπὸ κοντά, ἦταν οἱ παράγοντες ποὺ ἔδιναν φτερὰ στὶς ἐλπίδες καὶ τόνωναν τὴν πίστη σας στὴν ἱερότητα τοῦ ἀγώνα ποὺ μὲ τόσο αὐθορμητισμὸ ἐπωμισθήκατε.

»Πιστέψτε μας, δὲν εἶναι σχῆμα λόγου, σᾶς θυμόμαστε καὶ θὰ σᾶς θυμόμαστε μὲ εὐγνωμοσύνη. Συνδέσατε τὸ ὄνομά σας μὲ τὴν Παιδεία..., σὲ μιὰ ἀπὸ τὶς πιὸ κρίσιμες φάσεις τῆς ἱστορίας της, ἴσως τὴν τελευταία. Σ' αὐτὴ τὴν πιὸ σπουδαία ὥρα γράψατε τὸ ὄνομα "Φούγιας" μὲ χρυσὰ γράμματα στὶς καρδιές μας. Θὰ τὸ διαφυλάξουμε ἐκεῖ σὰν τὴν πιὸ ἱερὴ παρακαταθήκη γιὰ νὰ τὸ τραγουδοῦν οἱ ἐπίγονοί μας ψιθυριστά, ἔτσι σὰν παραμύθι, καὶ νὰ φέρουν τὸν ψίθυρο οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ τὰ κύματα θυμίαμα στὴν ψυχή σας ὅπου θὰ ἀναπαύεται μιὰ μέρα, ἥσυχη καὶ ἤρεμη ὅτι ἔκαμε πάνω στὴ γῆ τὸ καθῆκον της στὸ ἀκέραιο».

Στὸ ἴδιο γράμμα ἐκφράζονται αἰσθήματα τιμῆς πρὸς τὸν τότε Ἀντιπρόεδρο τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κυβερνήσεως κ. Κων. Παπακωνσταντίνου, στοῦ ὁποίου τὸ μεγάλο ἐνδιαφέρον ὀφείλονται πολλὲς ὑπηρεσιακές μας ἐπιτυχίες, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὴ ποὺ προκάλεσε τὰ πιὸ πάνω αἰσθήματα γιὰ τὸ ἄτομό μας. Ἰδοὺ τὸ σχετικὸ ἀπόσπασμα: «Ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ γράμματα ἀπευθύνεται στὸν σεβαστὸ καὶ πολὺ ἀγαπητό μας δυναμικὸ Ἀντιπρόεδρο τῆς Κυβερνήσεως Ἐξοχότατο κύριο Κων/νο Παπακωνσταντίνου, στοῦ ὁποίου τὶς σωτήριες ἐπεμβάσεις χρεωστοῦμε πάρα πολλά. Θὰ μᾶς μείνει γιὰ πάντα ζωντανὴ ἡ γλυκειὰ μορφή του, ἔτσι ὅπως τὴ συλλάβαμε κατὰ τὴ θερινὴ εὐχαριστήριο ἐπίσκεψή μας στὸ Γραφεῖο του, καὶ ἀξέχαστη ἡ συγκίνηση γιὰ τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον του καὶ τὴν ἀγάπη του πρὸς τὴν.... καὶ πρὸς κάθε τι ποὺ τὴν ἀφορᾶ.

»Θὰ σᾶς χρεωστῶ χάρη ἂν μὲ τὴν πρώτη εὐκαιρία γίνετε καὶ σεῖς διερμηνέας τοῦ ἀπεράντου σεβασμοῦ μας καὶ τῆς εὐγνωμοσύνης μας πρὸς τὴν ὑπέροχη αὐτὴ προσωπικότητα τοῦ πολιτικοῦ στερεώματος τῆς Πατρίδος μας, τὴ γεμάτη Χριστιανικὴ Πίστη, Ἐθνικὴ Ὑπερηφάνεια καὶ Ἀπολλώνιο Φῶς».

Οἱ ἀνωτέρω γραμμὲς δείχνουν πόσο οἱ ἄνθρωποι ποὺ πιστεύουν στὴν ἐθνική τους ἀποστολὴ ταυτίζονται μὲ τὸ καθῆκον. Κατορθώνουν νὰ βιώνουν τὶς χαρὲς καὶ τὶς λύπες ἐκείνων ποὺ εἴτε τοὺς ἐμπιστεύονται τὴ λύση τῶν προβλημάτων τους εἴτε τοὺς κάνουν ἁπλῶς κοινωνοὺς αὐτῶν. Τὶς συγκινήσεις τοῦ σεβάσμιου Ἀντιπροέδρου γιὰ τοὺς ἀποδήμους μας τὶς ἔχουμε ζήσει ἀπὸ πολὺ κοντά, γι' αὐτὸ καὶ θεωρήσαμε ἀπαραίτητο νὰ ἀναφερθοῦμε στὴν ἐργασία μας αὐτὴ σὲ ὅ,τι ἔπρεπε.

### ζ. Χῶρες Ἐγγὺς Ἀνατολῆς.

Πλούσια εἶναι ἡ ἐκπαιδευτικὴ παράδοση τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας μας στὶς χῶρες αὐτές. Οἱ δυσμενεῖς ἐξελίξεις γιὰ τὸ ἑλληνικὸ στοιχεῖο ποὺ ἄρχισαν ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος τοῦ παρελθόντος αἰῶνος εἶχαν ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα μετὰ τὸ ἔτος 1948 νὰ λειτουργοῦν δύο τρία ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα στὴ Βηρυτὸ καὶ τὴ Δαμασκό, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐποπτεία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τὸ Σχολεῖο τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων. Εἶναι καὶ τὰ μόνα, τὰ ὁποῖα συνεχίζουν τὴ λειτουργία τους μὲ κάποιες ἰδιαιτερότητες, τὶς ὁποῖες ἔχουν ὑπαγορεύσει οἱ σημερινὲς συνθῆκες.

Σχετικὰ μὲ τὸ ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο τῆς Βηρυτοῦ γνωρίζουμε ὅτι τοῦτο, γιὰ πολλὰ χρόνια διευθυνόμενο ἀπὸ τὸν ἀείμνηστο Πρωτοπρεσβύτερο Κων. Μωραϊτάκη (μεγάλο ἐκκλησιαστικὸ καὶ ἐθνικὸ ἄνδρα), σήμερα ἐξυπηρετεῖται ἀπὸ δάσκαλο, ὁ ὁποῖος διδάσκει κατ' οἶκον τοὺς μαθητές του, λόγω τῶν συνεχῶν πολεμικῶν συγκρούσεων, ἐνῶ τὸ ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο τῆς Δαμασκοῦ, τὸ ὁποῖο ἔπνεε τὰ λοίσθια ὅταν ἀναλάβαμε τὴ Δ/νση τῆς Ε.Ε.Ε. τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ, ἔχει ὀργανωθεῖ ὑπὸ τύπον ἑλληνικοῦ πνευματικοῦ κέντρου, στὸ ὁποῖο φοιτοῦν Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἄραβες διαφόρων ἡλικιῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς τῶν φοιτώντων πλησιάζει τοὺς 50 σήμερα. Ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ σχολείου αὐτοῦ ὀφείλεται σὲ δύο κυρίως ἄτομα: τὸν πατριώτη πρόεδρο τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος κ. Κυριαζῆ καὶ τὸν φλογερὸ δάσκαλο κ. Καρατέγο.

Ἰδιαίτερη σπουδαιότητα παρουσιάζει ἡ Πατριαρχικὴ Σχολὴ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἡ ὁποία λειτουργεῖ ὡς Γυμνάσιο καὶ Λύκειο ἐνιαίας κατευθύνσεως μὲ πλῆρες ἑλληνικὸ πρόγραμμα, στὸ ὁποῖο ἔχουν περιληφθεῖ καὶ τὰ μαθήματα: Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων, Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ καὶ οἱ γλῶσσες Ἀγγλικὴ καὶ Ἀραβική.

Ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν τῆς Σχολῆς δὲν εἶναι σταθερός. Κάθε χρόνο σημειώνονται αὐξομειώσεις καὶ ἡ προέλευσή τους εἶναι ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Οἱ ὁμογενεῖς μας προτιμοῦν νὰ στέλνουν τὰ παιδιά τους σὲ κρατικὰ ἢ ξένα (ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κυρίως) σχολεῖα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ἐπειδὴ σ' αὐτὰ τὸ μεγαλύτερο βάρος, στὸ ἐφαρμοζόμενο πρόγραμμα, ρίχνεται στὴν ἐκμάθηση τῶν ξένων γλωσσῶν, ἐνῶ στὴν Πατριαρχικὴ Σχολὴ οἱ μαθητές, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐγκύκλια μόρφωση, ἀποκτοῦν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἐφόδια καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ κατάρτιση γιὰ τὴν κατάταξή τους στὴν Ἁγιοταφικὴ Ἀδελφότητα ὡς κληρικοί.

Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ ἕνα μεγάλο ἀριθμὸ προσοντούχων κληρικῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν ποὺ διδάσκουν στὴν Πατριαρχικὴ Σχολή, τὸ ΥΠΕΠΘ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποσπᾶ κάθε χρόνο γιὰ τὶς διδακτικὲς ἀνάγκες τῆς Σχολῆς 5-6 καθηγητές. Τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο καλύπτει ὅλες τὶς λειτουργικὲς ἀνάγκες της.

Ἡ σημασία τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Σχολῆς φαίνεται καθαρὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδιομορφία, ποὺ παρουσιάζει ἡ δομή της, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἰδιαίτερη ἀποστολή της. Δὲν εἶναι ὑπερβολὴ ἂν ὑποστηριχθεῖ ὅτι ἡ ἐπιβίωση τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὸν ἀριθμὸ τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπιτελούμενο ἔργο στὴ Σχολὴ αὐτή, γιατί, πραγματικά, μοναδικὸς στόχος της εἶναι νὰ ἐνισχύει καὶ ἀνανεώνει συνεχῶς τὴν Ἁγιοταφικὴ Ἀδελφότητα μὲ νέους καὶ μορφω-

μένους κληρικούς, οἱ ὁποῖοι θὰ ἔχουν μυηθεῖ στὴ ζωὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ θὰ ἔχουν ἐξοικειωθεῖ μὲ τὶς ἰδιόμορφες συνθῆκες της ἀπὸ τὴ μικρή τους ἡλικία. Σ' αὐτὸ συμβάλλει τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸ περιβάλλον ποὺ διαθέτει ἡ Σχολή, ὥστε οἱ ἱεροσπουδαστές της ἀπὸ τὴ μιὰ τάξη στὴν ἄλλη νὰ μετέχουν προοδευτικὰ στὴν ἐσωτερικὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὸν ρυθμὸ ἐργασίας καὶ τὴν ἰδεολογία τοῦ Πατριαρχείου.

Γιὰ τὴ διατήρηση τῆς ἐθνικῆς ταυτότητος τῶν παιδιῶν τῶν ὀλίγων ὁμογενῶν μας, ποὺ ἔχουν ἀπομείνει στὸ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ τὴν προφύλαξη τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεώς τους, τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο ἔχει ἱδρύσει Παράρτημα τῆς Σχολῆς καὶ ἔχει ὑπαγάγει αὐτὸ ἀπ' εὐθείας στὴ Δ/νση τῆς Σχολῆς. Τὸ παράρτημα αὐτὸ θεωρεῖται σπουδαῖο ἐθνικὸ κέντρο, γιατὶ σ' αὐτὸ παρακολουθοῦν τὰ πατριδογνωστικὰ μαθήματα, σὲ ἀπογευματινὲς ὧρες ἀπὸ ἀποσπασμένους ἕλληνες καθηγητές, ὄχι μόνο Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ Ἄραβες.

Εἴχαμε τὴν εὐκαιρία νὰ μελετήσουμε ἀπὸ κοντὰ ὅσα ἔχουν σχέση μὲ τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση ὄχι μόνο στὴν Πατριαρχικὴ Σχολὴ καὶ τὸ Παράρτημά της, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ θέματα ποὺ ἀφοροῦν τὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἀράβων. Σημειώνουμε μὲ ὑπερηφάνεια τὸ ἀνύστακτο ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ Πατριαρχείου μας, ὅλων τῶν ἀειμνήστων Πατριαρχῶν καὶ τοῦ σημερινοῦ Πατριάρχου κ. Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Ἁγιοταφικῆς Ἀδελφότητος, γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἀράβων. Κατὰ τὶς πληροφορίες ποὺ μᾶς παρασχέθηκαν, τὸ 1/3 τῶν ἐσόδων του τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ διαθέτει στὶς Ὀρθόδοξες Κοινότητες τῶν Ἀράβων γιὰ τὰ σχολεῖα τους. Τὸ μόνο ἀξιοπρόσεκτο εἶναι ὅτι τὰ σχολεῖα τῶν Ἀραβορθοδόξων δὲν εἶναι στὸ ἐπίπεδο ποὺ πρέπει, οὔτε ἀνταγωνιστικὰ γιὰ τὰ σχολεῖα ποὺ ἔχουν ἱδρύσει οἱ Λατῖνοι καὶ οἱ Οὐνίτες. Σὲ ἔκθεσή μας ποὺ ὑποβάλαμε στὶς ἁρμόδιες ἑλλην. ὑπηρεσίες καὶ στὸ Πατριαρχεῖο (12-1-1981) ἔχουμε κάμει σχετικὲς ἐκτιμήσεις καὶ εἰσηγήσεις.

### η. Τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τὰ ὁμογενειακὰ σχολεῖα Ἀφρικῆς.

Ἀπὸ τὴ μακρινὴ ἀρχαιότητα ἡ Ἀφρικὴ ὑπῆρξε ὁ χῶρος ποὺ τράβηξε τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Στοὺς σκοτεινοὺς αἰῶνες τῆς τουρκικῆς δουλείας πάλι ἡ μαύρη ἤπειρος δὲν ἔπαυσε νὰ δέχεται ἕλληνες φυγάδες[1]. Οἱ χῶρες τῆς Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς θεωρήθηκαν μόνιμη ἐξέδρα τοῦ ἕλληνα μετανάστη γιὰ πιὸ πέρα ἀπὸ τὰ γνώριμα ὅρια. Ἡ, ἀκόμη, ἡ γεύση τῆς ξενιτειᾶς, πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴ διείσδυση στὶς χῶρες τῆς Κεντρικῆς καὶ Νότιας Ἀφρικῆς, στὶς χῶρες αὐτές, ἦταν καθοριστικὴ γιὰ τὰ σχέδια τοῦ ἕλληνα μετανάστη σὲ ὅλη τὴ μακραίωνα ἱστορία τῆς μεταναστευτικῆς ζωῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποὺ προήρχοντο ἀπὸ ὅλα τὰ διαμερίσματα τῆς ἠπειρωτικῆς καὶ τῆς νησιωτικῆς Ἑλλάδος, καθὼς καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀλύτρωτα ἐδάφη τῆς Τουρκίας καὶ τῆς Βορείου Ἠπείρου. Θὰ μπορούσαμε νὰ ποῦμε, ὅτι ὁ ἀφρικανικὸς Ἑλληνισμὸς εἶναι ὁ πιὸ παραδοσιακὸς ὡς πρὸς τὴν κοινοτικὴ ὀργάνωσή του. Μεταφύτευσε στὶς χῶρες αὐτὲς τὸ ἑλληνικὸ κοινοτικὸ σύστημα ποὺ διαμορφώθηκε ἀπὸ δυσμενεῖς κυρίως παράγοντες καὶ ἀπὸ ἐθνικοὺς βιωματικοὺς λόγους. Ἀπὸ τὴ στιγμὴ ποὺ ἔκαμε ὁρατὴ τὴν παρουσία της ἡ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐκκλησία -τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο Ἀλεξανδρείας- ἄρχιζε καὶ τὸ ἱστορικὸ γίγνεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλην. Κοινότητος. Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου κληρικοῦ ἐξουδετέρωνε ὅλες τὶς ἐπικρατοῦσες ἀντίρροπες δυνάμεις ἀνάμεσα στοὺς συμπατριῶτες μας καὶ ἔφερνε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς σὲ μεγάλες ἀποστάσεις διεσπαρμένους πιὸ κοντά, δημιουργώντας τοὺς κοινὰ ἐθνικὰ καὶ θρησκευτικὰ ἐνδιαφέροντα καὶ ἐρείσματα. Συγκινητικὲς εἶναι οἱ ἐκθέσεις τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας Χριστοφόρου γιὰ ὅσα περιγράφει ὅτι εἶδε, ἄκουσε, ἔνοιωσε καὶ πραγματοποίησε ἀνάμεσα σὲ νεοπαγεῖς ἑλληνικὲς παροικίες τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἀφρικῆς πρὶν ἀπὸ 80 χρόνια περίπου[2]. Τὸ πέρασμά του, πέρασμα ἐθνικοῦ καὶ θρησκευτικοῦ ἱεραποστόλου, ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀσμάρα, τὴ Μασάουα, τὸ Κέρεν, τὴν Ντίρε-Ντάουα, τὸ Χαρτούμ, τὸ Πὸρτ-Σουδὰν καὶ τὴν Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπα εἶχε ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα τὴ συνένωση σὲ κοινότητες τῶν ἐκεῖ Ἑλλήνων. Τὸ ἴδιο φαινόμενο παρατηρήθηκε καὶ στὶς λοιπὲς χῶρες τῆς Κεντρικῆς καὶ Νοτίου Ἀφρικῆς μὲ ἄλλα ὄργανα τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας, τὸ ὁποῖο μὲ φωτισμένους Πατριάρχες, ἀκούραστους Ἱεράρχες, φλογεροὺς ἱερεῖς ἄνοιξε τὰ φτερά του παντοῦ καὶ στάθηκε παράγων χρήσιμος ὄχι μόνο γιατὶ ἀνήγειρε παντοῦ εὐκτηρίους οἴκους, ἀλλὰ κυρίως γιατὶ φρόντισε μὲ τὴ συνεργασία καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴ καὶ ὑλικὴ συμπαράσταση φιλογενῶν μεταναστῶν νὰ ἱδρυθοῦν σχολεῖα γιὰ τὰ ἑλληνόπουλα τῆς Ἀφρικῆς. Τὰ σχολεῖα αὐτὰ σὲ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ ἐξοπλισμὸ δὲν θὰ εἶχαν νὰ ζηλέψουν κανένα ἀπὸ τὰ περίφημα σχολεῖα τῶν ξένων ἀποστολῶν στὴν Ἀφρικὴ καὶ τῶν χωρῶν τῆς Δ. Εὐρώπης. Ἡ ἄστοχος, ὅμως, πολιτικὴ τῶν Εὐρωπαίων στὶς χῶρες τῆς Ἀφρικῆς εἶχε σὰν ἀποτέλεσμα τὶς ἐξελίξεις σὲ βάρος τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ στοιχείου, ποὺ σημειώσαμε στὴν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐργασίας μας, καὶ βεβαίως τὸ κλείσιμο πολλῶν ἐκπαιδευτηρίων ἢ τὴ σημαντικὴ μείωση τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἑλλήνων μαθητῶν σὲ ὅσα λειτουργοῦν ἀκόμη. Θλιβερὴ καὶ ἄκρως ἀποκαρδιωτικὴ θὰ ἦταν δυνατὸ νὰ χαρακτηρισθεῖ ἡ κατάσταση τῶν περιφήμων ὁμογενειακῶν σχολείων στὶς χῶρες τῆς Β. Ἀφρικῆς, τοῦ Σουδὰν καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας.

Χωρὶς καμμιὰ ἐξαίρεση, ὁ ἱ. Κλῆρος τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἄσκησε διδακτικὸ ἔργο σὲ

1. *P. G. Fouyas*, James Bruce of Kinnaird and the Greeks in Ethiopia, Addis Abbaba 1971, ἐν περιοδ. ABBA SALAMA, τ. II (1971), σελ. 161-178.

2. Οἱ ἐκθέσεις τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Πατριάρχου μὲ σχόλια ἔχουν δημοσιευθεῖ στὸν 7ο τόμο τῶν Θεολογικῶν καὶ Ἱστορικῶν Μελετῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας *Μεθοδίου*, Ἀθῆναι 1984, σελ. 15-129, καλύπτουν δὲ τὴν περίοδο 1905-1912.

δλους τοὺς τύπους τῶν ἑλληνικῶν σχολείων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Κοινοτήτων καὶ ἀκολούθησε συμπαραστάτης καὶ πρωτοπόρος τὶς τύχες τοῦ ἑλληνορθοδόξου πληρώματος. Καὶ σήμερα, ποὺ οἱ πολιτικο-κοινωνικὲς ἐξελίξεις στὶς χῶρες τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐλάχιστα περιθώρια ἀφήνουν στὴν Ἐκκλησία νὰ παίξει τὸν ἐθναρχικό της ρόλο, γιατὶ φορεῖς τῶν σχολείων εἶναι παντοῦ οἱ Κοινότητες, ὡστόσο, ὅπου ὑπηρετοῦν μορφωμένοι καὶ ἐθνικὰ ἐμπνευσμένοι κληρικοί, προσφέρουν διδακτικὸ καὶ καθοδηγητικὸ ἔργο στὰ κοινοτικὰ σχολεῖα τῶν ὁμογενῶν μας. Ἐκεῖνο ποὺ δὲν μπόρεσε νὰ σκοτώσει ἡ σημερινὴ ἀλλαγὴ στὴν Ἀφρικὴ εἶναι ἡ βιολογικὴ ἀνάγκη τοῦ ἕλληνα μετανάστη νὰ ζεῖ μὲ τὶς ἐθνικοθρησκευτικὲς παραδόσεις του καὶ νὰ ἔχει κοντά του, μαζὶ μὲ τὰ ἄλλα στοιχεῖα, τὸν ἱερέα, τὸν ὁποῖο συνήθισε νὰ καλεῖ πότε «πάτερ» καὶ πότε «δάσκαλε» μὲ μιὰ εὐρύτερη σημασία, ὅπως ἄλλωστε τὴν κλήση αὐτὴ τὴ συναντᾶμε στὴν Κύπρο, τὴ Μ. Βρεταννία, τὶς Η.Π.Α., τὴν Αὐστραλία, τὴ Ν. Ἀφρικὴ καὶ τὸν Καναδᾶ γιὰ τὸν ἱερέα.

Ὁ ὀρθόδοξος κληρικὸς δὲν πρόκειται νὰ ἀπογυμνωθεῖ ποτὲ ἀπὸ ὅσα ἡ γνήσια ἱστορία τοῦ Ἔθνους τὸν ἔχει κοσμήσει. Ὅταν καλοῦμε τὴν Ἐκκλησία κιβωτὸ τοῦ Ἔθνους, στὴν οὐσία μιλᾶμε γιὰ ὅ,τι ἔχει κάμει ὁ ἱερὸς Κλῆρος μας γιὰ νὰ σωθεῖ τὸ Ἔθνος ἀπὸ τὴν καταστροφὴ στὴν περίοδο τῆς δοκιμασίας, τῆς βίας καὶ τοῦ σκότους ποὺ τοῦ ἐπέβαλε ὁ ἀσιάτης δυνάστης. Στὶς χῶρες αὐτὲς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ἀπὸ τὶς ἀκτές της στὴ Μεσόγειο ὡς τὸ Ἀκρωτήρι τῆς Καλῆς Ἐλπίδος, ἐγκαταστάθηκε πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐπανάσταση, μετὰ ἀπ' αὐτὴν καὶ μετὰ τὴ Μικρασιατικὴ Καταστροφὴ μεγάλος ἀριθμὸς Ἑλλήνων, ἀκόμη δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τὶς Βαλκανικὲς χῶρες (Ρουμανία, Σερβία, Βουλγαρία), ὁσάκις σ' αὐτὲς συντελοῦνταν κοινωνικοπολιτικὲς ἐξελίξεις, ποὺ ἦσαν δυσμενεῖς γιὰ τοὺς ξένους, φυσικὰ καὶ γιὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνες.

Τὸ σύνολο τῶν Ἑλλήνων στὴν Ἀφρικὴ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι περὶ τὶς 100.000. Τὰ ἑλληνόπουλα ποὺ φοιτοῦν στὰ 60 περίπου Νηπιαγωγεῖα, Δημοτικά, Γυμνάσια καὶ Λύκεια δὲν φτάνουν τὶς 5.000. Αὐτὸ σημαίνει ὅτι ἕνας πολὺ μεγάλος ἀριθμὸς ἑλληνοπαίδων φοιτοῦν σὲ ξένα σχολεῖα (κυρίως στὴ Ν. Ἀφρικὴ καὶ τὴ Ζιμπάμπουε). Γιὰ τὰ παιδιὰ αὐτὰ τὸν λόγο ἔχει πράγματι ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ἡ ὁποία στὰ Κατηχητικά της σχολεῖα δὲν τοὺς διδάσκει μόνο τὴν ὀρθόδοξη κατήχηση, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ γλώσσα καὶ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἱστορία.

### θ. Μεταναστευτικὴ πολιτικὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Οἱ διαρθρωτικὲς ἐξελίξεις ποὺ συντελέσθηκαν στὴν Ὀρθόδοξο Ἐκκλησία τῆς Δ. Εὐρώπης, τὴν Αὐστραλία καὶ τὸν Καναδᾶ ὑπαγορεύθηκαν ἀπὸ τὴ μετακίνηση μεγάλου ἀριθμοῦ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὶς χῶρες αὐτὲς μεταπολεμικῶς καὶ ἰδιαίτερα μετὰ τὸ ἔτος 1958. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία βρέθηκε κοντὰ στοὺς μετανάστες μας, ἔστω κι ἂν δὲν ἦταν σὲ θέση νὰ ἐπιτελέσει ἔργο ἐφάμιλλο πρὸς ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ἐπιτελοῦσαν οἱ αὐτόχθονες Ἐκκλησίες. Ὄχι γιατὶ δὲν ἤθελε, ἀλλὰ γιατὶ δὲν διέθετε οὔτε τοὺς οἰκονομικοὺς πόρους οὔτε τὴν ἀνάλογη ὀργάνωση. Τὴ διαφορὰ αὐτὴ συναντᾶ κανεὶς στὴ Δ. Γερμανία, ὅπου οἱ Ἐκκλησίες, Εὐαγγελικὴ καὶ Καθολική, λόγω ἀρτίας κοινωνικῆς ὀργανώσεως, πολλῶν μέσων καὶ μεγάλων πόρων, μποροῦσαν ὄχι μόνο μεταξὺ τῶν ὀπαδῶν τους νὰ ἐπιτελοῦν ἀξιόλογο ἔργο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν ξένων μεταναστῶν[1].

Τὸ προσωρινὸ καθεστὼς τῶν ἑλλήνων ἐργατῶν στὴ Δ. Γερμανία, ὅπου ἐγκαταστάθηκε ὁ μεγαλύτερος ἀριθμὸς τῶν μεταναστῶν μας στὶς δεκαετίες τοῦ 60 καὶ τοῦ 70, ἐπέβαλε στὶς ἑλληνικὲς ὑπηρεσίες νὰ παίξουν τὸν κύριο ρόλο στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν παιδιῶν τους, ὅπως τονίσαμε καὶ ἀλλοῦ. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία περιορίσθηκε στὸ ποιμαντικὸ κυρίως ἔργο της, τὸ ὁποῖο δὲν στόχευε μόνο στὴ διάσωση ἀπὸ τὴ θρησκευτικὴ ἀλλοτρίωση ἢ ἀδιαφορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στὴν ἐθνικὴ συνεργασία μὲ τὶς ἑλληνικὲς κυβερνητικὲς ὑπηρεσίες. Μπορεῖ νὰ μὴν ὑπῆρξε ὀργανωμένη ἐκπαιδευτικὴ πολιτικὴ τῆς Μητροπόλεως τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας, ὑπῆρξε ὅμως διάθεση πολλὴ ἀπὸ τοὺς θεολόγους ἱερεῖς της, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἀπὸ τὴν ἄφιξή τους ἐκεῖ ἀνέλαβαν καὶ ἄσκησαν διδακτικὸ ἔργο μὲ ὁποιαδήποτε ἰδιότητα.

Ἴσως ἐνωρίτερα ἀπὸ τὴ δημιουργία τοῦ προβλήματος τῆς παλιννοστήσεως τῶν ἑλλήνων ἐργατῶν ἀπὸ τὴ Δ. Γερμανία, ἡ Μητρόπολη Δ. Γερμανίας εἶχε ἀντιληφθεῖ ὅτι τὸ ποίμνιό της δὲν ἦταν μόνιμο καὶ τὰ μέτρα της περιορίζονταν σὲ βραχυπρόθεσμα προγράμματα. Σήμερα, ὅμως, ποὺ ἡ χώρα μας ἀποτελεῖ μέλος τῆς ΕΟΚ, οἱ συνθῆκες γιὰ τοὺς μετανάστες μας στὴ Δ. Γερμανία μεταβάλλονται μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ προκαλοῦν ἰδιαίτερο ἐνδιαφέρον τῆς Μητροπόλεως Δ. Γερμανίας γιὰ τὸ ποίμνιό της. Παρατηρεῖται στὶς ἡμέρες μας μιὰ ἔντονη κινητικότητα τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Γερμανίας κ. Αὐγουστίνου πρὸς τὶς γερμανικὲς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὶς ἑλληνικὲς Ἀρχὲς (περίπτωση ἀντιδράσεως στὴν ἀνάκληση ἱερέων-ἐκπαιδευτικῶν), γιὰ νὰ βροῦν τὴ λύση τους τὰ προβλήματα ἐργασίας, κοινωνικῶν ἀσφαλίσεων καὶ συντάξεων, καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἐκπαιδευτικά, τὰ ὁποῖα μέχρι τώρα ἀποτελοῦσαν θέματα ποὺ συζητοῦσαν ὄργανα τῶν Κυβερνήσεων Ἑλλάδος καὶ Δ. Γερμανίας[2].

Ἡ κρίση ἐργασίας στὴ Δ. Γερμανία ὑποχρέωσε ἀπὸ τὸ ἔτος 1974 καὶ ἑξῆς πολλοὺς Ἕλληνες νὰ ἐπαναπατρισθοῦν. Ἡ παλιννόστηση αὐτή, ὅπως διαπιστώνουν ὅσοι ἀσχολήθηκαν μὲ τὸ φαινόμενο αὐτό, βρῆκε τὶς ἁρμόδιες ἑλληνικὲς ὑπηρεσίες ἀνέτοιμες νὰ ἐντάξουν στὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρο ἐργασίας καὶ παιδείας τοὺς παλιννοστοῦντες. Ὁ ρυθμὸς τοῦ ἐπαναπατρισμοῦ μόνο ἀπὸ τὴ Δ. Γερμανία ἔφθανε κάθε χρόνο τοὺς 40 ὡς 45 χιλιάδες, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους

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1. Πρβλ. ἐργασία *Α. Ἀλεβιζοπούλου*, Ποιμαντικὰ Προβλήματα Παλιννοστήσεως, Ἀθῆναι 1982, σελ. 200 ἑξ., ἔκδ. ΚΣΠΜΕΕ.

2. Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Γερμανίας πρὸς τὸν Ὑπουργὸ Ἐθν. Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων κ. Κακλαμάνη μὲ ἡμερομ. 22.2.1984.

οἱ 5 χιλιάδες ἦσαν παιδιὰ σχολικῆς ἡλικίας. Ἐπαναπατρισμὸς ἰσαρίθμων μεταναστῶν μας μὲ τὸν ἴδιο ἀριθμὸ παιδιῶν σχολικῆς ἡλικίας σημειωνόταν ἀπὸ ὅλες μαζὶ τὶς λοιπὲς χῶρες τοῦ κόσμου, ὅπως μαρτυροῦν τὰ στατιστικὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ ὡς τὸ ἔτος 1980.

Ἀξίζει νὰ σημειωθεῖ ὁ ρόλος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴν ὁμαλὴ ἐπανένταξη τῶν παλιννοστούντων ἀποδήμων μας στὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρο. Ἡ σύσταση τοῦ Κέντρου Συμπαραστάσεως Παλιννοστούντων Μεταναστῶν, ποὺ ἔγινε μὲ ἀπόφαση τῆς Δ. Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου (περίοδος 121, Συνεδρία Κ', 9-2-1978) τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, πρωτοβουλίᾳ τοῦ Γραφείου τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Ἀλληλοβοηθείας καὶ Σχέσεων μετὰ τῶν Ξένων Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ ἄρχισε νὰ λειτουργεῖ ἀμέσως, εἶχε ὡς ἀποστολή:

1. Τὴν παροχὴ πληροφοριῶν καὶ καθοδηγήσεως τῶν παλιννοστούντων.

2. Τὴ συμπαράσταση στὴν ἀναζήτηση ἐργασίας.

3. Τὴν παροχὴ συμβουλῶν πρὸς γονεῖς, διδασκάλους μαθητῶν παλιννοστούντων, στὰ ἴδια τὰ παιδιὰ γιὰ τὰ σχολικὰ καὶ κοινωνικὰ προβλήματά τους, καὶ τὴν παροχὴ συμπαραστάσεως πάνω σὲ διαδικαστικὰ θέματα πρὸς δημόσιες ὑπηρεσίες καὶ ἐπιχειρήσεις κ.ἄ.[1].

Μὲ ἀφορμὴ τὰ προβλήματα τῶν παλιννοστούντων, κυρίως τὰ σχολικά, τὸ Ὑπουργεῖο Παιδείας τῆς Χώρας μας ἔλαβε μερικὰ εὐεργετικὰ μέτρα γιὰ τὴν ἔνταξη τῶν παιδιῶν τους στὸν ἑλληνικὸ σχολικὸ χῶρο. Μέσα στὰ θεσμικὰ μέτρα περιλαμβάνονται καὶ οἱ τάξεις ὑποδοχῆς, οἱ ὁποῖες ἱδρύθηκαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, ὡς Δ/ντοῦ Ε.Ε.Ε. τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ. ἀπὸ τὸ σχολ. ἔτος 1980-81[2]. Ὁ θεσμὸς αὐτὸς χαρακτηρίσθηκε πρωτοποριακὸς γιὰ τὸν χῶρο τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ σὰν ἕνα μοντέλο γιὰ τὴ λειτουργία παρομοίων τάξεων στὴ χώρα μας καὶ γιὰ παιδιὰ εἴτε ἀπὸ ἄλλες χῶρες-μέλη τῆς ΕΟΚ εἴτε ἀπὸ τρίτες χῶρες[3].

Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον γιὰ τοὺς ἀποδήμους Ἕλληνες μὲ τὴ συμμετοχὴ καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπασχόλησε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Πολιτεία, ἡ ὁποία διερεύνησε τὴ δυνατότητα ἱδρύσεως ἑνὸς Ἑλληνικοῦ Κέντρου Πληροφορήσεως γιὰ τοὺς ἀποδήμους μας στὸ Ἐξωτερικὸ καὶ γι' αὐτοὺς ποὺ ἐπαναπατρίζονταν. Στὴ συνάντηση ἐκείνη φάνηκε πόσο προχωρημένο ἦταν τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας σὲ συνεργασία μὲ ἄλλες Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Δ. Εὐρώπης καὶ διεκκλησιαστικοὺς ὀργανισμοὺς γιὰ τοὺς ἀποδήμους μας. Τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἡ ἰδέα ἱδρύσεως ἑνὸς τέτοιου Κέντρου δὲν ὑλοποιήθηκε μέχρι σήμερα δὲν σημαίνει ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία δὲν συνέχισε μὲ συνεχῶς αὐξανόμενο τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον της γιὰ τοὺς ἀποδήμους μέσω τοῦ Κέντρου Συμπαραστάσεως Παλιννοστούντων Μεταναστῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τόσο στὸ Ἐσωτερικὸ ὅσο καὶ στὸ Ἐξωτερικό, μὲ ἀξιόλογα ἀποτελέσματα καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν πνοὴ καὶ καθοδήγηση ἐξειδικευμένου ἐπιτελείου, τοῦ ὁποίου τὰ μέλη, ἐμπνεόμενα ἀπὸ τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς ἐθνικοὺς σκοποὺς ποὺ ὑπηρετεῖ τὸ Κέντρο, κάνουν τὴν παρουσία τους αἰσθητὴ μὲ εἰσηγήσεις, ἄρθρα καὶ μὲ συμμετοχὴ σὲ σεμινάρια καὶ συμπόσια, στὸ Ἐσωτερικὸ καὶ τὸ Ἐξωτερικό, ὑπὸ τὴ δόκιμη ἐποπτεία τοῦ Προϊσταμένου τοῦ Κέντρου φίλου μας Δρα Ἀντ. Παπαντωνίου.

1. *Μ. Παπαντωνίου-Φραγκούλη καὶ Α. Παπαντωνίου*, Ἐμπειρίες τοῦ Κέντρου Συμπαραστάσεως Παλιννοστούντων Μεταναστῶν, ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΠΑΛΙΝΝΟΣΤΗΣΗ, Ἀθήνα 1982, σ. 93.

2. *Π. Φούγια*, Τὰ Μέτρα τῆς Ἑλλην. Πολιτείας γιὰ τὴν ἔνταξη τῶν Παλιννοστούντων Ἑλληνοπαίδων στὰ Σχολεῖα τῆς Ἡμεδαπῆς, Ἑλλην. Παλιννόστηση, σελ. 195-99. Ἀπὸ τὸ σχολ. ἔτος 1984-85 τὸ Ὑπουργεῖο Παιδείας τῆς Χώρας μας ἔθεσε σὲ λειτουργία πλῆρες σχολεῖο Γενικῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως γιὰ παλιννοστοῦντες ἑλληνόπαιδες στὴ Βαρυμπόμπη τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

3. Τὸ μοντέλο αὐτὸ ζήτησε καὶ ἔλαβε τὸ τμῆμα γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση ξένων τοῦ Ὑπ. Παιδείας τῆς Σουηδίας ἀπὸ τὸν γράφοντα τὸ ἔτος 1981 μαζὶ μὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Πολιτιστικὸ Πακέτο κατὰ τὶς Ἑλληνο-σουηδικὲς συνομιλίες στὴ Στοκχόλμη.

## ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ

Στατιστικὰ στοιχεῖα ἀναφερόμενα στὸν ἀριθμὸ τῶν σχολικῶν μονάδων (Νηπιαγωγείων, Δημοτικῶν, Γυμνασίων καὶ Λυκείων, ἀμιγῶν, τάξεων ἐντεταγμένων μέσα σὲ ξένα σχολεῖα, τάξεων μητρικῆς γλώσσας ἢ ἀπογευματινῶν σχολείων, προπαρασκευαστικῶν τάξεων ἢ τάξεων μὲ μαθητὲς Δημοτικῆς καὶ Μέσης ἐκπαιδεύσεως), τὸν ἀριθμὸ μαθητῶν κατὰ βαθμίδα καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸ τῶν ἀποσπασμένων ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκπαιδευτικῶν κατὰ τὸ σχολ. ἔτος 1981–2, κατὰ χώρα.

| Χώρα | Νηπ.-Νήπια | | Δημοτικὰ–Μαθητὲς | | Γυμνάσια–Μαθητὲς | | Λύκεια–Μαθητὲς | | Νηπ/γωγοί | Δάσκαλοι | Καθηγητὲς |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Αἴγυπτος | 3 | 37 | 4 | 207 | 3 | 135 | 4 +1[1] | 137 +8 | 3 | 15 | 42 |
| Λιβύη | 1 | 9 | 2 | 122 | 2 | 52 | 2 | 47 | 1 | 6 | 12 |
| Σουδὰν | 1 | 12 | 1 | 80 | 1 | 45 | 1 | 30 | 1 | 7 | 7 |
| Αἰθιοπία | 1 | 20 | 2 | 117 | 1 | 34 | 1 | 25 | 1 | 7 | 7 |
| Τανζανία | – | – | 1 | 30 | – | – | – | – | – | 3 | – |
| Καμεροὺν | – | – | 1 | 30 | – | – | – | – | – | 2 | – |
| Νιγηρία | 1 | 20 | 5 | 105 | – | – | – | – | 1 | 5 | – |
| Μπουρούντι | – | – | 1 | 30 | 1 | 18 | 1 | 12 | – | 2 | 5 |
| Ζαΐρ | 1 | 13 | 4 | 130 | 2 | 85 | 2 | 30 | 1 | 9 | 13 |
| Ροδεσία | – | – | 2 | 158 | – | – | – | – | – | 4 | – |
| Ν. Ἀφρικὴ | 4 | 173 | 15 | 2190 | 1 | 164 | 1 | 84 | 3 | 28 | 7 |
| Κων/πολη | – | – | 30 | 588 | 5 | 130 | 6 | 70 | 3 | 85 | 51 (115[2]) |
| Ἰρὰκ | – | – | 4 | ; | Σχολεῖα τῆς ἑλλην. ἑταιρ. ΒΙΟΚΑΤ | | | | – | 4 | – |
| Ἰρὰν | – | – | 1 | ; | Λόγω τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐξελίξεων κλειστὸ | | | | – | 1 | – |
| Λίβανος | – | – | 1 | ; | Κατ' οἶκον διδασκαλία | | | | – | 1 | – |
| Συρία | – | – | 1 | 45 | – | – | – | – | | 1 | – |
| Ἰσραὴλ | – | – | – | – | 1 | 60 | 1[3] | 20 | – | – | 7 |
| Σ. Ἀραβία | – | – | 5[4] | 300 | 1 | 35 | 1 | 15 | – | 14 | 4 |
| Κουβέιτ | – | – | 1 | 15 | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – |
| Αὐστραλία[5] | – | – | 535 | 47170 | 182 | 16230 | 1[6] | ; | – | 9 | 5 |
| Σύνολα | 12 | 284 | 616 | 51317 | 200 | 16988 | 22 | 478 | 14 | 204 | 160 |

1. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὴν Τεχνικὴ Σχολὴ στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια μὲ 8 μαθητές.
2. Οἱ 115 ἀπὸ τὸ σύνολο τῶν δασκάλων καὶ καθηγητῶν εἶναι Ὁμογενεῖς ἐκπαιδευτικοί.
3. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὴν Πατριαρχικὴ Σχολή, τῆς ὁποίας παράρτημα εἶναι τὸ γυμνασιακὸ τμῆμα μὲ πρόγραμμα μόνο πατριδογνωστικῶν μαθημάτων.
4. Πρόκειται γιὰ ἕνα σχολεῖο μὲ 4 παραρτήματα.
5. Πλὴν τοῦ Διγλώσσου Σχολείου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κάρλτον στὴ Μελβούρνη, οἱ λοιποὶ ἀριθμοὶ γιὰ τὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια δηλώνουν τμήματα μητρικῆς γλώσσας, στὰ ὁποῖα διδάσκονται πατριδογνωστικὰ μαθήματα. Τὰ 112 τμήματα μὲ 12.650 μαθητὲς λειτουργοῦν μέσα σὲ αὐστραλιανὰ σχολεῖα, ἀκολουθώντας τὸ πολυπολιτιστικὸ πρόγραμμα ποὺ ἔχει καθιερώσει γιὰ μαθητὲς ἄλλων ἐθνοτήτων ἡ αὐστραλιανὴ κυβέρνηση. Στὰ στοιχεῖα περιλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ δύναμη τοῦ σχολείου στὴ Ν. Ζηλανδία.
6. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὸ Λύκειο τοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου στὸ Κάρλτον τῆς Μελβούρνης.

| Χώρα | Νηπ.-Νήπια | | Δημοτικά-Μαθητές | | Γυμνάσια-Μαθητές | | Λύκεια-Μαθητές | | Νηπ/γωγοί | Δάσκαλοι | Καθηγητές |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Η.Π.Α.[1] | 17 | 637 | 383 | 31308 | 18 | 955 | 2 | 150 | 2 | 30 | 13 |
| Καναδᾶς[2] | 5 | 278 | 257 | 18240 | 26 | 1425 | – | – | 2 | 11 | 5 |
| 'Αργεντινὴ[3] | 1 | ; | 1 | ; | – | – | – | – | 1 | 1 | – |
| Βενεζουέλα[3] | – | – | 1 | 50 | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – |
| Βραζιλία[3] | – | – | 1 | 55 | – | – | – | – | – | 2 | – |
| Μ. Βρεταν.[4] | 4 | 100 | 84 | 5230 | 1 | 45 | 1 | 34 | 3 | 42 | 26 |
| Βέλγιο[5] | 1 | 25 | 40 | 1627 | 8 | 561 | 1 | 66 | 1 | 56 | 30 |
| 'Ολλανδία | – | – | 13 | 413 | 1 | 20 | – | – | – | 11 | 1 |
| Λουξε/ργο[6] | 1 | 12 | 1 | ; | 1 | ; | – | – | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 'Ελβετία[7] | 3 | 43 | 30 | 1032 | 5 | 179 | – | – | 1 | 22 | 5 |
| Γαλλία[7] | 2 | 58 | 27 | 695 | 3 | 69 | – | – | 2 | 22 | 13 |
| 'Ιταλία[8] | – | – | 2 | 52 | – | – | – | – | – | 2 | – |
| Αὐστρία | – | – | 2 | 156 | – | – | – | – | – | 2 | – |
| Δανία | – | – | 1 | 40 | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – |
| Νορβηγία | – | – | 1 | 43 | – | – | – | – | – | 1 | – |
| Σουηδία[9] | ; | ; | 162 | 2100 | 25 | 200 | – | – | 1 | 31 | 6 |
| Δ. Γερμ.[10] | 37 | 754 | 553 | 27027 | 82 | 6367 | 17 | 1598 | 47 | 697 | 333 |
| Σύνολα | 71 | 1907 | 1559 | 88068 | 170 | 9821 | 21 | 1848 | 61 | 934 | 433 |

1. Τὰ 'Ελλην. Σχολεῖα τῶν 'Ηνωμένων Πολιτειῶν 'Αμερικῆς χρησιμοποιοῦν κατὰ κύριο λόγο ἐκπαιδευτικοὺς 'Ελληνοαμερικανούς. Οἱ ἀποσπασμένοι στὶς ΗΠΑ παρέμειναν ἐκεῖ ἀφοῦ ὁ διορισμός τους στὸ 'Ελλην. Δημόσιο τοὺς βρῆκε νὰ ὑπηρετοῦν σὲ ὁμογενειακὰ σχολεῖα. Εἶναι διαβαθμισμένοι, χωρὶς νὰ λαμβάνουν ἀποδοχὲς 'Εσωτερικοῦ καὶ ἐπιμίσθιο 'Εξωτερικοῦ. Περισσότερα ἀπὸ 40 σχολεῖα εἶναι ἀναγνωρισμένα ἀπὸ τὸ ἑλλην. ΥΠΕΠΘ.
2. Περὶ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν αὐτῶν ἰσχύει στὸν Καναδᾶ ὅ,τι καὶ στὶς Η.Π.Α.
3. Στὶς χῶρες 'Αργεντινή, Βενεζουέλα καὶ Βραζιλία οἱ ἐκπαιδευτικοί μας διδάσκουν σὲ πολλὰ σχολεῖα λόγω τῆς διασπορᾶς τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων σὲ πολλὲς πόλεις. Γιὰ τὸν λόγο αὐτὸ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν σχολ. μονάδων καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν δὲν εἶναι ἀπόλυτα ἀκριβής.
4. 'Εκτὸς τῶν σχολείων αὐτῶν, ποὺ φορέα τους (τὰ 84) ἔχουν τὴν 'Αρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ τὸ 'Ελλην. Προξενεῖο (1 Νηπιαγωγεῖο), λειτουργοῦν 22 σχολεῖα τῆς Κυπριακῆς 'Αποστολῆς καὶ δύο ἀνεξάρτητα μὲ 200 καὶ 200 περίπου μαθητὲς ἀντίστοιχα.
5. Στὰ σχολεῖα αὐτὰ περιλαμβάνεται τὸ ἑλλην. τμῆμα τοῦ Εὐρωπαϊκοῦ Σχολείου καὶ τὸ ἀναγνωρισμένο τῶν Βρυξελλῶν.
6. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὸ ἑλλην. τμῆμα στὸ Εὐρωπαϊκὸ Σχολεῖο.
7. Στὰ σχολεῖα αὐτὰ διδάσκονται πατριδογνωστικὰ μαθήματα. Σ' αὐτὰ περιλαμβάνεται καὶ τὸ ἀναγνωρισμένο σχολεῖο τῆς Μητροπόλεως Γαλλίας.
8. Τὸ ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ σχολεῖα αὐτὰ λειτουργεῖ μέσα στὸ ΝΑΤΟ γιὰ τὰ παιδιὰ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ποὺ ὑπηρετοῦν σ' αὐτό.
9. Στὰ σχολεῖα αὐτὰ δὲν περιλαμβάνονται τὰ δύο παιδαγωγικὰ τμήματα ποὺ λειτουργοῦν στὶς 'Ακαδημίες τῆς Στοκχόλμης καὶ τοῦ Μάλμαι γιὰ ὑποψηφίους ἕλληνες δασκάλους, οὔτε τὸ 'Ελλην. 'Ινστιτοῦτο τῆς Στοκχόλμης. Πλὴν τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἀποσπασμένων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν, ἕνας μεγάλος ἀριθμὸς ἑλλήνων μεταναστῶν, προσοντούχων καὶ μή, διδάσκουν στὰ ἐντεταγμένα τμήματα μέσα στὰ σουηδικὰ σχολεῖα. 'Η ἑλλην. πλευρὰ στὶς ἑλληνο-σουηδικὲς συνομιλίες ἦταν πάντοτε ἀντίθετη μὲ τὴ χρησιμοποίηση μὴ προσοντούχων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν στὶς ἑλλην. τάξεις.
10. Μιὰ σημαντικὴ αὔξηση στὸν ἀριθμὸ τῶν μαθητῶν γυμνασίου καὶ λυκείου σημειώθηκε κατὰ τὸ σχολ. ἔτος 1981-82 σὲ σχέση μὲ τὸ προηγούμενο σχολ. ἔτος 1980-81 καὶ ἐλαττώθηκε ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν νηπίων καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Δημοτικοῦ. 'Η αὔξηση τῶν μαθητῶν γυμνασίου εἶναι κατὰ 423 μαθητὲς καὶ τοῦ λυκείου κατὰ 718, ἡ δὲ μείωση τῶν νηπίων κατὰ 81 καὶ τοῦ δημοτικοῦ κατὰ 1620 μαθητές. Οἱ ἀριθμοὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποδεικνύουν ὅτι ἡ ἵδρυση 13 λυκείων μέσα στὸ σχολ. ἔτος 1980-81 ἀπὸ τὴν Κυβέρνηση τῆς Ν. Δημοκρατίας ὑπῆρξε ὀρθή. Στὴν ἴδια περίοδο ἱδρύθηκε καὶ τὸ ἀμιγὲς γυμνάσιο στὴ Φραγκφούρτη. 'Η ἀπόφαση τότε τοῦ ΥΠΕΠΘ πάρθηκε μετὰ ἀπὸ σχετικὰ αἰτήματα πρὸς αὐτὸ τῶν μεταναστῶν μας στὴν ΟΔΓ. Προοπτικὲς ὑπῆρχαν γιὰ περαιτέρω αὔξηση τῶν ἀμιγῶν σχολικῶν μονάδων, ἰδιαίτερα στὴ Β. Ρηνανία Βεστφαλία, τὴν 'Εσση καὶ τὴ Β. Βυρτεμβέργη, ὅπου ἡ πίεση γιὰ τὴν ἐνσωμάτωση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων στὶς γερμανικὲς τάξεις ὑπῆρξε ὀξύτερη. Οἱ ἐξελίξεις ποὺ μεσολάβησαν ἔκτοτε στὴ Χώρα μας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἀμετάβλητη πολιτικὴ τῶν γερμανικῶν ἀρχῶν κατέστησαν τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας ὀξύτερο, μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ καταργηθοῦν πολλὲς δεκάδες ἑλληνικὲς τάξεις καὶ νὰ μειωθεῖ σημαντικὰ τὸ ἑλληνόγλωσσο πρόγραμμα στὶς ὑπάρχουσες ἐντεταγμένες τάξεις.

Σύνολα

Σύνολο παντὸς τύπου σχολικῶν μονάδων ('Αμιγῶν, Μ.Γ. 'Εντ. Προπ. Τάξ. Διγλ.) 2664

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Σύνολο νηπίων | 2.191 | |
| Σύνολο μαθητῶν δημοτικοῦ σχολείου | 99.405 | 130.731 |
| Σύνολο μαθητῶν γυμνασίου | 26.809 | |
| Σύνολο μαθητῶν λυκείου | 2.326 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Σύνολο ἐποπτικῶν ὀργάνων | 22 | |
| Σύνολο Νηπιαγωγῶν | 85 | 1816* |
| Σύνολο Δασκάλων | 1138 | |
| Σύνολο Καθηγητῶν | 593 | |

* Στὸν ἀριθμὸ τῶν ἀποσπασμένων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν δὲν περιλαμβάνονται 1 νηπιαγωγός, 4 δάσκαλοι καὶ 147 καθηγητὲς ποὺ εἶχαν ἀποσπασθεῖ στὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὸ σχολ. ἔτος 1981–82.

Σημείωση: Οἱ ἑλληνόπαιδες σχολικῆς ἡλικίας σ' ὅλες τὶς χῶρες ἀνέρχονται σὲ 300.000 περίπου καὶ μόνο τὸ ἥμισυ ἀπ' αὐτοὺς παίρνει ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση ὁποιουδήποτε τύπου ἢ βαθμοῦ. Ἡ ἑλληνόγλωσση ἐκπαίδευση στὸ μεγαλύτερο ποσοστὸ τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων 'Εξωτερικοῦ κυμαίνεται μεταξὺ 2 ὡς 6 ὧρες τὴν ἑβδομάδα. Αὐτὸ παρατηρεῖται στὶς ἑλλην. σχολικὲς μονάδες ποὺ λειτουργοῦν στὶς Η.Π.Α., τὸν Καναδᾶ, τὴν Αὐστραλία, Ν. Ζηλανδία, Ν. 'Αμερική, Ν. 'Αφρικὴ καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπη, πλὴν τῆς Δυτ. Γερμανίας, τῶν χωρῶν τῆς βορείου καὶ κεντρικῆς 'Αφρικῆς καὶ τῶν χωρῶν τῆς 'Ασίας, ὅπου λειτουργοῦν οἱ ἀκόλουθοι τύποι σχολείων:

1. 'Αμιγῆ μὲ πρόγραμμα ἑλληνικὸ καὶ στὴ θέση τῆς ξένης γλώσσας διδάσκεται ἡ γλώσσα τῆς χώρας.
2. 'Απογευματινὰ τμήματα μητρικῆς γλώσσας μὲ πρόγραμμα πατριδογνωστικῶν μαθημάτων (Θρησκευτικά, 'Ελληνικά, Ἱστορία καὶ Γεωγραφία–πολιτιστικὰ στοιχεῖα).
3. Δίγλωσσες τάξεις, ἐντεταγμένες μέσα στὰ κρατικὰ σχολεῖα τῆς χώρας, στὶς ὁποῖες τὸ ἑλληνόγλωσσο πρόγραμμα κυμαίνεται ἀναλόγως, ἀπὸ 6 ὡς 12 ὧρες τὴν ἑβδομάδα.
4. Προπαρασκευαστικὲς τάξεις (λειτούργησαν στὴν περιοχὴ τῆς 'Εσσης καὶ τῆς Β. Ρηνανίας–Βεστφαλίας τῆς Δ. Γερμανίας). Τείνουν νὰ ἐκλείψουν λόγω πιέσεως ἀπὸ τὴ γερμανικὴ πλευρά.

Οἱ φορεῖς τῶν κατὰ τόπους σχολείων ποὺ τοὺς ἀναγνωρίζεται ἡ ἰδιότητα αὐτὴ ἀπὸ τὴν ἑλλην. νομοθεσία, εἶναι ἑλληνορθόδοξες Μητροπόλεις, ἑλλην. Προξενεῖα, ἑλλην. Κοινότητες, ἑλλην. Σύλλογοι καὶ ἕλληνες ἰδιῶτες. Τὸ ἑλλην. Κράτος ἀποσπᾶ ἐκπαιδευτικοὺς καὶ χορηγεῖ λειτουργικὰ ἔξοδα σὲ σχολεῖα τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν ἔχουν ἐπιχειρησιακὸ χαρακτῆρα.

Δαπάνες

'Η ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων 'Εξωτερικοῦ στοίχισε στὸ 'Ελληνικὸ Κράτος κατὰ τὸ σχολ. ἔτος 1980–81 τὸ ποσὸ τῶν 1.184.000.000 δρχ., ἤτοι:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. 'Αποδοχὲς 'Εσωτερικοῦ ἀποσπασμένων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν καὶ ἀναπληρωτῶν τους στὶς ὀργ. θέσεις τους | 450.000.000 δρχ. |
| 2. 'Επιμίσθιο ἀποσπασμένων ἐκπαιδευτικῶν | 600.000.000 δρχ. |
| 3. 'Επιχορηγήσεις ἑλλην. σχολείων 'Εξωτερικοῦ | 32.000.000 δρχ. |
| 4. Λειτουργικὰ ἔξοδα γραφείων Σ.Ε. καὶ μισθώματα γραφείων αὐτῶν | 16.000.000 δρχ. |
| 5. Μεταφορὰ βιβλίων καὶ ἄλλου ὑλικοῦ | 35.000.000 δρχ. |
| 6. 'Οδοιπορικὰ ἔξοδα καὶ ἡμερήσια ἀποζημίωση ἐκτὸς ἕδρας | 20.000.000 δρχ. |
| 7. Φιλοξενίες–Σεμινάρια 'Εκπαιδευτικῶν 'Εξωτερικοῦ | 21.000.000 δρχ. |
| 8. Δαπάνες γιὰ συγγραφὴ καὶ ἐκτύπωση σχολικῶν βιβλίων στὸ 'Εξωτερικὸ | 10.000.000 δρχ. |
| | 1.184.000.000 δρχ. |

## ΕΠΙΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ

Τὸ ἀντικείμενο ποὺ ἐπεξεργασθήκαμε δὲν εἶναι ἀσφαλῶς τῆς ἐκτάσεως, τὴν ὁποία τοῦ δώσαμε, οὔτε τὸ ἀποτελοῦν ὅσα στοιχεῖα ἐκθέσαμε στὴν ἐργασία μας αὐτή. Ἀπὸ τὴ στιγμὴ ποὺ ἀποφασίσαμε νὰ γράψουμε μιὰ μελέτη γιὰ τὴν προσφορὰ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἑλληνοπαίδων τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ εἴχαμε συνείδηση ὅτι ἦταν ἀδύνατο μέσα στὶς λίγες αὐτὲς σελίδες νὰ περιλάβουμε ὅλο της τὸ ἔργο μὲ στοιχεῖα, σὲ ἱστορικὴ συνέχεια, ἀπὸ ὅλες τὶς ἐποχὲς καὶ τὶς χῶρες τοῦ κόσμου. Ἔτσι περιοριστήκαμε νὰ δώσουμε μὲ λίγα μὲν στοιχεῖα, ἀλλ' ἀντιπροσωπευτικά, τὴ μαρτυρία καὶ τὸ πάθος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Διασπορὰ γιὰ τὴν παιδεία καὶ τὴν καλλιέργεια ὅλων ἐκείνων τῶν στοιχείων ποὺ διέπλασαν στὸ ἀπόδημο ἑλληνόπουλο ὄχι μόνο τὸ θρησκευτικὸ ἦθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γνήσιο ἑλληνικὸ ἦθος.

Ὁ ρόλος αὐτὸς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μας στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Διασπορὰ δὲν ἀποτελεῖ ἔκτακτο φαινόμενο τῆς ἐποχῆς μας οὔτε τὸ προκαλοῦν ἰδιαίτεροι κοινωνικοπολιτικοὶ παράγοντες τῶν χωρῶν στὶς ὁποῖες ἔχουν ἐγκατασταθεῖ καὶ μεταφυτεύσει τὰ ἐνδιαφέροντά τους οἱ ἀπόδημοί μας, μολονότι προσδιορίζεται ἡ μορφή, ὁ τόνος καὶ ἡ ἔκτασή του ἀπ' αὐτούς. Ἀνήκει στὴν ἴδια τὴ φύση τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ στὴν ἀποστολή της νὰ εἶναι ὁ δάσκαλος καὶ παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ ποιμνίου της. Ἰδιαίτερα στὴ δική μας Ὀρθόδοξο Ἐκκλησία ἱστορικὲς ἀνάγκες τοῦ Ἔθνους ἐχρέωσαν αὐτὴν μὲ τὴν ἀποστολὴ νὰ ἀναπληρώνει τὴν Πολιτεία στὴν καλλιέργεια τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ ἤθους στὰ ἑλληνόπουλα τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἐθνικὴ πολιτιστικὴ παράδοση ποὺ ἀνόθευτη συντηρεῖ ἡ ἴδια, ἀφοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένα ἡ προσήλωσή της σ' αὐτὴ καὶ στὸ μεγάλο Ἔθνος τῶν Ἑλλήνων παραμένει ἀμετακίνητη.

Δέκτης, λοιπόν, τῶν μηνυμάτων τῶν καιρῶν ὅλων τῶν ἐποχῶν καθιερώθηκε στὴ συνείδηση τοῦ Ἔθνους ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία καὶ παράγων ἀναντικατάστατος γιὰ τὴ συντήρηση τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἀπουσιάζει ἢ εἶναι ἀνεπαρκὴς ἡ φροντίδα τοῦ ἐθνικοῦ Κέντρου.

Καὶ στὴν περίπτωση ἐκείνη ποὺ τὸ ἐθνικὸ Κέντρο θὰ παρεῖχε τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ὑλικὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ κατάλληλα ὄργανα γιὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐκπαίδευση τῶν ἀποδήμων μας, ὁ ρόλος τῆς Ἑλλην. Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς ὡς φορέως αὐτῆς δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀμφισβητεῖται οὔτε ἡ ἄσκησή του μὲ ὁποιοδήποτε τρόπο νὰ ἐμποδίζεται. Ὅσοι ἔχουν ἀντίθετη γνώμη ἀσφαλῶς ἀγνοοῦν τοὺς στερεοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μὲ τὰ μέλη της, στοὺς ὁποίους δὲν πρέπει νὰ παρεμβάλλονται ὄργανα μὲ ἐφήμερες ἐπιδιώξεις ἢ περιοδικὴ ἀποστολή. Οἱ παλμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὁράματα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔχουν πανεθνικὴ καὶ διαχρονικὴ ἔκταση καὶ μεταβιβάζονται ὡς ἐμπνεύσεις καὶ ὑποχρεώσεις ἀπὸ τὴ μιὰ γενεὰ στὴν ἄλλη. Μπαίνουν στὴν ἐθνική μας παράδοση ὡς βιολογικὲς δυνάμεις τοῦ Ἔθνους. Τὸ φαινόμενο αὐτὸ δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸ νὰ παρατηρηθεῖ σὲ κανένα ἄλλο φορέα ποὺ στηρίζει τὴν πολιτική του σὲ ἀλλεπάλληλες ἀποφάσεις καὶ σέ, σύντομα χρονικὰ διαστήματα, ἀναδομήσεις τῶν ὑπηρεσιακῶν ὀργάνων του. Μ' αὐτὸ δὲν θέλουμε νὰ δεχθοῦμε ὅτι οἱ δομὲς τῆς ἐκπαιδευτικῆς πολιτικῆς τῆς Ἑλλην. Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς εἶναι στατικές, χωρὶς προσαρμοστικότητα στὶς συντελούμενες ἐξελίξεις στὴν κοινωνία ποὺ ἐπιτελεῖ τὸ ἔργο της. Ἀμετάβλητους διατηρεῖ ἡ Ἐκκλησία μόνο τοὺς στόχους της ἐφόσον δὲν εἶναι διατεθειμένη νὰ δεχθεῖ συμβιβασμοὺς δυναμένους νὰ φθείρουν τὶς ἐθνικὲς βιολογικὲς δυνάμεις τοῦ Ἕλληνα ἢ τὸν ἐμποδίζουν νὰ ἐπιτελέσει τὸν προορισμό του, στὴ συνείδηση καὶ τὴν πίστη σὲ ὅσα τὸν συνδέουν μὲ τὴν πατρικὴ γῆ, τὴν πίστη καὶ τὸ Ἔθνος του.

Δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸ νὰ θεωρηθοῦν σωβινιστικὲς οἱ ἀνωτέρω ἀντιλήψεις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς, γιατὶ εἶναι προϊὸν τῆς συνειδήσεως ποὺ ἔχει περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριωτικῶν δυνάμεων ποὺ δροῦν γύρω της καὶ θεωρεῖ ἑαυτὴν μέσα στὴ μάχη, ποὺ διεξάγεται σὲ παγκόσμια κλίμακα, γιὰ νὰ μὴ συγχωνευθοῦν τὰ ἔθνη ποὺ βρίσκονται σπαρμένα μέσα σὲ πλειοψηφοῦσες ἐθνικὲς κοινωνίες, οἱ ὁποῖες τυχαίνει καὶ νὰ ἀσκοῦν τὴν ἐξουσία.

Τὰ Κράτη καὶ οἱ Διεθνεῖς Ὀργανισμοὶ στεροῦνται τῆς κινητικότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἀποφασίζουν συνήθως κάτω ἀπὸ τὶς πιέσεις τῶν ἐνδιαφερομένων μερῶν, ἐνῶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία κινεῖται ἀνεπηρέαστα καὶ μὲ ταχύτητα προκειμένου νὰ συμπαρασταθεῖ στὸν ἀπόδημό μας ἀπὸ τὴ στιγμὴ ποὺ ἐγκαθίσταται στὴν ξένη χώρα. Μὲ τὴν προθυμία, τὴ φαντασία, τὴν πεῖρα, τὴ συνείδηση καὶ τὴν ἀκράδαντη πεποίθηση ὅτι εἶναι ἠθική της ὑποχρέωση ἡ Ἐκκλησία συμπαρίσταται στὸν ἀπόδημο Ἕλληνα στὴ λύση τῶν προβλημάτων του, ἀποβαίνουσα τὸ κέντρο ἀπὸ τὸ ὁποῖο ἐκκινεῖ ἡ εὐθύνη καὶ ἡ ἀταλάντευτη ἐθνικοθρησκευτικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ καθενὸς καὶ τοῦ συνόλου τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παροικίας. Μέσα στὴν ἑλληνορθόδοξη παροικία μποροῦν νὰ σχηματισθοῦν καὶ νὰ δράσουν καὶ ἄλλες ὁμάδες (σύλλογοι, σωματεῖα, ὀργανώσεις, ἀδελφότητες μὲ σκοποὺς ἀθλητικούς, μορφωτικούς, φιλανθρωπικοὺς κ.ἄ.), οἱ ὁποῖες δὲν μετακινοῦν τοὺς στόχους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, οὔτε ὑποκαθιστοῦν αὐτὴ στὸ ρόλο της, ἐφόσον ἡ ὕπαρξή τους ἐπιβάλλεται ἀπὸ τὶς ἐσωτερικὲς ἀνάγκες τῆς παροικίας καὶ ὄχι ἔξωθεν μὲ κίνητρο τὴν ἀμφισβήτηση τῆς ἀποστολῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἡ τελευταία περίπτωση, ὡς ἀρνητικὴ ὑπηρεσία πρὸς τὸν ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό, ποτέ, μὰ ποτέ, δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ πετύχει τὸν ἀρνητικὸ σκοπό της γιατὶ κάθε ἀποτέλεσμά της ἱκανοποιεῖ ἐφήμερα καὶ τοὺς ἐμπνευστὲς καὶ τοὺς ἐκτελεστὲς τέτοιων σχεδίων.

Ἡ Ἐκκλησία ξέρει νὰ μάχεται καὶ νὰ μὴ χάνει. Μάχεται μὲ ἐπιτυχία γιατὶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς της δὲν τοὺς περιμένει ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπέναντι ὄχθη μόνο –ἀπὸ ἀλλοεθνεῖς καὶ ἀλλόθρησκους–, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ποὺ μιλοῦν τὴ γλώσσα της, κηρύσσουν τὴν πίστη της καὶ τὴν ἑλληνική τους καταγωγή, ὡς τόσα ἐξωτε-

ρικά τους γνωρίσματα γιὰ νὰ φαίνονται ὡς μέρος τοῦ συνόλου· -χωρὶς νὰ εἶναι. Μὲ ἰσχυρὸ αἰσθητήριο ἡ Ἐκκλησία πιάνει ὅλα τὰ μηνύματα, τὰ ἀναλύει, τὰ κρίνει καὶ διακρίνει τὰ γνήσια ἀπὸ τὰ πονηρὰ καὶ συντάσσεται πάντοτε μὲ τὶς δυνάμεις ἐκεῖνες ποὺ καθοδηγοῦν τὸν Ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμὸ στὸν προορισμό του, χωρὶς νὰ νοθεύεται ἡ παράδοσή του. Ἀντιτάσσεται σθεναρῶς σ' ἐκεῖνες τὶς δυνάμεις -ἀπ' ὅπου καὶ ἂν προέρχονται- ποὺ στοχεύουν στὸν ἀποπροσανατολισμὸ τοῦ Ἀποδήμου Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἢ στὴν τόσο ἀπαραίτητη γιὰ τὴν ἐπιβίωσή του ἑνότητα.

Αὐτὰ τὰ γνήσια μηνύματα ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Διασπορᾶς τὰ ἔχει ἐντάξει στὸν κύριο σκοπό της καὶ τὰ μεταδίδει στοὺς ἀποδήμους μας ὡς ἐθνικὴ κοινωνία -φάρμακο ἀθανασίας τῆς φυλῆς- μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν παιδεία ποὺ προσφέρει στὰ ἑλληνόπουλα τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ, μὲ κάθε κατάλληλο μέσο καὶ πρόσωπο ποὺ πιστεύει στὰ σύμβολα τοῦ Ἔθνους καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ μεγάλη μαρτυρία της διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων στὶς μικρὲς ἑλλάδες ποὺ συνιστοῦν οἱ ἑλληνικὲς παροικίες τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ, στὶς ὁποῖες οὐδέποτε ἄφησε ἀμάρτυρο τὴν παρουσία της ἡ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Διασπορᾶς.

# ΕΠΑΝΑΣΥΝΔΕΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΕΚΟΜΜΕΝΩΝ ΣΧΕΣΕΩΝ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ

Ὑπὸ

*(†) Ἰω. Παναγιωτίδου*
Θεολογικὴ Σχολὴ Χάλκης

*(Μὲ χαρὰ δημοσιεύομε ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀξιόλογον ὁμιλίαν τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Ἰ ω ά ν ν ο υ Π α ν α γ ι ω τ ί δ η, Καθηγητοῦ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐξεφώνησε τὸ 1966 κατὰ τὴν ἀναγόρευσίν του εἰς ἐπίτιμον Διδάκτορα τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης. Τὸ περιεχόμενον αὐτῆς ἀσφαλῶς ἀποτελεῖ σημαντικὴν συμβολὴν εἰς τὸν διεξαγόμενον Διάλογον μεταξὺ Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ δι' αὐτὸ εἶναι πολὺ ἐπίκαιρον καὶ ἄξιον προσοχῆς)*.

Σεβασμιώτατε Ἀντιπρόσωπε
τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου
καὶ τῆς περὶ Αὐτὸν Ἁγίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου,

Ἐλλόγιμε Κύριε Κοσμῆτορ τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς,
Ἐλλόγιμοι καὶ ἀγαπητοὶ συνάδελφοι,
Ἀξιότιμοι Κυρίαι καὶ Κύριοι,

Μὲ πολλὴν συγκίνησιν παρίσταμαι εἰς τὸ βῆμα τοῦτο ἵνα πρωτίστως ἐκφράσω τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας μου πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαπητοὺς ἐν τῇ ἱ. ἐπιστήμῃ συναδέλφους διὰ τὴν τιμὴν ποὺ μοῦ προσέφεραν, ἰδιαιτέρως δὲ εἰς τὸν σεβαστόν μοι Ἀρχιμ. κ. Ἱ. Κοτσώνην διὰ τὴν ἐκτίμησιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν περιέβαλε τὴν ἐν Χάλκῃ πολύμοχθον σταδιοδρομίαν μου, συνάμα δὲ συμμορφούμενος πρὸς τὴν κρατοῦσαν τάξιν ὅπως ὁ τιμώμενος προσφέρει οἱονεὶ πνευματικήν τινα ἀναψυχήν, ὡς τοιαύτην προετίμησα νὰ διατυπώσω μὲ πᾶσαν δυνατὴν συντομίαν τὴν ταπεινήν μου γνώμην ὡς πρὸς τὸ σύγχρονον φλέγον ζήτημα τῆς ἐπανασυνδέσεως τῶν ἐπὶ 9 αἰῶνας διακεκομμένων σχέσεων τῶν 2 μεγάλων Χριστιανικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς. Ἐλπίζων εἰς τὴν εὐμενῆ προσοχήν σας, προχωρῶ.

Παρὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τῶν ἑνωτικῶν προσπαθειῶν ποὺ ἔγιναν κατὰ καιροὺς κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ χωρισμοῦ ἐπὶ 9 ἤδη αἰῶνας, ὡς λ.χ. εἰς τὴν σύνοδον τοῦ Λατερανοῦ (1215), τῆς Λυὼν (1274), τῆς Φλωρεντίας (1439), καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἀποπείρας τῶν παπῶν Γρηγορίου ΙΓ', Πίου Θ' καὶ Λέοντος ΙΓ', τὸ ζήτημα τῆς ἑνώσεως ἀνεκινήθη ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἐντονώτερον ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τῆς πρὸ διετίας ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις γενομένης συναντήσεως τοῦ πάπα Παύλου 6ου μετὰ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου Α'.

Εἰς τὴν συνάντησιν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, κατὰ τὴν βραχεῖαν συνομιλίαν τῶν δύο Προκαθημένων, ἐξεφράσθη ἑκατέρωθεν, καθὼς φαίνεται, ὁ ὑποκάρδιος πόθος τῆς λήθης τοῦ παρελθόντος καὶ τῆς ἐνάρξεως διαλόγου «ἐπὶ ἴσοις ὅροις» μεταξὺ τῶν 2 Ἐκκλησιῶν –διαλόγου ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης μὲ τὸν ἀπώτερον σκοπὸν τὴν ἕνωσιν τῶν δύο διισταμένων Ἐκκλησιῶν.

Μέγα ὄντως τὸ ἔργον, θεάρεστος ἡ πρωτοβουλία.

Γεννᾶται ὅμως ἡ ἀπορία: ἀρά γε ἔχουν ὡριμάσει τὰ πράγματα πρὸς ἔναρξιν καρποφόρου διαλόγου ἀγάπης καὶ εἰρήνης; Ἐκ τῶν καταβαλλομένων ἀπό τινος ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν προσπαθειῶν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ προέλθῃ μόνιμος καὶ ἀρραγὴς ἂν ὄχι ἄμεσος δογματικὴ ἕνωσις, ἀλλὰ τοὐλάχιστον εἰλικρινὴς καὶ ἀδελφικὴ προσέγγισις καὶ συνεργασία ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τοῦ ὅλου Χριστιανισμοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους;

Ἀδιστάκτως ἀπαντῶ: Μάλιστα, εἶναι δυνατόν, ἐφ' ὅσον ὅμως τηρηθοῦν ἀπαρεγκλίτως μερικοὶ οὐσιώδεις ὅροι: ἤτοι ἐφ' ὅσον ἑκάτερον ἐκ τῶν μερῶν, τῶν ἐπιζητούντων εἰλικρινῶς τὴν ἕνωσιν ἢ ἑνότητα, ὅπως θέλουν ἄλλοι, ἀποθέσῃ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον «σὺν ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις», ἐὰν ἀποβάλῃ τὰς παλαιὰς ἕξεις καὶ τὰς πονηρὰς μεθόδους καὶ ἀποφύγῃ τὰς ἀπεράντους συζητήσεις καὶ διαπραγματεύσεις περὶ λεπτοτάτων καὶ ἀσημάντων πολλάκις διαφορῶν, ἀποβλέπουν δὲ ὅλοι εἰς τὴν ἀνεύρεσιν εὐρυτέρας βάσεως προσεγγίσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀναγνωριζομένους ἀνεπιφυλάκτως ὡς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφούς.

Ἡ πλήρης δηλ. δογματικὴ προσέγγισις καὶ συμφωνία νὰ μὴ τεθῇ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἀμέσως ζητούμενον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον νὰ πρωτεύσῃ ἡ ἐπιζήτησις καὶ ἐπίτευξις προσεγγίσεως ψυχικῆς, ἀλληλοκατανοήσεως καὶ συνεργασίας καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχικῆς προσεγγίσεως ὥριμος καρπὸς νὰ προκύψῃ ἐν καιρῷ ἡ δογματικὴ προσέγγισις καὶ συμφωνία.

Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ δὲ τὴν μ έ θ ο δ ο ν τὴν ὁποίαν πρέπει ν' ἀκολουθήσουν οἱ ἐκπρόσωποι τῶν διισταμένων Ἐκκλησιῶν θεολόγοι, εἰς τοὺς ὁποίους θ' ἀνατεθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ὑψηλὴ ὅσον καὶ δυσχερὴς ἀποστολὴ ὅπως διὰ τῶν θεολογικῶν

* Δημοσιεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ζηνουπόλεως Ἀριστάρχου.

συζητήσεων, τὰς ὁποίας θὰ κάμουν, προετοιμάσουν τὸ ἄγιον ἔργον τῆς ἑνότητος μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ παρόν, δηλ. τῆς συνεργασίας εἰς ζητήματα πρακτικὰ καὶ κοινωνικά, τῆς μελλοντικῆς δὲ ἑνώσεως ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀκολουθητέαν μέθοδον, ἔχω τὴν ταπεινὴν γνώμην, ὅτι θὰ ἦτο καλὸν καὶ σκόπιμον καὶ ἀποτελεσματικὸν νὰ χρησιμεύσῃ ὡς γνώμων ἡ σοφὴ συνταγὴ τοῦ ἐμβριθεστάτου Διδασκάλου τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ ἱ. Αὐγουστίνου. Ἡ ἐν λόγῳ συνταγὴ ὁμοψυχίας καὶ συνεργασίας ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς: Unitas in Necessariis, Libertas in Dubiis, Caritas in Omnibus, τουτέστιν ἑνότης εἰς τὰ ἀπαραίτητα, ἐλευθερία εἰς τὰ ἀμφιβαλλόμενα καὶ εἰς ὅλα ἀγάπη.

Καὶ ὅσον ἀφορᾷ μὲν τὰ ἀ π α ρ α ι τ ή τ ω ς π ι σ τ ε υ τ έ α (τὰ Necessaria), εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα πρέπει νὰ ὑπάρχῃ ὁμοφωνία καὶ ἑνότης, ὡς τοιαῦτα πρέπει νὰ θεωρηθοῦν τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων τῶν 8 πρώτων αἰώνων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Χριστιανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας θεσπισθέντα καὶ πάντοτε, πανταχοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων πιστευθέντα.

Ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐ λ ε υ θ ε ρ ί α ν εἰς τὰ ἀμφιβαλλόμενα (Indubiis), ὡς τοιαύτη πρέπει νὰ νοηθῇ ἡ ἐλευθερία ποὺ δέον ν' ἀναγνωρισθῇ εἰς τοὺς θεολόγους νὰ ἐξετάζουν καὶ νὰ διευκρινίζουν τὰ ἐπιδεκτικὰ διαφόρου ἐκδοχῆς σημεῖα, τὰ ὁποῖα ὅμως δὲν παραβλάπτουν τὰ οὐσιώδη καὶ καίρια σημεῖα τῆς πίστεως, τὰ ἀπαραίτητα πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

Ἡ περίπτωσις ὅπου πρέπει νὰ ἰσχύῃ ἡ ἐλευθερία εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνη ποὺ ἀφορᾷ τὴν κατανόησιν τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς πίστεως, ὅπου καὶ αἱ ὀξυνούστεραι καὶ βαθυνούστεραι ἀντιλήψεις καὶ διατυπώσεις, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκπροσωποῦν ἀνθρωπίνην ἁπλῶς δοξασίαν, δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ γίνουν δεκταὶ ὡς ἀλήθειαι ἀναντίρρητοι, ἀπαραίτητοι πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον ὑπὲρ πᾶν ἄλλο πρέπει νὰ πρυτανεύσῃ, ὥστε νὰ ἐμπνέῃ καὶ νὰ καθοδηγῇ πᾶσαν ἐπαφὴν καὶ συζήτησιν τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφωνούντων χριστιανῶν εἶναι ἡ κορυφαία τῶν χριστιανικῶν ἀρετῶν –ἡ ἀ γ ά π η, ἡ ὁποία κατὰ τὴν θεϊκὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν πρέπει νὰ χρησιμεύῃ ὡς ἀπαραίτητον γ ν ώ ρ ι σ μ α καὶ ὡς συνδετικὸς κ ρ ί κ ο ς τῶν μαθητῶν Αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν ἀγάπῃ κοινωνίας αὐτῶν «ἵνα ὦσιν ἕν». Ἐκεῖνος ἐκτενῶς προσηύχετο πρὸ τὸν Πατέρα Του εἰς τὸν κῆπον τῆς Γεθσημανῆ ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ πάθους Του (Ἰωάν. 17, 11, 21, 22, 23).

Τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ θείου Ἱδρυτοῦ αὐτῆς ἀκολουθοῦσα καὶ ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν καθ' ἑκάστην προσεύχεται «ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως».

Καὶ ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης κ. Ἀθηναγόρας, ἐπειδὴ διακαῶς ἐπιθυμεῖ νὰ ἐξυπηρετήσῃ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ προετοιμάσῃ τὴν τῶν πάντων ἕνωσιν, διότι τὴν θεωρεῖ ὡς θεϊκὴν ἐπιταγὴν καὶ ἱερὸν καθῆκον κατ' ἐξοχὴν τῶν λειτουργῶν τοῦ Ὑψίστου τῶν περιβεβλημένων τὰ ὕπατα ἀξιώματα ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεχείρησε τὸ ἱστορικὸν βῆμα τῆς συναντήσεώς του ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρὸ διετίας μὲ τὸν Προκαθήμενον τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας Πάπαν Παῦλον τὸν 6ον. Ὄχι δὲ μόνον ὁ Ὀρθόδοξος ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμπας ὁ Χριστιανικὸς κόσμος εὐφροσύνως ἠνωτίσθη τὸ ἐν λόγῳ βαρυσήμαντον γεγονός.

Τὸ ἰδιαιτέρως δ' εὐχάριστον εἶναι ὅτι οἱ Πνευματικοὶ Ἀρχηγοὶ ὅλων τῶν Αὐτοκεφάλων Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐκτὸς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης θλιβερᾶς ἐξαιρέσεως, ἐπικροτοῦν τὴν γραμμήν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀκολουθεῖ τῇ ἐγκρίσει των ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ἴσοις, μεταξύ των, ὁ Παναγιώτατος Πατριάρχης Ἀθηναγόρας.

Ἐπιφυλάξεις ὅμως ἔχουν, δι' ὃ καὶ κακίζουν τὸν πρωτουργὸν τῆς προσεγγίσεως Πατριάρχην Ἀθηναγόραν, καὶ ὡρισμένα ἐν Ἑλλάδι χριστιανικὰ σωματεῖα.

Ἂς ἐλπίζωμεν ὅμως ὅτι αἱ ἐπιφυλάξεις καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις αὐτῶν ὡς μόνην πηγὴν των ἔχουν τὴν καλὴν πίστιν καὶ ἐπομένως ὅταν ὅλος ὁ λοιπὸς ὀρθόδοξος κόσμος προχωρήσῃ ὁμοφρονῶν εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως, τότε θὰ συμφρονήσουν ἐν τέλει καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀγαθῆς προθέσεως τὴν σήμερον διαφωνοῦντες καὶ συνεπῶς θὰ παύσουν νὰ ἐπαίρωνται αὐταρέσκως, θεωροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἐκπροσωποῦντας τὴν γνησίαν Ὀρθοδοξίαν καὶ ἀποτελοῦντας τὸ ἀκλόνητον καὶ ἀπόρθητον ὀχυρὸν αὐτῆς, ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τοὺς ἔνδοθεν προδίδοντας δῆθεν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσια αὐτῆς.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι σπεύδουν νὰ χαρακτηρίσουν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ διαλόγου τῆς ἀγάπης, τὴν προκαταρκτικὴν κίνησιν πρὸς προσέγγισιν καὶ συνεργασίαν τῶν δύο μεγάλων Χριστιανικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς καὶ τῆς Δυτικῆς, νὰ τὴν χαρακτηρίσουν ὡς ἤδη συντελεσθεῖσαν ὑπούλως καὶ ἐν σπουδῇ ἕνωσιν, οἱ τοιοῦτοι σφόδρα πλανῶνται, ὅπως πλανῶνται καὶ ὅσοι ἐσφαλμένως ἐχαρακτήρισαν ὡς ἕνωσιν τὴν κατὰ τὴν 7ην παρελθόντος Δεκεμβρίου ταυτοχρόνως γενομένην ἐν Ρώμῃ καὶ Κων/πόλει ἄρσιν τοῦ ἀναθέματος τοῦ ἐκφωνηθέντος κατ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1054.

Ἂς μὴ βιαζώμεθα ὅμως νὰ προδικάζωμεν τὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν πολυπλόκων ἰδίᾳ γεγονότων καὶ ν' ἀποφαινώμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀπὸ τρίποδος.

Ἡ ἕνωσις, ὅταν ἐπιστῇ τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου καὶ συντελεσθῇ, θὰ εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα μακροχρονίου θεολογικοῦ διαλόγου «ἐπὶ ἴσοις ὅροις» μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν.

Ὅ,τι γίνεται τώρα εἶναι ἁπλῶς προκαταρκτικὸν καὶ προπαρασκευαστικὸν στάδιον τῆς ἀγάπης, ἡ ὁποία προσπαθεῖ νὰ σαρώσῃ καὶ νὰ καθαρίσῃ τὸ πνευματικὸν καὶ ἠθικὸν ἔδαφος ἀπὸ τὰς πλάνας καὶ τὰς προκαταλήψεις, τὰς δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ τὰς καχυποψίας, ποὺ ἔχουν συσσωρεύσει οἱ ἐν διαστάσει καὶ ἐχθροπαθείᾳ διελθόντες 9 αἰῶνες.

Ἡ ἕνωσις θὰ ἐπιτευχθῇ ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα νηφαλίων καὶ ἀπροκαταλήπτων συζητήσεων, ὅπου ἕκαστος ἐκ τῶν μετεχόντων εἰς τὰς συζητήσεις θὰ ἀναγνωρίζῃ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις καλῶς ἔχοντα, θὰ διακρίνῃ δὲ καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἐσφαλμένα καὶ διορθώσεως χρῄζοντα.

Ὥστε τὰ ἀπαιτούμενα εἶναι: θέλησις ἀγαθή, ἀπουσία πάσης αὐταρεσκείας τῶν ἰδίων καὶ αὐταρεσκείας εἰς αὐτά, ἀπουσία δὲ καὶ πάσης προκαταλήψεως κατὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.

Ἐὰν δὲ προσαπαιτῆται καί τι πλέον τῶν προηγουμένων, οἱ ἐνδιαφερόμενοι διὰ τὴν συμφιλίωσιν καὶ τὴν συνεργασίαν τῶν Χριστ. Ἐκκλησιῶν ἂς προσευχηθοῦν εἰς τὸν Ἄρχοντα τῆς Εἰρήνης καὶ Διδάσκαλον τῆς Ἀγάπης νὰ φωτίσῃ καὶ καθοδηγήσῃ τοὺς ἁρμοδίους ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς παράγοντας εἰς τὰς σκέψεις καὶ τὰς προσπαθείας των, πρὸς ἑνοποίησιν τοῦ διεσπασμένου νῦν Χριστιανικοῦ κόσμου πρὸς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον τοῦ Παναγίου ὀνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

Γένοιτο.

# Ο ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓ. ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥ

## περὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 4ου μ.Χ. αἰ.

Ὑπὸ

*Δέσπως Ἀθ. Λιάλιου, Ph. D.—Δρος Θ.*

Εἶναι γνωστὸ ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσδιορίζεται ἱστορικὰ ἀπὸ τὴ Συναγωγὴ καὶ τὸν ἑλληνορωμαϊκὸ κόσμο, πρᾶγμα ποὺ σημαίνει ὅτι ἡ τοποθέτηση τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀπέναντι στὸν ἱστορικὸ περίγυρο ἦταν ἀναγκαία, ἀνεξάρτητα ἂν ἔλαβε τὴ μορφὴ ἀπορρίψεως, ἀποδοχῆς ἢ καὶ μετριασμένης ἐπιφυλάξεως[1]. Στὸ παρὸν ἄρθρο ἡ προσπάθεια ἐντοπίζεται στὴ μελέτη τῶν στοιχείων ἐκείνων τῆς παιδείας τῶν χρόνων τῆς ὑστέρας ἀρχαιότητος, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀξιοποίησε στὴν παιδευτικὴ πορεία του ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος.

Μολονότι οἱ πληροφορίες γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση ποὺ ἔπαιρναν οἱ νέοι τὸν 4ο μ.Χ. αἰ. εἶναι περιορισμένες καὶ ἡ περίοδος αὐτὴ δὲν ἔχει μελετηθῆ ἐπαρκῶς[2], ἐν τούτοις εἶναι γνωστὰ τὰ γενικὰ πλαίσια τῶν παιδευτικῶν ἀντικειμένων καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ μορφωτικοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. Ἡ ἐκπαίδευση εἶναι διαρθρωμένη σὲ τρία στάδια, ὅπου ἡ ὀρθογραφία[3] θεωρεῖται ἡ βασικὴ προϋπόθεση γιὰ κεῖνον ποὺ θὰ ἤθελε νὰ διαβάσῃ, νὰ ὁμιλήσῃ καὶ νὰ γράψῃ τὴν κοινὴ ἑλληνική. Στὴ συνέχεια ἡ γραμματικὴ[4] συνιστοῦσε τὴ σπουδὴ τῶν μεγάλων ἑλλήνων συγγραφέων, ὄχι μόνο γιὰ νὰ συνηθίσῃ ὁ σπουδαστὴς στὸ ὕφος καὶ τὴν ἀπομίμηση τῶν ἐκφραστικῶν τρόπων τοῦ δόκιμου λόγου, πεζοῦ ἢ ποιητικοῦ, ἀλλὰ περισσότερο νὰ ἀρχίσῃ νὰ μυεῖται στὶς ἠθικὲς ἀρχές, ποὺ ἀντιπροσώπευε ὁ ἀρχαῖος κόσμος, μάλιστα μὲ τὴν ἔνταξη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου στὴν κοινὴ πολιτικὴ ζωή[5]. Στὸ τρίτο στάδιο ἡ ρητορι-

1. Πρβλ. *J. Plagnieux*, Saint Grégoire de Nazianze théologien (Études de Science Religieuse, 7), Paris 1951, σ. 33. *W. Barclay*, Educational Ideals in the Ancient World, London 1959, σ. 132. Ἐπίσης *Η. Ι. Marrou*, Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, μτφρ. *Θ. Φωτεινοπούλου*, Ἀθῆναι 1961, σσ. 437–441, καὶ *Β. Τατάκη*, Ἡ συμβολὴ τῆς Καππαδοκίας στὴ χριστιανικὴ σκέψη, Ἀθήνα 1960, σσ. 27–31.

2. Ἡ προμνημονευθεῖσα μελέτη τοῦ *Η. Ι. Marrou* εἶναι ὁπωσδήποτε σπουδαία, ὅμως τὸ κεφάλαιο Θ΄, Ὁ χριστιανισμὸς καὶ ἡ κλασικὴ ἐκπαίδευσις, σσ. 428-447, εἶναι πολὺ σύντομο. Ἐπίσης ἀξίζει νὰ ἀναφερθοῦν, τὸ ἄρθρο τοῦ *A. H. M. Jones*, «The Social Backgound of the Struggle between Paganism and Christianity», στὸ συλλογικὸ ἔργο, The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, ἐκδ. *A. Momigliano*. Oxford 1970[3], σσ. 15–37, ὅπως ἐπίσης τοῦ *L. Petit de Julleville*, L' école d' Athenes au IVe siècle après Jesus-Christ, Paris 1868, ἡ μελέτη τῆς *R. R. Ruether*, Gregory of Nazianzus, Rhetor and Philosopher, Oxford 1969, σσ. 1–28, ποὺ στερεῖται πρωτοτυπίας, ἀλλὰ συνοψίζει βασικὲς θέσεις τῆς προγενέστερης βιβλιογραφίας. Ἐπὶ πλέον θὰ ἦταν σοβαρὴ παράλειψη νὰ μὴ γίνη μνεία τῆς προσφορᾶς τοῦ *W. Jaeger* μὲ τὶς μελέτες του, Παιδεία, ἡ μόρφωσις τοῦ Ἕλληνος ἀνθρώπου, μτφρ. *Γ. Βερροίου*, τόμ. Α΄, Β΄, Ἀθῆναι 1968, 1971. Πρωτοχριστιανικοὶ χρόνοι καὶ ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία, μτφρ. *Γ. Βερροίου*, Ἀθῆναι 1966. Early Christianity and Greek Paideia, Cambridge, Mass., 1965. Ἀνθρωπισμὸς καὶ θεολογία, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἡ ἀγωγὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, μτφρ. *Γ. Βερροίου*, Ἀθῆναι 1962, καὶ τοῦ *J. W. H. Walden*, The Universities of Ancient Greece, New York 1910.

3. Ἀσφαλῶς στὴν πρώτη βαθμίδα, πέραν τῆς γλωσσικῆς διδασκαλίας, διδάσκονταν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν εἴσοδο τοῦ μαθητῆ στὴ λεγόμενη ἐγκύκλιο παιδεία. Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος δίδει τὴν πληροφορία ὅτι ὁ ἅγιος Βασίλειος ἔμαθε τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα πλάι στὸν πατέρα του ποὺ ἦταν δάσκαλος καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὰ ἐγκύκλια μαθήματα ἠσκεῖτο στὴ θεοσέβεια, «ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παίδευσιν παιδευόμενος καὶ θεοσέβειαν ἐξασκούμενος καί, συνελόντι φάναι, πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν τελειότητα διὰ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μαθημάτων ἀγόμενος». Λόγ. 43.12, PG 36, 509 BC. Γιὰ τὸν ὅρο «ἐγκύκλιος» παιδεία διευκρινιστικὸ εἶναι τὸ σχόλιο τοῦ ἀνωνύμου, PG 36, 914 C «Ἐγκύκλιον παίδευσίν φασι καὶ τὴν καθόλου εἶναι, οἷον γραμματικήν, ρητορικήν, φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μαθηματικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τέχνην καὶ ἐπιστήμην, καθ' ἃς, ὥσπερ διά τινος κύκλου, δεῖ τὸν σοφὸν περιιέναι. Φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδικῶς ἐγκύκλιον τὴν ποιητικήν, περὶ ἧς καὶ Πρόκλος ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν μονοβίβλῳ περὶ κύκλου ἐπιγεγραμμένῃ τὰς τῶν ποιητῶν διέξεισι ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰ ἴδια· καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ λογικῇ τάδε φησι, τὰ ἔπη κύκλος, καθὸ πᾶσα ποίησις περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μύθους καταγίνεται καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἱστορίας, ὥσπερ διά τινος περιάγεται κύκλου».

4. Λόγ. 43.23, PG 36, 528 A «Τίς δὲ γραμματικήν, ἢ γλῶσσαν ἐξελληνίζει καὶ ἱστορίαν συνάγει καὶ μέτροις ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ νομοθετεῖ ποιήμασι;».

5. Ὅπως χαρακτηριστικὰ σημειώνει ὁ *Η. Ι. Marrou*, Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 432–433, ἡ ἴδια τοποθέτηση ἀπέναντι στὸν πατροπαράδοτο τύπο ἐκπαιδεύσεως προβάλλεται ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἄποψή του «θὰ ἠδύνατό τις νὰ παρατηρήσῃ ἐν πρώτοις, ὅτι ὁ χριστιανισμὸς εἶναι πρὸ παντὸς θρησκεία, ρυθμίζουσα τὰς σχέσεις μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ κατὰ κύριον λόγον, ἢ κατ' οὐσίαν, ἐν πολιτιστικὸν ἰδεῶδες, ἤτοι εἷς τρόπος διευθετήσεως τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπίγειον ζωήν», αὐτ. σ. 434. Ἔτσι δικαιολογεῖ τὴν ἐπίδραση τοῦ πολιτιστικοῦ περιβάλλοντος στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν χριστιανῶν, τὴν «πολιτιστικὴ ὅσμωση» (Osmose culturelle). Γιὰ τοὺς χριστιανοὺς π.χ. τῶν πρώτων αἰώνων εἶναι δεδομένα ὁρισμένα στοιχεῖα τοῦ ἑλληνιστικοῦ ἀνθρωπισμοῦ, ὅπως ἡ ἀπόλυτη ἀξία τοῦ ἀνθρώ-

κὴ[1] καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν νόμων καὶ τοῦ δικαίου προετοίμαζαν τοὺς ἀνωτέρους ὑπαλλήλους τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς διοικήσεως[2]. Ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος στὸ ἐπίπεδο τῶν θεωρητικῶν ἀναζητήσεων ἡ σοφιστικὴ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία συνιστοῦν τὸ ὕψιστο ἐπίπεδο ἐκπαιδεύσεως, ἡ πρώτη ὡς γραμματολογικὴ ἑρμηνεία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ποιήσεως καὶ ἱστορίας[3], ἐνῶ ἡ δεύτερη ὡς ἑρμηνεία τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν[4]. Κατὰ τὸν 4ο αἰ., ὅπως ἔχει ἀποδείξει ὁ H. Zumpt[5], χωρὶς ὅμως νὰ τύχῃ ἡ ἔρευνά του καὶ τῆς δεούσης προσοχῆς ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐρευνητές, ἡ μόνη φιλοσοφικὴ σχολὴ ποὺ ἐξακολουθοῦσε νὰ λειτουργῇ καὶ νὰ προσφέρῃ καθαρὰ φιλοσοφικὴ παιδεία ἦταν ἡ Ἀκαδημία[6]. Παράλληλα ἔξω ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀθήνα ὑφίστανται ἀσφαλῶς παραδείγματα φιλοσόφων ποὺ διδάσκουν ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια[7] ὡς τὴ Ρώμη συνιστώντας, ὅπως εἶναι φυσικό, κάποιο κύκλο ἢ κάποια πιὸ συγκεκριμένη φιλοσοφικὴ κατεύθυνση· τίποτε ὅμως δὲν ἦταν δυνατὸ νὰ συγκριθῇ ἢ νὰ ἐπισκιάσῃ τὴν αἴγλη καὶ παράδοση τῆς Ἀθήνας ὡς κέντρου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἑθνισμοῦ[8].

Ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος κατήγετο ἀπὸ πλούσια οἰκογένεια τῆς Καππαδοκίας[9], ποὺ τοῦ ἔδωσε τὴ δυνατότητα μιᾶς πλήρους παιδείας. Μέλη τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν οἰκογενειῶν μὲ κοινωνικὸ κύρος συνήθως κατελάμβαναν διοικητικὲς θέσεις καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐξαιτίας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας τῶν ὑπερηφανεύονταν γιὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ κληρονομιὰ καὶ παράδοση[10]. Μὲ τὴν περίπτωση ὅμως τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου τὰ πράγματα εἶναι διαφορετικά. Ἡ μάννα του ἦταν ἔνθερμη χριστιανὴ καὶ ὁ πατέρας του, ἀφοῦ εἶχε περάσει ἀπὸ τὴν ἑβραϊκὴ αἵρεση τῶν ὑψισταρίων, προσῆλθε στὸ χριστιανισμὸ καὶ ἔγινε ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐπαρχιακῆς πόλεως Ναζιανζοῦ. Κοντὰ σ' αὐτὴ τὴν πόλη, στὸ χωριὸ Ἀριανζό, γεννήθηκε ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος στὰ 329/30[11].

Ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος πῆρε τὴν πρώτη μόρφωση παιδὶ στὴ Ναζιανζό[12], ἀλλὰ σύντομα μετακόμισε στὴν Καισάρεια, τὴν πρωτεύουσα τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς Καππαδοκίας, ὅπου πολὺ πιθανὸν κάνει τὴν πρώτη γνωριμία μὲ τὸν ἅγ. Βασίλειο[13]. Ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγ. Γρηγόριο μαθαίνομε ὅτι ἡ Καισάρεια αὐτὴ τὴν ἐποχὴ εἶναι κέντρο γραμμάτων μὲ πολλὰ παιδευτήρια καὶ ἰδιαίτερη φήμη στὶς σπουδὲς τῆς ρητορικῆς, *«τῇδε λόγοι τὸ γνώρισμα»*[14]. Ἐξάλλου ἀπὸ τὸ *Λόγ.* 7.6 πληροφορούμαστε ὅτι ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος συνέχισε τὶς σπουδές του σὲ πόλεις τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἐνῶ ἀπὸ τὸν Ἱερώνυμο[15] μαθαίνομε ὅτι ὑπῆρξε μαθητὴς τοῦ ρήτορα Θεσπεσίου[16], ὁ ὁποῖος δίδαξε στὴν Καισάρεια τῆς Παλαιστίνης. Πάντως ἡ ἐπιβεβαίωση τῆς πληροφορίας ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγ. Γρηγόριο ἐπιτρέπει νὰ ὑποθέσομε ὅτι σ' αὐτὴ τὴν ἐποχὴ θὰ πρέπει νὰ τοποθετηθοῦν οἱ ἀρχὲς τῆς διαμορφώσεως καὶ τοῦ προβληματισμοῦ του, πρᾶγμα ποὺ εἶχε ὡς συνέπεια τὶς ἀναζητήσεις του στὰ πνευματικὰ κέντρα τῆς Παλαιστίνης, *«ἀνθοῦσι τότε κατὰ ῥητορικῆς ἔρωτα»*[17], καὶ ὄχι τὴν ἐπίμονη παρακολούθηση ἑνὸς κύκλου σπουδῶν ποὺ θὰ τὸν ὁδηγοῦσε στὴν κατάληψη κάποιας διοικητικῆς θέσεως. Στὴν Παλαιστίνη ἐκπαιδεύεται τὴν ἴδια ἐποχὴ καὶ ὁ μικρότερος ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου Καισάριος, ὁ ὁποῖος μετὰ τὴ συμπλήρωση τῶν σπουδῶν του στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια[18] θὰ σταδιοδρομήσῃ στὴ βασιλικὴ αὐλὴ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὡς γιατρὸς[19] καὶ ἀργότερα ὡς διοικητὴς τῆς Νικαίας[20], ἀποτελώντας ἔτσι ἕνα χαρακτηριστικὸ παράδειγμα στα-

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που ποὺ ὑπερβαίνει κάθε εἰδίκευση. Τοῦτο σημαίνει, συμπεραίνει ὁ *Marrou*, «ὅτι διὰ νὰ δύναταί τις νὰ εἶναι χριστιανός, πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἐν πρώτοις ἄνθρωπος, ἀρκετὰ ὥριμος ἐπὶ τοῦ καθαρῶς ἀνθρωπίνου πεδίου διὰ νὰ εἶναι εἰς θέσιν νὰ συλλάβῃ καὶ ἐκτελέσῃ πρᾶξιν τινὰ πίστεως καὶ πρᾶξιν ἠθικήν», αὐτ. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης *R. R. Ruether*, Gregory of Nazianzus, μν. ἔργ., σ. 13.

1. Βλ. *A. H. M. Jones*, «The Social Background of the Struggle between Paganism and Christianity», μν. ἔργ., σ. 20.

2. *H. I. Marrou*, Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 423–425. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης *A. Momigliano*, «Christianity and the Decline of the Roman Empire», ἐν The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the fourth Century, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 2–9.

3. Πρβλ. Λόγ. 43.23, PG 36, 528 A.

4. Πρβλ. Λόγ. 43.13, PG 36, 512 C.

5. *H. Zumpt*, «Uber den Bestand der Philosophischen Schulen in Athen und die Succession der Scholarchen», ἐν Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Berlin 1844, σσ. 27–119.

6. Πρβλ. καὶ *R. R. Ruether*, Gregory of Nazianzus, μν. ἔργ., σ. 25.

7. Γιὰ τὶς σχέσεις τῶν ἐθνικῶν φιλοσοφικῶν σχολῶν μὲ τὴν Ἀκαδημία καὶ τὸν κύκλο τῶν νεοπλατώνων φιλοσόφων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ 4ου αἰ. βλ. τὴν ἐξαιρετικὰ ἐνδιαφέρουσα μελέτη τοῦ *H. I. Marrou*, «Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism», ἐν The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the fourth Century, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 135–140.

8. *R. R. Ruether*, Gregory of Nazianzus, μν. ἔργ., σ. 25. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης *H. I. Marrou*, Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism, μν. ἔργ., σ. 136.

9. Πρβλ. *T. A. Kopecek*, «The social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers», ἐν Church History, 42 (1973), σσ. 453–466 καὶ «The Cappadocian Fathers and Civic Patriotism», ἐν Church History 43 (1974), σσ. 293–303.

10. *A. H. M. Jones*, «The Social Background of the Struggle between Paganism and Christianity», μν. ἔργ., σσ. 21, 30–31.

11. Γιὰ χρονολογικὲς λεπτομέρειες βλ. *C. Ullman*, Gregorius von Nazianz der Theologe, Darmstadt 1825. *A. Puech*, Histoire de la littérature Greque Chrétienne, τόμ. 3, σσ. 318–395. *E. Fleury*, Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et son temps, Paris 1930. *P. Gallay*, La vie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, Paris 1943. *J. Quasten*, Patrology, Utrecht–Westminster, 1960, τόμ. 3, σσ. 236–254. *D. F. Winslow*, The Dynamics of Salvation: A Study in Gregory of Nazianzus, Cambridge Mass, 1979, σσ. 1–21. *Κ. Γ. Μπόνη*, Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος, ἤτοι τὸ γενεαλογικὸν δένδρον Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὸν Ἀμφιλόχιον Ἰκονίου συγγενικὸς αὐτοῦ δεσμός, ἐν Ἀθήναις 1953, καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος, ἀνάτ. ἀπὸ ΒΕΠΕΣ, τόμ. 58. *Β. Τατάκη*, Ἡ συμβολὴ τῆς Καππαδοκίας στὴ χριστιανικὴ σκέψη, Ἀθήνα 1960, σσ. 141–200.

12. Λόγ. 7.6, PG 35, 761 A καὶ *Γρηγορίου Πρεσβυτέρου*, Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου, PG 35, 248 A.

13. Λόγ. 43.13, PG 36, 512 AB. Πρβλ. Λόγ. 7.6, PG 35, 761 A.

14. Λόγ. 43.13, PG 36, 512 AB.

15. De viris illustribus, 113.

16. Στὸ Θεσπέσιο ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος ἀφιερώνει ἕνα ἐπιτάφιο ποίημα μὲ τίτλο, Εἰς Θεσπέσιον τὸν γραμματικόν, Ἔπη Ἐπιτάφια 4, PG 38, 12, 2–13, 2.

17. Λόγ. 7.6, PG 35, 761 A. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης *Γρηγορίου Πρεσβ.*, Βίος..., PG 35, 248 C.

18. Αὐτοῦι.

19. Λόγ. 7.8, PG 35, 764 C.

20. Λόγ. 7.15, PG 35, 773 A.

διοδρομίας πεπαιδευμένου γόνου ἀριστοκρατικῆς οἰκογενείας στὰ ὕστερα ρωμαϊκὰ χρόνια.

Τὴ μετάβαση τοῦ Καισαρίου στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια «*παντοίας παιδεύσεως καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν οὐσάν τε καὶ δοκοῦσαν ἐργαστήριον*»[1], ἀκολούθησε ὁ ἐρχομὸς τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου. Πάντως δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸ νὰ γίνη λεπτομερὴς λόγος γιὰ τὶς σπουδὲς τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια, οὔτε γνωριζουμε ἂν παρακολούθησε ἐκεῖ μαθήματα στὴν Κατιχητικὴ Σχολὴ μὲ δάσκαλο τὸ Δίδυμο, πρᾶγμα μᾶλλον ἀπίθανο, ἢ ἀκόμη ἂν γνώρισε προσωπικὰ τὸν ἅγ.' Αθανάσιο, γιὰ τὸν ὁποῖο ὁμιλεῖ μὲ ἔντονο ἐνθουσιασμὸ καὶ ἀμεσότητα[2].

Τὴν ἐποχὴ αὐτὴ στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια ὑπάρχει ἕνα κλίμα ἀμοιβαίας ἀποδοχῆς καὶ εἰρηνικῆς συνυπάρξεως ἐθνικῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ χριστιανῶν θεολόγων, ποὺ θεμελιωνόταν στὴ μακρὰ ἑλληνιστικὴ παράδοση καὶ παγκοσμιότητα, ἡ ὁποία εὐνοοῦσε τὸ διάλογο καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερία στὴν πνευματικὴ ἀναζήτηση[3]. Ὑπ' αὐτὴ τὴν ἔποψη ὁ χαμὸς τῆς νεοπλάτωνος φιλοσόφου Ὑπατίας[4] ἀμαυρώνει ἀργότερα τὴ ζωὴ τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ πληθυσμοῦ μιᾶς πόλεως ποὺ ἦταν ἀπὸ παράδοση καὶ ἐξαρχῆς ἀνοικτὴ σ' ὅλα τὰ πνευματικὰ καὶ θρησκευτικὰ ρεύματα καὶ συγχρόνως ὑπῆρξε κέντρο τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς γνώσεως καὶ ἐρεύνης σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τὴν ἵδρυσή της καὶ γιὰ ἑξακόσια τουλάχιστο χρόνια. Ἔτσι θὰ ἦταν μᾶλλον ἀρκετὰ βέβαιος ὁ ἰσχυρισμὸς ὅτι στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος παρακολούθησε ἕνα εὐρὺ κύκλο μαθημάτων ποὺ περιλάμβανε ὄχι μόνο τὴ σπουδὴ τῆς σοφιστικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς καὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας, στοιχεῖα τῶν ὁποίων ὑπάρχουν διάσπαρτα σ' ὅλο τὸ ἔργο του. Ἀργότερα μάλιστα ὡς ὑπεύθυνος ποιμένας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας θὰ χρησιμοποιήση στὴ διδασκαλία του τὴ θεραπευτικὴ διάγνωση καὶ ἀγωγὴ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης[5], συνδέοντας ἔτσι τὸ θεολογικὸ λόγο μὲ τὴν ἄμεση ἐμπειρία καὶ τὸ σωτηριολογικὸ σκοπὸ μὲ τὴν καθημερινὴ πρακτική.

Στὰ 351, μετὰ ἀπὸ ἕνα περιπετειῶδες ταξίδι στὸ πέλαγος, ποὺ ἀσφαλῶς σημάδεψε τὰ κατοπινὰ χρόνια του, φθάνει ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια στὴν Ἀθήνα, «*τὸ τῶν λόγων ἔδαφος*»[6], μὲ τὴν ἐπιθυμία γιὰ περισσότερη μάθηση. Καθοριστικὴ ὅμως γιὰ τὴ μελλοντικὴ ἐξέλιξη τοῦ νεαροῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου ὑπῆρξε ἡ ἄφιξη στὴν Ἀθήνα τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου[7]. Ἡ κατεύθυνση τῶν σπουδῶν τῶν δύο φίλων στὴν Ἀθήνα θὰ πρέπει νὰ κατανοηθῆ: α) στὰ πλαίσια τῆς ἐπιθυμίας των νὰ ἀποκτήσουν πληρέστερη μόρφωση στὰ σχολεῖα τῆς πόλεως ποὺ ὑπῆρξε ἀκόμη καὶ αὐτὴ τὴν περίοδο κατὰ κοινὴ ὁμολογία τὸ κέντρο τῆς παιδείας[8], ἰδίως γιὰ τὴ σπουδὴ τῆς σοφιστικῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας. Ἡ ὑπεροχικὴ θέση τῆς Ἀθήνας γι' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος τῆς παιδείας δὲν ἠμπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι ἄσχετη μὲ τὴ φροντίδα τῶν ρωμαίων αὐτοκρατόρων γιὰ τὸ δημόσιο πρόσωπο τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴ χρηματοδότηση τῶν «θρόνων»[9], τὴν ὕπαρξη δηλαδὴ δημοσίων διδασκάλων, μὲ ἰδιαίτερο μάλιστα ἐνδιαφέρον γιὰ τὸ «θρόνο» τῆς σοφιστικῆς κι ἀκόμη περισσότερο τῆς φιλοσοφίας, β) θὰ πρέπει ἐπὶ πλέον νὰ σημειωθοῦν οἱ δεσμοὶ τῶν φιλοσοφικῶν κινημάτων τῆς Μ. Ἀσίας, τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς τὴ φιλοσοφικὴ παράδοση τῆς Ἀθήνας. Κατὰ ταῦτα ἡ πορεία τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου γιὰ παραπέρα σπουδὲς στὴν Ἀθήνα ἀποτελεῖ, ὡς ἕνα βαθμό, φυσικὸ ἐπακόλουθο τοῦ πνευματικοῦ κλίματος τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ πολὺ περισσότερο τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. Ἡ ἀπάντηση εἶναι δυσκολότερη γιὰ τὰ κίνητρα ποὺ ὁδήγησαν στὴν Ἀθήνα τὸν ἅγ. Βασίλειο, ὁ ὁποῖος μετὰ τὶς πρῶτες σπουδὲς στὴν Καισάρεια συνεχίζει τὴν ἐκπαίδευσή του στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη, ἕνα χῶρο χωρὶς ἐθνικὴ παράδοση, ποὺ περισσότερο χρωματίζεται ἀπὸ τὴν παρουσία τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ στοιχείου ἀκόμη καὶ στὴ σύγκλητο[10]. Ἐξάλλου ἡ περιγραφὴ τοῦ χαρακτήρα καὶ τῆς προσωπικότητος τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγ. Γρηγόριο γιὰ τὸν πρῶτο καιρὸ τῆς ἀφί-

1. Λόγ. 7.6, PG 35, 761 A. Πρβλ. *Γρηγορίου Πρεσβ.*, Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου, PG 35, 248 C.

2. Πρβλ. τὸ Λόγ. 21, PG 35, 1081 A–1128. Ἀναμφισβήτητα ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος γνωρίζει τὴ θεολογία τοῦ ἁγ. Ἀθανασίου, ἀλλὰ ἂν εἶχε συμβῆ νὰ γνωρίση τὸν ἅγιο Ἀθανάσιο προσωπικά, θὰ ἦταν καὶ ἀπίθανο νὰ μὴν ἔκανε ἔστω μία ἄμεση ἀναφορά. Κάποια ἐξήγηση ἴσως εἶναι δυνατὸ νὰ δοθῆ μὲ τὴν ὑπόθεση ὅτι κατὰ τὴν παραμονή του στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια δὲν ἔκαμε θεολογικὲς σπουδές, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴ τὴν ἐποχὴ τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον του συγκεντρωνόταν στὰ μορφωτικὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας. Περισσότερο βέβαιο θὰ ἦταν νὰ τοποθετηθῆ σ' αὐτὴ τὴν περίοδο ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς ἰατρικῆς καὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας, ἐπιστῆμες ποὺ ἀνθοῦσαν στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης Λόγ. 7.6, PG 35, 761 CD. Ἡ συνειδητοποίησή του ὡς χριστιανοῦ θὰ ἀρχίση κατὰ τὸ περιπετειῶδες ταξίδι του ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια στὴν Ἀθήνα καὶ θὰ ἐπισφραγισθῆ μὲ τὴν παρουσία ἐκεῖ τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου.

3. *H. I. Marrou*, Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 136–140, καὶ τοῦ *Ἰδίου*, Ἱστορία τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 439–440.

4. Βλ. *Σωκράτους*, Ἐκκλ. Ἱστ., 7.15, PG 67, 768 A–769 A.

5. Βλ. Λόγ. 2, PG 35, 408 A–513 C.

6. Λόγ. 43.14, PG 36, 513 A. Ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος θυμᾶται μὲ νοσταλγία τὸν ἐρχομὸ τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου στὴν Ἀθήνα καὶ τὴν εὐεργετικὴ παρουσία του, «Ἀθήνας τὰς χρυσᾶς ὄντως ἐμοί, καὶ τῶν καλῶν προξένους, εἴπερ τινί. Ἐκεῖναι γάρ μοι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐγνώρισαν τελεώτερον, οὐδὲν πρὶν ἀγνοούμενον· καὶ λόγους ἐπιζητῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκομισάμην».

7. Λόγ. 43.15, PG 36, 513 C.

8. *L. Petit de Julleville*, L' ecole d' Athenes au IVe siecle apres Jesus–Christ, Paris 1868, καὶ *H. I. Marrou*, Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 134–138.

9. *H. I. Marrou*, Ἡ Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκπαιδεύσεως κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα, μν. ἔργ., σ. 414. Τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου ὑπῆρχαν στὴν Ἀθήνα τέσσερις «θρόνοι» φιλοσοφίας, προφανῶς ἕνας γιὰ κάθε μία ἀπὸ τὶς μεγάλες φιλοσοφικὲς σχολές, καὶ ἐπίσης ἕνας θρόνος σοφιστικῆς. Βλ. *Suetonius*, Histor. Script. August., 21 C. *Λουκιανοῦ*, Εὐνοῦχος 3, 8.

10. Εἶναι ἀρκετὰ διασαφηνιστικὴ ἡ παρατήρηση τοῦ *A.H.M. Jones*, «The Social Background of the Struggle between Paganism and Christianity», μν. ἔργ., σσ. 32–33, γιὰ τοὺς λόγους ἀποδυναμώσεως τῆς εἰδωλολατρίας στὴν Ἀνατολή. Γράφει, «περισσότερο σημαντικὸ ὡστόσο εἶναι τὸ θέμα τῆς πολιτικῆς ἡγεσίας παρὰ τῶν ἁπλῶν ἀριθμῶν. Δὲν ὑπῆρχε δηλαδὴ στὴν Ἀνατολὴ μία κληρονομικὴ ἀριστοκρατία ἀναθρεμμένη μὲ τοὺς παλιοὺς τρόπους, ὥστε νὰ ἡγηθῆ στὴν ἀντίδραση. Ἡ κυβερνητικὴ τάξη στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη ἦταν ἐν πολλοῖς σύνθετη καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχική της διαμόρφωση εἶχε κατεξοχὴν χριστιανικὴ ὑφή».

ξεώς του στὴν Ἀθήνα[1], πέραν τῆς διαπιστώσεως ὅτι διεκρίνετο αὐτὸς γιὰ τὴ σοβαρότητα καὶ τὴν ὡριμότητά του, δὲν θὰ ἦτο ἀπίθανο ἂν συσχετιζόταν πρὸς τὴ δεσπόζουσα θέση ποὺ κατέχει ἤδη στὴ ζωὴ τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου ἡ χριστιανικὴ πίστη. Ἐκ παραλλήλου ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος εἶναι κι αὐτὸς τώρα προσανατολισμένος πρὸς τὴ ζωὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ παρουσία τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου θὰ τὸν βοηθήση ἀποφασιστικὰ στὴν ἀσκητικὴ καὶ τὴ διάρθρωση τοῦ ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ προγράμματος σ' ἕνα χῶρο ποὺ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ παράδοση δὲν ἦταν μόνο ἔνδοξο παρελθὸν ἀλλὰ καθημερινὴ πράξη, ὅπως ἐξάγεται ὄχι μόνο ἀπὸ τὸν *Ἐπιτάφιο* λόγο στὸν ἅγ. Βασίλειο, ἀλλὰ κυρίως ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο λόγους του ἐναντίον τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ. Στὴν Ἀθήνα τῶν μέσων τοῦ 4ου αἰ. ἡ εἰδωλολατρία ἀνθοῦσε ὄχι μόνο στὸ ἐπίπεδο τῆς θεωρητικῆς ἑρμηνείας τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θεουργικῆς πρακτικῆς μὲ κέντρο τὴ λατρεία τοῦ δωδεκαθέου, ἡ ὁποία ἐπιβεβαίωνε καὶ δημόσια τὴν ταυτότητα τοῦ σπουδαστῆ τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ. Ἐξάλλου ἡ Ἀκαδημία τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἡ μόνη ἀπὸ τὶς μεγάλες φιλοσοφικὲς σχολὲς ποὺ ἐξακολουθοῦσε νὰ λειτουργῆ, εἶχε καταστῆ κέντρο τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐθνισμοῦ καὶ πρόσφερε μία παιδεία παράλληλη πρὸ τὶς ἀρχὲς ποὺ διεῖπον τὴ φιλοσοφικὴ σκέψη καὶ θεολογία τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου στὸ χῶρο τῆς Ἀσίας[2]. Δὲν εἶναι τυχαῖο τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ὁ Ἰουλιανός, ὁ μετέπειτα αὐτοκράτορας, συμφοιτητὴς τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου στὴν Ἀθήνα, ὑπῆρξε μαθητὴς στὴν Πέργαμο τοῦ Αἰδεσίου, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀνῆκε στὸν κύκλο τοῦ νεοπλάτωνος φιλοσόφου Ἰαμβλίχου. Τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου τὸ φιλοσοφικὸ σύστημα θὰ ἐφαρμόση ἀργότερα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς στὴν προσπάθεια ἀναβιώσεως τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας. Εἶναι γνωστὸ ἐπίσης ὅτι στὴ Νικομήδεια εἶχε γνωρίσει ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς μέλη τοῦ κύκλου τοῦ Λιβανίου καὶ ὅταν ὁ Κωνστάντιος τοῦ ἀπαγόρευσε τὴν παρακολούθηση τῶν μαθημάτων τοῦ διδασκάλου, προμηθευόταν ἀντίγραφα τῶν παραδόσεών του κρυφά, πρᾶγμα ποὺ σημαίνει ὅτι μολονότι παρουσιαζόταν ὡς χριστιανός, ἐν τούτοις διατηροῦσε ἐπαφὲς μὲ τοὺς πιὸ σπουδαίους ἐκπροσώπους τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐθνισμοῦ -τακτικὴ ποὺ θὰ ἐφαρμόση μὲ συνέπεια ὡς τὰ 361, ὡς τὴν ἀπόφασή του νὰ κηρύξη τὸν πόλεμο κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Κωνσταντίου[3]. Ἐξ ἐπόψεως σπουδῶν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ στὴν Ἀθήνα ἔχει μεγάλη σημασία ἡ διάρθρωση τοῦ προγράμματος σπουδῶν, ἐπειδὴ δίνει τὴ δυνατότητα νὰ γίνουν κάποιες συγκρίσεις μὲ τὸ εἶδος τῶν σπουδῶν ποὺ ἀκολούθησε τὴν ἴδια ἐποχὴ στὸν ἴδιο χῶρο ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος.

Στὴν Ἀθήνα, ὅπως σ' ὅλη τὴ διάρκεια τῶν σπουδῶν του, ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς εἶναι ὑποχρεωμένος νὰ ἀκολουθήση ἕνα καθορισμένο σύστημα καὶ πρόγραμμα σπουδῶν, κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Κωνσταντίου, μέσα σὲ κύκλο χριστιανῶν διδασκάλων καὶ φοιτητῶν. Ἔτσι δικαιολογεῖται ἡ ἔνταξή του στὸν κύκλο τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου, τὸν ὁποῖο πιθανὸ νὰ εἶχε συναντήσει καὶ πρίν, κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῶν σπουδῶν του στὴν Καισάρεια τῆς Παλαιστίνης. Τώρα στὴν Ἀθήνα κύριο ἔργο του ἔχει τὴν παρακολούθηση μαθημάτων σοφιστικῆς μὲ διδασκάλους τοὺς σοφιστὲς Ἰμέριο καὶ Προαιρέσιο. Γιὰ τὸν δεύτερο ὁ Εὐνάπιος στὸ ἔργο του *Βίοι σοφιστῶν*, ποὺ εἶναι γενικὰ πολύτιμη πηγὴ γιὰ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση αὐτῆς τῆς σημαντικῆς ἐποχῆς, ἀναφέρει ὅτι *«ἐδόκει γὰρ χριστιανὸν εἶναι»*[4]. Ὁ Προαιρέσιος κέρδισε μετὰ ἀπὸ δημόσιο διαγωνισμὸ τὸ σοφιστικὸ «θρόνο» καὶ ἀνάμεσα στοὺς μαθητές του περιλαμβάνονταν χριστιανοὶ καὶ εἰδωλολάτρες, ὅπως ὁ Εὐνάπιος. Ὅταν ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς θὰ ἀπαγορεύση στοὺς χριστιανοὺς τὴ διδασκαλία τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων, ὁ Προαιρέσιος ἐξαιρεῖται ὀνομαστικά[5]. Ἡ ἔνταξη τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ Προαιρεσίου ἦταν τὸ πιὸ κατάλληλο προκάλυμμα γιὰ ἐλεύθερη δράση καὶ ἐπαφὲς μὲ νεοπλάτωνες τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος δὲν παρέλειψε νὰ σημειώση τὸν ὑποκριτικὸ χαρακτήρα τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ τὸν ὕπουλο τρόπο τῶν ἐνεργειῶν του σχετικὰ μὲ α) τὴν ἐπίδοσή του στὴ μελέτη τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ, καὶ β) τὴ θετικὴ στάση του πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαία θρησκεία, στοιχεῖο ποὺ εἶχε ἐξαιρεθῆ ἀπὸ τὸ ἐπίσημο πρόγραμμα ἐκπαιδεύσεώς του, *«οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ μὲν πολὺ τῆς ἀσεβείας κατέκρυπτεν ὑπὸ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος παιδαγωγίας, οὔπω γὰρ τὸ φανερῶς ἀσεβεῖν ἦν ἀσφαλές· ἔστι δὲ ὅποι καὶ παρεγύμνου τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀπόῤῥητον τοῖς ὀξυτέροις τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἢ τὴν σύνεσιν· ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν λόγοις πλέον ἢ καλῶς εἶχεν, ὑπὲρ ἑλλήνων διατεινόμενος –προφάσει δῆθεν ὡς τὸν ἥττω γυμνάζων λόγον, τὸ δὲ ἦν ὄντως γυμνασία κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας– καὶ πᾶσι χαίρων οἷς ἀσεβὴς τρόπος χαρακτηρίζεται»*[6]. Ἑπομένως ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀπέκρυπτε ἐπιμελῶς τὶς ἐπαφές του μὲ τοὺς πιὸ σοβαροὺς ἐκπροσώπους τοῦ ἐθνισμοῦ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι, ὅπως εἶναι φυσικό, ἦταν φορεῖς τῆς παραδόσεως τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας, τουλάχιστο στὰ πλαίσια τῆς ἀκαδημαϊκῆς ζωῆς, καὶ οἱ ὁποῖοι πρέπει νὰ εἶχαν κέντρο τὴν Ἀκαδημία, καθὼς μάλιστα δὲν ὑπάρχουν πληροφορίες γιὰ τὴ λειτουργία τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσοφικῶν σχολῶν αὐτὴ τὴν ἐποχή[7]. Ἐξάλλου πρὸς τὴν ἄποψη αὐτὴ συντείνει καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι καὶ οἱ κύκλοι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας εἶχαν ἐπηρεασθῆ ἀπὸ τὶς θεουργικὲς τάσεις τῆς σχολῆς τῆς Περγάμου μὲ τὴν ἀνεπανάληπτη παρουσία ἐκεῖ τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου καὶ Αἰδεσίου[8]. Ἀναμφισβή-

1. Πρβλ. π.χ. Λόγ. 43.16, PG 36, 517 A.
2. *H. I. Marrou,* Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism, μν. ἔργ., σ. 139.
3. Βλ. *R. Farney,* La religion de l' empereur Julien et le mysticisme de son temps, Paris 1934, σσ.77–134, καὶ ΘΗΕ, λῆμμα Ἰουλιανός, τόμ. 6, στ. 950–956.
4. Ἐκδ. *J. Fr. Boissonade,* Paris 1879, σ. 493.
5. *Ἰουλιανοῦ,* Ἐπιστ. 61 α.
6. Λόγ. 4.30, PG 35, 556 D–557 A.
7. Βλ. *R. R. Ruether,* Gregory of Nazianzus, μν. ἔργ., σ. 25.
8. *H. I. Marrou,* Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 138–139. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης *A. A. Barb,* «The Survival of Magic Arts», ἐν The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the fourth Century, μν. ἔργ., σσ. 100–125, καὶ *E. R. Dodds,* «Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism», ἐν Journal of Roman Studies, 37 (1947), σσ. 55-69.

τητα τὸ κλίμα τῆς Ἀκαδημίας, μὲ τὴν ἄσκηση τῆς θεουργίας, ἐθεωρεῖτο ἀκατάλληλο καὶ ἐπιζήμιο γιὰ χριστιανὸ φοιτητή, ὅπως ἔπρεπε νὰ παρουσιάζεται ὁ Ἰουλιανός, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἔτσι δικαιολογεῖται ἡ ἀπόκρυψη τῶν ἐπαφῶν μὲ ἐκπροσώπους τοῦ ἐθνισμοῦ. Μ' αὐτὲς τὶς προϋποθέσεις καθίσταται μᾶλλον σαφὲς τὸ ἐπιχείρημα ὅτι πρέπει νὰ ἀποκλεισθῆ ἡ συχνὰ ἐπαναλαμβανόμενη ἀντίληψη καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου, ὅτι δηλαδὴ κατὰ τὴν παραμονή του στὴν Ἀθήνα φοίτησε στὴν Ἀκαδημία καὶ σπούδασε φιλοσοφία, πρᾶγμα ποὺ εἶναι ἀντίθετο: α) πρὸς τὴν προετοιμασία εἰσόδου στὴν Ἐκκλησία, β) πρὸς τὴν ἔντονη ἀποστροφή του γιὰ τὶς τελετουργίες τῆς ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας[1], καὶ γ) πρὸς τὴν παρουσία τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου. Ἰδιαίτερα θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐκτιμηθῆ ἡ κριτικὴ ἐναντίον τοῦ ἐθνισμοῦ καὶ ὁ ὑπογραμμισμὸς τῶν ἀρνητικῶν ἐπιπτώσεων τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας στὴν ἐκπαίδευση τῶν νέων, μάλιστα τώρα μετὰ τὴν ἔξαρση τοῦ ἐθνισμοῦ ὡς ἀντίδρασης κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία εἶχε ἀρχίσει νὰ κερδίζη ἔδαφος καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν ἀριστοκρατικῶν οἰκογενειῶν. *«Βλαβεραὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθῆναι, τὰ μὲν εἰς ψυχὴν (οὐ γὰρ φαύλως τοῦτο ὑπολαμβάνεται τοῖς εὐσεβεστέροις)· καὶ γὰρ πλουτοῦσι τὸν κακὸν πλοῦτον, εἴδωλα, μᾶλλον τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ χαλεπὸν μὴ συναρπασθῆναι τοῖς τούτων ἐπαινέταις καὶ συνηγόροις· ἡμῖν δ' οὐδεμία παρὰ τούτων ζημία, τὴν διάνοιαν πεπυκνωμένοις καὶ πεφραγμένοις. Τοὐναντίον μὲν οὖν, εἴ τι χρὴ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, εἰς τὴν πίστιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐβεβαιώθημεν, καταμαθόντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἀπατηλὸν καὶ κίβδηλον, ἐνταῦθα δαιμόνων καταφρονήσαντες, οὗ θαυμάζονται δαίμονες»*[2], σημειώνει κατηγορηματικὰ ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος, δίνοντας προσωπικὴ μαρτυρία γιά: α) τὴ θρησκευτικὴ κατάσταση στὴν Ἀθήνα ὡς τὸ κατεξοχὴν κέντρο τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐθνισμοῦ, β) τὴν ὕπαρξη «ἐπαινετῶν» καὶ «συνηγόρων» τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας, οἱ ὁποῖοι κατεῖχαν σημαντικὲς θέσεις καὶ ὁπωσδήποτε κατάλληλη ἐκπαίδευση, ὥστε νὰ εἶναι ἱκανοὶ νὰ γοητεύουν τοὺς νέους, καὶ γ) τὴν προσωπική του περιφρόνηση καὶ ἀποστροφὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαία θρησκεία ὡς δημιούργημα τῶν δαιμόνων.

Ὡστόσο παραμένει γιὰ διασαφήνιση τὸ θέμα περὶ τοῦ εἴδους τῶν σπουδῶν ποὺ ἀκολούθησε στὴν Ἀθήνα ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος. Γιὰ τὸ σκοπὸ αὐτὸ σπουδαία πηγὴ εἶναι τὸ ἴδιο τὸ ἔργο τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου καὶ μάλιστα ὁ *Ἐπιτάφιος* λόγος στὸν ἅγ. Βασίλειο, στὶς παραγρ. 14–24 τοῦ ὁποίου δίδονται λεπτομέρειες γιὰ τὴν ποιότητα καὶ τὴν ὀργάνωση τῶν ἀνωτάτων σπουδῶν στὴν Ἀθήνα τῶν μέσων τοῦ 4ου αἰ., μία κατάσταση ποὺ σὲ γενικὲς γραμμὲς πρέπει νὰ ἴσχυε σὲ ὁλόκληρη τὴν αὐτοκρατορία ἢ τουλάχιστο στὰ σπουδαιότερα πολιτιστικὰ κέντρα. Χαρακτηριστικὴ ἦταν ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν νέων ἀπὸ τὰ διάφορα μέρη τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας γιὰ μόρφωση, ἀπόκτηση σοφίας, σὲ σημεῖο νὰ φθάνουν σὲ ὑπερβολὲς καὶ ἐκδηλώσεις ἐντυπωσιασμοῦ καὶ ποικίλων ἐλαφροτήτων. Κύριο μέλημα ἦταν ἡ ἔνταξη τοῦ νέου σπουδαστῆ στὸν κύκλο κάποιου διδασκάλου[3], γιὰ λογαριασμὸ τοῦ ὁποίου κοπίαζαν οἱ παλιότεροι μαθητές, χωρὶς αὐτὸ νὰ σημαίνη ἀποκλεισμὸ ἀπὸ τὴν παρακολούθηση μαθημάτων ποὺ ἐδίδοντο ἀπὸ ἄλλους διδασκάλους καὶ μάλιστα τῶν διαλέξεων τῶν κατόχων τῶν «θρόνων» τῆς ρητορικῆς καὶ σοφιστικῆς, δύο ἀντικειμένων ποὺ εἶχαν ἄμεση ἀνταπόκριση στὰ κοινὰ ἐνδιαφέροντα τῶν εὐρυτέρων μαζῶν. Ἐπίσης διδόταν ἡ εὐκαιρία στοὺς σπουδαστὲς νὰ παρακολουθήσουν αὐτοσχεδίους διαγωνισμοὺς πάνω στὴν ἀνάπτυξη ἑνὸς θέματος καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἐπιτυχία εἶχε ἄμεσο ἀντίκτυπο στοὺς διδασκάλους μὲ τὴν προσέλευση καινούργιων μαθητῶν. Σ' ἕνα τέτοιο διαγωνισμὸ παίρνει π.χ. μέρος ὁ ἅγ. Βασίλειος τὶς πρῶτες μέρες τῆς ἀφίξεώς του στὴν Ἀθήνα μὲ ἀντιπάλους παλιοὺς συμμαθητές του, οἱ ὁποῖοι *«ἐπηρώτων τε αὐτόν, φιλονείκως μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῶς»*[4], ἐνῶ ἕνα ἐπίσημο διαγωνισμὸ διασώζει ὁ Εὐνάπιος, βάσει τοῦ ὁποίου ὁ Προαιρέσιος ἐκλέχθηκε στὸ «θρόνο» τῆς σοφιστικῆς στὴν Ἀθήνα[5]. Χωρὶς ἀμφιβολία ἡ Ἀθήνα ὑπῆρξε τὸ κέντρο τῆς καλλιεργείας τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἐπιτευγμάτων τῆς ἀνθρώπινης διανοίας. Σημειώνει γιὰ τὸ σκοπὸ τῆς ἀφίξεώς του στὴν Ἀθήνα, *«καὶ λόγους ἐπιζητῶν, εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκομισάμην»*[6]. Ἐξάλλου γιὰ τὶς σπουδὲς τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου γράφει μὲ θαυμασμὸ ὅτι κάλυπταν τὸ χῶρο τῆς ρητορικῆς, τῆς γραμματικῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας. Σ' αὐτὲς προσθέτει ἀμέσως παρακάτω τὴν ἀστρονομία, τὴ γεωμετρία, τὴν ἀριθμητικὴ καὶ τὴν ἰατρική[7]. Χωρὶς ἀμφιβολία ἡ περιγραφὴ τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἀντικείμενα σπουδῆς τῶν δύο φίλων στὴν Ἀθήνα περιλαμβάνει στοιχεῖα ὑπερβολῆς, μολονότι ἀργότερα στὰ μέσα τοῦ 8ου αἰ. ὁ βιογράφος τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου Γρηγόριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος[8], ὁ ὁποῖος συνέταξε τὸ βίο μὲ βάση τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου, ἀπαριθμεῖ ἐπίσης τὴ μουσική[9]. Ὑπερβολὲς σχετικὲς μὲ τὴν παρουσίαση τῶν σπουδῶν τῶν ἐπαινουμένων προσώπων εἶναι κοινὸς τόπος, ὅπως παρατηρεῖ ἡ R. R. Ruether[10]. Θὰ πρέπει νὰ σημειωθῆ κατὰ ταῦτα ὅτι ἡ μουσική, τὰ μαθηματικὰ καὶ ἡ γραμματικὴ ἀποτελοῦσαν ἀντικείμενα τῆς δεύτερης βαθμίδος, ἂν καὶ ἡ γραμματικὴ κάλυπτε τὸ μεγαλύτερο τμῆμα τοῦ προγράμματος καὶ ἀναλόγως πρὸς τὶς ἐπιδόσεις καὶ τὰ ἐνδιαφέροντα τοῦ σπουδαστῆ συνεχιζόταν ἡ σπουδή της καὶ στὴν τελευταία βαθμίδα. Μὲ μία τέτοια εὐρύτητα χρησιμοποιεῖ τὸν ὅρο ὁ

1. Προκαλεῖ πάντως ἔκπληξη ἡ γνώση τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου πάνω σὲ θέματα τελετουργίας καὶ συμβολικῶν πράξεων τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας. Χαρακτηριστικοὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εἶναι οἱ δύο Λόγοι ἐναντίον τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δεύτερος, ὅπου ἡ ἐπίθεση ἐναντίον τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καθίσταται οὐσιαστικὰ κριτικὸς ἔλεγχος κατὰ τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μυστηρίων.
2. Λόγ. 43.21, PG 36, 524 C.
3. Λόγ. 43.16, PG 36, 516 B.
4. Λόγ. 43.17, PG 36, 517 C.
5. Βλ. ἔκδ. *J. Fr. Boissonade*, Paris 1878, σσ. 484–493.
6. Λόγ. 43.14, PG 36, 513 A.
7. Λόγ. 43.23, PG 36, 528 AB.
8. Βλ. PG 35, 241–242 (Monitum).
9. PG 35, 256 C.
10. *R. R. Ruether*, Gregory of Nazianzus, μν. ἔργ., σ. 24.

ἅγ. Γρηγόριος στὸν *Ἐπιτάφιο* λόγο γιὰ τὸν ἅγ. Βασίλειο, *«Τίς δὲ γραμματικήν, ἢ γλῶσσαν ἐξελληνίζει καὶ ἱστορίαν συνάγει καὶ μέτροις ἐπιστατεῖ καὶ νομοθετεῖ ποιήμασι;»*[1]. Σ' αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίο ὁ ὅρος ταυτίζεται κατὰ τὸ περιεχόμενο μὲ τὴ σοφιστική, ἡ μελέτη τῆς ὁποίας ἐθεωρεῖτο ἀνώτερη τῆς ρητορικῆς κατώτερη ὅμως τῆς φιλοσοφίας. Ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος, πέραν ἀπὸ τὴν παρατεθείσα ἐξήγηση τοῦ περιεχομένου τῆς γραμματικῆς, τουλάχιστο μία φορὰ παραθέτει τοὺς ὅρους ὡς φορεῖς σημασιολογικῆς ταυτότητος, *«καὶ τὴν πολυύμνητον δὲ ταύτην σοφιστικὴν ἢ γραμματικήν, ἵνα μὴ λέγω φιλοσοφίαν, περὶ ἣν νέων φιλοτιμία λυσσᾷ τε καὶ μέμηνε»*[2]. Ἐκ παραλλήλου ἡ διαπίστωση ὅτι *«σοφιστομανοῦσιν Ἀθήνησι τῶν νέων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἀφρονέστεροι»*[3] προσφέρει σπουδαία μαρτυρία γιὰ τὴν ποιότητα τῶν σπουδῶν τοῦ ποικιλωνύμου πλήθους τῶν νέων τῆς Ἀθήνας. Ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος ὁ ἐθνικὸς Φιλόστρατος δίνει παρόμοιο ὁρισμὸ γιὰ τὴ σοφιστική, πρᾶγμα ποὺ ὁδηγεῖ στὴ διαπίστωση τῆς ἐκπαιδευτικῆς ταυτότητος χριστιανῶν καὶ ἐθνικῶν, τουλάχιστο στὸ ἐπίπεδο τῆς σοφιστικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐννοιολογικῆς κατανοήσεως τῶν παραδεδομένων ὅρων: *«Τὴν ἀρχαίαν σοφιστικὴν ῥητορικὴν ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ φιλοσοφοῦσαν... Ἡ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαία σοφιστικὴ καὶ τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα ὑποτιθεμένη διῄει αὐτὰ ἀποτάδην καὶ εἰς μῆκος»*[4], ὁρισμὸς ποὺ τοποθετεῖ τὴ σοφιστικὴ ἀνάμεσα στὴ ρητορικὴ καὶ τὴ φιλοσοφία, ἐνῶ τὸ ἔργο τῶν σπουδαίων σοφιστῶν πλάι σὲ κεῖνο τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὅμως μὲ πλατειὰ ἔννοια, ἀφοῦ *«οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐπωνόμαζον* (δηλ. σοφιστὰς) *οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπερφωνοῦντάς τε καὶ λαμπρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς ξὺν εὐρείᾳ ἑρμηνεύοντας»*[5].

Ἀκόμη πιὸ πολὺ εὐρὺ καὶ ἀμφιλεγόμενο περιεχόμενο κατέχει αὐτὴ τὴν ἐποχὴ ὁ ὅρος φιλοσοφία, ἐπειδὴ γιὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησία π.χ. δὲν ὑφίσταται, ὅπως αὐτὸ ἰσχύει γιὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνες φιλοσόφους, ὡς αὐτοσκοπὸς καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ ἑρμηνεία τῶν πρώτων ἀρχῶν, καθόσον ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι γιὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς ἡ ἀποκεκαλυμμένη ἀλήθεια[6]. Ὡστόσο καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν φιλοσόφων ἡ ἀναζήτηση τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπεδείχθη ἀνεπαρκὴς στὸ ἐπίπεδο τῆς θεωρητικῆς ἐνασχολήσεως. Ἡ ἀνάγκη πρακτικῆς ἐφαρμογῆς καὶ συνδέσεώς της μὲ τὴν προσωπικὴ λύτρωση τοῦ ἀνθρώπου θεωρήθηκε ἀναπόφευκτη ὡς ἀντιστάθμισμα στὴν ἀμεσότητα καὶ σύσσωμη ἑνότητα ποὺ πρόσφερε ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος ἡ Ἐκκλησία ὄχι μόνο κατὰ τὴ Θ. Εὐχαριστία, ἀλλὰ καὶ στὴν καθημερινὴ πράξη μὲ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἐμπράκτου ἀγάπης[7].

Τὸ πρόβλημα ποὺ τίθεται στὸ σημεῖο αὐτὸ συσχετίζεται μὲ τὸ ἐρώτημα γιὰ τὸ εἶδος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ποὺ ἐσπούδασαν οἱ ἅγιοι Γρηγόριος καὶ Βασίλειος στὴν Ἀθήνα, δεδομένου ὅτι ἡ Ἀκαδημία, ὅπως ἔχει ἤδη σημειωθῆ, κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπίδραση τῆς σχολῆς τῆς Περγάμου μὲ τὸν Ἰάμβλιχο καὶ τὸν Αἰδέσιο, εἶχε ἀποκτήσει θεουργικὴ κατεύθυνση καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ στὴ δημόσια λατρεία θὰ ἐθεωρεῖτο μᾶλλον ἀπαραίτητο στοιχεῖο γιὰ τὴν ἀποδοχὴ τοῦ ὑποψηφίου σπουδαστῆ στὴν Ἀκαδημία καὶ τὴν πιστοποίηση τοῦ ἤθους του. Στὴν παράγρ. 23 τοῦ *Λόγ.* 43, ὅπου ἀπαριθμοῦνται τὰ ἀντικείμενα μελέτης τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου, ἡ φιλοσοφία ἀναφέρεται μετὰ τὴ ρητορικὴ καὶ τὴ γραμματική, ὡς νὰ ἀποτελοῦσε τὸ ἐπιστέγασμα τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ καλλιεργείας τοῦ λόγου, *«τίς δὲ φιλοσοφίαν, τὴν ὄντως ὑψηλήν τε καὶ ἄνω βαίνουσαν, ὅση τε πρακτικὴ καὶ θεωρητική, ὅση τε περὶ τὰς λογικὰς ἀποδείξεις καὶ ἀντιθέσεις ἔχει καὶ τὰ παλαίσματα, ἣν δὴ διαλεκτικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν»*[8], ἐνῶ ὁ βιογράφος Γρηγόριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος διακρίνει τὴ φιλοσοφία σὲ «ἠθική», *«καὶ ὅση ἐν δόγμασι»*[9], ἐντάσσοντάς την ἔτσι στὸ χῶρο τῆς χριστιανικῆς ζωῆς. Ἀξίζει νὰ σημειωθῆ ὅτι ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος ἀκολουθεῖ τὴ διάκριση τῆς φιλοσοφίας σὲ κλάδους κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, πρᾶγμα ποὺ τὸν διευκολύνει στὴν ἀπόρριψη τῆς θεουργίας τοῦ νεοπλατωνισμοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν του. Κατὰ ταῦτα ἡ ἀπόλυτα ἀρνητικὴ τοποθέτησή του ἀπέναντι στὸν Ἰουλιανὸ προέρχεται ἀπὸ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς στὴν Ἀθήνα συνδέθηκε κρυφὰ μὲ τὸν κύκλο τῶν νεοπλατώνων, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶχαν, ὅπως ἦταν φυσικό, κέντρο τὴν Ἀκαδημία. Ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος εἶναι σαφής: Ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἦλθε στὴν Ἀθήνα συστημένος γιὰ νὰ συναντήση κάποιους ἐκπροσώπους τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐθνισμοῦ, οἱ ὁποῖοι συνδέονταν μὲ τὸν Αἰδέσιο, μολονότι παρέμεινε στὸν κύκλο χριστιανῶν γιὰ λόγους τακτικῆς. Πάντως φαίνεται πὼς ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς στὴν Ἀθήνα κατόρθωσε νὰ πετύχη τὶς σχετικὲς διασυνδέσεις. Τοῦτο σημαίνει ὅτι ἡ μύησή του στὰ ἑλληνικὰ μυστήρια εἶχε γίνει κατὰ τὴν παραμονή του στὴ Νικομήδεια ἢ κατὰ πᾶσα πιθανότητα στὴν Πέργαμο, σοβαρὴ ὑπόθεση ποὺ ἐπιβεβαιώνεται ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγ. Γρηγόριο, ὁ ὁποῖος σημειώνει, *«Ἀσία δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον, ὅση τε περὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ φαντα-*

1. Λόγ. 43.23, PG 36, 528 A.
2. Λόγ. 22.3, PG 35, 1133 C.
3. Λόγ. 43.15, PG 36, 513 D.
4. *Φιλοστράτου*, Βίοι σοφιστῶν, 1, 1 *(A. Westerman)*, Paris 1878, σ. 196.
5. Αὐτ. σ. 197. Ἀπὸ ἄποψη παιδείας καὶ κοινωνικῆς ἐκτιμήσεως τοποθετοῦνται στὴν κορυφὴ οἱ φιλόσοφοι, μετὰ οἱ σοφιστὲς καὶ ἀκολουθοῦν οἱ ῥήτορες. Ἔτσι ὁ Λιβάνιος, κατὰ τὴ μαρτυρία τοῦ Εὐναπίου, ἀποποιήθηκε τὸν τίτλο τοῦ ῥήτορα, «φήσας τὸν σοφιστὴν εἶναι μείζονα», μν. ἔργ., σ. 496.
6. Στὴν ὁρολογία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ ὅρος φιλοσοφία σχετίζεται μὲ τὴν ἀσκητικὴ πρακτικὴ ὡς τὸ ἐπιστέγασμα τῆς παιδευτικῆς προσπαθείας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Πρβλ. Λόγ. 43.13, PG 36, 512 C.
7. Πρβλ. Λόγ. 4.111, PG 35, 648 C, «Τοῦτο δὴ καὶ οὗτος (δηλ. ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς) διανοηθείς, διδασκαλεῖα μὲν ἱδρύσασθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἕτοιμος ἦν, βήματά τε καὶ προεδρίας καὶ ὑφεδρίας, ἑλληνικῶν τε δογμάτων ἀναγνώσεις καὶ ἀναπτύξεις, ὅσαι τε ἦθος ῥυθμίζουσι καὶ ὅσαι τῆς ἐπικρύψεως, εὐχῶν τε τύπον ἐν μέρει καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων κατὰ μέτρον ἐπιτιμήσεως, προτελείων τε καὶ τελειώσεως καὶ ὅσα τῆς ἡμετέρας σαφῶς ἐστιν εὐταξίας· ἔτι δὲ καταγώγια πήξασθαι καὶ ξενῶνας, ἀγνευτήριά τε καὶ παρθενῶνας καὶ φροντιστήρια καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίαν, τήν τε ἄλλην ὁπόση καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστολιμαίοις συνθήμασιν οἷς ἡμεῖς ἐξ ἔθνους εἰς ἔθνος τοὺς χρήζοντας παραπέμπομεν· ἃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμετέρων εἶχε θαυμάσας».
8. Λόγ. 43.23, PG 36, 528 A.
9. PG 35, 256 B.

*σίαν προγνώσεως τερατεύεται καὶ τὴν ἐπομένην τούτοις γοητικήν, ἓν ἔτι τὸ λεῖπον ἦν, προστεθεῖναι τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν»*[1]. Τὸ χωρίο αὐτὸ ἐπέχει θέση αὐστηροῦ ἐλέγχου κατὰ τῶν βασικῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν νεοπλατώνων, ὅπως εἶναι ἡ διάρθρωση τῶν ὄντων σὲ πρῶτο καὶ δεύτερο διάκοσμο μὲ διάμεσο τὸν ἀντικατοπτρισμὸ τοῦ ἀστρικοῦ κόσμου στὸ ἐπίπεδο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ζώντων καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ὄντων, καὶ ἀκόμη ἡ πρακτικὴ τῆς γοητικῆς, μὲ τὴν ὁποία συσχετίζεται ἄμεσα ἡ πρακτικὴ τῆς ἀρχαίας θρησκείας. Καθίσταται ἐξάλλου σαφὲς ὅτι ἕνα τέτοιο κλῖμα θὰ ἦταν ἀνεπίτρεπτο γιὰ χριστιανοὺς φοιτητές. Ἔτσι θὰ μποροῦσε ἴσως νὰ κατανοηθῆ ἐπαρκῶς ἡ μυστικὴ συνεργασία τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ μὲ τοὺς ἐκπροσώπους τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐθνισμοῦ, καθὼς αὐτὴ τὴν ἐποχὴ εἶναι ἀναγκασμένος ἀπὸ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα νὰ φυλάγη τὰ προσχήματα καὶ νὰ παρουσιάζεται χριστιανός. Γι' αὐτὸ ἡ κατάσταση κρίνεται μᾶλλον ξεκαθαρισμένη ἐν σχέσει πρὸς τὸ πρόγραμμα σπουδῶν τῶν ἁγ. Γρηγορίου καὶ Βασιλείου, οἱ ὁποῖοι συνειδητὰ ἔχουν κάμει διαστολὴ ἀνάμεσα στὴν ἑλληνικὴ παιδεία καὶ τὴν πρακτικὴ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς θρησκείας, ἀπογυμνώνοντας τὴ δεύτερη ἀκόμη καὶ ἀπὸ τὴ μυθολογία, μὲ τὴν ἀναγωγὴ τοῦ μυθολογικοῦ ὁπλοστασίου σὲ παραχάραξη τοῦ περιεχομένου τῆς Π. Διαθήκης, *«Λῆρος τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πεπειραμένοις ὁ Μίνως ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ Ῥαδάμανθυς, οὓς ἀσφοδελῶν λειμώνων καὶ Ἠλυσίων πεδίων ἠξίωσαν Ἕλληνες, ἐν φαντασίᾳ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραδείσου γενόμενοι, ἐκ τῶν Μωσαϊκῶν, οἶμαι, βιβλίων καὶ ἡμετέρων, εἰ καὶ περὶ τὴν κλῆσίν τι διηνέχθησαν, ἐν ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι τοῦτο παραδηλώσαντες»*[2].

Ἐξάλλου θὰ πρέπει νὰ ληφθῆ ὁπωσδήποτε ὑπόψη ὅτι ἡ εἴσοδος κάποιου στὸν κύκλο τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν νεοπλατώνων τῆς Ἀκαδημίας δὲν ἦταν δυνατὴ χωρὶς αὐστηρὲς διαβεβαιώσεις, προπαντὸς δὲ σὲ μία ἐποχὴ ἐπισφαλὴ καὶ δύσκολη, κατὰ τὴν ὁποία τὰ κτυπήματα ἀπὸ τὴ διάδοση τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ εἶναι ἀποτελεσματικά. Ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ χωρισμὸς τῆς φιλοσοφίας σὲ πρακτική, θεωρητικὴ καὶ διαλεκτική, στηρίζεται σὲ μεθοδολογία καὶ σπουδὴ εὐρύτερα ἀποδεκτὴ καὶ οὐδόλως ἀποτελεῖ στοιχεῖο προσδιορισμοῦ τῶν φιλοσοφικῶν σπουδῶν τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου κατὰ τὴν παραμονή του στὴν Ἀθήνα. Ἐκεῖνο ποὺ ἐνδιαφέρει εἶναι ἡ τοποθέτησή του ἀπέναντι στὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς παιδείας τῆς ἐποχῆς του. Ἔτσι στὸν *Ἐπιτάφιο* στὸν ἅγ. Βασίλειο ὁμιλεῖ γιὰ τὴν παιδεία ὡς τὸ πρῶτο ἀγαθὸ ποὺ καταξιώνει τὴν ὕπαρξη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· καὶ δὲν ἐννοεῖ τὴν ἐκπαίδευση ποὺ στηρίζεται μόνο στὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κείμενα, τῶν ὁποίων σκοπὸς εἶναι ἡ ἐπίτευξη τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ *«καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ χριστιανῶν διαπτύουσιν ὡς ἐπίβουλον καὶ σφαλερὰν καὶ Θεοῦ πόρρω βάλλουσαν, κακῶς εἰδότες»*[3]. Ἀναμφισβήτητα τίθεται ἐνταῦθα τὸ θέμα ποὺ ἀφορᾶ τὴν ἀξία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας ἐν σχέσει πρὸς τὴν πίστη τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, στὸ ὁποῖο ἡ ἀπάντηση τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου εἶναι βεβαίως θετική, δὲν πρέπει δὲ νὰ θεωρηθῆ τυχαῖο ὅτι ἐλέγχονται ὡς ἀμαθεῖς *«σκαιοὶ καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι»*[4] ἐκεῖνοι ἀπὸ τοὺς χριστιανοὺς ποὺ περιφρονοῦσαν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς «θύραθεν» παιδείας. Ὁ ἴδιος διακρίνει ἐπακριβῶς τὰ χρήσιμα στοιχεῖα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παραδόσεως, ὅπως εἶναι ὁ θεωρητικὸς καὶ ἐξεταστικὸς χαρακτήρας τῆς μεθοδολογίας τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐνῶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος ἔχει ἀπορρίψει ὅ,τι *«εἰς δαίμονας φέρει καὶ πλάνην καὶ ἀπωλείας βυθόν»*[5], ὅ,τι δηλαδὴ συνιστοῦσε εἰδωλολατρία.

Μ' αὐτὲς τὶς προϋποθέσεις καὶ τὸν ἀποκλεισμὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τὸν κύκλο τῆς Ἀκαδημίας μένει ὡς πιθανότερη ἡ ὑπόθεση ὅτι οἱ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος καὶ Βασίλειος παρακολούθησαν κάποια μαθήματα γενικῆς φιλοσοφίας στὰ πλαίσια τῶν δημοσίων διαλέξεων καὶ ἀγώνων, ἀλλὰ οἱ σπουδές των πρέπει νὰ ὀργανώθηκαν στὸ χῶρο τῆς σοφιστικῆς, μὲ ἰδιαίτερο ἐνδιαφέρον στὴν ἑρμηνεία τῶν ἔργων τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους[6]. Ἡ ἐπιβεβαίωση ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τὰ κείμενα τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου, ὁ ὁποῖος χρησιμοποιεῖ τὸν ὅρο φιλοσοφία γιὰ νὰ ἀποδώση τὸν ἡσύχιο βίο τῶν χριστιανῶν, στὴν καρποφόρα ἀνάπτυξη τοῦ ὁποίου θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἀποβλέπη κάθε παιδευτικὴ προσπάθειά, ἔτσι ποὺ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ συνδέεται μὲ τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ προκοπὴ καὶ τὴ βίωση τῆς μετὰ θάνατο ζωῆς, *«φιλοσοφία δὲ ἡ σπουδὴ καὶ τὸ ῥαγῆναι κόσμου καὶ μετὰ Θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς κάτω τὰ ἄνω πραγματευόμενον καὶ τοῖς ἀστάτοις καὶ ῥέουσι τὰ ἑστῶτα καὶ μένοντα κατακτώμενον»*[7]. Μία τέτοια θεώρηση τῆς παιδείας γιὰ τὴ μελέτη τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς σκέψεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ κόσμου δὲν εἶναι δεσμευτικὴ οὔτε προσκτᾶται μὲ αὐστηρὰ καθορισμένο παιδευτικὸ πρόγραμμα, ἀντίθετα μάλιστα δικαιώνεται ἡ ἐλεύθερη διαμόρφωση καὶ ἡ προσωπικὴ ἐπιλογή. Ὑπ' αὐτὴ τὴν ἔποψη ἡ σοφιστικὴ κάλυπτε ἕνα εὐρὺ φάσμα ἐρεύνης ἀπὸ τὴν ὀρθὴ χρήση τοῦ λόγου ὡς τὴν ἑρμηνεία καὶ τὴν κριτικὴ τῶν μεγάλων φιλοσοφικῶν συστημάτων τοῦ παρελθόντος. Ἐπὶ πλέον πρέπει νὰ ὑπογραμμισθῆ ὅτι: α) Ὁ Πραιρέσιος, διδάσκαλος στὴν Ἀθήνα τῶν ἁγίων Γρηγορίου καὶ Βασιλείου, ὅπως ἐπίσης τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Εὐναπίου, χαρακτηρίζεται ὡς σοφιστὴς ὄχι μόνο ἀπὸ τὸν Εὐνάπιο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἅγ. Γρηγόριο[8], β) Σὲ δύο τουλάχιστο περιπτώσεις ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος κατατάσσει τὸν ἑαυτό του μεταξὺ τῶν σοφιστῶν, καθὼς μάλιστα μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῶν σπουδῶν του ἐκλέγεται γιὰ τὸ σοφιστικὸ «θρόνο» τῆς Ἀθήνας[9], ἐνῶ σὲ καμμία περίπτωση δὲ θεωρεῖ τὸν ἑαυτό του ἕλληνα φιλόσοφο, γ) Ὁ τίτλος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ γιὰ τὸν ἅγ.

1. Λόγ. 4.31, PG 35, 557 B.
2. Λόγ. 43.23, PG 36, 528 BC. Μία θέση ποὺ συντάσσει τὸν ἅγιο Γρηγόριο στὴ γραμμὴ τοῦ ἁγ. Ἰουστίνου. Πρβλ. π.χ. Ἀπολογία 1, 59–65, PG 6, 416 B–428 B.
3. Λόγ. 43.11, PG 36, 508 B.
4. Αὐτ. 509 A.
5. Αὐτ. 508 C.
6. Βλ. *R. R. Ruether*, Gregory of Nazianzus, μν. ἔργ., σ. 25.
7. Λόγ. 43.13, PG 36, 512 BC.
8. Πρβλ. τὸ ε' ἐπιτάφιο ἐπίγραμμα μὲ τίτλο, Εἰς Προαιρέσιον σοφιστήν, PG 38, 13 A.
9. Πρβλ. Ἐπιστ. 176, PG 37, 288 B, καὶ Ἐπιστ. 189, PG 37, 308 C.

Γρηγόριο διασώζεται καὶ στὶς μεταγενέστερες πηγές, ὅταν οἱ ἱστορικοί[1] ἢ οἱ βιογράφοι[2] ἐξετάζουν τὸ θέμα τῶν σπουδῶν του, ἐνῶ ἡ προσωνυμία «θεολόγος» ἀποκτᾶ ἐπίσης πολὺ γρήγορα ὀργανικὸ χαρακτήρα, ποὺ σχετίζεται ἄμεσα μὲ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ δράση καὶ θεολογικὴ του παραγωγή.

Στὴν ἀνακεφαλαίωση τῆς παρούσης συντόμου μελέτης θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐπισημανθοῦν τὰ ἑξῆς στοιχεῖα: α) Ὁ ἅγ. Γρηγόριος, κατὰ τὴ συνήθεια τῶν νέων τῆς ἐποχῆς του, ἀκολουθεῖ ἕνα πρόγραμμα σπουδῶν σὲ σχολεῖα τῶν γνωστῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν κέντρων μὲ διδασκάλους χριστιανοὺς καὶ εἰδωλολάτρες. β) Μὲ τὴν πάροδο τοῦ χρόνου διαπιστώνει διαφορὲς οὐσιαστικὲς ἀνάμεσα στὴν πίστη τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ ἐθνισμοῦ καὶ καταλήγει σὲ ἐπιλογὴ τῶν χρησίμων στοιχείων τῆς ἀνθρώπινης ἐμπειρίας καὶ γνώσεως μὲ παράλληλη ἀπόρριψη τῆς θεουργίας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παραδόσεως. γ) Ἡ φιλομάθεια τὸν ὁδηγεῖ στὴν Ἀθήνα, ὅπου μὲ τὴν εὐεργετικὴ παρουσία τοῦ ἁγ. Βασιλείου προσανατολίζεται πρὸς τὴ ζωὴ τῆς ἡσυχίας στὴν προσπάθειά του νὰ προετοιμασθῆ γιὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ζωή. δ) Στὴν Ἀθήνα συμπληρώνει τὶς φιλολογικές του σπουδὲς κοντὰ στὸ σοφιστὴ Προαιρέσιο καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῶν σπουδῶν του ἐκλέγεται γιὰ τὸ σοφιστικὸ «θρόνο».

Κατὰ ταῦτα θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἀποκλεισθῆ ἡ παρακολούθηση μαθημάτων φιλοσοφίας στὴν Ἀκαδημία, γιατὶ ἡ θεουργικὴ κατεύθυνση τῆς σχολῆς αὐτῆς ἦταν τελείως ἀντίθετη καὶ ἀσυμβίβαστη μὲ τὴ χριστιανικὴ πίστη καὶ τὸ ἦθος τοῦ ἁγ. Γρηγορίου.

1. Πρβλ. *Σωκράτους*, Ἐκκλησ. Ἱστορία 4, 26, PG 67, 529 A, «Ἄξιοί τε τοῦ σοφιστεύειν κριθέντες, ὑπὸ πολλῶν παρεκλήθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν διδασκαλικὸν βίον ἐλθεῖν», καὶ *Σωζομένου*, Ἐκκλησ. Ἱστορία 6, 17, PG 67, 1333 C, «Σοφιστεύειν δὲ καὶ δίκας ἀγορεύειν ὑπεριδόντες, φιλοσοφεῖν ἔγνωσαν κατὰ τὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας νόμον». Πρβλ. ἐπίσης *Rufinus Aqu.*, Historia Ecclesiastica 2.9, PL 21, 518 A.

2. *Γρηγορίου Πρεσβ.*, Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου, PG 35, 257 AB.

# UN TRES IMPORTANT APPEL DE LA NOBLESSE FRANÇAISE DE CHYPRE A L' EMPEREUR NAPOLEON III

By

*Andreas Tillyrides, D. Phil. Oxon.,*

*La publication de la présente adresse de la Noblesse française à l' empereur Napoléon III*[1], *continue l' entreprise qui m'a déjà amené à publier des documents inédits concernant Chypre. Le fond très riche de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*[2], *où ce document a été découvert, apporte une grande contribution â l' histoire de Chypre, dont nous ne connaissons que peu de chose de première main quant au sujet qui nous occupe.*

*Le document signé par la Noblesse française porte la date du 26 Mai 1869. Nous ne savons pas si Napoléon III a été en mesure d'y répondre; en tout cas, cet appel n'a pas atteint son but puisque neuf ans plus tard Chypre passa sous la domination britannique. Il est intéressant de noter le grand iutérêt que la Noblesse française portait aux Chypriotes grecs et d' apprendre les conditions de vie misérable que ceux—ci endurèrent sous la tyrannie turque, situation qui dure encore aujourd'hui.*

*Je ne parlerai pas des relations étroites que Chypre entretint et continue d' avoir jusqu' à ce jour avec la France depuis l' époque de la dynastie des Lusignan (1192 - 1489). Chypre conserve encore beaucoup de monuments profanes et religieux, témoins de la profonde influence culturelle exercée par les Français à Chypre durant trois siècles. Ce fut naturellement à cette époque que prirent place des événements très importants dans la vie des Chypriotes. La visite de saint Louis, le 17 décembre 1238, est l'un des exemples les plus représentatifs de l' amitié entre les deux nations.*

*A la suite du texte, je donne une bibliographie choisie de langue française concernant Chypre*[3].

## LE DOCUMENT

Larnaca en Chypre
Le 28 Mai 1869

A Sa Majesté l'Empereur Napoléon III

Sire,

En accordant aux étrangers la faculté d'acquerir des immeubles dans toutes l'étendue de l'Empire Ottoman, le hatt humayann n'a pas crée de nouveaux droits en faveur des francais établis à Chypre. Il n'a fait que les confirmer dans la jouissance de ceux qu'ils exerçaient depuis un terme (tenu) immémorial.

Ces droits ne resultaient, il est vrai, ni des capitulations, ni des lois de l'Empire: mais à côté du droit écrit, il y a le droit non écrit, qui résulte des usages et des habitudes que le consentement tacite du législateur laisse établir chez un peuple. Des droits exercés au grand jour pendant des siècles, officiellement reconnus par les autorités territoriales ne sont pas moins respectables que ceux qui résultent d'une loi ou d'un traité. Or les Européens établis à Chypre et spécialement les français y ont toujours joui du droit de posséder des immeubles au même titre que les sujets du Sultan. C'est ce dont, Votre Majesté, pourra se convaincre, si elle daigne prendre connaissance des faits que les soussignés notables français établis à Chypre, prennent la liberté de lui exposer.

Les terres de Chypre après la conquête musulmane furent divisées en trois parties ou catégories. La première fut attribuée au domaine impérial et échappa ainsi à la propriété privée. La seconde, sous le nom de Vacounts ou bien de main-morte, servit à doter les mosquées et les écoles y annexées. Elle est inaliénable, exempte d'impôts et se loue par emphiothéoses de 99 ans moyennant une rente convenue. La troisième, sous le nom de Timars, fut érigée en fiefs militaires en faveur de la cavalerie féodale des Spahis. Ces Spahis jouant à la fois le rôle de suzerains et d'officiers ministériels en conféraient indi-

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*1. Charles Louis Napoléon (1803–1873), «était doué d'intelligence et d'habileté. Politicien favorisé par le succès, il ne fut jamais capable d'établir quoique ce soit de durable». Cf. en Everyman's Encyclopaedie, vol. 8 (1978) p. 336.*

*2. Fr. Nouv. Acq. No. 14157, ff. 183–194v.*

*3. Je tiens à remercier Monsieur Gilbert Sabathe, premier Secrétaire de l' Ambassade de France à Nairobi, qui a bien voulu lire ce document et m' a suggéré d' utiles remarques.*

stinctement la propriété aux rayas, aux turcs ou aux francs, moyennant le prélévement de la Dîme, affectée à leur solde. Les acheteurs pouvaient transmettre leur droits à qui bon leur semblait par devant ces mêmes spahis, qui bullaient leur titres, c'est à dire qui transféraient la propriété à l'acquéreur par un acte nommé Murafet, tandis que celle des immeubles urbains était transférée par les cadis et par des actes connus sous le nom de Buggeta.

On conçoit que de pareils notaires ne tenaient guère d'archives et que les Murafets d'ancienne dâte sont difficiles à trouver. Il en existe cependant entre les mains des divers Européens (et notamment des français) qui remontent jusqu'aux dernières années du dix-septième siècle et prouvent péremptoirement que, dès cette époque les français jouissaient du droit direct de propriété au même titre que les autres habitants de l'île, sujets au nom du grand seigneur.

Quant à la propriété des héritages urbains tels que maisons, chantiers, magasins et même maisons de plaisance où jardins enclos, elle est généralement accordée aux étrangers, bien qu'elle ne résulte non plus ni des capitulations ni des lois de l'Empire.

Le Sultan Mohamoud, peu de temps avant sa mort, supprima les milices féodales et leur retira leurs fiefs moyennant une indemnité de la moitié de la dime en viager. Néanmoins, les droits que les spahis avaient transmis aux Européens résultaient d'une possession si ancienne, si publique, si constamment reconnue par les autorités locales, que loin d'en méconnaitre la légitimité le Gouvernment Turc parla de les racheter.

Les Européens s'y prétaient de bonne grâce. En effet les massacres aussi atroces qu'impolitiques de 1821 avaient déterminé l'émigration en masse de la population Grecque qui forme à elle seule les trois quarts de la population totale de l'île. Les Turcs qui s'étaient emparés des terres de leurs victimes, n'en profitèrent pas; le manque de bras, suite nécessaire de l' émigration, amena nécessairement la ruine de l' agriculture et les terres restèrent en friche. Francs ou Turcs, tous les propriétaires fonciers, tombèrent indistinctement dans un état de gêne et de misère dont ils ne se sont jamais relevés. Aussi les Européens consentirent-ils sans peine à céder des droits qui ne leur procuraient plus que des charger accablantes. Mais le gouvernment ne jugea pas à propos de donner suite à son projet. Les propriétaires Européens payèrent au gouvernement la dime qu'ils payaient aux Spahis; ce fut tout ce qu'il y eut de changé dans leur situation.

Quelques Européens commirent alors une faute que les autorités Turques devaient exploiter habilement. Certains Européens indigènes, agents consulaires de diverses puissances étrangères, propriétaires d' immenses domaines et qui traitaient assez cavalièrement des Spahis débauchés et besogneux ne craignirent pas d'en agir de même à l'égard des autorités Turques et d'abuser de l'influence de leur pavillon pour se refuser à l'acquittement des impôts fonciers. Les autorités Turques répondirent tantôt en se prêtant de mauvaise grâce, tantôt en se refusant péremptoirement à reconnaitre comme propriétaires des étrangers qui refusaient de se soumettre aux lois de l'Empire.

Mais les soussignés, supplient, Votre Majesté, de considérer que ses sujets n'ont jamais trempé dans ces abus. Ils ont toujours été administrés par des Consuls envoyés directement de la mère patrie, forcément desintéressés, dans les affaires locales et non moins soigneux de faire respecter leurs nationaux que d'éxiger d'eux le respect pour les lois locales qui leurs étaient applicables; néanmoins le gouvernement Turc n'a voulu faire aucune exception en leur faveur et il proclame aujourd'hui, que les étrangers ne possèdent de terres à Chypre qu'en vertu d'une tolérance dont il lui est libre de se départir.

Tolérance, soit; mais la cessation, sans motif d'une tolérance plus que séculaire, sur la foi de laquelle tant des familles qui forment aujourd'hui une population, ont engagé tout leur avoir, s'appelle de son vrai nom partout ailleurs qu'en Turquie "une spoliation pure et simple".

D'ailleurs, la Turquie peut-elle convenablement parler de tolérance à ceux qui ont dû verser tant de sang et dépenser tant de trésors pour qu'elle fut encore tolérée elle même sur cette terre qu'elle était incapable de défendre.

Mettant de coté les droits anciens et le hatt humayann, la reconnaissance ne lui imposerait-elle pas le devoir de partager son sol avec ceux qui l'ont empêchée d'en être chassée. N'est-elle pas tenue au moins d'user de réciprocité envers le gouvernement de Votre Majesté, qui accorde aux sujets Ottomans comme aux autres étrangers résidant sur le sol français les mêmes droits dont jouissent les français eux mêmes. Grecs, Arméniens, Arabes, Juifs etc., tous sujet du Grand Seigneur, se ruent sans cesse sur les ports de Marseille et du Midi. Ils y vendent et achètent meubles et immeubles, hypothèquent, trafiquent et réalisent de grandes fortunes grâce à la libéralité de notre législation. Tandis que leur gouvernement qui nous doit tout, méprisant les stipulations solennelles du haut humayann non seulement nous refuse toute réciprocité, mais prétend encore nous dépouiller de droits dont nous avons constamment joui, de droits régulièrement acquis et sans retour possible désormais.

Du reste, Votre Majesté, sait à quoi s'en tenir sur la reconnaissance Musulmane. L'Islamisme a donné à Bjeddah la juste mesure de sa gratitude. Des émissaires de la Mecque, ont parcouru sans être inquietés les diverses provinces de l'Asie, prêchant le massacre des Européens et sans les canons de nos frégates le littoral de la Méditerranée n'eut pas moins été ensanglanté que celui de la Mer Rouge.

La haine implacable qu'on nous porte dans les hautes régions du pouvoir, pour être plus dissimulée que celle de la populace n'est que plus fanatique et

plus dangereuse. Si les autorités turques ne procèdent pas par le massacre à notre extermination, elles arrivent au même but par des moyens moins bruyants moins sanguinaires et autrement certains. Elles nous humilient elles nous ruinent.

A peine admise dans le concert Européen la Turquie n'a rien eu de plus, pressé que de nous fermer sa porte. Loin de se conformer aux dispositions de l'article du hatt humayann qui nous accorde en principe la faculté de posséder des immeubles, elle a sans façon biffé cet article. "La Sublime Porte ne meconnait pas aux Européens le droit de posséder des biens fonds". Telle est l'invariable et insolente réponse que l'on oppose depuis quatre ans à nos réclamations. Il est vrai que la fin de l'article en question suspend l'exercise de ce droit jusqu'à ce que des arrangements aient été pris avec les puissances étrangères mais entre la suspension d'un droit et sa négation absolue il y a un abîme.

Nous concevrions jusqu'à un certain point que les Turcs refusassent aux français le droit d'acquérir des immeubles partout où ils ne sont pas encore en possession de ce droit, bien que les services qu'ils ont reçus de nous et les privilèges dont leurs nationaux jouissent sur le sol français leur fassent un devoir impérieux de la réciprocité; mais nous ne comprendrons jamais, qu'après un traité si chèrement acheté, on ait non seulement l'audace–de nous confisquer des droits dont nous avons jouis pendant près de deux siècles, mais encore de nier le principe solennellement consacré dans le hatt humayann. Etrange manière de témoigner sa reconnaissance et son respect pour les puissances protectrices; Quel cas faut–il que nous fassions de la parole du Sultan et de ses promesses?

Mais nous ne saurions croire que Votre Majesté ignore de quelle façon la Turquie interprète et applique ce fameux hatt humayann. Aussi, en présence de la longanimité des puissances alliées devant tant de malveillance et de mauvaise foi, nous devons supposer que l'on craint en ouvrant trop vite à l'occident les portes de l'orient, de voir s'écrouler immédiatement et tomber en poussière l' Islamisme vermoulu.

Quiconque a habité l'orient sait que la race turque ne subsiste encore que grâce à l'incroyable pusillanimité des Rayas qu'elle bâtonne impunément depuis trois siècles. Aussi cette race s'opposera–t–elle autant qu'elle le pourra à l'établissement sur son sol des Européens et surtout des français dont l'énergie bien connue ne tarderait pas à anéantir le prestige au moyen du quel le Turc exploite encore le Raya.

Mais malgré tout ce qu'elle pourra faire cette race est évidemment condamnée à mourir et c'est en vain que dans son hatt humayann, le Sultan a réservé à ses correligionnaires le monopole des emplois civils, militaires, et judiciaires. C'est en vain qu'il fait peser sur les Rayas la plupart des charges et des impôts; ces privilèges exorbitants ne suffisent pas pour rendre la vie à une race décrepite, minée par ses vices originels et par ceux qu'elle a empruntée à l' Europe; chaque jour elle s'épuise d'avantage, se dégrade, disparait; et l'on peut calculer mathématiquement le jour où l'Emprire Turc tombera en déshérence.

En présence de l'avenir qui s'approche les races Grecque et Slave de la Turquie d'Europe ont déjà leurs centres de ralliement, mais qu'adviendra–t–il des pays asiatiques.

Malgré le poids du joug qu'ils supportent encore les Rayas se relèvent en raison même de l'abaissement des Musulmans. Ce n'est pas que pour la plupart d'entre eux le hatt humayann ne soit une lettre morte; mais il devient une réalité pour ceux qui jouissent de protection des innombrables consulats ou Vice–Consulats Européens du Levant, à titre de Brogmans auxiliaire ou autrement. Quelques uns même sont investis d'agences consulaires. Par une singulière anomalie la position de ces Rayas est beaucoup plus avantageuse que celle des étrangers; et nos Consuls peuvent plus pour leurs protégés que pour leurs nationaux. Les protégés sont comme nous francs d'impôts personnels, ils ont pour leurs interêts et pour leur commerce le bénéfice de la juridiction de nos consuls; mais, en leur qualité de sujets Ottomans, ils ont de plus le droit d'acquérir des immeubles et de les prendre en garantie dans le placement de leurs capitaux. Aussi, tandis que les français, dépourvues de toute sécurité dans leurs opérations, inquiétés dans la possession des propriétés qu'ils ont acquises jadis et privés du droit d'en acquérir de nouvelles, se ruinent insensiblement et s'abaissent, les Rayas protégés s'enrichissent, s'élèvent et ne tarderont pas à supplanter dans un avenir prochain la race turque et la race franque. Or il ne faut pas perdre de vue que l'immense majorité de ces Rayas protégés par la France catholique et par les autres puissances occidentales appartient à l'Orthodoxie–grecque qui prédomine de plus en Orient. Quels que soient les services que nous leur rendions, leurs yeux ne se tourneront jamais vers Paris, ou vers Londres, ils ne voient qu'Athènes où St. Pétersbourg, et ils seront toujours malgré eux les ennemis plus ou moins avoués de l'Occident. La Russie qui parait avoir renoncé sincèrement à la politique qui nous a conduit devant Sebastopol, n'y a donc pas autant de mérite qu'on pourrait le croire. Nous protégeons, sans nous les attacher, ceux qu'elle voulait protéger exclusivement. Et tandis que pour la masse ignorante des Rayas, les Russes, outre la communauté de religion sont avant tout les ennemis de leurs ennemis, nous Francais, nous avons été dans la dernière guerre, nous sommes encore les soutiens de leurs oppresseurs. Ainsi nous semons et elle récoltera.

En effet, si ce mélange de colonie hellénique et phénicienne, qui sous le nom de Grecs d'Asie occupe tout le littoral et les grandes îles de la Méditerranée orientale, a fait preuve jadis d'une admirable aptitude pour les lettres et les arts, s'il n'en montre pas une moins remarquable aujourd'hui pour le négoce et la marine; l'histoire nous prouve qu'il a toujours

manqué des vertus domestiques civiles et militaires qui sont aujourd'hui plus que jamais la base indispensable de toute Société.

Depuis Xercel jusqu'à Mohamet II, les Grecs d'Asie on accepté sans résistance le joug des innombrables conquérants auxquels les victoires trop peu disputées ont livré la possession de l'Asie Mineure. Et sans vouloir condammner à un avilissement perpétuel une race d'ailleurs si bien douée, nous sommes convaincus, que grâce à l'anéantissement de la race turque et l'exclusion systématique des races Européennes, l'Orient est menacé dans un avenir prochain, si non de devenir Russe, au moins de retomber de la barbarie turque dans l'imbeallité Byzantine sous la dangereuse tutelle des Czars.

Telle serait certainement la solution de la question d'Orient, solution aussi contraire aux intérêts de la France que peu d'accord avec la politique que Votre Majesté a soutenue si glorieusement, mais au prix de tant de sacrifices, si de nouveaux symptômes encore peu étudiés n'en fesaient craindre une autre.

L'Angleterre qui ne compte en Orient que des nationaux très clairemés et généralement a donnés au négoce, ne semble pas s'être préoccupée jusqu'à présent des droits accordés aux Européens par le hatt humayann. Mais cette nation qui sent chaque jour plus durement la dépendance dans laquelle elle se trouve vis-à-vis des Etats-Unis qui ont accaparé le monopole de la production du coton, cherche à s'en affranchir à tout prix. Les rivages méridionaux de la Méditerranée qui de tout temps ont produit du coton ont naturellement attiré son attention. Des puissantes sociétés se sont formées; (telle que la société dite "Manchester Supply Cotton Association"), des semences de coton américain ont été libéralement distribuées en Egypte, en Syrie, à Chypre et les résultats ont été des plus satisfaisants. Mais l' Orient manque de bras. Des cultivateurs peu nombreux et indolents, rebelles par nature à tout progrès, aussi dépourvus d'intelligence que de capitaux, ne mettront jamais l'Angleterre en état de se passer de l' Amérique. Elle devra leur substituer ses propres travailleurs. Or on sait que lorsque la race Anglo-Saxonne a un but, elle n'est jamais embarrassée des moyens pour l'atteindre.

L'Angleterre qui poursuit l'Islamisme dans les Indes, qui va jusqu'aux antipodes disputer les terres de la Nouvelle Zelande à ses cannibales habitants, se refusera-t-elle longtemps encore l'accès des contrées les plus fertiles du monde, les seules qui puissent la libérer de l'écrasant monopole des Etats-Unis, pour le plaisir de prolonger à Constantinople l' existence défaillante d'une poignée de barbares encore plus anti-sociaux que antichrétiens et dont les moeurs privées et publiques rappellent celles des époques les plus aviliès de la Rome Impériale et payenne, moins cet amour des lettres et des arts qui les ennoblissaient un peu. Nous ne le croyons pas.

Sans doute ces idées sont nées d'hier et sont encore peu connues dans les régions officielles; à peine ont-elles fait leur apparition dans quelques organes obscurs et spéciaux de la presse britannique; mais elles sont mûres et l'on doit s'attendre à leur prochaine irruption dans le domaine des faits.

Il y a là pour l'Angleterre une question vitale. Déjà les agents des sociétés cotonnières savent à quelle condition les cultures peuvent se développer dans le Levant; elles en ont comparé les produits avec ceux d'Amérique et calculé les prix de revient: ces associations ne sont encore que la manifestation privée des voeux d'une classe de marchands et d'industriels, mais elles s'appuient sur une protection officielle énergique et avouée. C'est ainsi qu'un Anglais arrivé ici depuis peu et dont les rapports avec la grande association de Manchester nous sont connus a sollicité, par l'intermédiaire de son ambassade à Constantinople une immense concession de terrains pour la culture du coton, et sur lesquels il se propose d'établir de nombreuses familles d'émigrants. Soutenu par les sociétés religieuses et autres de la métropole, sans doute il réussira et créera à Chypre un centre du ralliement pour ceux de sa patrie, une véritable colonie anglaise.

D'ailleurs l'oligarchie britannique sait bien qu'elle ne peut entraver éternellement le percement de l' Isthme de Suez et les traditions constantes de sa politique nous autorisent à penser, que du jour où elle sera convaincue de l'inutilité de sa résistance, elle n'épargnera rien pour se créer une position formidable dans un pays qui sera la clef du commerce du monde. Déjà et tout récemment une commission du parlement a décidé que tous les agents Anglais dans le Levant seraient Anglais. Quoiqu'il en soit, nous ne croyons pas que l'Angleterre s'amuse à discuter longtemps avec la Porte l'interprétation du hatt humayann. Les francs à bout de patience, tranchent d'un seul coup les noeuds gordiens que les byzantins ont mis des années à embrouiller et nous considérons comme imminente l' irruption d'une partie de cette emigration Irlandaise que l'Angleterre dirigeait sans fruit et non sans péril sur l'Amérique du Nord qui n'en veut plus.

Une fois la carrière ouverte l'Allemagne ne restera pas en arrière. Depuis longtemps déjà les puissances Germaniques cherchent à augmenter leur influence en Orient, en l'appuyant sur de vastes colonisations à défaut d'une marine que leur situation géographique condamne à une éternelle nullité. Elles utiliseraient de la sorte et à leur profit cette marine d'émigration qui les prive sans compensation d'une partie de leurs sujets. C'est ainsi qu'il y a peu d'années le Cabinet de Berlin négocia avec la Porte l'établissement de 10,000 familles Prussiennes à Chypre. La Porte refusa net. Le consul de Prusse appruyé sur 10,000 de de ses nationaux aurait annihilé le Gouverneur de l'île.

Mais tiendra-t-on toujours compte des refus de la Turquie? Sans doute l'introduction des Européens

en Orient hâterait la mort du malade de Constantinople. Mais après les massacres de Djeddah, en présence des turpitudes administratives qui scandalisent le monde, l'Europe et surtout la France, sont-elles bien interéssées à prolonger l'existence de la Turquie qui, bon gré, mal gré.....mourrait toujours entre les mains? D'ailleurs l'immigration occidentale est la seule solution possible et rationelle de la question d'orient.

L'Angleterre n'a jamais été en honneur chez les Grecs et les autres orientaux. C'était à la charrue que Rome patricienne allait chercher les Cincinatus, les Camille et les Régulus, Périclès, Miltiade, Alkibiade étaient de beaux parleurs qui ne quittaient guère le Forum. Ils laissaient à leurs esclaves le soin de cultiver la terre. Les rayas leurs descendants plus ou moins légitimes, n'ont pas changé d'opinion. Pour eux les travaux agricoles sont de véritables travaux forcés une tâche d'esclave. Dès qu'ils ont réalisé quelques économies, ils viennent se fixer dans les villes de négoce et surtout sur les places maritimes- ils se font boutiquiers, usuriers ou marins. Le monopole de l'agriculture est donc abandonné d'avance aux Européens que la supériorité de leurs connaissances, leur activité leur assuraient en tout cas. Or le monopole de l'exploitation des plus fertiles contrées du vieux monde aurait bientôt attiré en Orient une émigration non moins imposante que celle qui a peuplé en si peu de temps l'Amérique du Nord.

Enfin il ne faut pas oublier que la Russie n'est redoutable en Orient que parce qu'elle s'appuie sur douze millions de rayas orthodoxes, auxquels l'indifférence des gouvernements occidentaux, relativement aux droits accordés à leurs nationaux, assure une prédominence exclusive et qui accroissent peu à peu, à l'ombre même de notre pavillon, l'influence moscovite. Que l'on nous accorde la libre concurrence et bientôt les Européens, appuyés sur la propriété foncière et l'industrie, doués de l'énergie militaire qui leur est propre, pourront même à nombre moindre, contrebalancer l'influence Russe. L'équilibre sera dès lors rétabli en Orient. Les Européens qui y auront transporté avec eux l'amour de la famille et de la propriété, ces deux grands leviers de la civilisation moderne sauront bien les défendre contre quiconque et l'occident pourra désarmer.

Il nous reste à voir quel rôle est réservé à la race française dans les destinées du Levant. La France est peu portée à l'émigration, elle possède sur les deux rives de la Méditerranée plus de territoire qu'il ne lui en faut. Ses sujets se trouvent généralement bien chez eux ce qui fait tout à la fois l'éloge de son sol et de son gouvernement. Mais elle est loin d'être désintéressée dans la colonisation Européene du Levant; il importe que ses nationaux soient présents sur tous les points de l'orient et notamment dans les parages de Suez; leur absence où leur disparition insensible entrainerait la perte d'une influence prédominente, exercée depuis des siècles. La France a été représentée en Orient par d'importantes communautés, toutes en souffrance aujourd'hui et dont l'anéantissement serait d'autant plus déplorable, qu'il serait plus difficile de les remplacer.

Parmi ces communautés aucune n'a un passé plus brillant que celle de Chypre; aucune n'a un plus bel avenir, si Votre Majesté, daigne lui accorder son appui; aucune n'a un présent plus misérable et plus menacé.

Chypre a toujours été la terre la plus française du Levant. La dynastie angevine des Lusignans en avait fait au moyen-âge la plus belle colonie qu'il ait jaimais été donné à votre race de fonder.

Chypre comptait alors trois millions d'habitants, enrichis par la culture du coton, de la canne à sucre et de ses célèbres vignobles. Famagouste, entrepôt du commerce qui se faisait par la mer rouge et par Suez luttait de grandeur et de population avec Venise et Constantinople. La découverte du Cap de Bonne-Espérence, la cupidité des Génois ou des Vénitiens est surtout la conquête turque amenèrent la ruine complète de l'oeuvre des Lusignans. Néanmoins la beauté du ciel de Chypre, la fertilité étonnante de son sol et surtout la faculté toute exceptionelle pour les Européens d'y acquérir publiquement et officiellement des immeubles, y ont toujours attiré de préférence l'élite des français désireux de s'établir en orient. Toutefois leurs loyauté naturelle ne les rendait pas très aptes aux subtilités du négoce tel qu'on l'entend dans le Levant et la prospérité de cette colonie, d'abord essentiellement agricole, est fondée surtout sur la propriété foncière. Telle était encore son importance au dernier siècle, que nos consuls généraux de Syrie résidaient à Chypre.

Ils eussent pu s'associer entre eux et faire un appel aux colonies étrangères, mais il faudrait pour cela leur garantir une sécurité de possession qu'ils n'ont pas eux-mêmes.

La publication du traité de Paris et du hatt humayann qui en fait partie, avait attiré à Chypre de nouvelles familles françaises qui espéraient y trouver un emploi honorable de leurs capitaux et de leur industrie. Mais depuis que le droit pour les Européens d'acquérir des immeubles a été solennellement reconnue en principe et son application promise, sauf arrangements, préalables avec les puissances, ce droit qui depuis deux siècles, n'avait jamais été contesté aux français à Chypre, leur est ouvertement denié. Aussi ces familles, ne trouvant aucune des garanties sur lesquelles elles comptaient pour le placement de leurs fonds, soit dans des acquisitions d'immeubles, soit des prêts hypothécaires qui leur sont légalement interdits, devront supporter les frais d'un double déplacement et quitter des terres inhospitalières où la barbarie avance au lieu de reculer. Et les anciennes familles françaises, établies à Chypre depuis des siècles et qui au milieu de tant de causes de misère ont pu sauver quelques débris de leur splendeur passée, devront les imiter et vendre les immeubles qu'elles possèdent encore. Dans quelles conditions dés astreuses

s'opèrera cette vente? Qu'on en juge en songeant que les nouveaux principes soutenus par la Porte expluent la concurrence des Européens et que les Rayas seuls peuvent se porter acquereurs. C'est ainsi que le pavillon Français à Chypre, autour duquel se ralliait il n'y a pas quarente ans, la plus nombreuse, la plus riche, la plus honnête et la plus éclairée de nos colonies, n'abritera plus bientôt que des protégés Rayas, ennemis plus ou moins avoués de notre influence et quelques français douteux trop pauvres pour émigrer et auxquels la misère et le contact forcé des classes les plus infirms, feront oublier toutes les traditions, les vertus et jusqu'à la langue de leur aieux.

Si dans sa sollicitude aussi puissante qu'éclairée, Votre Majesté, ne vient pas à notre secours un des établissement français, les plus anciens et les plus importants dans l'Orient, est menacé d'une ruine inévitable au moment même où son existence intéresse le plus la mère patrie. Si le présent de Chypre est misérable, cette île est destinée à jouer dans l'avenir un rôle non moins considérable que celui qu'elle a joué dans le passé en des mains françaises. Les trois magnifiques rades de Famagouste, Larnaca et Limassol, sont le seul abri sûr que les navires chassés par la tempête rencontrent dans les parages de la Syrie. Les plus grandes flottes militaires peuvent y trouver en tout temps en excellent mouillage: celui qui les possèdera commandera toujours Alexandrie et l'Isthme de Suez. Ainsi que le prouve l'histoire des Lusignans. Le percement de cet Isthme lui rendrait encore plus d'importance comme entrepôt que ne lui en a été la découverte du Cap de Bonne Espérence. Placée sur le point de jonction des routes qui suivent les navires qui viennent de la Mer Noire et ceux qui viennent de l'Occident, elle est naturellement destinée à devenir un point de ravitaillement. En effet les navigateurs ne trouveront ni sur les côtes arides de Suez et de la Mer Rouge, ni en Syrie les mêmes resources et à si bon compte.

L'agriculture de Chypre suffit d'ailleurs pour assurer la prospérité. Les Européens qui l'habitent possèdent encore les plus belles terres de l'île et la presque totalité des héritages urbains qui composent la ville de Larnaca, le port le plus important de l'île. Mais il faut qu'en exécution des promesses solennelles du haut humayann et en vertu de deux siècles de possession, le droit de posséder des biens-fonds nous soit reconnu, il faut que nous puissions les hypothéquer, les prendre en hypothèque et les transmettre à nos descendants d'après nos propres lois et non d'après des dispositions bizarres et illogiques du Coran.

Alors la colonie française de Chypre sera sûre dans un avenir peu lointain d'être indemnisée largement des pertes qu'elle a subies. Que Votre Majesté, daigne donc s'interesser à notre sort. Elle seule peut nous sauver de la ruine et de la spoliation.

Nous avons l'honneur d'être, avec le plus profond respect.

Sire, De Votre Majesté

Ses très humbles et très obéissants serviteurs et sujets les Français notables de Chypre.

| | |
|---|---|
| Léop. Bérand | Ant. Bernard |
| P. Gardien | P. Michel |
| C. Béroud | Louis Bernid C. Bey |
| f.f. Lapierre | A. St. Amand |
| Georges Bernard | Melle Berand |
| Hobard | Gustave Laffon |
| | Rowband |

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# THE ECUMENICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ROLE OF MELETIOS PIGAS IN THE ERECTION OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

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Normally, one would not think that church events in the 16th century could be related to ecumenical activities of the churches in our era, except as precursors or models of what "not to do". We remember the conflicts of Wittenberg with Rome, or the stepped-up activities of the Jesuits to create Uniate churches in the East. But, strangely enough, there was a figure in that century who represented a kind of ecumenism which has striking parallels to what is going on today, in the doctrinal and theological discussions between the Orthodox, Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, for example. We could almost test our present-day ecumenism by seeing how it compares with what the Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pigas, accomplished 400 years ago. He was a dominating church figure of the 1580s and 1590s, he corresponded with many of the leading Lutherans and Calvinists of his day, combatted the extension of the Unia, and entertained relations with all the Orthodox churches, but particularly with the Tsar in Moscow and with the Patriarchate which was established for the Russians in 1589.

Meletios Pigas, by origin a Cretan, was the leading Orthodox theologian, the most sought-after representative of the Orthodox church as far as the Protestants were concerned, and a highly cognizant and perceptive interlocutor for all the Orthodox in regard to the Russian church. Besides, he spent a great deal of time trying to establish distinctive Orthodox teaching over against the Roman claims, particularly regarding those raised by the Council of Florence-Ferrara including the thorny "filioque".

It would be interesting to see just how much progress we have made in our ecumenical endeavors since the 16th century, and a study of Meletios Pigas, the Patriarch of Alexandria, may give us a clue to our failures and successes. For his century was one which witnessed a separation of Christendom into Protestantism, Orthodoxy and Rome, with all its significance in the way of creating new churches, its research for the original roots of Christianity, and its conflicts for power between the new church centres, with their adjoining state structures. It witnessed the destruction of the "medieval synthesis" but also the rising hope for a new synthesis based on national particularities—and this latter was to become most evident in 20th century ecumenism with its World Council of Churches and its multitude of "bi-lateral" church dialogues.

These separations had a particular effect upon Meletios Pigas, and also upon another important figure of that era, the Patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah II, and both of them spent a considerable period of their patriarchates dealing with three of the major issues of the day: relations with Protestantism, defence against the expansion of Rome in the East, and the question of how to satisfy the Moscow tsardom in its desire for a patriarchate, giving it the glory which it believed was its due. Of course, all of these are to be seen against the background of continuous persecution of the Orthodox church in the East by the Turkish sultans, both in Constantinople and Alexandria.

Meletios Pigas had opportunity to deal with almost all the major theological and ecclesiastic problems which face the present-day bilateral church dialogues. With the Protestants, it was a question how to reconsile Lutheran confessionalism with Orthodox "tradition". With Rome the primacy of the Pope was the main problem, and the Union of Florence, as well as doctrinal differences over the nature of the Trinity. With Moscow, the problem was intra-Orthodox—how could the newly-powerful Orthodox tsardom be integrated into the Byzantine system, and what would be the relation of the Moscow Patriarchate to the other ancient patriarchates of the East?

It seemed to be his particular destiny that Meletios Pigas was obliged to deal with all of these difficult questions already 400 years ago. We know from our present-day experiences how difficult they are. And, on top of this, Meletios had his own local responsibilites. The Church of Alexandria was heavily op-

AKSUM-THYATEIRA. *A Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

pressed by the Turkish authorities, and continuously indebted, and his monks and priests, and flock, had to be continually fed with shrewd and watchful pastoral care. Moreover, convinced as he was about the values of Christian education, Meletius believed himself called to promote the Orthodox ideal throughout the whole region of the Near East–in Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople and even, as he could, in South and Western Russia. It is probably mainly due to his efforts that the Eastern Orthodox churches in the late 16th century managed to keep their flocks in line with the ancient Orthodox teachings concerning doctrine, canon law and church administration, and to oppose the efforts of Rome to Romanise them, or overcome other temptations arising from relations with the sultans, or even with the state authorities in Moscow.

Meletius Pigas spent his years before and during his patriarchate fighting for the Orthodox truths, but he did this in such a way that his life and the events of his time have an enduring ecumenical significance. We shall try, in this essay, to point out some principles which come forth from studying this man and his stormy, ecumenically–significant era.

How did the Patriarch of Alexandria exercise such an important influence upon his time? First of all, we must look at his background. He was brought up on the island of Crete, born of eminent, pious parents. He studied Greek and Latin under the famous Meletios of Vlastos, went to Venice, and then to Padua, where he studied all branches of learning, but especially theology. In the Padua of those days it was necessary to subscribe to the decisions of the Council of Florence (1439) in order to have one's thesis accepted, and although he could have emerged from his Italian studies with several degrees, as his contemporaries Gabriel Sebiros and Maximos Margounias, Meletios Pigas preferred to forego scholastic honours and to return to Crete, entering the monastic life–at Agkarathos. From there he was called to direct the Khandali Orthodox Greek school. The later Patriarch of Alexandria, Sylvester (1569–1590), was hegumen of the Agkarathos at this time, and Meletios showed such abilities as a writer and spokesman for Orthodoxy, that he was chosen to be Sylvester's successor when Sylvester became Patriarch. But later Meletios was forced to leave Crete because of opposition to his zeal from the Roman monks and clergy installed in Crete under Venetian domination, and he escaped to the Orthodox monastery of Mt. Sinai in Egypt. From available records, we know that, in 1579, he was in Jerusalem, accompanying the archbishop of Mt. Sinai, Eugenius.

In Jerusalem he met with the Patriarch of Alexandria, Sylvester, and was made a deacon for the Church of Alexandria, where he returned as protosyncellos and epitropos, and later was made a priest. In 1584 he became Archimandrite.

This early period was very difficult for Meletios. The Patriarch was for long periods absent in Constantinople, Jerusalem, or in Tamiathios (Egypt), and the young priest was virtually left in charge of the whole patriarchate, then suffering from the anti–Christian position of the sultan. It had been especially difficult in the early years of Sylvester under the cruel Selim II (1566–1574), who took his revenge on Greek Christians after his army had been defeated by the combined Christian army of Venetians, Spanish and Pope Pius V (1566–1572). The results in Alexandria were very obvious, and Meletios wrote several long letters to Sylvester, expressing his intention to flee his post. But at the same time he was actively engaged in preaching, both in Arabic and Greek language, and he concerned himself with launching various missions to the Copts and for the restoration of churches in Alexandria, as well as re–organising Orthodox monastic brotherhoods—especially the one at Saint Saba in Alexandria (this monastery became a training centre for the clergy)[1].

Participation in the international "ecumenical" world of the day was very natural for Meletios, since he had lived in Padua and Venice. An Orthodox "intellectual" must take a position about certain major questions regarding the Roman church. This was all the more inevitable after his experiences in Crete with the Jesuits. Two of the leading Orthodox spokesmen on the question of relations with Rome were his friends Gabriel Sebiros, born in Monemvasia (1541) and Maximus Margounias, a Cretan (born-1549). Sebiros was editor of the Greek community gazette in Venice after having studied in Padua and taught in Crete, and having been ordained. He took a moderate stand toward Latinism, necessary because of his position in Venice. Margounias was more pro–Latin, having studied in his native Crete with the Latin bishop Gasparo Viviano. Later he went to Padua, where he (in contact with Meletios Pigas) successfully completed his studies. He was influenced towards acceptance of the Council of Florence, and was "led away from the Orthodox belief on the procession of the Spirit". He wrote about his changing beliefs to Sebiros in Venice on 11 December 1573. Meletios tried to understand Margounias' position, but himself believed that the unity of the Church would not come about through a compromise with the Orthodox doctrinal position. Meletios' first theological writings show the differences between the Roman and Orthodox positions as regards Roman primacy and the filioque.

Later, Margounias became hegumen of the Venice monastery of the Sabbatiani dedicated to St. Antony, and he founded in it a publishing house for scholarly works. Sebiros went again to Venice in 1577 as Met-

1. For the life of Meletios Pigas, and his activities as Patriarch of Alexandria see Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Istoria tis Ekklesias Alexandreias* 62–1934), Alexandria: Patriarchikon Tipografeion 1935, pp. 612 ff.

ropolitan of Philadelphia, and was the Patriarch of Constantinople's exarch, and head of the Greek colony there. Thus, Meletios had friends in Venice, and he tried to convince them to preserve their Orthodoxy. As for himself, with some distaste for all the struggles he had to endure under Muslim domination, he wrote to them that he preferred the life of philosopher to that of a church administrator.

And also, apparently destined by the Patriarch of Alexandria to be the successor, he could only look forward to a plethora of inner conflicts, since the monks in Alexandria would envy him for his ascension. However, because of these circumstances in which he was placed, Meletios Pigas was obliged, intellectually, to learn to defend his faith within an adverse social context, which gave him a certain strength. This was in face of a double challenge caused by his very position in the Eastern Mediterranean region: to defend Orthodoxy from a vigorous Latin penetration, and also to preserve it against sporadic but sometimes devastating, Turkish inroads. For the very existence itself of the Eastern Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, such an aid was very precious. He may not have enjoyed the leisure time which his friends enjoyed in Venice, but he was able to serve himself with another kind of esteem—from those who really needed him "at home"– the ancient, but struggling, patriarchates.

But Meletios was not cut off from the general theological debate, and perhaps the necessities of his office, and his struggles, sharpened him as a proponent of the Orthodox position with Protestants, as well as with Rome. For, since the time of the Constantinople Patriarch Joasaph (1555–1565) the Lutherans from Wittenberg had wanted an Orthodox response to their "Confessions". Was rapprochement possible? This was promoted also under Patriarch Jeremiah II during the period 1579–1581, with an exchange of letters from Württemberg and the University of Tübingen. Meletios, when residing in Constantinople during those years, had dialogues with Solomon Schweiger, Francis Portus, the Queen Margarita of Navarra, and Francis Billerbek, and especially with Martin Crusius, whom he helped with his great series of volumes "Turcograecia". Crusius had shown some of Meletios' writings on Faith to Duke Ludwig, ruler of Württemberg. Meletios had told Crusius about his desire to write an "Enchiridion", and the latter had sent him a copy of the *Enchiridion* of Heerbrand, as an example for him to follow. Crusius, in Tübingen, helped many Greeks who had been suffering from the Turks[1].

Meletius received Calvins *Institutes* through the French consul Gisieri in Alexandria. He wrote to Crusius that he hoped to comment upon the *Enchiridion* of Heerbrand and the *Institutes* of Calvin in his own Enchiridion, which shows that, at least, he believed he could enter the debate upon a level of equality, and perhaps even convince the Protestants of certain errors over questions such as the "filioque".

Similarly, with the Roman church, Meletius tried, in his own way, to open a dialogue. The Pope Gregory IX (1572–1585), seeing the general disillusionment of the Protestants in not having succeeded in their dialogues with Constantinople under Jeremiah II, launched a new campaign to convert the Orthodox, and many Jesuits were sent to open schools in the East. Also, Gregory made an effort to convince Jeremiah II that the Roman date of Easter was better, and tried to impose the Western ecclesiastical calendar. However, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, on 20 November 1583, rejected the Gregorian calendar, and Meletius Pigas was asked by them to compose a *Tome* on the question. Meletios argued that the reform of the calendar contravened the provisions about the Passover festival and Easter in the 5th Apostolic canon, and the decisions of the First Ecumenical Council (325), as well as the 1st canon of the Antioch council. Gabriel Sebiros argued from Venice, on the contrary, that it was possible to give way to the reforms, but he was not supported in this by Constantinople. Thus, Meletios was being considered as the leading theologian on the part of the ancient patriarchates vis à vis their dialogue with the Roman church.

But not only did Meletios come to the aid of Constantinople, but also he sent his writings to Moscow, with the hope that his struggles for Orthodoxy would also be of some utility there. The stepped-up activities of the "Unia" was very marked in southern and western Russia, something for which Meletios, representing the ancient Patriarchates, felt himself responsible to combat. As with many Greeks in his time, there was no widespread belief in the ability of the Russian theologians to fight such battles. We shall return to Meletios' influence upon the Russians later.

Meletios did not believe, from a scientific point of view, that the Gregorian calendar was any better than the Julian calendar, and to accept it was against the canons and also to make any change because of the proselytism of Rome would not be good, tactically.

His "Enchiridion" appeared in the same year 1583, and copies were sent to Russia, as well as to the Protestants. He also wrote "On the Origin of the Pope".

The activities of Meletius on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate as well as the Patriarchate of Alexandria would continue to expand in the coming years, particularly as regards their relations with Moscow. It was inevitable that, given the financial and political situation of the ancient patriarchates under Turkish rule, they would turn to a Christian ruler such as the tsar in Moscow, for aid. This could be advantageous for them, but there was also, according to the Greeks, certain dangers.

1. Ibid., p. 626.

Strangely, since 1453, when Constantinople had fallen to the Turks, the Russians had begun to speak about Moscow as "the Third Rome", i.e. after the first one defected in its doctrine and the Second Rome (Constantinople) defected over the Florentine Council. Why should not the Russians take over the role as Christian leader, receiving the heritage of Byzantium as their own? Such thinking, expressed by the monk Philothey in 1515 of course would cause uneasy feelings within the ancient Patriarchates[1]. It was perhaps a good thing for the leadership of these ancient patriarchates, oppressed as they were at that moment, that Meletios Pigas was at hand to defend their interests. This was to become quite clear in the events following the deposition of Jeremiah II from his patriarchal throne in 1584, and after his 1589 trip to Moscow, where he helped erect the Moscow patriarchate, having recently recovered his own throne under quite exceptional circumstances.

## II.

Here we should make an excursus and describe how the Russians had regarded their tutelage under Constantinople since their conversion. This will provide us a basis for understanding the position of the patriarch of Constantinople, Jeremiah II, when he arrived in Moscow in May 1589. Jeremiah II, we must remember, was a patriarch who spoke not a word of Russian, something which had been typical of many of the Greek metropolitans sent out from Constantinople to rule over Russian dioceses and Christians.

The problem of the choice of metropolitans for the Russian church had always been a delicate one: as early as the time of Prince Yaroslav of Kiev (ruled 1036–1054), a Russian, Hilarion, was chosen for the post against the wishes of Constantinople. This was not done, argues Sokolov[2] merely because of a spirit of independence, but also because the Russians understood from their own book of canon law (Kormchaija Kniga) that such a choice was possible. Justinian's code of ecclesiastical law, later called the *Nomocanon*, upon which the Kormchaija Kniga was based, speaks of the question of instituting metropolitans in two canons, Nos. 123 and 137. According to 123 (year 546), there can be any number of candidates, and if the local clerics cannot chose among them before the end of six months, the person who is to institute the new hierarch can himself make the choice. Canon 137 (of 25 March 565) modifies this, saying that there must be three candidates, and the most qualified of these is chosen by the institutor, even against the will of the local electors. The latter canon, created under Justinian, aimed at "improving the morals of the clergy and the spiritual life of the laity, and also resolved doctrinal differences" but, in fact, it was simply a tool in the hands of the centralizers.

The Commentator John Scholasticus in his "87 Chapters" avoids mentioning the No. 137, but only the No. 123. The *Nomocanon* keeps the 87 chapters of John Scholasticus, and adds the canon No.137 and all of this comes into the Russian *Kormchaija Kniga* ("Book of the Rudder"). The two texts are combined in the *Vasilik* (under Emperor Basil I) but the clauses of No. 123 are kept, which speaks of metropolitans being chosen by their own synod. Thus, in theory, following Byzantine legislation, the Russians had the right to chose their own church leaders.

But, argues Sokolov, when the Russians accepted Christianity (988), the *Vasilik* was not acceptible in Byzantium, and laymen lost their rights–everything was done in patriarchal and metropolitan synods, and the same situation prevailed in Russia. But, given this situation, the patriarchal and metropolitan synods became more and more subordinate to the power of the Emperor[3]. In fact, in the Emperor's mind, there was only one power in the world–his own.

As it turned out, when the states of the old Roman Empire were occupied by Muslims (after the 8th century), Byzantine clergy were permitted in these countries as a kind of "spiritual institution" by the Muslims, but still, according to the Byzantine Empire, they were "civil institutions". Hierarchs were considered by the Emperor as his civil officials. In the 37th and 38th articles of the Council of Trullo (692) it had been stated that bishops could be appointed "where there are no Christian people" *for the good of the Byzantine state.*

The 7th Ecumenical Council (787) says that no bishop should be appointed by a wordly power, but only by bishops. The Emperor Alexis Comnenus decreed that titular bishoprics, unwanted because those transferred to them would lose their previous revenues, from henceforth would be occupied by bishops keeping their previous revenues.

It is also significant that the newly-converted Russian princes of the 10th century were given titles by, and became vassals of, the Byzantine emperor.

Thus, it is understandable that the Russians would actually have very little to say about their own eventual choice of a metropolitan for their church.

They tried this very thing when the prince Yaroslav chose Hilarion.The result was that the Russians were excommunicated (1050). In this matter, Yaroslav had understood the canon law in a sense favourable to himself and the Russians.

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1. Cf. N. Th. Kapterev, *Charakter Otnosenii Rosii k Pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII Stoletijach* (Relations of the Russians to the Orthodox East in the 16th and 17th Centuries), St. Petersburg 1914, pp. 10–11. Also, Donald W. Treadgold, «The Meeting of Moscow and Rome in the Reign of Vasilij III» in *The Religious World of Russian Culture.* Editor, Andrew Blane. The Hague: Mouton 1975, *op.* 68–72.

2. Pl. Sokolov, *Russkii Archierei iz Bizantii* (Russian Metropolitans from Byzantium), Kiev. 1915.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

The history of the metropolitanate in Russia is very complex. There were several principal stages in its development, which could be defined as follows: I. *Kievan Russia*, where Greeks provided the leadership (10th–12th centuries). II. *Transfer of Russian princely power* to the north (13th century) when Russians began to present their own candidates, e.g. the Metropolitan Peter. III. *Growth of the Russian tsardom* around Moscow (14th century) when Russians had just as great a possibility of becoming metropolitan as the Greeks, as in the case of Metropolitan Alexis. IV. *Weakening of Byzantium.* when it became very difficult to impose Greek metropolitans, but also when the last Byzantine emperors needed, more than ever, for financial and political reasons, to keep their clerical hegemony over Russia (14th–15th centuries). In this period we witness the reinstating of the Bulgarian Kyprian, after a long struggle, as metropolitan.

One constantly-recurring problem throughout all this period was the existence of several centres of power in Russia– Kiev and Galicia, the northern, newly-powerful Russian principalities (Tver, Suzdal, Moscow, etc.), Novgorod (an important city-state) and, more significant, the Lithuanian principality which for centuries controlled Kiev and south-western Russia.

Because of these several political centres, it was possible to have several Russian metropolitans at a time, for example, in Kiev, in Galicia, in Lithuania (including s.w. Russia) or in Great Russia (north). Various combinations of these were possible, so that it was rare that a single metropolitan ruled over all the areas at once. Often there was competition between bishops about their jusidiction, and the patriarch and synod in Constantinople would always be able to speak the last word. As well, there was the question, after the 14th century, whether candidates enjoying Constantinople's support, could have jurisdiction in Great Russia, or whether candidates presented by the Great Russian princes, such as Moscow, could succeed in receiving jurisdiction over Lithuanian-controlled lands. This latter turned out to be quite impossible, since the Greeks kept a certain influence by "dealing out" the metropolitanates to both Russian and Lithuanian princes, always at a cost– i.e. in return for gifts by the princes to the Patriarch and Emperor.

Generally speaking, however, the Greeks never really lost their moral and spiritual authority over the Russians in all this period, and even as late as the 1380s, as in the case of Kyprian, the Moscow princes were more willing to accept a choice made by Constantinople than to insist upon Russian candidates. It was very difficult for them not to consider themselves still a subordinate part of the Byzantine empire. But, in that late period, it is true, they were not ready to accept Greek metropolitans indiscriminately.

The most interesting feature of all this period was the special close relation between the Russians chosen as candidates for the metropolitanate, and the princely house of Moscow. As we know, it was only in the time of Ivan I (Ivan "Kalita"—Money-Bags) that Moscow was strong enough to challenge the other Russian principalities for leadership (1325–1341). This small principality eventually was able to change the relations between the Russian church and people, and the Byzantine Emperor and Patriarchate. The saintly Russian Metropolitan Peter (d. 1326) was the first indigenous Great Russian church leader, and his work can only be explained by the fact that a strong and growing Moscow principality stood behind him. The Metropolitan Alexis was another case: he was a relative of the Moscow grand prince Simeon. After Alexis, several candidates, all close to the Moscow princely family (as for example the confessor to the Grand Prince) were presented for the metropolitanate. Here we could mention Mitya, Pimen, etc.

During the years when such favourites were bring presented to the Patriarch of Constantinople for consecration to the metropolitanates of "Kiev andAll Russia" or of "Kiev and Great Russia", the Byzantine rulers became accustomed to the national aspirations of the Moscow princely family, and acted accordingly, trying always to extend their own Byzantine jurisdiction, but at the same time not openly offending any of the desires of the grand princes. And, of course, they also had to satisfy the Lithuanian and other princes (such as Galicia), and this gave them a certain bargaining power among the princes.

It should be remembered that, from the point of view of the Byzantine authorities, the metropolitans in Russia were quite similar to a state official. They received their right to rule in the Church in Russia from Constantinople, and when they lived in Russia, they "represented" the Byzantine Church and Emperor. If the philosophy of the ruling Patriarch tended towards viewing the Byzantine church as an arm of the Emperor, then such a point of view would influence their relations with metropolitans whom they had consecrated for foreign states having allegiance to Byzantium. Such patriarchs would thus look upon the Russian metripolitans almost as state officials. These metropolitans would therefore have certain "kidemonial" powers over the Russian church, and would, ultimately, be responsible to the Byzantine Empire.

Such a "kidemonial" right was typical of most of the Greek metropolitans provided for the Russian Christians. It was, thus, quite difficult, in this method of approach to church and politics, to include as representatives, Russians appointed by the grand prince of Moscow, who were sent to Constantinople only for consecration. These Metropolitans, if consecrated in Constantinople, were naturally under great pressure to satisfy both the Moscow princes and the Byzan-

tine authorities, at the same time. In the early years, it was only possible for outstanding Russian figures, such as the Metropolitans Peter and Alexis, to accomplish this. Other persons, not so close to the Moscow grand prince, such as Mitya, Pimen, Dionysios etc. either gave dissatisfaction to the Greeks because of incompetence, or alienated their own Russian patrons, because of greed, or lack of diplomacy with Constantinople[1].

The situation in the 15th and 16th centuries was quite altered by the fact that in 1453, Constantinople fell to the Turks, and there no longer existed a Byzantine Empire to which the Russians must show respect. In fact, already in 1439, when the Byzantine emperor agreed to the Union of Florence, joining Orthodoxy with the pope, the "moral" leadership of the Church in Constantinople was tarnished in the eyes of the Russians. The process of Russians chosing their own metropolitans could he hastened.

During, and after the metropolitanate of the Bulgarian Kyprian over all Russia (1389–1406), the situation in Constantinople vis à vis the Turks became quite critical. The Lithuanian prince Jagaillo supported the union of Orthodoxy with Rome, and together with Kyprian he wrote to the Constantinople Patriarch Antony, in 1397, to hold a council in Lithuania about this matter. The plan failed because of the danger presented by the Hungarian army. Later, in 1398, Kyprian raised 30,000 rubles to help blockaded Constantinople.

The Emperor Manuel, hard pressed and desiring some profit, refused to Lithuanian prince Vitoft the nomination of Gregory Samblak, nephew of Kyprian, to the metropolitanate of Kiev and West Russia (which was actually under the metropolitan Photius (1408–1431). At the same time Manuel II was sending Patriarch Euthymius of Tirnovo to the Pope to seek the Union of the churches. Gregory Samblak went to the Council of Constance (1414–1418) representing Vitoft, but did not really support union with the Pope. Yet during this period, Photius, rightful Metropolitan of All Russia, struggled with Vitoft and his desire to name a Metropolitan for "Kiev and West Russia"[2].

It is easy to see that the Russian church, still under the influence of Byzantium, was drawn into the problematic of the imminent fall of the Empire, and the last-minute attempts to save it by ecclesiastical union with Rome. The culmination was reached under the Metropolitan of Moscow Isidore (1436–1441)[3].

Isidore, a Greek, who had been sent to the Council of Basle in 1434 by Emperor John Paleologus, had been consecrated in Constantinople for the metropolitanate of All Russia in 1436. The Moscow Grand Prince Basil was suspicious of his latinism, and sent him to the Council of Florence/Ferrara (1438/9) with strict instructions that he help in defeating the Latins, and not bring back latinism into Russia[4]. Just the opposite occured. Isidore signed the Union of Florence, and was sent back to Russia as Cardinal by Pope Eugenius (as papal legate over Lithuania, Poland and Russia)[5].

Isidore arrived in Moscow in 1441, but the Russians rejected the Unia. They believed the Greeks had accepted it because of purely external reasons. And this led to a new church-state relation in Russia. Isidore was allowed to flee to Rome, and the Grand Prince wrote to Constantinople for the right to chose their own Metropolitan (as if Constantinople was still "Orthodox"). But in 1448 the synod of Russian bishops chose Jonah bishop of Riazan as Metropolitan, independently of Constantinople. Soon after, in 1449, there was a new Emperor, an Orthodox one—Constantine– and in 1452 Basil wrote him proposing that the Russians restore unity with the Greeks[6].

But the period of Russian history between 1389 and 1589 is especially significant for the growth of the particularly complex Russian Christian spirit. When the Russians could envisage a spiritual independence from the Greeks, they developed a special form of Byzantine culture which was to play an important role in relations between the nations of Eastern, and Western, Europe. It was with the outworking of this complex situation in Russia that Meletios Pigas had to do when he insisted upon a review of the act of Patriarch Jeremiah II in instituting a patriarchate for the Muscovites. He was one of the most able Greek ecclesiastical leaders dealing with Russian church affairs after the fall of Constantinople.

Under Ivan III (1462–1505) and especially Basil III (1505–1533) and Ivan IV (1533–1584), the Russians developed their own variety of spirituality and church-state relations. The spirituality was to be seen in the movement of "non-possessors"—the work of the hermit Nil (Sorski), who was inspired by Gregory Palamas and the hesychast movement beginning on Mt. Athos. Another trend was the "possessors", whose leader was the hegumen Joseph of the Voloko-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 447 ff. The Metropolitan Alexis died in 1377. The priest Mitya went to Constantinople for consecration in 1379, but had not the favour of the prince in Moscow. The Russian Dionysios, bishop of Suzdal, was also in Constantinople hoping for consecration. Pimen, a Russian, was later sent to Constantinople to prevent Kyprian's consecration.

2. For these events concerning Kyprian and his nephew, see E. Golubinskii, *Istorija Russkoj Cerkvi* (History of the Russian Church) vol. 1, pp. 338–381,

3. For discussion about Isidore, see A.V. Kartashev, *Ocerki po Istorija Russkoj Cerkvi* (Elements in the History of the Russian Church), vol. 1, pp. 349 ff.

4. Golubinskii, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 37–89.

5. The full text of the decree about Isidore is provided in Golubinskii.

6. Kartashev, op. cit., p. 359.

lamsk monastery.This group favoured a strong Muscovite principality supported by the monastic communities. In such a milieu grew up the idea of "Moscow the Third Rome". Maxim the Greek (died 1556), a humanist with education in Renaissance Italy and experience on Mt. Athos, came to help the Muscovites with their translation of Greek and Latin texts into Russian, but because of his affiliation with the "non-possessors" group and Nil Sorski, he found himself imprisoned for several years in spite of his great value to Moscow society.

The Russian church had elected its own Metropolitans since 1448 and some of the followers of Jonah in the metropolitanate of Moscow were the Metropolitan Daniel, who arranged the divorce of Basil III, Joasaph (1539–1542) and the well-known Metropolitan Makarios (1542–1563) who believed in a separation from the Greeks. He was responsible for convoking the Stoglav (Hundred Chapters) Sobor, at which the Russians voted their own canon laws without any reference to the Greeks. On the other hand, the Metropolitan Joasaph had tried to show respect to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and several friendly letters were exchanged between Basil III and the Patriarch at this time[1].

What followed was an attempt to recreate, in Muscovy, a new Byzantine Empire, with its Tsar and Patriarch. The Greeks cooperated in this, in that, without an emperor in Constantinople, they naturally looked to the Moscow prince. In 1548 the monks of Chilandar monastery on Mt. Athos called Ivan IV of Moscow

> "autocratic great Tsar of Moscow, alone the Lord, beautiful Tsar of the eastern and northern countries, who is Lord and Tsar of all Orthodox Christians, over a holy and great Tsardom; the "sun" of Christians, shining to the East and North, and illumining all people; the support of seven ecumenical synods, the 2nd Constantine and defender of the holy churches; Christian falcon, on whose honoured cross all the Orthodox depend"[2].

But the Muscovite princes took advantage of their position and in 1557 Ivan IV attempted to receive confirmation of the title of "Tsar" from the Patriarch of Constantinople Joasaph II. It was arranged in 1561 by synod in Constantinople, and the same synod annuled its former act censuring Moscow for its unilateral decision to install the Metropolitan Jonah in 1448[3].

To complete the "dyarchy", Moscow then sought the patriarchal title for its metropolitan of Moscow. The occasion for the request was the arrival of the Antioch patriarch Joachim in Moscow in 1586. He was in search of alms, and wrote to Tsar Theodore (1584–1598) "if one sees heaven, heaven's angels and all the stars, but does not see the sun, he sees nothing". The Moscow Metropolitan Dionysios would not come out to greet Joachim upon his arrival, but waited for the Antioch Patriarch to present himself before him, thus showing the independence, and grandeur, of Moscow. The question of a patriarchate for Moscow was then raised, and later Joachim returned by way of Constantinople with alms for that church and his own, and with a mission to discuss the question of a Moscow patriarchate[4].

We can see that by this time the relation between the Russians and the patriarchate of Constantinople was quite altered: the Emperor (Tsar) was in Moscow and the Patriarchate was in Constantinople–and even the glory of that latter might perhaps be soon transferred to Moscow. Of course, the Patriarch of Constantinople would always keep his dignity. But the fact that he would constantly be under threats of being replaced by someone more acceptable to the Sultan, and that he was poor, and that he needed the gracious alms of the Tsar, made his position weak vis à vis the Muscovite claims. Thus, it seemed somehow providential at this point in history, for the Greek church, that such a personage as Meletios Pigas would enter upon the scene. He would be giving a theological, ecclesiological and juridical basis to Constantinople's dealings with Moscow.

To present an idea how the Eastern Patriarchates existed under Turkish domination in the 16th century, the case of Patriarch Jeremiah II (1572–1584, 1586–1596) is quite typical. Under the Sultan Selim, Jeremiah received the patriarchate in 1572 and had to pay 2000 florins for the institution, and an annual tribute of 4100 florins. Such ecclesiastical positions were popular, however, especially for the former aristocrats. And no former Metropolitan could become Patriarch.

From 1456 to 1586 the Patriarchal church was the "Pammakaristos", from 1586–1590 it was the Church of the Panaghia of Consolation, from 1590–1601 St. Demetrios in Xyloporta and in 1601 St.George (Phanar). Such moving-about shows that during the period with which we are dealing, the Patriarch was obliged to move his cathedral three times (1572–1593)[5].

As for the activities of the Patriarch "Jeremiah II followed the example of his predecessors in travelling about looking for alms to fill the patriarchal treasury, and to show the priests and faithful his authority"[6].

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 422–3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 440.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 440. Text (in Greek) printed in *Epistolae Patriarcharum Graecorum*, pp. 75–79, and in *Analecta Byzantino-Russica*. Editor W. Regel, Petropolis 1891.

4. Kartashev, *op. cit.* vol. III, pp. 12 ff.

5. Cf. Manuel I. Gideon, *Patriarchikoi Pinakes*, Constantinople 885–1890. Summary in Fortesque and Duckworth, *The Patriarchs of Constantinople*, 1911.

6. N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*. Bucharest 1935, p. 92.

In 1574 and 1578 he was in Morea for this, and in 1573 in Drama.

In 1580 the Patriarch was living in a modest residence near the Palaces of Constantine and Blachernae (next to the Pesca), had 20,000 thalers annual revenue and had to care for a suite of 20 persons.

The unity of the Byzantine Church is to be seen in the following: there were Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem; Archbishops of Trnovo, Petch (Serbia), Ochrid, Iberia; all the administrative officials (as in old Byzantium); exarchs sent out to Moldavia, Morea, the Black Sea, the Islands, and Crete. Every five years, with his numerous suite (almost 30 persons) the Oecumenical Patriarch visited his Metropolitans[1]. In 1574, a most difficult period began, when the son of Selim, Sultan Murat, came to the throne. At first he was quite friendly to the church. He had a project of erecting a great clock in the center of Istanbul (like in Venice), but the Islamic religious leaders did not like his scheme, and destroyed it. And he had to begin a war with the Persians, also. During these days, one of the court officials (beglebug) who was Armenian, took the Pammakaristos church (1586), and none of the authorities of the city (archontes) opposed him, saying that it was the affair of monks[2].

Just prior to this, in 1584, there were serious irregularities in the Constantinople church, and Jeremiah II was removed from the throne and banished by Pachomios Batestos, who took the patriarchal dignity for himself. He was, in turn, chased away in 1585 and Theolypt was publicly proclaimed Patriarch. This latter was supported, strangely enough, by Sylvester, Patriarch of Alexandria, who wished to get rid of Pachomios Batestos, but didn't want Jeremiah II to return, because they had a personal animosity for some reason[3]. Theolypt ruled for three years "amid great anomalies" (including the transformation of the Pammakaristos church into a mosque, and the confiscation of the Patriarch's residence).

Jeremiah II returned to the throne in 1586. While he had been in exile, he was supported by Meletios Pigas, still Archimandrite, who himself witnessed the pillaging of the Pammakaristos. He returned with the help of the French ambassador Gormigny, the Metropolitans of Cesarea and Philippopolis, and Meletios, and several of the archontes[4]. Meletios had been in touch with Jeremiah on the question of the calendar in 1583 (see above), and sadly watched the irregularities in the time of Theolypt. These are described in one of his sermons. It is thus clear that the Patriarch Sylvester of Alexandria and his chief Protosyncellus in Alexandria, Meletios, took somewhat different positions regarding Jeremiah II. But already at this time, Sylvester was asking Meletios to be his successor in the chair of St. Mark. He had fallen sick in Lindos (Rhodes) in 1587 and had called upon Meletios to take up the patriarchal dignity. For two years Meletios virtually held the patriarchal power as exarch, but refused consecration (much to the annoyance of Sylvester). He was finally consecrated on 5 August 1590 in Cairo by the Patriarch of Antioch Joachim and two other Archhierarchs. After the consecration he went to the monastery of St. Catherine (Mt. Sinai) with the Antioch Patriarch and the others, and among other activities, performed a liturgy in behalf of the Russian Tsar, "whom the Eastern Church and the Four Orthodox Patriarchs have as another great Constantine, and to whom alone with God they look in their needs" (letter of Meletios). As for his accession to the Patriarchate, his friends (John Koressa, Leonard Midonios and George Sebastopulos) wrote saying, "You most blessed father, if you are the very latest of the blessed and godly men on the throne, still you have piety and wisdom. For not with vulgarity and as a robber (as is prevalent everywhere now) did you come to the presidency, but apostolically and canonically".

One of the problems facing this wise and pious Patriarch, however, was that immediately the Alexandrian patriarchate was taxed by the Turkish governor of Egypt for the sum of 3000 gold pieces, the sum given usually by the Patriarchs of Constantinople to the Sultan upon their accession. Needless to say, Meletios had no means to pay it[5].

Meanwhile, Jeremiah II was in exile in Moldavia, with the voivode Peter. Moldavia had been a tributary of the Sultan since 1456. Jeremiah lived well with Peter, and had heard from Tzaousian why the Sultan had decided to take away his throne from him. But a certain Nicephoros was making so much trouble, and many hated him, so that the Sultan was willing to give the throne back to Jeremiah (for the price of 2000 florins). Jeremiah asked for this sum from Peter and, after travelling for a while in Georgia, returned to Moldavia, received the funds from Peter, and then prepared to return to Constantinople. During his absence, Theolypt had remembered him in the liturgy (strangely enough)[6].

To continue the story of why the Patriarch Jeremiah II, once returned to his throne, wished to travel to Russia: during his absence the patriarchal church had been turned into a mosque, and he needed funds for a new church as well as for a patriarchal residence. In 1588 on 13 July he arrived in Moscow, accompanied by the Metropolitan Dorotheos of Mo-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

2. Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monemvasia, *Synopsis Diaforou Istorion*. Puplished under the title «Biblion Historicon» or «Chronographos», Venice 1637, p. 549. (Material on Jeremiah II pp. 443–458, including his trip to Moscow).

3. Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 630.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 634; Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

5. Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, 634–639.

6. Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monemvasia, *op. cit.*, pp. 459–460.

nemvasia and the Metropolitan Arsenios of Elasson. But overwhelming financial difficulties impelling him to make the journey, he was unable to prepare any statement about a Moscow patriarchate, or even to consult the Synod in Constantinople about this affair, although Boris Godunov already asked Joachim of Antioch to seek such a statement.

When he arrived, Jeremiah was treated with much more respect than Joachim before him, since the Muscovites were expecting something from his hand[1]. Negotiations began in July and lasted until the following January 1589, when the official talks about a patriarchate began. At first, when approached by the emissaries from the Tsar, Jeremiah and those accompanying him opposed the idea of giving the patriarchate. Then, later, the Russians proposed that Jeremiah himself be the first Patriarch of Moscow, and that he continue to live in Russia. This appealed to him and he agreed, much against the will of the Greek hierarchs accompanying him, who insisted it was against canon law.

Even the Russians had second thoughts about such a proposal—it would mean being subjected to Greek leadership once again, and a Patriarch who couldn't speak a word of Russian. Boris Godunov's idea was to make the Moscow Metropolitan Job into a Patriarch, with Jeremiah's consent.

Then the Tsar called together the Duma, and informed them all about the secret dealings which had been going on about a patriarchate for Moscow since the time of the Constantinople Patriarch Joachim's correspondence with his father Ivan IV. The Tsar turned to Jeremiah, who was present, and said that they wanted a Patriarchate in Moscow, and would Jeremiah be the first one, and live in Vladimir, and the Metropolitan of Moscow would be under him? If Jeremiah did not like this solution, would he then create a Patriarch in Moscow, one chosen from the Muscovites?[2].

Boris Godunov was then named by the Tsar to carry on further high-level discussions with Jeremiah on these points.

When these final discussions commenced, Jeremiah told Boris Godunov that it would be like an exile—going to Vladimir—shouldn't the Moscow patriarch (he was talking about his own future role) be close to the Tsar as the Patriarch was close to the Emperor in Byzantium? The Metropolitan Job could live elsewhere. And Jeremiah repeated this point of view many times to the emissaries whom he received repeatedly.

In fact, the Tsar did not want Jeremiah in the Moscow Uspenskij Sobor, and it would be better, he told another session of the Duma, that Jeremiah consecrate Job for the patriarchate, and give him the right of chosing the Metropolitans under him. Thus, new missions were sent to Jeremiah's residence,asking him to agree. At first he was unhappy not to receive the patriarchate for himself, but finally he agreed, and said he would return to Constantinople. Dorotheos and Arsenios had all along been opposed to his taking the Moscow patriarchate, and some commentators say it was their reasoning that finally convinced him.

Then a church sobor (council) was held at which the Tsar informed those present to make arrangements for the choice of a Patriarch. He told Job at this session, that he disapproved of a Patriarch in Moscow who did not know the Russian language[3].

On 23 February Job was named Patriarch and on 26 February was instituted into the Patriarchate. As was fitting, Job asked to receive a blessing from Jeremiah first, and then gave his blessing afterwards. Then the two Patriarchs met with the Tsar, Tsaritsa, their children and the boyars with their wives and children. Evidently, the Russians were very happy that Jeremiah had agreed, and the reception in the rooms of the Tsaritsa was a good illustration of their joy. Jeremiah himself accepted the Russian patriotism, and said things on the occasion such as that there was only one person like the Tsar in all the world, and that the Ecumenical Patriarch should therefore be in Moscow, etc.

On the contrary, the Greeks present, although they were friendly to the Tsar and Tsaritsa, believed Boris Godunov had obtained for the Muscovites a patriarchate only by some diplomatic tricks, and that Jeremiah had lowered the dignity of the Church by his self-seeking and the final acquiescence[4].

Jeremiah remained for three months more, in order to write the *Act* of institution of the Patriarchate, which the Muscovites demanded. They wanted to be assured that the event was definitive, and they wished a ratification of it by the other Eastern Patriarchs. During this period, Job, after the see of Novgorod, elevated Kazan and Astrakhan to Metropolitan sees, and Krutitz, and made six new Archbishops in Vologda, Suzdal, Nizni Novgorod, Smolensk, Riazan and Tver. Thus, the Russian hierarchy was established under the new Patriarch of Moscow.

The *Act of Institution* was finally written down and signed in May 1589. Dorotheos of Monemvasia, however, didn't want to sign it very much. He finally agreed, however. It remained to be seen what they would think about it in Constantinople.

Jeremiah returned to Constantinople in May 1590, and had not really succeeded to raise enough funds for his patriarchal church, and all the other needs, even with all the alms of the Tsar Theodore. Thus, for this, and to regulate the affair he had begun in

1. P. Th. Nikolaevskij. *Ucrezdenie Patriarcsestva v Rossii* (Erection of the Patriarchate in Russia), In: Kristianskoe Ctenie (1879) no. 2: (1880) no. 1. St. Petersburg 1879, 1880. 1879, p. 56.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

giving the Muscovites a patriarchate, he was obliged to call a synod, which met in that same month[1].

The Patriarchs of Antioch–Joachim–and Jerusalem–Sophronios–attended, but Sylvester of Alexandria had died and Meletios Pigas had not yet been consecrated (5 August 1590). Besides, Meletios had been unhappy with Jeremiah's action in Moscow, as appears in his letter to Jeremiah written in 1591. Nevertheless, the Synod went ahead and agreed to what Jeremiah had done. They accepted the erection of the Moscow patriarchate, and they designated for it, in the ecclesiastical order of Orthodoxy, the 5th place. Moreover, they decreed the same rights for all the successors of the Patriarch of Moscow, Job. Finally, the Metropolitan of Trnovo, Dionysios, was delegated to take the necessary documents to Moscow, passing through Bulgaria and Moldavia–Wallachia to receive the signatures of the local hierarchs there. He reached Moscow in May 1591, two years after the institution of the patriarchate.

As far as the Eastern Patriarchs were concerned, this envoy Dionysios would be able to settle the whole affair and because of his great diplomatic skill, establish a good relationship with the Tsar and his counsellors, and especially, institute a fruitful collaboration (both ecclesiastical and financial) for the future. Dionysios was an aristocrat, descended from the princely Cantacuzenus and Palaeologus families of the Byzantine capital. He took with him to Moscow: for the Tsar–three letters from Jeremiah; for the Tsaritsa–one letter from Jeremiah; Also, a letter from members of the Constantinople synod to the Tsar. For the Patriarch: two letters from the Synod and Jeremiah; for Boris Godunov–two letters, one from the Synod and one from Jeremiah. Also, some holy relics. In all, a considerable diplomatic effort!

Dionysios was received at least twenty times at court, but he did not meet Patriarch Job until the 1st of August 1591. In Jeremiah's letters to Job, the Constantinople Patriarch had asked Job to accept the 5th place in the hierarchy of Patriarchs with "gratefulness and serenity". Finally, on 5 October, Dionysios met with Boris Godunov.

It turned out, however, that Moscow was really unhappy about at least one point of the Synodal decree–the 5th place status. They knew very well Moscow couldn't replace Constantinople, or even Alexandria (where the Patriarch was called "Pope" on account of the importance of the see), but they saw no reason why they could not come before Antioch and Jerusalem in the order of the patriarchates.

The Tsar conferred with Job about the matter, and they decided to ask Constantinople for an altogether new decree on the raising of Moscow to the patriarchal status. They based their arguments on Jeremiah's original act instituting the patriarchate, where he spoke about the great importance of Moscow for Orthodox. Ideas of Moscow as "Third Rome" came to the fore again. And also was it right to accept the 1590 synodal decree when the great Patriarchate of Alexandria was absent from the deliberations and decisions? The Muscovites had heard about the death of Sylvester, and that Meletios had not yet been consecrated.

And so, Dionysios was treated to a new series of benefits–he was allowed to visit St. Sergius Lavra, and to meet again with the Tsar, and to eat with him, on 2 December, and also he visited the Moscow Chudov monastery. On 12 January, 1592 he visited the patriarchate once again in great pomp, and heard a speech from Job (who, strangely enough, mentioned himself as 5th place among the patriarchates). In return for all this grace, Dionysios proposed that Job name a permanent representative of the Moscow patriarchate to live in Istanbul, to facilitate the mutual relations between the patriarchates.

In 1592 Dionysios left Moscow and was accompanied all the way to the frontier by a large of band of soldiers and lesser nobility, as a sign of respect. He had with him many letters from the Tsar and Boris Godunov, asking the synod to agree to 3rd place for Moscow. Many personal letters from the Tsar and his family were forwarded to the Constantinople patriarchate, about various needs of the ruling family, and along with these many costly gifts for the Eastern Patriarchs, who would be needing them in their struggles to survive under the sultans[2].

Returning to the situation of Meletios Pigas—we note his consecration in August 1590, and his letter to Jeremiah II opposing the perhaps uncanonical way in which the Constantinople Patriarch had given in to Moscow's request for a Patriarch.

Meletios went to Constantinople in November 1592 (at the time when Dionysios was returning from Moscow), and he stayed through June 1593. During this period he would be occupied with the Russian request.

It is said that Meletios did not want to be consecrated Alexandria Patriarch in Constantinople because of his unhappiness with Jeremiah about many matters. He did not believe that Jeremiah had a true understanding of the contemporary situation, i.e. the need for Orthodoxy to pass successfully through all the temptations resulting from the persecution and need of funds, all the while keeping its pure doctrinal and canonical position. The Constantinople Patriarch had vacillated because of the needs of his throne,

1. I.I. Malysevskii, *Alexandriskii Patriarkh Meletij Pigas i evo Ucastie v Delakh Russkoi Cerkvi* (Akexandrian Patriarch Meletios Pigas and his Participation in Russian Church Affairs), Kiev 1892, pp. 333–364. See appendices for letters exhangecd between Meletios Pigas and the Tsar, Patriarch Job, Boris Godunov, etc. Nikolaevskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff.

2. Nikolaevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

and could always be swayed, it appeared to Meletios. This is what happened in Moscow, probably.

"No patriarchal throne is subordinated to any other one, but they are of the Catholic church, and are joined together by an unchanging Orthodox faith. I know that you were forced to do it (give the new patriarchate), under pressure. But our words cannot change you, and only make you angry. So, God have mercy upon you"[1].

The Russians, by the way, had heard about the conflict between Meletios and Jeremiah II, and they believed that they could manipulate the situation to their own advantage. Thus, the Tsar wrote a letter directly to Meletios, and accompanied the letter with generous gifts and money. He said it was not correct for the 1590 Synod to have decided about the Moscow patriarchate without the presence of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and could Meletios support the calling of a new synod, with his own self present, and make the whole affair canonically correct by his own highly important ratification of what had been decided in the 1590 Synod?

Moreover, the Russians also sent a delegation to Constantinople in December 1592 with 5564 golden pieces as a gift for the Patriarchs, their suites, and their monasteries. These delegates established themselves in Istanbul, and stayed until April 1593, i.e. until after the Synod, which they expected would vote about matters of great concern to themselves.

And so, the diplomatic battle was engaged between a demand originating in Moscow, and backed by generous gifts, and a somewhat weakened group of Eastern Patriarchs who recognised the strength and authority of Moscow but who wanted, nevertheless, to receive some benefit for themselves in this situation. And then, Meletios Pigas was very concerned, for personal as well as ecclesiastical reasons, to see to it that Moscow did not overly profit from the matter, so much as to endanger the life, and witness, of the ancient Eastern patriarchates. Above all, he did not believe Jeremiah could handle the Russian request properly. Once before, Jeremiah had depended upon him to arrange things with a foreign ecclesial entity–in the case of the papal request for a common date of Easter. Meletios had also come to the aid of Constantinople in the theological dialogue with Protestantism. A new synod, to be called about the affair of the Patriarchate in Moscow, would give Meletios an opportunity to use his theological gifts, his knowledge of ecclesiastical and canonical matters, and his persuasive power of speech. There was noone else among the Eastern hieararchs who had such a stature. Naturally, he became the leading spokesman in a situation which touched a centuries' long relation which was about to be set up concerning the ordering of the great patriarchates. It was not the time for blunders made by weak hierarchs who might submit to the pressing financial and other needs of the moment...

Meletios Pigas gave the opening speech at the Synod, which began 12 February 1593, almost four years after the erection of the Moscow patriarchate. It was an exceptional synod, as to the number of persons present, and the importance of the decisions to be taken. It was called primarily because of the Tsar's request, and the expressed wish of the Patriarch of Alexandria to take his own decision about the erection of a patriarchate in Moscow[2].

Meletios explained these fundamental reasons for the calling of the Synod, in his speech. But also he presented the theological and ecclesiological point of view from which he would look at the proceedings.

From the time of the Ecumenical Councils in the 4th–8th centuries, the Holy Eastern Church had been given the right, not only to define its doctrine and to regulate the life of piety within the Church, but also to decide about the forms of its own hierarchy, and its liturgy. The present 1593 synod would have to look upon the erection of the Moscow patriarchate in this perspective. Such a patriarchate would be instituted in accordance with canonical tradition, and it would become possible on the basis of the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon (451). Thus, Meletios agreed with the Moscow demand, because it could be satisfied within the canonical tradition of the Church.

Secondly, as regards the rank which the Tsar had asked for–3rd place among the other patriarchates–this was quite out of order in terms of several ancient canons–the 6th of the 1st Ecumenical Council, the 24th of Chalcedon, and the 36th of Trullo. There must, of necessity, be an order among the patriarchates of the Church, and we cannot just insert a new patriarchate into the old order, giving it some preferential place, without destroying the tradition of the Church. For this reason alone, it would be impossible to accord any higher than the 5th place, following after the ancient patriarchates.

His reasoning, apparently, was convincing enough, because even Jeremiah II concurred with it, and said that such a solution had been his also.The other members of the Synod likewise agreed, convinced by Meletios' argument, which was that the church had a right in its history, to determine its own laws about ordering its affairs, not only in the realm of beliefs, but also the correct ecclesiastical relations among hierarchs and, as in this case, the correct order among the patriarchates[3].

As well as deciding positively about Meletios' suggestion to certify the erection of the Moscow patriarchate, and to give it 5th place, the 1593 Synod considered many other pressing subjects, and took

1. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

the necessary decisions. There were many problems arising from the Turkish context which were in common to all the patriarchates, and certain fundamental principles had to be re-asserted: for example, that monks should respect, and be subordinate to, their bishops; that synods should be held at least once a year for church affairs; that priests should be ordained to one particular parish, and not move about indiscriminately; that ordinations should be controlled, and that priests should not get involved in worldly activities (as the Western clergy sometimes did); that priests should not wear costly ornamentation; that each bishopric should have a school to train in Christian education, and that the date of Easter remain the same, as specified in the ancient canons.

When the Synod was over, Meletios personally followed up the relations with Moscow, and even prepared himself to go there to deliver the decree of the synod. But, finally, be sent instead (the later Patriarch) Cyril Lukaris as emissary[1]. In his letters to the Russians, he underlined the great efforts he had taken for their cause, and that he had attempted to do everything upon a proper canonical basis[2].

In his letter to Patriarch Job, Meletios asked for the prayers of the Russian Church for all the ancient Eastern Patrarchs, and said that "we also, although living amidst various insults and difficulties, will nevertheless continue to pray for your well-being and salvation...true and sincere love prompts us to do this".

He sent as a gift the staff of the Alexandrian patriarch Joachim, who had directed the church 79 years and had lived to over 100 years of age, even surviving at one time a poisoning (Joachim had reigned before Sylvester).

As for his letter to the Tsar Theodore, after explaining the synod and its decision about the Moscow patriarchate, Meletios speaks about the gift he is sending-a Roman diadem given to the Alexandrian church at the time of the Council of Ephesus. He suggested that the Tsar built in Moscow a Greek school, as a "living spark of Holy Wisdom" for the Russians. Strangely, in these two items, Meletios was prophesing with foresight about the Moscow in the century to come. The 17th century in Russia shows us a multitude of efforts on the part of the Russian Church and State to emulate Byzantine culture, and to bring the Russian people into line with the ancient Eastern traditions. Especially remarkable for this were the Tsar Alexis (1645-1678) and the Patriarch Nikon (reigned 1652-1666).

Meletios wrote also to the Tsaritsa, Boris Godunov, and others. But the mission to Moscow was not successful. The Russians were not happy with the news that their patriarchate was relegated, as before, to 5th place. And, as we note in the correspondence which Meletios continued to send to the Tsar up to 1597, appeals for alms went largely unanswered. Meletios even had to intervene with the Russian authorities on behalf of one of his emissaries, the Archimandrite Neophit, who had been imprisoned in Moscow[3].

And, in spite of all the efforts Meletios Pigas had taken, the acts of the Constantinople synods of 1590 and 1593 were nowhere published or mentioned publicly in Moscow in the following years. For example, they were not brought up at all during the very important event of the enthronement of the Patriarch Philaret (1619)[4].

The Russians were excessively concerned about their own affairs during all the "Time of Troubles" (1605-1613), when they were under the influence of the Poles. And the Patriarch Philaret was not at all a great lover of the Greeks. During his patriarchate, Denys of Zobnino, Archimandrite of the Trinity Monastery, had found in the library the writings of Maxim the Greek (died 1556), and he tried to continue Maxim's work, presenting, finally, the results of his "book-correcting" to the Tsar in 1618. But he was condemned for his innovations. The time of Tsar Michael (1613-1645) and of his father, the Patriarch Philaret, was not at all propitious for Moscow-Constantinople relations although, in principle, Philaret was very much concerned about Russian liturgical and canonical book-correction, through the Greek models. One bright spot in the period however, was the visit to Moscow of the Jerusalem Patriarch Theophan in 1620. Theophan complained about the treatment of Denys of Zobnino, and the Archimandrite received an amelioration of his lot[5].

Michael's son Alexis, after coming to the throne, was considerably more enthusiastic about relations with the Eastern patriarchs, and during the era of grecophilia which followed, a great number of persons who knew the Greek language came to Moscow as translators, book-correctors, etc. Alexis and the Patriarch Nikon tried to establish again relations which had quite deteriorated during the previous half century.

The Patriarch Nikon was enthroned in Uspenskij Sobor as 7th Patriarch of Moscow on 3rd June 1653. The same year, he printed, in the revised *Kormchaija Kniga* the full text of the letter instituting the Moscow patriarchate, sent from Constantinople after the Synod of 1590, with the signatures of the Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem Patriarchs and 79 other hierarchs[6].

1. Malesevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

2. See letters III-VII in Malysevskij, *op. cit.* appendix.

3. *Ibid.*, letters VIII-XVI. Letter XI (1597) concerns Neophit.

4. Kartasev., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 45-46; Nikolaevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

5. Kartasev, op. cit., II, p. 95. Also, P. Pascal, *Avakkum et les débuts du rascol. La crise religieuse au XVIIe siècle en Russie*. Paris: Istina 1938, pp. 9 ff.

6. For Greek version see *Analecta Byzantino Russica*, *op. cit.* and Epistolae Patriarcharum Graecorum, No. 5. Russian

The essential part of this text: "Wherefore, our humility seeing the extent... of his Empire, and that he is at this day the only great Tsar upon earth who is also Orthodox, judged it not proper to disregard his request, but accepted his thought, and appointed as Patriarch of Moscow the lord (gospodin) Job, by the indication and grace of the All-Holy Spirit; and we gave him a patriarchal letter, a chrysobulla, to the effect that he the same Job should be a fifth Patriarch, and...forever. This we did on the spot. But when we had returned to Constantinople, and had made known what had taken place in Moscow... the other most holy Patriarchs, of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, consented and approved this; and it seemed to them acceptible, and reasonable, and necessary, and convenient. And, behold, now again our humility, with these Patriarchs, and with this ecumenical synod, with one mind and consent and will in the Holy Ghost, write and declare by this present synodal letter:

"First we ratify and confirm the appointment made on the spot in Moscow and the patriarchal title of the afore-named Patriarch the lord Job; next we confirm also the patriarchal chrysobulla given to him, in which all relating to this matter was written at length, declaring synodically that the newly-created Patriarch of Moscow, the lord Job, is to be named Patriarch, and to be reckoned with the other Patriarchs, and to have his place and commemoration after the patriarch of Jerusalem, being bound (for his part) to commemorate the names of ourselves, and of the rest. And he is to treat and regard as his chief (nachalo,ἀρχή) the apostolic chair of Constantinople, as do also the other Patriarchs. And this benefit and honour and name of the Patriarch, now given to lord Job Patriarch of Moscow, we decree and declare to be publicly acknowledged and unchangeable, not only for him, but we also declare that such as shall be appointed after him Primates to the synod of Moscow are to be named Patriarchs, after the rule and precedent made and begun in the case of this Patriarch of Moscow lord Job, brother beloved in the Holy Ghost and fellow-minister of our humility. For the which end also this synodal document is written for a perpetual confirmation in the year 7098, May 8 (A.D. 1590)."

The Act of the Synod of 1593, in which Meletios was the chief spokesman, confirming the Act of 1590, was printed by the Patriarch Nikon in the Russian *Skrizal* (Intr., pp. 9–53), published in 1656. Thus, the record of the institution of the Moscow patriarchate was officially made public in Russia. In many other ways also, the Patriarch Nikon showed his veneration for the ancient Eastern patriarchates and his respect for their decisions. In his "Replies" printed in 1661[1] he says:

> "The patriarch of Moscow, being equalled in honour with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, it to be named in the diptychs after the Patriarch of Jerusalem. And we rejoice to remain within such a rule and constitution, and not to surpass the measure and the rule of the holy fathers, i.e. of the most holy ecumenical Patriarchs."

Other aspects of the Grecophilism of Nikon have been well documented[2].

### *Conclusion*

Thus, we have seen in this article the particular relation of the Russian and Greek churches within the wider context of the European and inter-ecclesial situation in the 10th–17th centuries, and especially the predominant role of Meletios Pigas in the late 16th century. Meletios contributed considerably during a major era of Greek/Russian relations, and because of his deep piety, learning and faith within the Orthodox tradition, he aided the coming to birth of a sister patriarchate. His Orthodox conviction about the necessity of holding to a canonical position was tested in his relations with Western Protestantism and an aggressive Roman Catholicism, and this tested faith he put to good use in leading the other Eastern patriarchates to solve another great question: the advent of a newly arising Muscovite church/state power and influence. The erection of the Moscow patriarchate was arranged in such a way which satisfied Orthodox canonical tradition and much is due to Meletios Pigas for the fact that interorthodox relations between Moscow and the other patriarchates was founded on a solid basis. Such a foundation was finally recognized by the Russians themselves after 1652 when the Moscow authorities, under the guidance of the Patriarch Nikon, printed the Acts of the Constantinople Synods of 1590 and 1593 in their official canonical and liturgical books.

Within the limits of this study we have not been able to evaluate one very important point: the reasons why the Russians failed to publish the de-

in *Kormcaija Kniga* 1787 edition on *pp.* 21–25. English translation in William Palmer, *The Patriarch and the Tsar.* (6 vols.) London 1871–1876, vol. III, part. 1.

1. The replies of the patriarch Nikon to the correspondence between the boyar Simon Stresnev and the prelate Paisius Ligarides in 1661. A manuscript of over 990 pages, translated into English in William Palmer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

2. Numerous books have been written on the Patriarch Nikon. The earliest biography of the Patriarch by his deacon, I. Suserin; pre-revolutionary studies by A.A. Bykov, N. Gibbenet, N. Th. Kapterev, P. Th. Nicholaevskij, W. Palmer, etc. and the post-revolutionary study by M.V. Zyzykin. Cf also my book, «the Patriarch Nikon, a Study of His Finno-Ugric Origins and How they Related to Russian Church Life. Ecclesiological and Ethnographical Study». In «Ekklesia kai Theologia» (Review of the Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain) vol. 2 (1981), pp. 618–660; vol. 3 (1982) pp. 257–281 vol. 4. (1983) pp. 117–135; vol. 5 (1984).

crees of 1590 and 1593 before 1653 and why, after that date, they became eager once again to come under the Greek influence. Probably one important factor was a basic ambivalence in the Moscow Tsardom about how to relate to outside powers in general (in the 17th century it concerned the Greek East and the Latin and Protestant West). Only the Russian grecophile (such as Nikon) could really appreciate the solution of Meletios Pigas, and yet looking at the ecumenical situation today, the solution about the Moscow patriarchate made in 1593 has a certain reasonable quality which commends itself.

# SOME ECUMENICAL REFLECTIONS ON ROMANS 4

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Paul's exposition in the fourth chapter of this letter to the Christians in Rome sheds some interesting and important sidelights on the character of his gospel. In particular it tells us something about the internal dynamics in the emergence of Christianity which are still of potential importance for today.

## *I. The Jewish character of Christianity*

Romans 4 is one of the finest examples of Jewish midrash available to us from this era. It consists of an exposition of Gen. 15.6–ἐπίσπευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίστη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. The exposition proper (vv. 3–22) is bracketed by explicit citation of the text itself (vv.3, 22), with several other references or echoes incorporated within the body of the midrash (vv. 5,6,9 and 11, 17 and 18), and consists of Paul's explanation of the two key verbs, ἐλογίσθη καὶ ἐπίστευσεν. Typical of the midrash form is the use of Ps. 32.1 to elucidate the text from the Torah (vv. 3,7–8) and the interweaving of Gen. 17.5 into the exposition (v. 17), to provide the fatherhood of Abraham as the counterpart to the principal theme (vv. 1, 11–12, 16–18).

The following analysis is meant to highlight the chief epmhases as the exposition moves forward, not a firm structure imposed by Paul. In fact each 'phase' is interrelated, with thematic words (faith, promise) appearing outside the stage at which they are most prominent, and there is no clear division at v. 17 in particular.

vv. 1–2 Introduction (in continued diatribe style)
3 The text to be explained
4–8 The meaning of ἐλογίσθη
4–5 from the logic of divine–human relations
6–8 from its use in Ps. 32. 1–2 (LXX 31.1–2)
9–21 The meaning of ἐπίστευσεν
9–12 from the order of events in Abraham's case
13–17 from the link between faith and promise in Abraham's case
17–21 from the character of Abraham's faith
22 Conclusion–the text explained
23–25 Corollary–its wider application as thus understood.

That Paul thinks and writes as a Jew is clear. Indeed so Jewish in character is Rom. 4 that it can plausibly be argued that Paul has reworked an already existing midrash on Gen. 15.6 which originated among non–Christian Jews[1]. The hypothesis as thus expressed seems unnecessarily elaborate and fails to do justice to all the evidence. More likely is the thesis that Rom. 4 is a composition of Paul himself in which he has followed a traditional homiletic pattern and included traditional Jewish themes and emphases[2].

The Jewish character of the content of the midrash is most clear in vv. 13–22, particularly vv.17 and 22. In v.17 consider the description of God as τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα. With the first phrase we may compare the language of the second Benediction–you 'make the dead alive' (cf. Ps. 71.20 LXX 70.20; Tob. 13.2; Wisd. 16.13; TGad 4.6). In view of Heb. 11.19, an allusion to Gen. 22.1–14 cannot be ruled out[3]. But Paul also has more immediately in view the deadness of Abraham's body and of Sarah's womb (v. 19), and so presumably also the broader use of ζωοποιεῖν where it can denote God's creative, sustaining (keeping alive) or renewing power (cf. Neh. 9.6; Job. 36.6; Ec. 7.12; Jos & As. 8.9).

Both elements of the second participial phrase are also firmly rooted in Jewish thought. Well established is the idea of God's act of creation as an effectual 'calling' (Isa. 41.4; 48.13; Wisd. 11.25; Philo *Spec. Leg.* 4.187; 2 Bar. 21.4; Jos & As. 8.9). And the belief that God created *ex nihilo* is a particular feature of Philo's theology, for whom God is τὸ ὄν who brings non–being into being *(Opif.* 81; *Leg.All.* 3.10;

1. H.J. van der Minde, *Schrift und Tradition bei Paulus* (München: Schöningh, 1976) 78–83, developing a suggestion by O. Michel, *Römerbrief* (Vandenhoech: Göttingen[5], 1978) 160– the pre–Christian midrash compising vv. 3, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17a and 18c.

3. H. Moxnes, *Theology in Conflict: Studies in Paul's Understanding of God in Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 195–205.

3. C.K. Barrett, *Romans* (London: Black, 1957) 96–7.

*Migr.* 183; *Heres* 36; *Mut.* 46; *Mos.* 2.100; and note especially *Spec. Leg.* 4.187– τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ εἶναι; cf. also 2 Macc. 7. 28; 2 Bar. 21.4; 48.8). As with the preceding phrase, Paul is obviously drawing on language which was firmly established in Jewish theological reflection, particularly in Hellenistic Jewish circles. Noteworthy is the parallel to the complete formulation in Joseph and Asenath 8.9– θεός, ὁ ζωοποιήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ καλέσας... ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς τὴν ζωήν[4].

Similarly in v. 22 Paul's description of God as δυνατὸς καὶ ποιῆσαι draws on an already well developed theme of Jewish theology - with, once again, Philo's confidence in God's power to do all things providing the nearest parallels (*Som.* 2. 136; *Jos.* 24*b*; *Spec. Leg.* 1.282), and not least with reference to the same episode in Genesis 18.14–15 (*Abr.* 112; note also 175; *Qu. Gen.* 3.2, 56)[5].

The extent to which in this crucial apologetic chapter Paul argues as a Jew using central Jewish theologoumena should serve as a reminder that Christianity is the offspring of first century Judaism and its antecedents. Christiantity is a Jewish faith and cannot be understood without reference to this Jewish character so integral to it and to its self-understanding. Within all our Christian concerns for a growing togeher of the different Christian traditions, we should not lose sight of the larger ecumenical concern which Paul himself felt so deeply (Rom. 9–11). The Jewish heritage and character which is Christianity's is not something which belongs merely to its unformed and underdeveloped beginnings. May it not be that one way towards renewal of Christian theology and faith is to recover our sense of the Jewishness of Christianity? If the gifts and calling of God are irrevocable, and the people of God will remain incomplete without our Jewish brethren[6], then we may hope that by rediscovering the Jewishness of our common fairth, by taking seriously not least the dual character of our Old Testament (Jewish *and* Christian scriptures), we may find that the ecumenical process has been advanced further than we could have imagined or dared to hope.

### *II. Diverse views within Christianity*

I have so far stressed the continuity evident in Romans 4 between early Judaism and emerging Christianity. In fairness we must also note the element of discontinuity also evident in Romans 4 between the Christianity of Paul and the Judaism from which he himself emerged. For in turning to Abraham as a test case for his understanding of the gospel and in focusing on Gen. 15.6 Paul was knowingly and deliberately confronting head-on a deeply held set of Jewish convictions about Abraham.

4. See further Moxnes 241–7.
5. See further Moxnes 146–55.
6. Cf. particularly M. Barth, *The people of God* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1983).

At the time of Paul Abraham was regularly represented as a type of or model for the pious Jew. Already it was being said that he had observed the law, in its as yet unwritten state (Jub. 16.28; 24.11; 2 Bar. 57.1–2; m. Kidd. 4.14; Abraham 'was accounted a friend of God because he kept the commandments of God'–CD 3.2). More frequently recalled was the folk memory of how Abraham had been tested and yet found faithful, with particular reference to the sacrifice of Isaac (Judith 8.26; Jub. 18,16; 19.8; m. Abot. 5.3). Here particularly noteworthy is Sir. 44.19–21:

Abraham was the great father of a multitude of nations
  and no one else has been found like him in glory;
he kept the law of the Most High,
  and was taken into covenant with him;
he established the covenant in his flesh,
  and when he was tested he was found faithful.
Therefore the Lord assured him by an oath
  that the nations would be blessed through his posterity;
that he would multiply him like the dust of the earth,
  and exalt his posterity like the stars,
and cause them to inherit from sea to sea
  and from the River to the ends of the earth.

Paul could well have had this passage in mind, since it associates so many of the same themes (father Abraham, his pre-eminence, lawkeeping, covenant, flesh, blessing promised to the nations, posterity, even the use of εὑρίσκειν). What catches immediate attention, however is the marked divergence between ben Sira's handling of these themes and Paul's. For ben Sira the covenant promise of blessing to the nations is a consequence of Abraham's faithfulness and presupposes Israel's supremacy. Paul reads the same scriptural tradition differently at both points (see 4.4–12). Even if Paul did not have this passage in mind as such, he certainly had in view the train of thought expressed by ben Sira.

More striking still is the fact that another expression of the same motif uses just the phrase as we find in Sir. 44.20, ἐν πειρασμῷ εὑρέθη πιστός, and immediately adds καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην,'when he was tested he was found faithful, and it was reckoned to him for righteousness' (1 Macc. 2.52)–the same appeal to Gen. 15.6 which Paul himself makes in v.3. Clearly then Paul has in view another well established theme of Jewish theology at that time, which tied the covenant promise made to Abraham, to Abraham's faithfulness under testing, and which regarded Abraham's offering of Isaac as the key to understanding Gen. 15.6.

Paul, of course, goes on to dispute this alternative current exposition of Gen. 15.6. But that should not cause us to qualify our first reflection too much. For at this stage what we have is still an in-house debate - not yet Christianity disputing with Judaism, but Jews disagreeing on the way best to understand their common heritage of scripture and tradition.

More to the point, not only Jews disagreeing among

themselves, but also Christians disagreeing on the same issue. For when we talk of Jewish exposition of Gen. 15.6 we should not forget that one of the strongest witnesses to the Jewish interpretation of Gen. 15.6 is the *Christian* text, James 2.18–24. The fact that Jas. 2 deals with the same topic as Rom. 4 from a different angle is, of course, well known. What has been insufficiently appreciated, however, is the extent to which Jas. 2 actually sets itself to dispute the line of argument leading into and through Rom. 4. The correlation can be tabulated quite straightforwardly:

| | Romans | James |
|---|---|---|
| Issue posed in terms of faith and works | 3.27–28 | 2.18 |
| Significance of claiming 'God is one' | 3.29–30 | 2.19 |
| Appeal to Abraham as test case | 4.1–2 | 2.20–22 |
| Citation of proof text–Gen. 15.6 | 4.3 | 2.20–22 |
| Interpretation of Gen. 15.6 | 4.4–21 | 2.23 |
| Conclusion | 4.22 | 2.24 |

The point is, that at each step the two lines of reasoning are antithetical. Where Paul sets out to demonstrate that a man is justified πίστει χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου, James sets out to *challenge* the claim that a man can show his πίστιν χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων. Where Paul argues from the Jewish credal confession that 'God is one' to support his contention that God justifies *all* men in the same way (by faith), James dismisses the appeal to the same credal confession–'Even the demons believe–and shudder!' Where Paul denies that 'Abraham our forefather ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη', James affirms precisely the opposite, that 'Abraham our father ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη'. Most striking of all is the fact that James' interpretation of Gen. 15.6 is precisely in line with the current Jewish exposition outlined above and expressed most clearly in Sir. 44.20 and 1 Macc. 2.53 (Gen. 15.6 understood by reference to Abraham's offering of Isaac)–the very interpretation of Gen. 15.6 which Paul set out to refute. In other words, James appears to be responding to the (in Jewish terms) idiosyncratic exposition of Paul by appealing to the standard Jewish understanding of the text. Consequently it is not surprising that the two conclusions seem to be moving in different directions, with James' finding that a man is justified ἐξ ἔργων and *not* ἐκ πίστεως μόνον running directly counter to Paul's finding that justification comes through faith as bare and unconditional trust in the covenant promise of God.

The tension involved here between Paul and James should not be exaggerated. But neither should it be ignored or played down. It stands as a reminder that Christianity is not a wholly uniform faith even on some central emphases. If the continuity between Judaism and Christianity is fundamental to Christianity, the precise extent and character of that continuity is one of the points on which apostolic Christianity disagreed. And that disagreement has been preserved in our canonical documents to remind us Christians of later generations that diversity of viewpoint and epmhasis is part of Christianity, as important indeed as its unity, and, in fact, integral to its unity, since (in the imagery of beloved Paul) without such diversity the body of Christ cannot be one (1 Cor. 12).

### *III. A Reformation Misunderstanding*

The third reflection arises out of the reassessment of Paul's teaching on justification by faith and not by works which has been prompted particularly by the contribution of E.P. Sanders[7]. Sanders has shown clearly that the Judaism of Paul's day, as documented by its own writings, hardly corresponds to the picture so frequently drawn in Protestant exegesis of a narrow legalism which thought it could earn salvation by the merit of good works. Jewish self-understanding began with grace – the grace of God's free election and choice of Israel. The law was God's gift to his covenant people, to show them how to live within the covenant. Central within the law the provision of atonement and forgiveness, and the epmhasis on the need for repentance was characteristic of Judaism then as now. The typical Jewish attitude, we may say, was very like that of James – covenant membership demonstrated by faithfulness, faith demonstrated by works. In short, works of law not as a way of earning salvation, of gaining God's favour, but as the way of life of those who already enjoy God's favour and who as God's people can look to him for continued salvation.

Romans 4 enters the discussion not simply because it holds a central place in Paul's exposition of his own thought, but more particularly because of v. 4. For if any verse seems to support the classic Protestant presentation of the Judaism opposed by Paul as a religion concerned to earn God's favour, it is Rom. 4.4– 'To him who works, reward is not reckoned κατὰ χάριν but κατὰ ὀφείλημα'. The language of works, reward and debt is explicit. Does it not follow then that this verse represents the current teaching within Judaism which Paul rejects? Is the implication not justified that the Pharisaic Judaism from which Paul himself had emerged taught salvation by works, reward according to merit, the possibility of a man putting God in his debt?

This deduction, however, mistakes the force of v. 4 because it fails to grasp the line of argument Paul develops here. At this point Paul is beginning the first stage of his exposition of one of the key words in Gen. 15.6 – ἐλογίσθη. He starts from the well known fact that λογίζεσθαι was a technical term in commercial dealings ('reckon or put to someone's account')[8]. This obviously suggested that one way of understanding ἐλογίσθη was in terms of the categories of the business

7. E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977).

8. BAGD λογίζομαι; TDNT 4. 284.

world. In terms of the contractual relationships of commerce λογίζεσθαι must mean a reckoning of payment for work done. No business could survive which simply gave away its stock or paid its employees for not working. Hence κατὰ χάριν in a sense which would be sufficiently familiar in the business world–'as a favour, out of good will'[9]. Likewise ὀφείλημα, which again is drawn from the business world analogy and which consequently occurs only here in Paul. In short, Paul's language shows where he derives the possible sense of λογίζεσθαι from. There is an obvious reason for posing this alternative sense of λογίζεσθαι and it is given by the normal business associations of the term itself.

The movement of Paul's thought is also clear. He takes as his starting point the fact that in Gen. 15.6. ἐλογίσθη is accompanied not by ἐργάζεσθαι but by πιστεύειν. Had it used ἐργάζεσθαι then the business sense of ἐλογίσθη would have been appropriate. But since Gen. 15.6 uses πιστεύειν instead, the implication is that in divine–human relations the parallel of a contractual relationship between those who (relatively speaking) are equals is inappropriate. Paul's Jewish interlocutor would not be convinced at this initial attempt to separate Gen. 15.6 from Abraham's faithfulness, but at least so far as the λογίζεσθαι in Gen. 15.6 is concerned the point has weight: in Gen. 15.6 it is *faith* which is so 'reckoned'[10].

There is no reason in the text of Romans therefore to support the suggestion that Paul is castigating the Judaism of his day for holding to a theology of merit and reward. The wording is used simply as part of the analogy drawn from the world of contract and employment. He does *not* say, If you think of Abraham's faith as a work, you must think of his righteousness as a reward. The contrast is solely between working and believing, between what the worker is due and wat is given as a complete favour. The Jew of Paul's day did, of course, have a concept of divine recompense and reward for covenant loyalty (as in Ps. 18.20–24), though we should beware of assuming that the later rabbinic doctrine of merits, first clearly evident in 4 Ezra 8.33, was already characteristic of Pharisaic Judaism[11]. But it is not the concept of reward as such which Paul disputes. He himself has already described God's judgment as a rendering to every man according to his works (2.6,10), and he had not hesitated to use the word 'reward' in a similar context in his own teaching in an earlier letter (1 Cor. 3.8, 14). His point is simply that in the case of Gen. 15.6 the whole language of 'payment due' is inappropriate. Or rather, that is what he is going to demonstrate. Here he simply poses the alternatives,

work → reckon → debt
faith → reckon → favour,

as a way of setting up the exposition which is about to follow and as a way of shaking his Jewish interlocutor out of a too ready equation of Abraham's believing with his covenant loyalty. Where (Abraham's ) faith is in view the righteousness is surely reckoned in terms of grace not of payment due.

Romans 4.4–5 therefore does not provide evidence that the Judaism confronted by Paul thought that salvation could be earned by putting God in man's debt through the merit of good works. The reassessment of Paul's teaching on justification by faith called for by Sanders should not be refused on the grounds of Rom. 4.4. Consequently also the traditional Lutheran use of justification by faith needs some rethinking, as also the debates within Christianity on the same subject. Not least of importance, the traditionally negative Christian attitude towards Judaism which the Reformation exegesis of Rom. 4.4. reinforced needs to be critically scrutinized in the light of such exegetical reassessments, and Jewish–Christian relations rescued from the centuries of misunderstanding and misrepresentation (on both sides).

It is a testimony to the crucial importance of Paul in shaping Christian thinking both in the past and up into the present, that a passage like Romans 4 can yield such significant chekckpoints and signposts along the 20th century ecumenical road – not least because they remind us that in the ecumenical talks not just a meeting across old boundaries is called for but a crissing of boundaries and a redrawing even of long established boundaries. It is an honour and a pleasure to offer such reflections to one who has himself crossed the ecumenical boundaries both academically and geographically.

9. LSJ χάρις; BAGD χάρις.
10. That Paul is not indulging in special pleading here by rewording Gen. 15.6 with πίστις as the subject (4.5) is confirmed from Philo's similar rewording of the same passage in *Heres* 94– λογισθῆναι τὴν πίστιν εἰς δικαιοσύνην αὐτῷ.
11. For rabbinic Judaism itself see Sanders 117–47.

# ETHIOPIAN LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

By

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It was in June 1962 as I was then writing the manuscript of my book, The Philosophy of Man, a vast inquiry on the notion of man throughout history, from the Upanishands of ancient India to logical positivism in our days, that I came across in the archives of the Addis Ababa National Library a rather big manuscript covered with wooden boards whose title startled me: *The Book of the Philosophers!* It was a fine manuscript written in black ink, although a few words were written in red ink, of one hundred and eight pages. It was written, not in modern Amharic, but in the ancient Semitic language called Geez which survives mostly in the liturgy of the Ethiopian Church. All I knew through a rapid leafing of the manuscript was that Ethiopia was in possession of a philosophical written text, which went back to the time when Geez was the spoken language of the country. I could identify it because there stood out in red ink, the expression: "It has been said", or "A wise man said." It was therefore a book of Sententiae, or "Sayings" attributed to names I could easily identify: Plato, Socrates, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Solomon...

At that time I did not suspect how accurate, profound and comprehensive was my first intuition, but now, after years of research on the written philosophy and the sapiential literature of Ethiopia and even of the whole continent of Africa, I know that man occupies the centre of all concerns and views: of the archetypal images, the sapiential type, the thought patterns, the world view, the social models, the ethical problems.

I first made this observation as I was trying to delineate the profile of images used in the sapiential and philosophical works of Ethiopia. For the image lays deeper than the clear idea. Depth psychology has accustomed us to penetrate into the symbols wrapped up by the unconscious. Now these symbols do not emerge as a jungle in which no pattern is discernible. It may not always be manifest at first sight, or it may be blocked by self-defence reactions, but there is always a deep-seated form. As my research on traditional or evolutionary Ethiopian philosophy was progressing, I saw a kind of architecture of images building itself before my very eyes, a real pyramid whose basis is nature and whose apex is man himself. But the human person is not only the most important element in this construction; man penetrates the pyramid itself like a line joining the summit to the centre of the base, since a distinction is made between material beings made by man and those that are not, and since certain elements of the material world, like time for instance, are considered under a human viewpoint.

We are here at the heart of Ethiopia–but would it not also be the heart of the whole of Africa? Symbols are rarely things in physical nature, as they exist in themselves, independently of any human usage or modification. The human seal has left its imprint through the entire structure of the basic images, an imprint which becomes more and more manifest as one goes down the scale of life and penetrates into matter moulded by man or at least reflecting his being. Man himself is the pre-eminent symbol: his body with its various organs and in particular his heart, internal centre of intellectual, emotional and moral operations; the illnesses that beset him; man as individual and as social unit accomplishing various functions in society; lastly, man in the night infinite complexity of his functions.

Whereas the Western world, has a tendency to consider things as they are in their impersonal objectivity, the Ethiopian Semitic world is clearly anthropocentric. The Westerner takes as its starting point the world of external reality, which is distinct and measurable. The Semitic Ethiopian does not break away from the world in which he lives. He does not disengage himself from it, he does not stand out; he is part of it. His starting point is within himself, in his own personal experience. He does not try to express what is in his mind; he rather attempts to evoke it.

The Westerner reconstructs and recreates the outside world within the framework of his own thought. The Ethiopian starts from what is already in his mind

AKSUM-THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

and endeavours to transmit it by suggestion. The Westerner abstracts and arrives at the universal idea; the Semite sticks to the particular and tries to absorb it. The Westerner would like to conceive truth and to demonstrate it; the Semitic Ethiopian seeks to offer himself to it and to have it desired by others. The Western world is a world of things, the Ethiopian world is a world of persons.

The Western world is the world of senses and of matter; its instrument is reason. It is interested in things whih have mothing in common with the interior world. It is the offshoot of ancient Greek thought and in particular of the civilization which has developed since the Renaissance. However, it carries within itself its own contradiction: existentialist philosophy is a contemporary witness of an attempt in the Western world to find the concrete anew, to go the way which, leaving aside the idealist Greek and German manner of edifying a whole system on the basis of abstraction, prefers to apply thought to the art of living.

The Semitic Ethiopian universe is that of human beings and of human life. This does not mean that the Semitic world is completely divorced from the scientific way of thinking. Later on I would "discover" the philosopher Zera Yacob (Zär a Ya,eqob, "The Seed of Jacob") who is a splendid witness for Ethiopia of a rationalistic attitude; the develoment by Semites of astronomy and mathematics is as revealing a phenomenon outside of Ethiopia. But in both cases the approach to problems is different from the Western one. In the particular case of Zera Yacob, nothing could be more revealing than his epistemological and dialectical inquiry, since the symbols which support it are deeply "hominized" and compose a profile where things, the objects of conscious thought are linked on the level of the subconscious to the human experience of the author and the vast cultural background where the human element is both basis and summit.

Looking at the development of Ethiopian philosophy as a whole, one may introduce a distinction, a a double dimension which I call vertical and horizontal. The first cuts through centuries and, just as a cut through geological strata, gives us the dynamic movement, the historical development of Ethiopian philosophy. The second refers to the convergence at the same time, and beyond a mere verbal analysis, of the structures elaborated in each of the philosophical works of Ethiopia.

I would like, first, to present the historical unfolding of Ethiopian literature and within its parameters the place and situation of texts expressing its thought.

## *THE VERTICAL DIMENSION - ETHIOPIAN LITERARY WORKS*

### *1. The Physiologue*

Geez literature, like Coptic, Armenian, Georgian and, in its near totality, Syriac literature, begins with the introduction of Christianity and hence is not really a literature of national origin. The first Ethiopic texts were made from the Greek of the Holy Scriptures, and this Greek origin had an influence on the syntax of the written language, if not on the spoken language itself.

The oldest documents of Geez language still extant are epigraphic and not strictly literary. Basides short inscriptions like that of Matara (*Mätära*) in Eritrea (*'eretra*), the great royal inscriptions of Aksum, the capital of the ancient kingdom, are a clear indication of the Greek cultural influence, the only foreign one which at that time penetrated into the country. Even today in the small garden laid out at the entrance of the town of Aksum, the visitor may see a long inscription in three types of script: South Arabian, Ethiopic and Greek. It dates from the first years of Hezana: roughly in the third decade of the fourth century.

During that period Geez was supplanting Greek as the official language. The first king of whom we know had a Greek education; his successors in the third century used Greek as the official language of their public documents. The primitive language of the Ethiopian Church was, it may be presumed, Greek, since its nucleus was formed by Roman merchants resident in the country. But as the indigenous culture steadily developed and ousted the imported culture of Greece, the liturgy and the Holy Scriptures were translated into Geez. This translation took place in the Vth century, when, presumably, the number of native converts was becoming considerable.

The translation of the Bible includes, besides the canonical and deuterocanonical books, some apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books which are considered as genuine in Ethiopia, and generally received as canonical, namely the two books attributed to Esdras, the "Paralipomena of Baruch". "The Ascension of Isaiah" "The Book of Enoch," "The Book of Jubilees" and the "Pastor of Hermas." These writings are either partially lost in the language in which they were originally written, or they are paired in the Ethiopic version with readings more or less different from the known ones. Such an abundance of translation of apocryphal or apocalyptic texts show the popularity of this type of writing in the Ethiopia of those days, and corresponds to the psychology of the people.

It is here that *The Physiology (Fisalgwos)*, the oldest "philosophical" text I have found and analysed, should be placed although I have devoted to it the collection *Ethiopian Philosophy* corresponding to the order of discovery of manuscripts and not to the historical order of literary composition.

*The Physiologue* has two significant characteristics: its symbolism and its set of moral values.

It is a description of animals, plants and stones. But all of these stand as symbols. It is well known that Ethiopian culture is highly symbolic. Here we have one complete Ethiopian work which is entirely

symbolic, so that we are in a privileged position to determine and define in a precise way and with a great abundance of materical one of the main characteristics of Ethiopian culture.

Here for example there is "hoopoe" which is equivalently called in Ethiopic: *hepw* opas. This lapwing freeing his parents from the ills of old age is a symbol of man who should love his parents.

> The young ones of the lapwing, when their father grows old, pluck off his moulting feathers, peck his eyes, keep him in a hot place, welcome him under their wings, feed him, and guard him, as if they were saying to their father: "As a reward for having kept us and for having deprived yourself of food when you were feeding us, we shall do likewise to you." And they do so until these aged birds are imparted renewed vitality; they are rejuvenated and are young once more.
>
> How would not intelligent beings love their parents?

Each animal, plant or mineral is symbolical of moral values. In all the "philosophical" Ethiopian works which follow *The Physiologue*, the prevalence of the interest for moral concerns is strongly underlined. Here, however, we are dealing with a text which gives us the complete set of values which characterizes Ethiopia.

One would expect that in a work which has been so deeply stamped by ancient Christianity, the most frequent type of the typology of *The Physiology* would be Christ. But it is not so. The central type of *The Physiologue* is man, although man is always considered in his religious relation either to Christ or to the Church or to the Bible. In spite of its Christian or monastic influence *The Physiologue* is not theocentric but anthropocentric. This anthropology, however, is basically theological. The centre of interest and of study is man and not God, but man in one of his most fundamental relations to God. *The Physiologue* therefore expresses a theological anthropology.

What does *The Physiologue* tell us about "man" within the context of theological anthropology?

It is basically a *metanoia*, a *conversio:* man turns away from one state in order to move forward towards another: it is a change of belief and of life, manifested by the abandonment of unbelief, of carnal desires, of the world, of evil conduct in order to embrace life in Christ and in His Church: in a word, the heart changes.

*The Physiologue* is not an entirely original work. It is a translation and an adaptation from a Greek original. The Greek *Physiologue* seems to have been composed either at the end of the II century A.D. or during the first decades of the third. The near unanimity of scholars favours Egypt as the place of its redaction, and within Egypt, Alexandria. The name of the author is unknown, although the work was later on attributed to various names: Saint Epiphanius Archbishop of Constance in Cyprus, Aristotle, Saint Peter bishop of Alexandria, Saint Athanasius of Alexandria, Saint Ambrose, Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil, Solomon.

The Ethiopian translation-adaptation was made most probably at the beginning or in the middle of the Vth century. It seems to have been completed in Egypt, perhaps by an Ethiopian living in a monastery of Skete where he had access to its rich library. The name of the author of the Ethiopic version is unknown.

*The Physiologue* was so popular in Eastern Christendom and in the East that it can be described as the principal work of Christian symbolism inspired from nature. Christianity took many symbols from *The Physiologue*, the most important of which were the phoenix as the symbol of Christ's resurrection and the pelican as the symbol of His self-offering on the cross. In the middle ages no book except the Holy Scriptures had such a wealth of translations: it is the origin of the *Bestiatries*, and has directly inspired Christian art, from the Cathedrals to illuminated manuscripts. Indeed in *The Physiologue* the naturalistic and symbolic elements are fused with true artistry and each chapter is something of a creative masterpiece.

As to the Ethiopic version it is the closest to the Greek original, and the Greek text itself on which the Ethiopic is based was at its greatest and purest development, before it suffered visissitudes during the Byzantine era.

One may query why *The Physiologue*, which is not a philosophical work but a naturalistic-theological book of Christian symbolism, has been placed at the beginning of a synthesis on "Ethiopian Philosophy". But seen from the vantage point of later developments in Ethiopian philosophy, *The Physiologue* affords a first glimpse into its rudimentary beginnings. It is like observing a great river in its initial streamlets. Nearly all the main characteristics that will flourish in *The Book of the Philosophers*, *The Life and Maximes of Skendes*, *The Treatise of Zera Yacob and The Treatise of Walda Heywat* are present in *The Physiologue*, although in an inchoate way: its thought patterns, its archetypal images and symbolism, its world view with the place within it of animals, plants and minerals, its anthropology, its social approach and its set of ethical values. Without the later developments of Ethiopian philosophy, *The Physiologue* is deprived of its significance; without *The Physiologue*, Ethiopian philosophy is deprived of its roots.

### *2. The Book of the Philosophers*

The second great literary period is due to a large extent to the clergy: re-establishment of the Solo-

monian dynasty, frequent relations with the Patriarchate of Alexandria. This explains why the literature of the time was written in the sacred and liturgical language, Geez, at that time a dead language, and not in the live and spoken language, Amharic, and why translations were made, not from Coptic, but from Arabic, just as they were made from Greek during the first period. These translations of the first two periods often have a significant importance, since they were made from texts which are lost or which are better than those still extant or known to us.

In this second period which is much longer and richer than the first, three subdivisions may be made. The first, which we may call the period of Hamda Seyon (*'Amdä Seyon*, reigned 1314–44), lasts until the beginning of the XVth century. The second subdivision may be called after the most famous king of the XVth century, Zera Yacob (reigned from 1434 to 1468; not the philosopher) and goes up to the first quarter of the XVIth century, and even a little later. There follows the third period, which for some writings continues up to the XIXth century and even later up to our own days. However, it is not possible to determine with complete precision when each of these literary periods begins and ends, since in each of them there are works which are closely connected with those of the preceding period, a phenomenon that occurs in any literature.

No "philosophical" text belong to this first subdivision. However, the second subdivision is particularly rich in the history of Ethiopic literature from a philosophical viewpoint. It was then that Abba Mikael (*'Abba Mikael*) translated and adapted into Geez *The Book of the Philosophers* which was completed between 1510 and 1522. It was then also that *The Life and Maximes of Skendes* was translated and adapted into Geez, although the identity of the author is unknown.

The author of the Ethiopic text of *The Book of the Philosophers*, Abba Mikael (Father Michael), is a writer of Egyptian origin whose contribution to Ethiopic literature is considerable. He is the author, not only of *The Book of the Philosophers* completed between 1510 and 1522, but of *The Acts of George of Lydda*, composed before 1481–8 and completed by a scribe in 1510, and of *The Commentary of St. John Chrysostom on St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews*, composed in collaboration with Enbaqom (Habbakuk) and completed in 1522–3 (for 1524–5).

The Ethiopic text was translated "by the mouth of *Mikael:*" the author orally rendered an Arabic text into current language and an Ethiopian wrote it in Ethiopic on parchment. The Arabic text in turn is generally considered as having been written by Human in ibn Ishâq, who was born at Hira, Mesopotamia in c.A.D. 809 as the son of a Nestorian Christian and who died in 873 or more probably in 877. The Arabic text in its turn is based on a Greek original which is lost. This Greek original, however, belonged to the later literature of apophthegms in the form of which it flourished during the Byzantine period. If one were to use as guide only the Greek names used in this Collection of Sayings and if it could be proved that those names were found in the Greek original, one could draw some conclusion as to the date of its composition: since the most recent Greek names, Heraclius Iabout (575–641) belongs to the middle of the VIIth century A.D., one could therefore have *a terminus a quo*, the *terminus ad quem* being the IXth century when it was translated into Arabic. Greek influence is everywhere evident in *The Book of the Philosophers:* Pre-Socratic, Socratic, Aristotelian, but especially Platonic and Neo-Platonic.

One may query to what extent a work translated from an Arabic text which goes back to a Greek original can be labelled "Ethiopian". The answer is that this work of translation (the same could not be said of the original works of Zera Yacob and of Walda Heywat) is Ethiopian, not by the originality of its invention, but by the originality of its style and presentation. The Ethiopians never translate literally: they adapt, modify, add, subtract. A translation therefore bears a typically Ethiopian stamp: although the nucleus of what is translated is foreign to Ethiopia the way it is assimilated and transformed into an indigenous reality is typically Ethiopian.

One example taken from *The Book of the Philosophers* will suffice to bring home this point. The well-known conversation between Diogenes and Alexander of Corinth, which is recorded by Diogenes Laertius, is found in our Ethiopian work. But it is transformed beyond recognition. The famous answer of Diogenes to the king, "Move away from my shadow", is ascribed to Socrates in Ethiopic, as it already was in Arabic. The whole passage has been given such a specific Christian form and development that one seems to be listening to an Oriental monk speaking through the mouth of Socrates. Alexander the Great is called simply "The King" as he is in the Arabic. As in most other passages in our manuscript, he is placed in an inferior position in relation to the wise man. The whole dialogue hinges around one point, life. For Socrates the real life is the spititual one. But the King misses the point, and thinks Socrates is speaking of the temporal life. A subtle irony prevails in the Ethiopian account of the encounter. The inserted story of the service to the idols found in the Arabic text has disappeared completely from the Ethiopian, whereas the Ethiopian has misunderstood the Arabic expression "spittle of the worms" which is meant to be a contemptuous expression for "silk". The Ethiopian can do no better than to render it as the Biblical "work that does not sleep". The covering of Diogenes from the sun by Alexander the Great in the Greek test has become in Arabic the covering of Socrates from the sun by the war materials of the King and in Ethiopian the prevention by the King from Socrates' own wish, which is the heat of the sun.

Is threfore the account of the meeting between Alexander the Great and Diogenes, as found in *The Book of the Philosophers*, Ethiopian or Greek or Arabic? It is Ethiopian by style, by treatment of the subject, and not by invention.

*The Book of the Philosophers is a* Collection of Sayings. It presents the quintessence of what various "philosophers" have said on a certain number of topics, the greater number of which are ethical. Most of the paragraphs begin with: "A wise man said." The saying that follows is usually a striking sentence that catches the imagination, a maxim, a proverb. But it often develops into more elaborate forms, becoming parable, allegory, discourse, argument.

As to the names of the "philosophers", not only has there been historically a mishandling of these names from one collection of sayings to another so that there is a continuous substitution of certain persons for others, but also great names are often used as pretext for the most common practical lore. Sayings are attributed usually to Greek philosophers, but occasionally to Roman personages, to Old Testament figures and to Christians.

This Collection of Saying, so characteristic of the Ethiopian wisdom literary form, is very popular in Ethiopia, as witnessed by the great number of its manuscripts and also by the additions, corrections, and glosses in the same manuscript, as in the one I found in the National Library of Addis Ababa and which was the starting point for my research on *Ethiopian Philosophy.*

### *3. The Life and Maxims of Skendes*
### *Introduction*

Modern psychology claims that the Oedipus story is common to all men of all countries of all times. It is the story of a man who unconsciously marries his mother. When his mother becomes aware of the identity of her husband, she hangs herself. Oedipus tears out his eyes and disappears mysteriously. The legend, which has been the source of inspiration for many dramatists, is for Freud the symbolic expression of a psychological drama common to all men.

Now, only a few nations in the world have *a written* version of this story. The Ethiopic manuscript than I have found in East Berlin is evidence that Ethiopia must now be counted among these few nations.

The title of the Ethiopian version of this story is: "*The Life and Maxims of Skendes.*" (For those who are acquainted with Ethiopian literature, the name of *Skendes* which originally simply meant "Second" must not be confused with Eskender, which means "Alexander.") The Ethiopian narrative goes up to the first quarter of the VXIth century. It is a translation-adaptation of an Arabic account which would have been conceived shortly before the Xth century. In its turn the Arabic story seems to be based on a Greek original of the 2nd century A.D. A careful examination of the Ethiopic and the Arabic texts shows that the Ethiopian translator is clearly distinguishable as a deeply thinking person with a very sensitive power of perception. The Skendes story as it is conveyed in Ethiopic, is the most perfect, the most morally chastened off all the preserved accounts of this type.

The Ethiopian text is divided into three sections. The first section contains the life of Skendes; the second section, a series of fifty-five questions and the third section, a series of one hundred and eight questions.

The first section, "The Story of Skendes", presents a fascinating interest: here is a summary of it, which follows the original text as closely as possible and is now and then illustrated with a few quotations.

### *The Story of Skendes*

In the days of Emperor Endryanos (*'endryanwoe,*) a certain Skendes is sent by his parents to Athens and to Berytus (modern Beyrouth) "in order to be imbued with the philosophy of the wise". At that time Skendes was twelve years old. After his departure, his father passed away.

He engaged in learning for twenty-four years. Once, while he was reading a book "by a wise master concerning women", he was deeply shocked by the statement he made concerning them: "All women are prostitutes." His heart was filled with anger on account of this maxim. He cursed his former master because he had said: "*All* women", and reflected: "Would not then my mother be a prostitute since all women are included, and no one is excluded from the whole group"?

Still under the effect of the traumatic shock, he pursued his reading until he found the passage where it was written that the veracity of a statement is in need of a testing, that is of an experimentation before it is certain that the statement is true.

> Skendes praised God, happy that he had found the sure way of knowing what was written about women: namely the experimental method. He reflected: "Truly, I will subject my mother to a test, if I live and return to my country. She will indeed have forgotten me and will not recognize me. It is twenty-four years since I left her. She will not recognize me if I do not declare to her, 'I am your son'. I went away from her when I was twelve years old. I was then a little boy and had no beard. But now I am a fully grown man and have a beard. What can prevent me from subjecting my mother to a test that I may know the value of the statement about women? I will as well find out that experience is the completion of the truth of any statement. I will do this if I live

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and return to my country. If the truth or the statement materializes, I will have to say, 'No one can have the upper hand over the wise as far as wisdom is concerned;' if, however, I prove the statement to be false, I will reject the whole science of the idolatrous philosophers. I will say that the traces of man cannot be found."

Skendes, who is now thirty-six years old, returns to his country. He proceeds to the place where his servants used to bring their beasts of burden and where the people drew water. He sits at the well.

Then it happened that one of his maid-servants also came to draw water. He recognized her, but she did not recognize him. As she came near him, he enquired from her: "Is your master in this city today?" The maid burst into tears and said: "My master is dead". Thus did he learn that his father was dead. Skendes then asked the maid: "Is your master's son in the city today?" The maid answered: "Twenty-four years have now passed since my master's son was sent to study the wisdom and the way of reasoning to the wise philosophers and the interpretation of books? Thus was he sure that she did not recognize him. Skendes said to the maid: "If this is the case, take these hundred dinars of gold and render the heart of your mistress agreeable to me, so that she may spend one night with me. As for you, I give you these fifty dinars; thus will you speak to your mistress, 'A handsome young man begs you to sleep with him only for one night. The next day he will go to his country, for he is a stranger. He will let no one know of this secret".

The scene that immediately follows the maid-servant's meeting with Skendes is remarkable by its likelihood and the truth of its thoughts and actions. The maid, upon entering the house of her mistress, offers the hundred dinars to her as she whispers to her ear the proposal that accompanied the money. When her mistress heard this, her anger knew no bounds. She flung at the maid's head the chair upon which she was resting. But the maid insists; her words are soft and depict the handsomness of the stranger-her mistress' own son. Finally resistance and hesitations are overcome; her mistress yields with ardour: "If this is so, come, I want to take care of your head and place on it salt and many medicinal herbs; take off this dress, put on a clean one, go back to the man and tell him, 'She has agreed and her heart is willing. But he should not come and enter my house before the sun sets and darkness grows around everything. Then bring him in to me very late in the evening at the first hour of the night lest anyone find out he has come to me.

When night drew nearer, Skendes came to his mother's garden. Then the maid took him by the hand and led him to her mistress. When the wise man entered her room, his mother rose up in front of him, but she did not recognize her son. "The mother was cheerful and rejoiced exceedingly with pleasure and lust and whatever pleases the senses. As for her son, he was kissing his mother with a spiritual kiss and there was no evil in his heart". After dinner, they went to sleep together, but, according to the Ethiopic text, Skendes simply placed his head against his mother's breasts and slept until the next day. When in was daylight, Skendes rose from his sleep and wanted to leave the room, while his mother was pleading with him: "Did I fail to please you"? Skendes answered with the shattering self-identification: "I am your son Skendes!"

When his mother heard this, she was stupefied with shame. She went out, threw a rope to a tree, put her neck to it and hanged herself. The philosopher, however, did not know what his mother was doing. But when be put on his clothes and went out to pour out water, he saw his mother strangled to death.

Broken with sorrow, O "tongue", he said, "you killed your mother". "I will punish you with silence; you shall never speak as long as you are alive on earth". There was a loud shouting and much weeping in the house of the wise man: the servants brought down the corpse and buried his mother After the burial, the sage did not say one single word to them. The people of the city questioned him and rejoiced with him because he had come back to his fatherland. But he would only make a nod to them with his head.

The emperor heard that Skendes had vowed never to speak again. So he summoned him to his court. When Skendes arrived, the emperor stood up from his throne and ordered him to sit in his place. He told him: "Your silence, Skendes, was appopriate before you came to us. For indeed there was no one equal to you who could understand your language. But now make us worthy to hear your words, and for the sake of virtue do raise your voice." But Skendes remained adamant in his silence.

Then the emperor had recourse to physical violence to break the sage's resolution: Skendes was dragged around the whole pavement of the citadel trapped in a net; he was threatened with wild animals; he even bared his neck so that the sword-bearer may cut it with his sword. But he absolutely refused to speak.

The sword-bearer untied the chains of the wise man, clothed him with a magnificant vestment and brought him before the emperor. "The emperor was in admiration at Skendes' fortitude and perseverance in his refusal. He even rejoiced overwhelmingly at his constancy in keeping silence. For the wise Skendes surpassed all the wise by his wisdom." He ordered that a pen and a tablet be brought to the sage and, while respecting his vow of silence he begged him to answer his questions in writting, so that he "may rejoice in his knowledge." Skendes acquiesced. One of the first things he wrote was a parable: the milkmaid story. This story can be traced back to India. It was translated from Sanskrit into Persian, from Persian into Arabic, and from Arabic into Ethiopic.

The gist of the story lies in the problem of guilt; to whom should the suicide of Skendes' mother be imputed? To his father, to his master in philosophy to the maid, to himself, to his mother?

Man's quest for identity has therefore ended in tragedy: a kind of crime for which it is impossible to assign a real culprit. There is an atonement without an intentional fault, a fault without a real culprit, a crime of destiny: an idea that brings us back to ancient Greece and to the most sombre tragedies of its theatre.

Such is the interpretation of events on the conscious level, that is in the eyes of Skendes. But depth psychology would analyze the events in a different way. In his emotional development Skendes had remained stuck in an infantile attachment to his mother. He has never been weaned as it were from his mother. Intellectually and socially he is a man of thirty-six years of age; affectively he has remained a child. To consider all women as prostitutes is symptomatic of a severe form of fixation to mother. On this level the wish is not, symbolically speaking, to return to mother's protective arms, nor to her nourishing breast, but to her all-receiving and all-destroying-womb. If the nature of sanity is to grow out of the womb into the world, the nature of severe mental disease is to be attracted by the womb, to be sucked back into it-and that is to be taken away from life.

### *The Maxims*

When the emperor understood the explanation which Skendes had proposed to him concerning the milkmaid story, not only did he marvel at the philosopher's wisdom, but he invited him to answer in writing to a series of questions that he wanted to ask him. There then follow in the Ethiopic text two series of questions and answers. The first, comprising only fifty-five questions, reflects the intellectual and spiritual climate during the first centuries of the Christian era and in particular the works of one of the gnostics. As a result there is a certain mingling of pantheism and of theism whose expression is sometimes intensely poetical.

> They questioned the wise philosopher and said to him: what is the day? He answered:
>
> "The day is a messenger that toils, hastening down for twelve hours; each day it begins and then in the evening it hides its figure; it is an eternal substance; it is a created mirror whose root is planted in the air; it rises and sets; it is a place full of effort; it fails for twelve hours; it is the beginning of the day; it remembers the like of all; it is created to render all things visible. At night, however, it forgets the numerous things of the day. It is itself a messenger in the air, a runner and also an eternal memory.

On the contrary the second series, of the hundred and eight questions, resumes the traditional themes of Christian Ethiopia. It is essentially ethical and sapiential, strongly underlining the moral principles outside of man: God and the devil. Man and the cosmos are considered in an ethical perspective. The influences are Biblical, Christian and monastic.

### *4. The Treatise of Zera Yacob*

The third literary period is a period of great events which have an impact on literature and on philosophy. In its beginning, shortly after the first twenty years of the XVI century, the movement of the Oromo towards the north introduced a new ethical element to the ancient Abyssinian race. The invasion of the Moslems under the command of Ahmet Gran, brought devastation to the country, the destruction of many churches and monasteries, and the burning of many precious books and manuscripts. But it was also the occasion for events of great importance in Ethiopian literature: the close relations with Europe in general and with Portugal and the Pope in particular, the mission of the Jesuits, religious quarrels, the short victory of the Catholic and the official re-establishment of the traditional faith. These events stirred religious controversies and gave birth to a religious revival. They led to a revision of the already existing sacred books and to the writing of new ones. *The Treatise of Zera Yacob* and to a lesser degree *The Treatise of Walda Herywat* reveal the tensions that characterize this age and the attempts to transcend its limited boundaries.

In 1667 (Gregorian Calendar) an Ethiopian philosopher by the name of *Zera* Yacob wrote *a Treatise* in which he recorded both his life and his thought. To the person with some acquaintance of Ethiopian history, the name Zera Yacob brings to mind the 15th century emperor of that name (reigned 1434-68) who gave his name to the preceding literary period: consolidator of the First Shoan Kingdom, a religious zealot, a literary figure of considerable reput and an efficient administrator. Zera Yacob the Philosopher lived about a century and a half later. By temperament and family background, he was an exact opposite of his namesake.

The philosopher is original in many ways. He begins his *Treatise* with the story of his life. It is the only known autobiography in Ethiopic literature. He was born in the environs of Aksum from a poor farmer. He attended the traditional schools of Ethiopia, studying in particular the Psalms of David, sacred music, the *qene* ("poetry" or "hymns") and Ethiopian "belles-lettres". This is a point of special importance. The language of Zera Yacob is *pure qene* Geez: it reveals no foreign influence. Indeed it is the jewel, the masterpiece of Ethiopian literature. But the import of *the qene* school or Zera Yacob went further than mastery of the Ethiopian language.

In such a school questions and discussion are encouraged. Students are trained to reflect and criticize, and hence they have been dissenters more often than not. Indeed it can be said that Ethiopian philosophy in the sense of a philosophy based on primacy of thought originated in the *qene* school.

In 1626 king Susenyos made his solemn profession of Catholic faith. Shortly adterwards, Zera Yacob was denounced before the king by a priest from Aksum. Zera Yacob was compelled to flee for his life, taking with him three measures of gold and the most precious of his possessions–the second great influence in his life together with *qene* language and culture: the Book of Psalms, the *Dawid*. On his way to Shoa, whose present capital is Addis Ababa, in the south, he found a beautiful, uninhabited location: a cave at the foot of a valey, south of the Takkaze River, where he lived for two years, till the death of Susenyos. There, in the peace and solitude of the cave, far from conflicts among men, he eleborated his philosophy.

It is an absolutely original work, the fruit of his own personal reflection, and not a translation or an adaptation from foreign sources, as most of Ethiopic literature is. The philosophy that later on will be developed in his *Treatise is* clearly rationalistic.

Rationalism is here considered as the view which recognizes true only that content of faith which can be made to appeal to reason. In Ethiopia, traditional, philosophy in its written form is intimately linked with Christianity in general and monasticism in particular. It is precisely in this sense of the absolute and exclusive sufficiency of human reason which denies all dogmatic assertion that reason would be unable to establish by its own means and to comprehend adequately that Zera Yacob is said to be rationalist.

The Geez title of the *Treative* of Zera Yacob is Hatata (*hatāta.*) This word comes from a root which originally meant: "to question bit by bit, piece–meal; to search into or through, to investigate accurately; to examine; to inspect." The light of reason is for Zera Yacob the discriminating criterion between what is of God and what is of man, between the essential tenets of natural religion and the manmade additions to prove men's "inventions". Through the application of his method, the light– reason whose immediacy enlightens his investigation, Zera Yacob has found a basic principle: *The Goodness of the Created Nature.* On this foundation he moves towards theology, ethics phychology, his theology being mostly a creational one, his ethics accepting only that which is based on the goodness of the created thing, like that of married life and of food, thus rejecting the time–honoured monastic life and fasting of traditional Ethiopia, and his psychology emphasizing man's freedom and his superiority over the rest of creation.

A contemporary of René Descartes, Zera Yacob resembles him in many ways. Not that Zera Yacob makes use of universal methodic doubt. But in both philosophers one finds a method, the occasion for a critical inquiry, the necessity for such an inquiry, a criterion which leads to the establishment of a basic principle that is applied in both authors to theodicy, ethics and psychology (and in Descartes to cosmology). In both also the method of inquiry is revolutionary, although its roots are deeply theological. The historical circumstances from which the rationalism of both thinkers originates are equally similar: the collapse of scholasticism, of the harmony between faith–reason in Europe, and in Ethiopia, the confrontation with Western culture and violent religious discord. The environment for the initial project of the *Discourse on Method* (1637) and the *Hatata* (1667) is solitude: that of Descartes in Weubourg during winter and that of Zera Yacob on the banks of the Takkaze River for two years.

Undoubtedly, Zera Yacob is not a mathematical genius; his philosophy does not appear as a deduction, a linear continuity from a first principle or a first idea, but rather as the unfolding of sun rays which emanate from a single centre, thus safeguarding the complexity and richness of reality. "A genuine contribution to the history of human thought:" such is the judgement of Enno Littmann on the work of Zera Yacob.

After the death of Susenyos, he left his cave in order to live among his fellowmen: he settled down at Enferaz in the house of a rich merchant called Habtu who became his literary patron. It is for him that he copied the Psalms in a beautiful writing that everybody admired: he taught Habtu's two sons and married one of his maid–servants. At the request of one of his sons, Zera wrote Yacob his *Treatise when* he was sixty–eight years old. He was to live at Enferaz for twenty–five more years. The account he has left of his happy family life, of his prosperity, of the birth of his children and grandchildren smacks patriarchal simplicity. He died in 1692 at the age of ninety–three.

### *5, The Treatise of Walda Heywat*

#### *Presentation*

After Zera Yacob's death, his disciple Walda Heywat, one of Habtu's sons, also wrote *a Treatise* in which he relates the last years and death of his master and presents the latter's thought in a more pedagogical and parenetic way.

One can easily imagine a scene which must have often taken place in the rich merchant's house in Enferaz: Habtu's two sons are seated at the feet of their master Zera Yacob, but the face of the younger son is aglow with the light of understanding and admiration. Walda Haywat is aware that his master is not simply one more teacher in Ethiopia, but an original and profound thinker. This is what *Zera Yacob* will write about him in his *Treatise:* Walda *Heywat* "was closely associated with me in science

and in my great affection: he knew all my secrets; there was nothing I kept hidden from him. After his constant entreaties, I wrote this small book just for the sake of his love".

However, the second *Treatise*, that of Walda Heywat, is not a simple repetition of the first. Although Wlada Heywat's ideas are essentially those of his master, his presentation of them is remarkable for its pedagogical qualities. He is an admirable storyteller. Each of his stories in an illustration in practical life of the principle he wants to inculcate. Each one shows the influence of Ethiopian popular literature on Walda Heywat, although his short stories are much more dramatic and picturesque than their original models in the sapiential written literature of the country.

The pedagogical value of Walda Heywat goes much beyond the literary qualities of his presentation. He seems to have selected among his master's ideas those which have the closest link with the sense of human life. He expresses his ideas with vigour, usually addressing his readers as if they were his disciples Walda Heywat is above all an educator, utilizing pedagogical techniques: he is in constant communication with his "students", asking them questions, foresees their objections, answers them, inserts questions, within his answers, maintains his audience in a living rapport with him thanks to the use of imperatives. The harmony between practical sense and educational concern in Walda Heywat is such that present-day Ethiopia has placed in the limelight many aspects of his thought: the value of work, a social philosophy with its different practical applications, an enargic affirmation of the equality of all humans whatever be their beliefs, and the insistence on the beauty of marriage and of family life over and against their slanderers.

### 6. *Authorship of the two Treatises*

The authorship of these very original *Treatises* was challenged in 1920 by Carlo Conti Rossini, who claimed to have identified the real author in Padre Giusto d'Urbino, an Italian scholar who worked in Ethiopia in the XIX century and who, together with his scribe, copied the two manuscripts of the Hatata which are extant in the Bibliothèque nationale des Paris. His arguments are mainly extrinsic, as the recent age of the manuscripts, the name Zera Yacob that would hide the baptismal name of Giusto d' Urbino: Jacopo, Giusto's knowledge and love of the Ethiopian language and literature, and the information on Islam which would have been taken from the Ethiopic translation of *Les soiréce de Carthage* made by Giusto himself. In 1934, arguments, mostly linguistic, were brought forward by Eugen Mittwoch to apply to the second as well as to the first *Treatise*. From that moment on, nearly all interest was lost for the Hatatas, which were no more considered as "the jewel of Ethiopian literature", but as a mystification.

Two Ethiopian scholars, Dr. Amsalou Aklilu and AtoAlemayyehu Mogrs, have taken over the whole question of authenticity. The former underlines on the one hand the value od testimonies in favour of authenticity given by Antoine d'Abbadie and Giusto d'Urbino himself, and on the other hand the lack of value of Abba Takla Haymanot's testimony which was the starting point of Conti Rossini's investigation; he also discusses the "non-religious" character of the *Treatises* (concerning the recent age of the manuscripts), and the order of words in Zera Yacob's sentences. The latter investigates the Biblical quotations and the *qene* Geez that are used, as well as the *qene* culture which explains the singularity of the Hatatas and the knowledge of Islam they exhibit.

I have examined both the internal and the external types of evidence. A statistical research (of both the quantitative and the qualitative-quantitative kinds) yields the duality of authors which is denied by the opponents of the Ethiopian authorship. The Biblical quotations of Giusto d'Urbino have nothing in common with those of either *Treatises*.

Five unknown letters by Giusto d'Urbino have been found in Rome. A letter by Giuseppe Sapeto vindicating the memory of Giusto d'Urbino against the insinuations of Tekla Haymanot together with documents concerning the whole controversy, have also been collected and published. In Matraia the baptismal record shows that the baptismal name was Giovanni Jacopo. A complete dossier of original letters and a memoir of Giusto d'Urbino were discovered in Lucce. Investigation has also been made into all the Geez works of Giusto d'Urbino: MS.167 of the Sociète geografica italiana, MS.134 of the Biblioteca nazionale Vittoria Emanuele, MSS. d'Abbadie 216 and 217 of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris and MS. Ethiopian 165 of the Vatican Library.

The Study of all these sources reveal:

1. that Giusto d'Urbino does not share the ideas that are expressed in the Hatatas at the time he is supposed to have written them;

2. that his knowledge of Geez in general and of the *qene* in particular is appalling and hence cannot be the perfect Ethiopic language of the Hatagas;

3. that Giusto's source who has copied one of the two manuscripts of the Hatatas (MS. 215) did not know Geez well enough to be its author under the editorship of Giusto.

If these conclusions are valid, the Ethiopian authorship of the Hatatas is re-established, and the conclusion follows that *Modern Philosophy*, in the sense of a personal rationalistic critical investigation, *began in Ethiopia* with Zera Yacob at the same time as in England and in France.

### 7. *Their Significance for Modern Ethiopic and for Africa*

These few pages which we have devoted to Zera Yacob and his disciple hardly do justice to the personality and the transcendent thought of the 17th century philosopher. Although he had been marked by the seal of the economic, political, social, geographical, historical and cultural factors of his time, he has not simply submitted to them: "men change circumstances".

It is the sign of the genius that he cannot be completely explained by determinism or reduced to it. In the combination of conditioning by environment and human causality by which a personality is expressed, genius incarnates the liberality of the spirit. Zera Yacob transcends the century which has given him life, language, education, solitude and company. That is why his message is so significant for our times.

The aspects of his philosophy which are meaningful to us depend to a great extent on our own thoughts, choices even on our deepest emotions. At that level our judgement is necessarily personal.

Our world in this last quarter of the twentieth century is as divided as the Ethiopia of Zera Yacob. The options before us are always the same, but they bear on more basic issues. Will man tear away from his roots or will he grow and expand in the direction of his roots? Will the rupture be so penetrating that nothing will remain which is not torn? Are the shocks of the future so shattering that man loses his identity? Or does hope cast some light over the conflicts and tensions of the modern world, in comparison to which the 17th century divisions appear as battle game for tin soldiers?

Zera Yacob's answer is one of lucid hope. He was not crushed by the events of his epoch, nor by its intolerance and narrow-mindedness. For he was animated by a *critical* sense. Only he who accepts everything without discernment ends in the unbearable loss of all. Zera Yacob was saved from the absurd limits of his time by his *hatata*, by his power of inquiry, of criticism, of discernment and of evaluation, just as today man saved from social and ideological pressures if he is ready, in the liberty and light of his reason, to search for clarification of problems and to scrutinize credentials.

In the face of growing discord, Zera Yacob sought with serenity, a liberal and courageous spirit, that which drives men beyond the divisions they have made for themselves. It was the paradox of his life that his love which knew no frontiers serapated him from all in the seclusion of his cave. But his cave may become for us the starting point to identify and realize the unity which the limits of his day had constrained to such narrowness.

In the last analysis it is perhaps by his trust in *man*, in the power of his reason and the resourcefulness of his nature that Zera Yacob is the most significant for the modern man. In the present historical centext of a world torn by ideological conflicts and emptied by the rejection of so many values and even by the meaningfulness of life, it is comforting to hear a voice–a voice that has been stifled for so long–which speaks with such simplicity the language of trust of hope and health. A world crumbles in resounding crash. May it hear a voice which comes from Ethiopia and which could uplift it towards tomorrow!

### *From Wisdom to Rationalism*

The texts that are here presented span nore than twelve centuries of literary production. They show a double evolution: from translation *(The Phisiologus. The Book of the Philosophers, The Life and Maxims of Skendes)* to originality *(The Treatice of Zera Yacob, The Treatise of Walda Heywat;)* from wisdom to rationalism. Even the works of translation themselves manifest an evolution: from the frequent misunderstandings of *The Physiologue* to the deep intuitions of *The Book of the Philosophers* and the sensitive, reflective perceptions of *The Ljfe* and *Maximes of Skendes*. The link with Christianity evolves from the entirely Christian symbolism of *The Physiologus* to the anthropocentrism, considered however in its theological orientation, of *The Book of the Philosophers*, to the theistic pantheism of the first series of maxims in *Skendes*, and to the anti-Christian although deeply mystical radicalism of Zera Yacob and his disciple.

But it is the very notion of "philosophy" that shows the greatest evolution. Philosophy may be taken in a broad and in a narrow and more precise way. Philosophy in a wide sence is a "wisdom". Wisdom is not synonymous with knowledge; it does involve knowledge, but it also includes the ability, the inclination and the steady purpose of putting knowledge to good use. Thus wisdom involves several things: an end or purpose to be attained; an appreciative notion of this purpose; an ability, an inclination, and a steadfast effort to achieve the known purpose in the best possible manners. Such is wisdom considered subjectively, in the person who possesses it. Taking the term "wisdom" in an objective sense and regarding it in a most general way, we may say that wisdom is the sum-total of the things worth knowing and working for.

*The Book of the Philosophers and The Life and Maxims of Skendes are* philosophy in a broad sense. *The Physiologus* is a naturalistic-theological book of Christian symbolism. But even within the same sapiential type, distinctions should be made. *The Book of the Philosophers* presents the simplest and most common form of wisdom literature: the "saying" *The Life of Skendes is a* philosophical novel. The second and third sections, within the question-and

answer frame, cover the whole spectrum of the sapiential forms: the maxims, numbers, the exhortation and the portrait.

*The Treatise of Zera Yacob* and that of Walda Heywat are philosophy in a strict sense. It is the result of the reflection of one man and his disciple. They have a clearly defined method, characterized by criticism, inquiry the very name of the treatise in Ethiopic is hatata, "inquiry"), a criterion, the light of reason and a basis upon which the whole edifice of the inquiry is founded. But even here, within the same rationalistic approach to reality, a clear distinction remains between the master and his disciple. Zera Yacob is the only one of the two philosophers who presents in a complete, systematic, original manner the methodology of his philosophy. Although Walda Heywat shares the ideas of his master, the starting point and the dialectical movement from this origin are not to be found in his *Treatise:* from that viewpoint he is in the line of taditional Ethiopian thought.

## *THE HORIZONTAL DIMENSION OF ETHIOPIAN PHILOSOPHY.*

### *1. Method*

I perfectly agree with Professor Paulin J. Hountondji who, at the Seminar on African Philosophy, stated that African Philosophy exists and develops according to the same modalities as all the philosophies of the world: in the form of a literature. African Philosophy *is no more nor less than* African philosophical literature.

The first step therefore, for a historian of Ethiopian Philosophy, consists in finding these written sources. I have described them in the first part of this work which I have defined as "The Vertical Dimension of Ethiopian Philosophy". Here I shall only add two observations. The first is that, in my opinion, this methodological starting point is the same for *all* cases, that is, for both oral and written Ethiopian "philosophy".

My second observation resumes an observation already made in connection with the oldest text I have found, *The Physiologue.*

It is through key words that one obtains the deepest penetration into the thought and structure of an author's philosophy. I have established the list of key words of each work in both a quantitative and a qualitative way: quantitative by the exact calculation of the number of words in an Ethiopian work and the number of occurrences of the most frequent words and groups of words; qualitative by the signification of a word, by its role in the semantic "ecology" of its environment. Now key words do not appear haphazardly in these well-structured works. They are not isolated and atomically dispersed. They are grouped around a main idea and are organized into an organic unity which may be a theme, a cycle or a leitmotiv. I shall end this synthetic study with the eight key words which form the linguistic nucleus of the philosophical vocabulary of Ethiopia.

### *2. Wisdom*

Wisdom is polysemic. It is altogether orientation and dynamism; literary form; key word, theme, leitmotiv, synthetic structure.

a) *Wisdom as Movement*

In Ethiopia as elsewhere in Africa there is a very rich traditional thought. It is a popular philosophy, a wisdom, the product, not of the speculation of one man who makes up a whole system, but of the experience of a whole people. This experience is transmitted from father to son, from one generation to another, from one village to another, from one century to another. It is a river which collects the water flowing from all sides and from above, but this river always advances in the same direction: the living stream of tradition. Such a literature exists everywhere in Africa, but whereas in other African countries it is purely oral, in Ethiopia it is also written. Partly translation of Greek or Arabic originals, it is also adaptation, and bears a typically Ethiopian stamp.

*The Treatise of Zera Yacob* is neither a translation nor an adaptation. A critical rationalist, in no way does he enter into the movement of tradition. He is even clearly opposed to it. Now it is very symptomatic that his disciple Walda Heywat, although a faithful echo of his master's thought, combines in his *Treatise* the antitraditional rationalism of Zera Yacob with the themes and anecdotes of Ethiopian traditional wisdom. Everything takes place as if the movement of Ethiopian philosophy was fundamentally sapiential and that even if for a time one keeps at a distance from it, the orientation and internal dynamism of wisdom are such that the latter ends up by joining with its counterpart.

b) *Wisdom as Form.*

The literary form expresses two types of wisdom: popular and didactic.

Popular wisdom, which is more or less identical amongst all peoples, comprises a great number of truths in immediate contact with experience: they embrace the whole scope of human life. Popular wisdom is usually expressed in proverbs which, in view of an easy memorization, are moulded in rhythmic forms. Parallelism abounds, whether it is symbolistic or antithetic or both at the same time: but numerial proverbs, questions and answers are also different forms of the same basic structure of Ethiopian Semitic rhythm. "Common sense" truths, and even platitudes are placed side by side with penetra-

ting observations of individual and social life, usually expressed by a concrete and vivid metaphor.

Amongst these rhythmic proverbs some are in contradiction to each other. For popular wisdom must meet all circumstances in life and register in its formulation the infinite variety of situations. Consequently popular wisdom is not a science, it does not aim at the universal, but it gathers a wealth of useful experiences without the ambition of codifying them; it is an art of living rather than an inchoative system.

Didactic wisdom does not formulate truths which are different from popular wisdom; it expresses itself under a less direct and spontaneous, but more developed form. It utilizes the parable, the maxim, longer units of thought and of argumentation. It supposes the work of a particular author who oftentimes does not express wisdom in general, but his own personal thought.

Written Ethiopian wisdom includes both types: popular and didactic. Hence one finds within it a real kaleidoscope of literary genres: the maxims, the numerical proverb, the exhortation: advice cognition the hyporbole or emphasis. Dialogue with its questions and answers and its diddles, the narrative with tales and stories, its "personal experience" and portraits often combine with the pure didactic form. Even if analysis may make a distinction between these clearly differentiated types of sapiential expression, the language of the sage makes light to these too rigid frames and usually is expressed in a vibrant cluster of greatest spontaneity.

*c) Wisdom as Theme.*

One of the most revealing approaches to the thought and structure of an author is the key word. Key words are usually words, substantives or adjectives which recur frequently in a given work. But frequency is not the only criterion I wanted to take into consideration. Otherwise, if we pay attention only to the quantitative aspect of language, we have no more than the vocabulary of a work, a kind *of Concordantia.* Undoubtedly, such a linguistic approach is useful and even necessary: but it is only a preliminary approach. The qualitative dimension must also be taken into account. Here we penetrate into the significance of a word. Now key-words cluster around an idea and compose a unity, each key-word fulfilling its role and function within the organic structure. This unit I call theme since, as in music, it consitutes the basis of variations and of the development of the composition.

In my monographic studies I have demonstrated, supported by statistics and diagrams, that the principal theme *of The Book of the Philosophers and The Life and Maxims of Skendes,* at least its biographic and its first series of maxims, is wisdom. In the second series of maxims, wisdom is a secondary theme, ethics occupying the first place. The structure of *The Physiologue* hinges round three themes: naturalistic, typological and theological, whereas the *Treatises of Zera Yacob and of Walda Heywat,* besides their autobiographical sections, have as axis the themes of inquiry and of creation.

d) *Wisdom as Structure*

Moral values considered in their diverse ramifications are very numerous in Ethiopian literary work. In *The Book of the Philosophers* we can count about forty: ability, altruism, calmness, competence, courage, discernment, faith, firmness, foresight, forgiveness, frugality, generosity, good reputation, gratitude, honesty, hope, ingenuity, joy, justice, knowledge, mercy, moderation, obedience, optimism, patience, perfection, politeness, poverty, power, prosperity, prudence, religion, respect, serenity, silence and speech, strength, trust, truthfulness, working habits.

However, in a certain sense, wisdom comprehends everything, absolutely everything, since it is the network of relations which unite the moral agent to himself, to his creator, to the different situations in life, to his fellow men and to the world in general. It is a habit in man, but a habit which embraces all, a way of living, of being. Hence its comprehension is vast and complex. On the other hand its extension is very narrow since it applies only to man, and within man himself, to the centre of all his responsible decisions.

The *Gestalt* of wisdom is both highly diversified and unified from within. It is diversified, because it includes intellectual, moral and theological virtues, man in his nature and in society, the basis of the moral world and its practical applications to the qualities, considered as "cardinal", of the good usage of speech and of material goods.

It is unified from within, because the structure of wisdom is the structure of man, as he advances towards his finality drawn by the ultimate and divine pole of all his actions and as he searches in his heart for the authentic interior answer to a transcendent call that is immament to him. Wisdom istherefore an important cultural element. It is the humanism of traditional Ethiopia. Through wisdom Ethiopia merges with the great stream of throught whose source is Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, since wisdom aims at solving in its own manner, which is axiological, the central problem of philosophy: unity and multiplicity.

The answer to this problem was more speculative in ancient Greece as it was passing from the monism of the first Pre-Socratics towards the constant flux of Heraclitus and attempted a synthetic solution in Plato and Aristotle. In Ethiopia, the problem, of unity and multiplicity was not set in an abstract and systematic way. The problematics of Ethiopia is existential. It unfolds in a context of life rather than

of science. It is a concrete experience. Through moral action one enters into personal relations with God, men and the world. These relations assume different forms and comprise many degrees. At the same time, a superstructure of significations is evoked, because wisdom coordinated in the center is unity of a multiplicity of virtues and a wide sprectrum of entities, from the Lord above to the world below. In the unity of its heart resounds the multiplicity of human situations.

If we try to record on a diagram these different meanings and relations, we see a fan-like development and unfolding from a single centre.

### 3. *Thought*

One must make a distinction between longer units of thought, as for instance a chapter expounding the philosophy of Zera Yacob or of his disciple, the account of his life or the biography of Skendes, the symbolism of *The Physiologue*, and shorter units, as for instance the two series of maxims which follow the biography of Skendes.

#### a) *The ABA' Pattern*

All the longer units of thought are characterized by a type of development which is proper to Semitic thought. It comprises three movements or three stages: a statement is cut into two by a block which at first seems to be erratic but which in reality is its keystone. A theme (B) which looks like a digression is inserted into another theme; this latter one is first presented in its broad lines (A): at the end it is resumed with precision thanks to the data of B. In other words: thought (A) is expressed, then another (B) is placed side by side or is opposed to it, then the first thought (A) is enlightened by the intuitions drawn from (B).

It is usually a case of development through analogy (Thesis I–Thesis II– Synthesis of I and II), although the dialectical process in the strict sense (Thesis –Antithesis–Synthesis) occurs now and then. The study of the ABA' thought pattern sets into light the *unity* of certain longer developments, in particular in *The Book of the Philosophers and The Treatise of Walda Heywat*. Where a rapid glance would have only perceived an isolated digression, a more attentive examination reveals the coherence of architectural lines. The text may give the impression of losing its trail, of abandoning the direction of the initial thought. In reality it is taking some attitude in order to enlighten by a vertical dimension and a broader view the panorama it was describing. The most intimate link of internal logic binds these apparently isolated blocks to all that surrounds them.

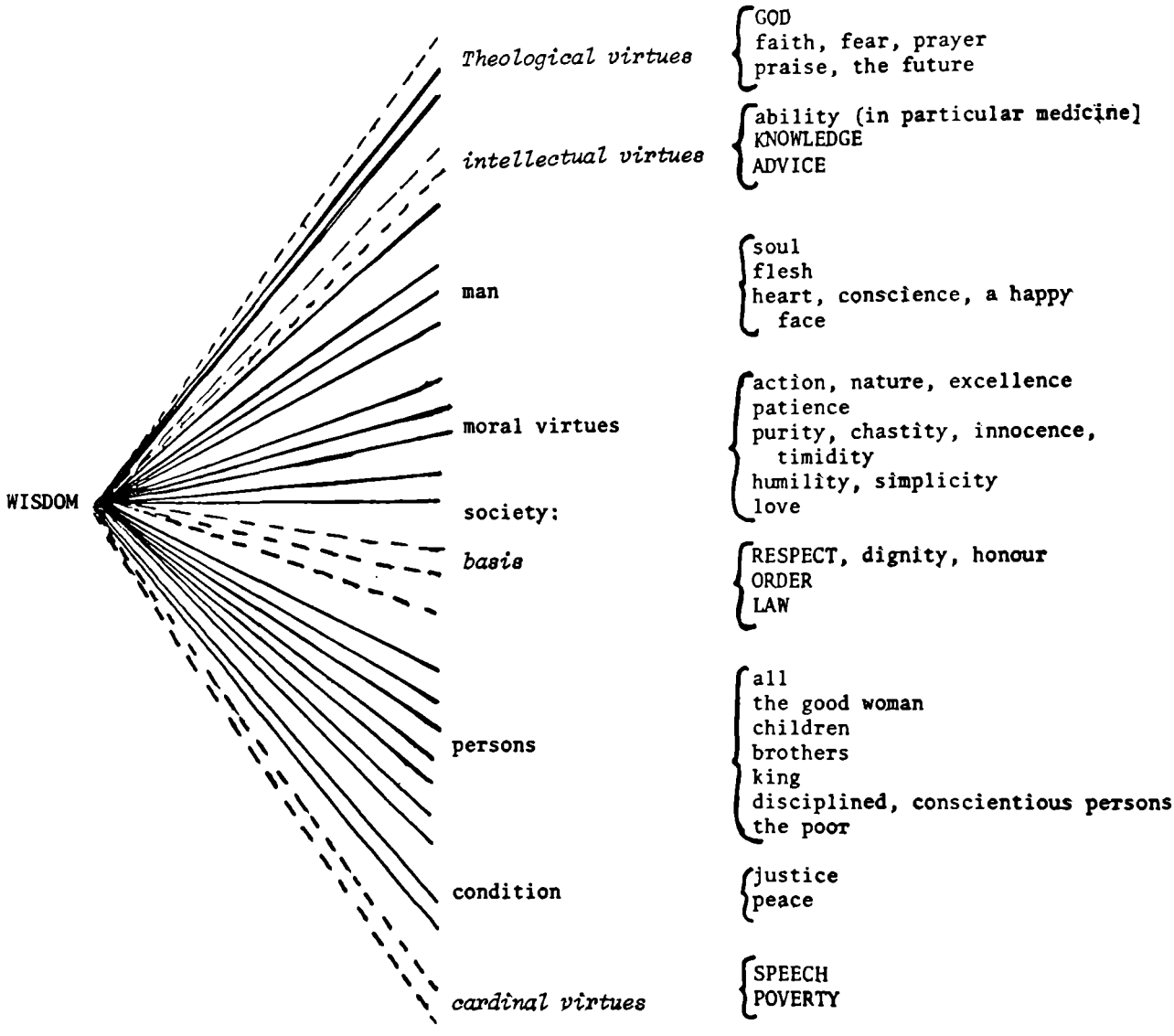
Unity of thought is one of the most significant consequences of sensibilization to this type of logic. Contradictions could appear in a microscopic type of analysis, whereas a hight and richer unity emerges from a broader synthesis. This kind of logic is uninterrupted. Only an acute and penetrating mind may, at the moment it is pursuing thesis. A foresees beyond the apparent digression of B the possibility of integrating into A such diverging themes.

The ABA' pattern also reveals a refined sense of rhythm. A binary movement is integrated into a ternary movement which embraces the whole tempo in a single rhythm.

It is interesting to note that this triadic type of development is found not only in the more traditional works, but also and especially in the anti-traditional rationalists Zera Yacob and Walda Heywat–one of the strongest arguments, in terms of intrinsic evidence, of the Ethiopian authenticity of these two treatises. As a matter of fact all the chapters of these Hatatas, except of course the autobiographical sections, are structured on the ABA' Model.

One of the most striking examples of this quassi–dialectics is found in Chapter XVIII *of The Treatise of Walda Heywat* on the importance of manual work. The author's thought is developed according to three triads which are arranged between themselves according to three horizontal series. There is a correspondence between the three series of thesis A, as there is also between the three series of antithesis B and of the synthesis A'. Here are the main lines of this development:

| | I | II | III |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (Imprerative) | (Interrogative) | (Imperative) |
| A | Love, competence, *pride (true)*<br>God's precept, necessity | Necessity | Exhortation to work |
| B | Do not say:<br>Suitable no poor, workers | Do not say:<br>"I have all I need without work" | Do not spy:<br>"I have enough" |
| A' | Fruit of *pride (false)* | Fruit of laziness | Fruit of laziness<br>Be like your creator |




Dotted lines: most frequent relations

Italics: most frequent notions

Capitals: **key words**

Synthetic structure of wisdom

The main idea which is developed in the A proposition of the first series is expressed as an advice in the imperative: Love to work: be competent in your work: find your (true) pride in it. This exhortation is based on God's precept. In the second series, only the necessity of work is developed in the interoggative form, whilst in the third triad there is a return to the exhortation to work in the imperative.

The parallel in the second moment (B) is still more striking from one triad to another, since each time it is introduced by the formula: "Do not say". There follows each time an objection to work expressed in direct discourse. The first objection refers directly to the sociological situation in Ethiopia where manual work was traditionally the lot of the poor, the blacksmiths, the builders, the sons of artisans, but below the dignity of important and noble persons. The second and the third triad repeat more or less the same objection; why work? I have all I need.

In the third moment A' the same expression is repeated three times in nearly identical terms: such an objection is the fruit of pride, the fruit of laziness, the fruit of hopeless laziness. The antithesis in the first series between the true pride to be found in work (A) and the false pride of those who spurn manual work (A)' could only be brought into the lifelight by the triadic dialectics. And yet in the first and the second series the synthesis is not really made in the third step. It is twice introduced, and twice abandoned immediately as in the hesitating thematic approaches of Beethoven in the first movement of his Ninth Symphony. Thereby Walda Heywat carries the whole weight of the third moment of his first two series unto the end of the last which climaxes the whole composition with the analogy between human work and divine creation.

> Love to work with your hands as much as your life allows, and be expert in this work that you may gain a profit from it; do not be ashamed to work with your hands, because it is God's precept; without work of their hands all human creatures perish and their whole life is destroyed. Do not say: "Hard work is suitable to the poor and the workers, the blacksmiths and the builders, to the sons of artisans, not to the sons of important and noble persons; "such a thought is born from a proud heart. Are not the needs of our life equally exacting for each single person? as the needs of our life are not satisfied except through handwork, likewise work is imposed on each one so that he will fulfil his needs; do not say: "I have all I need to be able to eat and drink without work;" this springs from vicious laziness and destroys the order of the creator who said: You shall eat from the fruit of your work. He who lives on the work of another man while he has himself the ability to work is a thief and a plunderer. Acquaint yourself with manual labour in your childhood; carefully avoid laziness, for an idle person is not worthy of God's grace. Do your work so that at the right time you may provide for your own needs, and those of your family and of the poor you help. Let not your heart be beaten down if the fruit of your work is wasted or lost, but persevere in your work and pray to God that he bless this fruit and multiply it. Do not exhaust yourself as animals with no power of thinking, but lay out your work wisely so that you will increase usefulness and profit, and lessen fatigue. If God makes your work prosper and you gather its fruit, thank him with all your heart and rejoice with all your family: eat, drink, celebrate a feast of you and enjoyment; and persevere in your work to that you may add fruit to the fruit already found in your work, and profit to the profit already gained. Never say: "I have enough;" do not say either: "This small amount is enough for my life: why should I labour uselessly?" This utterance stems from a hopeless laziness. Acquire as much as you can without dishonestry; enjoy all the goods you have acquired by the sweat of your brow, and be like the creator: as our creator created from nothing by his power and wisdom all the goods of this world that we see, so you also produce by your own effort and wisdom from your work some good fruit for your life and that of your fellow man.

b) *Question-and-Answer*

The question–and–answer pattern is the tool upon which the whole general design of the great works of Ethiopian thought is woven. In *The Book of the Philosophers* dialogue of this type is very frequent: dialogue between Socrates and the King, dialogue between a wise man and a monk from Palestine. Disciples question their master, or secular people a monk, or an unidentified person a monk. There are even cases when the question–and–anwer type is underlined by parallelism and its reduction to the essential structural lines of dialogue:

> The wise Solomon was asked: "Where is the dwelling place of observation?"
> He said: "In the brain".
> –"Where is the dwelling place of desire?"
> He said: "In the soul."
> –"Where is the dwelling place of life?"
> He said: "In the face".
> –"Where is the dwelling place of the spirit?"
> He said: "In the nose".
> –"Where is the dwelling place of wisdom?"
> He said: "In the tongue".
> –"Where is the dwelling place of sorrow?"
> He said: "In the chest".
> –"Where is the dwelling place of the strength of the spirit"

He said: "In the lungs."
–"Where is the dwelling place of truth?"
He said: "In the eyes."
–"Where is the dwelling place of sanity?"
He said: "In the ears."
–"Where is the dwelling place of counselling?"
He said: "In the conscience."
–"Where is the dwelling place of joy?"
He said: "In the heart."
–"Where is the dwelling place of the soul's enemy?"
He said: "In the flesh".
–"Where is the dwelling place of usefulness?"
He said: "In the hands".
–"Where is the measure of a good reputation?"
He said: "In the face."

The entire structure of the two series of maxims which follow the file of Skendes is based on parallelism, since they are essentially a sequence of questions and answers. This unchanging pattern is repeated fifty–five times in the first series and one hundred–and–eight times in the second. It may be formulated thus: "They questioned Skendes and told him: He answered;"

The question–and–answer is frequent in the two Hatatas. But it is conditioned by the life and temperament of the respective authors. Zera Yacob discusses with himself in the solitude of his cave at the foot of the Takkaze Valley; he asks questions to his own self, to which he duly responds. Walda Heywat whose thought is not, like that of his master, the fruit of his personal reflection, nor of his solitude, stands in constant rapport with the "other", whose question he records and to which he replies like an excellent pedagogue.

It is remarkable in both authors that the question–and–answer is implicated in the ABA' pattern described above. As illustrations, I delineate the logical profile of Chapter XII of Walda Heywat on the necessity of prayer.

| | |
|---|---|
| A | Necessity of constant prayer. |
| B | *Objection:* no such necessity since God knows our needs. |
| A' | *Answer:* the purpose of prayer is not to recall our needs to God (B), but to render us worthy of Him (A). |
| (A) | Excellence of prayers. |
| (B) | Miserable state of man without prayer. |
| (A') | Our spirit cannot live (B) unless it comes closer to its creator (A). |

There are few questions in *The Physiologue* and, except for one, they have no answer. They are purely rhetorical: they are asked by the Physiologue himself and are addressed to his readers, whose answer is never given, as in Walda Heywat, but is considered as the assent to the content of the question. That is why the question can be the last sentence of a chapter: no reply is expected.

> Since the bird has the power to kill itself and to side again, how then is it possible for the Jews to murmur against our Redeemer for having said: "It is in my power to lay down my soul and to take it up again!"

c) *The Biographical Form*

*The Objective Level and the Subjective Level*

There are two biographies in the texts I have studied: the life of Skendes, a kind of philosophical novel and the autobiography of Zera Yacob which is presented as a historical narrative. Now, there are a great number of similarities between the two biographies. The division of the two *Vitae* into fifteen chapters is already a sign of a certain identity in composition. The equal length of chapters is another, the average number of sentences per chapter being of twenty–five sentences for Skendes and of twenty–six sentences for Zera Yacob–whereas, in contrast, for *The Physiologue* it is only of twelve sentences. But the biographical structure of the two works is mostly characterized by the oscillation from the objective level to the subjective level. As this oscillation is particularly sharp in Zera Yacob, I start with it although it appeared later than Skendes.

There are, therefore, two levels: an *objective* level corresponding to events according to their chronological order and a *subjective* level of inquiry, of prayer and meditation. In Zera Yacob these two levels are integrated into the triadic ABA' pattern:

A The life of Zera up to the death of Susenyos
B His solitude in the cave. His Hatata.
A' The death of Susenyos; events from his entrance into Enferaz to his son's marriage.

The first level is that of life: it is conditioned by the coordinates of space and time. This first level is represented in *The Treatise of Zera Yacob* considered as a whole by A and B. But the sequence of events is interrupted by a long development on his solitude and the thought he elaborated in his cave.

This B section corresponds to the level of the hatata, of the inquiry. It is no more autobiographical in the narrow sense of the word. It passes from the external to the internal world, from a series of events to an inner dialectic, of questions he sets to himself and of answers he gives himself; to prayer and meditation, from the society of men to a solitary dialogue with the creator and with himself. This does not mean that the two sections A and B are two juxtaposed facts of equal importance in the structure of his

thought. As always in the ABA' pattern, B is the most important. It is also the longest and the most developed.

Consequently the A' section which follows is not simply the resumption of A. It is enlightened by B. The philosophy elaborated during the years of solitude casts its light upon the last years of his life: upon the type of education communicated to those who have been entrusted to him, upon the writing of his life and of his thought (A and B) at the request of one of his students and especially upon his total attitude towards the world, men and himself, to which his marriage and the serenity of mind which has marked his last years are witnesses.

Hence the biography gives us the key to the philosophy of Zera Yacob. It is the fruit of his own reflection on the events which have moulded his life. Each moment of introspection not only follows an event in time but originates from it, or more exactly is a penetrating intuition into the heart of the history which has conditioned his life.

In *The Life of Skendes* the oscillation from the objective to the subjective level is not embodied in the ABA' pattern; the coordinates of time and space do not determine the historical background of the biography but are peripheral to it. The oscillation from one level to another is pursued in a linear way: the simple dramatic progression of events.

The first chapter introduces us to the objective level of Skendes' education; the second chapter brings us to the subjective level by revealing to us Skendes' reflections as he reads the statement on women. In the third chapter we are brought back to the objective level of the conversation between Skendes and his maid, whilst the fourth chapter takes place on the subjective level of thought after Skendes has requested the maid's assistance.

After this moment of introspection, everything takes place for a time on the objective level: the maid's dialogue with Skendes' mother and her final acceptance (Chaper V); the immediate preparation for the bedroom scene (Chapter VI.) But as we come closer to the summit of the biographical sections the revelation of Skendes' identity to his mother, the pendulum movement hastens. It becomes feverish, gasping. The seventh chapter begins on the objective level of events with the encounter between Skendes and his mother, oscillates for a time towards Skendes' marvelling at the veracity of the statement on women. Then we witness a return to the reality of facts with the dinner scene, once more the speculation level with Skendes' Biblical medidation, and again the level of facts from the bed scene up to the revelation of the son's identity. The same tempo is continued into the eighth chapter which is a great oscillation from the mother's suicide to the son's vow of silence.

Afterwards the panting rhythm slows down, tempered by Skendes' withdrawal into himself. The oscillation is now between the successive efforts of the emperor to have the philosopher speak and Skendes' firmness in his silence. Once the sage has accepted to write, the movement is limited to the questions asked by the emperor and Skendes' discourse on the limits of despotic power, the milkmaid story and its explanation–a preparation for the two series of questions and answers which in their own way prolong the rhythmic variation.

There is therefore an oscillation between the objective and subjective levels in Skendes as in Zera Yacob, but their rhythm and significance are very different. Whereas this oscillation appears in Zera Yacob only in the autobiographical sections (A and A'), but with constant regularity- in Skendes it prevails thoughout the whole biography, but with variable tempos of acceleration and retardation. Moreover the significance of this transition from the order of facts to the order of thought is very great in Zera Yacob, since it reveals a complete philosophy–the epiphany in his heart of the meaningfulness of the event. But in Skendes, the strictly philosophical sections are annexed to the *Life*. The subjective level only reveals, within the biographical frame, Skendes' reflection on a philosopher's judgement about women.

d) *Typology*

*The Physiologue* is from beginning to end a typology, that is an emblem and a type. The emblem is invariably an animal (40 chapters,) (6 chapters) or a tree (2 chapters) symbolyzing the type: man, Christ or the devil. Each chapter is therefore articulated around a naturalistic section describing the emblem whose moral and Christian application is developed in the hermeneutic section.

If therefore we disengage typology from *The Physiologue*, we reconstruct its doctrinal structure and its content on man, Christ and the devil. By the same token we give the emblem its true signification. For the emblem is composed and organized in view of the type and not the other way round. If we represent by letters the emblem and the type, the emblem should be symbolized by B (and not by A) and the type by A (and not by B) because even if B appears first in the naturalistic section with which each chapter begins and even if A follows B, logically it is the opposite procedure: B has been composed with A in view, B is modelled and fashioned by A.

This is true not only of the principal entities of the emblem: animal, plant or animal, and of the type: Christ, man and devil. But it also applies to all and each of the elements of the typological correspondence. If we want to know the true signification of the multiple elements of the emblem, we must start with the type and making our way from the typological motifs to the emblem, we must discern from among the multiplicity of its naturalistic traits those which are destined to correspondence in the emblem.

This principle also applies to the very structure of the naturalistic and hermeneutic sections of each chapter. In the first part there is often confusion, lack of organic development and unity. All the elements are there, but pell-mell. The second section is ordinarily well developed, each element following a logical sequence and taking its place within a well or-r ganized unity.

If we represent by small letters and exponents each of the corresponding motifs in the typological ensemble the following symbolic pattern may express its logical sequence and its development:

| *Emblem* | *Type* |
|---|---|
| B | A |
| ($b^3$) $b^1$ | $a^1$ |
| ($b^2$) $b^2$ | $a^2$ |
| ($b^1$) $b^3$ | $a^3$ |

Thus in Chapter XVI on the panther:

| B | A |
|---|---|
| *The Panther* | *Christ* |
| $b^1$ but which appears in third place in the naturalistic section the sweet breath of the panther | $a^1$ the perfume of Christ |
| $b^2$ the panther awakens from its slumber after three days | $a^2$ Christ rises again from His slumber after three days |
| $b^3$ but which appears in first place: multicoloured skin | $a^3$ multicolorous vestment woven with virginity, strength purity, goodness, grace peace and perseverance |

e) *The Maxims*

The maxims annexed to *The Life of Skendes* offer a vast array of throught patterns. Some maxims are constructed on an image or a rhythm; others on the ABA' triad, monism, the sapiential form; others still are a descriptive definition, a clarification of terms, a genetic or teleological explanation, a conditional or disjunctive type of reasoning or an aporia (avowal of ignorance); the Conclusion of the second section is even a vestige of the biographical form of the first section.

How can one explain such a considerable number and such variety of thought patterns in the *Maxims*? The maxims in *The Book of the Philosophers* did not offer such a display. In this traditional collection of sayings, these were usually too short to permit a diversity of logical development. Hundreds of these maxims are only one-sentence long, whereas the average number of sentences per maxim in the first series of *Skendes* is ten, and in the second, four. However, the length of the *Maxime* is not as great as in a biographical chapter (twenty-five sentences). The *Maxims in Skendes* are sufficiently developed to offer abundance and variety in their logical approach; on the other hand they are not limited to the unique thought pattern either of the very short traditional maxims or of the more elaborate biographical chapter.

*4. Rhythm*

*The Book of the Philosophers* and *The Maxims of Skendes* are at the crossroads between two expressions of the same basic rhythm, Semitic and Greek. Both of them have been translated and adapted from Arabic, and the Arabic version itself goes back to a Greek original, although there has been some controversy about the language of the original *Secundus*.

If by rhythm is meant the recurrence of basic patterns in composition, then parallelism is the heart of Ethiopian rhythm. Correspondence between one word, one image, one phrase, one thought and another occurs over and over again.

In *The Book of the Philosophers*, there are three types of parallelism:

1) synonymic, where the second line (stich or semistich) reinforces the first, the same word (identical or similar in meaning) or the same thought pattern is reiterated;

2) antithetic, where the second line denies the first or is in contrast to it;

3) synonymic-antithetic, where the two preceding types are combined.

Although the three types of parallelism are represented in *The Book of the Philosophers*, antithesis in all its various forms has so deeply sealed its imprint upon this work that it is, together with the ABA'

thought pattern, one of its essential characteristics. The roots of such a contrast are to be found in a special way of thinking and in a particular sensibility. The author's thought being concentrated around two poles, the expression almost necessarily assumes the antithetical form, the only one which permits him to embrace and translate his world view.

It seems necessary to such a mind, when it tackles a problem of human conduct, to oppose two worlds, two ideas, two types of men, two realities. It is as if one word or one phrase automatically called for its contrary. A first antithesis is often surrounded by a series of others which are secondary to it: they clash with the first, react one upon another, thus contributing to the advancement of thought.

It seems that the view of man and of his universe has been determined by two great antitheses: good and evil, wisdom and folly. Within this fundamental division, all qualities and defects, virtues and vices find their assigned place. The dichotomy penetrates into the heart of man, for man is flesh and spirit or soul, with its desires which raise him above himself or bring him back upon himself.

However, this dualism of *The Book of the Philophers* is situated on the moral plane: if concerns only man and his behaviour and not a cosmological conflict. An axiological antithesis has been raised to the level of a universal truth.

The consequences which may be derived from this essential feature of Ethiopian thought are considerable:

1) It is necessary to draw out the two antithetic poles if one wants to find the axis of development.

2) The two of the antitheses are of unequal importance. One is at the service of the other, the aim of the first being to set into light the greater value of the second.

3) Very often terms have meaning only through their opposition to their contraries.

4) Through the clash of antitheses, *The Book of the Philosophers* obtains a semantic enrichment of concepts.

5) Thanks to antithetic opposition one finds the solution to contradictions between maxims.

6) The conflict of antitheses produces a paradox. The latter is not a vain pyrotechnics of words or of concepts. Life as understood by the sage posseses its own paradoxical structures; the apparent contradiction between words reflects the antinomies which the author notes with care and even with some glee-leaving to a superior mind the attempt at a solution, or preferring silence to insufficient answers.

Such paradoxes imply a global view of reality. Egypt has therefore introduced us to this depth level of Ethiopian thought. It presents an all-round view of reality. Whilst it underlines one element with obvious insistence, it does not lose sight of its complementary aspect. It is predominantly A, B or C, but not exclusively. It is predominantly dualistic, but not exchlusively. It is predominantly religious, but not exclusively. It is predominantly moral, but not exclusively. This attempt to encompass all aspects of reality is partly explained by the various and at times conflicting sources from which the conclusion of *The Book of the Philosophers* is drawn. Thus on page 97, line 1 of our manuscript it is said: "the soul is everlasting," but on line 9 it is stated that the soul "passes away when the flesh passes away." Such contradictions are not made, as occasionally in the *Ochelet*, for the sake of contradiction itself. Nor is such a global presentation of a question only the result of a lack of critical sense–although epistemological inquiries in *The Book of the Philosophers*, in opposition to the two rationalistic treatises, are nearly completely absent. It is rather a spontaneous attitude which, fully aware of the complexity of reality and of man himself, makes a choice (of dualism for instance) and, at the very moment when it concentrates upon a point remains upon a different explanation (substantial unity for instance) which it retains but keeps in a peripheral situation.

### 5. *The Image*

I do not want to come back on what I have said about the image in my Foreword: the depth of archetypal images and the human dimension of Ethiopian culture. Here I would simply like to confirm by a diagram and by figures the exactitude of the profile of images which I have delineated in the Foreword.

*UNITS OF IMAGE*

| *Categories of images* | *Occurrence* | *Percentage* |
|---|---|---|
| D Man | 875 | 54.3% |
| C Plant and animals | 196 | 12.2% |
| B Artificial objects | 326 | 20.2% |
| A Physical material things | 214 | 13.3% |
| Total | 1611 | 100% |

Images are very numerous in the whole of Ethiopian philosophical works. They appear under all forms: mostly metaphors and comparisons, but also typological emblems *(The Physiologue,)* combinations of metaphor and comparison, parables, allegories, synecdoches and metonymies.

The role of the image varies from one work to another. *The Physiologue* is essentially a typology, samely an eblem and a type. But if we penetrate into the interior of each chapter and if we try to see if it possesses some comparisons or metaphors different from the main emblem of the chapter—or if the emblem is not resumed within the chapter and integrated within a few figures of style, we realize that we are in the midst of an exuberant forest of images. The number and variety of metaphors in particular, but also of comparisons and of combinations of both is such that we must conclude: the image is the web and, except for a few sapiential and rhythmic types, nearly the entire literary tissue of *The Physiologue.* In principle these metaphors and comparisons appear in the hermeneutic section of each chapter, while in the naturalistic section vivid and kinetic descriptions abound.

The imagination that *The Book of the Philosophers* reveals is not that of the poet, but that of the master of wisdom. The image is at the service of thought. Its end and content is didactic. It is not an addition coming from without; it is integrated into the web of the maxims. It manifests great sagacity and simpleness of intellectual life; an alert temperament whose sensibility is subtle and always in movement; a style that seeks less to develop the image for its own beauty than to persuade and to draw symbols from the simplest aspects of life and in particular from man himself.

In *Skendes,* and especially in the two series of maxims which prolong his biography, the quantity and quality of images transcend all the other works. Far from being subordinated to thought as in *The Book of The Philosophers,* the image in the book of Skendes is treated for itself, for its own intrinsic poetic value. It often acquires the dimension of an intellectual thought pattern. It is a symbol.

The rationalist Zera Yacob shows economy of images (66 occurrences.) Nearly all his images are limited to "heart" (22 occurences') "light" (5) and "path" (4). Moreover they are taken mostly from the Bible in general and from the Psalms in particular.

On the other hand his disciple Walda Heywat combines his master's rationalism with the traditional imagery *of The Book of the Philosophers.* He uses frequently and with finesse the comparison, the analogy of proportion, the metaphor, the metonymy and the portrait. All these forms are charecteristic of sapiential, didactic and pedagogical style and thought.

It is difficult to establish a precise statistical evaluation of the occurence of images. When the same symbol, the "heart" for instance, comes back two or three times in the same context and with the same meaning, should one record the number of times the same word is repeated or retain as *unit of image* the ensemble where the same basic image occurs? I have preferred to use as criterion the *unit of image.*

There are 1611 such units: a very high figure when one compares it to the total number of sentences: 5407, namely 30%. Let us now place these units in a logical frame, and distribute them according to the great categories of nature: man, animals, plants, inorganic things. One will immediately realize that a division must be made between artificial objects, the fruit of man's work, and things, like river, mountain, as they are found in nature independently of man's work.

To a simple vertical line which goes progressively from A to D, namely in the ontological scale of entities from physical material things independent of man to man himself, is now superimposed a pyramidal structure whose base is nature and summit, man himself. This is what I call, in the absence of a better term which I would have liked to borrow from the Ethiopian vocabulary, the "personalist" or "anthropocentic" profile of images. This mathematically verifiable "discovery" casts such a light on Ethiopia's philosophy and culture–for the archetypal image lies in the deepest recesses of the human being–that I have presented it at the very beginning of this book, before establishing its statistico–lexicographic foundation.

All that remains for me to do now is to illustrate by a few quotations the conslusions I have just advanced. Nearly all the images (54.34) are therefore of the following type: "The sun and the moon are these that have *explored* this world, and they *know that great men* do not remain." The sun and the moon are physical entities; they exist in the objective order of nature–for the Ethiopian there is no doubt about this. Yet to material things typically human qualities are attributed: to express, to know. In other words, man, the subject, is better known than nature, the object. It is in function of man, of his body, of his organs and tissues, of his heart, of his individuality, of his place in society, of the amplitude of his action, that more than half the metaphors, comparisons and other types of images are inspired and constructed.

The next group of images is intimately linked to the first, since it is composed of artificial objects made or determined by man:

> Clouds go like ships.
> Winds are like crowns surrounded
> with fruits, the delight of the earth.
> The ocean is the wall of the world.
> The heavens will be furled like paper.

Once more, here are things which exist as such in the universe: clouds, winds, oceans, skies.To what

are they compared? To the fruit of human work: ships, crowns, wall, paper. Man is still present.

As to animals and plants, physical material things, they are undoubtedly known. But they rarely serve as points of reference. Outside of man and of what is made by him the Ethiopian, as he is known to us by thirteen centuries of literary production, seems to lose his interest.

### 6. *The World*

The two most eloquent works on the world are *The Book of the Philosophers* and *The Maxims of Skendes*.

In *The Book of the Philosophers* there is no explicit definition of matter. However, its characteristics are given, firstly by its opposition to the spirit: then by its elementary composition; water, air, earth, fire; thirdly by its temperature and degree of humidity, and finally by its two properties: space and time.

Only one maxim is devoted to space and yet it is most significant since it expresses the cosmology which serves as background to the whole book. Space is a kind of receptacle for the cosmos. Below the foundations of the flat earth and of the sky, whose lateral walls are grounded on the solid earth, there is nothing to be contained and hence there is no space. Space is limited like the visible universe itself.

On the other hand *The Book of the Philosophers* has much to say about time: not cosmic time which regulates the cycles of nature, but historical time unfolding as event. For it is the human, the moral which is a concern to the author, and not the material as such.

1) Historical time is considered as a successive continuum. It is not cyclical, but linear. It is symbolized by a spear which is thrust forward, from the past movement which is no more, through a present which is arrested in none of its movements, towards a future which is not as yet. Such a notion of the irreversibility of time, coming from a Judaeo-Christian tradition, endows present life with a dramatic significance. Time is ambivalent. It is a thing of great value: it is a flowing reality that never comes back upon itself.

However, the symbol of the line does not express the total reality that is envisaged. The symbol of time suggested by the whole *Weltanshaung of The Book of the Philosophers* is the tree–the tree that grows, and from one seed become a multitude of fruits. The roots of time and the roots of eternity are at work on the same tree of man. The event is pregnant with Advent. This coexistence of time and eternity expresses in *The Book of the Philosophers* the paradox of a truly inventive and free creation and of a transcendental Being that is self-sufficient.

2) The temporal dimension of creation, with its specification of past, present and future, as well as the immanence of its reality are very frequently mentioned.

3) It is within this temporal context that life obtains its singificance. Hence the comparison of life with a road. There is a localization symbol and a spatial direction for this straight road: it is the vertical line which goes from this earth upward.

4) Anticipating his final and irrevocable limit of presence in this world, man assesses himself in the light of the finite possibilites which precede his end, shoulders his responsibilities and thus gives an authentic sense to the entire duration of his existence. Such a death becomes a life. It is a wisdom in its temporal depth.

5) When we come to the explanation of subsistence beyond temporal death, we are faced with two explanations which are placed side by side without any attempt at reconciliation: the Platonic notion of immortality which presupposes dualism and the Semitic, Biblical notion of resurrection which presupposes a unitary view on man. The former is the prevalent explanation.

Creation explains the double finality of the world: the first is intrinsic to it and is expressed by the laws of nature, the second transcends its material limits and is concentrated in man. The cosmic world reaches its signification orly in man. *The Book of Thc Phihosophers* is not interested in the earth for its own sake, but only as the sensible, material terrain where man's feet stand. This human world is sometimes considered as good, good for the flesh and good for the soul.

But most maxims are opposed to this fundamental optimism. The world, according to this type of monastic view, represents the section of mankind absorbed with concem for the present life; its interests are opposed to those of the life to come. One should withdraw from such vanity and evil.

*The Book of Skendes* is contemporary to *The Book of the Philosophers*. And yet its world view, as it is expressed in the first series of maxims, propounds something that is rare in Ethiopia: pantheism, or more exactly theistic pantheism–as will later be found in Victor Hugo and Teillhard de Chardin. Pantheism has its source in the ideas which seem to have inspired the book of Secundus: they correspond to the semi-philosophical and semi-religious ideas that were widespread during the first centuries of the Roman Empire. At that time when Christianity had not triumphed as yet, the movement which would end with the complete abandonment of paganism was strongly strirring the minds of men. They were striving at the comprehension of the mysteries of nature, of man and of God.

It is especially during the first centuries of the Christian era that theistic pantheism took the specific form we find in Secundus. Each religion was developing in the East sects which had their own gnosis, their mystical interpretation of cult, of creation, of nature and of the supernatural. At first, Jewish cabalists, Christian gnostics, then the Neo-Pla-

tonists of Alexandria, as well as many schools before and after them took part in this movement.

The Greek text as well as the Arabic contain a mingling of pantheism and of theism; in the Arabic, and still more in the Ethiopic, theism is clearly Judaic.

### 7. *Man*

*In The Book of the Philosophers* there are three different words to express man either in his unity or in one of his parts: "*nafs*," "*sega*", "*flesh*" and "*manfas*", "*spirit.*" The Book contains no formal discussion on the unity of the soul or the diversity of its functions. But it is impressed by the image of man as a battlefield for conflicting principles. Is the insistence on tensions in man due to historical factors, as the influence of Alexandrian Neo-Platonism; Or were the compilers of this book already attuned to these immanent struggles and starting from their personal convictions have they sought for an explanation which they have found in the Neo-Platonism of the time? The Neo-Platonic influence is so strong and so deep in this work that even when it uses the language of Semitic anthropology (flesh and spirit), in fact it thinks in terms of Greek dualism (body and soul). The hands are of Esau, but the voice is of Jacob. The hands are Semitic, but the voice is Greek. The anthropology manifested by *The Book of the Philosophers* seems at first sight to express a unitary view of man. But a careful study reveals that it is bound to Neo-Platonism, with its insistence on conflicts in man, nay in the soul itself.

None of the three terms: soul, flesh, spirit expresses man in the totality of his complexity. There is no trace of monism. Man is structured, as is the rest of created universe.

However, the way the different parts of man are united is a mystery which disconcerts the human mind. Man is both unity and division, harmony and conflict, order and disorder.

When we compare the Hatatas to *The Book of the Philosophers*, a double difference appears immediately. The first is that anthropology is not identically treated by the authors of the Hatatas. It is the privileged domain of Walda Heywat. However, the longer explanations of the disciple are but the development of the master's intuitions on the subject.

The second difference lies in the exclusive dualism of the Hatatas. *The Book of the Philosophers* takes into account both the unity and the division in man, although division is underlined. No similar hesitation in the Hatatas, no efort to embrace all the aspects of complexity in man. They are explicitly dualistic. However, the psychological vocabulary is exactly the same "man", "soul", "spirit" and "flesh". The most frequently used terms are, in order of decreasing proportion: "man". "soul" ("spirit",) "flesh."

One of the most remarkable characteristics of these two *Treatises* is their intimate and profound relation to creationism. There is not one statement about anthropology where creationism does not appear directly or indirectly, implicitly or explicitly. I have already noted in the first part of this work that the goodness of the created thing was the basis of Zera Yacob's method. The *rest of the Treatise*, in its logical development, essentially appears as the application of this basic methodological approach to the intimately interrelated domains of theodicy, ethics and psychology. However, psychology is more than the third and last application of Zera Yacob's methodological basis to the particular field of philosophy. Creationism has so profoundly penetrated psychology that it is from this internal centre of its structure that each of these parts must be considered: the difference between man and the animal, the soul and its relation to the body, the immortality of the soul.

The difference between man and the animal is the explicit object of Walda Heywat's study in two of his chapters, VIII and XII. In Chapter VIII, he insists on man's admiration for his creator and on the praise owed to Him for having raised the human being above all other creatures through his reason and his science. In Chapter VII he contrasts the animals who do not know from whom they receive what they need, and men who do know. Statements made here and there in the second Hatata, if collected, amount to a ratther complete treatise on the subject. Animals do not have the power of thinking. Man is superior to them by his intelligence which draws him closer to the creator. But he has no greater worth than an animal if he is bought like a slave. He is even inferior to an animal if he abandons his parents in order to become a monk or if he considers the conjugal act as contrary to nature.

The soul is spiritual and rational. However much Walda Heywat insists that by "Man" we should understand "Soul": he does not doubt the existence of the sega. We must here avoid an inextricable confusion. The Ethiopic word *sega* has two different meanings. The first is "flesh" corresponding to the Greek *sarx* and the Latin *caro*. One single term therefore covers two very different approaches in psychology: dualism and unity. But *even sega* refers to man's weakness and fragility, it does so with-in the framework of dualism and not unity. This creates no problem when *sega* signifies the "body" since the "body" is a word of dualism. But a linguistic problem may arise when *sega* stands for the "flesh." The "flesh" then means this part in man which is distinct from the spiritual and rational part called "soul" and considered as superior to it; the "flesh" is weak, fragile, passible, mortal. In other words, for the Hatata, the "body" is the "flesh." Both express dualism, both express the ambivalence of the unique word in Geez: *sega*.

The "flesh" refers to the inferior tendencies

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One of the most remarkable characteristics of these two *Treatises* is their intimate and profound relation to creationism. There is not one statement about anthropology where creationism does not appear directly or indirectly, implicitly or explicitly. I have already noted in the first part of this work that the goodness of the created thing was the basis of Zera Yacob's method. The *rest of the Treatise*, in its logical development, essentially appears as the application of this basic methodological approach to the intimately interrelated domains of theodicy, ethics and psychology. However, psychology is more than the third and last application of Zera Yacob's methodological basis to the particular field of philosophy. Creationism has so profoundly penetrated psychology that it is from this internal centre of its structure that each of these parts must be considered: the difference between man and the animal, the soul and its relation to the body, the immortality of the soul.

The difference between man and the animal is the explicit object of Walda Heywat's study in two of his chapters, VIII and XII. In Chapter VIII, he insists on man's admiration for his creator and on the praise owed to Him for having raised the human being above all other creatures through his reason and his science. In Chapter VII he contrasts the animals who do not know from whom they receive what they need, and men who do know. Statements made here and there in the second Hatata, if collected, amount to a rather complete treatise on the subject. Animals do not have the power of thinking. Man is superior to them by his intelligence which draws him closer to the creator. But he has no greater worth than an animal if he is bought like a slave. He is even inferior to an animal if he abandons his parents in order to become a monk or if he considers the conjugal act as contrary to nature.

The soul is spiritual and rational. However much Walda Heywat insists that by "Man" we should understand "Soul": he does not doubt the existence of the sega. We must here avoid an inextricable confusion. The Ethiopic word *sega* has two different meanings. The first is "flesh" corresponding to the Greek *sarx* and the Latin *caro*. One single term therefore covers two very different approaches in psychology: dualism and unity. But *even sega* refers to man's weakness and fragility, it does so with-in the framework of dualism and not unity. This creates no problem when *sega* signifies the "body" since the "body" is a word of dualism. But a linguistic problem may arise when *sega* stands for the "flesh." The "flesh" then means this part in man which is distinct from the spiritual and rational part called "soul" and considered as superior to it; the "flesh" is weak, fragile, passible, mortal. In other words, for the Hatata, the "body" is the "flesh." Both express dualism, both express the ambivalence of the unique word in Geez: *sega*.

The "flesh" refers to the inferior tendencies

towards concupiscence. It is the obstacle to the mastery of human actions; it may lead to adultery those who would want to remain celibates: the advocates of monastic fasting like to avoid this trap. It is mortal and as such its value is inferior to that of immortal soul. However, the flesh is not only described in somber colours. It has some value since it is not without purspose that God has "planted" concupiscence in the flesh. It expresses a natural and wholesome desire of marriage, in which husband and wife are one.

Zera Yacob presents three arguments in favour of immortality. The first is metaphysical; it is based on the desire for happines which is inherent to the human soul and yet is not sated with finite joys of present life. The second is psychological; it is founded on the spiritual power of the soul. Our soul is capable of having the mental concept of God and consequently it is capacle of being immortal. He who has given the power will also give the reality. The third is moral; it rests on the existence of injustice in this world. The light of reason requires that an almighty God re-establish perfect retribution after death.

Walda Heywat has devoted the greater part of two chapters to immortality: Chapters IV and XXXIV. In the first he opposes to the soul of animals, whose mortality or immortality we are not sure of, that of man whose immortality is beyond doubt. In the second he exhorts his reader not to fear the things which frighten the wicked at the hour of their death, and he raises to the contemplation of the light of God and to the ardent love of the soul for its creator.

One point is luminously clear in the two Hatatas: they only mention immortality of the soul, never resurrection of the flesh. The former conveys a dualistic conception of man, the second, a unitary conception.

Man as object of philosophical anthropology is unknown to *The Physiologue.* It speaks abundantly of the person; but the human being is considered in theological terms and nearly always signifies: "the Christian." What therefore does *The Physiologue* tell us about man within the context of theological anthropology? It is essentially *a metanoia, a conversio* in the sense that man must *turn away* from one state in order to turn *towards* another: the first state is that of infidelity, of carnal desires, of the world, of evil conduct; the second, that of Christ and of His Church.

As to *Skendes,* saddling over pantheism and theism, Greek paganism and Egypto-Ethiopian Christianity, it presents man as both responsible and predetermined. Although the result of three elements: the earth which gives him his body, the air which gives him his vital force and fire which gives him his intelligence, man has nevertheless a destiny that transcends the boundaries of life; he also has duties, merits and demerits; he must strive and struggle. He therefore is in possession of a certain liberty which is at work in a manner parallel to the fatal action of destiny and the active intervention of providence. Destiny and providence, divine and natural laws coexist.

It is precisely the conflict between destiny and providence, divine and natural laws which supplies the dramatic and even radical situation for the story of Skendes. On the one hand his mother, as all women according to the author, is burdened with insticts which necessarily lead her to the incestuous act; on the others hand, she is a free, responsible creature. No one is responsible, and yet there must be an atonement. The Moira of ancient Greece survives unto the practices and beliefs of magi, cabalists and talmudists up to Christian Ethiopia.

### *8. Society*

Two works are particularly significant on man as a social being: *The Book of the Philosophers* and the Hatatas; two others say practically nothing on the subject: *Skendes* and *The Physiologue.*

We can draw a graphic representation of the social *Weltanschaung of The Book of the Philosophers.* It would comprise three concentric circles. In the centre is the family–not the family as social unit (the latter is with the state one of the objects on which this view of the social world is applied), but as paradigm of social relations. These relations are anchored in the respect, the esteem and the recognition of the dignity of the other.

Beyond the family, lay order and law. Order includes all that is directly related to the finality of man, the ensemble of norms: its model is the just adaptation of each part of the cosmic universe to the other. The law resides in the perfection of the action itself. But the ultimate model is God who, as infinite and present to the world of well ordered social relations, is both above and outside the two preceding circles and yet penetrates them to their very centre.

Such a well structured *Weltanschaung* is strongly marked by stability. Its roots are firm and steadfast, but not altogether. For a breach opens into this well ordered structure and from the centre of family-like relations makes its way unto and reaches the order and law of the creator. This breach is human folly, disorder, sin, as its destructive action widens through the strata of the universe.

Within this *Weltanschaung* are to be found three of the particular items of social relations: our fellow-man, conjugal society and the state.

When we penetrate into the details of each of these three spheres, we observe that they are not as rigid as they appear at first and from a distance.

Respect, dignity and veracity must be considered in the light of family relations, where a friend, a servant and even a neighbour are recognized as brothers, travellers as companions and one's wide as

one's body and soul. There is place for discretion, intimacy and even reservedness.

Likewise life, trust, joy, happiness breath within the norms which constitute the model of order. The harmony of order is not as mechanical as the uniformity of the skies. It is a harmony of peace, of security, of goodness, of forgivenes for all the efforts which aim at breaking an order that is human and free, and not inflexible and determined. The Kingdom itself cannot exist without friends.

Even the law to which all men must conform, its authenticity, its justice towards the individual and towards all, is related from above to divine friendship and from below to the hope, the prayer, the generosity and the mercy of the king.

What place is attributed to love in these interpersonal relations? Love is the greatest and strongest factor in drawing men together. What type of love does *The Book of the Philosophers* propose? Is it the self-centred, passionate *eros or agape* which seeks to satisfy the other;

Perhaps the closest analogy with the Ethiopian *feqer*, "love" is the Hebrew notion of *nheed* whose first meaning is that of bond or contract, and whose significadtion has been utilized to designate the human relations which are the result of such a bond. Where the Hebrew at first blush thinks of a "bond", the Ethiopian thinks of the respect due a person of consideration, who is precious, dear, "heavy".

The semantic landscape which surrounds love as *feqer offers* a "form", a *Gestalt* which extends all around it in various types of connections and identifications. Some are juridical like law, peace, unity; others are moral like conscience, conduct, loyality, obedience, duties; others are dynamic like profit, power, richness, direction; other are sapiential like wisdom and advice, or divine in their origin and the perfection of their blessing; but all convey the idea of weight like the splendid definition of love by a IV-century African thinker: "*Amor meus pondue meun.* My love is my weight".

*The Book of the Philosophers*, as we have seen, exhibits a strong and solidly structured social *Weltanschaung* based on respect, order and law. Such an architecture is not absent from the Hatatas. They devote a relatively important place to respect, order and law. But when we pass from traditional to modern philosophy, the centre of social ethics is displaced from a stable, firm and secure articulation to a more metaphysical basis: creation.

Whereas there are three hundred and ninetynine sayings on social ethics disseminated throughout *The Book of the Philosophers*, the first *Treatise* contains only a few references to it; the second *Treatise* has concentrated in one chapter (XIII) the marrow of *Walda* Heywat's social philosophy.

The creational dimension of Walda Heywat's social ethics has three immediate consequences as far as social theory is concerned namely: unity (or equality) co-operation and love. Since all men, independently of their family ties or their religious belonging, are creatures of the same creator, they are sons of the same father and brothers of the same family. Consequently they are absolutely equal between themselves: they sbould love one another, and cooperate between themselves:

The virtues and vices which are brought to light by such a *social Weltanschaung* are only touched upon in this short chapter. But the choice of these is very revealing. One notices that in Walda Heywat, as in traditional Ethiopian wisdom, defects are more abundantly treated than the qualities to which they are opposed. Only one virtue is presented as a key word; but in the context of love and unity it is practically the most important since, in practice, there will be confrontation with those who do not share this social approach and consequently make use of violence. This primordial virtue is patience.

As to vices, according to Walda Heywat, they are opposed to the most basic duties and rights; to the duty of love like physical blows against one's neighbour; to the duty of truthfulness, in language as lie, calumny, evil speech, and in married life as adultery; to the duty of justice as murder and to the right of ownership as theft.

Walda Heywat is thus brought about to propose social conformism and to devote a whole chapter to it (IV). When at home, one should follow the customs of one's country. But when abroad, one shoud conform to local customs. Once more a parallel with Descartes is suggested. In the third part of his *Discours sur la méthode, as he* is about to enter the rigid but disquieting discipline of the methodic doubt, Descartes establishes three rules of a provisional ethics which is destined to leave him in a tranquil state of mind in spite of his theoretical doubt. The first of these rules concerns social conformism which requires from the individual that he conform to the laws and the religion of his country.

However, the social conformism of Descartes is first proposed as a provisional measure of Stoic ethics. Once he has established the existence and nature of God, of the soul and of the world, he re-discovers this moral law, but this time in order to give it a solid conclusion, scientifically and up to a point mathematically deduced from preceding certitudes. In Walda Heywat there is no double value to social conformism: from the beginning it is presented as a permanent rule.

No subject is more developed in both *Treatises* than that of marriage and of familly. Marriage does not have the significance of a methodological principle like the "inquiry" (*hatata;*) neither is it like creation the basis of the entire construction, nor its summit like the infinite being. Marriage is rather the centre of all centres. For among the three interrelated domains which emerge over the horizon of creationism: theodicy, ethics, and psychology, ethics occupies the

central part; and at the centre of social etchics, marriage.

What are the values Zera Yacob and Walda Heywat recognize to marriage life and to family? They agree on the sanity of monastic life, the excellence of matrimonial and familial life in general and of the conjugal act in particular, monogany and the permanence of marriage. Both recognise as evil: divorce, fornication, abortion and polygamy. Only Zera Yacob maintains the equality of man and woman; for Walda Heywat woman is inferior by nature.

Contrary to *The Book of the Philosophers*, the two Hatatas have little to say about the state. For Zera Yacob, kings like richness, hypocrisy, treason and perfidy. As to Walda Heywat he is so impressed by the political evils of his time that he has hardly toutched upon the moral values that "those who govern" should possess. If it is comforting to hear him speak with vigour against slavery, one can only regret his attitude towards friendship: one must be suspicious of all men, even of friends.

### 9. *Morality*

As for the preceding section on society, I shall mostly refer to two works, one which represents the traditional wisdom of Ethiopia, *The Book of the Philosophers*, and the other, its modern rationalistic counterpart, *The Treatise of Zera Yacob* and that of *Walda Heywat*.

#### a) *The Central Position of Ethics*

Morality is the central element of *The Book of the Philosophers*. Cosmology, psychology and sociology hardly exist in their own right. They are completely conditioned by the author's concentration on moral questions. For example, little attention is paid to cosmic time; time is defined in terms of morality. The human heart is not simply a physiological organ; it is an image, a symbol, and above all the centre of moral habits. As a matter of fact, all the chapters I have studied in this work: thought, rhythm, image, world, man and society are fundamentally nothing but aspects of a great reality towards which they converge one way or the other: moral action. Even theological questions, which transcend the finitude of human action, are considered in the perspective of morality.

When we move to the rationalistic treatises of Zera Yacob and of his disciple, the situation changes. Their structure is not modelled according to interior circles which would penetrate into the depths of morality as it is the case for the XVI-century Collection of Maxims. The who *Treatises* have neither their architecture as resting on an ontological basis: the goodness of the created thing. We would penetrate under this basis and consider how its pillars plunge into Ethiopian theology and in particular into the psalmic view of the world. Over this basis and founded upon it a vast shell-like dome opens somewhat in the manner of an ultramodern building. Each point of this dome finally rests on the unique basis. For ethics, no more and no less than theodicy, psychology ans cosmology, is firmly established on the same creational ground. However, in its own way, ethics is central to these *Treatises*, not is the sense that it conditions all the rest as The *Book of the Philosophers*, but in the more restricted sense that it occupies the greatest part of the vault. Nearly all the principles of ethics have been included: from the more abstract principles of ethics to their more concrete application to life, and there again from the relations of man to his Lord, to himself, to his neighbour to the relations between husband, wife and children and to those within the State. It is here that Zera Yacob approaches ethical problems in a very different way from Walda Heywat. But both agree on the prevalence of concern for moral questions.

If we take as sources of our analysis the other works of Ethiopian literature: *The Physiologue* and *The Life and Maxims of Skendes*, particularly the second series of *Maxims*, the conclusion emerges in a peremptory way: the moral prevalence characterizes *all* expressions of Ethiopian thought.

#### b) *The Norms of Morality*

What makes the right act good and the wrong act bad? What is the cause of goodness in some acts, of badness in others? The answer is: the relationship of the act to some yardstick of morality called a norm of morality.

A norm of morality may be (a) subjective, that is, existing in the human agent and giving him moral guidance in the placing of his human acts; (b) objective, that is existing outside the human agent in the order of objective reality. Some moralists make a distinction, within the objective norm of morality, between the proximate and the ultimate norm, the ultimate being the last assignable reason why the proximate norm is precisely what it is.

Here we encounter one of the most far-reaching controversial issues in ethics, namely, is morality purely subjective? Does it depent entirely on the viewpoint of man, individual or social, so that rules of morality are nothing more than a series of convenient arrangements or the expression of social habits founded on emotion, which change with time and place? Or is morality objective, rooted in reason, and founded on principles as valid as those which underlie physics or astronomy?

Schools of the thougt have often derived their name from the answers to this basic problem: utilitarianism, intuitionism, autonomous reason, moral positivism,

What is the norm according to the *The Book of the Philosophers?* One gap is immediately apparent:

there is no place for the proximate standard of morality. One soars immediately to the ultimate: God. There is no concern for the immanent axiological dimension of the human act, be it *a lex naturalis* a categorical imperative of a free, autonomous reason or self-realization.

There is God above and man's conscience below, the objective and ultimate, the subjective and proximate, the eternal and the impermanent. It may be that the negative approach to the world and the flesh characteristic of so much Ethiopian monastic and ascetic literature, prevented the authors of *The Book of the Philosophers* from considering the immanent values of human nature, rooted in time, in the world, in matter.

The whole ethical ensemble may be represented as a globe. It revolves around two poles, one being God, the ultimate objective norm; the other, conscience, the subjective criterion. The axis that holds them together is human life, for on one hand conscience guides man throughout his existence, and on the other hand, the Infinite Transcendental Being penetrates each moment of the temporal duration up to the liberating rupture of its limits through death. Around this axis revolves the whole ethical body of goodness kept together by the attraction of its teleological pole. Outside of it, dragged down by the fall of gravity, falls evil like a parabolic path that leads nowhere.

Morality therefore appears as a dialogue, in a simple, stark, naked transcedentalism–not the idealistic transcendentalism of Kant, but an ethical, ascetic transcendentalism which concentrates on the axiological sphere and the dialectics which crosses it through and through. *The Book of the Philosophers* attributes a much greater importance to the subjective norm of conscience than to the objective ultimate one, *egziabher*, "The Lord of the World." It is a work of wisdom, of ethical education, of orthopraxy. Now there is no education possible of the objective norm; it is enough to indicate its existence and to identify its nature. The whole burden and message of *The Book* concentrate on conscience, its role as a guide in the moral world, its nature, its depth, its relation to the objective norm, the display of its connections with other aspects in man, the difficulties encountered in its proper operation, its value, the type of person it characterizes.

In order to express such a diversified range of meanings, *The Book of the Philosophers* makes use mainly of two words. The most frequently used is *lebbuna*. It is derived from *lebb*, "heart". *Lebb* stands as symbol of all that is internal and central in man, not only of an affective and intellectual type, but also of a moral one. The "heart" is sensitive to the least movement; it wants and listens, ready to respond to the voice of *eqziabher*. *Lebbuna* does not evoke, as the English term "conscience", a rational connotation, but an internal organ that throbs at the call of duty.

The second term *hellina* is less frequent and less concrete than *lebbuna*. It refers to "cogitation, meditation, a mental conception." Hence when the mind is responsible for its own activity, *animus sui compus*, we have the moral significance of the English word "conscience."

Where *The Book of the Philosophers* keeps complete silence, namely on the proximate standard of morality, the *Treatises* are clear, precise, abundant; where *The Book of the Philosophers* is rich and colourful, namely on the subjective standard, the *Treatises* show economy of vocabulary and shades of meaning. For the first time in the literary history of Ethiopia the proximate norm is given full relief in the natural law, the *lex* naturalis. *The Geez* language in which the *Treatises were* written offered their authors a semantic richness which the Latin lex does not afford. For there are two words for "law" in Geez.

The first and most commonly used is *heg*. It comes from a root which means: "a day's work, a boundary-mark, a limit, a determined time, a law". It refers first of all to a positive law, and in particular to the divine *nomos*, but it is also and very frequently applied to the laws and institutions of a country or society, and finally also to the "law of nature". In this sense, the law is usually considered as it emanates from the creator and is willed by Him. Mating is willed by *the law of creation;* marriage springs from *the law of the creator the law of creation* "orders" one man to marry one woman; those who have fulfilled the *law of their* nature will be rewarded; we should know *the laws of our creator* and keep them: God respects the limits of each creature's service determind by the law of its nature; it is we ourselves who violate the *laws that the creator set up for us and for* all the creation. God has imposed *laws on all* creatures; the lazy person violates *God's law;* marriage comes from a *law of nature;* men, despising the wisdom of the creator, refused to work according to *His law;* they did not understand God's work nor follow *the natural law that reason taught them.*

But there is another word for "law" in Geez: *serat:* Its root seems to have meant: "to stretch forward", and hence "to dispose on a line, to set in order" *Serat* is first of all a "disposition, a setting in order, a class." It is also an "arrangement", and "a rule of life according to order, an instruction". Hence its meaning of "precept, commission, edict, decree" and of "law, stature" which aplies to the laws which are inscribed in the very nature of things.

In many of these texts, it refers, as *heg* itself, to the creator, but with an emphasis on the imprint it has left on all creatures, on the order God has established in the world which He sustains and which man cannot destroy, because the order of God is stronger than the order of man. Man should follow the law which his creator imposed upon him and never exceed it

### *10. Key Words and Themes of Ethiopian Philosophy*

In the section on "Wisdom as Theme" I have already defined the terms "key words" and "themes". Here I would like to consider synthetically *all* the works of Ethiopian literature which I have analyzed: traditional and anti-traditional, inspired by Christianity and opposed to any positive religion, anonymous or not, critical or not, original or not.

One could expect that there would be no key words, common to so diversified a span. But there are a few: eight exactly. They may be considered as the linguistic nucleus of Ethiopia's philosophical vocabulary. Some are sapiential like *wisdom* and *knowledge;* others are theological like *Lord*, anthropological like *flesh*, *soul-spirit* and *heart;* still others are ethical like *law* and *love*.

We have already considered each of these key words, from "Wisdom as Theme" to the double signification of "law." However, we have left for the end the key word which gathers all the meanings, connections and resonances of Ethiopian literature: the "heart."

#### *The "Heart"*

The ancient unused root *labbaba* has given rise, in Ethiopian sapiential and rationalistic literature, to the richest and most diversified key word of philosophy, since the *heart* has a multiplicity of connotations: opposition to flesh and identification with it, conflicting tendencies, internal centre, centre of intellectual operations, centre of emotions, centre of moral habits.

In *The Physiologue*, the heart is indeed an internal centre, but its relations are of a theological nature, with Christ through faith and prayer and with the demon through passion and sin. Whereas in all other philosophical works, the *heart* is one of the most frequently used key words, in *The Physiologue* the frequency of its occurrence is weak (fifteen times).

In *The Book of the Philosophers*, the *heart, lebb*, is a frequent symbol, rich in significance and of a vast comprehension. It is opposed to the flesh, never to the soul. However, man is led by the flesh to the knowledge of man's *heart*. The flesh is the revelation of the *heart*. The heart harbours inclinations which are not only different but *conflicting*. It is the stage for a dramatic struggle between the forces of evil and the forces of good, between the world and authentic wisdom. It is the most internal centre of man. It is harmony with oneself, the last refuge where one cannot escape one's true identity. Whereas in Greco-Roman culture, the *heart* as symbol usually refers to the emotional nature of man in opposition to his intellectual nature, in Semitic culture it comprises not only the emotional, but also the intellectual and the moral. From among the three categories the *heart* is the centre of: the intellectual, the emotional and the moral, the emotional is the least represented in *The Book of the Philosophers*. The moral connections anchored in the heart of man are the most numerous and the most important.

The *heart* is the most frequently used symbol in *Skendes*, as it also was in *The Book of the Philosophers*, but not with the same richness of connotations. In the biographical section of *Skendes*, the *heart* ordinarily designates the emotional in oposition to the intellectual nature. Skendes' *heart* is full of anger when he reads the philosopher's statement about women; he desires to gain to himself the emperor's *heart*. His mother's *heart* is favourable to the traveller's proposition; sadness is absent from it; it is comforted by his charm and smile; it clings to the unkown traveller because of his beauty; all its desires are sated.

Whilst the biographical section underlines the *Maxims* and particularly the second series of maxims insist on the ethical. From this viewpoint, Sections II and III, are deeply rooted in the symbolism which characterizes all the Ethiopian philosophical contributions. Compared to *The Book of the Philosophers*, the first series of maxims appears as pessimistic, since it presents only the forces of evil which bend man's *heart*. In comparison, *The Book of the Philosophers* evoked only the forces of good in the symbolism of the *heart* as centre of moral habits. However, the second series of maxims is more global. It underlines the purity of the heart, its good intentions. But it also knows, as the first series, his mundane desires, his sense of guilt, in a word, the evil that dwells in him.

The *heart* is also the most employed symbol in the Hatatas. But it does not have the same richness of connotations as for instance in *The Book of the Philosophers*. Its opposition to the flesh, its conflicting tendencies are not mentioned; only once, in Zera Yacob, is the *heart* referred to as internal centre. The *heart*, however, is well known as internal centre, especially by the more intellectualist Zera Yacob; it is also known somewhat and by both as centre of emotions; much as centre of moral habits by the two authors, but especially by the more parenetic Walda Heywat.

# THE MISSIONARY WORK OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIOS*

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The Church of Constantinople became a missionary centre in the East immediately after its evolution into an important ecclesiastical centre, since A.D. 330. She kept performing that work based upon some principles characterizing its very existence.

The saints Cyril and Methodios, the IXth century A.D. apostles to the Slavs, embodied in themselves these principles, but they gave a new impetus to the whole missionary activity of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

They functioned within the European continent and bore fruit through their lives, work, writings, and heritage to the coming generations. The spiritual contribution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to European civilisation is particularly evident through the activities of the two brother saints.

## *I. BYZANTIUM*

### 1. *Missionary Work of the Ecumenical Patriarchate up to the IXth Century A.D.*

The history of the Church and particularly the history of missions describe the way through which the Church accomplished her evangelistic task to those outside.

The New Testament remains the main source to the present, where we come across the motives, the purpose, the subject, the bearers, the object, the content, the extent, the method, the results etc. of the evangelistic preaching.

The post-apostolic Church will follow the example of the apostles and their times, but she will not fail to take into due consideration the problems arising out of new situations-something quite significant for the Church in the future and every epoch.

The persecutions against the Church of the first three centuries-externally a negative phenomenon for the expansion of Christianity-failed to accomplish their purpose, since the expansion of Christianity and its organization were accomplished.

The apostolic fathers, the apologists, the antiheretical writers, the alexandrian and antiochian theologians dealt, alongside their other interests, with matters pertaining to the missionary work of the Church as well.

During the first centuries in the history of Christianity the Church alone was responsible for the evangelistic task.

The apostles, with their associates and successors, clergymen, evangelists, teachers, lay persons, saints, soldiers, merchants, captives, etc., offered their services on behalf of the Church.

The recognition of Christianity on the part of the Roman empire coincided with the foundation of Constantinople and its recognition as the new capital of the empire (330), and the growth in preeminence of honour of the Church of Constantinople.

Thus, with the accession of Constantine the Great (324–337) and the end of persecutions against Christianity, a new era began in Church-State relations which were shaped in a particular way in Byzantium.

Church and State were then accepted as two parallel and interrelated hierarchies, respectively having at the top the Patriarch and the Emperor, both belonging to a single unity, serving the one Lord for the establishment of His kingdom on earth and the well-being of their members.

The principle of cooperation was put into practice. The king, a layman himself, was the protector of the Church and had had some priestly functions. The unique position of the Emperor included the field of evangelism as well.

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Henceforth the Church will not deal alone with the evangelistic activity, but she will be supported by the State in this task.

The principal motive and the main purpose of the Roman byzantine missionary activity remained the salvation of souls and the expansion of Christianity. Parallel to that, the moulding of habits and customs in the light of Christianity, the social rebirth, the growth of the new life in Christ, and the expansion of Christian byzantine civilisation followed.

Apart from providing solutions to the problems arising from the decline of heathenism, an effort was then made by the Church for the systematisation of the catechism and for a detailed study of Christ's revelation and the salvation offered by Him.

Later on when the Church was organised, she had to face new missionary problems. During this period a study of the methods used in missions from nation to nation was undertaken, and a new method of missionary preaching was formed. The attitude of missionaries towards the customs and traditions of other nations was carefuly studied.[1] Thus missionary activities were conducted both by Church and State. The particular work, however, was served by clergy, monks and lay persons, merchants, princesses, diplomats, soldiers and even captives. Initiatives in that realm were taken not only by the aforesaid institutions but by several inspired personalities as well.[2]

From the time of Constantine the Great onwards the missionary activity centered in Constantinople included the areas both within and beyond the borders of the Roman byzantine empire. Geographically it included the regions from the Caspian Sea to the Black and the Adriatic Seas, and south Arabia, north Africa, Ethiopia and Nubia.

Generally speaking, the nations which accepted Christianity were either Jews or heathen. They were in particular, Dacians, Goths, Huns, Iberians, Armenians, Lazs, Slavs, Arabs, Ethiopians, Nubians, Vandals, Berbers, etc.

From the point of view of time the evangelism which began in the IVth century was a continuous process, although external presupositions sometimes forced the missionaries to a temporary deceleration or a final halt. The period from the IVth to the VIth century reaching its peak in the VIth century under Justinian the Great (527–565), constitutes an epoch of great success. Usually, the center for the departure of the missionaries was Constantinople. Other local Church centers served the same purpose as secondary centers, being related to or under the ecumenical Patriarchate.

Then, Church organisation of the missionary areas followed with the establishment of a local clergy and hierarchy and the foundation of.church-buildings and other places of worship as well.

During this evangelistic work orthodox missionaries applied the apostolic principle of using the local languages. So from the very beginning they aimed at the translation into the local languages of the Holy Bible, the liturgical texts and texts related to the organisation of the local Churches. Their efforts did not stop there, but they also turned their attention to the educational, the social, the literary, and the artistic, fields.

2. *Missionary Work of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the IXth Century. Cyril–Constantine and Methodios.*

The second and golden period for missionary activity from Byzantium included the IXth and Xth centuries, i.e. the era of the Macedonian dynasty.

Although in the past missionary work conducted from Byzantium covered the different geographical areas within the Roman byzantine empire, later, due to external reasons, this work was confined only to the northern parts of the empire, that is, to the vast areas including the Balkans, Poland, Lithuania and Russia, from the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the Black Seas to the northern borders of the empire, mainly within the continent of Europe. The target of the evangelistic message was the Slavic world.

The Slavs appeared for the first time in history in the second half of the Ist century A.D., living east of the Germans, in the area of the Vistula river. Later, in the period from the IIIrd to the IXth century they moved to the vast European region from the Don river to the Alps and from the Baltic to the Adriatic Seas. They can be divided into three groups, the eastern, the western and the southern Slavs. Eastern Slavs were the Russians, western, the Chechs, the Moravians, the Slovaks and the Poles, and southern, the Serbians, the Croats, the Slovenes and the Bulgarians.

Generally speaking, Greeks served as missionaries to the eastern Slavs, while Italians and Germans evangelized the western Slavs. However, the two Greek brothers Cyril (Constantine) and Methodios are considered the apostles of all the Slavs.

The impetus for starting this work was given by Rostislav (847–870), the ruler of Moravia. Moravia was frequently under the pressure of the neighbouring nations, Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria.

Apparently, moved by both religious and political reasons, Rostislav sent a delegation (862) to the Roman byzantine emperor Michael III (842–846) and asked him to send teachers and clergymen knowing the Slavic language, in order to teach his subjects the Christian faith. Upon this request, Michael III and the then ecumenical patriarch Photios I (858–867, 877–886) sent him the two brothers Constantine (Cyril) and Methodios.

Their parents (Leo and probably Maria) were of noble origin. Their father held the office of drunga-

1. Elias Voulgarakis, Σύντομος Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐπιστήμης τῆς Ἱεραποστολῆς, *Θεολογία* 40 (1969) 326 - 327.

2. Anastasios Yannoulatos (of Androusa), Βυζάντιον, Ἔργον Εὐαγγελισμοῦ, *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 4(1964)20.

rius, an army post under the general governor of Macedonia.

Methodios was probably born in the year 820, and after having been educated in Thessalonike was appointed the governor of "Sklavenia", that is, an area populated mostly by the Slavs. He then lived as a monk on Mount Olympos in Bithynia and became the abott of the monastery of Polychronios. He was known to have a practical mind and the ability to learn foreign languages.

Constantine, the youngest of seven brothers, was born in 827. Having a thirst for knowledge and an outstanding ability to learn foreign languages, he first studied theology and after the death of his father, he moved to Constantinople in order to continue his studies in the university. Among his teachers were Leo the mathematician and Photios and he stayed with the logothetes of dromos, that is, the prime minister Theoktistos, a relative of his. He was eventually ordained a deacon and probably a priest and was appointed chartophylax and librarian of Hagia Sophia and professor of philosophy in the university of Constantinople, being known as the philosopher.

Constantine was sent as an ambassador to the Saracens (c.860) and, accompanied by his brother Methodios, as an ambassador-missionary among the Khazars. The two brothers passed through Crimea, taking from there the relics of St. Clement of Rome (88-97).

Constantine was also the director of the special center for Slavic Studies in Constantinople, specializing in the preparation of misionaries and teachers. There, with the assistance of this brother, he invented the Slavic alphabet, the so-called glagolitic, based on the Greek alphabet with the addition of certain other letters, into which they translated various ecclesiastical texts. Later on this alphabet was again changed according to the Greek megalogrammatos writing and was named cyrillic or cyrillian in his honour.

In the fall of 863, Constantine and Methodios together with other missionaries came to Moravia, and started their missionary work, using Slavonic as a liturgical language. Besides, the Byzantines were eager to introduce there the customs of their Church.

These were the times of Church tensions between East and West, pope Nicholas I(858-867) and patriarch Photios.

In the year 867 the two brothers accompanied by their fellow-workers left Moravia. They passed through Pannonia, where they spent six months, and Venice, where they defended themselves against accusations for using the Slavonic language. They then arrived in Rome (December 867), where Hadrian II was the pope (867-872). They brought along the relics of St. Clement of Rome, for which act they were officially received. The pope approved of their work, with the suggestion that the texts from the Apostle and the Gospel during the liturgy should be first read in Latin and then in Slavonic.

While in Rome, Constantine got sick and sensing his death he became a monk and was named Cyril. He passed away in Rome in 869, 42 years of age and was buried in the church of St. Clement. From then on the whole responsibility of the apostolic work among the Slavs fell on the shoulders of his brother Methodios.

The pope, upon the request of the ruler of Slovenia (Pannonia) Kocel, ordained Methodios a bishop, with the title of Archbishop of Sirmium. Archbishop Methodios was installed in the capital of Slovenia, and proceeded with ordaining a great number of his disciples, Slovenes, Croatians, Serbs and Moravians, to the priesthood, one of them being Gorasd. Slovenia, politically and ecclesiastically, was under the administition of the German State and the Archbishop of Salzburg of Bavaria. His stay there caused a conflict of jurisdictions. The German bishops who arrested Methodios tried him, deposed him and finally imprisoned him (November 870).

After two years of imprisonment pope John VIII (872-882) intervened and set Methodios free (873), who came to Moravia, where Svetopulk the nephew of Rostislav was the head of State. A new golden period started for the Church of Moravia, as Methodios visited the various places of his evangelistic activity, and especially Bohemia, Saxony, Silesia and south Poland.

Svetopulk, under the pressure of his priests, Wiching and the Italian John, presented this time his accusations against Methodios to pope John VIII on the use of church Slavonic, whereupon Methodios went to Rome in 879 and was restated to his position by the pope. In 881 he visited Constantinople, where he was received with great honour by the emperor Basil I the Macedonian (867-886) and the patriarch and then returned to Moravia having passed through Bulgaria.

Back in Moravia he translated almost the whole of the Bible into Slavonic, and did the same with several patristic texts and the Nomocanon.

After his death, the Latin-German ecclesiastical party came into power in Moravia. Wiching was appointed his succesor. Church Slavonic was substituted by Latin and he Filioque clause was added into the Symbol of faith. The eastern practices were changed into Latin ones. A persecution started against Methodios' disciples who fled to different neighbouring countries, where they fruitfully continued their evangelistic activities.

The above short biographical sketch of the two saints Cyril and Methodios reveals some aspects of their missionary endeavours. But what were the principles pertaining to such endeavours, which they took from the general missionary strategy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate?

In the first place we must note the principle of spiritual formation and education.

The two brothers belonged to a family and social circle, which could easily offer them the possibility for a good education.

Methodios, who possessed a practical mind, was good at languages and had a thorough knowledge of the Holy Bible, of the canonical and liturgical texts and of the writings of the Fathers. Whilst some high church and state positions were offered to him, instead he prefered the monastic life with the practice of its strict ideals.

Constantine–Cyril, on the other hand, who had the best education possible of his time, had a leaning towards knowledge in general, languages, and philosophy. He had flexibility and diplomatic tact. He was an intellectual, a good teacher, and a man who believed in dialogue. He was a fervent disciple of Christ, devoted to His Church, with an inclination towards monastic ideals.

Bishop Anastasios Yannoulatos of Androusa presents their qualifications in the following way: a) an extensive education... b) an experience of society... c) a strong esoteric life.[3] Evangelos D. Theodorou, of Athens, considers them as prototypes of missionaries, known for their outstanding education, their excellent spiritual potentialities and their lasting spiritual dynamism.[4]

Another characteristic principle of the two missionary saints was the spirit of humbleness and selfdenial. Various examples from their daily lives show that their whole existence was a continuous bearing of the Cross and a self–denial, aiming at the application on earth of the will of God and the promotion of His saving work.

Constantine–Cyril had a bright future awaiting him as chartophylax of the patriarchate, professor at the university and diplomat, but he accepted a call to abandon all and offer himself to the missionary task, which was quite unknown at the time.

In a dialogue with the emperor Michael III (842–867), his biographer points out his fragile health. "Philosopher, I am well aware of your poor health, but you have to go there, because no one else could undertake this task". The philosopher replied: "Notwithstanding my ill health and weakness, I will gladly go there".[5]

Together with his brother Methodios, he suffered, until his death in Rome (869), the trials of the missionary task.

According to his biographer, Methodios had been repeatedly accused, persecuted, and suffered a great deal from his persecutors and the strong and prominent people of his environment and his time, but he never faltered at the sight of danger and did his duty to the end.

Thirdly the two brothers–missionaries applied the apostolic principle of using the local language in their misionary work. The application of this principle, especially in the mission in Moravia, has had a great undertone for the christianization of the Slavs, and their entry into Christian civilisation through Byzantium, and consequently for Europe.

They first invented the Slavonic alphabet and the Slavic script. They then worked for the formation of a theological and in general an academic terminology in Slavic, through which the Slavs were able to express their throughts and feelings. According to Antonios–Emilios Tachiaos, "their contribution rests mainly upon this point, not only in relation simply to Moravia, but to the whole Slavic world as well" a contribution the fruits of which still exist.[6]

Originally the use of Slavonic applied to the oral evangelistic preaching. Vlasios J. Pheidas in an article which appeared in 1966 states that the Ecumenical Patriarchate, through Photios I moved to a reorganisation of missions, within which missionary preaching was accordingly defined. In the IXth century, Byzantine missionary preaching included three basic parts, that is, a summary of the sacred history, from creation to the salvation of humanity through Jesus Christ, a concise dogmatic teaching of the Church based on the symbol of faith and a brief history of the Ecumenical Counsils.. The Apostles to the Slavs, Cyril (Constantine) and Methodios... used the unique type of missionary preaching of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in parallel to the independent dialogues which Byzantine missions were able to use according to the particular local cases."[7]

They personally or through their associates worked for the translation into Slavonic of the Holy Bible and the liturgical and other texts out of the Greek ecclesiastical literature. No written work of Constantine–Cyril seems to have survived.

1) The translation of the *Nomocanon* of John Scholastikos, 2) a part of an extant homily, which bears the title: *Admonition to the Ruler*, probably to Rostislav, and 3) the *Law for the Trial of Men*, are attributed to Methodios.[8]

Another important principle was the formation of a circle of disciples and associates.

This work started early in Constantinople. By then they prepared workers for the missionary activi-

3. Idem, Κύριλλος καὶ Μεθόδιος: Δεῖκται Πορείας. Ἀθῆναι, 1966, σ. 6 - 9, ἀνάτυπον: *Ἐκκλησία* 43 (1966) ἀρ, 16 - 17.

4. Evangelos D. Theodorou, Ἡ Δεοντολογία τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐξωτερικῆς Ἱεραποστολῆς κατὰ τοὺς Ἁγίους Κύριλλον καὶ Μεθόδιον, *Ἐκκλησία* 43 (1966) 401.

5. John E. Anastasiou, transl., Βίος Κωνσταντίνου-Κυρίλλου, XIV, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης* (ΕΕΘΣΠΘ) 12 (1967) 141.

6. Antonios - Emilios Tachiaos, Ἱστορία τῶν Σλαβικῶν Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1970, σ. 27.

7. Vlasios J. Pheidas, Τὸ Κήρυγμα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ἱεραποστολῆς καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι τῶν Σλάβων Κωνσταντῖνος (Κύριλλος) καὶ Μεθόδιος *Ἐκκλησία* 43 (1966) 491 - 498.

8. Antonios-Emilios Tachiaos, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 - 26.

ty in Moravia and elsewhere, who followed them to Moravia.

In the biographies of Constantine-Cyril and Methodios and of their disciple Clement, we often come across names of their dispciples.

When Constantine (Cyril), accompanied by his brother Methodios, arrived in Moravia, Rostislav "entrusted him the students whom he collected for education".

The ruler of Pannonia Kocel entrusted him "with fifty students".

The presence of Constantine's (Cyril) disciples in Rome, where the former died, has already been mentioned. With the permission of the pope several of them were ordained as subdeacons, deacons and presbyters.[9]

On his way to Constantinople Methodios was accompanied by two disciples, a deacon and a priest. Two of his disciples-priests who served as scribes assisted him in the translation of the Holy Bible.

Mention is often made of his best disciples, some of whom were, Gorasd, Clement, Nahum, Angelarios, Sabbas and Laurentios. On his death the number of his clergy disciples reached the 200.[10]

After the death of Methodios, the ecclesiastical work accomplished by the two brothers in Moravia and its vicinity came to a halt. It remained, however, in the form of other expressions in literature, the arts, the social domain, the law and later archaeology. The disciples who fled to other Slavic countries continued their work successfully there.

### 3. *Missionary Work of the Ecumenical Patriarchate up to the XVth Century*

#### *The Disciples of the Two Brothers Cyril and Methodios*

Svetopulk, who brought back to Moravia the German clergy, left at the hand of the latter the disciples of the two brothers. These suffered many tribulations. Some of them were sold as slaves in Venice. Emperor Basil I the Macedonian (867-886) who personally showed his concern for them, paid for their freedom and brought them to Constantinople. Others were imprisoned and then exiled to the region of the Danube river. Many who were not able to endure the sufferings died there, while some others fled to Bulgaria.[11] Later some of them returned to Moravia and worked there and in Bohemia, moving as far as Poland.

But the nucleus out of the best of the disciples moved to Bulgaria, where they were received by the ruler Boris-Michael. His successor Symeon supported the same cause. Those who fled to Bulgaria were divided into different groups. The first group having Clement, who was ordained bishop of Belitsa as their head, served in the area of Ochrid (school of Ochrid) while the second, led by Nahûm, worked through the school of Pliska.

Church life and letters in Slavonic flourished, which was evident in Poland, the Balkans and Russia.

#### *Bohemia-Poland*

St. Methodios worked in Bohemia, where he baptised its ruler Vorzivoi (c. 871 or after 870). His disciples followed his example. In the Xth century pagan princes opposed Christianity in Bohemia, but the new faith stood well on its feet, around 1000 A.D. Upon the request of the Church of Rome the use of Slavonic was abolished, books written in this language were burned, and eventually this Church became a part of Roman Catholicism.

Christianity probably reached Poland through Moravia and Bohemia, through the missionary activity of the disciples of Cyril and Methodios. In all probability the new faith had the appearance of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. But around the Xth century and due to the efforts of the political rulers and the Latin clergy the western rite substituted the eastern liturgical customs.

The later history of Orthodoxy in Poland is related to the existing contacts of friendly or hostile character with the neighbouring countries of Russia and Lithuania.

The same thing could be said on the spreading of Christianity among the Czechs and the Slovenes.

#### *Hungary*

The Magyars, of Tatar origin, lived in the vast areas between Caucasus and the Carpathian mountains north of the Black Sea. In their early history they came into contact with the apostles to the Slavs twice, the first time, in the land of the Khazars, in 860, when the two brothers met with a band of fierce Magyar fighters, the second time in 881, when an unknown Magyar ruler was the host to Methodios.[12]

In the IXth century the Magyars came and settled in Pannonia and Moravia. They came to know Christianity through their contacts with Byzantium. During the reign of Contantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913-959) Magyar rulers arrived in Constantinople, where they received the holy Baptism (950). On their return they were accompanied by Ierotheos, who was

9. John E. Anastasiou, transl., *op. cit.*, XV, 77, ΕΕΘΣΠΘ 12 (1967) 142, 143, 146.

10. *Idem*, ed., Βίος Κλήμεντος Ἀχρίδος, II, 7. XII, 35. VI, 23. ΕΕΘΣΠΘ 12(1967)163, 174, 169 - 170.

11. *Idem*, Ib., XII, 35. XIV, 42. ΕΕΘΣΠΘ 12(1967) 174,176.

12. John E. Anastasiou, transl., Βίος Κωνσταντίνου - Κυρίλλου VIII. ΕΕΘΣΠΘ 12(1967)128-129.

*Idem*, transl., Βίος Μεθοδίου XVI. ΕΕΘΣΠΘ 12(1967) 159 - 160. Feriz Berki, Δύο Ἐπεισόδια τοῦ Βίου τῶν Ἁγίων Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεθοδίου, Σχετιζόμενα μὲ τὴν Προϊστορίαν τῶν Οὔγγρων, in John E. Anastasiou, ed., Κυρίλλῳ καὶ Μεθοδίῳ Τόμος Ἑόρτιος ἐπὶ τῇ Χιλιοστῇ καὶ Ἑκατοστῇ Ἐπετηρίδι, Ι(Θεσσαλονίκη, 1966) 243 - 248.

ordained bishop of Turkia (Hungary) by the ecumenical patriarch Theophylactos (931–956). Ierotheos made great efforts for the growth and organization of the Christian Church, establishing Greco–Slavic monasteries, which continued their existence till the XIIIth century.

The Magyars were defeated by the armies of the German emperor Otto I (955). Since then, and especially under their king Stephen (995–1038), the Church of Hungary entered the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church.

*Serbia*

Missionaries were sent to Serbia twice: a) Under Heraklios (610–641) from Rome, and hence this region, which remained within the boundaries of Illyricum, was ecclesiastically connected with Rome. But due to the tribulations and wars this first effort failed;

b) Under Basil I the Macedonian (867–886) from Constantinople, because Eastern Illyricum was annexed, in the VIIIth century, to the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The missionaries who went there worked for the baptism and church organisation of the Serbs. Their activities were strengthened by the help of Cyril and Methodios, and of their disciples Clement and Nahum. Churches and monasteries were built. Letters were flourishing. Parallel to evangelism went the work of civilising the people.

Serbs accepted Orthodoxy, while in Croatia and Slovenia Roman Catholicism became the norm.

In the IXth century, when the Serbs accepted Christianity, the Archbishoprics of Split and Bar were under the pope, while the Archbishoprics of Dyrrachium and Ochrid accepted the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Serbia was periodically under the influence of Rome, Bulgaria and Byzantium.

The greatest church figure in the Church of Serbia, who brought together ecclesiastically and spiritually the Serbian people and the Ecumenical Patriarchate and its traditions, is St. Sabbas (1173–1235).

Being a member of the ruling family of Nemanjas, he became a monk on Mount Athos and assisted in the foundation of the monastery of Khilandar (1199). From there he went to Nicaea, the then seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The ecumenical patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1215–1222) founded the independent Archbishopric of Serbia, naming Sabbas its first Archbishop.

Back in Serbia the new Archbishop organized his new Church according to the traditions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He introduced the Orthodox spirit to his people. He continuously kept in contact with the spirit of Orthodox monasticism, through the monastery of Khilandar and other monasteries which were founded by him in Serbia.

Through his translations of ecclesiastical texts from the Greek, he offered a great service not only to his Church, but to the other Slavic Churches, and especially the Russian.

*Bulgaria*

The Bulgarians, who moved from Central Asia, settled in eastern Europe in the region between the rivers Don and Volga. In that area, where some well-organized bishoprics under the Ecumenical Patriarchate already existed, they probably had their first contacts with Christianity.

Later, under their ruler Asparuch, they crossed the Danube river and settled in the region known today as Bulgaria. They easily subdued the Slavic races, but they themselves were subjected to the Slavic influence.

Christianity was gradually gaining ground among them through the byzantine captives (lay and clergy), the rapprochement of Bulgaria to Byzantium on the political and commercial levels and the infiltration of byzantine civilization.

Their ruler Boris–Michael (852–88) was the man who introduced his nation into Christianity. One could search for the motives behind this decision, in Boris–Michael's wish to bring the Bulgarian nation within the orbit of the civilized nations surrounding them, or in reasons arising out of his personal faith, based on his knowledge of Christianity through his sister, already a Christian, or through the presence and example of Christian captives, one of whom painted him the icon of the last judgment.

An important role for the entrance of Boris into Christianity was played by patriarch Photios I (858-867, 877–886) who sent a member of his clergy to a place on the border between the two states in Thrace, where Boris was baptized (863/964) having as God–father emperor Michael III (842–867) and taking the Christian name of Michael. Immediately after his return, Boris ordered the baptism of all the Bulgarians. In order to strengthen the new faith of Bulgaria patriarch Photios sent there teachers and chergymen.

Well known is Boris–Michael's temporary turning to Rome and Rome's interference in the affairs of the Church of Bulgaria, which caused the conflict between pope Nicholas I and the patriarch of Constantinople Photios I. Boris–Michael finally rejoined the Church of Constantinople, from which he had received his baptism.

We have already spoken about the positive contribution of the disciples of Cyril and Methodios to Bulgaria, who through the Slavic translations and their activity worked for the application of the custom and the rites of the Church of Constantinople and Orthodoxy in that region.

In the XIVth century Hesychasm appeared on Mount Athos, and through Gregory Sinaita, who came to Bulgaria, and his disciples, influenced greatly

the whole life and ecclesiastical thought of the Church of Bulgaria. From there, Hesychasm covered both Russia and the Balkans.

*Russia*

Many nations, as we have already noted, such as the Goths, Sarmateans, Huns, Bulgarians, Khazars, Petzenegs, etc., passed through the vast areas north of the Black Sea, which in the present day are called Russia and are inhabited by the Russians. In passing, few words have already been said on the relations of Christianity from Byzantium to the nations living in the above region. Scandinavian Varangians, the so-called Rhos, ruled over the Slavs, who lived around Kiev, and gave their name to them (IXth century).

According to a description, given by St. Photios, the Rhos descended to Constantinople with a fleet of 200 ships, but the city was miraculously saved from their assailment. They soon got into contact with Christianity, knowing also about this faith through the Byzantines in the Crimea and the Varangians, who served as bodyguards to the emperors of Byzantium. The Varangians, who received their Baptism in Constantinople, had their own church building in Byzantium. On their return to Scandinavia (Sweden) the Rhos probably kept a recollection of the Byzantine church traditions.

St. Photios became interested in the Russians, and sent a bishop and clergymen to them, and we are informed about a miracle performed by Christian priests before the heathen population in the city of Kiev.

On the other hand, princess Olga, the widow of Igor, who came to Constantinople in 957, was baptized and named Eleni. Through her personal example Christianity officially entered Russia, but this had had no substantial effects. We have to wait until the time of prince Vladimir, grandson of Olga, who, by becoming Christian, introduced Christianity into Russia and declared it to be the state religion.

Vladimir seems to have made a comparison of Christianity with other living religions. But the fact remains that he already had a knowledge of Christianity. His entrance into the Christian religion is somehow related to his marriage with Anna Porphyrogenete, the sister of the byzantine emperors.

In the year 988/989 Vladimir conquered Cherson and was baptised there. Then he married Anna, who was escorted by clergy and other officers from Constantinople. Vladimir proceeded from there to Kiev, where he baptized his subjects in the river Dnieper. From then on begins the first Kievan period of the Russian Orthodox Church (989–1240).

Byzantium offered Russia Christianity through this Baptism. The Greek hierarchy followed, and thus the Russians felt the influence of byzantine civilization. From the beginning the Russian Church was organized as a Metropolis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Metropolitan bore the title "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russia". All the Metropolitans of that period were Greeks, elected and ordained in Byzantium. They were among the best of the byzantine hierarchy, and coming to Russia they brought along the best traditions of the Church of Constantinople.

The fruitful influence exerted by the Church of Constantinople covered other domains in the life of the Church of Russia. Internal mission grew rapidly. Monastic life, as it was practiced in the relative byzantine cities and in Mount Athos was introduced and installed in Russia.

Church literature consisted, in the beginning, of translations of Byzantine texts which appeared and rapidly flourished there.

Church worship followed the models of byzantine worship. Although they carried their own particular national trends, byzantine liturgy, ecclesiastical texts, hymnology, Church music and preaching were to be found within the confines of the Orthodox tradition. The same could be said of the fine arts, architecture, painting, etc. On the whole Christian life in Russia, which had some dark spots, presented the signs of a satisfactory improvement.

*Rumania*

Rumania included the areas beyond the Danube river, Dobruja, Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania and Bessarabia. The Dacians, the first settlers of the region, were, as it seems, related to the Thracians and Illyrians, living south of the Danube. Today's Rumanians are the outcome of the mixing together of the Dacians with the Romans (through the Roman legions), alongside with the Greeks and other races as well.

On an early date Greek cities had been established along the shores of the Black Sea and there existed commercial, social, intellectual (academic) and religious contacts between Byzantium and other neighbouring regions.

Christianity spread to this area from the neighbouring Christian centres through the Roman soldiers, the merchants and the colonists. Christian Greek epigrams and other archaeological remains attesting to the early presence of Christianity there have been found in the ancient city of Tomis (Constantsa) and its surroundings. These regions, according to the 28th canon of the council of Chalcedon (451), the texts related to the subsequent ecumenical councils and the catalogues of the bishops of the Church of Constantinople, were under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

We should also note the fact that Christianity in these areas came under the influence of the West and the Bulgarians, from whom the Rumanians borrowed the use of church Slavonic for worship.

## II. POST-BYZANTINE PERIOD

### 1. *The Missionary Work of Constantinople up to the XXth Century.*

After the fall of Constantinople (1453) and the Balkans to the Ottoman Turks, a new period started for the Orthodox Churches of Constantinople, Bulgaria, Serbia and Rumania.

The main problem for the above Churches in those years was their survival. Consequently, any missionary activity on the part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to those outside of the Church was out of the question.

The saints Nicon Metanoeite (Xth century) and Cosmas the Aetolean (1714–1779) performed a 'domestic' missionary task by trying to bring back the Orthodox faitfhful to their Orthodox roots.

On the other hand, the Church of Russia, which remained the only Orthodox Church in an Orthodox State, continued her evangelistic work based on the ideals formerly applied by the mother Church of Constantinople.

This work was carried out by clergy, monks and laymen, assisted by the State. Missionary zeal reached its zenith in the XIXth century. This phenomenon could be explained if we take into consideration the personal efforts of some great missionaries, who through their example duly affected others and the official Church. Henceforth the Church will undertake the organisation of this whole missionary work, by establishing a special Missionary Commission (1870).

Evangelistic activity was conducted in the vast areas of the north and the east, in Siberia, China, Korea, Japan and Alaska. The Church of Russia was until the communist revolution practically engaged in evangelism in the areas towards the East. Subsequently, almost all communications between the Russian Church and the missionary fields ceased. Nevertheless, the newly formed Churches in China, Korea and Japan stood on their own, assuming their national and indigenous character and undertaking missionary work among the non-Christians.

### 2. *Twentieth Century Missions*

The emergence of the ecumenical movement, in which the Ecumenical Patriarchate and other Orthodox Churches participate, in the XXth century, and the preliminaries to it during the XIXth century, are closely connected with missionary work. Mission is related to ecumenism, because it is one of the main reasons for the appearance and the growth of the said movement.

The various forms of cooperation in the missionary field within the Protestant world led to the organisation in 1920 of the International Missionary Council (IMC). Members to this council were local councils of Churches made out of missionary societies or new Churches. The very close relations of the IMC to the ecumenical movement and later to the World Council of Churches (WCC) resulted in the integration of the IMC with the WCC in 1961.

Missionary zeal was particularly fostered in the theological schools connected with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, i.e. the schools of Halki (1844–1971), St. Sergius in Paris, France (1925), and Holy Cross, Brookline, Mass., USA (1937), through courses on missions and related subjects.

The subject of missions, internal and external, was on the agenda of the Ist congress on Orthodox theology, held in Athens (1936), where some papers were read.

In the IInd congress of Orthodox theology (Athens, 1976) one of the subjects for study was "Pastoral Work and Mission".

A special case of Orthodox missionary work in the present, is the appearance of Orthodoxy in Uganda in east Africa, including Tanzania and Kenya and in other parts of Africa, for which the Ecumenical Patriarchate shows a special affection, through the canonical mother Church of Alexandria.

Within the Orthodox Church of Greece, to which the dioceses of the New Lands of Greece are connected there are some projects related to missionary work.

Some recent developments in the field of Orthodox missions can also be seen in America, within the Greek Orhodox Archdiocese of North and South America, where in 1956 the Greek Orthodox Holy Cross Missionary Society was established in the Holy Cross Theological School, Brookline, Mass. in August 1958 and the Greek Orthodox Youth of America (GOYA) set up as a standing project a Missionary Study Committee which issued a news-sheet called *the Goyan Missionary*. For the first time in history an official report on foreign Orthodox missions was read at the biennial clergy-laity congress of the Archdiocese (1964). In 1966, the second such report was presented. In 1967 the Archdiocese introduced an annual national lenten offering card project to raise support for foreign missions. The following year (1968) the Archdiocese extablished a Foreign Missions Office, with the appointment of bishop Silas of Amphipolis (presently Metropolitan of New Jersey) as its head. All these activities of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America aim to offer assistance to the missionary Churches in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania, Alaska, Korea, Mexico and south America.

We now come to *Syndesmos*, which is an international organisation of coordination between the movements of Orthodox youth, including such movements related to the Ecumenical Patriarchate. *Syndesmos* works with the blessings of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Its fourth general assembly, held in 1958, established an international missionary society with headquarters in Athens. Three years later (1961) the fifth general assembly of Syndesmos tranformed the head-

quarters into a pan-Orthodox missionary centre with the title *Πορευθέντες* (Go Ye). Syndesmos has become a major centre of influence for Orthodox mission. Between 1959–1969, it pubished, a bulletin with the same title in Greek and English. Today the Apostolike Diakonia of the Church of Greece publishes, having as its editorial board the inter-Orthodox missionary centre "Porftnentes", the periodical Πάντα τὰ Ἔθνη *(All the Nations)*.

In the Ist pan-Orthodox conference of Rhodes (1961) foreign missions were on the agenda.

These is not much to be said on the cooperation of the Orthodox with the other Christian Churches in the domain of missions. The presence of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries within the territories of the Orthodox Churches and their activities which finally brought about the estrangement of many Orthodox from their mother Churches and the establishent of local uniat or evangelical communities psychologically and ecclesiologically constitute a serious obstacle for cooperation in the field of missions. The Orthodox, having the Ecumenical Patriarchate as their protector, tried their best to confront these disruptive tendencies. In the Encyclical Letters of 1902–1904 the proselytizing efforts exerted by the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches and the need for protecting the Orthodox from these tendencies were mentioned. The same was repeated in the second Encyclical of 1920, Unto all the Churches of Christ, especially on the need to eliminate all tendencies of mutual distrust and friction among the Churches, resulting from the inclination of some Churches to proselytise members of Orthodox Churches.

In the early period of the ecumenical movement the Orthodox representatives did not fail to protest against proselytism. This led to the formation of a special commission of the WCC. Its report entitled "Christian Witness, Proselytism, and Religious Liberty" was presented to the IIIrd general assembly of the WCC in New Delhi, 1961. This document, in which proselytism is called a corruption of Christian witness, was favourably accepted by the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

A new document on the same subject, entitled "Joint Witness and Proselytism" was presented by the Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the WCC and accepted in 1971.

Orthodoxy's experiences as a result of some Protestant missionary activities, made her miss the very important studies and work done in the field of evangelism by the IMC. But the efforts made by these two councils, which finally resulted in their merger, was of great interest for the Orthodox.

During the preliminary stage a joint committee between the two councils was appointed, which in the year 1956, proposed their future union. Archbishop Michael of America expressed to the 1957 meeting of the Central Committee of the WCC the reservations which Orthodoxy had on the proposed integration. After a year (1958) the Ecumenical Patriarchate prepared and sent a memorandum to the sister Orthodox Churches on the same subject. Later, Metropolitan, now Archbishop Iakovos of America, presented these reservations to a meeting of the IMC in Ghana (1957/1958).

After the final merger of the two councils, the Orthodox belonging to the member Churches of the WCC found themselves connected with the new Commission on World Mission and Evangelism of the WCC (formerly the IMC). We should note the creation of an office for Orthodox Studies and Relations, Commission on World Mission and Evangelism, the WCC, with the Rev. prof. Ion Bria (Orthodox Church of Rumania) as its secretary. This office, in cooperation with the local Orthodox Churches, has called several consultations on Orthodox missions and published several related studies.

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# Η ΠΟΡΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ*

Ὑπὸ

*Μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας Βαρθολομαίου*

**Χαιρετισμός.**

Ἐν πρώτοις ἐπιθυμῶ νὰ ἐκπληρώσω ἓν τιμητικὸν δι' ἐμὲ καθῆκον, ἤτοι νὰ διαβιβάσω πρὸς τὴν σεβαστὴν καὶ ἀγαπητὴν ὁμήγυριν ταύτην τὰς ἐγκαρδίους εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εὐλογίαν τῆς Αὐτοῦ Θειοτάτης Παναγιότητος, τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Δημητρίου τοῦ Α'. Ὁ Παναγιώτατος ἐνθυμεῖται πάντοτε μετὰ συγκινήσεως τὴν πρὸ τετραετίας ἐπίσκεψιν ὑψηλῆς Ἀντιπροσωπείας τοῦ Ἱδρύματος Pro Oriente εἰς τὸ Φανάριον καὶ εὔχεται εἰς αὐτὸ ἐπιτυχίαν καὶ καρποφορίαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔργον του.

Εἰς τὰς πατριαρχικὰς ταύτας εὐχὰς προσθέτω καὶ τὰς ταπεινὰς προσωπικάς μου, μαζὶ μὲ τὴν ἔκφρασιν τῶν θερμῶν εὐχαριστιῶν μου διὰ τὴν ἐπαναληφθεῖσαν ἀπὸ μέρους τοῦ Pro Oriente τιμητικὴν πρόσκλησιν ὅπως ἔλθω εἰς τὴν Βιέννην καὶ ὁμιλήσω εἰς Οἰκουμενικὸν αὐτοῦ Συμπόσιον. Χαιρετίζω ἐγκαρδίως τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῆς πόλεως ταύτης Σεβασμιώτατον Καρδινάλιον κ. Franz König, τὸν Ἐξοχώτατον Πρόεδρον τοῦ Διοικητικοῦ Συμβουλίου τοῦ Ἱδρύματος Dr. Theodor Piffl-Percevic καὶ τὰ ἀγαπητὰ μέλη αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὅλους ὑμᾶς τοὺς προφρόνως προσελθόντας.

**Εἰσαγωγικά.**

Ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Pro Oriente εἶχεν ὁμιλήσει πρὸ 18ετίας ὁ Σεβ. Μητροπολίτης τότε Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Θείρων καὶ νῦν Γέρων Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτων μὲ θέμα τὴν ἐπανασυνάντησιν τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Δυτικῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Σήμερον καλοῦμαι νὰ ὁμιλήσω διὰ τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μας. Καὶ μόνον τὰ θέματα τῶν δύο αὐτῶν ὁμιλιῶν δεικνύουν τὸν δρόμον ὁ ὁποῖος διηνύθη ἐντὸς τῶν τελευταίων δύο δεκαετιῶν καὶ τὴν πρόοδον καὶ τὴν ἐξέλιξιν ἡ ὁποία ἐσημειώθη κατὰ τὸ διάστημα τοῦτο, τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου, εἰς τὰς σχέσεις μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν.

Ἐπὶ ἐννέα ὁλοκλήρους αἰῶνας ἤμεθα ἀπεξενωμένοι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἠγνοοῦμεν, εἰς μερικὰς δὲ περιπτώσεις καὶ ἐμισοῦμεν, ἀλλήλους. Ἐπανασυνηντήθημεν μὲ τὴν πνοὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἐγνωρίσαμεν καὶ γνωρίζομεν διαρκῶς καλλίτερον ὁ εἷς τὸν ἄλλον. Καὶ ἀντελήφθημεν –ἐπὶ τέλους– ὅτι ὁ ἄλλος δὲν εἶναι ἄξιος τοῦ μίσους, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀγάπης μας.

Ἱεραὶ μορφαί, ὡς οἱ Πάπαι Ἰωάννης ὁ ΚΓ' καὶ Παῦλος ὁ ΣΤ' καὶ ὁ Πατριάρχης Ἀθηναγόρας, ἤνοιξαν τὸν δρόμον καὶ ἤρχισεν ὁ διάλογος τῆς ἀγάπης. Ἐπραγματοποιήθη ἡ ἱερὰ συνάντησις τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ μετὰ δύο ἔτη σχεδὸν ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἄρσις τῶν ἀναθεμάτων μεταξὺ Ρώμης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἡ ὁποία ἐχαρακτηρίσθη ὑπὸ τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν ὡς «βαρυσήμαντον ἱστορικὸν γεγονός», ὡς «μέγα βῆμα ἐν τῷ διαλόγῳ τῆς Ἀγάπης καὶ ὡς προπαρασκευὴ τοῦ μέλλοντος Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου μεταξὺ τῶν Χριστιανικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν»[1]. Ἠκολούθησεν ἡ ἐπίσκεψις εἰς Φανάριον τοῦ Πάπα Παύλου τοῦ ΣΤ' καὶ ἡ ἀντεπίσκεψις εἰς Ρώμην τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου. Τὸ 1979 ὁ νῦν εὐκλεῶς Προκαθήμενος τῆς ἁγίας Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης ἐπεσκέφθη καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον διὰ νὰ δηλώσῃ καὶ ἐμπράκτως τὸ ζωηρὸν ἐνδιαφέρον του διὰ τὴν χριστιανικὴν ἑνότητα καὶ ἰδιαιτέρως διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῶν δύο μεγάλων παραδοσιακῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ Ὀρθοδόξου.

**Ἔναρξις καὶ διαδικασία τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου.**

Κατὰ τὴν συνάντησιν ἐκείνην τοῦ 1979 ἐξηγγέλθη ἡ σύστασις τῆς Μεικτῆς Θεολογικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς διὰ τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ ἡ μετ' ὀλίγον ἔναρξις αὐτοῦ.

Ὁ Θεολογικὸς οὗτος Διάλογος ἤρχισε πράγματι μετὰ ἑξάμηνον (Μάιος 1980) μὲ τοὺς καλλιτέρους

* Διάλεξις δοθεῖσα ἐν τῷ πλαισίῳ τοῦ 32ου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Συμποσίου τοῦ ἐν Βιέννῃ Ἱδρύματος «Pro Oriente», τῇ 11ῃ Ἰανουαρίου 1983.

1. Παρὰ *Π. Ι. Μπούμη*, Συνέπειαι τῆς ἄρσεως τῶν ἀναθεμάτων Ρώμης-Κων/πόλεως, Ἀθῆναι 1976, σελ. 7.

οἰωνοὺς μέσα εἰς τὴν γαλήνην, τὴν κατάνυξιν καὶ τὴν ἱερότητα τῆς Πάτμου καὶ μέσα εἰς κλῖμα πραγματικῆς ἀγάπης καὶ εἰλικρινείας καὶ ἐμπιστοσύνης ἀμοιβαίως, ἄνευ τοῦ ὁποίου αἱ θεολογικαὶ συζητήσεις δὲν δύνανται νὰ εἶναι γόνιμοι, ὡς ὀρθῶς ἐπίστευεν ὁ Πατριάρχης Ἀθηναγόρας.

Πολὺ ὀλίγα γεγονότα τῆς νεωτέρας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἡμῶν ἔχουν τὴν σημασίαν καὶ τὴν σπουδαιότητα τὴν ὁποίαν ἔχει ἡ ἔναρξις ἐπισήμου Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου μεταξὺ Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμοῦ καὶ Ὀρθοδοξίας. Πρόκειται περὶ γεγονότος αὐτόχρημα ἱστορικοῦ, τοῦ ὁποίου τὸ τελικὸν ἀποτέλεσμα, ἐὰν θὰ εἶναι οἷον τὸ ὁραματιζόμεθα καὶ τὸ ἐπιδιώκομεν, θὰ δημιουργήσῃ μίαν νέαν κοσμογονίαν καὶ θὰ δοξάσῃ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου.

Ὁ Διάλογος ἀπὸ τοῦ 1980 συνεχίζεται κατὰ τὴν δ ι α δ ι κ α σ ί α ν ἡ ὁποία ὡρίσθη κατὰ τὴν ἔναρξίν του καὶ ἡ ὁποία μετὰ διετίαν καὶ πλέον κρίνεται ἱκανοποιητικὴ καὶ ἐξαιρετικῶς ἀποδοτική. Προβλέπει δὲ αὕτη ὅπως τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον θέμα ἐξετάζηται ὑπὸ τὰς διαφόρους αὐτοῦ ὄψεις ὑπὸ τριῶν (τοὐλάχιστον εἰς τὸ παρὸν στάδιον) Μεικτῶν Ὑποεπιτροπῶν, τῶν ὁποίων τὰ κείμενα, κοινὰ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐξ αὐτῶν, παραπέμπωνται εἰς τὴν Μεικτὴν Συντονιστικὴν Ἐπιτροπὴν πρὸς σύνθεσιν ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ καταρτισμὸν ἑ ν ὸ ς κειμένου. Τὸ κείμενον τοῦτο τίθεται ἐν συνεχείᾳ ὑπὸ τὴν κρίσιν τῆς ὁλομελείας τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Διαλόγου, ἥτις καὶ ἐκφράζει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνιαίαν ἄποψιν τοῦ σώματος. Ἡ ὅλη αὕτη διαδικασία ὡλοκληρώθη εἰς πρῶτον στάδιον διὰ τῆς Β' Συνελεύσεως τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐν Μονάχῳ κατὰ τὸ παρελθὸν ἔτος, καθ' ἣν ἐξητάσθη μία μόνον πλευρὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἤτοι «τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Εὐχαριστίας ὑπὸ τὸ φῶς τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος», ἐνῷ τὸ θέμα «Πίστις, μυστήρια καὶ ἑνότης» θὰ ἀπασχολήσῃ τὴν Μεικτὴν Ἐπιτροπὴν κατὰ τὸ ἑπόμενον στάδιον τῶν ἐργασιῶν αὐτῆς, καθ' ὃ «θὰ δοθῇ ἡ δέουσα προσοχὴ εἰς θέματα πίστεως καὶ κοινωνίας ἐν τοῖς Μυστηρίοις, ὡς καὶ εἰς ἰδιαίτερα ἐρωτήματα συνδεόμενα πρὸς τὰ Μυστήρια τοῦ Βαπτίσματος, τοῦ Χρίσματος καὶ τῆς Εὐχαριστίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας»[1].

**Μέθοδος τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου.**

Πλὴν τῆς διαδικασίας, κρίνεται ἐκ τῶν ὑστέρων ἐπιτυχὴς καὶ ἡ ἐπιλεγεῖσα γενικὴ μ έ θ ο δ ο ς τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ὅπως ἀρχίσῃ τὸ ἔργον της ἀπὸ τὰ ἑνοῦντα τὰς δύο Ἐκκλησίας σημεῖα καί, ἀναπτύσσουσα ταῦτα, θίξῃ ἐκ τῶν ἔνδον καὶ προοδευτικῶς τὰ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁποίων δὲν ὑπάρχει εἰσέτι συμφωνία καὶ τὰ ὁποῖα, ἑπομένως, παρακωλύουν τὴν πλήρη κοινωνίαν μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν.

Ἐὰν ὁ Διάλογος ἤρχιζεν ἀπὸ τὰς μείζονας μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν διαφοράς, ἡ πρόοδός του θὰ καθίστατο προβληματική, διότι θὰ εἴχομεν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δυσκολίας, τῶν ὁποίων αἱ ψυχολογικῆς φύσεως δὲν θὰ ἦσαν ἀσφαλῶς αἱ τελευταῖαι.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν, δηλαδὴ καὶ τώρα, ποὺ ἤρχισεν ὁ Διάλογος ἀπὸ τὰ ἑνοῦντα, αἱ ψυχολογικαὶ δυσχέρειαι δὲν ἀπέλιπον. Θὰ ἀναφέρω ἓν μόνον παράδειγμα: τὸ θέμα τῆς Οὐνίας, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι γενικῶς ἔχουν ἀλλεργίαν καὶ ἀντιδροῦν, διότι τοῦτο συνάπτεται πρὸς δυσάρεστα ἱστορικὰ γεγονότα. Ἀλλὰ τὴν ψυχολογικὴν τοποθέτησιν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἔναντι τῆς Οὐνίας φαίνεται ὅτι δὲν κατενόησεν εἰσέτι ἐπαρκῶς ἡ Ρώμη καὶ τὴν ὑποτιμᾷ, ἐὰν κρίνωμεν ἐξ ὡρισμένων ἐνεργειῶν αὐτῆς τῶν τελευταίων ἐτῶν. Καὶ διὰ νὰ ἀρχίσωμεν ἀπὸ τὴν τελευταίαν χρονικῶς: τὴν 6ην Ἰανουαρίου 1982 ὁ Πάπας ἐχειροτόνησεν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον διὰ τοὺς «ἑλληνο-καθολικοὺς» τῆς Τρανσυλβανίας ἕνα ἀνώτερον κληρικὸν τῆς Κουρίας καὶ ἐζήτησεν ἐλευθερίαν δι' αὐτούς, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον προὐκάλεσε τὴν ἄμεσον ἀντίδρασιν τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ρουμανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐπαναληφθεῖσαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Συνέλευσιν τῆς ὁλομελείας τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς πέρυσιν ἐν Μονάχῳ[2], ἐνῷ παρομοία κρίσις –τὴν φορὰν ταύτην μὲ τὸ Πατριαρχεῖον Μόσχας– εἶχε δημιουργηθῆ τὸ 1979 ἐξ ἀφορμῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Πάπα Ἰωάννου Παύλου τοῦ Β' πρὸς τὸν Καρδινάλιον Σλίπυ, ἐπ' εὐκαιρίᾳ τῆς προετοιμασίας τοῦ ἑορτασμοῦ τῆς πρώτης χιλιετηρίδος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκχριστιανισμοῦ τῆς Οὐκρανίας (καί, δι' αὐτῆς, ὁλοκλήρου τῆς Ρωσίας), ἐν ᾗ γίνεται λόγος περὶ τῆς Οὐνίας ὡς μέσου σημαντικοῦ διὰ τὴν προώθησιν τῆς ἑνότητος τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς Συνθήκης τοῦ Μπρὲστ διατηρούσης καὶ σήμερον, ὡς λέγεται, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν προκειμένῳ σημασίαν της. Αἱ ἀντιδράσεις τῶν ὀρθοδόξων εἰς τὸ παπικὸν τοῦτο γράμμα ὑπῆρξαν ποικίλαι μὲ ἀποκορύφωμα, ὡς γνωστόν, τὴν ἐπίσημον ἀντίδρασιν τῆς ἀμέσως ἐνδιαφερομένης Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρωσίας[3].

Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς περιπτώσεως ταύτης ὑπῆρξεν, ἀτυχῶς, ἄλλη ἀνάλογος περίπτωσις ψυχράνσεως τῶν σχέσεων μιᾶς ἐπὶ μέρους Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας

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1. Ἀνακοινωθὲν τῆς Β' Συνελεύσεως τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Διαλόγου τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς (Μόναχον, 30.6–6.7.1982), ἐν «Ἐπίσκεψις», 277/15.7–1.8.1982, σελ. 3.

2. Θὰ ἦτο ὄντως οἰκοδομητικὸν διὰ τὸν Διάλογον τὸ νὰ ἀποφεύγουν μὲν αἱ δύο Ἐκκλησίαι τὴν ὄξυνσιν τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν διαφορῶν καὶ προβλημάτων (ὡς εἶναι ἡ πρόσφατος αὐτὴ ἐνέργεια τῆς Ρώμης) καὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν νέων τοιούτων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ νὰ καταβάλλουν πᾶσαν προσπάθειαν διὰ τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν αἰτίων τῆς διαιρέσεως, ὡς ἔγραφεν ὁ Πατριάρχης Δημήτριος πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν Ἰωάννην Παῦλον τὸν Β' τὴν 22.6.1982: «Ἐπίσκεψις» 276/1.7.1982, σελ. 3. Μήπως δὲν ἦτο ἓν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐμπόδιον διὰ τοὺς διαλόγους τῆς Ἀγγλικανῆς Ἐκκλησίας μὲ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴν καὶ Ὀρθόδοξον ἀντιστοίχως ἡ ὑπ' αὐτῆς δημιουργία νέας διαφορᾶς πρὸς αὐτὰς διὰ τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τῆς χειροτονίας τῶν γυναικῶν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀπορρίπτουν αἱ δύο συνομιλήτριαι αὐτῆς Ἐκκλησίαι;

3. «Ἐπίσκεψις» 222/15.12.1979, σελ. 2–4. Ἠκολούθησε τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος (1980) δήλωσις τῶν ἐν Ρώμῃ συνελθόντων Ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν Οὐκρανῶν Ἐπισκόπων ὅτι θεωροῦν ὡς μὴ νόμιμον τὴν Σύνοδον τοῦ Lemberg (1946), ἥτις εἶχεν ἀποφασίσει τὴν κατάργησιν τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν Οὐκρανῶν ἀνατολικοῦ ρυθμοῦ μὲ τὴν Ρώμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφήν των εἰς τὴν Ὀρθοδοξίαν ἐξ ἧς εἶχον ἀποσκιρτήσει.

μὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, εἶναι δὲ αὕτη ἡ δὶς ἐκφρασθεῖσα καὶ μὴ εἰσακουσθεῖσα παράκλησις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἄλλων ἐν Ἑλλάδι φορέων ὅπως μὴ ὀνομασθῇ νέος ἐπίσκοπος ἀνατολικοῦ ρυθμοῦ διὰ τοὺς ὀλίγους ἐν Ἑλλάδι «ἑλληνοκαθολικούς», ὅτε εἶχον ἀποβιώσει ἀντιστοίχως οἱ ἐπίσκοποι Γεώργιος καὶ Ὑάκινθος.

Πᾶσαι αἱ περιπτώσεις αὗται καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη παρομοία δημιουργοῦν πικρίαν παρὰ τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις, ὁπλίζουν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων ἀντιτιθεμένους εἰς τὸν διάλογον τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν μὲ ἐπιχειρήματα καί, ἐν πάσῃ περιπτώσει, ἐπιβαρύνουν τὸ ψυχολογικὸν κλῖμα, ὥστε νὰ εἶναι ἀκατανόητον διατί ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ γίνεται λόγος περὶ τῆς Οὐνίας ὡς μέσου σημαντικοῦ διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα.

Τὸ νὰ δεχθοῦν οἱ ρωμαιοκαθολικοὶ ἀνατολικοῦ ρυθμοῦ ὅτι δὲν ἀποτελοῦν «γέφυραν» μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν, θὰ εἶναι ἡ μεγαλυτέρα προσφορὰ των πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς ἑνότητος.

Δὲν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι ἀνάμειξιν εἰς τὰ ἐσωτερικὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ νομίζω ὅτι ἡ ἀδελφικὴ ἀγάπη μᾶς ἐπιτρέπει -διὰ νὰ μὴ εἴπω μᾶς ἐπιβάλλει- νὰ εἴμεθα τόσον εἰλικρινεῖς, ὥστε νὰ εἴπωμεν ἀπεριφράστως πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι ὁ δρόμος πρὸς τὴν ἕνωσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας δὲν διέρχεται διὰ τῆς Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus. Τοιαύτη εἰλικρινὴς καὶ ἐλευθέρα ἔκφρασις τῶν ἀπόψεων καὶ τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας θὰ εἶναι πάντοτε εὐπρόσδεκτος ἀπὸ ἡμετέρας πλευρᾶς.

Ἐν πάσῃ περιπτώσει, ὀρθῶς τὸ θέμα τοῦτο τῆς Οὐνίας, χωρὶς νὰ παρεμποδίσῃ τὴν ἔναρξιν τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου, ἀφέθη νὰ ἐξετασθῇ ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ του κατὰ τὴν πορείαν αὐτοῦ. Ὅμως, μέχρι τότε, αἱ σχετικαὶ πρὸς τὸν θεσμὸν τῆς Οὐνίας ἐνέργειαι τῆς Ρώμης καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ ρυθμοῦ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι τοιαῦται, ὥστε νὰ διευκολύνουν καὶ ὄχι νὰ δυσχεράνουν περισσότερον τὴν συζήτησιν τοῦ θέματος ἐν τῇ Μεικτῇ Ἐπιτροπῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διαλόγου τούτου.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν ὀρθόδοξον χῶρον δὲν ἐλλείπουν, δυστυχῶς, ἐνέργειαι στρεφόμεναι κατὰ τοῦ Διαλόγου καὶ δὴ ὑπερβολικαὶ καὶ ἄδικοι κρίσεις κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνησυχίαι περὶ δῆθεν ὑπάρξεως συμπεφωνημένων λύσεων καὶ προκαθωρισμένου σχεδίου οἱονεὶ «ἐξουνιτισμοῦ» τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας διὰ τῆς ἐσπευσμένης εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ ἐπιβολῆς, πρὸ τῆς ἐπιτεύξεως τῆς πλήρους ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἑνότητος, τῆς μυστηριακῆς κοινωνίας, τοῦθ' ὅπερ, κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικριτὰς τούτους, καταφαίνεται καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τοῦ θέματος τῶν μυστηρίων ὡς πρώτου θέματος τοῦ Διαλόγου, ἐνῷ ἡ ἐκλογὴ αὕτη ὑπηγορεύθη ἀπὸ καθαρῶς θεολογικὸν λόγον, ἀπολύτως σύμφωνον πρὸς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον Παράδοσιν.

Ἡ Αὐτοῦ Ἁγιότης, ὁ Πάπας, ἐπισήμως εἶπε πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιπροσωπείαν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, ἡ ὁποία τὸν ἐπεσκέφθη ἐπὶ τῇ Θρονικῇ Ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ρώμης τὸ 1980, ὅτι «ἡ τελικὴ προοπτικὴ τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου... παραμένει πάντοτε ἐστραμμένη πρὸς τὴν τέλεσιν τῆς θείας Εὐχαριστίας, τοῦτο δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπέρβασιν τῶν δυσχερειῶν αἱ ὁποῖαι καθιστοῦν τὴν κοινωνίαν μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν μας οὐχὶ εἰσέτι πλήρη καὶ τελείαν»[1].

Ἡ τοποθέτησις, ἀφ' ἑτέρου, τῆς ἐπισήμου Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας ἔναντι τοῦ θέματος τῆς μυστηριακῆς κοινωνίας, ὅτι δηλαδὴ αὕτη δὲν εἶναι μέσον πρὸς τὴν ἑνότητα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπιστέγασμα καὶ ἡ ἔκφρασις τῆς ἑνότητος ἐν τῇ πίστει, εἶναι τόσον σαφὴς καὶ τόσον συχνάκις ἐπαναλαμβανομένη, ὥστε νὰ χαρακτηρίζεται πλέον ὡς «κοινὴ καὶ τετριμμένη»[2].

Χωρὶς δὲ νὰ θέλω ἢ νὰ δικαιοῦμαι νὰ προδικάσω τὴν πορείαν τῶν συζητήσεων ἐν τῇ Μεικτῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου Ἐπιτροπῇ κατὰ τὴν προσεχῆ φάσιν τῶν ἐργασιῶν αὐτῆς περὶ τὸ ὁρισθὲν θέμα «Πίστις, μυστήρια καὶ ἑνότης», ἡ ἄποψις τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Ἀντιπροσώπων ὡς πρὸς τὴν Intercommunio θὰ εἶναι ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ πάλιν ὅταν θὰ ἐξετάζεται τὸ ὑπόθεμα «Πίστις καὶ μυστηριακὴ κοινωνία: ὑπὸ ποίαν ἔννοιαν ἡ ὀρθὴ πίστις (ὀρθοδοξία) ἔχει σχέσιν μὲ τὰ μυστήρια τῆς Ἐκκλησίας; Ἀποτελεῖ αὕτη προϋπόθεσιν τῆς μυστηριακῆς κοινωνίας -καὶ ἐὰν συμβαίνῃ τοῦτο, ὑπὸ ποίαν ἔννοιαν; Καὶ μέχρι ποίου σημείου; Ἢ μήπως εἶναι αὕτη τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ ἡ ἔκφρασις μιᾶς τοιαύτης κοινωνίας; Ἢ μήπως καὶ τὰ δύο εἶναι ἀληθῆ; Τὸ θέμα τοῦτο εἶναι οὐσιῶδες ἐν ὄψει κυρίως τῆς μυστηριακῆς καί, εἰδικώτερον, τῆς εὐχαριστιακῆς ἑνότητος»[3].

Ἐὰν τονίζεται καὶ ἐπανατονίζεται ὡς τελικὸς σκοπὸς τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου ἡ συνιερουργία τῆς θείας Εὐχαριστίας, εἶναι διότι ἡ Εὐχαριστία εἶναι τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ κέντρον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐκφράζει ἅμα καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Δὲν εἶναι δυνατόν, λοιπόν, εἰμὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν νὰ κατατείνῃ ἡ τὴν ἑνότητα αὐτῆς ἐπιζητοῦσα Ἐκκλησία, διότι δι' αὐτῆς καὶ θὰ ἐκφράζεται ὡς ἡνωμένη καὶ μία Ἐκκλησία.

**Χαρακτὴρ τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου.**

Τόσον ἀπὸ ὀρθοδόξου πλευρᾶς ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς πλευρᾶς[4] ὑπεδείχθη ἡ ἀνάγκη ὅπως ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος λάβῃ ὑπ' ὄψιν του καὶ ἑρμηνεύσῃ θεολογικῶς, ἀξιολογήσῃ δὲ καὶ ἀξιοποιήσῃ, ὅσα ἐγένοντο διὰ τοῦ διαλόγου τῆς ἀγάπης

1. «Ἐπίσκεψις» 234/1.7.1980, σελ. 7.

2. Πρακτικὰ Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐπιτροπῆς Ρόδου, Πάτμος-Ρόδος 1980, σελ. 13/3. Βλ. καὶ *Βαρθολομαίου, Μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας*, Τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς Οἰκονομίας σήμερον, ἐν «Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς» 65 (1982) 29-34.

3. «Ἐπίσκεψις» 277/15.7-1.8.1982, σελ. 4.

4. *Pierre Duprey*, La théologie et le rapprochement entre les Eglises Catholique et Orthodoxe, ἐν «Mélanges Congar», σσ. 38 κ. ἑξ. *N. Nissiotis*, La théologie de l' Eglise et sa réalisation, ἐν «Procès-Verbaux du Deuxième Congrès de Théologie Orthodoxe», Athénes 1978, σελ. 63. Βλ. καὶ *Μελίτωνος, Μητροπολίτου Χαλκηδόνος*, Εἰσήγησις πρὸς τὴν Δ' Πανορθόδοξον Διάσκεψιν, ἐν «Συνοδικὰ» VI, Chambésy Γενεύης 1982, σσ. 25-28.

καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάρκειάν του μέχρι σήμερον, καρπός, τὰ περισσότερα, τῶν θετικῶν ἐπαφῶν Ρώμης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀποτελοῦν νέον θεολογικὸν ὑλικὸν κοινὸν εἰς τὰς δύο Ἐκκλησίας. Εἶναι ἡ πρᾶξις «εἰς θεωρίας ἐπίβασιν». Εἶναι ἡ θεολογία ἐν τῇ πράξει καὶ ἐκ τῆς πράξεως. Δηλαδή, αἱ πράξεις αὗται ὄχι μόνον δημιουργοῦν τὸ κατάλληλον κλῖμα διὰ τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνήκουν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν του.

Πρέπει ἀκόμη ὁ Διάλογος νὰ ἔχῃ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὰς συγκεκριμένας ἀνάγκας τῆς ζωῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ γενικώτερον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἐποχῆς μας: εἶναι ἡ ποιμαντικὴ διάστασις τοῦ παρόντος Διαλόγου, ἡ ἐπανειλημμένως τονισθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων. Ὄχι διάλογος διὰ τὸν διάλογον, ἀλλὰ διάλογος διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἡ ὁποία ἐλευθερώνει καὶ σῴζει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· διάλογος, λοιπόν, διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τελευταίᾳ ἀναλύσει.

Διὸ καὶ ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος ἀφορᾷ εἰς ὅλους τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ πρέπει νὰ τοὺς ἐνδιαφέρῃ. Τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μας πρέπει νὰ ἐνημερώνεται διὰ τὴν πορείαν τοῦ Διαλόγου καὶ νὰ συμμετέχῃ μὲ τὰς ἀντιδράσεις του, θετικὰς ἢ ἀρνητικάς, εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ πρὸ πάντων νὰ προσεύχεται διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν του. Ἰδιαιτέρως οἱ δυνάμενοι νὰ συμβάλουν καὶ θεολογικῶς, εἴτε πρόσωπα εἶναι οὗτοι εἴτε ἱδρύματα καὶ θεσμοί, πρέπει νὰ θεωροῦν ἱερὸν χρέος των πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν νὰ τὸ πράττουν μὲ θετικὴν διάθεσιν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ μὲ ὑπευθυνότητα, χάριν τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς ταχυτέραν ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ Κυρίου «ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσι».

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπόψεως ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐνημερώσεως τοῦ πληρώματος, ἦτο ἐπιτυχὴς ἡ ἀπόφασις ὅπως τὸ πρῶτον κοινὸν κείμενον τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς (τοῦ Μονάχου) δημοσιευθῇ καὶ τύχῃ εὐρυτέρας γνώσεως καὶ σχολιασμοῦ. Οὕτω θὰ ἐκλείψουν καὶ αἱ αἰτιάσεις ἐνίων ὀρθοδόξων κύκλων ὅτι ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος διεξάγεται ἐν κρυπτῷ καὶ παραβύστῳ ἐντὸς ἑνὸς «γκέττο» εἰδικῶν τεχνοκρατῶν, χωρὶς νὰ ἐνημερώνωνται οἱ πιστοί, οἱ ὁποῖοι δὲν θὰ δεχθοῦν τετελεσμένα γεγονότα κ.τ.τ.

Εἶναι ἐνδιαφέρουσα μία ἄμεσος ἀνταπόκρισις ἀπὸ τὸν Ἑλλαδικὸν χῶρον εἰς τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς δημοσιεύσεως τοῦ κειμένου τούτου: Τὸ περιοδικὸν «Σύναξη», τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκδίδεται ἀπὸ νέους θεολόγους, κάμνει μίαν ἔρευναν μεταξὺ ἄνω τῶν 30 ὀρθοδόξων θεολόγων, κληρικῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν, ἀνηκόντων εἰς διαφόρους ἐκκλησιαστικὰς δικαιοδοσίας, καὶ θέτει εἰς αὐτοὺς τὰ ἑξῆς τρία ἐρωτήματα σχετικῶς πρὸς τὸ κείμενον τοῦ Μονάχου:

«1. Νομίζετε ὅτι τὸ κείμενο αὐτὸ περιέχει θέσεις μὴ ἐκφράζουσες πιστῶς τὴν ὀρθόδοξη διδασκαλία καὶ ποιὲς εἶναι αὐτὲς συγκεκριμένα;

2. Νομίζετε ὅτι τίθενται οἱ ἀπαραίτητες, ἀπὸ ὀρθόδοξη πλευρά, θεολογικὲς προϋποθέσεις, γιὰ νὰ συζητηθοῦν στὸ μέλλον τὰ καίρια προβλήματα ποὺ διαιροῦν Ὀρθοδόξους καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικούς, συγκεκριμένα τὸ Filioque καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖο τοῦ Πάπα;

3. Πῶς ἀξιολογεῖτε γενικὰ τὸ κείμενο: α) Μέσα στὰ πλαίσια τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας. β) Μέσα στὰ πλαίσια τοῦ Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμοῦ. γ) Μέσα στὰ πλαίσια τοῦ διαλόγου Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμοῦ;».

**Εὐοίωνα σημεῖα τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου.**

Ὅσον ἀφορᾷ εἰς τὴν πορείαν τοῦ Διαλόγου ὡς πρὸς τὸ περιεχόμενον αὐτοῦ, εἶναι πρόωρον νὰ ἀποφανθῇ κανεὶς τὴν στιγμὴν ταύτην, δεδομένου ὅτι ἓν μόνον κοινὸν κείμενον κατηρτίσθη ὑπὸ τῆς ὁλομελείας τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ μιᾶς μόνον ὄψεως τοῦ ἐπιλεγέντος πρώτου θέματος, ὁσονδήποτε βασικὸν καὶ ἐὰν εἶναι τοῦτο θεολογικῶς διὰ τὴν συζήτησιν πάντων τῶν λοιπῶν θεμάτων τοῦ Διαλόγου, ἐνῷ ὑπολείπεται νὰ διανυθῇ δρόμος μακρὸς καὶ δύσβατος ἕως ὅτου καταντήσωμεν, ὡς ἐλπίζομεν καὶ προσευχόμεθα, εἰς τὴν πλήρη ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως.

Ἐν τοσούτῳ, δυνάμεθα νὰ ἀπαριθμήσωμεν διαπιστώσεις τινὰς ἐπὶ τῆς μέχρι τοῦδε διανυθείσης ὁδοῦ, αἱ ὁποῖαι καὶ ἄγουν εἰς αἰσιοδόξους προοπτικὰς διὰ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ Διαλόγου:

1) Παρατηρεῖται ἀξιέπαινος ἀμοιβαία ἐμπιστοσύνη καὶ σεβασμὸς μεταξὺ τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τῶν δύο πλευρῶν ἐν τῇ Μεικτῇ Ἐπιτροπῇ.

2) Ὑπάρχει ἐπίσης ἀπόλυτος ἐλευθερία ἐκφράσεως τῶν ἰδίων ἑκάστου ἀπόψεων καὶ πεποιθήσεων καὶ συζητήσεως ἐπ' αὐτῶν, μέχρι τοῦ σημείου ρωμαιοκαθολικοὶ θεολόγοι τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς νὰ συμφωνοῦν εὐχερέστερον, ἔν τισι σημείοις, μὲ ὀρθοδόξους συναδέλφους των ἢ μεταξύ των καὶ τἀνάπαλιν. Καὶ ἂν τοῦτο ἔχῃ τὴν κατ' ἀρχὴν ἀρνητικὴν ὄψιν του, ἔχει ὅμως καὶ τὴν θετικήν, ἤτοι ὅτι ἐπιβεβαιοῦται ἡ μεγάλη σπουδαιότης τοῦ Διαλόγου ὄχι μόνον ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδιωκόμενον ἀπώτερον ἱερὸν στόχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὡς θεσμοῦ ἀμέσου ἀποτελεσματικότητος.

3) Εἰς τὰ καταρτισθέντα μέχρι σήμερον κοινὰ κείμενα τῶν τριῶν Μεικτῶν Ὑποεπιτροπῶν, τῆς Συντονιστικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ τῆς ὁλομελείας τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου παρατηρεῖται σπουδαία σύμπτωσις τῶν δύο πλευρῶν ἐπὶ καιρίων ἐκκλησιολογικῶν θεμάτων.

4) Ἐνθαρρυντικὰ εἶναι ἀκόμη ἡ στοργή, τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον καὶ ἡ ὑποστήριξις ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔργον τοῦ Διαλόγου, πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον, καὶ αὐτό, προσδίδει εἰς τοῦτον χαρακτῆρα ἐκκλησιαστικόν. Πράγματι ὁ Διάλογος οὗτος δὲν εἶναι διάλογος ἀκαδημαϊκὸς μεταξὺ εἰδικῶν ἐπιστημόνων. Ἀλλ' εἶναι τι πολὺ πέραν τούτου, εἶναι ἡ πλέον ἱερὰ μορφὴ προσευχῆς καὶ λειτουργία λατρευτικὴ πρὸς δόξαν Θεοῦ, διὰ νὰ χρησιμοποιήσω τὴν ἔκφρασιν τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου συμπροέδρου τῆς Μεικτῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Αὐστραλίας Στυλιανοῦ[1].

1. Δ. Σαλάχα, Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος Καθολικῶν καὶ Ὀρθοδόξων, ἐν «Καθολικὴ» 2216/20.7.1982, σελ. 1. Ἀντίθετος ἄποψις, ὅτι δηλαδὴ τοὐλάχιστον ἐν Ρόδῳ ἐπρόκειτο περὶ «καθαρῶς ἀκαδημαϊκῆς Συνελεύσεως», διατυποῦται ὑπὸ τοῦ *Μητροπολίτου Περιστερίου Χρυσοστόμου* ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτοῦ «Ὀρθοδοξία καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικισμός–Ὁ ἀρξάμενος Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος», Ἀθῆναι 1981, σελ. 59.

5) Μεγάλως διευκολύνουν τὸν Διάλογον καὶ δημιουργοῦν σημεῖα ἐπαφῆς αἱ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν εἰκοσαετίαν ἀλλαγαὶ ἐν τῇ Ρωμαιοκαθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ αἱ σύγχρονοι τάσεις τῆς θεολογίας της, τάσεις ἀπομακρύνσεως ἐκ τῆς σχολαστικῆς θεολογίας καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν Πατέρων. Ὡς παραδείγματα θὰ ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ ἀναφερθοῦν ἡ ἐπαναξιολόγησις τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ βαθμοῦ καὶ ἡ μείωσις τῆς σημασίας τῆς Ρωμαϊκῆς Κουρίας διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάπα Ἰωάννου τοῦ ΚΓ' ληφθείσης ἀποφάσεως νὰ εἶναι ὅλοι οἱ Καρδινάλιοι ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διὰ τῆς μεταγενεστέρας συστάσεως τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ τοῦ ρωμαιοκαθολικοῦ κόσμου ἐπισκοπικῶν συνόδων καὶ τῆς ἐν Ρώμῃ κεντρικῆς τοιαύτης· τοῦτο εἶναι ἀσφαλῶς προσέγγισις πρὸς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον ἄποψιν, καθ' ἣν βάσις τῆς λειτουργίας τοῦ ὅλου ὀργανισμοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι ὁ βαθμὸς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐκ τοῦ ὁποίου ἐκκινοῦν ὅλοι οἱ θεσμοί. Ἔπειτα, ἡ ἐπανανακάλυψις τῆς σημασίας καὶ τῆς θεολογίας τῆς τοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ὁποία τοσοῦτον κεντρικὴν θέσιν κατέχει ἐν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ Παραδόσει, κ.ἄ.

## Ὁ Διάλογος καὶ οἱ Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Ἐλέχθη ὅτι εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ θεολογίας παρατηρεῖται ἐπιστροφὴ εἰς τὰς πηγάς, εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν Πατέρων τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο εἶναι εὐοίωνον καὶ ἐνθαρρυντικὸν διὰ τὸν ἀρξάμενον Διάλογον. Τοῦτο κατεφάνη ἤδη ἀπὸ τοῦ προπαρασκευαστικοῦ σταδίου τοῦ Διαλόγου, εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὁποίου τὰ ρωμαιοκαθολικὰ μέλη τῆς Τεχνικῆς Θεολογικῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐδέχθησαν μὲ ἐλαχίστας τροποποιήσεις τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων καταρτισθὲν κείμενον-πλαίσιον τοῦ Διαλόγου, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐπανέρχεται εἰς τὴν πατερικὴν σκέψιν.

Κατὰ τὴν ἔναρξιν τοῦ Διαλόγου εἰς τὴν Ρόδον ὁ Καθηγητὴς Ζηζιούλας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁ Διάλογος οὐδὲν μέλλον ἔχει ἐὰν οἱ ρωμαιοκαθολικοὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ὀρθόδοξοι θεολόγοι δὲν ἐπιστρέψουν εἰς τοὺς Πατέρας καὶ ἐάν, ἀντὶ τούτου, λάβουν a priori θέσεις διατηρήσεως τῶν δογματικῶν διατυπώσεων εἰς τὰς ὁποίας ἔχουν καταλήξει οἱ μὲν καὶ οἱ δὲ εἰς τὰ μεταγενέστερα δογματικὰ ἐγχειρίδια· εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν ταύτην περίπτωσιν δὲν ὑπάρχει κοινὴ βάσις τοῦ Διαλόγου[1].

Ὁ Πάπας Παῦλος ὁ ΣΤ' ἐπισκεφθεὶς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα συνηντήθη μὲ ἀδελφούς του Προκαθημένους τῆς Ἀνατολῆς. Ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν πηγὴν εἶχεν ὡς συνέπειαν τὴν συνάντησιν Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως[2]. Κάτι ἀνάλογον πρέπει νὰ συμβῇ μὲ τὸν ἡμέτερον Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον: ὅταν ὁμοῦ ἐπιστρέψωμεν ἐκεῖ ὅπου εὑρισκόμεθα πρὸ τοῦ Σχίσματος, «τὸ κοινὸν βίωμα καὶ τὴν κοινὴν παράδοσιν τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἐκκλησίας», ὡς προβλέπει καὶ τὸ κείμενον-πλαίσιον τοῦ Διαλόγου, θὰ ἔχωμεν ἐπανεύρει τὴν διασπασθεῖσαν κοινωνίαν μας, τὸ ὕψιστον ἀγαθὸν τῆς ἑνότητος.

Οἱ ἀντιτιθέμενοι εἰς τὴν Οἰκουμενικὴν Κίνησιν τῆς ἐποχῆς μας ὀρθόδοξοι κατηγοροῦν τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τῆς Κινήσεως ταύτης ὁμοδόξους των ὅτι παρεθεώρησαν τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πατερικὴν θεολογίαν ὡς μοναδικὴν βάσιν τοῦ ἑνωτικοῦ διαλόγου καὶ ἐπεστράτευσαν, ὅλως ἐσπευσμένως, μίαν νοσηρὰν περὶ διαλόγου ἀγάπης θεωρίαν, θέτουσαν εἰς ἄμεσον κίνδυνον αὐτὴν τὴν ὕπαρξιν τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας[3].

Οἱ ἰσχυριζόμενοι ταῦτα θὰ εἶχον δίκαιον ἐὰν ἡ ἀγάπη προὐβάλλετο ὡς ἡ μόνη ὁδὸς πρὸς τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀνεξαρτήτως καὶ ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἐκεῖνο ὅμως τὸ ὁποῖον ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι ἐπιδιώκεται εἶναι νὰ αὐξήσωμεν εἰς Χριστὸν τὰ πάντα, ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν προτροπήν[4]. Ὅλως προσφάτως ἀκόμη ἔγραφε τὰ ἑξῆς ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ρώμῃ ἀδελφόν του, ἀναφερόμενος εἰς τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν: «Ἀποβλέπομεν... πρὸς τὴν ἐξέλιξιν τοῦ Διαλόγου τούτου μετ' ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν, χωρὶς νὰ παραγνωρίζωμεν τὰ ἐμπόδια καὶ τὰς δυσχερείας. Ὅμως πιστεύομεν ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον θὰ φωτίσῃ τὰς διανοίας καὶ τὰς καρδίας ὅλων, ὥστε νὰ λάμψῃ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ νὰ ἐδραιωθῇ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἡ συμφωνία καὶ ἡ ἑνότης»[5].

Ἡ μελέτη καὶ ἡ ἐμβάθυνσις τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς τὸν ἡρμήνευσαν οἱ Πατέρες τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας[6], θὰ μᾶς βοηθήσῃ νὰ ἐπανεύρωμεν τὴν πλήρη σύμπτωσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν μας ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, συνυπουργούσης καὶ τῆς ἀδόλου ἀδελφικῆς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀγάπης. Ὄχι μόνον ἀγάπη, χωρὶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, διότι τοῦτο θὰ ὡδήγει εἰς ἄγονον συναισθηματισμόν· οὔτε πάλιν μόνον ἀλήθεια, χωρὶς τὴν ἀγάπην, διότι τοῦτο δὲν θὰ ἦτο χριστιανικόν.

Ἡ ἐπιστροφή, λοιπόν, εἰς τὴν ἅπαξ παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν, εἰς τὴν κοινὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ παράδοσίν μας, αὐτὴ ἡ «Ressourcement», ἔχει τοσαύτην σημασίαν καὶ σπουδαιότητα διὰ τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον καὶ ἐπομένως καὶ διὰ τὸ μέλλον τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μας, ὥστε θὰ ἐτόλμων νὰ χρησιμοποιήσω ὡς σύνθημα μίαν ἔκφρασιν τοῦ συγχρόνου Ἀργεντινο-γάλλου συγγραφέως Hector Bianciotti, ὁ ὁποῖος, ὑπεραμυνόμενος τῆς (θύραθεν) παραδόσεως, εἶπεν ἐπιγραμματικῶς ὅτι «τὸ παρελθὸν εἶναι τὸ μόνον μέλλον μας»[7].

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1. Πρακτικὰ Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐπιτροπῆς Ρόδου, σελ. 15/3-16/3.

2. *Pierre Duprey*, Un anniversario, ἐν «L' Osservatore Romano» τῆς 6.1.1979, σελ. 2.

3. *Ἀρχιμ. Σπυρίδωνος Μπιλάλη*, Ἡ αἵρεσις τοῦ Filioque, τόμ. Α', Ἀθῆναι 1972, σελ. 11.

4. Ἐφ. 4, 15.

5. «Ἐπίσκεψις» 276/1.7.1982, σελ. 3.

6. «Ἡ Ἐκκλησία εἶναι κριτήριον διὰ τὴν κατανόησιν τῆς Γραφῆς»: *Κ. Παπαπέτρου*, Ἡ οὐσία τῆς θεολογίας, Ἀθῆναι 1970, σελ. 74.

7. «Le passè est notre seul avenir», ἐν «Journal de Genève» (Samedi Littèraire) τῆς 13.11.1982.

Φυσικά, τοῦτο δὲν σημαίνει ἁπλῆν καὶ στατικὴν ἀντιγραφὴν τοῦ παρελθόντος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, διότι ἡ Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἡ θεολογία εἶναι ζωὴ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐξελίσσεται, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει δυναμικὴν ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὴν σκέψιν τῶν Πατέρων καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν Πατέρων[1], τὸ ὁποῖον δύναται νὰ ζωοποιήσῃ τὴν θεολογίαν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μας καὶ νὰ τὰς ὁδηγήσῃ, διὰ τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου των, εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πηγὰς ὅπου καὶ θὰ συναντηθοῦν ὑπαρξιακῶς καὶ θὰ ἑνωθοῦν, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπικράτησιν τῆς βασιλείας Του.

Βεβαίως, τοῦτο δὲν σημαίνει οὔτε ὁμοιομορφίαν ἐν πᾶσιν, ἡ ὁποία δὲν ὑπῆρχεν οὔτε πρὸ τοῦ Σχίσματος. Ὅταν ὑπάρχῃ μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ πίστις, ἡ πολυμορφία τῶν ἐκφράσεών της καὶ ἡ ποικιλία τῶν ἑρμηνειῶν καὶ τῶν θεολογικῶν συνθέσεων, αἱ ὁποῖαι συχνάκις ἀλληλοσυμπληροῦνται μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντιτίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλας, εἶναι νόμιμοι, δεδικαιολογημέναι καὶ μαρτυροῦνται ὑπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ τῆς παραδόσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

### Ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος καὶ ἡ παγχριστιανικὴ ἑνότης.

Ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ Ὀρθοδόξου εἶναι ἡ φυσικὴ ἐξέλιξις καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν εὐλογημένου διαλόγου τῆς ἀγάπης, ὁ ὁποῖος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔναρξιν τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ τοιούτου συνεχίζεται καὶ πρέπει νὰ συνεχίζεται, ἐφ' ὅσον ὁ ἴδιος «ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν»[2].

Ὁ Θεολογικός μας Διάλογος εἶναι ὁ φυσικώτερος καὶ πλέον δεδικαιολογημένος ἐξ ὅλων τῶν θεολογικῶν διαλόγων τοὺς ὁποίους διεξάγει σήμερον ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία μὲ ἄλλας Χριστιανικὰς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Ὁμολογίας, διότι ἡ Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία εἶναι ἡ ἐγγύτερον ἐξ ὅλων πρὸς τὴν Ὀρθοδοξίαν ἱσταμένη παραδοσιακὴ Ἐκκλησία. Αἱ δύο Ἐκκλησίαι ἡμῶν ἔχουν ηὐξημένην εὐθύνην ἔναντι τῆς ἑνότητος τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδὲ πόρρωθεν δὲ διενοήθησαν ποτὲ νὰ σχηματίσουν ἄξονα ἢ πόλωσιν ἢ νὰ κατευθύνουν αὐταὶ τὰ τῆς ἐν γένει Οἰκουμενικῆς Κινήσεως· ἁπλῶς ἐν πιστότητι εἰς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἐν ταπεινώσει, ἐπιθυμοῦν νὰ δώσουν τὸ παράδειγμα καὶ νὰ διακονήσουν τὴν ἱερὰν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς τῶν πάντων ἑνώσεως.

Ἂς ἐνθυμηθῶμεν ὅσα σχετικῶς ἔλεγον ἐν τῇ Κοινῇ Δηλώσει των ὁ Πάπας Ἰωάννης Παῦλος ὁ Β' καὶ ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Δημήτριος ὁ Α' ἐπὶ τῇ συναντήσει των ἐν Φαναρίῳ: «Ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος ἀποβλέπει ὄχι μόνον εἰς τὴν πρόοδον πρὸς ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς πλήρους κοινωνίας μεταξὺ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ Ὀρθοδόξου, ἀλλὰ προσέτι καὶ εἰς σ υ μ β ο λ ὴ ν εἰς τοὺς ποικίλους διαλόγους, οἵτινες ἀναπτύσσονται ἐν τῷ χριστιανικῷ κόσμῳ, πρὸς ἀναζήτησιν τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτοῦ»[3].

Ὁ Μητροπολίτης Χαλκηδόνος Μελίτων, ἐξ ἄλλου, εἰς συνέντευξίν του πρὸς τὸν Τύπον ἐν Ρώμῃ τὸ 1977 εἶχεν εἴπει καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς: «Ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ διαλόγου Καθολικῶν καὶ Ὀρθοδόξων εἰς τὸν τομέα τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ὑποθέσεως θὰ ἀποτελέσῃ γενικῶς ἀντικείμενον τεραστίας σπουδαιότητος, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ θὰ προκύψῃ ἡ σύνθεσις τῆς βιουμένης θεολογίας τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν, ἡ ἐ κ κ λ η σ ι ο λ ο γ ί α δηλονότι, ἥτις εἶναι τὸ βασικὸν στοιχεῖον, τοῦ ὁποίου ἔχει ἀνάγκην ὁ Οἰκουμενισμός»[4].

### Ἐπιλεγόμενα.

Ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἤρχισεν ὡς εὐλογία καὶ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ συνεχίζεται ὁμαλῶς καὶ ἱκανοποιητικῶς ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τοῦ καταρτισθέντος κοινοῦ κειμένου – πλαισίου.

Οὐδεμία ἀμφιβολία ὑπάρχει εἰς τοὺς σοβαρῶς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἢ καὶ ἔξωθεν παρακολουθοῦντας τὸν Διάλογον τοῦτον, ὅτι αἱ κυριώτεραι δυσκολίαι του τελικῶς θὰ συνοψισθοῦν εἰς τὰ ἔχοντα σχέσιν πρὸς τὸ πρωτεῖον καὶ τὸ ἀλάθητον τοῦ Πάπα, κατὰ δεύτερον δὲ λόγον εἰς τὴν διὰ τοῦ Filioque εἰσαχθεῖσαν καὶ ἐπικρατήσασαν διαφοράν, ἡ ὁποία, εὐτυχῶς, μετὰ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν πρόσφατον ἑορτασμὸν τῆς 1600ῆς ἐπετείου τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, διὰ νεωτέρων θεολογικῶν θεωρήσεων καὶ ἐπισήμων δηλώσεων ἐκ μέρους τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, φαίνεται ὅτι λίαν προσεχῶς, σὺν Θεῷ, θὰ ἐκλείψῃ ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου, ὥστε ἀμφότεραι αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι νὰ ἑρμηνεύουν καθ' ὅμοιον τρόπον τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν σχέσει πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος[5].

Εἰς τὰ δυσκολώτερα ταῦτα θέματα τοῦ Διαλόγου θὰ κριθῇ τελικῶς ἡ πιστότης μας εἰς τὸν Κύριον καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καὶ πατερικὴν παράδοσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Του, ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ κατὰ πόσον εἴμεθα ἕτοιμοι νὰ θυσιάσωμεν κάτι ἀπὸ τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε εἶναι μας, ὄχι χάριν τοῦ ἄλλου, ἀλλὰ χάριν τῆς ἀληθείας ποὺ εἶναι αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Κύριος. Διὶ αὐτὸ «ἡ

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1. «To Follow the Fathers» does not mean simply to quote their sentences. It means to a c q u i r e t h e i r m i n d, their p h r o n e m a. The Orthodox Church claims to have preserved this p h r o n e m a and to have theologized a d m e n t e m P a t r u m»: *G. Florovsky* ἐν «Orthodoxy, a Faith and Order Dialogue», Faith and Order Paper No 30, Geneva 1960, σελ. 42.

2. Α' Ἰωάν. 4, 8.

3. «Ἐπίσκεψις» 221/1.12.1979, σελ. 19. Ὀλίγους μῆνας ἀργότερον, ἡ Αὐτοῦ Ἁγιότης, ὁ Πάπας ὁμιλῶν πρὸς τὴν ὁλομέλειαν τῆς Γραμματείας διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα τῶν χριστιανῶν ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον ὅτι ἡ ἕνωσις τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ Ὀρθοδόξου δύναται νὰ εἶναι μεγάλης σπουδαιότητος διὰ τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν διαιρέσεων ποὺ ἐγεννήθησαν ἐν τῇ Δύσει τὸν 16ον αἰῶνα: ἐν «L' Osservatore Romano» τῆς 9.2.1980, σελ. 1.

4. Ραδιοεφημερὶς τοῦ Ραδιοσταθμοῦ τοῦ Βατικανοῦ τῆς 29.6.1977 καὶ *Π. Γρηγορίου*, Πορεία πρὸς τὴν ἑνότητα, τόμ. Α', Ἀθῆναι 1978, σελ. 669.

5. *Βαρθολομαίου, Μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας*, Τὸ πρόβλημα... σσ. 26–27.

στιγμὴ αὕτη τῆς διαλογικῆς συναντήσεως ἡμῶν εἶναι ἱστορική, κρίσιμος καὶ ἀπολύτως ὑπεύθυνος»[1].

Πάντως καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀκανθωδέστερα ταῦτα ζητήματα ὁ Κύριος, ὁ ὁποῖος κατὰ τρόπον ἀόρατον, ἀλλ' ὅμως πραγματικόν, ἐργάζεται διὰ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν καὶ τῆς ὁρατῆς ἑνότητος τῆς μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας του, δίδει «ἀκτῖνας φωτὸς» καὶ αἰσιοδοξίας καὶ ἐλπίδος ὅτι θὰ καταστῇ τελικῶς δυνατὴ ἡ συμφωνία, ὡς ἀπέδειξαν καὶ αἱ θετικαὶ συζητήσεις κατὰ τὸ Δ' Θεολογικὸν Συνέδριον τοῦ Ἱδρύματος Pro Oriente μὲ θέμα «Σύνοδος καὶ ἀλάθητον». Καὶ ὑπάρχουν ἐλπὶς καὶ αἰσιοδοξία διὰ τὴν λύσιν ἀκόμη καὶ τῶν δυσχερεστέρων τούτων προβλημάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ κληθῶμεν ἀργὰ ἢ γρήγορα νὰ ἀντιμετωπίσωμεν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου, διότι ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶναι ὁ κύριος ὄχι ἁπλῶς τοῦ δυσχεροῦς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου, διὰ νὰ ἐνθυμηθῶμεν τοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Charles de Foucauld. Ἴσως τὴν ἀλήθειαν ταύτην ἔχων ὑπ' ὄψει του καὶ ὁ σημερινὸς Πάπας ηὐχήθη ὅπως ἡ αὐγὴ τῆς τρίτης χιλιετηρίδος ἀνατείλῃ ἐπὶ τῆς πλήρους ἐπανευρεθείσης κοινωνίας ἡμῶν[2], καίτοι τοῦτο φαίνεται ἐκ πρώτης ὄψεως καὶ μὲ τὰ ἰδικά μας καθαρῶς ἀνθρώπινα κριτήρια ἀκατόρθωτον.

Ποῖος θὰ ἐφαντάζετο κατὰ τὴν ἔναρξιν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Θρόνου τῆς Ρώμης ἀρχιερατείας τοῦ Πάπα Ἰωάννου ΚΓ' ὅτι μετὰ 25 ἔτη θὰ ἐφθάνομεν εἰς τὸ σημεῖον ὅπου εὑρισκόμεθα σήμερον;

* * *

Ἐπιθυμῶ νὰ κατακλείσω τὴν ταπεινὴν καὶ ἄνευ ἀξιώσεων ὁμιλίαν μου πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην σας μὲ τοὺς λόγους ἑνὸς συγχρόνου Ἕλληνος διανοουμένου, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐλέχθησαν μὲν ἐξ ἄλλης ἀφορμῆς, ἀλλὰ νομίζω ὅτι εὑρίσκουν πλήρη ἐφαρμογὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν περίπτωσιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μας: «Ὁ κριτικὸς διάλογος ἔχει ἀπὸ καιρὸ ὑπερβῆ τὰ ὅριά του. Τοῦτο ἐπιβάλλεται νὰ κατανοηθῆ ἐπειγόντως. Ἀρκετὰ ἐκρίναμε ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον. Τώρα ὀφείλομε νὰ ἀγαπήσωμε ὁ ἕνας τὸν ἄλλον. Καὶ ἐδῶ εἶναι ἀκριβῶς ποὺ θὰ κριθοῦμε!»[3].

# SITT RIFQAH AND HER FIVE CHILDREN

By

*Dr. Otto F.A. Meinardus*

Among the lesser known saints of Egypt is Sitt Rifqah or St. Rebecca who together with her five children is said to have suffered martyrdom during the late third century Diocletian persecutions in Egypt. We call attention to this saintly mother with her children because she happens to be the one and only Coptic "mother-saint" in whose honour an annual cult has emerged over the past few hundred years. Neither the 13th century church historian Abû Sâlih the Armenian nor the Islamic historian al-Maqrizi (15th century), who have provided us with inclusive lists of churches and monasteries in Egypt, mention the church or the *mûlid* of Sitt Rifqah. Her name does not appear in either the Latin or the Greek lists of saints.

Generally speaking we notice that Coptic hagiology and iconography, following certain Byzantine models, emphasize the heroic or ascetic virtues and deeds of individual saints, e.g. Sts. George, Demetrios, Theodore, Mercurios (Abû 's-Saifain) or those of the anchorites or coenobites. For our purpose, we shall distinguish two types of martyrologies which are recorded in the Coptic Synaxarion.[1] There are those *vitae* of individual martyrs, who may be laymen, shepherds, peasants, soldiers, or monks, priests, bishops and patriarchs. However, there exists also a second category, which includes various combinations of family members, who in loyalty to Christ and their family sought to offer themselves and to suffer the consequences of their faith. Thus we find two brothers as in the case of Piroou and Athom (Abîb 8, July 15), who witnessed for their faith together. More common seems to have been the constellation of brothers and sisters, who selected martyrdom rather than apostasy. There are several such instances recorded, e.g. Apater and his sister Eirene (Tût 28, October 8), Athanasius and his sister Eirene (Hâtûr 3, November 12), Benjamin and his sister Eudoxia (Masrî 28, September 3) and Paisus and Thecla (Kîhak 8, December 17).

In this study we shall dwell upon the hagiological traditions of Christian mothers who together with their children sought after the crown of martyrdom. Whereas in many instances the early Christian martyrs had their pre-Christian cult-prototypes in either the Hellenic or the Pharaonic pantheon, whom they replaced in Christian garb, this cult adaptation could not be said to have taken place in this particular case. Indeed, it is fanciful to argue that the martyrdom of the faithful Jewish mother and her seven sons[2] would have served as inspiration for St. Rebecca or as a model for the later Coptic hagiographers. True, St. Solomone, as she is known and commemorated in the Byzantine tradition on August 1, lived during the persecutions of the Jews by the infidel Antiochos Epiphanes and died together with her seven sons in or around 186 B.C. Her cult is still alive in the cave-church outside the town of Paphos on the island of Cyprus. A cross-fertilization of this cult seems quite improbable.

Another question is raised by the rather uncommon Coptic name of the saint. Only in two Coptic martyrologies of "mother-saints" are the principal actors named after Old Testament women. Sarah, the wife of Abraham, gave her name to St. Sarah, mother of two sons, and Rebecca, daughter of Bethuel, sister of Laban and wife of Jacob, gave her name to St. Rebecca or Sitt Rifqah. The names of her five children provide us with no further information as to the origin of the story. Two names are clearly of Egyptian origin, namely Amon and Amona, Peter and John are New Testament names and Agathon falls into the Byzantine heritage.

The Coptic Synaxarion records several accounts in which Christian mothers with their children sought after the crown of martyrdom. These commemorations are noteworthy since they demonstrate the fact that the honour of martyrdom and the attending

1. *Kitâb as Sadiq al-Amin*, Cairo 1912. Malan, *The Calendar of the Coptic Church*. London 1873. Basset, R., «Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite», *Patrologia Orientalis*, I, III, XI, XVI, XVII.

2. See: 2. Macc. 7: 1-42.

blessings were not merely reserved for men or female ascetes. In this connexion it is noteworthy to state that there are no stories that report of a father and his children confessing and suffering martyrdom. This is, of course, understandable since it was the mother's role to look after the religious upbringing of her children. Not only the cultural and religious significance of womanhood, but also of motherhood finds its liturgical and hagiological expression in the veneration of the "mother-saints" and their children. The following accounts are better known among the Copts: There are the stories of Amâdah and her sons Armâniûs and Amah (Baûnah 8, June 15), Theodora and her five sons Cosmas, Damian, Antimus, Leontius and Euprapius (Hâtûr 22, December 1), Athanasia and her two sons Cyrus and John and her three virgin-daughters Theodora, Theodosia and Theopiste (Amshîr 6, February 13), Sarah and her two sons (Barmûdah 25, May 3) and Sophia and her three daughters Pistis, Elpis and Agape (Tût 5, September 17).

Icon: Church of St. George.
Hârat Zuwailah, Cairo.

Although the Coptic Church has honoured the courageous witness of these mothers and their children, only in one particular case has the liturgical commemoration led to the emergence of a special cult. It is the veneration of St. Rebecca and her five children Agathon, Peter, John, Amon and Amona (Tût 17, September 17) in the Nile Delta village of Sunbât.

The following story is from the Coptic Synaxarion of Tût 7. "On this day passed away the saints Aghâtâ (Agathon), Butrus (Peter), Yuhannâ (John), Amûn (Amon) and Amûna (Amona) and their mother Rafiqâ (Rebecca). They were from the district of Mamuniyah[3] in the province of Qos. Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them and told them that they should obtain the crown of martyrdom at Shubra near Alexandria, and that their bodily remains would be taken to Taqrahâ (or Naqrahâ) in al-Buhairah (Lower Egypt). The saints followed the vision which they had seen and they distributed their belongings among the poor. Their brother Agathon was their beloved leader and he was admired and loved by all. They went to the town of Qos and publicly confessed Christ in the presence of the governor Dionysios (Dyounâsîous).[4] He inflicted upon them terrible pain and began to torture the mother, but she demonstrated joy. Then he continued to inflict pain upon the children. When he was exhausted from his trouble to cause pain and anguish, he sent them to Alexandria. Because of their suffering, a large crowd of people gathered and confessed their faith in our Saviour and also received the crown of martyrdom. When the saints were presented to the governor Armânious at Alexandria, he happened to be in a place called Shubra. As he recognized their arrival he ordered that they should be more severely tortured, that the parts of their bodies be cut off and be thrown in a cauldron and that they be finally crucified with the head downwards. Then he ordered them to be decapitated and their bodies to be thrown into the sea. After they had separated the head, they took the bodily remains on a

3. Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Egypte à l'époque copte*. Paris, 1893, 415.

4. Dionysius was the «logistes» of Asyût, who appears in numerous passions in the cycle by Julius of Aqfahs.

ship to throw them into the sea. But God sent his angel in the person of the leader of the people of Naqrahâ in the province of al-Buhairah in the episcopal See of Masil and he discovered the bodies of the saints. The leader rejoiced greatly at finding the bodies and placed them in a beautiful church where they remained until the end of the persecutions. Later God appeared through the relics and wrought miracles and marvels. At this time, their bodies were translated to the town of Samnoutyah."[5]

This account is typical of the Coptic passions connected with the persecution of Diocletian. The stages, which we discover in almost all martyrologies of this period, are clearly set forth.

1. The saint is called by an angel, by Christ or has a vision to bear witness for his faith before the pagan tribunal.

2. The saint arises and sets out for the nearest governor and makes his confession of faith before him.

3. He is arrested, questioned, invited to offer incense to the pagan god. The watching crowds are being converted.

4. Then he is tortured and cast into prison.

5. After further rough torture he is sent to another governor and makes the journey in a ship on the river Nile. This Nile journey-in our case from Qos in Upper Egypt to Alexandria-is a standard feature and shows a distinct echo of ancient Egyptian legend in which the Nile journey was a favourite theme.

6. He is brought before another governor, again tortured, but he stands firm. He is visited by an angel, Christ, or another saint, who comforts and strengthens him in his witness.

7. Finally he is decapitated and his remains are thrown away.

8. Pious bystanders gather the remains and transfer them to a church.

We have to accept the findings of critical scholarship and we have to admit that many of the passions, including that of St. Rebecca and her children, carry apocryphal elements, though the persecution itself is, of course, a historical fact.

Every year in conjunction with the popular *mûlid* of St. George (Mârî Girgis) on the 16th of Masrî or August 22 at Mit Damsîs near Mit Ghamr in the Nile Delta, large numbers of Coptic and also Muslim pilgrims from the towns and villages cross in felucas and sailboats from the east bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile to the west bank where they mount donkeys for the 2 km ride to the village of Sunbat. In the old church of St. Rebecca they venerate the relics of the saints which are preserved in cylindrical tubes wrapped in dark red velvet covers. In addition to the relics of St. Rebecca and her five children there are also those of Piroou and Athom (Abîb 8, July 15), John and Simon (Abîb 11, Jully 18) and Abuda and Isaac (?). The pilgrims gather in front of the icon of St. Rebecca and her five children and offer prayers for blessings upon their children. Barren women beseech the "mother-saint" to grant them sons, and young mothers repair to the icon in expectation to have enough milk for their children. As in the case of all *mawâlid*, demons are cast out and the possessed are being healed.[6]

There is little doubt that the cult replaced a former Egyptian cult at Sunbat. We know that the village was built on the site of an ancient pharaonic settlement which used to be known as Skhem Perti, namely the city of the god Seth Typhon. St. Rebecca and her five children have assumed cultic roles which may well go back into the pharaonic ages.

5. «Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite», *Patr. Orient.* I, 25–26.

6. Viaud, Gérard, *Les Pélerinages coptes en Egypte d' après les notes du Qommos Jacob Muyser.* Cairo 1979, 25–26. Salamah, Adib Naguib, «Sainte Rifqah et ses enfents», *Morcos*, Cairo, Sept. 1965, 6,6. Hyvernat, Henri, *Les actes des martyrs de l' Egypte, I*, 1886, 135–169.

# THE UNIQUENESS OF JESUS AND THE ABSOLUTENESS OF CHRIST

By

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I am grateful for having this opportunity to participate in this *Festschrift* in honour of Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain whom I have known for several years and with whom I have collaborated on various scholarly projects both in Africa and in Europe. May God grand Him many more years of fruitfull service to the Church and the world.

The Incarnation has become a major topic of theological discussion, particularly in theological circles in England, and has led to a disruption of faith and order, with serious consequences for the future of ecumenical relations in the world-wide Church. This is because a confusion has occurred between the language and function of Biblical criticism on the one hand and of doctrine on the other[1]. One result of this is undoubtedly the threat to church order from within over the question of the ordination of women to the priesthood at least for some Churches. With regard to this issue the doctrine of the Incarnation is an essential guide if true order is to be maintained.

The issue is more important than a mere domestic *impasse* - which is not the subject - matter of this essay -and it concerns the necessity for a restatement of the doctrine of the Incarnation in terms which take into account serious developments in Biblical criticism. A genuine Christology must be reasserted on the basis of the Bible and of Church Tradition, in the past the two bases of the true Anglican witness and indeed of a lot of Protestant witness as well.

I am concerned in this essay to relate together, on the basis of historical criticism of the Gospels, what can be said historically about Jesus and what can be asserted of him by faith as the Christ, so that the two sets of statements can be seen to form a single entity we can properly call Jesus Christ and go on to believe in as the Son of God, with all that the doctrine of the Incarnation says of him. This will take us several steps further than what I said in my essay on "Jesus Christ" in *Theology* in 1965[2] about the inseparability and distinction between history and faith with regard to Jesus Christ in the Gospels as a basis for continued belief in the Incarnation, without necessarily having to use metaphysical categories of thought. There is in fact a basis in the Gospels for what these metaphysical categories of thought assert, though, as I said in that article, since the eighteenth century this has been wrongly rent in two. The centrality of Christology in the Gospel of Mark has been a theme of my other and later essays on that Gospel[3] and these have also centred on the issue of the status of history with regard to faith in Jesus as the Christ, or Messiah. This essay is an application of these studies to the question of Christology itself.

Biblical criticism has often led to a distinction being made between Jesus and Christ in such a way that either a single entity, the historical Jesus, is set over against many interpretations of Christ, or many different pictures of Jesus are set over against a single figure of faith, Christ. One or the other has appeared as a variable and the other made into a fixed entity

1) The publication of *The Myth of God Incarnate* (ed. J. Hick), London 1977, is a clear example. Dennis Nineham has recently asked for an attempt in England to relate Biblical Studies with doctrinal theology ("R. H. Lightfoot and the Gospels", *Theology* LXXXVIII 1985 pp. 95f). One can only agree with this demand.

2) LXVIII 1965, pp. 558-563.

3) In particular "St. Mark's Attitude to the Relationship between History and the Gospel". *Studia Biblica 1978, II Papers on the Gospels.* ed. E.A. Livingstone. *Journal for the Study of the New Testament,* Supplement Series 2. Sheffield 1980, pp. 115-127. This approach has been disputed by E. Best, with regard to my earlier article - "The Use of Miracles in the Markan Gospel". *Miracles. Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History.* ed. C.F.D. Moule. London 1965, pp. 151-162, E. Best "the Miracles in Mark". *Review and Expositor* LXXV 1978, pp. 539-554, see particularly n. 5 p. 554. I cannot separate discipleship from Christology. Mark's interest in Christology is, of course, in the context of discipleship in the Church of his day.

however conceived. The background for the collapse of attempts at the former approach is well documented in Albert Schweitzer's study of the quest of the historical Jesus[4], and since then the latter has gained ground, partly on the basis of the earlier impetus of the work of Martin Kahler[5], from Bultmann's use of Wrede[6], but it is the former which seems to be gaining some ground today as part of a flight from dogma to what is seen as simple historical experience. Mr. Don Cupitt has made a peculiar plea for this approach by perversely modifying the old liberal enterprise for what he calls that of the modernists and accepting some variety in the picture of Jesus[7]. The "messianic secret" in Mark is, he says, Mark's symbol for Jesus' elusiveness, regarded by Mr, Cupitt as a virtue in itself.

The "messianic secret" in Mark should, however, not be regarded as preserving historical elusiveness over against later doctrinal fixation, but as a way of preserving a uniqueness of Jesus which allows Mark to assert his absoluteness of Christ over against many false Christs and false prophets in history. This positive doctrinal purpose is what comes out in the much debated question why Jesus appears to accept the title of Christ at his trial by saying "I am" (Mk. 14:62) - which is such a difficulty to all completely negative explanations of the secret. This acceptance of the title on the part of Jesus does give way to a future reference to the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven, but this only shows that for Mark Jesus is both beginning *(arche)* and conclusion *(telos)* of the Gospel, in history and at the end, although only faith can acknowledge this[8]. The assertion before non-believers does not dispel the secret in history but rather it intensifies it as well as preserves it. It is after all not a historical secret for Mark but one concerned with the whole question of the relation between history and faith[9]. By the theme of secrecy, Mark does not point us to some suprahistorical reality, nor defy orthodox rigidity with historical elusiveness, but assert that the historical context of faith in Jesus remains constant till the end.

The truth of Jesus being Son of God is not, however, a historical fact (historical in the modern sense), but is set, as an absolute truth, in relation to Jesus' historically unique witness to God. This is clear in all places where the title Son of God appears - in the occurrence of the voice from heaven, in the cries of the exorcised demons, in the words of the centurion at the cross (whether viewed as confession or not), and even in the High-priest's question, which for him could only be answered in the affirmative as an act of blasphemy. Mark's opening verse probably does make that clear - if we accept the longer reading - as required St. John (aware of Mark's work)[10] to present Jesus as the *arche* of the Gospel as an of necessity eternal fact rather than simply as part of historical context of the Gospel story. But St. John had also, as a result, to assert the mystery of the Incarnation, the Word made flesh, the Gospel in history, though still subject to faith or unbelief[11].

Don Cupitt's way of wishing for some amorphous historical Jesus as an answer to our quest is rendered illegitimate since the messianic secret in Mark protects the historical Jesus from any purely historical quest and asserts that he cannot be categorised in any purely historical way. He is unique among men by being beyond any historical categories and in fact absolutises them beyond their original meaning by having them ascribed to him. That is why none of the Christological titles are used on their own, or in accordance with previous understandings of their meaning, but are used to reinterpret each other in order to interpret Jesus. They *can* be used in this way for the utterly unique person, Jesus of Nazareth, though not as any contemporary human being could have used them. This is true even of the centurion at the cross, who by the context must be understood as uttering more than he knew. Thus, whatever earlier more "primitive" Christologies

4) Originally *Von Reimarus zu Wrede, Eine Geschichte der Leben - Jesu - Forschung.* Tübingen 1906 (Eng. tr. *The Quest of the historical Jesus. A critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede.* London 1910.

5) *Des sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche biblische Christus.* Leipzig 1892 (Eng. tr.. *The so-called historical Jesus and the historic Biblical Christ.* Philadelphia 1964).

6) Bultmann's epoch-making statement of this approach was in his essay "Neues Testament und Mythologie" 1941 (eng. tr. *Kerygma and Myth* I London 1953, pp. 1-44). See also "Das Varhaltnis der urchristlichen Christusbotschaft zum historischen Jesus". *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberg Akademie der wissenschaften, philosophisch - historische Klasse.* Heidelberg 1960 pp. 5-27.

7) "One Jesus, Many Christs?" *Christ, Faith and History. Cambrige Studies in Christology.* ed. S.W. Sykes and J.P.Clayton. Cambridge 1972, pp. 131-144, especially pp. 143f..

8) Cf. my article, "the Beginning of the Gospel. A Study of St. Mark's Gospel with regard to its first verse". *New Testament Christianity for Africa and the World.* Essays in Honour of Harry Sawyer. ed. M.E. Glasswell and E.W. Fashole Luke. London 1974, pp. 36-43.

9) My article in *Studia Biblica* n. 3 above, has a full discussion of the messianic secret in Mark.

10) See my article, "The Relation between John and Mark". *Journal for the Study of the New Testament.* 23, 1985, pp. 99-115.

11) Cf. Jn. 12. 37ff, which is John's way of making clear the significance of the parables as explained in Mk. 4. 11f.

lie behind the account, Mark, in his picture of Jesus' baptism as Son of God, was himself also pointing beyond all the categories of his own time to the formulations of the Church through the ages, because, by cancelling out earlier approaches, his theme of the messianic secret does open the way to more perfect affirmations, though not by way of an historical apology - in these respects Wrede was right!

Jesus remains, of course, historical and this historicity is essential both to his uniqueness as well as to those absolute categories created by him. His historicity and the absoluteness of those categories hang together, and nowhere more so than in the crucifixion. It is clearly that event, together with the conviction of the resurrection, which comprised for Mark the essential basis for the whole story as Gospel and thus allowed for the creation of the *genre* Gospel. It is that event too which negates the purely historical understanding of the Christological titles and in its outcome also absolutizes them as titles for Jesus alone. History and faith are at this point either held together or rendered meaningless. One cannot be retained in isolation from the other, yet each retains its own integrity without changing its identity as history or faith. Put in Christological terms we have here the Chalcedonian definition and this guarantees genuine Christianity in both its horizontal and vertical aspects, historical experience and supernatural faith.

Matthew and Luke, standing half-way between Mark and John, tried to encapsulate the vertical in the horizontal and historicise the Gospel. Thus Matthew asserts the *fact* of Jesus' messiahship in history in relation to Israel, even though Israel rejected it, and Luke sees the historical life of Jesus together with his death and resurrection as part of a necessary process leading to the Christian Church, even though this was not understood even by the disciples at the time. But both evangelists felt the necessity of a vertical background to the story if it was to make sense, and this, despite different surrounding circumstances, was provided for both by the virgin-birth. This historical way of asserting the Incarnation is as historically impossible and indescribable as the resurrection at the end of the story. They are comparable pointers to the absolute dimension of faith by asserting the historical uniqueness of Jesus, but only faith can reach the conclusion demanded, the divine Sonship of Jesus, as an eternal truth. John asserts the latter directly and draws out the full implications for the history itself without destroying the historical aspect as the Gnostics eventually did. For this he did not need the story of the virgin-birth, though it is not the only story John does not use whilst presupposing it[12].

In all four canonical Gospels the absoluteness[13] of Christ is inseparable from the uniqueness of Jesus. A Gospel must after all present the Gospel in historical form with a complete unity between revelation and concealment noted by Bultmann[14] is the way this unity of subject is most tellingly achieved, without either aspect being absorbed by the other.

I will close with some reflections on the implications of this for the universality of Christ, since this corollary is so vital for the African situation. It is the Fourth Gospel, with its doctrine of the Logos, which shows how this relates to the particularity of Jesus. The Incarnation is also shown to be the cornerstone, holding all else together. The picture presented by the Fourth Gospel can be explained with reference to the Igbo concept of the *Chi,* which, as a universal concept, is related to the Creator, *Chi-ne-ke* (cf. also *Chi-ukwu,* the Great *Chi*), but which is given to each man individually[15]. However, if the universal *Chi* is found in a single human life, as in the picture of the Word made flesh, we do see a situation whereby something universal and belonging to all men is achieved through an individual man, although that universal was not available before even though it existed before. The particular revelation of God to the Jews is seen as being fulfilled in Jesus, but also universalised through a new historical entity, the Church, as the community of those who received him. This community stands over against the created world of men and 'his own' in historical Israel[16]. This new entity implies a new creation, as well as a new and fuller

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12) I do not agree with Bonhoeffer's lectures on Christology (in *Gesammelte Schriften* vol. 3, Munich 1960, published separately as *Wer ist and wer war Jesus Christus? Seine Geschichte und sein Geheimnis.* Hamburg 1962, p. 111, Eng. tr. *Christology* London 1971, p. 109) that the virgin birth is a less satisfactory picture than what we have in John, it is a different way of presenting the idea of the perfected human nature of the incarnate One.

13) The use of this word results from the fact that this essay was originally prepared for a Symposium with that title. It refers to the divine and eternal dimension of the person, Jesus Christ.

14) *Theologie des neuen Testaments.* Tubingen 1953, p. 394 (Eng. tr. *Theology of the New Testament.* vol. II. London 1955, pp. 47f.).

15) cf. E.C.O. Ilogu *Christianity and Ibo Culture.* Leiden 1974, p. 34.

16) Jn. 1. 10-12. Cf. R.E. Brown *The Gospel according to John.* Vol. I, London 1966, pp. 10, 29. Schackenburg's view that "his own" is mankind in general *(Gospel according to St. John.* vol. I, New York and London 1968, p. 260) does not substantially affect the argument here.

revelation, which, from within the old creation and revelation, takes over the historical particularities of the old to incorporate them in a new universal. The absoluteness of Christ envisaged here rests upon something prior and antecedent and original (i.e. his previous relation to mankind and to Israel, and indeed the created world), but is also seen as something ultimate, to be achieved finally, and to which we are pressing forward, i.e. a new sonship of God[17]. Thus this is not a Gnostic conception, but remains an eschatological one which demanded of necessity the historical particularity of the flesh for its ultimate realisation. Yet this individual particularity was in Christ also totally unique, because in him alone th universal and eternal *Chi* (or Logos) resided.

The implications of this are that, although we all have our distinctive backgrounds in this world, by which we are linked to the old creation and the creative and eternal Logos of God, yet this background is only the penultimate aspect of our life, a qualification for application rather than membership of the new community. The ultimate takes us beyond, though by way of the penultimate[18], and is reached through the incarnate Logos who has himself participated in the penultimate and through it proclaims the ultimate as present and available to us all. The absoluteness of Christ is, therefore, to be understood in terms of a universality which is saving by being an ultimacy made possible through the uniqueness of the historical Jesus. The eschatological aspect is not absent in the Fourth Gospel, but the fact of Jesus being the *telos* as well as the *arche* is expressed, not in apocalyptic terms, but in terms of history and faith. What is not gloriously contributed by the Fourth Gospel is the fact that Christ's very universality demands that he is both the *arche* and the *telos*, absolute and ultimate, and that this truth is inseparable from his uniqueness within history as an individual man, who, by his own presence amongst us, connects our own penultimates to his own ultimacy as belonging to us all[19].

This absoluteness of Christ, mediated through the uniqueness of Jesus and tending to the ultimacy of Jesus Christ, for all and in all, necessitates the unity of his people, as the proper children of God, with him and each other, whilst taking account of their prior diversity and distinctive particularities. These particularities are now to be seen as penultimates which give way to a single ultimate which is expressed by Christ and realised in us through the Spirit proceeding from the one Father of Christ.

To return to my starting-point, I have tried to demonstrate how the uniqueness of Jesus and the absoluteness of Christ are inseparable and to draw out some of the implications of this. I believe that all aspects of orthodox doctrine stem from this insight and that it is the only proper way to read the Gospels, even with our critical eyes open, because they make no sense in any other way. The development from Mark to John is also seen as inevitable and fully explicable as a drawing out of this truth. I have also shown that the corollary of the universality of the one, Jesus Christ, demands the insight of his pre-existence[20], just as well as it preserves the hope of the final realisation of all this at the end[21], because the Incarnation asserts both in terms of the particular encapsulating and indicating the universal as both origin and goal of human life. In him "one meets the one man, Jesus Christ, who is fully God"[22].

But we have added here that this is clearly seen to be so, because, as "the one man", he fulfils all men's expectations by transcending them in their diversity and separateness, and uniquely incorporates them in an ultimate truth, ultimate because it is also the original

17) cf. Scknackenburg pp. 261f.

18) I borrow this language of the penultimate and the ultimate from Appendix I Section (a) Faith and Order (Canterbury 1969) of the WCC document 10 (revised) of the Addis Ababa conference of January 1971 in the section on "The Church and Mankind".

19) I may add, because of the issue I touched on at the beginning, that Christ could only do this as man, as well as a Jew, because, in Biblical terms, a woman would not have the universal meaning required. This is not a merely semantic fact, but a matter of historical revelation in the Bible. The priesthood expresses the continued importance of this in terms of being a man, whereas the importance of being a Jew has ceased. The Church must continue to represent the universality of Christ historically in order for his ultimacy, in which all differences disappear, to become true. I have said more about this issue in "Some Issues of Church and Society in the light of Paul's Eschatology". *Paul and Paulinism*. Essays in Honour of C.K. Barrett. ed. M.D. Hooker and S.G, Wilson, London 1982, pp. 310-319.

20) cf. C.F.D. Moule *(The Origin of Christology*. Cambridge 1977) who, in the course of discussing the question of how preexistence came to be attributed to Christ, practically gives this answer when he says (p. 139): "If this Jesus of history turns out, in subsequent Christian experience, to be eternal and more than individual but still personally identical with the one who was known as Jesus, how are we to deny him personal preexistence comparable to this?"

21) This is as true of the Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews as of John.

22) "Man hat es mit dem einen Menschen Jesus Christus zu tun, der ganz Gott ist", Bonhoeffer p. 110, Eng. tr. p. 108.

unifying truth behind the fragmented diversities of human history in this fallen, yet created world. Thus absoluteness and uniqueness, which in the abstract must be seen as opposites (i.e. what harmonises and what distinguishes) are to be seen as one in a single person who is both human and divine[23].

23) Having written this essay my attention was drawn by Dr. George Dragas to the third chapter (Christology and History) of J. Daniélou's *The Lord of History*, London 1985, which concurs with most of my views and could be read with profit.

# FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS UNITY 1972 - 1984

By

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## 1. The Dialogue between Rome and the Orthodox

When the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Athenagoras I died in July 1972, Pope Paul VI spoke publicly about the Patriarch's wish to concelebrate the Eucharist with him in these words: "We also have so desired. Now, this unfulfilled desire remains as his legacy and as our commitment".[1]

Since then further significant steps have been taken towards the fulfilment of this desire for the restoration of unity and communion between Rome and the Orthodox, slowly at first, not without difficulty and opposition, but more steadily recently. As long ago as 1964 the third Pan-Orthodox Conference at Rhodes issued a warning that a necessary first step towards fruitful theological dialogue was "adequate preparation" and the "creation of favourable conditions"[2]. For Orthodox hostility towards rapprochement with Rome has led to accusations that this would result in "the reduction of Orthodoxy to a satellite of the heretical Papacy", "the welcoming of Orthodoxy with warm embraces as the prisoner of a totalitarian Papacy", and "the desertion, betrayal, and evasion of the Truth".[3] The appointment of bishops to Uniate congregations in Greece in particular as recently as 1975 has continued to provoke the opposition of Orthodox who protest that "the road to unity between Rome and Orthodoxy does not pass through the Sacra Congregatio pro Ecclesiis Orientalibus"[4]. There has therefore been a continuing need, as Cardinal Willebrands said in Bucharest in 1975, for prayer "that the Lord would guide us to overcome old differences and to heal even the most recent wounds that still weigh down our steps and slow our progress on the way to perfect unity in full liberty."[5] There has also been a need to emphasise-in relation to the vital issues of ecclesiology and the papacy -that "the dialogue should begin in due course on an equal footing." So in 1973 Athenagoras' successor, the Oecumenical Patriarch Dimitrios said to a delegation from Rome: "We have entered upon a new period, the period of the deepening of the dialogue, in which we must proceed with perseverance, but also with attention and wisdom, so that the building may be solid and not endowed with merely outward appearance", and he repeated the Orthodox view that "the highest authority in the church is an Ecumenical Council" and that "no bishops possess authority without the consent of each other"[6]. There have in addition been a series of official exchanges and visits, particularly by Orthodox delegations to Rome for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul in June, and by Roman Catholic delegations to Constantinople for the feast of St. Andrew in November. There have been theological conversations with the Russian Orthodox Church. There have been continuing contacts and co-operation at various levels[7]. All this has helped to create the right climate for the opening of the theological dialogue.

On December 14th 1975 celebrations were held in the Vatican and at the Phanar to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the removal of the excommunications between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. At the same time it was announced that by the unanimous decision of all the Orthodox churches, an inter-Orthodox commission had been established for the preparation of the theological dialogue with

1. 'The Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue' by Mgr. Eleuterio F. Fortino in One in Christ 1982 No. 3 p. 194; Le Patriarche Athenagoras et l' Eglise Catholique by Father Pierre Duprey in 'Athenagoras I Oikoumenikos Patriarchis O Epirotis' 1975 pp. 339-40.
2. Orthodoxos Parousia I: 3-4: 1964 p. 261.
3. Constantinos Mouratides "The Ecumenical Movement-the great temptation of Orthodoxy to -day" 1973 pp. 30-33.
4. Metropolitan Bartholomew of Philadelphia speaking in Vienna in January 1983. Episkepsis No. 287 1-2-83. The Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity's Information Service No. 33 1977/I p. 16 also reported Archbishop Seraphim of Athens' reaction to the appointment of a new uniate bishop in Greece in deciding to "break every contact with Rome so long as the Holy See continues to provoke these religious scandals."
5. S.P.C.U. Information Service No. 33 p. 17.
6. Ibid-No. 27 pp. 15-16.
7. See Further E.F. Fortino Op. Cit. pp. 196-7 for a summary, and S.P.C.U. Information Service Nos. 27, 35, 37, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50 for details.

AKSUM-THYATEIRA. *A Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

the Roman Catholic Church, and that a similar commission was to be set up by the Roman Catholic Church. In his address Pope Paul VI emphasised the importance of the events of 1965 which had "set free so many hearts which, up till then, had been prisoners of bitterness, locked in mutual distrust." He said that "a deep purification of memory clears an ever wider path for itself". He stressed that "the Catholic and Orthodox Churches have in common the same sacraments, the same priesthood, the same apostolic succession to guide the people of God." He added that "for centuries, celebrating together the ecumenical councils that have defended the deposit of faith against all alteration, we have lived the life of sister-churches." Then, at the end of the ceremony, to the astonishment of all present, as a sign of his humble affection and respect for the Orthodox Church, Pope Paul VI went down on his knees and kissed the feet of Metropolitan Meliton, the leader of the delegation from the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. As Fr. Pierre Duprey wrote, "the ceremony might have been no more than a memorial of the past, but it turned into a creative act for the future. It is the preface to the preparation of the theological dialogue between our two churches. May God grant that the dialogue develop under this sign which he has given and that it be marked by his Spirit." It was a symbolic action which "said more than any speech could have done and demonstrated that the only authority in the church is that which derives from the humble service of brotherly communion in love and truth." It showed to those who stress the grandeur of the Pope's role in the Church that "in the Kingdom of God he who is first must make himself the least of all and become the servant of all." A Pope who was seen to be the "servant of the servants of God" could quite properly be described by the Oecumenical Patriarch as "the first in rank and in honour of the whole Body of the Lord" as he did in a message of greetings on this occasion which spoke aso of "the pentarchy of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, in which the Bishop of Rome is designated to preside in love and honour"[8].

In order that "adequate preparation"[9] should be made for the "Theological Dialogue of Truth in Love"[10] there was a period of "immediate preparation for it. The two new commissions were not one joint commission but preparatory commissions. Their major task was to study the demands of theological dialogue and to elaborate an agenda of the major themes to be considered when the theological dialogue begins."[11] Their problem was whether to begin from the chief issues that divide Orthodox and Roman Catholics, primacy, infallibility, filioque, purgatory, the new Mariological dogmas, divorce, the Uniate churches, ecclesiology, and so on.[12] If so, the risk would be that each would simply defend their traditional position and no progress would be made, except by way of what could be called concession or compromise. Alternatively a start could be made from "the full communion of faith, brotherly concord and sacramental life which existed between them in the course of the first millennium of the Church's life".[13] The risk here might be that insufficient attention would be given to their doctrinal differences and to their different ways of exercising authority in the church. Also, an idealised picture of "brotherly concord" before the schism between East and West might lead to an idealised model for the restoration of unity, which would be difficult to put into practice.

In the event, the two commissions began by meeting separately; the Roman Catholics in Rome in October 1976 and in May 1978, the Orthodox at Chambésy, Geneva, in June and in November 1977 and in June 1978.[14] There was also a meeting in Rome in March/April 1978 of a Joint Coordinating Group, which discussed the purpose, method, and agenda of the dialogue and drew up a Common Document with detailed proposals for the conduct of the opening of the Dialogue which were then submitted to the separate commissions and to the authorities in both churches.[15]

The Common Document came to grips with the problems of the dialogue's starting-point and priorities outlined above. Father Louis Bouyer explained later that "the preparatory commission on the Catholic side had made a summary of the points controverted in the past between the two churches and suggested that they should be discussed in turn; while it was the Orthodox themselves who insisted that in fact we had much more in common than in opposition and that we should rather start with a consideration of the varied ways in which our two traditions approach the things on which we are basically agreed. They said that this might provide an opportunity for seeing the points on which we are not agreed as being perhaps complementary rather than contradictory."[16] So, as was reported later, "With regard to the document ment as a whole, stress should be laid particularly on the constructive spirit of the method proposed, which wishes to set out from what Catholics and Orthodox have in common, without, however, avoi-

8. S.P.C.U. Information Service No. 31 pp. 1-10.
9. Rhodes Conference 1964. See note 2 above.
10. Oec. Patriarch Athenagoras quoted by E. Theodorou in "Athenagoras I etc." p. 324.
11. S.P.C.U. Information Service No. 33. p. 12.
12. E.F. Fortino op. cit. p. 202.
13. Joint Declaration of 7 December 1965 quoted by Pope Paul VI on 14 December 1975. S.P.C.U. Information Service No. 31 p. 3.
14. Metropolitan Damaskinos Papandreou, Les dialogues bilateraux de l'Eglise Orthodox avec les autres Communions chretiennes, in Irenikon, 1982 no. 4 p. 456; S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 32 p. 27, No. 35, p. 3.
15. S.P.C.U. Information Service No. 37 pp. 5-6, no. 39 p. 13.
16. Sobornost 1981 vol. 3 no. 1 p. 88.

ding controversial problems (II,1) and more recent developments (II,2), keeping in mind the necessary distinction between differences compatible with unity and differences incompatible with it which make it necessary to find a common solution and agreement (II,3).

As regards the subjects of the first phase, the preparatory document proposed study of the sacramentality of the Church and of the sacraments considering that this subject 'is a suitable one to examine the problems of dialogue thoroughly and positively. Sacramental experience and theology are expressed through each other. It is for this reason that study of the Sacraments of the Church, in a first phase, presents itself as a very positive and natural subject. Study of problems regarding the Sacraments will lead normally to examination of ecclesiological aspects and to other aspects of faith, without departing from the character of lived experience which is fundamental for theology' (III,1).

Obviously, the main aim of the study of the subject of the sacraments is not that of examining all aspects, but in the first place the ones that concern the unity of the Church. 'Consequently, the main problems that must be proposed for discussion are connected with ecclesiology in its wide theological sense. More particularly these problems are bound up with the way in which the presence or absence of unity between Roman Catholics and Orthodox influences communion in the sacraments and the Christian life in general of members of the two Churches and vice versa' (III,3).

In this perspective the definition of the purpose of the dialogue, drawn up by mutual consent, is particularly important: "The purpose of the dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church is the re-establishment of full communion between these two Churches. This communion, founded on the unity of faith according to the common experience and tradition of the ancient Church, will find its expression in the common celebration of the Holy Eucharist".(I)

The purpose of the theological dialogue is not an intermediate phase, but directly the goal of full unity. At the same time, the definition of the purpose of the dialogue contains two important annotations concerning the full communion to be re-established:

a) full communion founded on unity of faith, in the line of the experience and common tradition of the ancient Church, will find its expression in the common celebration of the Eucharist; this reference to the celebration of the Eucharist confers on the search for full unity a direction based on sacramentality, appropriate to the nature of the Church;

b) the reference to unity in the line of the common experiences and tradition of the ancient Church proposes a historical criterion. On the one hand this means that it is not necessary to seek a model of unity to be invented completely; the history of the Church and theology offer a model that has already been experienced in a way. On the other hand the reference to past experience does not wish to be preclusive. The communion to be re-established is in the line of (according to) lived experience, it follows and develops this experience. The text does not call, therefore, for a model to be sought definitively in the past. The document advises, in fact, keeping in mind the historical developments[17].

In 1978 the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches were drawn closer together by their shared grief, as they mourned the deaths of Pope Paul VI and then all too soon of Pope John Paul I, and also that of Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad, President of the Moscow Patriarchate's Commission for Ecumenical Relations, who suffered a fatal heart attack whilst in conversation with Pope John Paul I. Grief was however mingled with shared joy at the elections of two popes and, as the Editor of the Secretariat for Unity's Information Service wrote, these events "have been the occasion for a striking witness to what binds us and brings us together far beyond and beneath official and formal relations. We are grateful to our Christian brethren of all traditions who have been so profoundly one with us, so much brothers in our alternations of sorrow and joy"[18].

On the morning after he was elected Pope, John Paul II committed himself to continue the work for Christian Unity: "We intend to proceed along the way happily begun, by favouring those steps which serve to remove obstacles. Hopefully, then, thanks to common effort, we might arrive finally at full communion."[19] He also asked the representatives of other churches whom he received in audience after his inauguration to "say to those whom you represent and to everybody that the engagement of the Catholic Church in the ecumenical movement as it was made in the Second Vatican Council is irreversible".[20]

Pope John Paul II initially gave a priority in the ecumenical field to dialogue with the Orthodox churches. This may partly be because he sees the Orthodox as allies on whom he can count for "support for many of the positions he has taken up within the Roman Catholic Church: his insistence on 'high' christology, sacramental doctrine, mariological devotion, a 'sacred' view of the priesthood, resistance to 'secularizing' trends and so on."[21] It is also because, as he said to the Plenary Session of the Secretariat for Christian Unity in February 1980: "I am convinced that a re-linking of the ancient Eastern and Western

17. November 1981 Report for the Plenary Meeting of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, Information Service no. 47 p. 117. See also E.F. Fortino op. cit. pp. 199-200.
18. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 38 p. 188, No. 39 p. 5 and pp. 17-20.
19. Peter Hebblethwaite "Introducing John Paul II" (1982) p. 141.
20. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 39 p. 5.
21. Peter Hebblethwaite op. cit. p. 152.

traditions and the overall balance that will result when full communion is rediscovered could be of the greatest importance for the healing of the divisions that came about in the West in the sixteenth century."[22]

In November 1979 Pope John Paul II set out on his first ecumenical journey to visit Istanbul and to celebrate with His Holiness Patriarch Dimitrios of Constantinople the feast of St. Andrew, the patron saint of that church. "I did so", the Pope said, "in order to show before God and before the whole people of God my impatience for unity. We felt painfully how regrettable it was that we could not concelebrate. Everything must be done to hasten the day of this concelebration, and the very length of our separation makes it even more urgent to end it."[23]

During this visit the Pope and the Oecumenical Patriarch issued a Common Declaration which first emphasised the importance of the Dialogue of Charity between the Churches:

"The dialogue of charity has to continue and to be intensified in the complex situation we have inherited from the past and which represents the reality within which our effort is to be made".

It also spoke of the theological dialogue, which the Pope had already said would need to overcome outstanding disagreements between Catholics and Orthodox "if not at the level of faith, at least at the level of theological formulation", and which the Patriarch had said he hoped would solve "serious theological problems about some essential points of the Christian faith". "This theological dialogue", the Common Declaration affirmed, "does not only aim at progressing towards restoring full communion between our sister churches, Catholic and Orthodox, but also at giving a contribution to the multiple dialogues going on in the Christian world in search of its unity."[24]

They envisaged three results from the dialogue: "a better understanding of our mutual theological positions", "new approaches to theological work," and "a new attitude with regard to the common past of our Churches" since "this purification of the collective memory of our Churches is an important fruit of the dialogue of charity and an indispensable condition of future progress."[25]

The following year the first meeting of the Roman Catholic–Orthodox Joint Commission for Theological Dialogue took place. It began with a pilgrimage to the island of Patmos on May 29th, 1980. The delegates then moved on to the island of Rhodes for the conference proper which lasted until June 4th. The Orthodox elected Archbishop Stylianos of Australia as their Chairman, and the leader of the Roman Catholic party was Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Secretariat for Unity in Rome. After two days of separate meetings as Orthodox and Roman Catholics, the commission held a series of plenary meetings at which messages from heads of churches were read out, a declaration was made by the Orthodox participants that "the presence of Eastern Rite Catholics on the commission did not signify recognition by the Orthodox of Uniat Churches or of the principle of Uniatism". The dialogue then got under way and as Father Louis Bouyer said later was "not only extremely friendly but extremely constructive. The only opposition came from some theologians of the Greek Church who raised difficulties at every attempt to formulate a programme and who would have preferred the agenda proposals to have had a different order"[26]. As the Communique issued at the conclusion of the conference stated, "its main concern was to define the procedure and organise the details of the work for the first phase of the dialogue. This task has been accomplished.

a) The plan for the dialogue, proposed by the mixed technical preparatory commission of theologians in 1978, approved by the Roman Catholic and all the Orthodox Churches, was adopted in common and unanimously, as the agenda of the first phase of the dialogue.

b) The precise themes for the initial theological studies were chosen.

c) Sub-Committees consisting of Roman Catholic and Orthodox members were set up and will prepare papers for the next plenary session.

d) A joint coordinating committee to monitor the progress of the dialogue was established."[27]

As Father Bouyer explained, "we came to the decision finally to start our study with the local Church and especially with the way in which the local Church finds both its expression and its realization in the eucharistic celebration. We thought that by a common study of the two traditions of East and West of the way in which the local Church lives in and by the Eucharist we could be brought to the question of the unity of the local Church with the universal Church, then to the problem of communion between the bishops, and subsequently to the role of Pope and Patriarchs. We also thought that by a discussion of the eucharistic liturgy itself we would be brought to the problem of the procession of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Son".

He concluded: "It is very interesting that at this stage of the conversations it was agreed that we should start with the assumption that there should be some way of understanding our divergencies which

22. Ibid. p. 152. S.P.C.U. Information Service No. 43 p. 67.
23. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 43 p. 67.
24. E.F. Fortino op. cit. pp. 202–3.
25. L'Osservatore Romano (English Edition) 10 December 1979 p. 4.
26. Sobornost 3:1 p. 90, from an article by Norman Russell "Catholic Orthodox Dialogue: Patmos and Rhodes" from which this general account has been taken.
27. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 4 p. 103.

would see them as complementary rather than contradictory."[28]

This all indicates, as Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Myra described in a sermon he preached at the inter-Orthodox Liturgy celebrated in the presence of members of the Joint Commission on Sunday June 1st, that "the historical setting of the dialogue has changed; that the approach to dialogue has changed from an insistence on the points, great and small, that separated Orthodox and Roman Catholics"; and that "the People of God is on the side of reconciliation, the unity of our forces in a world divided in so many ways, secularized, shaken by the opposed forces that deny God."[29] The Communique concluded with a reminder that the search for unity was not undertaken for the sake of the Churches alone: "We hope that the re-establishment of the full communion of our Churches will contribute to the reconciliation of mankind and to the peace of the world of which the Church is the sign and divine instrument according to the will of God."[30]

However a much more critical note was sounded by Metropolitan Chrysostomos of Peristerion, leader of the Greek Church's delegation. In his report to the Holy Synod he made a number of positive and appreciative points about the progress of the Dialogue, but added the following criticisms: "the unjustifiable haste with which the Joint Commission's proceedings took place; the inadequate and insufficient preparation of Church members for the dialogue; the great difficulties and disagreements over the selection of subjects for the next meetings; the Roman Catholics' insistence on participation by Uniats in the Joint Commission; and finally, and most important, the moving of ecclesiology to the margin of the dialogue"[31]. He wrote also that "the thorny problems requiring consideration from the point of view of history, dogma, ecclesiology, canon law, and liturgy have by no means disappeared, but have come more sharply and more urgently into view. The present Dialogue will be hard, long, delicate, and sensitive for both sides. It will require much prayer, penitence, time, and patience". He hoped that there would be a careful comparison of the Eastern and Western systems of thought, teaching, and interpretation of revealed truth. He was also convinced that the success or failure of the Dialogue "will depend chiefly on whether or not there is agreement about the doctrine of the Church. This is the most central, basic, fundamental and to-day the most complex, sensitive, and "controversial sign" in every ecumenical discussion. If it is not solved, there will simply be the joining together of an old piece of creased and ill-fitting patchwork with a bright and expensive new piece of clothing."[32] The Holy Synod accepted his formal proposals on the Dialogue which included both a commitment to its continuation and express reservations about the method of producing "Ageed Statements" which can "mislead orthodox people and orthodox opinion"[33].

A report to the Plenary Session of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity in November 1981 summarised the next stage of the Roman Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue as follows: [34] "The subject chosen for this first phase of the dialogue is: 'The mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the light of the mystery of the Holy Trinity'. This subject comprised the three following questions:

'1. How is the sacramental nature of the Church and of the Eucharist to be understood with regard to Christ and with regard to the Holy Spirit? What is the relationship between the sacraments-and especially the Eucharist-and Christology, pneumatology and trinitarian theology"?

'2. What is the relationship between the Eucharist celebrated round the bishop by the local Church and the mystery of the One God in the Communion of Three Persons?'

'3. What is the relationship between this eucharistic celebration of the local Church and the Communion of all the local Churches in the one, holy Church of the One God in three Persons?'

In the course of the year the three Sub-Commissions met, one at Chevetogne in Belgium, one in Rome and one in Belgrade, and drew up three documents which were agreed unanimously. All three Sub-Commissions studied the whole subject.

The coordination Committee (eight Catholic members and eight Orthodox) met in Venice (25-30 May 1981). The Committee examined the reports of the Sub-Commissions and worked out a draft of a synthesis. This draft, sent to members of the Commission together with the three documents of the three Sub-Commissions, will consitute the basis of the discussions of the forthcoming plenary meeting of the Joint-Commission, which is scheduled to take place in the summer of 1982.

The dialogue, therefore, is proceeding in a positive way."

The attempt on the Pope's life on May 13th 1981 occasioned an unprecedented response in the world-wide expression of affection and sympathy voiced in the flood of messages that began to pour into Rome as soon as news of the attack became known. Messages came from the heads and leaders of many churches, including the Orthodox. The Oecumenical Patriarch

28. Sobornost 3:1 pp. 90-91.
29. Diakonia Vol. XVII (1982) pp. 244-7; S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 44 pp. 109-11.
30. S.P.C.U. Information Service No. 44 p. 403.
31. Episkepsis No. 264 (15-12-1981) p. 4 quoting from his book "Orthodoxia Kai Romaiokatholikismos - O arxamenos Theologikos Dialogos" Athens 1981 pp. 84-85.
32. Episkepsis no. 264 pp. 6-7.
33. Ibid p. 8.
34. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 47 pp. 117-8. For details see no. 45 p. 27 and no. 46 p. 58.

Dimitrios immediately sent Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon as his personal envoy to Rome to express the Church of Constantinople's solidarity with her sister-church of Rome in this hour of trial. On May 14th he joined with Cardinal Poletti in offering prayers for the Pope in St. Peter's Square. As Cardinal Willebrands expressed it, "At a time like this no brethren can feel separated".[36]

Three weeks later, during the celebrations in Rome, held on June 7th, the feast of Pentecost, simultaneously with celebrations in Constantinople, to mark the 1600th anniversary of the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381), Pope John Paul II gave a pre-recorded address in which he quoted in Greek and Latin the "truth as it was then expressed: We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father". The Pope also made his first public appearance since the attempt on his life when he appeared at the inner loggia of St. Peter's Basilica to give the blessing at the end of the Mass.[36]

The second Plenary Meeting of the Joint Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches took place in a former royal castle Schloss Furstenried, near Munich, in Germany, 30th June to 6th July 1982. There was an atmosphere of "openness and fraternal cooperation", worship in the liturgical traditions of both East and West, and generous hospitality provided by the Archdiocesse of Munich and Freising, and by the civil authorities of Bavaria.

The report of the co-ordinating Committee formed the basis for the Commission's work. As the Communique stated, "the discussions at Munich centred around questions of the nature of the Eucharist, the expression through it of the activity of the Holy Trinity in the economy of Salvation, the relationship of the Eucharist to the Church and the centrality of the Eucharist for an understanding of communion within the local Church and for communion among the local churches in the Universal Church. Large areas of agreement were outlined and foundations were laid for further consideration of questions about which there remain differences".[37] As Father Louis Bouyer commented, "Once a drafting committee had been appointed, the wisdom was soon revealed of the decision on the part of the Orthodox to include on their side some of the most cautious theologians who proved very positive in their contribution to the final text, which was both fuller and clearer than the preliminary report. The text suggests a first reconciliation between the views traditionally held by East and West in that it makes clear that neither the epiclesis nor the words of institution can make a valid Eucharist in isolation but can only do so through their conjunction within the unbroken continuity of the eucharistic prayer. It also introduces some stepping-stones towards an approach (along similar lines) to the problem of the procession of the Holy Spirit. The agreement on the nature of the episcopal ministry, which is the link of unity both within the local Church and between that Church and the total communion of all the other local Churches, may, by leading to a further consideration of the ways through which the unity of the episcopate has to be furthered, open a new path towards a study of the function of the see of Rome, precisely in conjunction with the other metropolitan or patriarchal sees and the local and universal synods."[38]

The full report of the Commission, "The mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in the light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity" was published in August 1982.[39] The most interesting points I find in it are the following:

1. The *epiclesis* is not merely an invocation for the sacramental transforming of the bread and the cup, it is also a prayer for the full realisation of the communion of all in the mystery revealed by the Spirit. (1.6)

2. The Church describes a "local" reality. It manifests itself when it is assembled. In the local church, a new unity is communicated which overcomes divisions and restores communion in the one body of Christ. This unity transcends psychological, racial, socio-political or cultural unity. By the power of the body and blood of the Lord there is healed the sin of division, all of whose forms contradict God's design. (II:1). The ecclesial community is called to be the prototype of the human community renewed (II:3).

3. The eucharist is celebrated by the local church gathered about the bishop, or the priest in communion with him. Orthodoxy (correct faith) is expressed most clearly through the proclamation of the symbol of faith which is a summary of the apostolic tradition of which the bishop is the witness in virtue of his succession (II:2).

4. By the sacrament of ordination the Spirit of the Lord "confers" on the bishop, not juridically as if it were a pure transmission of power, but sacramentally, the authority of a servant which the Son received from the Father. The bishop cannot be separated from his church any more than the church can be separated from its bishop. Apostolic succession, therefore, means something more than a mere transmission of powers. It is succession in a church which

35. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 46 p. 50.

36. Ibid p. 51.

37. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 49 pp. 59–60, Episkepsis no. 277 15.7/1-8-82 pp. 288.

38. Sobornost 5:1 1983 pp. 65–66.

39. French Text in Episkepsis (French Edition) no. 277 15.7/1.8 1982 and in Irenikon 1982/no. 3 p. 350.
Greek translation in Episkepsis (Greek Edition) no 277 15.7./1.8.1982 pp. 12–20;
English translation in S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 46 pp. 107–112, and in "One in Christ" 1983 no. 2 pp. 188–197.

witnesses to the apostolic faith, in communion with the other churches which witness to the same apostolic faith. (II:3,4).

5. The body of Christ is one. There exists then only one church of God. Each eucharistic assembly is truly the holy church of God, the body of Christ, in communion with the first community of the disciples and with all who throughout the world celebrate and have celebrated the memorial of the Lord (III:1).

6. Two conditions must be fulfilled above all if the local church which celebrates the eucharist is to be truly in ecclesical communion.

(a) The identity of the mystery of the church lived by the local Church with the Mystery of the Church lived by the primitive Church is fundamental.

(b) Mutual recognition today between one local Church and other Churches is also of capital importance. Each should recognise in the others, through their individual features, the identity of the Mystery of the Church. Communion within the same region should be extended further to communion between sister-churches. This mutual recognition, however, is true only under the conditions of communion in the same kerygma, and so in the same faith; and the will for communion in love and in service, not only in words but in deeds.

Permanence through history and mutual recognition are particularly brought into focus in the eucharistic synaxis by the mention of the Saints in the Canon and of the heads of Churches in the Diptychs. This explains why these latter are signs of catholic unity in eucharistic communion, responsible, each at his own level, for maintaining that Communion in the universal harmony of the Churches and their common fidelity to the apostolic tradition (III:3).

The members of the Commission were as follows:[40]

(a) *Orthodox:*

Abp. Stylianos of Australia, Co-Chairman
Prof. J. Zizioulas (Constantinople)

Metr. Parthenios of Carthage
Prof. S. Papadopoulos (Alexandria)

Metr. Germanos of Petra
Prof. G. Galitis (Jerusalem)

Abp. Kyril of Vyborg
Prof. L. Voronov (Moscow)

Bp. Savvas of Soumadia
Prof. S. Gosevic, Co-Secretary (Serbia)

Metr. Antonie of Transylvania
Prof. D. Staniloae (Romania)

Bp. John of Dragovitsa
Prof. N. Shivarov (Bulgaria)

Metr. Chrysanthos of Morphou
Prof. M. Papachristophorou (Cyprus)

Metr. Chrysostomos of Peristerion
Prof. M. Pharandos (Greece)

Bp. Savvas of Bialystok and Gdansk
Bp. Simon of Lodz and Poznan (Poland)

Abp. Ananias of Achaltsike
Abp. David of Souchoum and Aphazia (Georgia)

Rev. Pavel Ales (Czechoslovakia)

Rev. Matti Sidoroff,
Archim. Ambrose (Finland)

(b) *Roman Catholics*

Cardinal J. Willebrands (Utrecht: Co-Chairman)
Cardinal W. Baum (Vatican: Catholic Education)
Cardinal J. Ratzinger (Vatican: Doctrine of the Faith)
Cardinal R. Etchegaray (Marseilles)
Abp. M. Brini (Vatican: Eastern Churches)
Abp. N. Foscolos (Athens)
Abp. M. Magrassi (Bari)
Bp. A. Pichler (Yugoslavia)
Bp. R. Torrella (Vatican: Christian Unity)
Bp. R. Jakab (Romania)
Bp. M. Marusyn (Commission on Eastern Canon Law)
Bp. A. Nossol (Poland)
Bp. M. Maccarone (Pontifical Institute of Historical Studies)
Prof. F. McManus (Washington)
Prof. D. Salachas (Athens)
Prof. E. Suttner (Vienna)
Prof. H. Vogt (Tubingen)
Dom. E. Lanne (Chevetogne)
Fr. J. Tillard (Ottawa)
Fr. A. de Halleux (Louvain)
Fr. J. Long (New York)
Fr. P.H. Kolvenback (Pontifical Institute of Eastern Studies)
Fr. L. Bouyer (France)
Fr. W. Hryniewicz (Poland)
Fr. P. van der Aalst (Holland)
Fr. V. Peri (Vatican Library)
Fr. P. Duprey (Vatican: Christian Unity, Co-Secretary)

40. Listed in Episkepsis no. 277 pp. 4–6. Irenikon 1982 no. 3 pp. 367–8.

Four members of the Joint Commission [Metr. G. Khodr and G. Attieh (Orthodox) and the Melkite Habib Bucha and the Maronite Georges Abi-Sader (Roman Catholic)] were "prevented from coming to the meeting from Lebanon because of the painful events which are still in course in that war-torn country" (Communique).[41] Cardinal Hume (Westminster) was unable to attend the Munich meeting.

The next phase of the Dialogue has the general heading: "Faith, Sacraments, and Unity" and will revolve around the following questions:

1. Faith and sacramental communion; in what sense is right faith (Orthodoxy) related to the sacraments of the Church? Is it a presupposition of sacramental communion, and if so, in what sense? And up to what point? Or is it perhaps the result and the expression of such communion together? Or are both these things true? This subject is fundamental chiefly in view of sacramental and in particular of eucharistic communion.

2. The sacraments of initiation, the relations between them, and the unity of the church: What is the relationship between the sacraments of initiation, that is Baptism, Chrismation, and the Eucharist? In the West, these three sacraments have become separated from each other, at the liturgical level, in the case of infant baptism. In the East, these three sacraments have remained unified. What is the significance of this question for our consideration of the unity of the Church, and also for the spiritual life of the faithful?

Another question concerns the recognition of these sacraments between churches. To what extent can we say that we recognise a Church's Baptism without also sharing in that Church's Eucharist? How can we have unity only in relation to one or two of these sacraments?[42]

These questions have been considered by the Sub-Commissions (which have met in 1982 in Serbia, Vienna and Chambesy) and their reports will go to a meeting of the Coordinating Committee in Cyprus in June 1983 in preparation for the next plenary meeting of the Joint Commission.[43]

There has been a generally favourable welcome for the Munich Agreed Statement. In November 1982 during the celebrations at the Phanar of the feast of St. Andrew in the presence of a delegation from Rome, Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon said "the progress to date of the work of the great Joint Theological Commission is a source of encouragement and hope. We must face the thorny dogmatic and ecclesiological subjects which separate us and which must, as such, be placed on the table of the Dialogue in due course". But, he concluded, "the table of Dialogue should be considered as the pledge and preparation of the holy table of the Eucharist."[44]

In reply, Cardinal Willebrands affirmed that "this document contains fundamental affirmations that show a common sacramental concept of the Church, the same understanding of the local Church, of the role of the bishop in the local Church, and of the Communion between sister churhes in the universal symphony of the Holy Church of God." He stressed the Commission's declaration that "in composing this document we intend to show that in doing so we express together a faith which is the continuation of that of the Apostles." He then added: "This perspective–which implies a distinction between the faith and the different theological expressions or formulations it can be given, and which also affirms its link with the faith of the Apostles–is the only perspective which can allow of a true progress in mutual understanding and lead us to a true unity in full respect for the diversity of our traditions."[45]

Metropolitan Parthenios of Carthage described the text as "the first small step in a long journey" and added: "It does not follow the usual method of examining the subjects concerned–correctly, I am sure–but another more fruitful way. Not a 'scholastic' or a 'constricted' way, but a free approach, which I really believe is the traditional patristic methodology."[46] Metropolitan Bartholomew of Philadelphia pointed out that "The Dialogue does not exist for dialogue alone, but for the truth which liberates and saves mankind." He also said that the publication of the agreed text "will silence the accusations of some Orthodox circles that the Theological Dialogue is being carried on by specialist 'technocrats' in a secret ghetto, without informing the faithful who would find such things unacceptable." He then added that the Dialogue has been greatly facilitated by "the changes within the Roman Catholic Church over the last twenty years and its present theological positions which move away from scholastic theology and return to the spirit of the Fathers."[47]

The Joint Committee of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of West Germany and the Greek Orthodox Metropolis of Germany welcomed the Munich report as "a significant step in the direction of rapprochement between the Churches of East and West, given that it is the first common theological text since the schism. Its importance for the whole of Christendom should not be underestimated."[48] A similar welcome came from M.A. Panotis in 'Ekklesiastiki Alitheia' the official paper of the church of Greece".[49]

However, a more critical note has been struck, first by Cardinal Ratzinger, who emphasised the

41. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 49 p. 59.
42. Episkepsis no. 277, p. 4 Irenikon 1982 no. 3 p. 369.
43. Irenikon 1983 no. 1 p. 54.
44. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 50 p. 125.
45. Ibid p. 126.
46. Ekklesiastikos Pharos 1980–82 pp. 474–5: Episkepsis no. 289 p. 3.
47. Episkepsis no. 287 pp. 5–6.
48. Episkepsis no. 286 p.9.
49. Episkepsis no. 282 pp 11–12. See also Irenikon 1982 no. 4 pp. 522–3.

limitations of the document as well as its positive points.[50] And a more forceful attack was made by Professor Megas Pharandos, one of the delegates of the Church of Greece on the Joint Commission, who is most concerned about the Commission's method of working. He wrote:[51]

(1) The method of working (Full Commission meeting to approve a text prepared by subcommissions and the co-ordinating committee with minor alterations but no *substantial* changes) meant that the 'Dialogue' had already taken place before the Full Commission met.

(2) The text certainly contains Orthodox views on the doctinal matters it deals with. But it has many weaknesses; (a) It was designed as a *common document* without each side presenting its own faith and tradition first. It is a typical 'ecumenical document', neutral and impersonal, lacking the character of either the Orthodox or Roman Catholic tradition; (b) It attempts to harmonise, it emphasises all the points of agreement, yet the serious and substantial points of disagreement on the Holy Trinity, on the Church, and on the Eucharist are not mentioned at all, on the assumption that they will be examined later; (c) Instead of tackling one subject at a time, as in the other Dialogues, it tries to embrace the whole of theology, Christology, Pneumatology, Ecclesiology, Mysteriology, and all that relates to them. This results in a confusion of themes and ideas, and too much identification without distinctions, on the pattern of: Christ is the Spirit, the Spirit is Christ, Christ is the Church, the Church is the Eucharist etc. The *reason* is that the Roman Catholics do not want a systematic examination of each subject out of which disagreements would emerge as well as agreement. As a result, the Dialogue keeps on returning to the same themes e.g. the *next* meeting, like the last, is concerned with the Sacraments, the Eucharist, the Church etc: (d) Instead of beginning from the formulation of the basic dogmatic points which unite and divide us, so that *dialogue* can be promoted, there has been an attempt to write a general 'theology' of the Eucharist, the Church etc, a theology which expresses the views of one or two theologians trusted by the Co-Chairmen rather than traditional Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology e.g. by such a focus on the Eucharist that all the other great ecclesiological issues are put in the margin; (e) The language of the report is "existential" i.e. incomprehensible and is far from traditional doctrinal definitions and leaves the way open for individual or subjective interpretations; (f) The text is full of individual interpretations using quotations from Scripture in a very Protestant way, rather than–as was proposed but not allowed–the binding authority of tradition and of the church of the seven ecumenical Councils. A text like this is in the end useless for the promotion of the Dialogue.

50. Irenikon 1983 no. 1 p. 54.
51. Episkepsis no. 286 p. 11.

I feel it is essential therefore (a) to begin from the examination of Orthodox and Roman Catholic views on each topic and (b) that an attempt should *then* be made to put them together. Otherwise the Dialogue will later meet insuperable obstacles. I do not wish this to happen since I believe it should continue, as Orthodoxy has much to offer to-day to Western Christendom".

By way of conclusion I would make the following comments on the steps so far taken on the way towards unity between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

1. The very process of engaging in bi-lateral dialogue makes possible the considerable progress already described, which to many of those outside is quite astonishing, given that old conflicts and enmities are still kept alive in some quarters. However, in other places Orthodox and Roman Catholics are well ahead of the rest and even impatient (like the late Oecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I or Pope John Paul II himself) with the slowness of the whole process. Yet is this growing together in the Dialogue of love, and the increase in mutual respect it creates, sufficiently taken into account *theologically* in the Dialogue of truth? Just as (conversely) the deterioration of relationships between Orthodox and Roman Catholics led to a hardening of *theological* attitudes to each other.[52]

2. The whole enterprise of healing the centuries-old rift between Rome and the Orthodox is an awesome responsibility and a humbling one. If it is always hard for two schools, or businesses, or football clubs, or local churches of the same denomination to amalgamate, how much harder, humanly speaking, for two worldwide institutions. Yet the process of healing this rift between the two major Churches of Christendom will make easier the approach of other Churches to each of them, just as other bi-lateral dialogues will already have facilitated this dialogue between Orthodox and Roman Catholics. It may be the latest in a long series, but it is in many ways the most important.[53]

3. How do the Orthodox (who "believe that the Orthodox Church is the one true church of Christ, which as his body is not and cannot be divided"[54]) and Roman Catholics (for whom "the one true church of Christ subsists in the Roman Catholic Church"[55]) now view each other? Will they be able to "recognise in each other, through their individual features, the

52. See Timothy Ware. Eustratios Argenti (Oxford 1964). pp. 85–6.
53. For a full acocunt of Bi-lateral Dialogues see "Confessions in Dialogue" by Nils Ehrenstrom and Gunther Gassmann WCC Geneva 3rd Edition 1975.
54. Anglican/Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission: Sub Commission I Report.
55. Documents of Vatican II: Conciliorum Ecumenicorum Decreta 3rd Ed. 1972 p. 854. Concilium Vaticanum II 1962–65, de Ecclesia (Lumen Gentium).

identity of the Mystery of the Church"[56]? Will they, (as Metropolitan Damaskinos of Switzerland has put it) as "Churches which claim to continue exclusively the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church" be willing to "seek and recognize as the Church, in the full sense of the term "Church", outside their own canonical frontiers, with which they identify the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church, the Churches with which they will be called to eucharistic communion"?[57] Will they be in a position to agree that they do "witness to the same apostolic faith?"[58] Certainly the route towards full unity between Rome and the Orthodox can be charted: sufficient agreement on matters of faith (it is the Joint Commission's task to show this) to provide the grounds on which each can recognise in the other "the identity of the Mystery of the Church", as a result of which full communion can be restored, and Pope and Patriarch can concelebrate the eucharist as can the rest of their bishops and clergy.

4. But will this journey be taken? The conflict over the Commission's method indicates the confidence of the majority that there exists sufficient agreement in faith between the two churches, but the fears of the minority that "insuperable obstacles" will be encountered further along the route unless particular issues such as the Papacy are tackled head on. As Peter Hebblethwaite has written, "the papal office itself, if interpreted strictly according to the definitions of Vatican I, remains an insuperable obstacle to unity."[59]

Furthermore, in spite of changes within the Roman Catholic Church over the last twenty years noted by Metropolitan Bartholomew, problems still arise from what Peter Hebblethwaite describes as "a kind of schizophrenia in much Catholic discourse. One kind of statement is made in an ecumenical context, while quite different statements are made, on the same topic, for internal consumption."[60] Most important of all, can a stage be envisaged of mutual recognition and full communion *without* Orthodox acceptance or Roman Catholic retraction of (for instance) Marian dogmas and Papal infallibility, and *without* Papal *jurisdiction* over Orthodox local churches? If so, then the way forward to unity will have been found not only for Orthodox and Roman Catholics but for others also. If not, then what passage remains open towards that "communion of these two communions," which was Athenagoras I's legacy and Pope Paul VI's commitment?[61]

56. Munich Report III: 3.
57. S.P.C.U. Information Service no. 46 p. 55 Homily in St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, on June 6th 1981 at First Vespers of Pentecost.
58. Munich Report: Introduction.
59. Introducing John Paul II p. 12.
60. Ibid p. 142.
61. See further Metr. Damaskinos Papandreou, Les dialogues bilateraux de l'Eglise orthodoxe avec les autres Communions Chrétiennes, in Irenikon 1982 no. 4 pp. 451–470 especially his "Reflexions et Perspectives" pp. 459 ff.

## 2. Anglican/Roman Catholic dialogue 1972–1982*

### a. *The Fourth Meeting of the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission at Gazzada.*

Following the completion and publication of the Commission's first Agreed statement on Eucharistic Doctrine, the A/RCIC turned its attention to Ministry and Ordination. For its fourth meeting it met at the Villa Cagnola, Gazzada, North Italy, from August 30th–September 7th 1972. Before the main meeting a small group of members had gathered at Woodstock College, New York, from 23rd–26th May.[1] What it succeeded in doing was to provide a suggested programme of work and agenda for Gazzada. This was done by a sifting of the extensive body of papers, already in hand for the fourth meeting, and by the individual members of the group submitting schemas for the treatment of the subject of ministry. Out of this process there evolved a proposed outline for Gazzada under the headings (1) Church as Eucharistic Community (2) Priesthood and Ministry in the New Testament (3) Historical understanding of the function of ministers. To which was added for 1973, (4) The three-fold order of Ministry and (5) Some Implications. Each item was spelt out in detail and points of agreement and divergence between the two Churches were noted. The complete document was circulated to all members with a covering letter from the Co-chairmen, suggesting that both the Roman Catholic and Reformed traditions, by over-emphasising certain aspects of priesthood, had produced inadequate interpretations which required to be reconciled in the light of a richer notion of ministry more consonant with New Testament teaching. It was further suggested that at the fourth meeting there should be an attempt to re-assess this central idea, to see that it has become an umbrella-term covering two distinct ideas, i.e. *sacerdotium and ministerium, hierateuma and diakonia*, and to identify the presence or absence of these functions in Christ, in the Church and in the ordained ministry.

When the Commission gathered at Gazzada, the members were therefore in possession of a large number of papers consisting of material commissioned by ARCIC and support documents provided from different sources. Among the former was a paper 'La qualité sacerdotale du Ministère' by Fr. J.M.R. Til-

* Most of the section on Anglican/Roman Catholic Dialogae was written by Archbishop Henry McAdoo and is reproduced from *H. R. McAdoo*: Anglican/Roman Catholic Relations 1717–80 in 'Rome and the Anglicans' edited by Wolfgaug Haase, published by Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and New York (1972); his account of Anglican/Roman Catholic dialogue 1972–1980 appears on pp. 236–260 and 272–3 and incorporates an *aide-mémoire* on the work on the theme of Authority by Rev. C.J. Hill on pp, 243–53. It is supplemented by material from the Final Report of the A/RCIC published by CTS/SPCK 1982 and from 'The Pope in Britain' published by St. Paul Publications 1982.

1. Bishop Clark, Bishop McAdoo, Bishop Vogel, Fr. Tillard, Fr. Tavard, Prof. Fairweather, Mr Charley and Fr. John Reid S.J.

lard O.P. Later published as a booklet in English 'What priesthood has the Ministry?' with a foreword by an Anglican member of the Commission, the Rev. Julian Charley[2], this paper proved influential in the work at Gazzada and at the fifth meeting, as did also a paper on 'The Recognition of Ministry' by Fr. George Tavard. Under the first three of the Woodstock headings work was at once allotted to three sub-commissions reporting to the plenary sessions. As this process went on it became evident that the main thrust was in the direction of sub-commission (2) which had as its subject priesthood and ministry in the New Testament, although valuable insights were coming through in the other areas particularly that of apostolicity[3]. This resulted in a revision of the Woodstock working-plan. The natural drift of discussion led to a decision to concentrate on producing some provisional work on ministry in the New Testament and material was also produced on apostolicity and the historical aspect. Some of this material and a good deal of the thinking embodied in it found its way into the final statement. After close analysis in plenary session of the work thus evolved the conclusion was to establish a working plan, allotting to groups centred in England, Canada/U.S.A. and South Africa, the following subjects for study: (1) *Apostolic Succession;* its relation to the apostolicity of Christ, of the Apostles and of the Church (2) *Priesthood;* in relation to Christ and the Church, in relation to the eucharist, in relation to forgiveness of sins and in relation to other functions of the ordained ministry, special reference being made to a note on apostolicity provided by sub-commission(1). (3) *Ordination*; do we agree on the purpose of ordination and, if so, what is it? How can we be sure that this purpose is effected? What part is played by community and continuity of faith, action on behalf of a Church, tactile succession and sufficient form? What light is thrown on the functions of bishops, priests and deacons by our pontificals and ordinals?

The procedure decided upon was that each group would endeavour to send in an agreed conclusion on its area of investigation before the end of May 1973. The Commission then appointed seven of its number to meet at Poringland from 11th–15th June 1973 with the task of drawing up, in the light of these written conclusions, a draft statement on Ministry, (if such an agreement seemed possible) for submission to ARCIC in the following September.

The working pattern of the Commission, dictated largely by the spread of its membership over four continents, may seem clumsy on paper. In fact, it possesses advantages in that the procedure makes for deliberation and careful work. It can also involve all the members of the Commission by inviting them to undertake specific tasks and the wide-spread provenance of the membership incidentally ensures contact with an extended range of theological activities and developments in many countries. The working pattern also established conclusively the need for such a widely separated group to have before it a document, if only for demolition purposes, when it met. Without this, progress would become almost impossible.

In the course of the plenary discussions at *Gazzada* many matters received attention. For example, these included, Do the members of the Church share in the priesthood of Christ or in its effects? *Who* were apostles? Are there two levels of apostolicity, namely, a quality of the Church and signs and criteria of this? The importance of the local Church in the context of apostolic succession was emphasised and the comment was made that the recent Anglican-Methodist Ordinal and its preface contained almost all that was essential for a doctrine of ministry. Once again, stress was laid on the theological and practical importance of the concept of substantial agreement. It seemed to some that at Gazzada there was not a confrontation of ministry between two Churches, but a confrontation between two or more theologies of ministry which cut across denominational lines. Gazzada was a time of hard and far-ranging work; a process of digesting the important papers provided; a process of subjecting argumentation to close scrutiny and to frank and intensive criticism. It was an essential workshop in which as work proceeded – though this was not always easily discernible – the shape of a future document on ministry was already in the mould.

### b. *The Fifth Meeting at Canterbury: an Agreed Statement on Ministry and Ordination*

The Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission held its fifth meeting at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury from August 28th–September 6th 1973. The preliminary meeting aranged at Gazzada by the Commission took place at Poringland from 11th–15th June and was attended by eight members.[4]

What Gazzada had achieved was to establish a distinction between Christ's unique priesthood, the 'royal priesthood' of the people of God, and the rôle and function of ministers within and for the whole Church. This proved significant for the form and content of the statement on Ministry as did the emphasis on the apostolicity of the whole Church.

At the Commission's request, the proceedings at Poringland and Canterbury were summarised by the Rev. Colin Davey. This summary was printed as an

2. Grove Booklet No. 13 (Bramcote, Notts,. 1973). The paper also appeared in the 'Nouvelle Revue Théologique' and in 'One in Christ' (April 1973). It was translated into English by Canon W. A. Purdy.

3. The Woodstock meeting had seen this as a subject for the following year.

4. Bishop Clark, Bishop McAdoo, Bishop Butler, Bishop Moorman, Fr. Tillard, Fr. Duprey, Mr. Charley and Mr. Davey.

Appendix to the Statement in order to give some indication, not only of the Commission's method and procedure, but also of the stages by which the conclusions were reached. For convenience, the section of the Appendix relating to the work is included as an account of both meetings: At the end of the Gazzada meeting a provisional structure for a document on Ministry was agreed. Its three main sections were: Apostolic Succession, Priesthood, and Ordination. Subcommissions in Oxford, North America and Southern Africa were asked to write a draft for each of these, which would be circulated to all members of the Commission for comment. It was arranged that a Sub-committee would meet at Poringland, Norwich, from 11 to 15 June 1973 to take the draft sections and comments and from them to complete a draft document on the Ministry from which the Commission would begin its work at its next full meeting.

In preparation for the Poringland meeting Bishop Clark and Bishop McAdoo each produced a paper incorporating the material received from the subcommissions and portions of 'The Ordained Ministry in Ecumenical Perspective' by the World Council of Churches Faith and Order Commission, the French Catholic-Reformed 'Groupe des Dombes' Statement on the Ministry entitled 'Pour une réconciliation des ministères', and 'Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue IV'. Members of the subcommittee had also been supplied with a paper by Fr. George Tavard, 'A Theological Approach to Ministerial Authority', Bishop Butler's recent articles on the ministry in 'The Tablet', Bishop Clark's summary in English of an article by Fr. Louis Bouyer, 'Ministère Ecclésiastique et Succession Apostolique', and a passage on the office of bishops from the new 'Directorium de Pastorali Ministerio Episcoporum'.

At Poringland it was agreed to start not from the pattern: Christ, the Church, and the ministry, but from where we are: two churches in which there are ministries and, within these, ordained ministry; to speak next of our rôle as ministers and then to give the theological and New Testament justification for this. Discussion focused on the function of *episcope* (oversight) and the rôle of the ordained minister "as unifying figure, as coordinator, as judge, as director, as leader who serves". Ordination as a sacramental act was also debated and emphasis laid on 2 Cor. 3:5-6, where St. Paul writes that "our sufficiency is from God" -a reminder of "the mystery of ministry", and that our faith is "in the power and authority of Christ in the Spirit in and through the minister". The Poringland draft document included sections on 'Ministries in the life of the Church', 'The Co-ordinating Ministry', 'Vocation to the Special Ministry' and 'The Special Minister and the reconciling work of Christ'. This last section spoke of the president of the eucharist, ordination in the apostolic succession, and the way priestly terms came to be used of the minister.

The Poringland document was sent to all members of the International Commission for comment and criticism. In preparation for the full meeting at Canterbury from 28 August to 6 September 1973 they also received copies of the Report of the Joint Lutheran-Roman Catholic Study Commission on 'The Gospel and the Church', the third section of which is on 'The Gospel and the office of the Ministry in the Church'; the Report of the Joint Commission between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Methodist Council 1967-1970, section 6 of which is on Ministry; the Six Proposition with which the Roman Catholic International Theological Commission concluded their October 1970 report on 'The Priestly Ministry', and the document on 'The Ministerial Priesthood' issued by the Second General Assembly of the Roman Catholic Synod of Bishops in 1971.

The Poringland document was the starting-point for the discussions at Canterbury which began by considering what could be added to or substracted from it. The Commission then agreed a draft outline for what was planned to be a biblically and historically informed document on the ministry which used and applied the material completed at Gazzada and Poringland.

The Outline contained an Introduction, followed by sections on Ministries in the Life of the Church (including reference to the New Testament and early Church situation), Ordained Ministry (*episcope*, New Testament images descriptive of the ordained ministry, vocation to holiness, word and sacrament, priesthood and priestly language), Ordination (its unrepeatability, ordination in the apostolic succession) and a Conclusion indicating the import of this agreement in doctrine on the question of the reconciliation of our respective ministries.

This outline was filled out by three drafters, and their draft was then scrutinized, debated, and revised by the full Commission. Out of this process the International Commission's Agreed Statement on the Doctrine of the Ministry emerged. Its conclusion emphasises that "agreement on the nature of Ministry is prior to the consideration of the mutual recognition of ministries." It recognizes "that we have not yet broached the wide-ranging problems of authority which may arise in any discussion of Ministry, nor the question of primacy". It considers however "that our consensus...offers a positive contribution to the reconciliation of our churches and of their ministries".[5]

The Agreed Statement on 'Ministry and Ordination' was widely welcomed by many, including the Secretary of the Methodist Conference and the Joint Secretaries of the United Reformed Church (in a a letter to the 'Times' of 19th December 1973). They

5. Ministry and Ordination: A Statement on the Doctrine of the Ministry Agreed by the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission, Canterbury 1973 (London 1973), pp.17-20.

commended "the return to the New Testament" and found themselves "in substantial agreement with the understanding of the doctrine of the ministry there expressed." There were criticisms of course from conservatives on both sides and there were those who wished that there had been more thrust towards recognition of actual ministries, but on the whole it was recognised that the Commission was concerned with establishing more and more common ground between the Churches as an essential preliminary. This approach was clearly stated in paragraph 17: "We are fully aware of the issues raised by the judgment of the Roman Catholic Church on Anglican Orders. The development of the thinking in our two Communions regarding the nature of the Church and of the Ordained Ministry, as represented in our Statement, has, we consider, put these issues in a new context. Agreement on the nature of Ministry is prior to the consideration of the mutual recognition of ministries. What we have to say represents the consensus of the Commission on essential matters where it considers that doctrine admits no divergence".

The methodology of the Statement is the same as that on the Eucharist, namely, to express an understanding of the fact of Ministry, "which is consonant with biblical teaching and with the traditions of our common inheritance" (Canterbury Statement (1) and to achieve a substantial agreement: "We consider that our consensus, on questions where agreement is indispensable for unity, offers a positive contribution to the reconciliation of our Churches and of their ministries" (17). Such substantial agreement allows for "differences of emphasis within our two traditions, yet we believe that in what we have said here both Anglican and Roman Catholic will recognise their own faith" (Preface).

Detailed evaluations of the Agreed Statement have been published by individual members of the Commission covering most aspects of its structure and content.[6] Perhaps, therefore, but one matter bearing on Anglican Roman Catholic relations requires re-emphasising. The final paragraph, pointing out that agreement about the nature of ministry is an indispensable prelude to the mutual recognition of ministries, draws attention to the development of thinking on the subject in the Churches and asserts that this development is represented in the Agreed Statement. In other words, if it can be shown that the presuppositions of 'Apostolicae Curae' are no longer those of the Roman Catholic Church today then, in fact and to quote the Canterbury Statement, the issues are indeed "put in a new context". The view, commonly held in 1896, that the essence of priesthood is the emphasis on a sacrificing priesthood, that *sacerdotium* means sacrificing priesthood and is the equivalent of ministry, never had support from the ordinals and ordination forms which did not mention sacerdotal powers,[7] and it differs from patristic theologies of priesthood. That there has been development (towards the earlier view) since then, can be seen from a study of Vatican II's 'Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests' (described in an introduction as enlarging our vision of the priesthood: no longer is the focus almost exclusively on the priest as the "cult man")[8]. In the Agreed Statement, as a commentator put it, there is a "developed theology" and "it is not so much that new ideas are introduced; rather, traditional ideas are related to a new balance".[9] A similar developed theology may be seen in the Synod of Bishops' 'The Ministerial Priesthood' (1971), especially, for example, I (4): "Among the various charisms and services, the priestly ministry of the New Testament, which continues Christ's function as mediator, and which in essence and not merely in degree is distinct from the common priesthood of all the faithful (cp. L G 10) alone perpetuates the essential work of the Apostles: by effectively proclaiming the Gospel, by gathering together and leading the community, by remitting sins, and especially by celebrating the Eucharist, it makes Christ, the head of the community, present in the exercise of his work of redeeming mankind and glorifying God perfectly"[10]. Similarly, the report of the Roman Catholic International Theological Commission on 'The Priestly Ministry', dated 10th October 1970, ends with six propositions which testify to this development of thinking about priesthood[11]. That this development represented in the Agreed Statement is a convergent one is clear from comparison of the documents mentioned with the 'Reply of the English Archbishops' (1897) and with, for example, the section on priesthood in the report on 'Renewal in Ministry' to the Lambeth Conference of 1968.[12] It may well be that by its rigorous process of seeking for common ground and agreement at the level of faith, within which there can be both unity and diversity, the Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission is doing a service and making a contribution which will be creative in the future.

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6. E.g. The Canterbury Statement, With an Introduction and Commentary (Catholic Infirmation Office, 1973) by ALAN C. CLARK; 'Modern Ecumenical Documents on the Ministry (London 1975)', Foreword by ALAN C. CLARK and Introduction by H.R. McADOO; Agreement on the Doctrine of Ministry' (Grove Booklet No. 22, 1973) by JULIAN W. CHARLEY; A Step Forward: the Canterbury Agreement on Ministry (Lumen Vitae, Vol. XXIX, 1974, No. 2) by J.M.R. TILLARD O.P.

7. Cp. Stewards of the Lord (London 1970), by JOHN JAY HUGHES, pp. 23–25.

8. The Documents of Vatican II (1967) ed. WALTER M. ABBOT S.J., pp. 526–527.

9. The Month (January 1974), p. 436.

10. Published by the Vatican Polyglot Press 1971.

11. Published in Editions du Cerf (Paris 1971).

12. The Lambeth Conference 1968: Resolutions and Reports (London and New York 1968), pp. 100–102.

c. *The Agreed Statement on Authority in the Church (Venice* 1976).

The origins of the Venice Statement on 'Authority in the Church' (1976) are to be traced far back in the meetings and discussions of the Commission. Although "the question of authority, its nature, exercise, and implications" constituted the final part of the Commission's briefing as set out in the 'Malta Report' (22), it was inevitable that aspects of this theme would constantly make themselves felt throughout the dialogue.

This will be clear from the following account of the course of the Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission's discussion on authority. It has been compiled by the Reverend Christopher Hill of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Counsellors on Foreign Relations, who is also the Commission's Anglican Secretary and to whom I am indebted for the use of the material compiled as an *aide-mémoire:*

At the first meeting of the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission at Windsor in the January of 1970 a decision was taken to divide the Commission for part of the time into three groups, one of them concentrating on the question of 'Church and Authority' while the other two groups dealt with 'Church and Ministry' and 'Church and Eucharist'.

Papers providing a basis for an exploration of agreements and differences on the question of authority were provided by Bishop Christopher Butler, OSB, Bishop Knapp-Fisher and Dean Henry Chadwick. (These papers had been commissioned at an informal meeting in Dublin during May 1969 prior to the final formation of the Commission itself). Bishop Butler concentrated on the question of the location and quality of 'official' authority in the Church (presupposing its existence alongside that of expertise and charisma). In the Roman Catholic view there were occasions when the formulations of ecumenical councils or popes might not be discarded as false, Nicea's 'consubstantial' being an example. Though such a decision was *non ex consensu*, it was nevertheless the articulation of the mind of the whole Church. Bishop Knapp-Fisher (with a Roman Catholic consultant, Fr Edmund Hill, OP) examined the question of 'Fundamentals'. Areas of agreement and disagreement were explored in relation to the problems of: 'Revelation and Faith,' 'Scripture and Tradition,' 'Church and Authority' and finally 'Dogmatic Definitions and Comprehensiveness'. Dean Chadwick set the specific question of Christian authority in the wider context of the current debate on authority in general and (following Max Weber) he discerned patriarchal, functional and charismatic categories. An antithesis between evidence and authority as the ground of belief was eschewed both in the general and more specifically Christian discussion. Nevertheless there were differing emphases between Anglican and Roman Catholic exercises of authority; a preference for a diffuse, 'indefectibility' on the one hand and a unitative organ of 'infallibility' on the other.

After discussion in the sub-commission a draft schema on 'Church and Authority' was presented to the full Commission. Significantly this schema was divided into two major sections: 'Church as Koinonia' and 'Koinonia and Authority'. All three sub-commissions were asked to prepare fuller drafts in preparation for the next meeting of the Commission in Venice during the September of the same year.

Bishop Butler and Dean Chadwick were responsible for convening the 'Church and Authority' sub-commission which was to be based in the United Kingdom. It was agreed that all the sub-commissions might co-opt help from outside the Commission itself and, acting as Secretary, Dr. John Halliburton encouraged a number of theologians to contribute short papers on the themes of the Windsor draft. These included a re-examination of the concept of infallibility by Fr. Edward Yarnold, SJ.

At Venice where the Commission's Second Meeting took place, the Windsor schema on 'Church and Authority' was discussed at length, elaborated and amended. The resulting Venice paper on 'Church and Authority' spoke jointly of the Church as the People of God, a community entrusted with the task of preserving and witnessing to the doctrine and fellowship of the apostles. The local churches shared the same word and sacraments and were constituted a single universal family. The chief bond of unity, both local and universal, was the apostolic ministry of oversight. Apostolic faith, sacraments, and ministry were thus deemed to be constitutive of the Church. Authority was to be located in the tradition of the Christian community of which the Scriptures were the supreme document. Creeds and councils required both consonance with Scripture and reception by the Church. Ecumenical Councils could not be reversed. Bishops were the normal teachers in the Church and their president endowed with a special dignity.

There then followed two views of the *koinonia* and of authority in the Church. On the Roman Catholic side it was noted that Vatican II implied that perfect communion was preserved in communion with Rome. The episcopate exercised its responsibility in collegial fashion, either collectively, or through its president. When it did so in a decision formulating the once for all revelation it was endowed with the charisma called 'infallibility'. On the Anglican side there was no claim to be the unique embodiment of the Church. Anglicans shared with Roman Catholics the same fundamental doctrines, papal authority excepted. A Roman primacy of service was acceptable but the decrees of Vatican I and the application of the petrine texts to the bishops of Rome were not. Indefectibility was preferred to infallibility, the Church being granted continual correction, safeguarded from final departure from the truth by the Spirit. The proposed text of the Lambeth Conference of 1968

was quoted to the effect that it was fitting that the bishop of Rome should preside over the whole College of Bishops. Hesitations remained over the pragmatic exercise of papal authority but the papal office could be not only a sign of unity but a guarantee of diversity.

The sub-commission spoke with one voice again to note the primacy of Scripture as a possible basis of a hierarchy of truths. Even differences in the interpretation of papal authority might not necessarily be a barrier to communion as an interim stage towards union.

The decision was taken at Venice that it would be in the interest of Anglican/Roman Catholic relations to publish all three sub-commission drafts, in order to show the stage the Commission's work had reached and to invite comments and criticism. After the agreement of the respective authorities, this was done simultaneously in 'Theology', the 'Clergy Review' and 'One in Christ,' during February 1971.

While a full discussion of the question of 'Church and Authority' had been postponed since the Venice meeting of 1970, the issues raised by it were never very far away from the surface in the discussions on the doctrine of the Eucharist and Ministry. Furthermore the methodology of the Commission had been established, a methodology which began by an examination of the present faith of the two traditions. The Commission had also learnt more of the value of the theological concepts of *koinonia* and *episcope*. These would be invaluable tools in the unravelling of the most difficult of the problems dividing the two traditions: papal primacy and infallibility.

In 1974 no less than 30 papers and memoranda were circulated, from individuals, sub-commissions and national commissions, as background material in preparation for the assault on 'Church and Authority'. The English Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission offered a paper on 'Infallibility and Indefectibility'; the former seen as an aspect of the latter. The South African Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission prepared material on the 'Authority of the Bible' and the 'Redemptive Authority of Christ'. An Oxford sub-commission convened by Dr. Halliburton and Fr.Yarnold, SJ., submitted work on 'Ecclesiology in the light of Vatican II'. The Church was seen as a "mystery" as fully present in its local manifestation as in the assembly of local churches in communions. Though the bishop of a local church could not act without reference to other local churches, this did not mean that the unity of local churches implied a uniformity of devotion, liturgy or theology.

Individual papers, by no means prepared exclusively by members of the Commission, covered a further wide area. This included the treatment of Scripture and ecumenical councils in Anglican thought, the dogmatic decrees on Revelation ('Dei Verbi') and the Church ('Lumen Gentium') of the Second Vatican Council and Magisterium in the Early Church, schism, the Petrine texts, and *koinonia* as a basis of ecclesiology.

Amongst individual papers those by Fr. Herbert Ryan, SJ and Fr. Jean Tillard, OP were of particular significance. Fr. Ryan had been asked at Canterbury to write on the dogmatic decree on the Church ('Pastor Eternus') of the First Vatican Council's ascription of an "ordinary, truly episcopal and immediate power of jurisdiction" to the pope. This was then re-interpreted as essentially affirming that the question of a primacy of jurisdiction was to be answered in terms of the example of Peter. A final speculation was added as to how this might be embodied in a reunited Church, the model of "compulsory arbitration" being suggested as valuable. Fr. Tillard's paper was concerned with the *sensus fidelium*, which was not to be understood in terms of popular faith or devotion, nor reduced to conceptual categories. It was rather to be understood as the Word received and lived in the Church. The Magisterium was not exempt from participation in this process; its function, through 'osmosis', was to serve the purpose of the Word by drawing out the objective content of the insights of the People of God.

The Commission also received the March 1974 Joint Statement of the United States Lutheran-Catholic Dialogue 'Papal Primacy and the Universal Church'. This spoke of the possibility, in a united Church, of the recognition of a "Petrine function" of the bishop of Rome in relation to the unity of the whole Church.

The sixth meeting of the Commission took place at Rocco di Papa, Grottaferrata in August-September 1974. The Commission divided itself into three sub-commissions. The first sub-commission, under the chairmanship of Fr. Yarnold, was to deal with 'New Testament and Authority;' the second, under Bishop Vogel, 'Ecclesiology and *Koinonia*'; the third under Dean Chadwick, 'Infallibility and Indefectibility'. At the end of the meeting, and after the cross-fertilization of comments in full session, the sub-commission produced three (incomplete) working papers.

The first sub-commission began with an extended preface defining the nature of authority. It then went on to speak of Christian authority in terms of the absolute claim of God upon man, instancing this from the Old Testament, but more particularly the perfect example of God's call and man's response in Jesus Christ. Though his obedience and exaltation, Christ had been made Lord of the Church. The Spirit was seen as giving particular gifts for the building up of the Church and the discernment to recognise them. From the beginning it was also the Church's responsibility to discern the mind of Christ, fidelity to whom required obedience to the apostolic tradition and the necessity of its identification in the written records which became the New Testament. Scripture was therefore recognised as both authoritative and normative. Its contemporary interpretation was the continuing responsibility of the whole community through the interaction of teachers, those in pastoral authority and the *sensus fidelium*.

The second sub-commission began with the assertion that the Holy Spirit constituted the *koinonia*, equipped the community for mission and safeguarded its faithfulness to the truth. Authentic Christian life disclosed the authoritative claim of Christ on man. Particular authority was given by the Spirit through ordination for the building up of the Body of Christ. The bishop's pastoral authority entailed the power of intervention for the sake of the community; however, all ministerial authority was to be exercised in mutual responsibility and interdependence. Even so the perception of the mind of Christ did not pertain exclusively to the ordained ministry but rather to an interaction of all the members of the Church. There was a discernment of the insights of the whole community on the part of the ordained ministry and a response to, and assessment of, this discernment by the community.

The third sub-commission gave their working paper subtitles, beginning with 'Permanence in the Truth.' There was recognition that the Church was constantly called to penitence and reform under the Word but that the Spirit ensured that the Church would never cease to the sign of salvation. There had been and might be, situations where the Church's chief pastors, in interaction with the whole community, were obliged to give definitive answers to decisive questions. Such definitive answers required the gift of discernment, as did their reception. There followed a treatment of 'Unity and Diversity' which repeated the Venice suggestion that the papal office might not only be a sign of the former but also a guarantee of the latter. Then came the sub-commission's historical reflection on 'The Roman Primacy'. The Gnostic crisis led to a Catholic stress on the testimony of the apostolic sees; among them a special position was occupied by the Church of Rome through its relation to the apostles Peter and Paul. In later centuries the principal basis of the primacy was this recognition of Rome as the 'apostolic see' *par excellence*. The further development of the primacy based upon the claim of the Roman bishops to be the successors of the apostle Peter, on the basis of the Petrine texts, was subsequently rejected by the churches of the Reformation. Anglicans were asked what was the maximum exercise and interpretation of the Roman primacy they would find acceptable and Roman Catholics the minimum. The fundamental question was that of the basis of any common recognition of the Roman primacy. The Anglicans suggested as an answer a view of the primacy as arising *divina providencia*. There followed a note on the difficulties concerning papal primacy and infallibility as Anglicans saw them which ended by asking whether a primacy *de jure divino* was sufficiently high in the "hierarchy of truths" to prevent unity. Complementary to this were two Roman Catholic questions addressed to Anglicans. The first asked whether there was an authority in the Church which, in order to ensure permanence in the truth, could take binding decisions. The second asked for reaction to the statement that the supreme authority in the Church resided in the episcopal college, and could exercise its authority either collectively or through its president.

After discussion on the work of the three sub-commissions it was decided that four further papers were required. Bishop Knapp-Fisher agreed to ask the South African Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission to prepare material on authority in the New Testament, Fr. Tillard agreed to investigate primacy, Dean Chadwick infallibility, and Fr. Duprey to ask Professor G. Alberigo (of the University of Bologna) to submit a study on the theology of jurisdiction. It was also agreed to hold an informal meeting at the turn of the year to reflect upon existing material, and to revise and consolidate the work of Grottaferrata (in particular the working papers of the first and second sub-commissions which possessed a continuity of style and methodology with the two previous Agreed Statements). The Commission further agreed to hold a formal sub-commission meeting, in conjunction with the steering committee, in June of the following year to continue the work begun at Grottaferrata. It was felt that a serious treatment of the local church and its bishop was essential if the question of councils, primacy and infallibility was to be seen in perspective. This interim meeting would, hopefully, be able to offer the full Commission a composite and extended draft dealing with the question of authority up to, but not including, the question of primacy and infallibility, thus leaving the next meeting of the full Commission to grasp this nettle.

In the December of 1974 the informal meeting to consolidate the material of the previous autumn duly took place at the home of Bishop Alan Clark at Poringland, Norwich. There thus emerged a document of four paragraphs incorporating the major insights and concerns of subcommission one of the Grottaferrata meeting (but excluding its prefatory definition of authority). The Poringland draft spoke of the Lordship of Christ, the authority of Scripture, the authority of the ordained ministry and the inadequacy of all human authority. These themes will be recognised as those of paras. 1, 2, 5 and 7 of the present document and the actual text of the Poringland draft is indeed substantially to be found in all but paragraph 5.

In the following June the more formal sub-commission/steering committee met in London to attempt a continuation of the extant material. The work of the South African ARC on 'Authority in the New Testament' had been circulated by this time, as had a memorandum on 'The Nature and Exercise of Authority in the Church: Notes on the implications of Anglican formularies and theology' by Bishop Henry McAdoo. At this St. Katharine's meeting (the group met at the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine, London,) the Poringland draft was taken as a beginning. Nevertheless important paragraphs on the aut-

hority of the Christian community vis à vis the world, the authority within the Church of holiness and special gifts, and of the *sensus fidelium* were interpolated and the Poringland paragraph on the authority of the ordained ministry replaced. (The paragraph on holiness and special gifts was entirely new but the remainder of this material owed not a little to the draft of the second sub-commission at Grottaferrata.) Finally the logic of the document was taken further by the addition of two paragraphs concerning the *koinonia* among local churches (reflecting the work of the Oxford sub-commission of 1974) and its expression in councils and collegiality. Paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9 of Venice have their origin at this meeting, by the end of which there was a draft of nine paragraphs substantially identical to those finally accepted as Venice 1–9. During the course of this meeting too the outline and shape and logic of the treatment of authority eventually seen at Venice began to emerge with some degree of clarity. This pattern is now seen in a more developed form in the section and paragraph headings in the Venice Statement.

The Commission met in full at Oxford during August–September 1975 with the St. Katharine's draft before it, and the papers requested at Grottaferrata. Professor Alberigo's study of jurisdiction made the point that the term was far from univocal; its origin was to be found in the pastoral and sacramental realm. Fr. Tillard contributed a stimulating paper entitled "The Horizon of the 'Primacy' of the Bishop of Rome". The First Vatican Council's clear teaching that the truly episcopal jurisdiction of the pope in no way conflicted with the jurisdiction of the local bishop was seen as having fundamental significance. There was an equivocation in the use of the term *potestas ordinaria*. An understanding of primacy had to begin with the local rather than universal Church. For the ministry of the local bishop to be authentically Catholic, both in relation to his own Church and the universal Church, communion with the *centrum unitatis* was necessary. Thus the unique episcopal function of the *prôtos* of the episcopal college was to guarantee the catholicity of all the local churches. Dean Chadwick's memorandum 'Truth and Authority delineated truth in terms of the salvation of man in Christ. The organs of authority were primarily the Scriptures, the creeds, the liturgy, the ministry, and the common consensus of all believers. The functioning of authority in the early church was to be seen in synodical and conciliar activity, culminating in general councils duly received by the church and the great sees of apostolic foundation, pre-eminently Rome. (The petrine texts were however never universally accepted as the basis of this primacy). A consequence of the modern definition of infallibility might well be the diminution of "ordinary magisterium". The Anglican tradition agreed with Rome that the Church could not err fundamentally, but thought of indefectibility rather than infallibility, and of a multiple authority. Infallibility needed to be disentangled and demythologised; it affirmed the objective character of divine truth and a gift enabling the bishop of Rome, under certain strict conditions, to speak in such a way as not to formulate positive truth in a way that would be permanently disastrous.

The Commission scrutinised the St. Katharine's document but refrained from a detailed revision, as it was not yet complete. There was also considerable discussion of the major papers on primacy and infallibility. It was resolved that the Commission should work in two groups: one under the chairmanship of Bishop McAdoo to pursue the question of infallibility with the theme 'Truth'; the other under the chairmanship of Bishop Clark to do the same for primacy with the theme 'Unity'. The 'Unity' sub-commission was asked to continue the line of thinking of the St. Katharine's draft, though its membership was not coterminous with that group.

The 'Unity' sub-commission added three paragraphs to the St. Katharine's draft. These dealt with the emergence of primacy as a particular form of *episcope*, the responsibility of the primate and the context of the particular primacy of Rome, and the historical pre-eminence of the see of Rome and its ancient and modern theological interpretation. This material is substantially identified with Venice paragraphs 10, 11 and 12.

The 'Truth' sub-commission envisaged their material as following that of the eventual work of the 'Unity group which was itself to continue the St. Katharine's draft. After reference to the full Commission at various stages, a 'Truth' document of twelve paragraphs emerged. It was declared that the Church would endure and have the continual duty of guarding and proclaiming the saving truth of Christ. In formulating the Church's faith, the Scriptures and their summary in the creeds were basic, together with the testimony of prayer and worship, preaching, councils and the consensus of the faithful. The Church had the task of interpreting the Gospel in contemporary terms and looking back through the tradition to the witness to Christ in the Scriptures. Such renewal and reformation was itself historically dated, and yet the Church had so committed itself to some formulations that they had become an integral part of its faith. This did not imply, however, that churches would be free from error. The formation of the canon of the New Testament indicated the Church's awareness of its ability to make permanent judgements, the test of which was reception. Anglicans and Roman Catholics had used different language to designate irrevocable positions: 'fundamentals' and '*de fide*' doctrines. In spite of the wider field of the latter, there was deep agreement and much in common. The "hierarchy of truths" indicated that some '*de fide*' doctrines were closer to the christological centre of the faith than others, and further theological investigation was required here in relation to the Marian dogmas and papal authority. Before the separation of East and West the bishop of Rome was seen as bearing a special

responsibility in the universal Church in regard to the ratification of general councils. But in a disunited Church this role, which implied a power of judgement, in abnormal circumstances even without a council, was not clearly seen. The Roman Catholic Church taught that such an exercise of authority was legitimate in view of his headship of the episcopal college, but only in the light of the *sensus fidelium*, in consultation with brother bishops, and in conformity to Scripture. It was not a matter of personal inspiration but protection from error by the Holy Spirit. Anglicans still had grave difficulties concerning such an exercise of authority but the affirmation of the objective character of divine truth was a common reality. The work of the sub-commission was much indebted to Dean Chadwick's paper. This material was later re-worked but forms the basis of Venice 15 and 16.

At the conclusion of the Oxford meeting it was felt that both sub-commissions had reached the very brink of the problem of primacy and infallibility. As well as detailed discussion of the drafts, there was an extended debate on the work for the coming year, both sub-commissions having offered schemas for further work. Two areas needed further clarification: Anglican ecclesiology and papal primacy, and the significance of such a primacy as an object of faith. Professor Eugene Fairweather accepted a Canadian responsibility for the former question and Fr. Tavard the latter. It was decided that the three documents before the Commission (the St. Katharine's, 'Unity', and 'Truth' drafts) should be examined with a view to their being put together as a composite whole. The 'Unity' draft followed logically from the St. Katharine's draft in any case, but the style and method of the 'Truth' draft differed significantly from both. A suggestion of an informal meeting similar to the one held the previous year, was accepted. Also, following the pattern of the previous year, it was decided to hold a larger and more formal sub-commission meeting, in conjunction with the steering committee, in the early summer. It was hoped that this gathering could take the Commission over the brink by continuing the work of the two Oxford sub-commissions and offer its next plenary meeting a complete draft on authority.

During February 1976 a small group met (at Poringland again) to attempt the first of the tasks requested at the Oxford meeting: the welding of the "Truth" material on to the St. Katharine's/'Unity' document. To achieve homogeneity of style it was felt right to continue the logic of the St. Katharine's/'Unity' material but to do so in the light of the 'Truth' document and to incorporate the latter's insights. (A member of the 'Truth' sub-commission was included in the group at Poringland.) The result was a continuation of six paragraphs, which described the exercise of authority in matters of faith in the *koinonia* of the churches. The continuation first emphasised the general point of the centrality of *koinonia* in truth. There followed two paragraphs leading on from this to an understanding of tradition as 'memory' and the prophetic interpretation of the unchanging truth in contemporary terms. Here there was a direct dependence on themes (and to a lesser degree the actual text) of the earlier 'Truth' draft. Next came a statement of the consequential commitment of the Church to decisions of permanent value and again 'Truth' themes and material were incorporated. The logic then led to the particular historical responsibility of the bishop of Rome in this process, both in the endorsement of councils and in personal intervention. Finally there was a treatment of the safeguards of truth in the interaction of the *sensus fidelium* and the bishops (in respect of their respouisibility for discernment) which gave ecumenical councils a unique quality and authority. The work of the Poringland sub-commission can now be substantially seen in Venice paragraphs 13, 15, 16, 17. Though there was a paragraph corresponding to Venice 18, this was later to be almost completely redrafted.

The sub-commission/steering committee met at Hengrave Hall, Bury St. Edmunds, during the following June with the intention of attempting to draft provisional material which would complete the Poringland document. First of all, however, there was some revision of the extant material in the light of comment and criticism from other members of the Commission and in particular Bishop McAdoo, Bishop Vogel and Fr. Tavard. Three new paragraphs were then added concerning primatial authority, its collegial context and its interaction with conciliar authority. Material from these paragraphs can be seen as Venice 20, 21 and 22. Finally a concluding paragraph was drafted, spelling out the implications of the whole schema, which ran coherently from what is now Venice 1–22 though major revision was indeed still to take place.

The Venice meeting of August/September 1976 was finally to produce the Agreed Statement 'Authority in the Church'. Papers were received from Dr. Eric Jay through the Canadian Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission and from Fr. Tavard. Dr. Jay's paper outlined historical Anglican (theoretical) acceptancy of a Roman Primacy. Fr. Tavard's paper argued against regarding Primacy and Infallibility as objects of faith. The Hengrave draft was, however, the principal basis of the Commission's discussions. It was decided to concentrate on the newer material which had been less worked over by the whole Commission, that is to say the material which now stands as Venice paragraphs 13–23.

There was considerable re-drafting. A sub-commission re-introduced certain themes from the Oxford 'Truth' Sub-Commission, resulting in a fuller treatment of 'The expression of truth', 'The communication of truth' and 'Conciliar authority' (paras. 14, 15 and 16) and the Hengrave order was somewhat rearranged. Venice paragraph 14 represents inserted Oxford material which had no place in the Hengrave draft at all. The Hengrave draft was also seen

to be inadequate in its treament of the indefectibility of the Church and of Ecumenical Councils and the present paragraphs 18 and 19 represent a major re-writing of the earlier material. Another sub-commission worked on this material in no less than three re-drafts of the Hengrave material all of which was scrutinized and criticised by the full Commission as work proceeded. In constructing the present Venice paragraph 18 two particular concerns were stressed: the danger of obscuring the ordinary authority of the Church by concentration on extra-ordinary situations; the Spirit's maintenance of the Church in the truth, in spite of acknowledged error in official teaching, through the interaction of bishops and people. A Hengrave footnote on the Anglican understanding of a balanced authority was also moved to this point. The Hengrave material was then considerably expanded into a separate paragraph now seen as 19, and to which another footnote was added. Like other parts of this text this paragraph was intended to be read as a whole. The Commission wanted to avoid two extremes: that an ecumenical definition had no authority prior to reception; and that, on the contrary, a Council owed nothing to reception. The Commission did not define the nature of an ecumenical Council, but made clear that the unique authority it spoke of could only be ascribed to those councils designated ecumenical.

A further sub-commission re-wrote the Hengrave material on 'The exercise of primatial authority,' 'Primatial authority and diversity' and 'The balance of authority' now seen as 20, 21 and 22. Although the Hengrave draft had a conclusion this was not substantially taken up by yet another sub-commission which drafted the material now seen as Venice paragraph 23 'Universal primacy' and the subsequent paragraphs 24–26. Paragraph 23 was thought to sum up carefully the drift of the whole Agreed Statement. Paragraph 24 was introduced to give some recognition to the traditional emotive problems the Roman Primacy gave rise to for Anglicans. It also indicates reasons for thinking the problems less serious than has been thought previously. Paragraph 25 says something of the method of the Commission and the final paragraph asks for a positive assessment of the three Agreed Statements and a consequent moving to the next stage towards unity. At the same time as the theological drafting two editors worked through the text of the whole Agreed Statement with a view to the eradication of verbal and grammatical infelicities and the achievement of a homogeneity of style.The Statement was unanimously agreed and the texts of the Co-Chairmen's Preface approved.

It was recognised than in ARCIC's Final Report something more would have to be said about the problems raised in paragraph 24, and that at that stage the Commission would try to elaborate those aspects of the Statement which proved to be less clear or less adequate than was originally thought.

Following the publication of the Venice Statement on 'Authority in the Church' (1976), two events happened, both of which had bearing on the relations between the two Communions and on the work of the International Commission.

d. *The 'Common Declaration' (1977) of Pope Paul VI and Archbishop Donald Coggan of Canterbury.*

The first of these was the meeting between Pope Paul VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Vatican on April 28th, 1977. In the course of his greeting to the Archbishop and his party, the Pope said: "The history of relations between the Catholic Church and the Anglican Communion has been marked by the staunch witness of such men as Charles Brent, Lord Halifax, William Temple and George Bell among the Anglicans; and Abbé Portal, Dom Lambert Beauduin, Cardinal Mercier and Cardinal Bea among the Catholics. The pace of this movement has quickened marvellously in recent years, so that these words of hope 'The Anglican Church united not absorbed' are no longer a mere dream".[13] These words, clinched by the use of the title of Beauduin's paper at Malines a half century befoe, seemed to sum up the not inconsiderable change in the climate since that time.

In his reply, the Archbishop referred to this growing warmth in Anglican/Roman Catholic relations demonstrated by the visits of Archbishop Fisher to Pope John XXIII and of his own predecessor, Archbishop Ramsey in 1966, from which the impetus for the serious dialogue had chiefly derived. The Archbishop specifically mentioned the three Agreed Statements and the work of the Commission, and he invited Pope Paul to send observers to the Lambeth Conference of 1978.

After protracted and private discussions, the Pope and the Archbishop signed on the next day their 'Common Declaration'.

Those who see a *detection of themes* as the most important element in the evaluation of relationships which span a couple of centuries, will find it significant that certain themes re-emerge in this latest document. Among them is that of convergence which, as we have seen, had to fight its way into theological respectability but now appears to have received the accolade of a Pope and a Primate (Common Declaration, 3). Furthermore, there is the emphasis on the common trinitarian faith, the common baptism, the sharing in the Scriptures, Creeds, and Chalcedonian definition, together with the common inheritance in patristics and spirituality (2). Significantly again, this is simply lifted from the 'Malta Report, (3), just as the use of the term "serious dialogue" refers back to the 'Common Declaration' of 1966. Mixed marria-

13. All quotations referring to this visit are from 'Pilgrim for Unity' (C.T.S. and S.P.C.K., London 1977), unless otherwise noted.

ges appear once more, and still as an obstacle (6) and this is disappointing since this blockage (which in its acute and juristic aspect is of twentieth-century origin) could be removed more easily than any other. Reference is also made to the fact that "serious obstacles remain both of the past and recent origin" (9). The last words are taken to mean that the ordination of women to the priesthood in some Anglican Provinces has introduced a new hold-up in possible movement towards unity. The debate on this goes on, with both sides receiving support within the Anglican Communion, and the matter was the subject of an irenic resolution (11) at the Lambeth Conference of 1978. While disagreement stopped short of division it is clear that the matter will not just go away, even for the Roman Catholic Church. The respectful presentation of the case by Sister Theresa Kane during the visit of Pope John Paul II to the United States in 1979 was only the tip of this particular iceberg in the American situation. No doubt, such visits on such a scale do not allow for the possibility of real dialogue with the result that, while America heard the Pope, the Pope did not really have the opportunity of hearing America.

The 'Common Declaration' of 1977 made specific mention of the work of ARCIC and took a small but real step forward when, referring to the Windsor, Canterbury and Venice Statements, it said: 'We now recommend that the work it has begun be pursued, through the procedures appropriate to our respective Communions, so that both of them may be led along the path towards unity.

The moment will shortly come when the respective Authorities must evaluate the conclusions.'(4).

This process has been going on in the responses received by the Commission from many Roman Catholic episcopal conferences. These have been generally favourable though numerous matters for comment and criticism have been raised. Anglican General Synods around the world have likewise considered the statements and while criticising various points have all concluded that the documents are consonant with the faith of the Church and constitute ground for a closer inter-Church relationship. The Lambeth Conference endorsed this standpoint in 1978. Nevertheless, response on a global scale on behalf of both Communions is the necessary next step and one which may not be long delayed.

Finally, the 'Common Declaration' (9) raised the matter of intercommunion, having pointed out that our Christian witness to the world is hindered by the fact that "between us communion remains imperfect" though our divisions "do not close all roads we may travel together". Noting that there is a desire for a closer relationship on the part of many, the Declaration looks ahead to a time of movement: "Many in both Communions are asking themselves whether they have a common faith sufficient to be translated into communion of life, worship and mission. Only the communions themselves through their pastoral authorities can give that answer".

The question was put to the Churches by the Archbishop of Canterbury when, during the visit to Rome, he preached at the American church, St. Paul's within-the-Walls, and asked "Has not the time now arrived when we have reached such a measure of agreement on so many of the fundamentals of the Gospel that a relationship of shared communion can be encouraged by the leadership of both our Churches?".

That question and the shape of an answer to it are the real agenda for the separated Churches as we enter the eighties of the twentieth century.

e. *The Lambeth Conference of* 1978

The second event which had its bearing on Anglican/Roman Catholic relations and on the work of ARCIC was of course the eleventh Lambeth Conference held at Canterbury in 1978. Resolutions 33 and 34 dealt specifically with the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission and with Anglican-Roman Catholic marriages respectively.[14] Resolution 33 deserves quotation in full because, having comended ARCIC's work to the active consideration of the whole Communion and having invited the Commission to provide "further explication of the Agreed Statements in consideration of responses received by them", it avers that:

a) in them "we can recognise the faith of our Church," and

b) that they provide a basis for a changed inter-Church relationship, and

c) recalls the Malta Report's concept of unity by stages.

The Resolution reads as follows:

"The Conference:

1. Welcomes the work of the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission which was set up jointly by the Lambeth Conference of 1968 and by the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity;

2. recognizes in the three Agreed Statements of this Commission a solid achievement, one in which we can recognize the faith of our Church, and hopes that they will provide a basis for sacramental sharing between our two Communions if and when the finished Statements are approved by the respective authorities of our Communions;

3. invites ARCIC to provide further explication of the Agreed Statements in consideration of responses received by them;

4. commends to the appropriate authorities in each Communion further consideration of the implications of the Agreed Statements in the light of the

14. The Report of the Lambeth Conference 1978 (CIO, London 1978) pp. 49-51.

report of the Joint Preparatory Commission (the Malta Report received by the Lambeth Conference 1968 –see p. 134 of its report), with a view to bringing about a closer sharing between our two Communions in life, worship and mission;

5. asks the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council to bring this resolution to the attention of the various synods of the Anglican Communion for discussion and action;

6. asks that in any continuing Commission, the Church of the South and the East be adequately represented".

The other Resolution, No. 34, welcomes the report of the Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission on 'The Theology of Marriage and its Application to Mixed marriages' (1975). It commented on the measure of agreement achieved and it endorsed two recommendations of the Commission designed to improve the existing unsatisfactory state of affairs. The Conference commented also on the variations of practice in different regions. The Anglican Chairman of the Commission, Archbishop Simms of Armagh, proposed the resolution, but the Conference desired its strengthening and added the final paragraph: "The problems associated with marriage between members of our two Communions continue to hinder inter-Church relations and progress towards unity. While we recognize that there has been an improved situation in some places as a result of the *Motu Proprio*, the general principles underlying the Roman Catholic position are unacceptable to Anglicans. Equality of conscience as between partners in respect of all aspects of their marriage (and in particular with regard to the baptism and religious ubpringing of children) is something to be affirmed both for its own sake and for the sake, of an improved relationship between the Churches".

During the Conference there occurred the death of Pope Paul VI who, with Archbishop Michael Ramsey, had inaugurated the serious dialogue. The Roman Catholic observers were invited to celebrate a Requiem in the plenary hall at which two of the lessons were read by Bishop Howe and Archbishop Simms of Armagh.The invitation and a full attendance of members evoked a warm response of gratitude from the observers. The Bishop of London represented the Archbishop of Canterbury at the funeral in Rome.

His successor, John Paul I, as Patriarch of Venice, had acted as host to the Commission during one of its meetings, and on the occasion of another visit of the Commission was the guest of the members and he took an active interest in ARCIC's work. At his funeral, coming with tragic suddenness so soon after his installation, the Bishop of London was present as personal representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury who also invited the Anglican Co-Chairman of ARCIC, Archbishop McAdoo of Dublin, to represent the world-wide Anglican Communion. The Pope's successor, Pope John Paul II, during his visit to Ireland in 1979, met the leaders of the other Christian Churches in Dublin. Quoting from his address to the members of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity in the previous November, he assured those present in the course of his address: "Let no one ever doubt the commitment of the Catholic Church and of the Apostolic See of Rome to the pursuit of the unity of Christians".

The same year saw the retirement of Archbishop Donald Coggan of Canterbury, who had indeed been a "pilgrim for unity", and the arrival of his successor, Archbishop Robert Runcie, whose work for Christian unity has been in the sphere of Anglican-Orthodox relations, as the 102nd Archbishop of Canterbury.

### f. *The publication of 'Elucidations' (Salisbury* 1979)

In June 1979, true to its undertaking to provide its correspondents with a provisional reply to criticisms of 'Eucharistic Doctrine' and 'Ministry and Ordination', ARCIC published Elucidations (SPCK and CTS, London 1979). Thus, the request of the Lambeth Conference, embodied in Resolution 33, was met in part and a similar response to criticisms of 'Authority in the Church' was projected. It is worth noting that the Preface states that "These *Elucidations*, agreed at Salisbury in January 1979, express the unanimous view of the Commission on the intention and meaning of the documents. The former should therefore be taken in conjunction with the two Agreed Statements as expressing the mind of the Commission on these two fundamental questions". In view of the criticism sometimes voiced about ARCIC's agreed statements that the documents are deliberately ambiguous in order to cover divergent interpretations this prefatory sentence has its own value and importance (Elucidations 4). The document is therefore both a companion to Windsor (1971) and Canterbury (1973) and a further explication of both.

Amongst the matters dealt with are the meaning of substantial agreement (1), anamnesis and sacrifice (5), Christ's presence in the Eucharist (6), gift and reception (7), reservation (8), priesthood (12), the sacramentality of ordination (13) and the ordination of women (15). The clarification embodied in these paragraphs should go a long way to allaying legitimate fears on either side by spelling out, in reference to queries, the meaning of the statements at various points. For example, the use of the term *anamnesis* is justified by its scriptural origin (1 Cor. 11:24–5, Luke 22:19), its early patristic use (Justin Martyr) and its continuous appearance thereafter in the eucharistic prayers of East and West down to the present time (Eucharistic Prayer I in the Roman Missal;The Book of Common Prayer (1662) and the Anglican Series 3, and cp. its use by the Council of Trent and the Anglican Catechism). The Commission's comment was to the effect that "the traditional understanding of sacramental reality, in which the once-for-all event of salvation becomes effective in the present through

the action of the Holy Spirit, is well expressed by the word *anamnesis*. We accept this use of the word which seems to do full justice to the semitic background. Furthermore, it enables us to affirm a strong conviction of sacramental realism and to reject mere symbolism. However, the selection of this word by the Commission does not mean that our common eucharistic faith may not be expressed in other terms".(5).

Again, in response to those who are anxious lest the word may conceal the theory of a repeated immolation or refer also to an eternal sacrifice in heaven (3), the document, after itemising the Christian use of the word 'Sacrifice', concludes that "there is therefore one historical, unrepeatable sacrifice offered once for all by Christ and accepted once for all by the Father. In the celebration of the memorial, Christ in the Holy Spirit unites his people with himself in a sacramental way so that the Church enters into the movement of his self-offering. In consequence, even though the Church is active in this celebration, this adds nothing to the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice upon the Cross, because the action is itself the fruit of this sacrifice" (5). Further examples of this valuable process of elucidating the meaning of the 'Agreed Statement' may be briefly noted. There is the comment on Windsor's phrase that the bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ (Eucharistic Doctrine, 10). The relevant section in 'Eludications' (6) contains the following comment "*Becoming* does not here imply material change. Nor does liturgical use of the word imply that the bread and wine become Christ's body and blood in such a way that in the eucharistic celebration his presence is limited to the consecrated elements. It does not imply that Christ becomes present in the eucharist in the same manner that he was present in his earthly life. It does not imply that this *becoming* follows the physical laws of this world. What is here affirmed is a sacramental presence in which God uses realities of this world to convey the reality of the new creation: bread for this life becomes the bread of eternal life". Again, there is in (7) the assertion that the meaning of the eucharist is impoverished by an exclusive emphasis either on the presence in the elements or on the reception by faith: "In the past acute difficulties have arisenwhen one or other of these emphases has become almost exclusive. In the opinion of the Commission neither emphasis is incompatible with eucharistic faith, provided that the complementary movement emphasised by the other position is not denied. Eucharistic doctrine must hold together these two movements since in the eucharist, the sacrament of the New Covenant, Christ gives himself to his people so that they may receive him through faith".

Similarly, the commentary on the Canterbury statement on 'Ministry and Ordination' (1973) takes up a number of points raised by the Commission's correspondents in such matters as the place of the priesthood of the whole people of God in the document, the sacramentality of ordination, ministerial origins and the analogical application of the word'priesthood' to the people of God and to the ordained ministry: "There are two distinct realities which relate, each in its own way, to the high priesthood of Christ, the unique priesthood of the new covenant, which is their source and model". These considerations should be borne in mind throughout para. 13, and in particular they indicate the significance of the statement that the ordained ministry "is not an extension of the common Christian priesthood but belongs to another realm of the gifts of the Spirit".

In view of suggestions by some concerning this quotation from 'Canterbury' (13) it is important for perspective to recall that precisely the same thing was said in the Les Dombes agreement between Roman Catholics and Protestants(1973): "Ordination, the sign of a difference of charisma between the pastoral ministry and the priesthood of the baptised, far from separating ministers from God's people and making them a clerical caste, identifies them more fully with the life of the church". Likewise in the Lutheran/Roman Catholic statement (1970) the same view is echoed. It is "a special order of Ministry, in the Church and "has a special role within the ministry of the people of God" as distinct from the general ministry.[15]

On the difficulty raised by the ordination of women, 'Elucidations' (15), notes that where this has taken place "the bishops concerned believe that their action implies no departure from the traditional doctrine of the ordained ministry (as expounded, for instance, in the Agreed Statement)".The Commission recognises that this has created an obstacle for the Roman Catholic Church, and confines itself to saying that "the principles upon which its doctrinal agreement rests are not affected by such ordinations; for it was concerned with the origin and nature of the ordained ministry and not with the question who can or cannot be ordained."

As we recall that the overall context of the 'Agreed statements' is the 'Malta Report', the final paragraph of 'Elucidations' needs to be quoted in full showing as it does the objective of the work of the Commission: "In answer to the questions concerning the Agreed Statements for mutual recognition of ministry, the Commission has affirmed that a consensus has been reached that places the questions in a new context (cf. Ministry and Ordination, para. 17). It believes that our agreement on the essentials of eucharistic faith with regard to the sacramental presence of Christ and the sacrificial dimension of the eucharist, and on the nature and purpose of priesthood, ordination and apostolic succession, is the new context in which the question should now be discussed.

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15. For references see Modern Ecumenical Documents on the Ministry (ed. H.R. McAdoo, London 1975), p. 13.

This calls for a reappraisal of the verdict on Anglican Orders in 'Apostolic Curae' (1896).

"Mutual recognition presupposes acceptance of the apostolicity of each other's ministry.The Commission believes that its Agreements have demonstrated a consensus in faith on eucharist and ministry which has brought closer the possibility of such acceptance. It hopes that its own conviction will be shared by the members of both our Communions; but mutual recognition can only be achieved by the decision of our authorities. It has been our mandate to offer them the basis upon which they may make this decision."

Quietly but firmly, as the work begins to draw towards its term, the Commission appointed by both Communions is putting it up to the people who are the Church, to their pastoral authorities and their institutional procedures, and asking that the twentieth century should see dialogue actually leading to movement.

g. *The Final Report*[16]

*The Commission resumed its discussion of authority at the Casa Cardinale Piazza Madonna dell' Orto, Venice*, 28 *August*-6 *September* 1979. It had before it preliminary work on the four serious problems left unresolved at the conclusion of *Authority in the Church* I from a sub–commission which had met at Verulam House, St. Albans a year earlier, 5–9 June 1978. It also had before it position papers by members which had been prepared in time for this sub–commission: a joint Anglican– Roman Catholic paper on the Petrine texts from the USA, an Anglican paper on the Spirit's abiding in the Church with a Roman Catholic response, joint notes on the problem of *jus divinum*, and a substantial Roman Catholic paper on the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome. Two drafters had also prepared material to continue the earlier Statement. The Commission itself divided into four subcommissions at Venice and four tentative drafts on the above subjects emerged.

*The twelfth meeting again took place in Venice at the Casa Cardinale Piazza*, 26 *August–4 September* 1980. The drafts from the previous meeting were criticized and refined. Material on the Petrine texts, *jus divinum* and jurisdiction was all but completed, but the draft on infallibility was unfinished. On 4 September the Commission was received in audience by Pope John Paul II at Castelgandolfo.

*The final meeting of the Commission took place at St. George's House, Windsor Castle*, 25 *August-3 September* 1981. A draft introduction had been prepared over a year before by a sub–commission which had met at the Southwark Diocesan Training Centre, Wychcroft, Redhill 7–11 January 1980. This draft expounded the Commission's ecclesiology. Work had also begun in the same year on a response to criticisms of the first Statement on Authority by a sub–commission at the Cenacle Retreat and Conference Centre, Burnham, Slough, 22–26 June 1980. At a large sub–commission in Liverpool at St. Katharine's College, 15–19 December 1980, the draft material on infallibility left unfinished at the previous full meeting in Venice was completed. The St. Katharine's sub–commission also began revising the reponse to criticisms on Authority drafted at Burnham. A final sub–commission met at St Agnes' Retreat House, Bristol, 9–13 June 1981 and revised the introductory draft on the Church prepared at Wychcroft, stressing the Commission's use *of koinonia*, and completing the revision of the draft response to criticisms on authority. The final meeting at Windsor had therefore a full set of draft texts for scrutiny, criticism and revision. For the first part of the meeting the Commission worked in five sub–commissions on Petrine texts, *jus divinum*, jurisdiction, infallibility, and an authority elucidation. For the second part the Commission worked as a whole, except the infallibility subcommission, putting together all the drafts, revising the Introduction, and accepting the Preface. Towards the close of the final meeting all the new texts were unanimously agreed. On 1 September the Commission was received at Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Robert Runcie. The permission of both authorities was given for publication of the Final Report in January 1982.

The Anglican Consulative Council (ACC), meeting in Newcastle upon Tyne in September 1981, commended the Final Report of the Anglican/Roman Catholic International Commission to the Churches of the Anglican Communion for study and asked the Provinces to respond in terms of two related questions. The questions, originally posed to the two Churches by the Co–Chairmen of ARCIC in letters to the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury, were as follows:

> "We ask whether the Agreed Statements on Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination, and Authority in the Church (I and II), together with the Elucidations are consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans.
>
> "We also ask whether the Final Report offers a sufficient basis for taking the next concrete step towards the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith".[17]

Similar questions have also been addressed to Roman Catholic Episcopal Conferences.

h. *The Visit of Pope John Paul II to Britain.*

From May 28th to June 2nd 1982 Pope John Paul II visited England, Scotland and Wales. At a historic

16. This account is taken from the Appendix on Meetings of the Commission on pp. 104–5 of Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission: The Final Report CTS/SPCK 1982.

17. ACC–5. Report of Fifth Meeting Newcastle upon Tyne 1981, pp. 39–40.

ceremony on May 28th in Canterbury Cathedral he said:[18]

I appeal to you in this holy place, all my fellow Christians, and especially , the members of the Church of England and the members of the Anglican Communion throughout the world, to accept the commitment to which Archbishop Runcie and I pledge ourselves anew before you today. This commitment is that of praying and working for reconciliation and ecclesial unity acording to the mind and heart of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And at the conclusion of the ceremony Pope John Paul II and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Robert Runcie, signed the following Common Declaration:[19]

1. In the Cathedral Church of Christ at Canterbury the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury have met on the eve of Pentecost to offer thanks to God for the progress that has been made in the work of reconciliation between our Communions. Together with leaders of other Christian Churches and Communities we have listened to the Word of God: together we have recalled our one baptism and renewed the promises then made; together we have acknowledged the witness given by those whose faith has led them to surrender the precious gift of life itself in the service of others, both in the past and in modern times.

2. The bond of our common baptism into Christ led our predecessors to inaugurate a serious dialogue between our Churches, a dialogue founded on the Gospels and the ancient common traditions, a dialogue which has as its goal the unity for which Christ prayed to his Father "so that the world may know that thou hast sent me and hast loved them even as thou hast loved me" (Jn 17:23). In 1966, our predecessors Pope Paul VI and Archbishop Michael Ramsey made a Common Declaration announcing their intention to inaugurate a serious dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Commnnion which would "include not only theological matters such as Scripture. Tradition and Liturgy, but also matters of practical difficulty felt on either side" (Common Declaration, par. 6). After this dialogue had already produced three statements on Eucharist, Ministry and Ordination, and Authority in the Church, Pope Paul VI and Archbishop Donald Coggan, in their Common Declaration in 1977, took the occasion to encourage the completion of the dialogue on these three important questions so that the Commission's conclusions might be evaluated by the respective Authorities through procedures appropriate to each Communion. The Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission has now completed the task assigned to it with the publication of its Final Report, and as our two Communions proceed with the necessary evaluation, we join in thanking the members of the Commission for their dedication, scholarship and integrity in a long and demanding task undertaken for love of Christ and for the unity of his Church.

3. The completion of this Commission's work bids us look to the next stage of our common pilgrimage in faith and hope towards the unity for which we long. We are agreed that it is now time to set up a new international Commission. Its task will be to continue the work already begun: to examine, especially in the light of our respective judgments on the Final Report, the oustanding doctrinal differences which still separate us, with a view towards their eventual resolution: to study all that hinders the mutual recognition of the ministries of our Communions; and to recommend what practical steps will be necessary when, on the basis of our unity in faith, we are able to proceed to the restoration of full communion. We are well aware that this new Commission's task will not be easy, but we are encouraged by our reliance on the grace of God and by all that we have seen of the power of that grace in the ecumenical movement of our time.

4. While this necessary work of theological clarification continues, it must be accompanied by the zealous work and fervent prayer of Roman Catholics and Anglicans throughout the world as they seek to grow in mutual understanding, fraternal love and common witness to the Gospel. Once more, then, we call on the bishops, clergy and faithful people of both our Communions in every country, diocese and parish in which our faithful live side by side. We urge them all to pray for this work and to adopt every possible means of furthering it through their collaboration in deepening their allegiance to Christ and in witnessing to him before the world. Only by such collaboartion and prayer can the memory of the past enmities be healed and our past antagonisms overcome.

5. Our aim is not limited to the union of our two Communions alone, to the exclusion of other Christians, but rather extends to the fulfilment of God's will for the visible unity of all his people. Both in our present dialogue, and in those engaged in by other Christians among themselves and with us, we recognize in the agreements we are able to reach, as well as in the difficulties which we encounter, a renewed challenge to abandon ourselves completely to the truth of the Gospel. Hence we are happy to make this Declaration today in the welcome presence of so many fellow Christians whose Churches and Communities are already partness with us in prayer and work for the unity of all.

6. With them we wish to serve the cause of peace, of human freedom and human dignity, so that God may indeed be glorified in all his creatures. With them

18. The Pope in Britain: Collected Homilies and Speeches, St. Paul Publications 1982. p. 95.

19. Ibid. pp. 97-99.

we greet in the name of God all men of good will, both those who believe in him and those who are still searching for him.

7. This holy place reminds us of the vision of Pope Gregory in sending St Augustine as an apostle to England, full of zeal for the preaching of the Gospel and the shepherding of the flock. On this eve of Pentecost, we turn again in prayer to Jesus, the Good Shepherd, who promised to ask the Father to give us another Advocate to be with us for ever, the Spirit of truth (cf. Jn. 14: 16), to lead us to the full unity to which he calls us. Confident in the power of this same Holy Spirit, we commit ourselves anew to the task of working for unity with firm faith, renewed hope and ever deeper love.

i. *Conclusion*

What then can be said by way of conclusion at this stage when possible and actual development still lies veiled in the future? For two hundred and fifty years certain themes have been at once both the key to understanding the problems of Anglican/Roman Catholic relations and the substance of the problems themselves. Some themes have been modified in their divisive effects by a growing process of mutual questioning and answering and by changing climates in theology and inter-Church attitudes. Others have been hardened by dogmatic formulations and by differing emphases in ecclesiology. Some have yielded to convergence while others seem to remain intractable. But in the face of full agreement in some central areas of doctrine and of substantial agreement in others, the separated Churches will sooner or later have to evaluate formally the recommendations of their officially-appointed Commission and decide whether its work is of a sufficiently serious calibre to warrant forward steps on an institutional basis. Recognising a new and unprecedented situation, they must ask what degree of communion fits this situation and by what steps can it be inaugurated, for as Karl Rahner has pointed out, the initiative must now pass from the theologians to the office-holders. Only history will tell whether or not the present enterprise, launched by the Common Declaration of a Pope and a Primate, will have advanced the "communion of sister-churches". But comparing the present state of affairs with that of ten years ago, not to mention that of Halifax's and Portal's generation, who can assert what the situation will be a decade hence? In the meantime there is the sustaining hope of those who, like Archbishop Laud, could not see catholicity in a "narrow conclave" and who sought "to lay open those wider gates of the Catholic Church, confined to no age, time or place; not knowing any bounds but that faith which was once (and but once for all) delivered to the saints".[20]

20. From the preface to William Laud's 'A Relation of the Conference between William Land and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit' (1639).

## 3. The dialogue between Orthodox and Anglicans 1973 - 84

a) *From Oxford to Moscow* (1973–76)

As long ago as 1962 the Oecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I described the visit to Constantinople of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Michael Ramsey, as "the beginning of a new spiritual sping that may lead to...greater rapprochement and the closer collaboration of all churches."[1] That visit produced an agreement between the two church leaders to set up a Joint Anglican/Orthodox Commission, which after a necessarily lengthy preparatory phase of separate meetings,[2] held its first full meeting in Oxford in 1973. His All-Holiness did not live to see the opening of these Joint Anglican/Orthodox Doctrinal Discussions, but all those present there were conscious that this was the fruit of Patriarch Athenagoras's work for Anglican/Orthodox unity, and his vision of the common chalice from which we might receive "in faith, in love and fear of God the Body and Blood of our common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ".[3] There was a measure of optimism on both sides and the Orthodox Chairman, Archbishop Athenagoras of Thyateira, hoped for a real 'break-through' before long.[4] The "spiritual spring" in Anglican/Orthodox dialogue moved towards summer. The Oxford meeting of participants representing the whole Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion discussed the Anglican concept of Comprehensiveness, the work of the Holy Spirit, and the redemptive work of Christ. Replies were also given to four questions which the Orthodox had raised about the Anglicans' understanding of unity in Faith, the implications of intercommunion with other churches, decision-making in the Anglican Communion, and the Thirty-Nine Articles.

It was then agreed that for the next two years the Commission should split into three separate joint sub-commissions to prepare reports for the next full Commission meeting.

The first sub-commission met in Crete and in Truro and prepared a series of short 'theses' on Inspiration and Revelation in the Holy Scripture' and on 'The Knowledge of God'. The second sub-commission met in Romania and at St Albans and produced a statement on 'The Authority of the Councils' which included sections on Scripture and the Councils, the *Filioque*, the Seventh Council, and on Infallibility and Indefectibility. The third sub-commission met in New York and in London and drew up an agreed

1. Colin Davey, Anglican/Orthodox Relations during the Patriarchate of His All-Holiness Athenagoras I (1948–1972) in "Athenagoras I" p. 417.

2. Kallistos Ware and Colin Davey (edd) Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue: The Moscow Agreed Statement (SPCK 1977) pp. 24–33.

3. Colin Davey op. cit. pp. 421–2.

4. K.T. Ware in Sobernost 4:2 (1982) p. 220.

statement on 'The Church as a Eucharistic Community' and on 'The Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist'.

The Statements, principles, and theses of the three sub-commissions were then presented to the full meeting of the Commission in Moscow in July 1976, where they were scrutinized, amended, and agreed for publication.[6]

The Moscow Agreed Statement was the first-fruits of this new series of Anglican/Orthodox conversations. It was "over a limited area"; it included a particular recommendation that "the *Filioque* clause should not be included in the Creed"; and it was also the product of "a deepening of fellowship between us, nourished by our experience of sharing as far as possible in the liturgical and spiritual traditions of our several members" which emphasised "the interdependence of theology, spirituality and a common life together".

(b) *From Moscow to Lambeth* (1976–78)

At the end of the Moscow Conference plans were made not only for the publication of the Agreed Statement and the promotion of local Anglican/Orthodox contacts between church people, but also for the next phase of the Commission's work, during which the three sub-commissions would study the following subjects:

1. The Church and the Churches
2. The Communion of Saints and the Departed
3. Ministry and Priesthood[7].

It was also agreed that, for practical reasons and to help co-ordination between the sub-commissions, they should all meet in the same place each year and conclude each conference with a meeting of the full Commission to report progress and to discuss any other matters relevant to its work.

The Commission duly met in Cambridge in 1977, and its sub-commissions began their separate tasks. At the meeting in Full Commission, however, a 'thunderstorm' broke out, presaging the onset of 'winter' in Anglican/Orthodox relations. What happened was that Bishop John Howe, the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council, spoke to the members about the extent to which women had already been ordained to the priesthood in some of the Provinces of the Anglican Communion. The Orthodox present suddenly realised that this was no longer a matter for further discussion before decisions would be taken (as in the Church of England, which had not yet pronounced on this issue–and the fact that people sometimes imagine that the Church of England is the Anglican Church as a whole, which it is not, probably confused things) but a matter of fact in Hong Kong, Canada, and the USA. Because of this, the Full Commission agreed to devote the main part of its 1978 meeting to this subject. As the comunique issued at Cambridge explained:

"In view of the events which have taken place, the Orthodox members ask themselves how it will be possible to continue the dialogue, and what meaning the dialogue will have in these circumstances. The Anglican members believe that in the present situation the dialogue is more important and necessary than ever". The 1978 meeting would take place "before the Lambeth Conference, in order, by expounding the Orthodox position, to enable their Anglican Brethren to come to what, in their view would be a proper appreciation of the subject. For the Orthodox the future of the Dialogue would depend on the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference".[8]

The full Commission met at the Monastery of Pendeli, Athens, in July 1978. It was a tense and difficult meeting. Its report began by reaffirming the resolution passed in Moscow in 1976 on the filioque and asked "the bishops of the Lambeth Conference to issue a clear recommendation that the *Filioque* be omitted from the text of the Creed by all the member churches of the Anglican Communion".

It then set out the Orthodox position on the ordination of women to the priesthood which it described as "an innovation, lacking any basis whatever in Holy Tradition" and as "a violation of the apostolic faith and order of the church" "*not* as part of the creative continuity of Tradition." "By ordaining women Anglicans would sever themselves from continuity in apostolic faith and spiritual life". They added "it is obvious that, if the dialogue continues, its character would be drastically changed".[9] The Anglicans' diversity of views on the issue were then added, indicating that some see it as "a grave deformation of the Church's traditional faith and order", others see it as "a proper extension and development of the Church's traditional ministry, and a necessary and prophetic response to the changing circumstances in which some Churches are placed". Others again see no absolute objection, but "believe the time was not opportune, nor the method appropriate for such action".[10] The joint conclusion to the report stated: "we value our Dialogue together and we are encouraged that our Churches and their leaders, as well as the members of our Commission, hope that it may continue under conditions acceptable to both sides".[11]

Following the 1978 Lambeth Conference's Reso-

5. Ware and Davey op. cit. pp. 34–6, and pp. 37–91 for a very full account of the detailed discussions at the Moscow Conference, together with the official communiqué and the Agreed Statement itself.

6. Ibid. pp. 37 (Communiqué) 88 (Statement) and 2 (Preface).

7. Ibid. p. 78 for details.

8. Communiqué from Cambridge meeting of A/OJDD.

9. Athens Report paras. III, 4,5,6.

10. Ibid paras. IV 1–2.

11. Ibid para. V.

lution 21 on the ordination of women[12], the Orthodox Co-Chairman of A/OJDD, Archbishop Athenagoras, expressed his view that "the theological dialogue will continue, although now simply as an academic and informative exercise, and no longer as an ecclesial endeavour aiming at the union of the two churches". He later recommended that Orthodox professors rather than bishops should take part in the dialogue as an indication of its changed status and purpose. However, as the Bishop of St Albans discovered during his visits to the Orthodox Churches in the spring of 1979, other Orthodox felt there was no need to change the standing of the talks and wished the dialogue to be resumed in order, as the Lambeth Conference 1978 Resolution 35:2 put it, "to explore the fundamental questions of doctrinal agreement and disagreement in our Churches".[13] This view prevailed, and in July 1979 the Steering Committee of A/OJDD met and agreed that the full Commission should continue its work in July 1980. "The ultimate aim remains the unity of the Churches" it affirmed. But "the method may need to change in order to emphasise the pastoral and practical dimensions of the subjects of theological discussions". It concluded: "Our conversations are concerned with the search for a unity in faith. They are not negotiations for immediate full communion. When this is understood the discovery of differences on various matters, though distressing, will be seen as a necessary step on the long road toward that unity which God wills for His Church".

c) *From Llandaff to Dublin* (1980–1984)

During his visit to the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in 1982, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, "spoke with gratitude of His All-Holiness's encouragement to continue the dialogue particularly when facing difficulties, which had led to the 'second spring' which these official conversations were now experiencing".[14] The Commission resumed its work at St Michael's College, Llandaff, in July 1980, and welcomed as its new Co-Chairmen Bishop Henry Hill of Ontario, Canada (following the appointment of the Bishop of St. Albans as Archbishop of Canterbury) and Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain (following the death of his predecessor Archbishop Athenagoras). The Commission approved a report on 'The Communion of Saints and the Departed', and continued work on 'The Church and the Churches' and on the *Filioque* Clause in the Creed. This was continued and extended at subsequent meetings at the Orthodox Patriarchal Centre at Chambésy in Geneva in 1981, and at Canterbury in 1982 where the first sub-commission focussed on 'The Mystery of the Church', the second sub-commission on 'Participation in the Grace of the Holy Trinity and Christian Holiness', and the third sub-commission on 'Tradition, Christian Worship, and the Maintenance of the Christian Faith'. Following the Commission's meeting at Odessa in the Soviet Union in 1983, where particular attention was given to new material on Primacy (Seniority); Witness, Evangelism, and Service; and on Prayer and Icons, as well as continuing discussion of topics already on the agenda, the 1984 meeting at Bellinter near Dublin has had the task of finalising an agreed Report and Statement on 'The Mystery of the Church', 'The Grace of the Holy Trinity' and on 'Worship and Tradition'[15].

d) *Conclusion*

After the difficulties of the fairly recent past, the Anglican/Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission has re-established itself and has now developed a productive and satisfactory way of working. There is a freshness and liveliness brought into the Commission by the presence of so many new members both Anglican and Orthodox; there is also the continuity and wealth of experience provided by older and longer-serving members. There is a prayerfulness which permeates its whole work, and which has brought the Commission to a new stage of fellowship Christ. Also, some of the pressures of the past have gone. The solution of problems (such as the ordination of women) is not made a condition of continuing the dialogue. Nor are we trying to produce too quickly materials that might be used as the basis for early decisions to enter a new stage of relatonships between our Churches. Instead, the Commission is freer to explore together and understand better the faith we hold and ways in which we express it. It is also noteworthy that far more consideration has been given to prayer and spirituality than is usual in inter-church encounters of this type. If we accept that Anglican/Orthodox Dialogue is still in the *first* stage of exploring each other's faith and seeking co-operation in mission and service,[16] then it can perhaps be seen that much good work is being done by this particular bilateral conversation to help bridge the ancient divide between the Eastern and Western Churches.

During the Archbishop of Canterbury's visit to Constantinople in 1982, Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain, the Orthdodox Co-Chairman of A/OJDD, said "there is positive progress towards the first stage of common prayer and co-operation".

Members of the Commission are convinced that its work contributes greatly to "the mission and peace of the Churches after the ancient division of East

12. The Report of the Lambeth Conference 1978 pp. 45–7.
13. Ibid. p. 51.
14. Communiqué para. 4 Episkepsis No. 278 1.9.82 p. 2.
15. Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue: The Dublin Agreed Statement 1984, SPCK 1984; published in Greek wtih an introduction by Protopresbyter G. Dragas in *Ekklesia kai Theologia* (1984) pp. 895–962.
16. See ACC 1981 Consultation: Unity by Stages, Section III (a).

and West" and to the Church's ministry of reconciliation and peace "in the midst of world political tensions and their resulting pressures,,.[17]

International Anglican/Orthodox Dialogue both draws from and seeks to promote local Anglican/Orthodox dialogue, remembering that the latter's task is not to duplicate but to make known International Agreements and to help in the pastoral relationships between the people of the two churches.

Anglican/Orthodox discussions take place in the context of Anglican/Roman Catholic, Orthodox/Roman Catholic and other bilateral and multilateral conversations. Each draws from and contributes to the other, even if the other two mentioned above aim more directly to provide the theological grounds for further steps towards unity between the churches than Anglican/Orthodox dialogue can claim to do.

Nevertheless we are convinced that these discussions have a further part to play in East-West relations, in inter-church relations and in theological explorations from which we all benefit.

17. "Steps towards Unity" - Report of the ACC Preparatory Group on Ecumenical Affairs, Woking, February 1984.

# THE ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT:
## A proof for the existence of God

B y

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The ontological argument, a proof for the existence of God, has fascinated a legion of thinkers, philosophers and theologians alike, for centuries.[1] For that matter, the argument has earned their respect and scorn. The source of such recognition lies with Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1033–1109), who was responsible for perfecting a singular effort to prove by reason that which one already firmly believes by faith. The reason for such divergent interpretations of the ontological argument rests precisely in the disagreement among thinkers concerning the concepts of existence, essence, and necessity which this celebrated proof raises. The basis of disagreement is not so much a logical as a metaphysical one, and is a consequence of viewing the nature of being itself, its existence, and its relation to conceptual thinking in irreducibly different ways[2]. This disagreement makes the evaluation of Anselm's argument anything but simple.

The primary purpose of this paper, then, is to understand what the ontological argument is and says.[3] I shall specify the elements of the argument as formulated by Anselm and see the attractiveness of the argument within the problems which it and its critics raise. As such, the paper is divided under these headings: (1) what is the ontological argument;(2) what does Anselm's ontological argument say;(3) the issues of the ontological argument; and(4) the relevance of the ontological argument. I do not presume to give any more of a definitive solution than has been provided in the recent literature. I do make the following, more modest claim though. The Anselmian discovery, an embodiment of a philosophy in which essence entails existence, continues to perplex and engage those who appreciate abstract reasoning by presenting a subtle rational ground for the subject of their faith which continues to be 'philosophically' unresolved.

### I. *What is the Ontological Argument?*

An ontological proof for God is a rationalist deductive argument. Such an argument is understood within the rationalist theory of knowing, which would take seriously at least two assumptions: the priority of conception or thought over perception, and the primacy of logical order.[4]

Concerning the first assumption, percepts always deal with particulars. Images are rooted in sensuous intuitions, whereas concepts are meanings in intellectual intuitions. For a rationalist, like Descartes, there is a gap which needs to be bridged between conceiving and imagining. To imagine, that is, to have a mental picture of a circle is not necessarily to know its nature. Perception can never be a sufficient condition for knowledge. For a rationalist, furthermore, the priority of conception means that the mind is not limited to imagining. If something is unimaginable, it does not follow that it is also inconceivable; and further, to say that x is inconceivable means that the principles of being are violated by the presence of contradiction.

The relevance of this first assumption for a proponent of the ontological argument cannot be underestimated. To reason from concept to necessary being, for him, does not mean from concept to empirical (contingent) fact, not from empirical fact to concept, nor from empirical fact to necessary being. Rather, to reason from concept to necessary being specifically means that the possibility of a being which necessar-

1. For a complete listing, see T.L. Miethe, "The Ontological Argument: A research bibliography," *The Modern Schoolman* 54 (1977) 148–66.

2. See P.J.W. Miller, "The Ontological Argument for God", *The Personalist* 42 (Summer 1961) 337–38.

3. Passages from Anselm and Gaunilo are taken from *St. Anselm: Basic Writings*, trans. S.N. Deane, introduction by C. Hartshorne, 2d ed. (La Salle, Ill., 1962) and will be referred by title and chapter, e.g. *Proslogion* 2.

4. For an expanded discussion, see F. Ferré, *Basic Modern Philosophy of Religion* (New York, 1967), pp. 126–45.

ily exists cannot be based upon empirical premises, and neither can it be demanded that empirical evidence is required to deduce that God does or does not exist.[5]

As to the second assumption, it can be said that the logical order of ideas is the domain of the rationalist. He is not concerned about 'when' the ideas occur in the temporal order, but rather, 'where' they are located and correctly arranged in the system. Knowledge, for the rationalist, is basically dependent upon the reorganization of our thoughts which surface in a random and adventitious temporal way. This 'chaos' finds its justification in a necessary logical order. The mind proceeds to dissect reality's real from apparent structures in a total system of metaphysical order.

The second assumption also is important for a proponent of the ontological argument. He must validly derive the existence of God from the logical necessities of the concept of God.

These two assumptions serve as presuppositions to any ontological argumentation. The priority of conception over perception leads to an acknowledgment that thought can know reality as it is. Unlike faith whose object is know only extrinsically (*ab alio*), reason knows its object directly (*ab illo*). The object or reason is known, as Miller explains, "through its own essence, *ab illo*, that is, through the principles in the thing which make it to be what it is."[6]

The primacy of logical order, if it be relevant for recognizing the 'essentialist' element in ontological argumentation, must lead to the further claim that there is a correlation of thought to reality. If Anselm's formulation is to be identified with the realist tradition, it must assume that the criteria of thought have no necessity of their own, but mirror a coherent order in identity with reality. For a realist, the logical structure will be found on the side of reality, not of thought. The conceptual order will be the a priori structure of reality; the perceptual order will rank second; consequently, ontological primacy will be understood over perception. Anselm, indeed, proceeds in this 'essentialist' direction where, as Hanks explains, "logical validity entails ontological commitment."[7]

Once a rationalist assumes that reality is in fact a coherent system, he can conclude that reality is not incoherent, nor arbitrary, and consequently, there can be no 'irrational' explanation. For a proponent of the ontological argument, as Gilkey states, this means that he "can only conclude that God is *if* it be agreed that it is insupportable for a given significant aspect of known reality to lack an explanation."[8]

With these presuppositions in mind, what precisely does an ontological argument propose to prove? The argument claims two things: that the idea of God does not involve a contradiction; and that existence is a perfection, and 'actual existence' is a defining characteristic.

Concerning the first claim, a proponent of the ontological argument assumes two premises: that the idea of God is thinkable, and that it has a defining content which is consistent and self-evident.[9] It would be absurd to say that just because the idea of God is thinkable, my thinking legislates God into existence. This claim is not made by the rationalist, and, surely, not claimed by Anselm either. Rather, as Descartes indicates, "the necessity which lies in the thing itself, that is, the necessity of the existence of God, determines me to think in this way."[10] To be self-evident, then, means not dependent on any existential premises.

As to the second claim, a supporter holds that the nonexistence of perfection cannot be thought because this would be self-contradictory. The contradiction would entail that the proposition 'God exists' is not a logically necessary proposition. In other words, the ontological proof claims to find a contradiction in God not existing. The subtlety lies, according to Hopkins, when in "reflecting upon the description of God, one is supposedly led to discern that God exists (=the fact of existing) and that He exists so really that He cannot even be thought not to exist (= the manner of existing)."[11]

## II. *What Does Anselm's Ontological Argument Say?*

There are two proofs in Anselm's account: one found in *Proslogion* 2, and the other in *Proslogion*

5. See D. Hanks, "Some Problems in Ontological Argumentation," *The Iliff Review* 29 (Spring 1972; repr. 1972) 8. Hank's main objection to J.N. Findlay's "Can God's Existence Be Disproved?" *Mind* 57 (April 1948), repr. in A. Plantinga, ed., *The Ontological Argument: From St. Anselm to Contemporary Philosophers*, introduction by R. Taylor (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), pp. 111-22, is directed against Findlay's claim that the theist can only claim his conviction that 'God necessarily exists' by ignoring 'empirical circumstances', and therefore, "Findlay is not justified in concluding that, since God is not perceivable by the senses, He therefore cannot exist" (Hanks, p. 88).

6. Miller, p. 338.

7. Hanks, p. 3.

8. L. Gilkey, *Naming the Whirlwind: The renewal of God-language* (Indianapolis, 1969), p. 212.

9. For Anselm, self-evident means that the premises which are derived from 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' are clear. In other words, the argument presupposes nothing beyond the signification of its terms. Still, the existence of God needs to be argued and proved. "It might be argued that only after we have gone through St. Anselm's proof do we see then, *as a result of the proof*, that God cannot be thought not to exist" (M. J. Charlesworth, *St. Anselm's 'Proslogion' with 'A Reply on Behalf of the Fool' by Gaunilo and 'The Author's Reply to Gaunilo'* (Oxford, 1965), p. 95.

10. *Meditations On First Philosophy* 5 in *The Meditations and Selections from the Principles of René Descartes*, trans. John Veitch (La Salle, Ill., 1937), repr. in *Philosophers Speak for Themselves: From Descartes to Locke*, ed. T.V. Smith and M. Greene (Chicago, 1940), p. 94.

11. J. Hopkins, *A Companion to the Study of St. Anselm* (Minneapolis, 1972), p. 62.

3 and *Reply to Gaunilo*. Both proofs begin with the same major premise: that God is 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived'. Whereas the minor premise in *Proslogion* 2 emphasizes 'what exists in reality is greater than what exists in the mind alone', the focus of the minor premise in *Proslogion* 3 is on 'what cannot be conceived not to exist is greater than what can be conceived to exist'. Charlesworth translates this to mean 'what exists necessarily is greater that what exists contingently'.[12]

*Proslogion* 2 concludes that existence is both actual and possible. On the basis of this conclusion, *Proslogion* 3 deals only with actual existence which can be contingent or necessary. Considered logically independent of *Proslogion* 2 according to Hartshorne, Malcolm, and Charlesworth, the minor premise of *Proslogion* 3 assumes that 'necessary existence' is meaningful. 'God exists' is a logically necessary proposition, whereas 'God does not exist' is logically self-contradictory. *Proslogion* 3 concludes that God exists 'actually' and 'necessarily'. To establish 'actual existence' for God, Anselm needs the move of 'necessarily exists'.

The focus is different in both proofs, but both discuss a common subject in a common world of being. The world of being in *Proslogion* 2 is divided into things which 'really or actually' exist and things which only 'conceptually' exist. It is on this basis that Anselm deduces existence as a perfection. The world of being in *Proslogion* 3 and *Reply* 1 is seen in the perspective of necessary, contingent, and impossible existents. The real choices which establish that 'God necessarily exists' are 'necessary' and 'impossible'.

The structure of each argument may be summarized by looking first at *Proslogion* 2. Mann has suggested that the proof consists of two sub-arguments.[13] The first sub-argument establishes the existence of 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' in the understanding *(in intellectus)*, whereas the second proves the existence of 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' in a real object (*in re*). The second sub-argument can be identified as a *reductio ad impossibile* demonstration founded upon the impossibility of a contradictory supposition: "Suppose it ['that than which nothing greater can be conceived'] exists in the understanding alone" (*Proslogion* 2).

The axioms of each sub-argument are characteristically different too. The first reads: "Whatever is understood, exists in the understanding"; the second, reads: "Suppose it exists in the understanding alone: then it can be conceived to exist in reality; which is greater." Of all the recent attempts to reconstruct the *Proslogion* 2 argument, Mann's effort is most faithful to Anselm's formulation:

> (1) Whatever is understood is in the understanding. (2) If that than which nothing greater can be conceived is understood, then that than which nothing greater can be conceived is in the understanding. (Instance of (1)) But: (3) That than which nothing greater can be conceived is understood. Thus: (4) That than which nothing greater can be conceived is in the understanding. (From (2) and (3)) Suppose: (5) That than which nothing greater can be conceived is in the understanding only, and does not exist in reality. (6) For whatever is in the understanding only, and does not exist in reality, something greater than it can be conceived. (7) If that than which nothing greater can be conceived is in the understanding only, and does not exist in reality, then something greater than that than which nothing greater can be conceived can be conceived. (Instance of (6)) Thus: (8) Something greater than that than which nothing greater can be conceived can be conceived. (From (5) and (7)) Thus: (9) That than which nothing greater can be conceived exists in reality. (From (4), (5), and (8).[14]

*Proslogion* 3 is a further statement concerning how real God is. In *Proslogion* 2, as noted, a thing which exists in reality is 'greater' than if it exists merely in the understanding. In *Proslogion* 3, necessary existence is a perfection because perfection means the real impossibility of nonexistence.

The structure of *Proslogion* 3 is the following: (1) a being whose nonexistence is really impossible is 'greater' than a being whose nonexistence is really possible. (2) A being greater than that which cannot be conceived must be one whose nonexistence is really impossible. (3) That being is God 'that than which a greater cannot be conceived'.[15]

In *Reply* 1, Anselm gives a justification for the axiom 'to exist necessarily is greater than to exist contingently'. Necessity is defined as being eternal, viz. having no beginning, and as being non-composite. By the end of *Reply* 1, Anselm has established a pair of formal connections. The first pair is between 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' and 'that which cannot be conceived except as without beginning'; and between 'that which does not have a beginning' with 'that which cannot be conceived not to exist'. The second pair is between 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' and 'that which cannot be a spatio-temporal being nor a subject of composite parts'; and between 'that which exists as a whole everywhere and always' with 'that which cannot be conceived not to exist'. To reiterate, Anselm equates necessity, which is defined in terms of non-

12. Charlesworth, p. 74.
13. W. E. Mann, "The Ontological Presuppositions of the Ontological Argument," *The Review of Metaphysics* 26 (December 1972) 260–77.
14. Ibid., p. 261.
15. I have substituted 'really' for 'logically' in N. Malcolm's account. See "Anselm's Ontological Arguments", *The Philosophical Review* 69 (1960), repr. in Plantinga, p. 141.

spatio-temporality or non-compositeness, with necessity which is defined in real terms as 'not being able to be understood in the mind as not existing'.[16]

### III. *The Issues of the Ontological Argument*

The argument has been characterized by Plantinga as offering "an enormous return on a pretty slim investment-a definition, and a perplexing but not altogether implausible premise connecting existence and 'greatness', yield the theistic conclusion."[17] On first examination, it is hard to tell what, if anything, is fallacious about the argument. It has been suggested that some of the premises, viz. the distinction between existence *in intellectu* and existence *in re*, the distinction between one's conceiving of a thing *(cogitare)* and one's conceiving it to exist *(intelligere)*, and the doctrine that existence is an added perfection, taken singly are defensible, but when considered together "still yield no convincing proof for the existence of God."[18] A disentanglement of these issues which each proof raises in light of Guanilo's and Kant's critique is in order.

The principal contention for the critics of *Proslogion* 2 is the status of 'existence'. The objection considered fatal to the ontological argument is that existence is not a predicate. In other words, *Proslogion* 2 has been seen as vulnerable to the Kantian criticism which asserts that we are unable to deduce real existence from a mere concept. It is because of Kant's attack that Malcolm and others have rejected the validity of *Proslogion* 2 "because it rests on the false doctrine that existence is a perfection (and therefore that 'existence' is a 'real predicate')".[19] But is Anselm's proof so untenable? Is Kant's criticism relevant to what Anselm wants to prove?

Kant's position maintains that we must not be mislead by the fact that 'existence' shares the same grammatical form as true predicates, and thus, say that 'exists' is a property of something. To say that 'x exists' does not mean adding one more defining characteristic to a thing. For Kant, 'x exists' only means to acknowledge that a thing with all its attributes is an actual existent, rather than a possible or fictitious thing.

Kant's celebrated comparison of one hundred actual thalers and one hundred conceived thalers underscores the claim that the *real* difference between actuality and possibility does not lie in the list of characteristics, which are the same in each case. If existence added anything to things, then the possible could become actual by being changed with the annexation of something new. Consequently, as Kant states, "my concept would not, in that case, express the whole object, and would not therefore be an adequate concept of it" *(Critique* B627). Also, "we could not, therefore, say that the exact object of my concept exists" *(Critique* B628).[20] By regarding the function of asserting existence as not identical with the function of attributing qualities to things,[21] Kant maintains that an entailment between perfection and existence is illusory. If existence, then, is no quality at all, it is a misunderstanding to suppose, as an Anselmian, that nonexistence could be an imperfection.

The basis of Kant's criticism that existence is not a real predicate centers on the claim that "the real *contains* no more than the merely possible" *(Critique* B627). A defender of Anselm must base his response on the fact that the concept 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' has real content, namely, that it is meaningful. Kant's criticism would be valid if Anselm has started out with some concept that refers to a contingent instance and then added a genuine predicate (existence) to it. But the Anselmian starting-point is the concept of God which we have in our minds; on the basis of that concept, is the affirmation of God's real existence. It is arguable whether Anselm is talking about existence as a predicate at all, in the sense that the concept 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' must necessarily add the concept of existence. The mind conceives, according to Anselm, an essence which is independent of all existential conditions.

Let us examine the meaning-content of the concept 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' more closely. 'Greater' is not used quantitatively, rather it means 'more perfect', viz. a 'higher degree' of existence: "To thee [God] alone, therefore, it belongs to exist more truly than all other beings, and hence in a higher degree than all others" *(Pros-*

16. See Charlesworth, p. 91, n. 1.

17. A Plantinga, *God and Other Minds: A study of the rational justification of belief in God* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), pp. 26-27.

18. Mann, p. 277.

19. Malcolm, p. 140.

20. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. N.K. Smith (New York, 1929; rev. ed. 1965). Pagination follows the 2d ed. of the *Critique* (1787). To be sure, there are problems in this Kantian example, specifically on the side of the conceptual structure, which cannot be discussed here. For example, what criteria should be used for distinguishing thalers conceived in a waking state with those imagined in a dream, or in a hallucinatory state?

21. This has been further developed by G.E. Moore in "Is Existence a Predicate," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 15, suppl. (1936), repr. in Plantinga, *Ontological Argument*, p. 81, where he holds, in contrast to Russell, the more radical position that existence is neither a 'property' of an individual, nor of a propositional function, but rather, 'x exists' is no proposition at all. By contrasting 'exists' in sentences such as 'some tame tigers exist' and 'some tame tigers growl', and "saying that 'exist', in this usage, does not 'stand for an attribute', whereas growl does", Moore goes beyond Kant when he suggests that the only meaningful sense of 'x exists' is when one points to a thing and says 'x exists'. In this respect, 'exists' is taken in any proposition to mean another 'sense-datum' *of* a physical object. 'X exists' is significant as it is when pointing and saying 'this is a book', or 'this is red', where 'is a book' and 'red' "stand for attributes... *part but not the whole* of what is asserted by any 'value' of 'x is a book', 'x is red' " (ibid., pp. 83-84).

*logion* 3). It is within the framework of metaphysical perfections that it makes sense to say that a horse is 'more perfect' than a tree, and a man has a 'higher degree' of existence than a horse. The term 'conceive' means that it is logically thinkable or possible.

Does Kant's example, then, apply here? Anselm would not deny that there is a difference between one hundred thalers conceived in the mind and one hundred thalers actually existing. 'Possible existence' is not a type or kind of existence, but a relation to existence, and one certainly can make a comparison. Concerning the notion of God though, one is not making the same kind of comparison. In the case of contingent things, a comparison does not imply that one hundred conceived thalers are 'less', meaning 'less perfect', than one hundred actual thalers.

'Greater' in this one unique case, 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived', must be viewed in the absolute sense, namely, perfection. Indeed, the major claim of a defender of the ontological argument is that we can conceive perfection, independent of whether x actually exists or not. Kant's objection gains relevance only if we claim that perfection is inconceivable, which Anselm does not hold.

The point of debate comes when Anselm defines the status of perfection. God is conceivable and self-existent, i.e., incapable of nonexistence. The claim is that God is existent and such that his nonexistence is impossible. As Miller states, "existence is in some way the ultimate or final sort of greatness. The concept in the mind cannot possess that which makes a thing to be the greatest of all possible things, i.e., real existence".[22] In the unique case of God, one makes that 'ontological commitment' whereby God must 'actually' exist because it is in his nature to possess ultimate perfection.

Kant's criticism, then, bypasses Anselm's objective. If the logic of 'exists' concerns itself only with logical form alone, viz. the formal relations among propositions, that investigation must be subordinated to Anselm's purpose. Anselm's essentialist logic entails the ontological existence of an entity which seems to be logically required by the meaning of each of its terms in the notion 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived'. There is no requirement which would require us first to admit that something actually is perfect in order to establish that there is a logical implication between perfection and existence. So long as the meaning of the terms are understood, that is all that is required for the proof.

'Existence' does not have an independent story to tell either. Perfection means 'fullness of being' or 'fullness of essence' which implies to be 'actual' most perfectly. The starting-point is a thing's essence which is grasped intelligibly in our concept of that thing.

22. Miller, p. 345.

Miller explains:

> In the case of that being than which no greater can be conceived, this essence, to which no reality can be refused, itself determines the way in which it shall be. It can only be in the greatest way, that is, really, outside the mind, subsisting eternally in itself. In this philosophy, to conceive God is already to attain the very being itself of God in the concept, since the intelligible reality of the greatest essence includes its own mode of being, which is real existence.[23]

The meaning of the concept 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is critically challenged by Gaunilo in his reply *In Behalf of the Fool.* Gaunilo understands Anselm's argument as claiming that if 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is in the mind, it must also be postulated to exist in reality too. Gaunilo does not question that we do in fact have concepts. His main concern, rather, is to challenge the sense in which 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is in the mind.

Holding that we can conceive of unreal objects, i.e. false things, which have no corresponding extramental objects, Gaunilo misapplies this observation to God. Even in the case of God, no inference from existence *in intellectu* to existence *in re* can be made, as Anselm would have us believe. Anselm would agree with Gaunilo's observation concerning unreal objects, but this would have no bearing on Anselm's claim that the concept 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is meaningful, and from that fact affirm that it is also true or instantiated.

While both Gaunilo and Anselm consider a concept meaningful even if it is not instantiated, they part company in the case of God. Gaunilo distinguishes between 'being conceived' (*cogitare*) in the mind which is directed to no real object, and 'being understood' (*intelligere*) which refers to some actually existing object. This distinction, according to Gaunilo, must be made clear if the claim 'God could be conceived not actually to exist' is to make any sense. As Anselm's position stands, the concept–object distinction collapses.[24] Gaunilo's point is to force Anselm to make this distinction between a concept existing in the mind and something existing in actual reality. To do this, Anselm must acknowledge that the notion 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived',

23. Ibid., pp. 348–49.

24. There is a fuzzy attempt on Anselm's part not to make any special distinction between *cogitare* and *intelligere* in the case of God: "That than which a greater cannot be conceived is truly understood and conceived, and is in the understanding and in concept" (*Reply* 1). In *Proslogion* 4, though, he does use *intelligere* to represent the stronger form of *cogitare*. Correct conceiving is to understand that 'x exists': "Therefore, he who understands that God so exists, cannot conceive that he does not."

if it is *understood in intellectu*, can be inferred to exist also *in re*.

According to Gaunilo, then, it is not enough for something 'to be conceived'; it has 'to be understood'. 'That than which nothing greater can be conceived' is indefinite because it is directed to no real object, and therefore, an inference for 'existence' cannot be made. It is not analogous to the plan of the artist, which also is *in intellectu* as a concept, but which is an idea *really* existing in the mind as an act of thought known by the soul directly.

Gaunilo's criticism here must be seen in light of what he wants to emphasize. In the case of 'God exists', we need a stronger sense of 'thinking' than when we think of God's nonexistence or my nonexistence. The propositions 'I can think of God as not existing' or 'I can think of myself as not existing' are not self-contradictory, according to Gaunilo. Anselm's claim that God 'cannot be conceived not to be' must be revised to 'cannot be understood not to be'. This revision would entail the stronger sense of *intelligere* as connoting the existence of its object.[25]

As a result, Gaunilo makes his first claim: the concept of God is meaningless because God is unknowable to us in this life. The claim, as seen above, has been established by comparing the case of God with 'unreal objects' which have no reference to objects *in re* corresponding to what is conceived, and by distinguishing the concept of God from the plan of the artist.

Gaunilo makes a second claim: not only do we not know what is signified by 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived', but we cannot infer in anyway the actual existence of what is signified outside of the mind. To emphasize this point, Gaunilo distinguishes three types of *intelligere*: first, we can understand the words of the formula; second, we understand the words as meaning something; and third, we understand the words as meaning something that actually exists (*In Behalf of the Fool* 4). The concept 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is understood only in the trivial sense of the first type:

> It is conceived as by a man who does not know the object, and conceives of it only in accordance with the movement of his mind produced by hearing the word, the mind attempting to image for itself the signification of the word that is heard. And it would be surprising if in the reality of fact it could ever attain to this *(In Behalf of the Fool* 4).

The third type of *intelligere* is inapplicable for the concept of God because, for Gaunilo, there remains an unbridgeable distinction between existence in the mind and actual instantiation. The question of instantiation requires a separate proof (an empirical one), but not a proof arguing from the concept of something. Gaunilo rehabilitates Anselm's argument: "For it should be proven first that this being itself really exists somewhere; and then, from the fact that it is greater than all, we shall not hesitate to infer that it also subsists in itself" *(In Behalf of the Fool* 5).[26]

A defender of Anselm would not object to Gaunilo's effort to map the various uses of 'conceiving of' something. The point of contention comes when Gaunilo claims that God's actual existence must be proven before he can be conceived as a necessary being. To prove that God exists in actuality prior to understanding his existence as 'greater than which nothing can be conceived' would be superfluous for an Anselmian, because the defining content of the concept of God already is self-evident (i.e. the premises are clear).

A more serious objection against Gaunilo could be brought forth concerning an identification between 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' and 'a being greater than all others' *(In Behalf of the Fool* 7). According to Anselm, "the real existence of a being which is said to be 'greater than all other beings' cannot be demonstrated in the same way with the real existence of one that is said to be 'a being than which a greater cannot be conceived'" *(Reply* 5).

To accept Gaunilo's empirical premise forces us to make a contradiction from the first move. If we say that it did not actually exist, it would be contradictory to claim that there is 'a being greater than all others'. For an Anselmian, 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is defined precisely as 'that which cannot be conceived as not existing', namely, it actually exists; whereas to hold that it does not exist, whether actually, possibly, or thought of, is self-contradictory.

As to Gaunilo's lost island example *(In Behalf of the Fool* 6), such a conceptual scheme cannot be applied to God's case. Gaunilo confuses two separate realms of being: contingent existents and a unique necessary existent. Anselm agrees that contingent things exist, but they still can be thought of as not existing without contradiction. The principle of non-contradiction, taken seriously by Anselm, applies here too, because "an object cannot be at once conceived and not conceived" *(Reply* 9). If this is a minimal condition which applies to contingent existents, it also applies to God. However, in addition to this principle, what applies only to God is that 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' cannot even be conceived not to exist. 'God exists' is a logically necessary proposition, since what distin-

25. Cf. Charlesworth, pp. 88–89.

26. See also the conclusion of the lost island example: "For he ought to show first that the hypothetical excellence of this island exists as a real and indubitable fact, and in no wise as any unreal object, or one whose existence is uncertain, in my understanding" *(In Behalf of the Fool* 6).

guishes God's existence from the existence of His creatures is precisely the inconceivability of His non-existence. The possibility of denying that God actually exists is admitted by Anselm, but the denial really exhibits no comprehension of what the formula means.

> He who conceives of a being than which a greater is inconceivable, does not conceive of that whose non-existence is possible, but of that whose non-existence is impossible. Therefore, what he conceives of must exist; for anything whose non-existence is possible, is not that of which he conceives *(Reply* 9).

Is Gaunilo's conclusion that we do not have a concept of God, based upon his two claims, then, a devastating refutation of Anselm? Both Anselm and Gaunilo seem to be on independent paths which never quite meet, but only parallel. Anselm insists that the fool cannot fail but to understand rationally that existence is logically entailed by the description of 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived', provided that he only understands the description of the concept. Gaunilo, on the other hand, questions that kind of description as invalid. Whereas, for Anselm, God's existence is necessary, and therefore, non-existence for 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is impossible, for Gaunilo, God's existence is impossible because 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' may not actually exist.

The emphasis, then, is diametrically opposite between Anselm and Gaunilo. The fool is not saying: 'If God exists (and it is possible that He does not), then He necessarily exists' (indicative conditional); rather, the very different statement that 'if God were to exist (but He does not) then He would necessarily exist' (a contrary to fact conditional).[27] The Anselmian discovery, on the other hand, is to take the concept of God and to recognize that its descriptive content logically entails that God's nonexistence is impossible. The objections neither of Kant nor of Gaunilo really seem to refute the heart of the ontological argument, namely, 'the inconceivability of God's not existing'.

The main issue for the critics of *Proslogion* 3 is the inference to necessary existence, viz. existence of something which cannot be thought not to exist. Kant's criticism of the intelligibility of 'absolute necessity' does not address the problem which Anselm is concerned with, namely, to establish 'God as necessary being'. For Kant, necessity is defined within the given totality of phenomenal experience. God (actual being) is supposed to be above and beyond all categorical conditions: "The concept of necessity is only to be found in our reason, as a formal condition of thought; it does not allow of being hypostatized as a material condition of existence" (*Critique* B648). Ferré suggests that a defender of the ontological argument might reply that the 'unconditional actuality of God' "is properly to be understood as a way of expressing his *lack of limitation* or perfection as *ens realissimum*. Thus the 'unconditioned' character of God *is* precisely the condition of his necessary existence".[28]

When Kant maintains that God is an ideal of reason, that is only to say that it is a regulative principle of reason.[29] This observation cannot be expected to disclaim the ontological argument. 'Absolute necessity', for Kant, means only 'conditional necessity', and this is a shift away from Anselm's position Even if 'existence' is translated to 'necessary existence', Kant's main tenet remains unaltered; namely, the modes of thought also condition things, a priori.

If all necessity is reducible to logical necessity, this means that Kant's necessity of thought conditions the necessity of things, a priori. Whereas it is not contradictory to deny existential propositions as synthetic, it is self-contradictory, according to Kant, to claim a necessary existent. The emphasis lies not in whether there is a logically necessary being, but whether the proposition 'God exists' is a logically necessary truth.

With necessity so defined, Kant would say that the defender of the ontological argument makes the mistake of forcing the claim that 'God, the subject, necessarily has application to something' from the different issue of accepting the conditional 'if anything is God, then that being will have necessary existence' to be a necessary proposition. For Kant, then, the concept of God remains no more than the possibility of God. Modern critics of the ontological argument have expanded on this to conclude that the concept of God operates in much the same logical way as the concept of 'unicorn'. Both are without contradiction, and therefore, their logical possibility can be deduced.

The question remains whether Kant's criticism is fatal to Anselm's *Proslogion* 3 argument for God's necessity. Malcolm attempts to defend Anselm by seeking to refute Kant's claim that God's logical

27. See Hopkins, p. 84.

28. Ferré, p. 201.

29. "The ideal of the supreme being is nothing but a *regulative principle* of reason, which directs us to look upon all connection in the world *as if* it originated from an all-sufficient necessary cause" *(Critique* B647). Charlesworth suggests that the ontological argument is workable if some kind of causal or 'cosmological' argument is introduced. This would perhaps unpack Anselm's claim that 'necessary existence' has meaning a priori by forcing us "to postulate *that* the terms 'necessary' and 'existent' may be conjoined and *that* the notion of 'necessary existent' is meaningful, though we do not know *how* the terms 'necessary' and 'existent' are conjoinable (as we do, for instance, with 'triangle' and 'figure containing two right angles') nor *how* the notion of 'necessary existent' is meaningful" (idid., pp. 76–77). Obviously, as Charlesworth admits too, Anselm refuses to introduce any cosmological explanation as a presupposition to his formulation.

necessity is translatable into a conditional necessity.[30] He accuses Kant of really meaning that it is possible that God does not exist. To accept the contrary to fact conditional, as seen in Gaunilo's formulation, 'if God exists (and it is possible that He does not)' *and* the claim 'God necessarily exists' is self-contradictory. 'God necessarily exists' does not entail such a contitional. They are incompatible propositions.

Malcolm correctly defends Anselm by emphasizing that God's necessary being means independent existence.[31] This means that contingent existence and contingent non existence do not apply to God. This has been proven in *Proslogion* 2. Now in *Proslogion* 3, Anselm concludes that there is no such thing as dependence in God. A defender of Anselm would reply to Kant that the ontological argument, as Ferré states, "rules out any conditions *external* to the subject which could necessitate God, who is supposed to be dependent upon nothing besides himself."[32] Indeed, a theist would reply that God needs more than possibility. The status of 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' needs to be decided on the level of actuality. Whereas if one only sees the matter under logical necessity, he will not address himself to what Anselm claims: ontological necessity.

What Anselm is concerned in *Proslogion* 3 is to establish that the concept of God entails 'a factually or ontologically necessary being'. In this sense, neither Malcolm nor Hartshorne defines what Anselm wants to maintain. Both fail because they equivocate factual (ontological) necessity and logical necessity. In Hartshorne, for example, Anselm is exclusively understood in terms of logical necessity.[33] The point that needs to be made is that the empiricist doctrine, which holds that logical necessity is ultimately tautological, bypasses completely the claim that in the case of God we are dealing with a necessary being which is *a se esse*.[34]

As a result, a defender of Anselm will respond that ontological necessity does not imply either a logically necessary being or a being belief in whose existence is necessary within a contingent framework. Hick offers such an example of necessity: "Within the setting of Christian thought it is necessary to believe that God exists; and it is necessary in the sense that one who does not so believe is, by definition, not operating within the Christian thought-world."[35]

The latter point, that ontological necessity does not imply verification in a contingent framework, is established in both *Reply* 1 and 2. In *Reply* 1, two contentions, that the idea of God is the idea of a contingent being, and that God so defined does not exist, are proven false by Anselm. In *Reply* 2, what is proven is that 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' does not fall in the class of things which do not exist but could possibly exist. The claims of *Reply* 1 and 2 prove, then, that ontological necessity only means that God is not contingently nonexistent. Furthermore, this conclusion is arrived at without implying that God's existence is necessarily dependent upon a certain conceptual framework.

The former point, that ontological necessity does not imply logical necessity, can be established by an Anselmian as follows. God must be unique, and he is unique because his peculiar characteristic is 'not being able to be thought not to exist'. He is above the multiplicity of contingent beings which are merely physically necessary, which means that God is 'not possible to be thought not to be'. In other words, God is greater than 'that which is possible to be thought not to be', namely, contingent beings. Anselm's ontological necessity is on a higher level than even some of Aquinas' 'necessary beings', which consist of heavenly bodies and eternal things. These while 'not possible not to be', can nevertheless be thought not to be.

There are two assumptions, then, that must be accepted if 'ontological necessity' is to be defended. First, one must accept the possibility of a class of things—in this case a class which is comprised of only one unique member who is eternal, self-existent, and supra spatio-temporal—as perfect in an absolute sense ('that than which nothing greater can be conceived'). Second, one must also accept that contingent things represent a metaphysical limitation or imperfection which is seen in light of their essentiality to God's 'complete and perfect essence'.

An Anselmian, finally, might respond that an analysis of the logical necessity of analytic propositions does not decide either way whether 'necessary existence' is meaningful or not. What decides it, is that the concept 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is self-evidently understood. Anselm might respond to Kant that his criticism proves too much: namely, to claim that it is logically necessary that *all* existential statements are synthetic, and from that to conclude that 'God exists' is not a logically necessary proposition.[36] Anselm would not object to

30. See Malcolm, pp. 154–56.
31. Ibid., pp. 143–44.
32. Ferré, p. 203.
33. J. Hick, *Arguments for the Existence of God* (New York, 1971), pp. 96–97. Hick proposes that Hartshorne's first premise be regarded as not logically necessary, but ontologically necessary. Propositions 6–10 can be seen in terms of logical necessity.
34. Mann makes the same criticism as Hick concerning the attempts of modal logic to rehabilitate the ontological argument. The apparatus of modal logic, namely, its operators of necessity and possibility, apply to propositions only. Whereas Anselm talks about beings or things, modal logic applies necessity, possibility, and impossibility only to states of affairs. Fitting Anselm's argument into modal logic requires us "(a) to shift from talk of conceivable beings, etc., to logically possible states of affairs, etc., and (b) to obliterate the crucial distinction between conceiving and conceiving to exist...but the fact remains that they are changes, and hence not faithful to Anselm's thought" (Mann, p. 268).
35. Hick, p. 86.
36. Cf. Charlesworth, p. 75.

accepting that the existence of things in our experience is contingent, and therefore, existential statements concerning this kind of being are synthetic. But there is at least one existential proposition, namely, 'God exists', which Anselm claims to have an argument for its necessity. The unsatisfactory answer which Hartshorne, Malcolm, and Findlay have offered is that the concept of God makes sense only if it exists neither in thought nor in reality. As a result, Hartshorne shifts the issue of the denial of God's factual existence from a necessary question to a contingent one.[37] This, of course, was not what Anselm claimed to have discovered.

### IV. *The Relevance of the Ontological Argument*

Gilkey poses three questions to be asked about any proof of God. The first question asks about the logical meaning of a proof, "the purely philosophical possibility and competence of a proof of God " The second raises the issue of the religious relevance of the proof, regardless of its logical validity or non-validity. The third asks whether the proof can relate to our actual lived experience in the world.[38] These three questions will be the foci of my concluding remarks concerning the ontological argument for the existence of God.

Admittedly, this paper has concentrated on the first question by attending to the philosophical competence of Anselm's proof. As any other ontological argumentation, the proof supposes a rationalist's theory of knowledge and a realist's ontology. Furthermore, the argument, as Anselm states, "would require no other for its proof than itself alone" *(Proslogion,* preface). In other words, it presupposes nothing beyond the signification of its terms.

What Anselm wants us to discover by such an argument is that it makes sense to hold that at least one existential proposition 'God exists' is necessary. The real burden of proof lies in *Proslogion* 2. By showing the necessity between the subject-predicate terms in 'God exists',[39] Anselm has established the intelligible signification of the terms, and from that has understood that 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' exists *in intellectu* and *in re.* A subsequent step has been taken in *Proslogion* 3 concerning the 'absolute necessity' of 'God exists'.

The problem of the logical independence of the two proofs, however, has not been solved. Barth suggests that Anselm is really offering a single argument divided into two phases. In *Proslogion* 2, God's 'general existence' is demonstrated, namely, that God exists in the same way as other things exist. The same reasoning is taken at a deeper level in *Proslogion* 3. What is proven is God's 'special existence', namely, not that he merely exists, but is a self-existent(necessary) reality.[40] Schufreider follows the line of D.P. Henry, R. La Croix, and others, by also proposing that there is one single argument for the existence of God:

> So Chapters I and II go together and serve to show a series of existential deductions about the being 'minimally characterized' as a being than which a greater cannot be thought, and the rest of the work serves to demonstrate that this 'minimally characterized' being is God. In this way, one would not be justified in claiming that *God* exists after the reasoning of II, nor that *God* cannot be thought to exist after III. Rather, only the entire *Proslogion,* taken as a whole, would serve to justify these claims.[41]

If this reading of Anselm is accepted, does this mean that Malcolm's claim that there are two logically independent proofs (where the first is invalid) can also be accepted?[42] I am suggesting that perhaps *Proslogion* 2 taken by itself is the key demonstration. This is the essential argument which purports to refute the atheist. *Proslogion* 3, to be sure, yields a new line of argumentation, valid on its own right, but perhaps is not so isolated from the first.

The point, though, that needs to be clarified is that the burden of proof must rest with making self-evident the premise 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' exists in *intellectu* and *in re.* Once 'actual existence' is established, then we can easily move to the *Proslogion* 3 proof: to prove *the* distinctive feature of God, namely, that 'God truly exists' in such a way that He cannot be thought not to exist.

The second question concerning the relevance of the proof entails the following question: 'whom does the argument satisfy'? The argument would not satisfy a hard-core atheist who denies that there is any such subject as God. He cannot even say, 'God does not exist', as Anselm rightly points out. If, moreover, such a proponent would assume that the proposition 'God does not exist' to be logically identical with

37. See C. Hartshorne, *Anselm's Discovery: A re-examination of the ontological proof for God's existence* (La Salle, Ill., 1965), pp. 53 et seq.

38. Gilkey, pp. 207-10.

39. This is similar to Aristotle's *necessitas consequentiae,* e.g. 'for all p, if p then p' where necessity is attributable to logical consequences within the proposition itself. D.P. Henry in *The Logic of Saint Anselm* (Oxford, 1967) attributes two senses of consequent necessity to Anselm: *necessitas consequentiae* and *necessitas consequentis,* where the necessity lies only in the consequent of a conditional proposition, e.g. 'if the sun moves then it moves necessarily' (pp. 179-80). Consequent necessity (both kinds) is what Anselm considers important to the ontological argument. Furthermore, it does not entail any other kind of necessity (physical, simple, antecedent).

40. K. Barth, *Anselm: Fides Quaerens Intellectum: Anselm's proof of the existence of God in the context of his theological scheme* (Richmond, Virg., 1960), p. 132.

41. G. Schufreider, "The Identity of Anselm's Argument," *The Modern Schoolman* 54 (May 1977) 348-49.

42. Malcolm, p. 140.

'unicorns do not exist' or 'square circles do not exist', he is denying an actual existence of a possibly existing subject. To such a 'logical atheist' who holds that 'God' as a concept has no meaning, because what counts as meaningful and necessary are only those things within our experience (an empirical premise), there is no hope of contact. Anselm cannot say to him 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' is meaningful and still work within the assumptions of ontological argumentation, as long as the atheist cannot concede to the first step, viz. what he considers impossible may necessarily exist.

The point of contact comes with a 'factual atheist' who maintains that God is meaningful, but not instantiated. Here the burden of proof, for Anselm, lies in showing that the concept of God is not self-contradictory, and what is entailed by the concept is independent of any mode of factual existence.

Specifically, as to the proof's 'religious' relevance, Hopkins, in contrast to Barth who holds that the proof does not address itself to one's faith, argues that the common ground between believer and unbeliever is the agreement that reason is not irrelevant to faith. The *Proslogion* proof is "an attempt to find in natural reason a point of contact with the sceptic."[43] I agree that the point is missed if we contrast the believer's ability to recognize the soundness of the demonstration with the unbeliever's inability to recognize it based upon their faith or unfaith. The proof rests wholly on rational argumentation and does not presuppose any principles or premises derived from either natural revelation or faith. As a rational proof, then, it does not follow that it has a 'religious' relevance independent of its philosophical relevance. As Miller states, "St. Anselm is not seeking to reinforce belief but to enable us to understand an old truth by demonstrating it in a purely rational way. By 'understanding' Anselm means 'exhibiting the necessity of a truth to reason' ".[44]

The third question, whether the proof can relate to our actual lived experience in the world, can be subsumed under the issue of the attractiveness of Anselm's ontological argument. A parallel can be established between Anselm and Husserl's theory of intentionality.[45] Both attempt to disarm the sceptic. The sceptic's question which asks how can we know that our experiences are veridical, is a demand for the condition of the possibility of knowledge. Gaunilo really is demanding from Anselm to give him the criteria of truth for asserting 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' exists necessarily. The sceptic's objection is 'how can we know that so and so justification conditions (grounds of belief) really ar the justification or truth conditions which will lead us to the truth and not to error'.

Husserl's answer to such an extreme sceptic, who is not sure of anything, is to perform the phenomenological reduction, namely, to turn from real objects to *noemata* with respect to acts of consciousness. What this means for Husserl, and Anselm would agree, is that this or that set of justification conditions are definitionally related to what it *means* to be an object; and that each kind of object prescribes the kind of condition. For example, in '2+2=4' and 'he has a smile on his face' the justification conditions are different in each case because of the difference in each object. For both philosophers, the justification conditions are not expressions of external causes. An assertion like 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived', will be justified only when the meaning is filled out.

Some other broad similarities between Anselm and a theory of intentionality can be made. First, both are intent on eventually seeing the essence by comprehending it as the essential structure. The goal is to make explicit that which we are implicitely aware. Second, the emphasis is on describing this experience without imposing any logical constructs upon thought. For Anselm, concepts derive their necessity, or truth, from the being to which they refer. Third, the object of investigation is the intentional object, i.e. the object precisely as we are aware of it. The emphasis is not necessarily on any real determinate object. Fourth, every *cogitare*, like *noesis*, is an act of awareness which leads us to *intelligere*, and this can be compared to a *noema*, viz. a meaning-content of awareness. This *noema* is what is perceived as such, a describable awareness of an object. Fifth, once the standpoint shifts from talking about real objects (reference objects) to meanings (intentional objects), then it makes sense to say that the meaning-content of 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' can have different, and yet not logically contradictory, meanings.

The third question, then, must be answered in the affirmative: 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived' necessarily exists is not a mere tautology, but has relatability to our thought experience as a necessary a priori truth. For Anselm, there is a conjunction between thought and experience. In God's case, it is a thought of a certain kind, which is declared by the strongest ontological commitment: the exceptional status of God's existence.

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43. Hopkins, p. 61.
44. Miller, p. 338.
45. See E. Husserl, *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*, trans. W.R.B. Gibson (London, 1962).

# Η ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗ ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΑΣ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΗ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ*

Ὑπὸ

*Ἐπισκόπου Κυανέων Χρυσοστόμου*

Μὲ τὴν πτώση τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς ἄρχισε τὴν περίοδο τοῦ μαρασμοῦ του, ἀφοῦ στὶς χῶρες ποὺ ἄνθισε καὶ καρποφόρησε γιὰ χιλιάδες χρόνια στερήθηκε τὴν πολιτική του ἐλευθερία. Συνάμα ὅμως ἕνα χαρμόσυνο μήνυμα ἄρχισε νὰ μεταφέρεται στὶς χῶρες τῆς Δύσεως. Ὁμαδικὰ οἱ πιὸ διαλεχτοὶ Ἕλληνες ξεκίνησαν γιὰ τὴν Ἰταλία καὶ ἀργότερα γιὰ ἄλλες χῶρες τῆς Κεντρικῆς Εὐρώπης, ὅπου ἔσπειραν τὸ σπόρο τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως καὶ συντέλεσαν στὸ πνευματικὸ ἄνθισμα, ποὺ εἶναι γνωστὸ στὴν ἱστορία ὡς Ἀναγέννηση.

Ἐδῶ θὰ ἤθελα νὰ δώσω μόνο μιὰ ἁδρὴ εἰκόνα τῆς θρησκευτικῆς κυρίως δράσεως τῶν ὁμογενῶν στὶς χῶρες ποὺ ἐγκαταστάθηκαν, ἀγάπησαν καὶ ἔδρασαν.

Καθὼς ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς μὲ τὸ δαιμόνιο πνεῦμα του κατόρθωσε νὰ εὐημερήσει οἰκονομικά, δημιούργησε στὴ νέα του πατρίδα ἀνθοῦσες ἑλληνικὲς Παροικίες μὲ κέντρο τὶς ἑλληνικὲς ὀρθόδοξες Ἐκκλησίες, ποὺ παράλληλα πρὸς τὰ θρησκευτικά τους καθήκοντα θεράπευαν καὶ τὶς ἐκπαιδευτικὲς ἀνάγκες τῶν παροίκων.

Ἴσως νὰ ὑπάρχουν συμπολίτες μας ποὺ ἀσχολοῦνται μὲ τὰ γράμματα καὶ ὅμως νὰ μὴ γνωρίζουν πὼς στὴν Οὐγγαρία, τὸν παλιὸ καιρό, ἱδρύθηκαν πάνω ἀπὸ δεκαπέντε ἑλληνορθόδοξες Ἐκκλησίες. Τοὺς πληροφορῶ λοιπὸν πὼς οἱ περίφημοι καὶ πλουσιότατοι αὐτοὶ Ναοί μας σώζονται ἀκόμη μέχρι σήμερα, καὶ στὸ πέρασμα τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ζωῆς τους ἔγραψαν ἱστορία κάλλους καὶ αἰσθητικῆς ὁμορφιᾶς γιὰ τὸν ἀπόδημο Ἑλληνισμό. Στὴν Ἰταλία δημιουργήθηκαν περίλαμπρες ἑλληνικὲς Ἐκκλησίες μὲ σπουδαιότερα κέντρα τὴ Βενετία καὶ τὴν Τεργέστη. Στὴ Βιέννη ἀργότερα οἱ Ἕλληνες χωρίσθηκαν σὲ δύο Κοινότητες, οἱ Ἐκκλησίες τῶν ὁποίων σώζονται μέχρι σήμερα σὲ ἄριστη κατάσταση. Στὴ Γαλλία ἐγκαταστάθηκαν ἀργότερα, μὲ κέντρο τὴ Μασσαλία Στὴν Ἀγγλία ὁ πρῶτος ἑλληνικὸς ὀρθόδοξος Ναὸς ἱδρύθηκε τὸ 1677.

Ἀπὸ τὸ ἔτος 1577 ὡς τὸ ἔτος 1713 στὴ Βενετία εἶναι ἡ ἕδρα τοῦ Μητροπολίτη Φιλαδελφείας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου. Γιὰ τρεῖς αἰῶνες οἱ ναοὶ τῆς Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης ὑπῆρξαν κέντρα καλλιέργειας τῶν ἑλληνορθόδοξων καὶ ἑλληνοχριστιανικῶν παραδόσεων. Μόνον εἰδικοὶ μελετητὲς τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν ἑλληνικῶν τούτων Παροικιῶν γνωρίζουν τὴν προσφορά τους διαμέσου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὸ Ἔθνος.

Ὡς τὴν ἐποχὴ αὐτὴ ἡ κάθε Ἐκκλησία μεριμνοῦσε μόνη της γιὰ τὴ διοίκησή της. Οἱ Ἕλληνες, μόνοι τους, ὀργανωμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία, διοικοῦσαν καὶ συντηροῦσαν τὶς Ἐκκλησίες καὶ τὰ Σχολεῖα τους στὴ Δύση, καὶ αὐτὸ ἦταν τὸ ἔργο τῆς εὐσέβειας καὶ εὐλάβειάς τους πρὸς τὸ Θεὸ καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀγάπης τους πρὸς τὴν Πατρίδα. Τὸ φῶς τῆς ὀρθόδοξης πίστεως μεταλαμπαδευόταν ἀπὸ τὰ συντηρούμενα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησία ἑλληνικὰ Σχολεῖα στοὺς μαθητὲς καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς τους, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀποτέλεσε τὴ βάση καὶ τὸ θεμέλιο τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ στὴ Δύση, ὅπου ἀργότερα οἱ Παροικίες μας ριζωμένες σ' αὐτὰ τὰ δύο σκέλη ἐξελίχθηκαν σὲ ὑπολογίσιμους νομικοὺς ὀργανισμούς.

Δὲν εἶχε φαίνεται ὡριμάσει στὴ σκέψη τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἡ ἄποψη νὰ ὑπαγάγει ὅλες τὶς ἐκκλησιαστικὲς Κοινότητες ὑπὸ τὴν ἐνιαία διοίκηση ἑνὸς Μητροπολίτη. Αὐτὸ πραγματοποιήθηκε πολὺ ἀργότερα, μὲ τὴν ἄνοδο στὸν εὐκλεὴ Οἰκουμενικὸ Θρόνο τοῦ μεγάλου ὁραματιστῆ καὶ διανοητικὰ ρωμαλέου τέκνου τῆς Κρήτης, τοῦ Πατριάρχη Μελετίου Μεταξάκη.

Προφανῶς ἡ ἀναπτυγμένη νοημοσύνη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡ ὀξυδέρκειά του εἰσέδυσαν καὶ διαπέρασαν στὴ μελλοντικὴ πορεία τοῦ χρόνου καὶ συνέλαβαν τὴν ἐξέλιξη τῶν σύγχρονων πολιτικῶν γεγονότων στὴν Εὐρώπη. Εὔλογα, λοιπόν, γιὰ τὴν προστασία τοῦ χειμαζόμενου Ἑλληνισμοῦ ἀποφάσισε τὸ μήνα Ἀπρίλιο τοῦ κρισιμότατου γιὰ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸ ἔτους

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* Σὲ ἄλλες μελέτες τοῦ παρόντος *Festschrift* δίνονται ἀφειδῶς οἱ πηγὲς γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας. Ἡ σύντομη αὐτὴ εἰσαγωγὴ ἀποτελεῖ ἁπλὴ συμμετοχὴ στὴν ἔκδοση Τιμητικοῦ Τόμου γιὰ τὸ Ἰωβηλαῖο τοῦ Σεβασμιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας κ. Μεθοδίου.

1922 τὴν ἔκδοση Συνοδικοῦ καὶ Πατριαρχικοῦ Τόμου, οἱ πρόνοιες τοῦ ὁποίου προέβλεπαν τὴν ἵδρυση τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων, Ἐξαρχίας Δυτικῆς καὶ Κεντρῴας Εὐρώπης. Ἔδρα της ὁρίσθηκε τὸ Λονδίνο, ἡ πρωτεύουσα τῆς εὐγενοῦς καὶ πάντοτε φιλόξενης χώρας τῆς Βρεταννίας, ποὺ ἦταν πάντοτε, ἀκόμη καὶ σήμερα εἶναι, τὸ προπύργιο τοῦ δυτικοῦ πολιτισμοῦ στὴν Εὐρώπη.

Μὲ τὸν παραπάνω λοιπὸν ἱδρυτικὸ Τόμο, τὸ σεπτὸ Κέντρο ἐπανέφερε πρῶτα στὴ διοίκηση τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ὅλες τὶς Ἐκκλησίες καὶ τὶς ἐκκλησιαστικὲς Κοινότητες ποὺ βρίσκονταν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ διοικητικὰ ὅρια τῶν Αὐτοκεφάλων Ἐκκλησιῶν. Τὴν 5η Μαΐου τοῦ ἴδιου ἔτους ἡ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος ἐξέλεξε ὡς πρῶτο Μητροπολίτη Θυατείρων τὸν τότε σχολάρχη τῆς σεβάσμιας Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης Γερμανὸ Στρηνόπουλο –παρεμπιπτόντως ἀναφέρω τὴν πληροφορία πὼς ἡ ὀνομασία τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς μας προῆλθε ἀπὸ τὰ Θυάτειρα, ποὺ ἦταν ἀκμάζουσα ἑλληνικὴ πόλη τῆς Μικρασίας καὶ μία ἀπὸ τὶς ἑπτὰ Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως.

Τὸ 1924 ἡ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαχείου πῆρε τὴν ἀπόφαση τῆς ἀποσπάσεως τῆς Οὐγγαρίας καὶ τῆς Αὐστρίας ἀπὸ τὴ δικαιοδοσία τῆς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων καὶ ἵδρυσε αὐτοτελὴ Ἐξαρχία Κεντρῴας Εὐρώπης, μὲ Μητροπολίτη τὸ γνωστὸ ἐθνικὸ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸ ἀγωνιστὴ Γερμανὸ Καραβαγγέλη, ποὺ πέθανε τὸ 1936. Μὲ τὸ θάνατο τοῦ Μητροπολίτη αὐτοῦ οἱ δύο παραπάνω χῶρες ἑνώθηκαν καὶ πάλι διοικητικά, μὲ ἀπόφαση τῆς Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου, μὲ τὴ Μητρόπολη Θυατείρων.

Ἡ ἀχανὴς ἐπαρχία τῆς Εὐρώπης βρῆκε στὸ πρόσωπο τοῦ Μητροπολίτη Γερμανοῦ Στρηνόπουλου τὸ μεγάλο πνευματικὸ καθοδηγητή της, ὑπὸ τὴν ποδηγεσία καὶ ποιμαντορία τοῦ ὁποίου ἱδρύθηκαν ἐκκλησιαστικὲς Κοινότητες σ' ὅλο τὸ χῶρο της. Δυστυχῶς ὅμως μερικὲς ἀπὸ αὐτὲς ἀργότερα περιέπεσαν σὲ παρακμή. Γιὰ πιὸ ἄνετη διαποίμανση τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως δόθηκε σ' αὐτὸν βοηθὸς ὁ Μητροπολίτης Φιλαδελφείας Ἀθηναγόρας Καββάδας. Ἡ ἐμβαλωματικὴ αὐτὴ λύση κράτησε γιὰ λίγο χρονικὸ διάστημα, ὡς τὸ θάνατο τοῦ Μητροπολίτη Γερμανοῦ, ποὺ ἔλαβε χώρα τὸ 1951.

Στὸ θρόνο τοῦτο τῆς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων τὸν διαδέχθηκε, μετὰ ἀπὸ ἐκλογή, ὁ Φιλαδελφείας Ἀθηναγόρας Καββάδας, ποὺ γεννήθηκε στοὺς Ἀνεμόμυλους, ἕνα προάστιο τῆς Κέρκυρας, στὶς 16 Ἰανουαρίου 1884. Κατὰ τὴν ποιμαντορία του ἡ Μητρόπολη Θυατείρων ἔγινε Ἀρχιεπισκοπή.

Ἡ ἀρχιερατεία τοῦ Ἀθηναγόρα Καββάδα συνέπεσε μὲ τὴ μεγάλη μετανάστευση Ἑλλήνων ἐργατῶν στὴ Δυτικὴ Εὐρώπη, μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα τὸν ἀπότομο πολλαπλασιασμὸ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων. Αὐτὸς ἄρχισε τὸ ἔργο του μὲ νεανικὸ ἐνθουσιασμὸ καὶ μεθοδικότητα γιὰ τὴν καλύτερη ὀργάνωση τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν καὶ τὴν ἵδρυση νέων Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ Κοινοτήτων. Ὡς δεῖγμα τοῦ εὐδόκιμου ἔργου του ἀναφέρω ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν αὐξήθηκε ἀπὸ δεκαπέντε σὲ σαράντα κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς ποιμαντορίας του. Γιὰ τὴ συντήρηση τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομικὴ ἐνίσχυση τῶν ἀσθενέστερων Κοινοτήτων ἵδρυσε τὸ Trust τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Βαθμιαῖα οἱ διοικητικὲς ἀνάγκες τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἀπαίτησαν τὴν παρουσία βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων. ποὺ μετὰ ἀπὸ εἰσήγησή του ἐξέλεξε τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο. Ἐκλέχτηκαν ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Ρηγίου Μελέτιος γιὰ τὸ Παρίσι, ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Θερμῶν Χρυσόστομος γιὰ τὴ Βιέννη καὶ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπαμείας Ἰάκωβος γιὰ τὸ Λονδίνο.

Ὅσοι ἐργάσθηκαν ὑπὸ τὸ διακεκριμένο καὶ φιλόμουσο αὐτὸν Ἱεράρχη μαρτυροῦν γιὰ τὶς σπάνιες ἀρετές του. Μιλοῦν γιὰ αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνδρα δίκαιο καὶ ἐνάρετο, μὲ ἀκτινοβολοῦσα προσωπικότητα, τοῦ ὁποίου οἱ ἐνέργειες ἦταν πάντα δίκαιες καὶ ἀντικειμενικές, ποὺ ποτὲ δὲν ὑποβίβασε τὴ στάθμη τῆς ἀξιοπρέπειάς του ἢ τῶν συνανθρώπων του. Αὐτὸς ὑπῆρξε ἐραστὴς τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῆς ἀλήθειας. ἐφαρμόζοντας ἔτσι ἔμπρακτα τὰ διδάγματα τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου. Ὁ Ἀθηναγόρας Καββάδας ἀπέθανε σὲ νοσοκομεῖο τοῦ Λονδίνου τὸ 1963.

Ἀμέσως μετὰ τὸ θάνατό του ἡ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, μὲ ἐμπεριστατωμένη ἀπόφασή της, διαίρεσε τὴν ἀχανὴ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ σὲ τέσσερις αὐτοτελεῖς Μητροπόλεις, δηλαδή: Θυατείρων, Γαλλίας, Γερμανίας καὶ Αὐστρίας. Ἀκόμη γιὰ ἄλλη μιὰ φορὰ ἡ στάθμη τῶν Θυατείρων ὑποβιβάσθηκε στὸ ἐπίπεδο τῆς Μητροπόλεως.

Σ' αὐτὴ τὴν κατάσταση κλήθηκε καὶ ἀνέλαβε τὴ διαποίμανση τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Θυατείρων. στὶς 10 Δεκεμβρίου 1963, ὁ Μητροπολίτης Ἐλαίας Ἀθηναγόρας Κοκκινάκης, ποὺ γιὰ πολλὰ χρόνια ὑπηρέτησε εὐδόκιμα τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸ τῶν Η.Π.Α. καὶ τοῦ Καναδᾶ. Αὐτὸς γεννήθηκε στὸ ἱερὸ νησὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως, τὴν Πάτμο.

Πρόωρος εἶναι ἀκόμη ὁ θάνατος τοῦ ἱεράρχη τούτου, γιὰ νὰ ἐπιτραπεῖ ἀντικειμενικὴ ἀξιολόγησή του. Κανεὶς ὅμως δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ ἀμφιβάλει ὅτι πρόκειται γιὰ ἄνδρα μὲ ἐξαιρετικὲς διοργανωτικὲς ἱκανότητες καὶ διοικητικὴ ἐπάρκεια. Ἡ δράση του ὑπῆρξε πράγματι καταπληκτικὴ καὶ κεραυνοβόλα. Ἀπὸ τὴν ὥρα ποὺ ἀνέλαβε τὰ καθήκοντά του κινήθηκε μὲ ἀστραπιαία ταχύτητα σὲ ὅλους τοὺς τομεῖς δράσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Τὸν εὐνόησε βέβαια καὶ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ εὐρωστία τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἀδελφῶν μας ἢ ἀκόμη καὶ ἡ τάση τους νὰ προβληθοῦν κοινωνικῶς διαμέσου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀφοῦ ἡ φτώχεια τοῦ πλούσιου εἶναι τὰ πολλὰ ποὺ κατέχει καὶ τὰ περισσότερα ποὺ διαρκῶς ζητάει. Αὐτὸς περισυνέλεξε σημαντικοὺς πόρους, τοὺς ὁποίους χρησιμοποίησε γιὰ τὴν ἀγορὰ νέων Ἐκκλησιῶν, τὶς ὁποῖες μετέτρεψε σὲ ἑλληνορθόδοξα φυτώρια, ποὺ ἀποτελοῦν πνευματικὴ στέγη τῶν ἑλληνορθόδοξων χριστιανῶν ἀδελφῶν μας σ' ὅλες τὶς γωνιὲς τῆς φιλόξενης αὐτῆς χώρας. Στὴν πραγμάτωση τῶν ὁραματισμῶν τοῦ ἱεράρχη αὐτοῦ πολὺ συνέβαλε ἡ μεγαλοψυχία καὶ γενναιοδωρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐφοπλιστῶν καὶ ἡ πνευματικὴ ὡρι-

μότητα τοῦ πληρώματος. Πολυσχιδὲς ὑπῆρξε τὸ ἔργο του.

Ὁ Μητροπολίτης Ἀθηναγόρας Κοκκινάκης ἔπηξε θυσιαστήρια Ἐκκλησιῶν, ὀργάνωσε Κοινότητες, ἵδρυσε καὶ ποδηγέτησε ἑλληνικὰ Σχολεῖα, δημιούργησε Βοηθητικὲς Ἀδελφότητες σὲ κάθε Κοινότητα γιὰ τὸ ἔργο τῆς φιλανθρωπίας καὶ συνέβαλε στὴν ὀργάνωση τῶν νέων μέσα στὶς ἐκκλησιαστικὲς Κοινότητες. Παράλληλα μὲ τὰ διοικητικά του καθήκοντα θεράπευε τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ καὶ θεολογικὰ γράμματα. Ἦταν ἐργατικότατος. Ἀπὸ τὴν πείρα τῆς Ἀμερικῆς ποὺ εἶχε συνέταξε καταστατικὰ γιὰ τὴν ὁμαλὴ καὶ δημοκρατικὴ διοίκηση τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, τῶν Σχολείων, τῶν Βοηθητικῶν Ἀδελφοτήτων καὶ τῶν Συλλόγων τῶν νέων. Ὀργάνωσε Κληρικολαϊκὰ Συνέδρια μέσα στὸ Λονδίνο καὶ σὲ ἄλλες πόλεις τῆς Βρεταννίας καὶ ἐξαπέλυσε μεγάλο ἀριθμὸ ἐγκυκλίων κηρυγμάτων πρὸς τὸν κλῆρο καὶ τὸ λαό. Ὅλα αὐτὰ συνέβαλαν στὸ νὰ δημιουργηθοῦν βάσεις γερές, γιατὶ μπῆκαν βαθιὲς ρίζες στὴ γῆ τούτη τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ, γιὰ τὴν παραπέρα σωστὴ ἀνάπτυξη τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καὶ κοινοτικῆς περιφέρειας. Ὅλα αὐτὰ στηρίχθηκαν στὸ κρηπίδωμα τῆς δημοκρατικῆς διαδικασίας ποὺ ἐπικρατοῦσε. Τιμητικὰ γι' αὐτὸν τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο τὸ ἔτος 1968 ἀνύψωσε καὶ πάλι τὴ Μητρόπολη Θυατείρων σὲ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ καὶ τὴ μετονόμασε μάλιστα σὲ «Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας».

Τὸ 1970 ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηναγόρας Κοκκινάκης εἰσηγήθηκε στὸ Οἰκουμενικὸ Πατριαρχεῖο τὴν ἐκλογὴ βοηθῶν Ἐπισκόπων γιὰ τὴν Ἱερὰ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή. Τὸ σεπτὸ Κέντρο τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας ἐξέλεξε δύο Ἐπισκόπους τὸ μήνα Νοέμβριο τοῦ ἴδιου ἔτους: τὸν Ἐπίσκοπο Τροπαίου Γρηγόριο, μὲ κέντρο τὴν Κοινότητα τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα τοῦ Βόρειου Λονδίνου, καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπο Κυανέων Χρυσόστομο, μὲ κέντρο τὸν Καθεδρικὸ Ναὸ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέα, στὸ Kentish Town τοῦ Βορειοδυτικοῦ Λονδίνου. Ἀργότερα, τὸ 1978, μὲ νέα αἴτησή του ἡ Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος ἐξέλεξε ἄλλους δύο, τὸν Ἐπίσκοπο Τελμησσοῦ Χριστοφόρο γιὰ τὸν Καθεδρικὸ Ναὸ τοῦ Γενεσίου τῆς Θεοτόκου τοῦ Νότιου Λονδίνου καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπο Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμόθεο γιὰ τὸν Καθεδρικὸ Ναὸ τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας (Moscow Road) Λονδίνου.

Στὶς 9 Σεπτεμβρίου 1979 ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηναγόρας Κοκκινάκης ἀπέθανε ἀπὸ καρδιακὴ προσβολή. Ἡ ψυχή του ἀνέδραμε στοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἀναμένει «τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου».

Τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο Ἀθηναγόρα Κοκκινάκη διαδέχθηκε στὸν Ἀρχιεπισκοπικὸ Θρόνο ὁ ἀπὸ τὸ 1968 Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης (Αἰθιοπίας) Μεθόδιος Φούγιας, ἀπὸ τὸ Φενεὸ Κορινθίας. Ἡ ἐκλογή του ἔλαβε χώρα στὶς 9 Ὀκτωβρίου 1979 καὶ ἡ ἐνθρόνισή του στὶς 4 Νοεμβρίου τοῦ ἴδιου ἔτους.

Τὸ ἔργο τοῦ ἀείμνηστου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηναγόρα Κοκκινάκη συνεχίζει ἀντάξια σήμερα ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων Μεθόδιος, ποὺ μὲ τὴν ἀκτινοβολία καὶ τὴν ἐμβρίθεια τῆς προσωπικότητάς του ἐμπλουτίζει τὸ θρησκευτικό, ἐθνικὸ καὶ κοινωνικὸ ἔργο τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, προσθέτοντας τὰ δικά του ἔργα στὸ πνευματικὸ οἰκοδόμημα τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Ἔτσι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἑλληνικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ Σχολείων αὐξήθηκε σημαντικά. Ἐξέδωσε περιοδικὰ καὶ ἵδρυσε σωματεῖα, ποὺ ἔχουν καταχωρισθεῖ ὅλα μαζὶ στὸ ἡμερολόγιο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Στὸ διάστημα τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν τῆς διακονίας του διέθεσε μόνο γιὰ τὴν ὀργάνωση τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ Σχολείων περισσότερες ἀπὸ διακόσιες χιλιάδες λίρες.

Ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Μεθόδιος Φούγιας ζεῖ καλὰ τὴν ψυχολογία τοῦ ποιμνίου του καὶ κατέχει τὴν τέχνη προσεγγίσεώς του. Εἶναι ταπεινὸς καὶ προσιτὸς σ' ὅλους. Ἡ πείρα του στὴ διοίκηση τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὸν ἔχει ἀλάθευτα διδάξει πὼς ἡ ἐξυπηρέτηση τοῦ λογικοῦ ποιμνίου ἐπιτυγχάνεται μόνο στὴν ἡρωικὴ πράξη τῆς χριστιανικῆς ταπεινώσεως, ποὺ αὐτὴ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι τὸ χαρακτηριστικὸ γνώρισμα τῶν μεγάλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ αὐτῶν ποὺ θέλουν νὰ εἶναι πνευματικοὶ ἡγέτες τοῦ λαοῦ. Μεγάλος εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ποὺ σὰν τὸν ἀετὸ συστέλλει τὰ φτερά του καὶ κατεβαίνει χαμηλά, γιὰ νὰ ὑψώσει ὕστερα στὶς φτεροῦγες του τοὺς ἀετιδεῖς του: τοὺς ἄσημους καὶ εὐτελεῖς τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ συνόλου. Αὐτὸς ἐφαρμόζει τὸ δίδαγμα τοῦ Κυρίου «ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ ὑμῶν γενέσθαι πρῶτος, ἔσται πάντων δοῦλος». Γιὰ τὸ σημερινὸ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο γίνεται ἐκτενέστερα λόγος σὲ ἄλλες σελίδες τοῦ Τόμου αὐτοῦ.

Σήμερα ἡ Ἱερὰ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας διοικεῖται ἀπὸ τὸ Σεβ. Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο, ποὺ βοηθεῖται ἀπὸ ὀκτὼ βοηθοὺς Ἐπισκόπους. Ἔχει 75 Ναούς, Μονὲς καὶ Παρεκκλήσια καὶ εἶναι ὀργανωμένη σὲ 60 περίπου Κοινότητες, ποὺ ἀποτελοῦν συλλογικὰ ὄργανα διοικήσεως τοῦ Ναοῦ, τοῦ Σχολείου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱδρυμάτων τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Δηλαδὴ σὲ κάθε Κοινότητα ὑπάρχει τὸ Κοινοτικὸ Συμβούλιο, ἡ Σχολικὴ Ἐφορεία, ὁ Σύλλογος Γονέων, ἡ Φιλόπτωχος Ἀδελφότης καὶ ὁ Σύλλογος τῶν Νέων.

Γιὰ τὰ οἰκονομικὰ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ὑπάρχει νόμιμο, ἀπὸ τὸ κράτος ἀναγνωρισμένο, Συμβούλιο (Trust), γιὰ τὰ ἐκπαιδευτικὰ ζητήματα ὑπάρχει τὸ Κεντρικὸ Ἐκπαιδευτικὸ Συμβούλιο καὶ γιὰ τὴ φιλανθρωπία ὑπάρχει τὸ Greek Orthodox Charity Organisation.

Ὁ Καθεδρικὸς Ναὸς τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας συντηρεῖ τὸν ξενώνα τῆς Ἁγίας Φιλοθέης, ὅπου φιλοξενοῦνται ἄποροι ἀσθενεῖς ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐνῶ ὁ Καθεδρικὸς Ναὸς τοῦ Βόρειου Λονδίνου συντηρεῖ Γηροκομεῖο καὶ ὁ Ναὸς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέα Παιδικὸ Σταθμό.

Τὰ Σωματεῖα τῶν Κοινοτήτων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων ὑπερβαίνουν τὰ 300. Ὅλα αὐτὰ εὑρίσκονται σὲ συνεχὴ ἐπικοινωνία μὲ τὸν ἴδιο τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπο, ποὺ δίνει τὶς κατάλληλες ὁδηγίες καὶ συμβουλὲς γιὰ ὅλα τὰ ζητήματά τους.

Στὸ ζήτημα τῆς Παιδείας τὸ Κεντρικὸ Ἐκπαιδευτικὸ Συμβούλιο συνεργάζεται μὲ τὰ Ὑπουργεῖα Παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλάδας καὶ τῆς Κύπρου.

Σήμερα ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων, μὲ τὴν πρόνοια τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Μεθοδίου, ἐκδίδει τὶς Ἐπετηρίδες «Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία» καὶ «Texts and Studies», τὴν ἐφημερίδα «Ὀρθόδοξος Κήρυξ» καὶ τὸ ἡμερολόγιο.

Ἡ Ἱερὰ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας, πρώτη Ἐπαρχία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου στὴ Δυτικὴ Εὐρώπη, γράφοντας τὴν ἱστορία της μέσα στὴν πορεία τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ποιμνίου της, μπορεῖ νὰ καυχιέται, γιὰ τὸ ἔργο ποὺ ἐπιτελέσθηκε σὲ μικρὸ σχετικὰ χρονικὸ διάστημα. Πρέπει αὐτὴ νὰ σεμνύνεται καὶ γιὰ τοὺς συνεργάτες κληρικούς της, ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ τὸ βαθμό τους, καὶ περισσότερο ἀπὸ ὅλα νὰ ὑπερηφανεύεται, ἐν Κυρίῳ, γιατὶ ἔχει τὸ προνόμιο καὶ τὴν τιμὴ νὰ ποιμαίνει ἕνα φιλοπρόοδο καὶ εὐγενικὸ πλήρωμα, ποὺ ἐργαζόμενο διαρκῶς προοδεύει οἰκονομικὰ καὶ πνευματικά.

Τὸ πνευματικὸ ὑπόβαθρο τῆς Ἱερᾶς αὐτῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἐξελίχθηκε σὲ μικρὸ χρονικὸ διάστημα καὶ τὸ μεγαλύτερο ποσοστὸ τῆς προόδου της ἀνήκει στὸ ἅγιο Πνεῦμα, ποὺ χωρὶς φειδὼ εὐλογεῖ τὸ «γεώργιον» τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. Κάποτε ὁ Θεὸς μέσα στὴ φιλανθρωπία Του, ἐνῶ Ἐκεῖνος μᾶς ἔδωσε ὅλα ὅσα πετύχαμε, καὶ τὶς προϋποθέσεις καὶ τ' ἀποτελέσματα, ἀπὸ ἀπόλυτη συγκατάβαση καὶ ἀγάπη πρὸς ἐμᾶς, τὰ καταχωρίζει ὅλα σὲ πίστωσή μας. Ἂς ἔχει δόξα τὸ ἅγιο ὄνομά Του καὶ οἱ ἀνεξιχνίαστες βουλές Του.

Ἂς προσευχόμαστε τὸ ἅγιο Πνεῦμα, ὁ Θεός, διαμέσου τῆς Ἁγίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Συνόδου τοῦ σεπτοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, νὰ ἐκλέγει πάντα τοὺς χαρισματούχους κληρικούς, γιὰ νὰ συνεχισθεῖ ὁ θρησκευτικὸς καὶ ἐθνικὸς προορισμὸς τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας ὡς τὴ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰώνα.

# AN EXAMINATION OF THE SPIRITUAL ODYSSEY OF A MODERN MYSTIC

By

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The world of Simone Weil, French philosopher, classical scholar, teacher, author, Marxist activist and mystic, is a maze of paradoxical and mutually-contradictory ideas which are a challenge to both reason and faith. In the centre of this enigmatic world is the solitary figure of Simone Weil embarked upon a journey which will eventually lead her to the "Gateway of God." It is our intention to examine the life and thought of this amazing person.

Simone Weil's ideas are expressed in personal letters, essays, notebooks, aphorisms, and articles on politics, sociology and religion. Most of her writings were published posthumously some of which are now available in English translation. Our study will focus on Weil's mystical and religious ideas.

Before examining Weil's religious ideas as they relate to her mysticism, a brief biographical sketch of Simone Weil will put her views and life in their proper context.

Simone Weil was born in Paris in 1909 into a middle class Jewish home. Her parents did not practice their Jewish religion and Simone and her brother André were brought up in a completely agnostic environment. Simone was a precocious and delicate child, eccentric, inflexible and very subjective. These traits became more pronounced in her adolescent and mature years. She studied philosophy under La Senne and Alain (Auguste Chartier). She showed little interest in history courses at school which may account for lack of a sense of history in her mature years. In 1928 Simone entered the Ecole Normale Superieure, and in 1931 she was granted the "agrége de philosophie" which qualified her to teach philosophy. She taught in a number of schools and it was during that period that she became interested in Marxism and in left-wing groups. Her concern for the plight of the French workers involved her with Trade Unions. Simone worked for some brief periods in factories and in vineyards as a manual laborer in order to identify herself with the hardships of the French workers. During this period she gave away most of her earnings to what she considered as the 'needy people', who took full advantage of her unsolicited generosity. She contributed to radical periodicals among them *La Revolution Proletariene.*

When Civil War broke out in Spain, Simone joined the Red Brigade to fight against the Franko forces. After a brief period she returned to France disillusioned with the futility of war and the senseless slaughter of young men and women. She became a convinced pacifist and devoted her energies in the cause of peace and in the hope that the workers will play an important role in solving the many problems facing Europe.

Simone Weil's life and thought are marked by paradoxes and contradictions which gave rise to misinterpretations and misunderstanding of her views. She was labeled an atheist, Marxist, heretic, eeclectic, syncretist, Christian Hellenist, mystic and saint. These labels point to the complex personality of Simone Weil and also delineate the various paths of her tortuous spiritual Journey towards union with God.

Simone Weil pursued the truth through various ideologies and came to the conclusion that they were leading to a cul-de-sac which made her reconsider her options. Unlike her contemporaries Jean Paul Sartre and Albert Camus who saw the answer to the dilemma of modern man in the *hic et nunc* with 'no exit', and in the absurdity of life, Simone Weil found the answer in human affliction where there is no consolation for the afflicted. She saw in Christ's derelict cry from the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" as the perfect example of affliction. Hence, affliction became her central theme from which she deduced the idea of the absence of God and His abandonment of the world to blind, mechanical Necessity.

In 1937 Simone Weil went to Italy where she visited a number of museums as well as the 12th-century Romanesque chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli where she claims to have had a mystical expe-

rience of Christ 'who took possession of me' which both overwhelmed and surprised her since she was not looking for such an experience. It was in a small Portuguese village that Simone watched the wives of local fishermen carrying candles and singing ancient hymns during a procession of the patronal festival when

> the conviction was suddenly borne in upon me that Christianity is pre-eminently the religion of slaves, that slaves cannot help belonging to it, and I among them.[1]

In 1938 Simone spent ten days at Solesmes, from Palm Sunday to Easter Tuesday where she attended the liturgical services and was greatly impressed by the Gregorian chant. It was there that 'the thought of the Passion of Christ entered into my being once and for all'. She met there a young English Catholic who observed Simone's interest in the services who introduced her to the English metaphysical poets of the 17th century. George Herbert's poem "Love" had a profound effect on her which led her to state that "in this sudden possession of me by Christ, neither my senses nor my imagination had any part. I only felt in the midst of my suffering the presence of a love, like that which one can read in the smile of a beloved face."[2]

Simone Weil's mystical experience did not result in a 'conversion' like that of St. Paul on the road to Damascus, but was in a certain sense a logical destination of her spiritual odyssey. Weil never sought any mystical experience as a way out of a blind alley in which she found herself. She states that Christ came upon her without looking for him, which so overwhelmed her that she half refused to accept it. She insists that she had never read any mystical works because she had never felt any need for them. She admits however that "one can never wrestle enough with God if one does so out of pure regard for the truth. Christ likes us to prefer truth to him because, before being Christ, he is truth. If one turns aside from him to go towards the truth, one will not go far before falling into his arms."[3]

It was during 1940–42 that Simone Weil met Father M. Perrin, a Dominican monk, and Gustave Thibon, a lay philosopher and theologian, who played an important role in the last years of her brief life. It was during this period that Simone began to read Indian philosophy which was rather of a superficial nature compared with her profound interest in Greek philosophy and culture.

Gustave Thibon gives his impression of Simone Weil in the following statement:

> A limpid mysticism emanated from her...never have I felt the word *supernatural* to be more charged with reality than when in contact with her. Such mysticism had nothing in common with those religious speculations divorced from any personal commitment which all too frequently is the only testimony of intellectuals who apply themselves to the things of God.[4]

Weil herself felt that a true mystical experience can only come from a descent of the supernatural and that her experience was her salvation. She even suggests that mystical experience is possible for anyone "waiting for God in patience", but she could not make it a general rule. Because of this personal experience of Christ's presence, Weil felt that she belonged to Christ and that there was no need for her to enter the Church by accepting the Sacrament of Baptism. We shall deal with this particular problem when we examine her critique of the Church.

In her "Spiritual Autobiography" Simone Weil tells Father Perrin that "As I reached adolescence I saw the problem of God as a problem of which the data could not be obtained here below, and I decided that the only way of being sure not to reach a wrong conclusion... was to leave it alone. So I left it alone."[5]

Simone Weil's syncretism which affected her theological views has many sources. Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Manicheism, Gnosticism, and above all Greek philosophy and culture. She could argue without any regard for historical truth that there had been other incarnations of the Word besides that of Jesus, such as Melchisedek, Osiris, Krishna, and others. When one invokes in purity of heart Osiris, Krishna, or any other incarnation of the divine Word, the Son of God will send the Holy Spirit. She further states that Christ is only a kind of symbol to the second power and that God must be conceived as being impersonal.

The following definition may help to show that Weil's mysticism falls outside the Judeo-Christian tradition even though her mystical experience was that of Christ.

> A mystic is a man who has been favored with an immediate, and to him, real experience of the divine, of ultimate reality, or who at least strives to attain such experience. His experience may be the result of long and often elaborate preparations. From a historical point of view, the mystical quest for the divine takes place almost exclusively within the prescribed tradition.[6]

1. Simone Weil, *Waiting for God*, tr. by Emma Craufurd, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London, 1952, p. 20.
2. *Ibid.* pp. 21, 22.
3. *Ibid.* p. 22.
4. Simone Weil, *Gravity and Grace*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. London, 1952, pp. viii–ix.
5. *Waiting for God*, p. 16
6. Gershom G. Scholem, *On the Kaballah and its Symbolism*, tr. by Ralph Manheim, Schoken Books, New York, 1965, p. 5.

The author of the above citation points out that mysticism generally finds expression in either a conservative or revolutionary form. If his mystical experience falls within his tradition it generally tends to confirm the religious authority which is a revolutionary form of mysticism. Simone Weil's mysticism does not seem to fit into the above definition of a mystic. As an agnostic Weil's tradition is in the Hellenic rather than the Judeo–Christian tradition. Moreover, Simone Weil never strove to attain any mystical experience which is evident from the following statement: "All these mystical phenomena are absolutely beyond me. I do not understand them. I speak of them at random. And I am not even capable of telling myself sincerely that I speak of them at random."[7] She neither sought mystical experience nor did she have any rational explanation for her experience.

Simone Petrement tried to find an explanation for Weil's mystical experience in terms of her physical and mental state at the time of her 'illumination,' since Weil suffered from severe migraines most of her adult life. Petrement ruled out such a simple explanation because she knew that Weil was too much on guard against this kind of temptation. Had Weil been a believer when she had the mystical experience it may have been easier to offer some explanation, but even then one cannot offer a rational explanation for a subjective experience which cannot be verified rationally. Petrement accepted Weil's mystical expeience as genuine because of her integrity and purity of spirit.

In a letter to Father Perrin dated 26 May, 1942, Casablanca, Weil writes:

> I assure you that when speaking of my childhood and youth I used the words vocation, obedience, spirit of poverty... love of one's neighbour... I am giving them the exact signification they have for me. Yet I was brought up by my parents and my brother in a complete agnosticism, and I never made the slightest effort to depart from it. In spite of that, ever since my birth... not one of my faults, not one of my imperfections really had any excuse of ignorance.[8]

Let us now examine the salient themes in Weil's mysticism.

I. *Affliction and the Absence of God.*

Simone Weil's point of departure is Christ's derelict cry from the Cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsake me?" which she sees as the perfect example of affliction without consolation and the total abandonment of Christ by the Father and the abandonment of the Creation to blind, mechanical Necessity. The Cross or Christ's Passion is for Simone Weil the *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* to the exclusion of the Resurrection, the Ascension, and Pentecost. While the Cross is at the centre of the Christian faith, it takes on its full meaning in realtion to the Incarnation and the Resurrection. Weil claims that there have been many incarnations in the past in other religious traditions, hence, the Incarnation of Jesus was for her one of many incarnations and not *sui generis*. She argued that the Resurrection is an offence to intelligence as well as an embarrassment. But a rejection of the Resurrection is to deny the very foundation of the Christian faith. For "if Christ is not raised your faith is in vain." (I Cor. 15: 17). Weil focuses all her attention on the Passion where Jesus is totally abandoned by the Father. She has little to say about Jesus' public ministry, his teaching and the miracles which she does not accept because they are contrary to science. Her inordinate preoccupation with affliction keeps her gaze on the crucified Jesus without seeing Him as the Risen Lord. The Cross thus becomes an abstraction without any reference to its redemptive significance.

There is a distinction between affliction (le malheur) and ordinary suffering (la souffrance).

> Affliction is an uprooting of life, a more or less attenuated equivalent of death, made irresistibly present to the soul by the attack or immediate apprehension of physical pain... Affliction is something specific and impossible to compare with anything else... Affliction constrained Christ to implore that he might be spared, to seek consolation from man, to believe, he was foresaken by the Father.[9]

In ordinary suffering one still looks for some consolation, whereas affliction is a sort of pulverization of the soul by a blind mechanism reducing man to a thing. Weil points out that Christ died like a common criminal which is ridiculous but affliction is ridiculous.

It should be pointed out that Simone Weil was more concerned with the "Why?" of Christ's affliction rather than with affliction *per se*. She was not so much concerned with the cause of affliction as with its purpose or finality. However, she was aware of the fact that in a world where blind, mechanical Necessity rules there is no purpose or finality. Hence, when the soul in affliction cries out for a purpose it touches what Weil calls the 'void' ('le vide'), and in this 'void' the soul experiences the absence of God from God. This void is what Saint John of the Cross calls 'the dark night of the soul'. Weil does not offer any rational explanation for affliction except to say that it is a profound mystery. She contends that Christianity

7. *Gravity and Grace*, p. xxxiv.
8. *Waiting for God*, p. 41, 42.
9. *Ibid.* pp. 64–65.

does not seek a supernatural remedy against affliction but a supernatural use of it.

Weil maintains that God's silence to the "Why?" of affliction makes Him seem absent for a time like the absence of a dead person. The afflicted person feels that there is nothing left to love. Weil insists that man must want to love in affliction, for if he persists in not wanting to love God, God's absence becomes final for him. In affliction man is subject to blind, mechanical Necessity, except the supernatural part of the soul by which she means God, for only God can continue to love God. Everything that was created was created through love and for love. It is "this infinite distance between God and God, this supreme tearing apart, this agony beyond all others, this marvel of love, which is the Crucifixion".[10] Weil states that a person in extreme affliction actually participates in the Cross of Christ. Her deep yearning for personal participation in Christ's Passion and to become at one with Him is expressed in the following statement in one of her Notebooks: "Every time that I think of Christ's Passion, I commit the sin of envy."[11] If this were not possible she would at least like to be with the good thief whom she regarded as the best character in the Gospel. This is a latent and perhaps unconscious hubris bordering on the blasphemous.

The idea of the absence of God is not original with Simone Weil. We find this view in St. John of the Cross whom Weil greatly admired. According to St. John of the Cross God's absence from the world which is also his presence has meaning only for the believer. This entails three factors, God, God's absence, and the believer. If we considered the first two factors alone, it would be a contradiction to speak of God being absent and out of reach, but if the believer is taken into account, we can then speak of God being both absent and present (*Deus absconditus* and *Deus revelatus)*. To look at God's absence is to look at God Himself, for God is present to man as his creator and as the object of his love. God is man's silence, and mysticism is possible because of God's silence. Weil's notion of 'waiting for God in patience' is what St. John of the Cross meant by man's silence or his passivity.

The notion of God's absence is also found in Cabalistic literature. Leslie A. Fiedler draws our attention to this when he states:

> Man's absolute exile from God, the non-presence and non-intervention of the *deus absconditus*, upon which Simone Weil so uncompromisingly insisted, can be found in the terrible dogmas of Lurianic Cabalism, and in that astonishing metaphor of the Zohar: the figure of *tsimtsum* or the withdrawal of God on himself, which conceives of our being as possible only in the interstices of the universe where God has willed his own non-being.[12]

Simone Weil's idea of God's absence is bound up with her morbid preoccupation with affliction which she sees in the Cross. Hence, the Crucifixion implies for her that God Himself suffers extreme evil, and that both the innocent and the guilty suffer equally at the hand of Necessity, which in her view, is the very essence of God's justice. Simone Weil had great difficulty in dealing with the problem of evil as well as that of human freedom vis-á-vis blind Necessity. She tries to get around these difficulties by introducing the notion of Providence, which we will discuss in the next section.

## II. *Creation and the Absence of God.*

According to Simone Weil, Creation is God's withdrawal from the world in order that man may love Him freely. Creation is a screen which stands between God and man and prevents the soul from receiving grace, and man can never experience God's grace without completely detaching himself from the values and things of this world which have become surrogates for God. Complete union with God is possible only by decreating ourselves, by which Weil means annihilation of the self. "Once we have understood we are nothing, the object of all our efforts is to become nothing... In so far as I become nothing, God loves himself through me".[13] Weil insists that the only thing we can offer to God is to destroy the self. To lose the 'I' does not mean that one does not have egoism, but it is an egoism without the 'I'.

Simone Weil was so obsessed by the desire to be in union with God that she drove herself to inward annihilation. To justify her nihilism Weil puts forth the strange notion that God has given man a fictitious image which gives him the illusion that he has the power to control things in this world. This seems to imply that God deliberately deceived man so that he may give up being 'something' by consenting to being 'nothing' and to know that he is 'nothing.' At the same time Weil can say that man's self is "on the side of God, it is in God, it is God. To be proud is to forget that one is God."[14] Weil further states that "God created me as a non-being which has the appearance of existing, in order that through love I should renounce its apparent existence and be annihilated by the plenitude of being."[15] The idea of 'decreation' which in Weil's view implies annihilation of the self, it would follow that the self does not exist in its own right apart from God who

10. *The Simone Weil Reader*, edit. by George A. Panichas, David McKay Co. New York, 1977 p. 435.
11. Simone Weil, *Notebooks II*, Plon, Paris, 1953, p. 156,
12. Leslie A. Fiedler, "Simone Weil, Prophet out of Israel, Saint of the Absurd", *Commentary*, January 1951, p. 46.
13. *Gravity and Grace*, p. 30.
14. *Waiting for God*, p. 68.
15. *Ibid.* p. 130.

exists in the 'imaginary' self. Miklos Vitö rightly points out that Weil's concept of the self suppresses any centre of individual existence. For "a basic continuity must remain in the decreated man and his previous non-decreated personality, since he owes his second birth exclusively to the efforts made during his non-decreated life and to the consent whose faculty was always with him."[16] Weil's view of the self was influenced by Manicheistic and Gnostic dualism. She completely ignored the Biblical view of man as a being in his own right related to God in whose image he was created.

Weil argues that in abandoning Creation to the power of blind Necessity makes it possible for Him to be present in the supernatural part of the soul, i.e. God in the soul. This also means that evil destroys the Good. Weil tried to get around the problem of evil by resorting to her favourite dialectical method. On the one hand evil is necessarily in conformity with the will of God in so far as existence means an abandonment to blind Necessity. On the other hand, evil is not in conformity to the will of God, since existence is not absolutely divorced from the Good (God).

Simone Weil had also great difficulties in dealing with the problem of freedom versus necessity. She tries to get around the problem by suggesting that what seems to us to be pure necessity is in fact pure obedience. "Men can never escape from obedience to God. A creature cannot but obey. The only choice given to men... is to desire obedience or not to desire it. If a man does not desire it, he obeys nevertheless... inasmuch as he is a thing subject to mechanical necessity. If he desires it, he is still subject to mechanical necessity, but a new necessity is added to it, a necessity constituted by the laws belonging to supernatural things."[17] Unfortunately, this argument does not solve anything, it merely confuses the issue, for necessity is the opposite of freedom. Weil's rigid determinism leaves no room for man's freedom. The Biblical view of man is that he has the freedom to choose, often at his own peril, but he has that choice. The Biblical man is always asked to make choice. "Behold, I set before you life or death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live."[18]

### III. *Implicit Love of God,*

Weil's mystical experience of Christ's personal presence led her to assume that she was already a Christian and that there was therefore no need to enter the Church by accepting the Sacrament of Baptism. In her correspondence with Father Perrin she seeks to convince him that there is such a thing as implicit Christianity, thereby justifying her own position of Baptism. She tells Perrin that "the implicit love of God can only have three immediate objects, the only three things here below in which God is really though secretly present. There are religious ceremonies, the beauty of the world and our neighbour. Accordingly there are three loves."[19] To these she adds friendship which is distinct from the love of our neighbour; we cannot love our neighbour in the ordinary sense of the word. To truly love our neighbour is tantamount to self-annihilation, i.e., it is a voluntary bondage by giving ourselves as food for others and thus become others. In loving our neighbour we love him in all his pains and miseries, which is in effect the Stoic *amor fati* rather than the New Testament *agape*. Weil contends that it is God who loves the neighbour in us without our knowing it, which in her scheme of things, means that only God can love God. Both the self and the neighbour are in the final analysis swallowed up by God who is impersonal.

The love of one's neighbour according to Weil, is inseparable from justice, and true justice can only exist between two equally strong persons. When one is weak he necessarily submits to the power of the strong, which is no longer justice but power. But "He who treats as equals those who are far below him in strength, really makes them a gift of the quality of human beings, of which fate had deprived them. As far as is possible for a creature, he reproduces the original generosity of the Creator with regard to them."[20] This is only possible when one denies himself as Christ emptied himself and thus offered himself in ransom for the other person. In loving our neighbour we imitate divine love. In loving one's neighbour we undergo a kenosis similar to that of Christ's kenosis.

Religious ceremonies are another form of implicit love of God. Weil regarded the Sacraments as having a specific value in so far as they entail a certain mysterious contact with God, but they are at the same time of purely human value as symbols. These symbols may help bring about the presence of God to people of a high level of spirituality. Weil felt that she was below such spiritual level, hence, could not partitipate in the Sacraments. The Sacraments are intended for sinners saved by grace and are not restricted to the perfect ones.

Another form of implicit love of God is love of the beauty of the world, which, Weil complains, is not found in Christianity. This is another of her unfounded statements. While these forms are laudable virtues, they do not prove that there is such a thing as implicit Christianity. One does not necessarily have to be a Christian to appreciate certain symbols or to love one's fellow, or to appreciate the beauty of the world. Weil's arguments for implici t Christianity are unconvincing.

16. Miklos Vitö, *La metaphysique religieuse de Simone Weil*, Paris, J. Vrin, 1971, p. 20.
17. *Waiting for God*, pp. 72–73.
18. Deuteronomy, 30:19.
19. *Waiting for God*, p. 81.
20. Ibid. p. 86.

IV. *Weil's Critique of the Church.*

In the many discussions and correspondence with both Father Perrin and Gustave Thibon Simone Weil gave a number of reasons for refusing the Sacrament of Baptism and for not joining the Church. In a letter to Father Perrin she gave the following reasons for not joining the Church (by the Church she had in mind the Roman Catholic Church): 1) That the Church is Catholic *de jure* but not *de facto*, because the Church ignored other religious traditions and is therefore not truly Catholic. 2) That the Church is too bound up with the Old Testament and is therefore too Jewish to be truly Christian and Catholic. 3) That the two words *anathema sit* were an affront to intelligence and to human freedom. For "The special function of intelligence requires total liberty, implying the right to deny everything, and allowing of no domination."[21] 4) That the Church as an institution is the seat of power and the domination of its members by the abuse of power. 5) God does not want her to join the Church at this time, but when it is His will that she should join she will do it immediately. When Simone told her brother of her conditions for joining the Church he replied that she would probably find similar reasons for not accepting Hinduism, Budhism, Taoism, etc., with which she agreed except to say that Christianity was probably more suitable for white Europeans than the other religions. Here she showed her ignorance of the essence of Christianity and its universal message of salvation to all nations.

Simone Weil raised a number of questions in a letter to a French priest in New York apropos Christianity and the Church in which she points out that Christ, the Trinity and the Virgin are found in Greek mythology as well as in other religious traditions. To justify her dubious claims, Weil adopts the questionable method of archetypes which yields for her Christ in every ancient deity. For example, she sees Baal and Astarte as representations of Christ and of the Virgin, the Eleusinian Mysteries and that of Osiris as sacraments having the same virtue as that of Christ's Passion. She argues that there were previous incarnations of Jesus, such as Osiris in Egypt and Krishna in India. This would make the Incarnation a re-incarnation rather than a unique and irrepeatable event in history. She further argues that "the Scriptures themselves contain the most clear proof that long before the time of Christ there was a revelation superior to that of Israel... If we take a moment in history anterior to Christ and sufficiently remote from Him-for example, five centuries before His time-and we set aside what follows afterwards at that moment Israel has less of a share in God and in divine truth than several of the surrounding peoples (India, Egypt, Greece and China)"[22]. Weil shows a total disregard of historical facts by confusing facts with external similarities.

Weil makes a number of claims which have no basis in history, such as the claim that the pre-Christian civilizations were Christian in essence, and that Prometheus is the story of Christ projected into the eternal, and that Dionysus, Apollo, Artemis, Eros as well as other Greek deities are different names for the Word. She further argues that any person praying with a pure heart, regardless whether he prays to Osiris, Dionysus. Krishna, Buddha, Tao, the Son of God will answer his prayers and will not ask him to forsake his own religion. Weil failed to recognise that the foundation of Hinduism is non-historical, whereas the Judeo-Christian tradition has history as the primary area for God's revelation. It is difficult to reconcile the above views with the statement she made to Father Perrin that she accepts the Trinity, the Incarnation and even the Eucharist, but adding that 'the geometry of the Greeks and the Christian faith sprang from the same source'. Upon a closer examination of Weil's other statements we find that she confuses Trinity with triads and Incarnation with epiphany and even re-incarnation. Weil failed to see the difference between Christian mysticism and the mysticism of India, Greece, China, etc. Her peculiar syncretism blinded her to see and appreciate the true nature of the Christian faith.

Simone Weil saw parallels and analogies in ancient religions and applied them to Christianity. For example, she saw in Christ's words 'I am the true vine' the Dionysiac cult of the fruit of the vine. Watkins rightly points out that the one is Palestinian where the vine symbolizes the Chosen People, while the other is Greek, symbolizing immortality through the notion of drunkenness. She also compares the Crucifixion of Christ with the crucifixion of the world-soul in the Timaeus. Weil completely misunderstood the Johannine use of *logos* and *pneuma* and erroneously implied relationship between Christianity and Greek Stoicism. She failed to see that the Johannine *logos* is the Hebrew *dabar* as the creative word of what is spoken is not the Stoic 'reason'. The New Testament *pneuma* corresponds to the Hebrew 'ruach' which conveys the image of God in a strong gale, whereas the Greek idea of *pneuma* conveys the figure of incorporeity. Here again we see how Weil was trying to turn Christian terminology into Greek ideas.

Simone Weil's real reason for refusing to join the Church is her deep antipathy to the Old Testament and the religion of ancient Israel which accounts for her virulent antisemitism. Some critics attribute it to her bias against Hebrew thought which she regarded to be inferior to Greek thought. We know that Weil had a great many prejudices. Her *bettes noires* were

21. Ibid. p. 29.

22. Simone Weil, *Letter to a Priest*, tr. by A.F. Wills, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953. London, p. 12.

the Jews, Ancient Rome, the Roman Catholic Church (with which she had a love-hate relationship), St. Thomas Aquinas who in her view was barely a Christian, Aristotle who was a kind of Greek Jew and Jacques Maritain who was 'system-bound.' Consider the following statement about Israel:

> Israel, beginning with Abraham, is filthy and monstrous. A people chosen for blindness, chosen to be the executioners of Christ... The curse of Israel weighs heavily on Christianity. The atrocities, the Inquisition, the liquidation of heretics and infidels, this was Israel. Capitalism is Israel. Totalitarianism, especially among the worst enemies of Israel, is Israel.[23]

Again,

> Rome and Israel introduced into Christianity, mixed with the spirit of Christ, the spirit of the Beast. Israel, which slew Christ, is the very form of the Church as St. Augustine conceived it... It is the beast who says 'anathema sit'.[24]

Leslie Fiedler states that

> In her opposition to Hitler she would never admit the presence of any identification with the Jews; quite the contrary, she accused Hitler of always figthing the battle of Israel, seeking only to revive under another name and for his own benefits the God of Israel, earthly, cruel, and exclusive. Sometimes, indeed, she insisted that Jehovah and Hitler were Gods in the same sense and on the same plane.[25]

One would have to conclude from the above preposterous statement that Israel was responsible for the Holocaust, Hitler being Israel's instrument.

Some sympathetic critics tried to gloss over Weil's antisemitism by claiming that it was just a passing mood. We wish to differ. Weil's antisemitism was deeply rooted in her psyche which influenced her views on the Old Testament, Christianity and the Church. It prevented her from understanding the importance of the continuity between the Old and the New Testament. Weil's view of the Old Testament is essentially the old Marcionite heresy which viewed the Old Testament God as a God of wrath while the New Testament God was a God of love. Weil could not countenance the massacres and atrocities committed by Israel and condoned by Jehovah. These arguments are of course not original with Simone Weil. She chose to ignore the historical fact that Jesus was the promised Messiah to Israel 'of whom Moses and the prophets spoke'. Jesus stated quite clearly that he did not come to destroy the law (the Torah) but to fulfill it. The Church from her very beginning recognized the inseparable continuity between the Old and the New Testament and did not hesitate to call herself "the New Israel". Saint Paul called the Christians "the Israel of God". The disciples and the apostles were Jews, and Saint Paul was proud to call himself "A Hebrew of the Hebrews." The fact is that there would not have been a New Testament nor the Church without the Old Testament. Weil completely ignored the historical fact that the New Testament was the fulfilment of the hopes and promises given in the Old Testament. Weil's strong bias for Greek culture blinded her to appreciate the importance of the Old Testament and the role of Israel's religion which found fruition in the Christian Church. Weil would have preferred for Jesus to have been born a Greek, an Egyptian or any other nationality except a Jew. She therefore insists that

> The Gospels are the last and most marvelous expression of Greek genius, as the *Iliad* is its first expression. The spirit of Greece made itself felt here not only by the fact of commanding to seek to the exclusion of every other good 'the kingdom of God and his righteousness' but also by its revelation of human misery, and by revealing the misery in the person of a divine being who is at the same time human... This sense of human misery gives these accounts of the Passion that accent of simplicity which is the stamp of Greek genius.[26]

One finds it very difficult to understand Weil's total disregard of historical data and to be so illogical in her arguments bearing in mind her excellent education, an *agrégées de philosophie*! The only answer to her illogicality and irrationality is to be found in her syncretism which consists of mutually incompatible ideas, such as Hinduism, Taoism, Buddhism, Manicheism, Marcionism, Gnosticism and Platonism.

In a letter to Maurice Schuman, a French Jew who became a Christian, Simone well states that "I adhere totally to the mysteries of the Christian faith, with the only kind of adherence which seem to me appropriate for mysteries. This adherence is love, not affirmation.

Certainly I belong to Christ, or so I hope and believe. But I am kept outside the Church by philosophical difficulties which I fear are irreducible. They do not concern the mysteries themselves but the accretions of definition with which the Church has seen fit to clothe them in the course of centuries; and above all the use in this connexion of the words *anathema sit*.[27]

23. Simone Weil, *Notebooks II*, 1953, p. 156.
24. Simone Weil, *First and Last Letters*, p. 120.
25. Leslie A. Fiedler, *Simone Weil, Prophet out of Israel. p.* 44.
26. *Simone Weil Reader*, p. 180.
27. Simone Weil, *Seventy Letters*, tr. & arranged by Richard Rees, Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 155.

It is difficult to reconcile her assertion that she belongs to Christ with the reason she gives for being outside the Church, the reason being the insurmountable philosophical difficulties which prevent her from accepting 'the accretions of definition' imposed by the Church. This of course is not the only reason for not entering the Church. Her syncretism and her antipathy to the Old Testament are the real obstacles which stand between the Church and herself. How would she separate Christ from the Church which is the Body of Christ, Christ being its Head? Thibon once pointed out to her that the conditions she made for entering the Church were more rigid than the dogmas of the Church which she rejected.

In a letter to Déodat Roché Simone Weil states that "The influence of the Old Testament and of the Roman Empire whose tradition was continued by the Papacy are to my mind the two essential sources of the corruption of Christianity."[28]

If we were to take Weil's dogmatic conditions seriously we would have to say that the whole history of the Church would require re-writing. In this connection it is interesting to mention that while Simone refused the Sacrament of Baptism for herself she had no scruples in urging her brother André who was not a believer to baptize his baby daughter. Her paradoxes and inner contradictions tell us something about her complex personality. Gustave Thibon never missed to see the inner contradictions in her behaviour as well as in her writings.

> This soul, who wanted to be flexible to every movement of the divine will, could not bear the course of events or the kindness of her friends changing by one inch the position of the stakes with which her own will had marked her path of immolation... And the way she mounted guard around her void still paid witness to a terrible preoccupation with herself...her ego, as it were, was like a word that she may perhaps have succeeded in obliterating, but that was still underlined.[29]

While she courted affliction to the extent that she literally starved herself to death, she often failed to see the suffering she caused to people who loved her most, especially her parents. Simone Weil was once expatiating on her favourite themes in her usual dogmatic manner that one of her friends told her, "It is lucky for all of us that you are not God." In point of fact that is what her spiritual odyssey was all about–to be in complete union with God.

*Conclusion*

We are now ready to summarise the salient features of Simone Weil's mysticism and the theological implications of her views.

Simone Weil's preoccupation with the problem of affliction which is exemplified in the derelict cry from the Cross led her to deduce the idea of the absence of God and His non-intervention in the world at the exclusion of the Resurrection, the Ascension and the Pentecost experience. In fact she does not speak too much of Jesus' public ministry, His teaching, the miracles and the purpose of the Incarnation and the Crucifixion. The Cross, apart from its relation to the Incarnation and the Resurrection, is thus an abstraction taken out of its Biblical and historical context.

Simone Weil's attack on the Old Testament which found expression in a virulent and irrational antisemitism blinded her to the historical and theological relationship with the New Testament. Her attack on the Church was often based on distortions and complete disregard of historical facts which led her to confuse these distortions with reality. When these things were pointed out to her she simply chose to ignore them because they did not fit into her scheme of things. Both Father Perrin and Gustave Thibon who knew her intimately point to the dualism inherent in her personality, which accounts for the many paradoxes, contradictions and exaggerations. Perrin illustrates the complexity of Weil's personality when he writes:

> Simone proclaims her belief in the Christian faith, the reality of the mysteries and the supernatural life which she draws at its very source in the Church; but at the same time she does not wish to submit her intelligence to any authority–even truth, condemning error and indicating the necessary conditions for approaching the fount of grace.[30]

Simone Weil lacked objectivity because she tended to objectify her subjective experience. In rejecting the central doctrines of the Church which she regarded as 'accretions' imposed by the Church, she constructed her own system of mutually-contradictory and incompatible views peculiar to her kind of syncretism. Simone admitted to Father Perrin that she lacked in knowledge of the Christian texts. "I must give you the impression of a Luciferian pride in speaking thus of a great many matters which are too high for me and about which I have no right to understand anything."[31] Simone's emphasis on 'detachment' led to the paradoxical position that she never succeeded to detach herself from her 'detachment'.

28. *Ibid.* p. 130.

29. J.M. Perrin and G. Thibon, *Simone Weil as we Knew her*, tr. by Emma Craufurd, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, p. 119.

30. *Ibid.* p. 52.

31. *Waiting of God*, p. 32.

Simone Weil's desire for self-perfection prevented her from giving Christ His rightful place as Redeemer. Father Perrin puts his finger on the cause of her inner conflict when he states:

> Another characteristic which we cannot pass over in silence was Simone's attempt to achieve impersonality by making herself more and more obedient to God. This was one of the ideas which dominated her spiritual personality and there is not a doubt but that it was one of the deepest causes of her inner conflicts. She made an ideal of passivity or depersonalization, and took matter as a perfect example.[32]

She told Father Perrin that she wanted to remain outside the Church in order to witness to the Christian faith among non-believers. Perrin's reply was, "You want to attract others to Christianity without becoming a Christian yourself, so you want to be like the bell which calls people to the Church but does not enter into it."[33]

Simone Weil's paradoxes which permeate her whole being led her to say and do things which are both baffling and distressing. For example, in her love of neighbour she tended to overlook the real needs and desires of others. "She was passionate in her very scorn for the passions; she was still searching for a sign in her refusal of all signs."[34] Simone refused to yield to anything which did not happen to meet with her own criteria, and pursued affliction with a zeal that some people pursue comfort and pleasure. Her humility contained a latent hubris of which she may not have been aware. "To be distinguished for evil and *nothing*... is still to put oneself forward, it is still a form of pride. In so far as she despises herself Simone Weil forgets to forget herself. Her humility is still partly inspired by a negative preoccupation with self."[35]

The religious and philosophic dualism peculiar to Weil's personality is aptly stated by Thibon: "Dualism is the reef on which navigators who are in too great a hurry to reach the absolute are likely to run aground.'[36] Weil's search for the Absolute is characterized by Thibon as the "Vertigo of the Absolute". "Vertigo is caused by the attraction of an abyss and, when this abyss is another name for God, it is good to experience such an attraction. That is where the greatness of Simone Weil lies. The first effect of vertigo is loss of balance: Simone Weil, dazed by the absolute, staggers and has difficulty in finding her way in the relative. And that is where her weakness lies".[37]

Other inner contradictions may be cited to indicate how difficult it is to evaluate Weil's personality as well as her ideas. For example, Weil sought to exalt God but deprecated His creation which was subject to Necessity. Dostoevskii's Ivan Karamazov displayed the same paradox when he admitted the existence of God, but refused to accept His world because there was too much suffering in the world. Another of her paradoxes is to be seen in the following statement: 'the world in so far as it is devoid of God himself, while Necessity in so far as it is absolutely different or other than the Good, is the Good itself'. If this were taken as an ontological statement it would imply that a world empty of God would be evil which would in turn identify evil with God, which is absurd. Thibon suggests that what Weil had in mind was a mystical way of telling pilgrims to the Gateway of God, to leave behind all idols including labels for God in order to achieve their goal. Despite her inner dualism which led her to say and do many paradoxical things, many of her admirers regarded her as a modern saint. Weil herself expressed the view that 'the specific value of the Christian is saintliness'. Her asceticism is another expression of her inner conflict which eventually led to her premature death in 1943 which was described by the coroner as suicide through self-starvation - the medical term for this is *anorexia nervosa.*

We do not question Weil's mystical experience which undoubtedly was genuine. What we question is the method she chose to express this experience in terms of a syncretism which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be termed as Christian mysticism. We do not question Simone Weil's honesty, integrity and purity of spirit and her thirst for the Absolute; we must disagree with her theological views which are in conflict with the Biblical teaching about revelation of God in the Incarnation of Jesus of Nazareth, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Pentecost experience and the divine foundation of the Church as the Body of Christ and the Fellowship of believers. We wish to close with the following statement by Gustave Thibon:

> All that we know of Simone Weil - and especially that memory of light and charity which she has left for ever in the souls of those who knew her at all intimately-makes us guess that she belongs to that Church of the Saints, whose life is hid in God. Simone Weil loved the soul of the Church passionately; she fed upon it, she drew from it her highest reasons for living; the only mistake was to forget that this soul trailed after it a body with all its weaknesses and demands.[38]

Her tragedy was that while 'she loved the soul of the Church passionately' her intellectual and philosophical scruples led her to reject the Church's claim that *extra ecclesiam nulla salus est* and to be affronted by the Church's *anathema sit* intended against heretics and infidels.

32. Perrin And Thibon, p. 79.
33. *Ibid.* p. 81.
34. *Ibid.* p. 119.
35. *Ibid.* p. 138.
36. *Ibid.* p. 146.
37. *Ikid.* p. 142.
38. *Ibid.* p. 170.

# ΤΟ ΕΝ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΩι ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ ΚΟΙΜΗΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ NORWOOD

Ὑπὸ

*Ἐπισκόπου Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου*

Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης τοῦ Λονδίνου, ἡ ὁποία ἤρχισε τὰς δραστηριότητάς της σχεδὸν ταυτοχρόνως μὲ τὴν δημιουργίαν τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ Κράτους, διαμορφώνεται τὸ 1837, ὁπότε ἀποκτᾷ ἕνα ἰδικόν της τόπον ἑλληνορθοδόξου λατρείας, ἱδρύουσα τὴν ἑλληνικὴν Καπέλλα εἰς τὸ 9 Finsbury Circus. Ἡ Κοινότης μὲ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸν Πανδίαν Στεφ. Ράλλην, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἐμπορίου εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον, φροντίζει διὰ τὴν πρόσληψιν μονίμου ἱερέως· ὡς τοιοῦτοι προσελήφθησαν κατ' ἀρχὴν μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὁ ἐκ Πόρου Γαλακτίων Γαλάτης, εἶτα δὲ ὁ ἐκ Χίου Διονύσιος Ξενάκης.

Εἰς ἀρκετὰ πρώιμον στάδιον, πρὶν ἀκόμη ἀρχίσῃ ἡ φροντὶς διὰ τὴν ἀνέγερσιν ἑλληνικοῦ Ναοῦ, ἡ Κοινότης λαμβάνει πρόνοιαν διὰ τὴν ἀπόκτησιν ἑλληνικοῦ Κοιμητηρίου, καὶ κατὰ τὴν συνεδρίασιν τῆς 6ης Νοεμβρίου 1841, ὅπως ἀναφέρουν τὰ πρακτικά, «Ἀπεφασίσθη παμψηφεὶ νὰ διορισθῇ Ἐπιτροπή, συγκειμένη ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Καπέλλας καὶ δύο ἄλλα μέλη τῆς Ἀδελφότητος, τοὺς κ. κ. Εὐστράτιον Ράλλην καὶ Ἰ. Σκυλίτσην, ὅπως σκεφθῇ καὶ ἐκλέξῃ τόπον ἁρμόζοντα διὰ νεκροταφεῖον».

Ἡ τετραμελὴς αὕτη Ἐπιτροπὴ (Ἀλέξανδρος Κ. Ἰωνίδης, Ἀντώνιος Θεοδ. Ράλλης, Εὐστράτιος Στεφ. Ράλλης καὶ Ἰωάννης Στεφ. Σκυλίτσης) ἤρχισε τὰς ἐργασίας της διὰ τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν τοῦ καταλλήλου χώρου· κατὰ τὴν συνεδρίασιν τῆς Κοινότητος τῆς 2ας Ἰουλίου 1842 ἀναφέρονται τὰ ἑξῆς: «Ἡ περὶ Νεκροταφείου Ἐπιτροπὴ ἀνέφερε τὴν συμφωνίαν μετὰ τῆς Ἑταιρείας South Metropolitan Cemetery Company καὶ ἀνετέθη εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν Ἐπιτροπὴν νὰ περατώσῃ τὸ ἔργον της, φροντίζουσα περὶ περιφράγματος τοῦ ἀγορασθέντος τόπου, ἔχουσα τὴν ἄδειαν νὰ ἐξοδεύσῃ καὶ ἕως λίρας 150».

Ἡ South Metropolitan Cemetery Company ἦτο ἰδιοκτήτρια ἑνὸς μεγάλου νεκροταφειακοῦ χώρου, τοῦ σημερινοῦ West Norwood Cemetery· τμῆμα τοῦ χώρου τούτου, συνολικῆς ἐπιφανείας ἡμίσεος περίπου acre, συνεφώνησε νὰ πωλήσῃ εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν Κοινότητα. Ἔχει πρόσοψιν 150 πόδας καὶ βάθος ἀπὸ τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν 150 πόδας, ἐνῷ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀριστερὰν μόνον 80, σχηματίζον οὕτω σχῆμα παχέος Γ.

Εἰς τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸ Κοιμητήριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Λονδίνου φυλάσσονται τὰ ὀστᾶ μεγάλων προσωπικοτήτων καὶ ἀπογόνων ἐπιφανῶν οἰκογενειῶν, ἰδίᾳ ἐκ Χίου. Ἔχει δύο εἰδῶν τάφους: ἁπλοῦς, ὅπου τὰ λείψανα τῶν νεκρῶν ἔχουν καλυφθῆ μὲ τὴν γῆν, καὶ κενοτάφια, ὅπου, μέχρι καὶ σήμερον ἀκόμη, εἶναι ἐναποτεθειμένα τὰ φέρετρα. Τὰ περισσότερα μνημεῖα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔχουν ἀνεγείρει οἱ πρόγονοί μας πρὸς τιμὴν τῶν νεκρῶν των, εἶναι σπουδαῖα ἔργα τέχνης καὶ ἀναδεικνύουν τὸ νεκροταφειακὸν αὐτὸ τμῆμα εἰς ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ ὡραιότερα τῆς Μ. Βρεταννίας.

Εἶναι τραγικὰ περίεργον νὰ βλέπῃ κανεὶς τάφους μεγάλων εὐεργετῶν τῆς πατρίδος, οἱ ἀνδριάντες τῶν ὁποίων στολίζουν δημόσια κτήρια, κήπους καὶ πλατείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, νὰ εἶναι ἔρημοι καὶ παρημελημένοι, ἐφ' ὅσον δὲν ὑπάρχουν πλέον ἀπόγονοί των διὰ νὰ τοὺς συντηρήσουν. Δύο τοιαῦτα κλασσικὰ παραδείγματα εἶναι τοῦ Παναγῆ Βαλλιάνου, δημιουργοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, καὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Γενναδίου, ἐπίσης δημιουργοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ὁμωνύμου Βιβλιοθήκης. Ἂν συγκρίνῃ τις τὰ κτήρια ποὺ ἀνήγειραν, τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ εὐπρέπειάν των μὲ τοὺς τόπους ἔνθα εὑρίσκονται αὐτὴν τὴν στιγμὴν τὰ ὀστᾶ των, βλέπει πράγματι μίαν τραγικὴν εἰρωνείαν.

Ἄλλα ὀνόματα ἐπιφανῶν οἰκογενειῶν, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀναγινώσκει τις εἰς τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν τάφων, εἶναι: Ράλλης, Ἰωνίδης, Σεκιάρης, Μαυροκορδᾶτος, Σκαραμαγκᾶς, Πετροκόκκινος, Καλβοκορέσσης, Εὐμορφόπουλος, Ἀγέλαστος, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, Ζαρίφης, Ἀργέντης, ὀνόματα ποὺ ἐδημιούργησαν τὴν ἑλληνικὴν Κοινότητα καὶ τὸ ἑλληνικὸν ἐμπόριον εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς παρελθούσης ἑκατονταετίας.

Τὸ σπουδαιότερον γεγονὸς εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Κοιμητηρίου τοῦ Norwood, τὸ ὁποῖον σήμερον εἶναι ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν, εἶναι ἡ ἀνέγερσις τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Στεφάνου, ποὺ ἀποτελεῖ καὶ τὸ λαμπρότερον μνημεῖον του. Τὴν 18ην Μαρτίου 1872, δηλαδὴ δύο ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν κηδείαν τοῦ νεαροῦ καὶ πολυκλαύστου Αὐγούστου Ράλλη, ἀνεγνώσθη εἰς συνεδρίασιν τῆς Κοινότητος ἐπιστολὴ

AKSUM-THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

τοῦ τεθλιμμένου πατρός του Στεφάνου Αὐγ. Ράλλη, ἤδη Γεν. Διευθυντοῦ τῶν Ralli Brothers, διὰ τῆς ὁποίας ἐζήτει ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀδελφότητα νὰ τοῦ ἐπιτραπῇ νὰ οἰκοδομήσῃ, ἰδίοις ἐξόδοις, εἰς τὸ Κοιμητήριον μικρὸν Ναὸν εἰς μνήμην τοῦ υἱοῦ του Αὐγούστου. Ἡ Γενικὴ Συνέλευσις ἤκουσε λίαν εὐνοϊκῶς τὴν πρότασιν καὶ ἀνέθεσεν εἰς τοὺς Ἐπιτρόπους τοῦ Ναοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος νὰ ἐκφράσουν τὰς θερμὰς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην ὅλων εἰς τὸν τεθλιμμένον πατέρα διὰ τὴν μεγάλην δωρεάν του.

Τὸ ἑλληνικὸν Κοιμητήριον τοῦ Norwood ἐκάλυψε τὰς ἀνάγκας τῆς παροικίας τοῦ Λονδίνου ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη. Μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ Β' Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου ἦτο ἐν χρήσει καὶ ὑπῆρχον μερικοὶ —ἂν καὶ ἐλάχιστοι— χῶροι δι' ἐνταφιασμόν. Ἄλλωστε ἡ ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης ἕως τότε ἠρίθμει περὶ τὰ 2.500 ἄτομα.

Κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1935 ἐγένετο τὸ πρῶτον ἀντιληπτὸν ὅτι ἐντὸς μικροῦ χρονικοῦ διαστήματος τὸ Κοιμητήριον θὰ ἐγέμιζε, δι' ὃ καὶ ἔπρεπε νὰ γίνουν ἐνέργειαι πρὸς ἀπόκτησιν νέου χώρου. Κατὰ τὴν συνεδρίασιν τῆς Ἀδελφότητος τῶν ἐν Λονδίνῳ Ἑλλήνων τῆς 12ης Ὀκτωβρίου 1935 τὸ θέμα ἐξητάσθη ἐπισταμένως καὶ εἶτα ἐξελέγη ἐξαμελὴς Ἐπιτροπὴ μὲ τὴν ἐντολὴν νὰ φροντίσῃ νὰ ἐξεύρῃ χῶρον διὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν νέου ἑλληνικοῦ Κοιμητηρίου. Μέλη τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς ἐξελέγησαν οἱ τρεῖς Ἐπίτροποι τοῦ Ναοῦ, ἤτοι οἱ Θεόδωρος Βλασσόπουλος, Ὀκτ. Βλιέρης καὶ Sir Τζὼν Σταυρίδης, καὶ ἄλλα τρία μέλη τῆς Ἀδελφότητος, οἱ Θεόδωρος Μ. Μαυροκορδᾶτος, Πλάτων Σινανίδης καὶ Παντιᾶς Λ. Λαμπρινούδης.

Ἡ ἑξαμελὴς αὐτὴ Ἐπιτροπὴ ἔμελλε νὰ γράψῃ τὸν ἐπίλογον τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ Κοιμητηρίου τοῦ Norwood καὶ τὸν πρόλογον τοῦ νέου. Εἰργάσθη ἐντόνως ἐπὶ μερικοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὴν 20ὴν Μαΐου 1936 ἀνεφέρθη εἰς τὴν ὁλομέλειαν τῆς Ἀδελφότητος. Εἶχεν ἔλθει —ἀνέφερεν— εἰς συμφωνίαν μὲ τὴν Abney Park Cemetery Company, ἡ ὁποία εἶχε τὴν ἕδραν της εἰς τὸ Stoke Newington, διὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἑνὸς χώρου εἰς τὸ Hendon Park Cemetery, συνολικῆς ἐπιφανείας 42.000 τετραγωνικῶν ποδῶν καὶ διαστάσεων 179′×122′, εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῶν 1.200 λιρῶν.

Οἱ δικηγόροι τῆς Ἀδελφότητος —Freshfields— προῆλθον εἰς διαπραγματεύσεις διὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἥτις τελικῶς ἐπραγματοποιήθη τὸ 1937 ἀντὶ 2.400 λιρῶν. Τὸ 1938 διερρυθμίσθη ὁ χῶρος καὶ ἔλαβε μορφὴν σύμφωνον πρὸς τὸ σχέδιον ποὺ ἐξεπόνησεν ὁ Ἕκτωρ Κορφιάτος, Καθηγητὴς εἰς τὸ Imperial College. Τώρα τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἀπορροφᾶται ἀπὸ τὸ νέον Κοιμητήριον, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι μεγαλύτερον τοῦ προηγουμένου κατὰ 3/4 τοῦ acre καὶ τελείως ἐπίπεδον, γεγονὸς ποὺ διηυκόλυνε πολὺ εἰς τὴν διαρρύθμισιν τῶν χώρων ἐνταφιασμοῦ καὶ τῶν περιθωρίων.

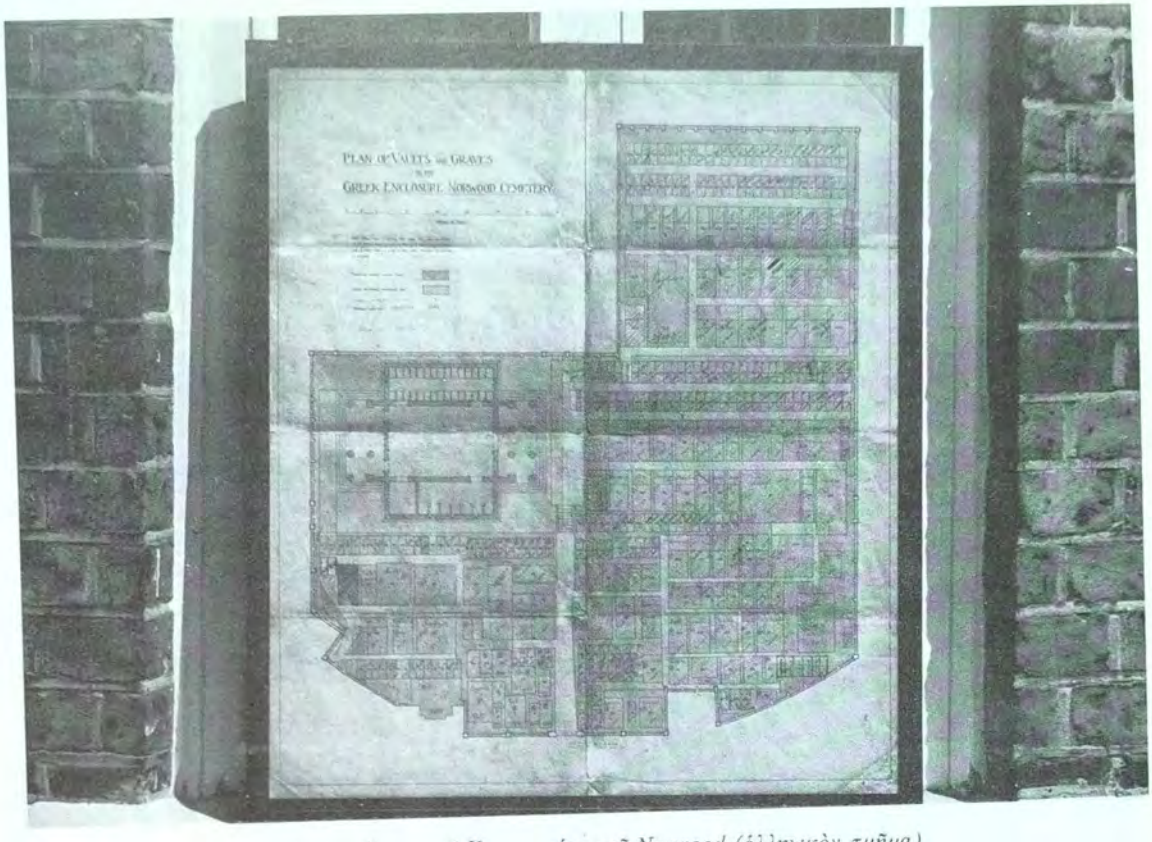
Ἡ λειτουργία τοῦ νέου Κοιμητηρίου ἔφερε μοιραίως τὴν παρακμὴν τοῦ Ναοῦ τοῦ παλαιοῦ. Τὸ Norwood ἠρήμωσεν ἀδικαιολογήτως. Κλοπαὶ ἀντικειμένων ἀξίας καὶ βανδαλισμοὶ ἔγιναν πολλοί. Σχεδὸν ὅλα τὰ μεταλλικὰ στολίσματα καὶ κυρίως τὰ ὀρειχάλκινα ἐξηφανίσθησαν. Τελευταίως, ἐντὸς τῆς δεκαετίας 1970–80, ἀφῃρέθη ἀπὸ κλέπτας ἡ ἐκ μολύβδου στέγη τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Στεφάνου.

Ἡ θρασεῖα αὕτη κλοπὴ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος ποὺ διέτρεχε τώρα τὸ παρεκκλήσιον ἐγένοντο ἀφορμὴ ὥστε νὰ κινηθῇ τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῶν ὁμογενῶν τοῦ Λονδίνου καὶ νὰ διατεθοῦν χρήματα διὰ τὴν ἐπιδιόρθωσιν τῆς ζημίας. Οὕτως ἀποκατεστάθη πλήρως τὸ κτήριον. Εἶχεν ἐν τούτοις προταθῇ ἡ κατεδάφισίς του —μετὰ τὴν κλοπὴν τῆς στέγης—, ἡ ὁποία καὶ συνεζητήθη ἐπαρκῶς εἰς τοὺς κύκλους τοῦ Trust τῶν Κοιμητηρίων. Ἡ σφοδρὰ ὅμως ἀντίδρασις τῶν δημοσιογράφων, οἱ ὁποῖοι προσέφυγον καὶ εἰς τὴν Δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἡ διαφωτιστικὴ προσπάθεια τοῦ Κυριάκου Μεταξᾶ, Διευθυντοῦ τῆς Greek Gazette, ἀπεσόβησαν τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς ἀπωλείας ἑνὸς τόσον πολυτίμου μνημείου.

Εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Στεφάνου συνετέλεσεν ἀποτελεσματικῶς περισσότερον ὅλων ὁ ἐκ Βροντάδου Χίου ἐραστὴς τῶν πατρῴων παραδόσεων Μιχαὴλ Γαρῆς, ὁ ὁποῖος μετὰ τῶν φίλων του Ἰωάννου Ψαρροῦ καὶ Κων/νου Π. Λαιμοῦ ἐμεσολάβησαν εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην Ἰωάννην Διαμ. Πατέραν καὶ τὸν ἔπεισαν νὰ διαθέσῃ τὸ μέγα χρηματικὸν ποσὸν ποὺ ἀπῃτεῖτο διὰ τὰς ἐπιδιορθώσεις τοῦ παρεκκλησίου. Ὁ Μιχαὴλ Γαρῆς, ὁ Ἰωάννης Ψαρρὸς καὶ ὁ Κων/νος Π. Λαιμὸς εἶναι σήμερον οἱ προστάται τοῦ ὡραίου αὐτοῦ τμήματος τοῦ πρώτου ἑλληνικοῦ Κοιμητηρίου τοῦ West Norwood.

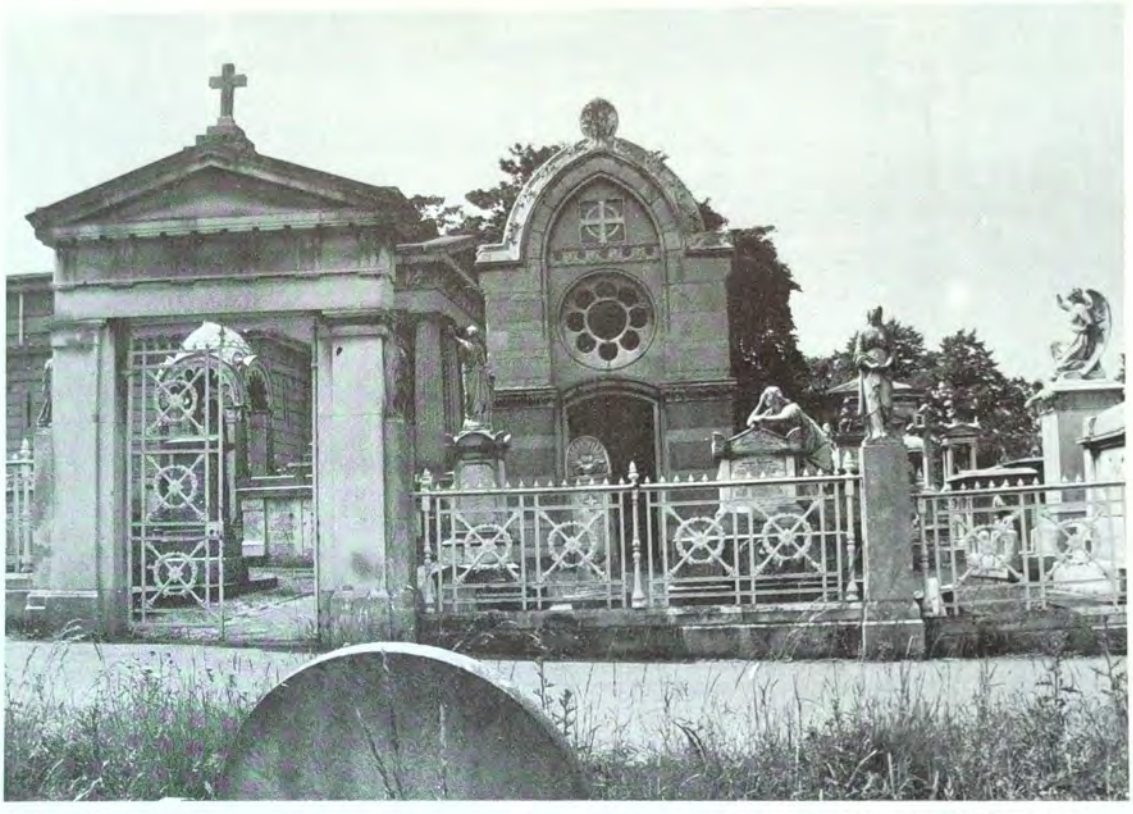
Ὁ δημιουργηθεὶς σάλος διὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Στεφάνου ἐγένετο αἰτία ὥστε νὰ ἀσχοληθοῦν μὲ τὸ Κοιμητήριον τοῦ Norwood καὶ αἱ βρεταννικαὶ Ἀρχαί, αἱ ὁποῖαι, ἐκτιμήσασαι τὰ διάφορα μνημεῖα του, ἀπεφάνθησαν ὅτι 18 τούτων εἶναι καλλιτεχνικοὶ θησαυροί, δι' ὃ καὶ τίθενται ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ βρεταννικοῦ Κράτους.

Θὰ ἀπαιτηθῇ ἴσως μία ἀκόμη προσπάθεια διὰ νὰ εὐπρεπισθοῦν καὶ οἱ τάφοι τῶν μεγάλων ἐθνικῶν εὐεργετῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παναγῆ Βαλλιάνου καὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Γενναδίου.




*Παλαιὸς χάρτης τοῦ Κοιμητηρίου τοῦ Norwood (ἑλληνικὸν τμῆμα).*

*Γενικὴ ἄποψις τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ Κοιμητηρίου τοῦ Norwood.*



Ἡ εἰδικὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κοιμητηρίου Ἐπιτροπὴ ἔλαβεν ἐντολὴν ὅπως περιφράξῃ τὸν χῶρον αὐτοῦ. Τὸ περίφραγμα εἶναι ἀριστούργημα τέχνης, μὲ χαμηλοὺς στύλους καὶ ἀγάλματα. Ἡ εἴσοδος εἶναι δωρικοῦ ρυθμοῦ.

**Ὁ ἱδρυτὴς**
**τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Στεφάνου.**

Ἱδρυτὴς τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Στεφάνου εἶναι ὁ Στέφανος Ράλλης. Ὁ πατήρ του, Αὐγουστῆς Ράλλης, ἦτο ὁ δεύτερος ἀπὸ τοὺς πέντε υἱοὺς τοῦ Στεφάνου Ράλλη, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶχον ἱδρύσει τὴν ἑταιρείαν Ralli Brothers. Ὁ Στέφανος Ράλλης, ὁ ἱδρυτὴς τοῦ παρεκκλησίου, ἐγεννήθη εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν τὴν 17ην Ἰανουαρίου 1829 καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν ἱερὸν Ναὸν Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Μασσαλίας τὴν 6ην Φεβρουαρίου τοῦ ἰδίου ἔτους. Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Βαπτίσματος εἶχε τελέσει ὁ Ἀρχιμ. Καλλίνικος Κρεατσούλης καὶ ἀνάδοχός του ὑπῆρξεν ὁ Πέτρος Σκυλίτσης. Ἔκαμε θαυμασίας σπουδὰς καὶ διεκρίθη διὰ τὸν θετικὸν καὶ συντηρητικὸν χαρακτῆρα του. Ὁ θεῖος του Πανδίας Ράλλης, ὁ καὶ Γενικὸς Διευθυντὴς τῆς ἑταιρείας, διέβλεψε τὰς ἱκανότητάς του καὶ τὸν μετεκάλεσεν εἰς τὰ κεντρικὰ γραφεῖα τῆς ἑταιρείας εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον, διὰ νὰ ὑπηρετῇ ὡς βοηθός του καὶ νὰ προετοιμάζεται διὰ τὴν ἄνοδον εἰς τὸ ὕπατον ἀξίωμα τοῦ Γεν. Διευθυντοῦ. Ἐν Λονδίνῳ ἐνυμφεύθη τὴν Μαριέτταν Ράλλην, θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Θεοδ. Ράλλη. Μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ θείου του Πανδία (9.7.1865), ἀνέλαβε τὴν Γενικὴν Δ/νσιν τῆς ἑταιρείας.

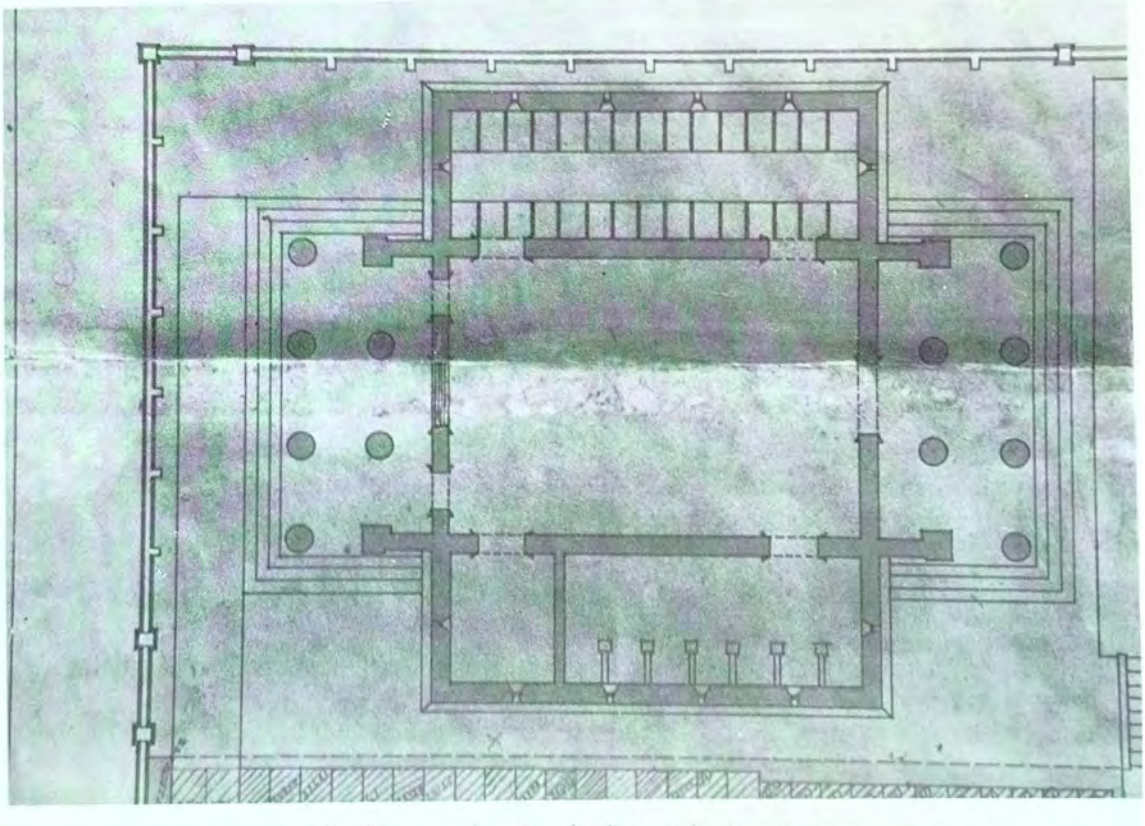
Ἀφορμὴ διὰ τὴν ἵδρυσιν τοῦ παρεκκλησίου ἦτο ὁ θάνατος τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ του Αὐγούστου εἰς ἡλικίαν μόλις 16 ἐτῶν. Ἦτο φοιτητὴς εἰς τὸ Eton College, ὅπου, προσβληθεὶς ὑπὸ ρευματικοῦ πυρετοῦ, ἀπεβίωσεν. Ὁ νεαρὸς Αὔγουστος Ράλλης ἀπέθανε τὴν 9ην Μαρτίου 1872 καὶ ἐκηδεύθη ἐν μέσῳ γενικοῦ πένθους εἰς τὸν Ναὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὴν 16ην τοῦ ἰδίου μηνός. Εἰς μνήμην τούτου ὁ μὲν πατήρ του ᾠκοδόμησε τὸ παρεκκλήσιον τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ Κοιμητηρίου, τὸ ὁποῖον ἡ Κοινότης ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Στέφανον, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ του συνέγραψε βιβλίον ὑπὸ τὸν τίτλον «ΔΙΗΓΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΟΥ», τὸ ὁποῖον ἐτύπωσεν ἐν Ἀθήναις τὸ 1874 καὶ τὸ ἀφιέρωσε: «ΤΗ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΨΥΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΦΙΛΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΙ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ Σ. ΡΑΛΛΗ Α·Ι·ΔΙΟΥ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΣΗΜΑ ΤΟ ΠΟΝΗΜΑΤΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΤΙΘΗΜΙ ΜΑΡΙΕΤΤΑ Σ. ΡΑΛΛΗ». Ἡ τραγῳδία τῆς οἰκογενείας ταύτης συνεπληρώθη τὸ 1900, ὅταν καὶ ὁ δεύτερος υἱός, ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ταγματάρχης τοῦ ἀγγλικοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐφονεύθη εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ Τράνσβααλ, ἐκπληρῶν τὸ καθῆκον του.

Μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ταύτην τραγῳδίαν ὁ Στέφανος Ράλλης παρητήθη ἀπὸ τὴν ἐργασίαν του καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Μόντε Κάρλο, ὅπου καὶ ἀπεβίωσε μετὰ διετίαν (2.4.1902).

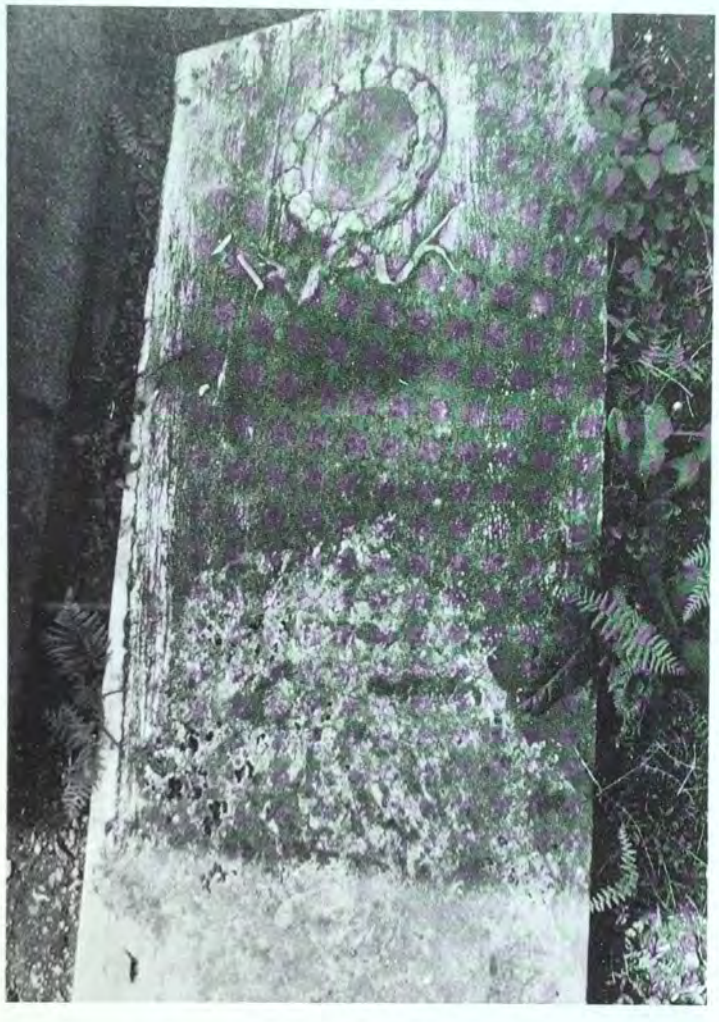
Τὸ παρεκκλήσιον, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι κτίσμα νεοκλασσικοῦ ρυθμοῦ μὲ ζῳοφόρον καὶ ἀέτωμα μὲ γλυπτὰς παραστάσεις καὶ ἔχει ἀνὰ τέσσαρας κίονας δωρικοῦ ρυθμοῦ εἰς τὴν πρόσοψιν καὶ τὸ ὀπίσθιον μέρος, φέρει τὴν ἱδρυτικὴν ἐπιγραφήν:

ΔΩΡΕΑ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΙΕΤΤΑΣ ΡΑΛΛΗ ΕΙΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ Ο ΟΠΟΙΟΣ ΑΠΕΘΑΝΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΡΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ ΠΥΡΕΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΗΤΟΝ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ 16 ΕΤΩΝ.

'Η πρόσοψις τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ 'Αγίου Στεφάνου.



'Η κάτοψις τοῦ παρεκκλησίου τοῦ 'Αγίου Στεφάνου.



*Ὁ τάφος τῆς Ἀγλαΐας Σπ. Τρικούπη, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Σπυρίδωνος καὶ μεγαλυτέρας ἀδελφῆς τοῦ Χαριλάου Τρικούπη. Ἀπέθανεν εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον τὴν 15ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1842, εἰς ἡλικίαν 13 ἐτῶν, ἀπὸ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου.*

Ὅταν τὸ 1834 ὁ Βασιλεὺς Ὄθων ἐγκατέστησε τὴν Ἀντιβασιλείαν τῶν Βαυαρῶν, ἀπεμάκρυνε τοὺς ἰσχυροὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Οὕτως ἀπέστειλε τὸν μὲν Σπυρίδωνα Τρικούπην Πρεσβευτὴν εἰς Λονδῖνον, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον Μαυροκορδᾶτον Πρεσβευτὴν εἰς Μόναχον. Ὁ Σπυρίδων Τρικούπης ἦλθεν εἰς Λονδῖνον μὲ τὴν σύζυγόν του Αἰκατερίνην, ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου, καὶ τὰ δύο τέκνα των, τὴν Ἀγλαΐαν καὶ τὸν Χαρίλαον, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶχον γεννηθῆ τὸ 1829 καὶ τὸ 1832 ἀντιστοίχως. Ἐν Λονδίνῳ ἀπέκτησαν τὴν 20ὴν Ἀπριλίου 1837 καὶ τρίτον τέκνον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐβάπτισαν Σοφίαν τὴν 5ην Ἰουνίου 1837 εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν Καπέλλα. Ἀνάδοχός της ἦτο ὁ ἀρχηγὸς τῆς παροικίας Πανδίας Στεφ. Ράλλης. Μετὰ πάροδον πέντε ἐτῶν, τὸ πρῶτον τέκνον των, ἡ Ἀγλαΐα, προσεβλήθη ἀπὸ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου καὶ ἀπεβίωσεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρός της (16 Park Square) τὴν 15ην Σεπτεμβρίου 1842. Ἐκηδεύθη καὶ ἐνεταφιάσθη τὴν 19ην Σεπτεμβρίου. Τὸ ὄνομά της εἰς τὴν ἐπιτάφιον πλάκα διακρίνεται εἰσέτι μετά τινος δυσκολίας.

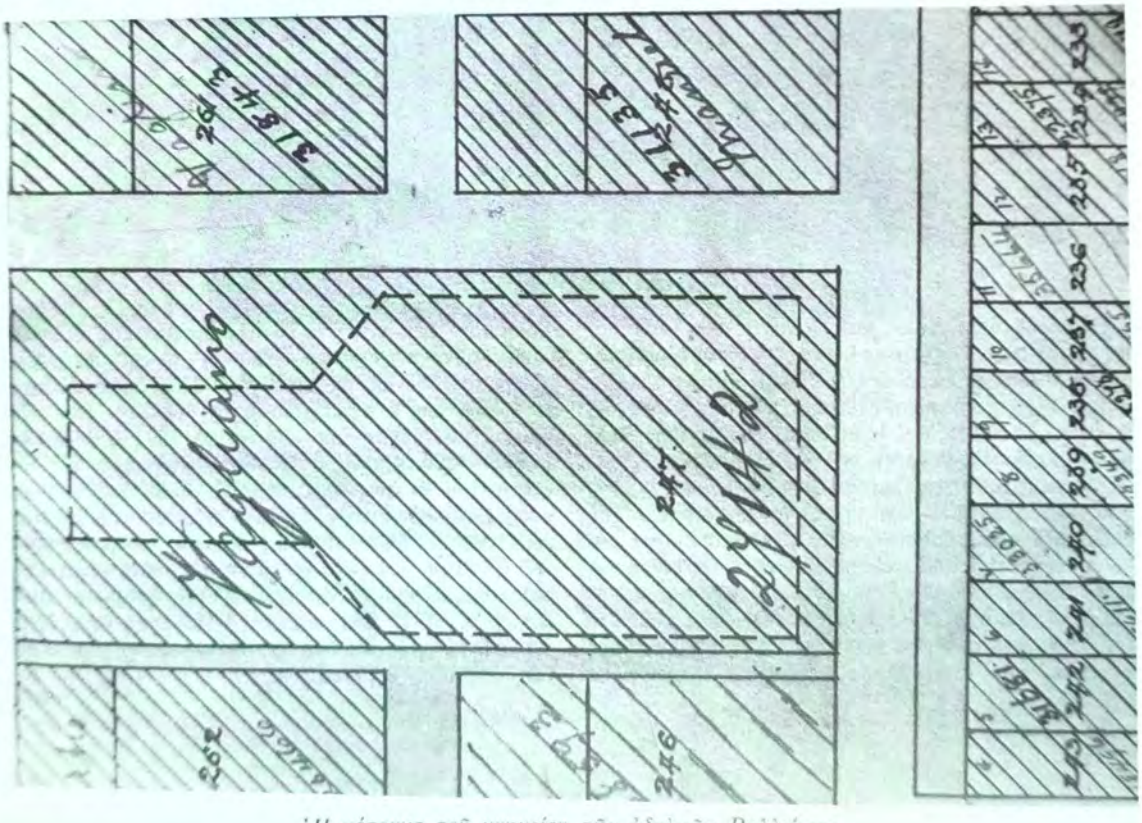
*'Ο οἰκογενειακὸς τάφος τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παροικίας καὶ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ ἐμπορίου τοῦ Λονδίνου Πανδία Στεφ. Ράλλη.*

'Ο Πανδίας Στεφ. Ράλλης, ὁ τρίτος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποὺ ἵδρυσαν τὴν ἑταιρείαν, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον τὸ 1825. Οἱ ἀδελφοί του, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔβλεπον τὰς ἐξαιρετικὰς ἱκανότητάς του, ἄφησαν εἰς χεῖρας του τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποὺ εἶχον ἀρχίσει, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ταχέως τὴν ἔφερεν εἰς μεγάλην περιωπήν. 'Ενυμφεύθη τὸ 1831 εἰς τὸ ρωσικὸν παρεκκλήσιον τοῦ Welbeck Street τὴν Μαριέτταν Πέτρου Σκαραμαγκᾶ. Τὸ πρῶτον τέκνον των ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ρωσικὸν παρεκκλήσιον, ὀνομασθὲν Στέφανος, ἀλλ' εἰς ἡλικίαν δύο ἐτῶν ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀργότερον τὰ ὀστᾶ του μετεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὸν οἰκογενειακὸν τάφον των. Εἶχεν ἐπίσης μίαν θυγατέρα, τὴν 'Ιουλίαν, μετέπειτα Mrs Monk, καὶ ἕνα νεώτερον υἱόν, τὸν Πέτρον. Τὸ 1834 διωρίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὄθωνος Γενικὸς Πρόξενος τῆς 'Ελλάδος εἰς Λονδῖνον. 'Ο Πανδίας Στεφ. Ράλλης εἶχε γεννηθῆ τὸ 1793 εἰς Χίον καὶ ἀπεβίωσε τὴν 9ην 'Ιουλίου 1865.

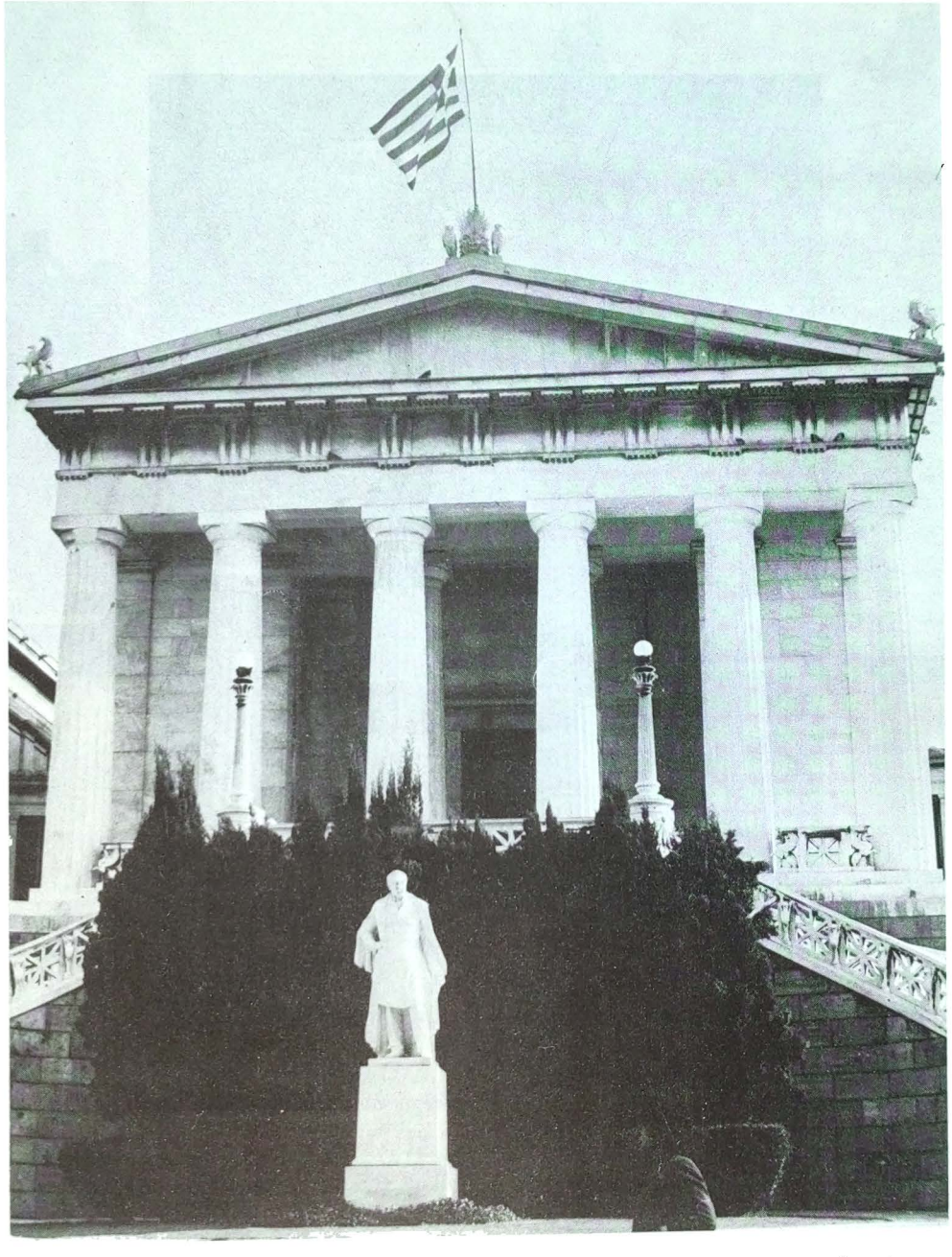
*Ὁ τάφος τῶν ἀδελφῶν Παναγῆ καὶ Μαρίνου Βαλλιάνου.*

Οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Μαρῖνος καὶ Παναγῆς Βαλλιᾶνοι ἦσαν οἱ τρίτος καὶ τέταρτος υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου Βαλλιάνου, ὁ ὁποῖος κατῴκει εἰς Κεραμειὰς τῆς Κεφαλληνίας. Υἱοί του ἦσαν οἱ Μεταξῆς, Σπῦρος, Μαρῖνος, Παναγῆς, Ἀνδρέας καὶ Νικόλαος. Ὁ Μαρῖνος Βαλλιᾶνος (1808 - 1896) ἔφυγε νέος ἀπὸ τὴν πατρίδα του καὶ ἐγκατεστάθη εἰς Ταϊγάνιον τῆς Ρωσίας, ὅπου ἤνοιξεν ἐπιχείρησιν σιτηρῶν. Ἡ ἐπιχείρησίς του προώδευσε, δι' ὅ, βραδύτερον, τὸν ἠκολούθησαν καὶ οἱ δύο μικρότεροι ἀδελφοί του Παναγῆς καὶ Ἀνδρέας. Ὁ Μαρῖνος Βαλλιᾶνος ἐνωρὶς ἀντελήφθη τὸ ἐμπορικὸν δαιμόνιον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του Παναγῆ καὶ ὄνευ δισταγμοῦ ἄφησε τὴν διεύθυνσιν τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως εἰς χεῖρας του. Ὁ Παναγῆς Βαλλιᾶνος εἶδεν ὅτι τὸ Ταϊγάνιον δὲν εἶναι ὁ κατάλληλος τόπος διὰ τὴν ἕδραν τῶν ἐπιχειρήσεών του, δι' ὃ καὶ μετέφερεν αὐτὴν τὸ 1858 εἰς τὸ Λονδῖνον. Ἦτο ὅμως πάντοτε εὐγνώμων εἰς τὸν μεγαλύτερον ἀδελφόν του, τὸν ὁποῖον καὶ ὑπερηγάπα. Ὅταν τὸ 1896 ὁ Μαρῖνος Βαλλιᾶνος ἀπέθανεν, ὁ Παναγῆς ἀνήγειρεν εἰς τὸν τάφον του τὸ ἀνωτέρω μνημεῖον, ὅπου ἀπέθεσε τὸν νεκρὸν ἀδελφόν του. Ἔμεινεν ἄγαμος καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸ 1902. Ἐνεταφιάσθη, ὡς ἐζήτησε, παραπλεύρως τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του. Εἰς τὸ ἴδιον μνημεῖον εἶναι ἐναποτεθειμένη καὶ ἡ Μαρία, σύζυγος Μαρίνου Βαλλιάνου († 1894). Ὡς γνωστὸν ὁ Παναγῆς Βαλλιᾶνος διέθεσε τὰ χρήματα διὰ τὴν ἀνέγερσιν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης.

Ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ ποὺ ἐκφράζει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ Παναγῆ Βαλλιάνου νὰ ταφῇ πλησίον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του Μαρῆ (Μαρίνου).



Ἡ κάτοψις τοῦ μνημείου τῶν ἀδελφῶν Βαλλιάνων.



Ἕτερον μνημεῖον τοῦ Παναγῆ Βαλλιάνου. Ὁ ἀνδριάς του ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Βαλλιανείου Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐν Ἀθήναις.

*'Ο τάφος τοῦ 'Αρχιμανδρίτου Μακαρίου Κυκκώτη, βοηθοῦ ἐφημερίου τῆς ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος Λονδίνου (1877–1883).*

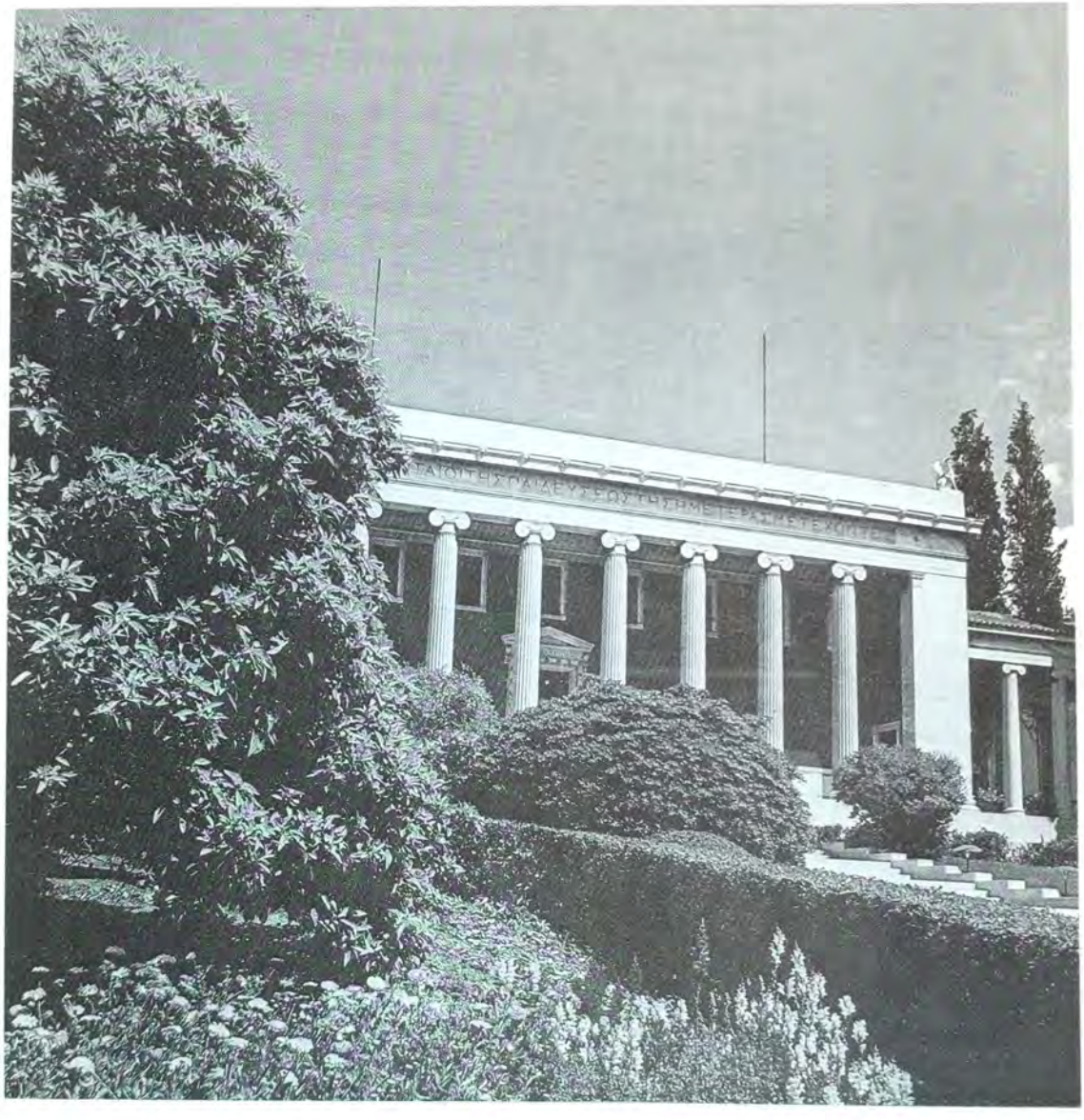
Τὸ 1876 ἡ ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης, πληροφορηθεῖσα ὅτι ὁ προϊστάμενος τοῦ Ναοῦ 'Αρχιμ. 'Ιερώνυμος Μυριανθεύς, ἀπὸ τὰ Καμινάρια τῆς Κύπρου, εἶχε προβλήματα ὑγείας, ἀπεφάσισε τὴν πρόσληψιν βοηθοῦ ἐφημερίου. 'Ως τοιοῦτος ἐξελέγη ὁ Μακάριος Κυκκώτης, 'Ηγούμενος ἑνὸς μετοχίου τῆς Μονῆς Κύκκου εἰς Μπεσίκτας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἔφθασεν εἰς Λονδῖνον καὶ ἀνέλαβε τὰ καθήκοντά του τὴν 7ην 'Απριλίου 1877. Καὶ οὗτος ὅμως παρουσίασε προβλήματα ὑγείας καὶ μετὰ ὑπηρεσίαν ἓξ ἐτῶν, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν διεκρίθη διὰ τὸν ζῆλον του καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα τοῦ ἤθους του, ἀπέθανε τὴν 17ην 'Ιανουαρίου 1883, ἐνταφιασθεὶς εἰς Norwood. 'Η ἐπιγραφὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου του ἀναφέρει: ΤΩ ΑΟΙΔΙΜΩ ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΔΡΙΤΗ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩ ΚΥΚΚΩΤΗ ΤΩ ΚΥΠΡΙΩ ΕΚΔΗΜΗΣΑΝΤΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΩ ΤΗ 17η ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ 1883 ΕΝ ΗΛΙΚΙΑ ΕΤΩΝ 42. ΕΙΣ ΕΝΔΕΙΞΙΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΠΗΣ Η ΕΝ ΛΟΝΔΙΝΩ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΟΙΝΟΤΗΣ.

Τὸ ὡραιότατον μνημεῖον τῆς οἰκογενείας Σκυλίτση.

*'Ο τάφος τοῦ 'Ιωάννου Γενναδίου, Πρεσβευτοῦ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἐν Λονδίνῳ.*

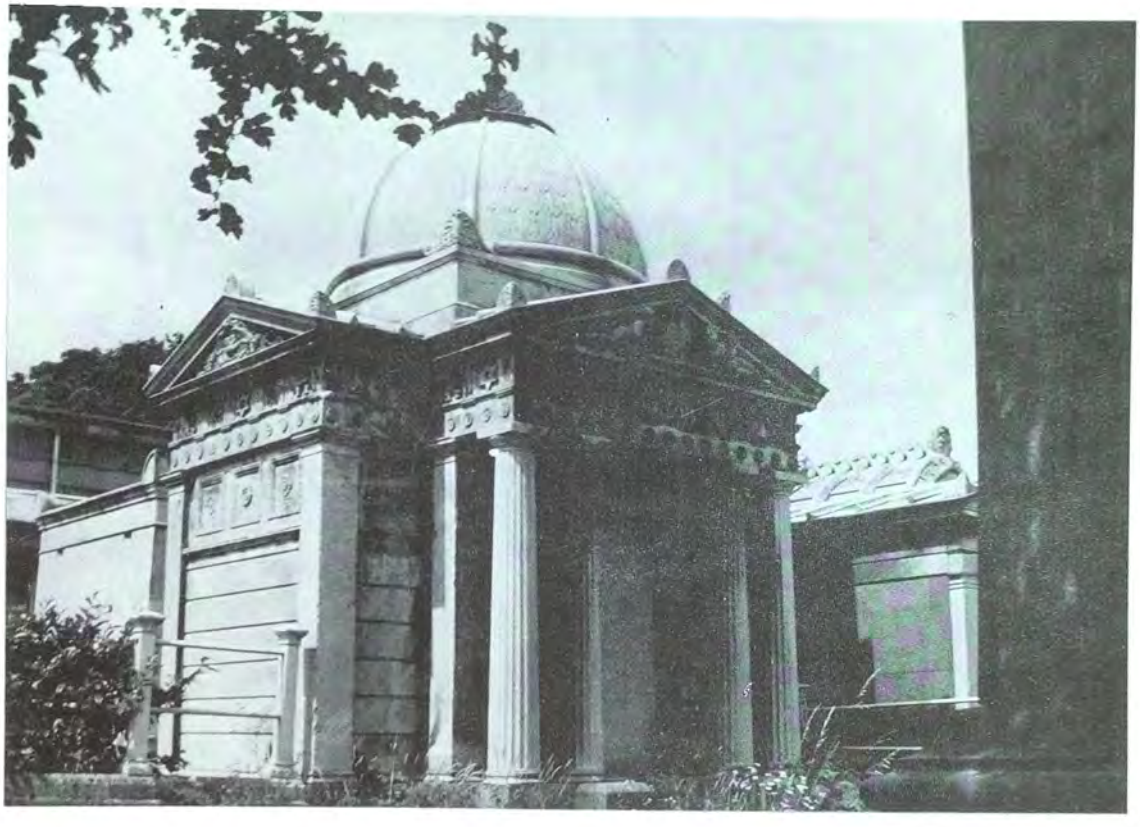
Πολὺ δυσανάλογος μὲ τὰ ὅσα προσέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι ὁ τάφος τοῦ 'Ιωάννου Γενναδίου, ἐπὶ μακρὸν Πρεσβευτοῦ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἐν Λονδίνῳ. 'Ενυμφεύθη 'Αγγλίδα σύζυγον καὶ διέμενεν εἰς East Molesey, ὅπου καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸ 1932. 'Ως ἀναφέρει ἡ ἐπιτάφιος ἐπιγραφὴ εἶχε γεννηθῆ εἰς 'Αθήνας τὸ 1844.

*Ὁ Ἰω. Γεννάδιος μὲ διπλωματικὴν στολήν.*
*Πίναξ κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Lazlo τὸ 1925.*



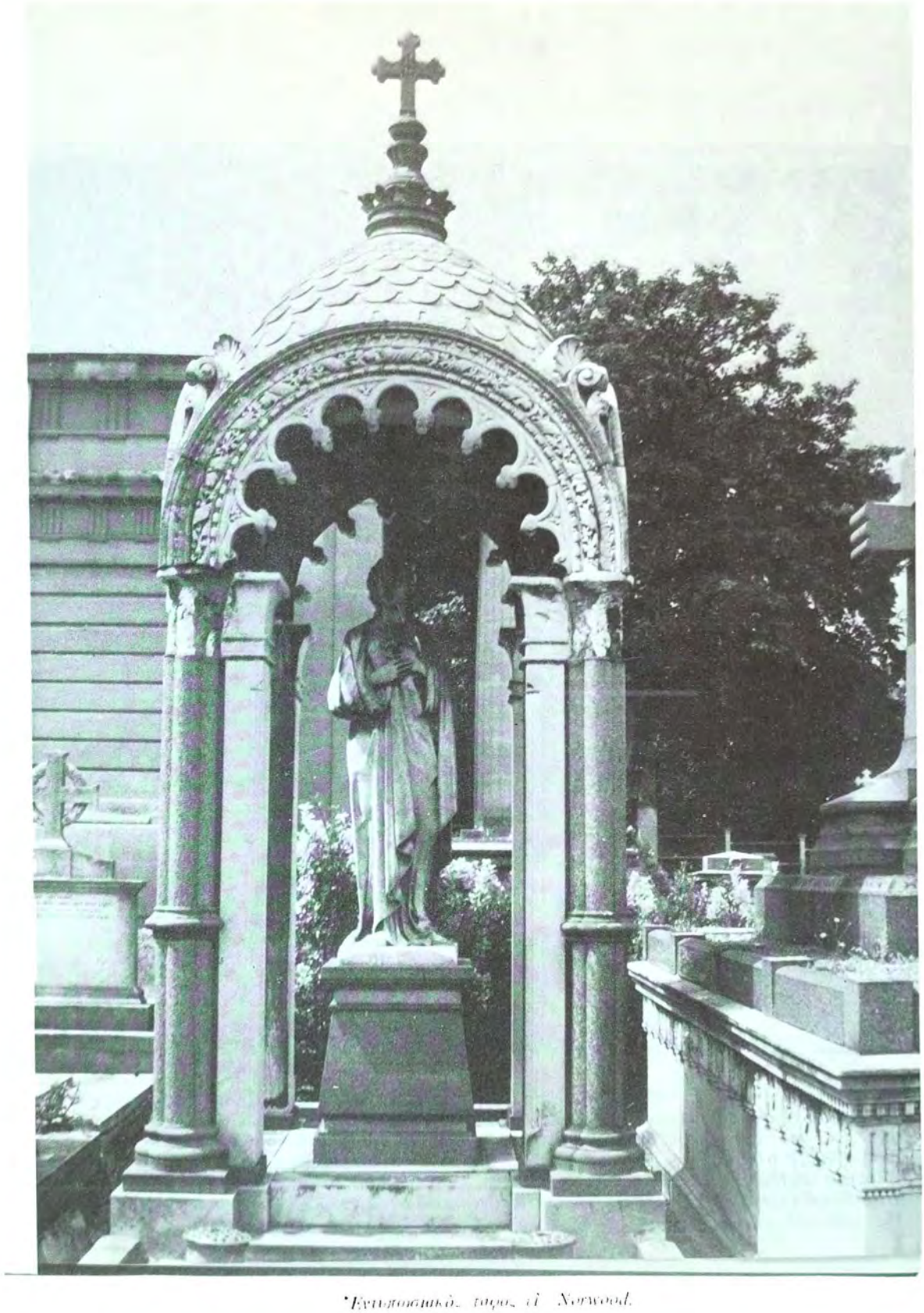
*'Η Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη ἐν 'Αθήναις*

'Ο 'Ιωάννης Γεννάδιος ὑπῆρξε βιβλιόφιλος. Τὴν τεραστίαν προσωπικὴν βιβλιοθήκην του ἐδώρησεν εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα, ἱδρύσας ἐν 'Αθήναις τὴν Γεννάδειον Βιβλιοθήκην πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ πατρός του Γεωργίου Γενναδίου (1786–1854). Τό κτήριον τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης ᾠκοδομήθη μὲ ἐπιχορήγησιν τῶν Η.Π.Α. καὶ στεγάζει καὶ τὴν 'Αμερικανικὴν 'Αρχαιολογικὴν Σχολήν.



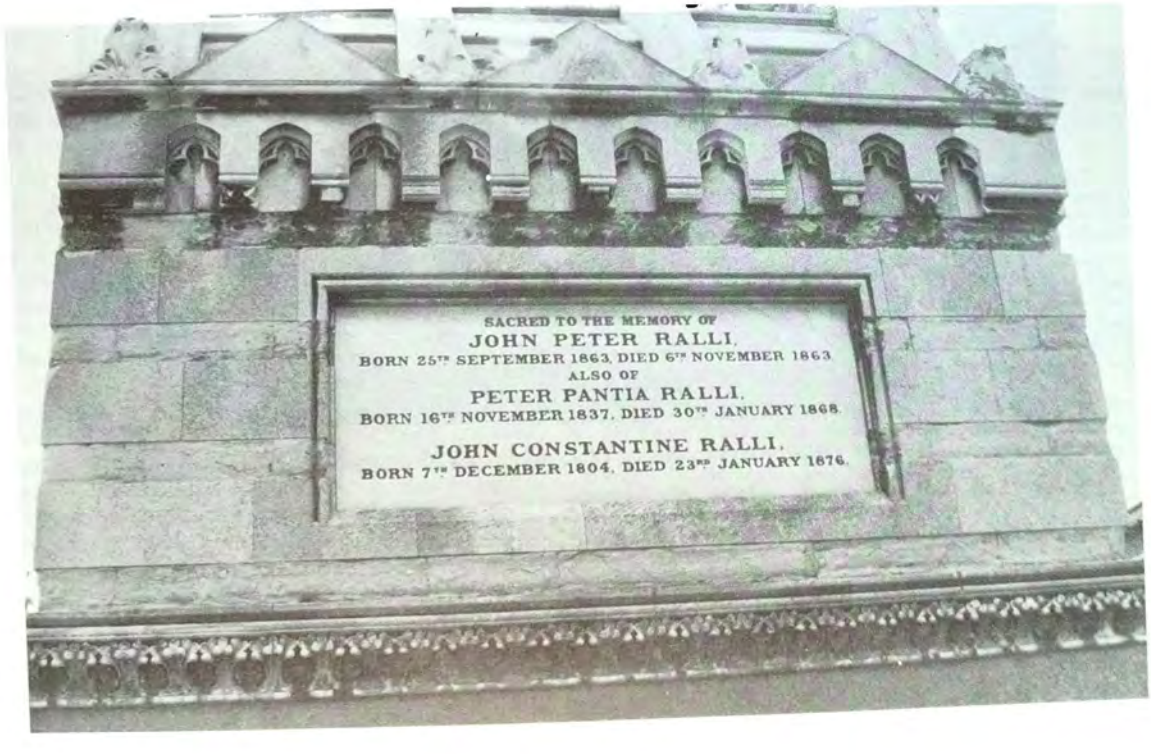
*Τὸ μαυσωλεῖον τοῦ Εὐστρατίου Ράλλη.*

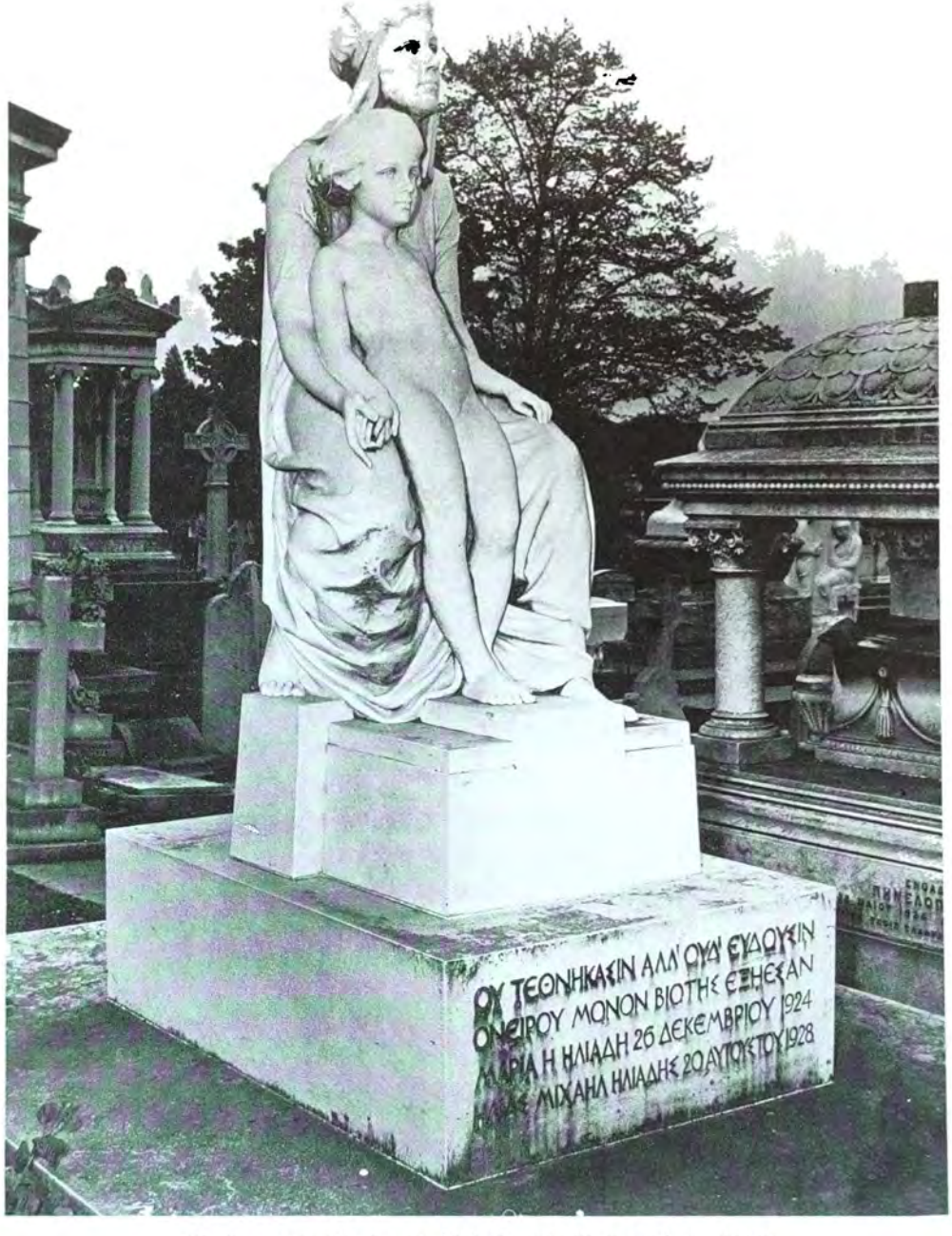
Ὁ Εὐστράτιος Ράλλης (1800–1884), πέμπτος ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἱ ὁποῖοι ἵδρυσαν τὴν ὁμώνυμον ἑταιρείαν, εἶναι ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους Ἕλληνας ποὺ ἦλθον εἰς Λονδῖνον. Εἰργάσθη εἰς τὴν ἑταιρείαν κρατῶν τὸ κατάστημα τοῦ Manchester, ταχέως ὅμως ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Λονδῖνον. Εἶχε τὴν ἀτυχίαν νὰ συνοδεύσῃ εἰς τὸν τάφον τοὺς τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοὺς τέσσαρας υἱούς του. Ὁ μικρότερος, ὁ Λουκᾶς, ἐπέζησεν, ἐσπούδασε καὶ ἔγινεν ὁ τρίτος Γεν. Δ/ντὴς τῆς ἑταιρείας, μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρώτου ἐξαδέλφου του Στεφάνου Αὐγ. Ράλλη. Ὁ Εὐστράτιος Ράλλης ἐθεμελίωσε τὴν 18ην Ἰουλίου 1877 τὸν Ναὸν τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας εἰς Λονδῖνον. Τὸ μαυσωλεῖον του εἶναι ἀπὸ τὰ ὡραιότερα γλυπτὰ ποὺ ἔχει τὸ ἑλληνικὸν Κοιμητήριον τοῦ Norwood.



Ἐγκαυστικὸς τάφος εἰς Norwood.

— *Τὸ μαυσωλεῖον τῆς οἰκογενειας Ῥαλλη.*






*'Ο τάφος τῆς Μαρίας Η. 'Ηλιάδη († 26 Δεκεμβρίου 1924).*

# THE JESUS PRAYER IN ST DIADOCHUS OF PHOTICE

By

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One of the most striking facts about the history of the Orthodox Church during the present century is the way in which, geographically and culturally, it is becoming more and more a 'Western' as well as an 'Eastern' Church. The millions of Orthodox Christians who, driven by economic pressure or by persecution, have settled in America and Australia, in Britain, France and Germany, are rapidly ceasing to be a 'diaspora', aliens and temporary residents in a foreign land, and they are becoming in the true and full sense citizens of the Western world. This emigration, unprecedented in the past experience of Orthodoxy, places upon us in a new and urgent manner a double responsibility – a responsibility both to testify and to listen: to testify before the West to the full integrity of the Orthodox tradition; to listen to the West and to learn from it in openness and humility.

To this task of testifying before the West the fourth occupant of the Orthodox see of Thyateira and Great Britain, Archbishop Methodios, has made a notable contribution. Following the example of the Church Fathers, of great hierarchs such as St Basil the Great and St Gregory the Theologian, he has striven tirelessly to combine pastoral service with study and writing, the vocation of the diocesan bishop with that of the scholar. I count it a privilege to serve as one of his assistant bishops, and to contribute to the present volume in his honour.

As we Orthodox bear our testimony and at the same time listen, what is it within our Orthodox tradition that proves most deeply attractive to present-day Western Christians? Any answer to that question would need to mention, among other elements, the Orthodox understanding of contemplative silence, of 'stillness' or *hesychia;* and, within Orthodox Hesychasm, we would need to refer in particular to the Jesus Prayer. It is astonishing how immediate and widespread has been the appeal of the Jesus Prayer throughout the Christian West, whether Catholic, Anglican or Protestant. To many who have otherwise no contact with Orthodoxy, it has proved a path of entry to the inner kingdom. It is surely significant that a book such as *The Way of a Pilgrim,* which had relatively little impact when first published in nineteenth-century Russia, should have become when translated a bestseller in the twentieth-century West.

Within the history of the Jesus Prayer a place of exceptional importance belongs to the fifth-century Greek bishop St Diadochus of Photice. He is not in fact the earliest Greek writer to mention the Jesus Prayer. About a generation before him, St Nilus of Ancyra (died *c.* 430) speaks in his voluminous correspondence of the 'remembrance' or 'invocation' of the Holy Name of Jesus[1]. But he makes no more than scattered and incidental allusions – four passing references in the course of more than a thousand letters – and so the Jesus Prayer can scarcely be regarded as a dominant *motif* in his spirituality. With Diadochus the case is altogether different. The 'remembrance' or 'invocation' of Jesus is discussed in seven out of his *Hundred Gnostic Chapters*[2], and it is closely linked with other fundamental themes in his ascetic theology. He is the earliest Father to assign a central and decisive role to the Jesus Prayer.

## *Diadochus and his Predecessors*

Of Diadochus himself little is known[3]. He was probably born in the early years of the fifth century.

1. See *Letters* II, 140 (*PG* 79, 260A, 261D); II, 214 (312C); III, 273 (520C); III, 278 (521BC). The correspondence attributed to Nilus in *PG* 79 cannot, in its present form, be entirely his work. On the critical problems involved, see K. Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen (Texte und Untersuchungen* xlii, 2: Leipzig 1917), especially chapter 2; A. Cameron, 'The Authenticity of the Letters of St Nilus of Ancyra', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* xvii, 2 (1976), pp. 181–96. But no particular suspicion attaches to the passages cited in the present article.

2. *Chapters* 31, 32, 33, 59, 61, 85, 97.

3. The best critical edition of Diadochus' writings is by E. des Places, *Diadoque de Photicé: Oeuvres spirituelles (Sources chrétiennes* 5: 3rd ed., Paris 1966). This includes an excellent introduction, the Greek text, French translation, and notes. It supersedes earlier editions in the *Philokalia* (Venice 1782) and in Migne, *PG* 65 (Paris 1864); also those by Mai (Rome 1840), Popov (Kiev 1903), Beneshevich (St Petersburg 1908),

AKSUM-THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

together with the soul, towards the love of God[34]. When recommending fasting, he is careful to repudiate any depreciation of the material creation[35]; fasting and other forms of bodily discipline are to be practised with restraint, in a 'moderate' and 'balanced' way (συμμέτρως)[36].

Such, then, is the general position of Diadochus within the early spiritual tradition of the Christian East. In his *Gnostic Chapters* two contrasting streams of spirituality are fused: on the one side, the systematic, Platonizing, 'intellectualist' stream exemplified by Evagrius; on the other, the more Biblical, 'affective', experiential stream found in Macarius/Symeon (but the contrast between them should not be exaggerated). Many of the technical terms are Evagrian, but the living content that Diadochus instils into them owes more to the spirit of the *Homilies*. In the convergence that he effects between the two approaches, Diadochus anticipates St Maximus the Confessor (*c.* 580–662) and the fourteenth-century Hesychasts such as St Gregory Palamas (1296–1359).

### '*Invocation*' *or* '*Remembrance*'*?*

What, then, is the distinctive place of the Jesus Prayer within the Diadochan synthesis?[37]

A basic question confronts us at the outset. How far is it legitimate to speak of the Jesus *Prayer* when discussing Diadochus? Does Diadochus actually have in view a particular formula of *invocation* addressed to Jesus, or is he merely advocating the *remembrance* of the person of Jesus, *meditation* upon him in a more diffused sense? Hausherr argues in favour of the second alternative. 'Diadochus', he writes, 'nowhere gives, even in an approximate fashion, the classic formula of the Jesus Prayer. He did not even know it.'[38] What Diadochus is recommending, according to Hausherr, is remembrance (μνήμη) rather than invocation (ἐπίκλησις), meditation (μελέτη) rather than a specific form of words. Even if the *Chapters* do not altogether exclude the idea of 'calling upon' the Lord Jesus, such invocation is secondary; Diadochus' real concern in with the cultivation of the memory[39].

Now it is certainly true that the reintegration of the memory is central to Diadochus' ascetic theology. Throughout the *Chapters* he speaks repeatedly of the 'remembrance of God' (μνήμη τοῦ Θεοῦ); somewhat less frequently, yet none the less on a significant number of occasions, he mentions the 'remembrance of the Lord Jesus' (ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μνήμη), describing this as a form of 'meditation' (μελέτη)[40]. Thus far Hausherr is entirely correct. But there are several passages where Diadochus surely envisages more than simple remembrance or recollection. With his usual thoroughness Hausherr cites most of the relevant evidence, but he fails to allow it due weight:

First, Diadochus does not merely speak about meditation on the *person* of Jesus, but he refers specifically to the *name* of Jesus[41].

Secondly, on one occasion he speaks, not just of remembering Jesus, but of 'invoking' or 'calling upon' him, using the word ἐπικαλεῖν: 'If, then, a man begins to make progress in keeping the commandments and unceasingly *calls upon* the Lord Jesus (ἐπικαλοῖτο τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν)...'[42]. This allusion to *epiclesis*, although unique in Diadochus, is nevertheless significant.

Thirdly and most important of all, Diadochus twice uses the phrase τὸ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, 'the *O Lord Jesus*'[43]. Hausherr comments, 'This would seem *perhaps* to indicate a prayer; but not necessarily so'[44]. It is difficult, however, to see why Diadochus should employ this unusual phrase –the neuter article followed by the vocative – unless in fact he has in mind a prayer, a particular formula of invocation commencing *Lord Jesus*.

If we look more closely at the way in which Diadochus employs the phrase 'the *O Lord Jesus*', this strengthens our impression that he is referring to a particular prayer, to an invocation rather than mere remembrance. In the first of the two passages where the phrase occurs, he is discussing the right way to combat listlessness or 'accidie' (ἀκηδία): this must

34. *Chapters* 33, 79.

35. *Chapters* 43–44.

36. *Chapters* 43, 46, 48, 82.

37. On the invocation of the name of Jesus in Orthodox spirituality, the basic historical study – open to correction, however, on points of detail – remains I. Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison (Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 157: Rome 1960); English translation by C. Cummings, *The Name of Jesus (Cistercian Studies Series* 44: Kalamazoo 1978); on Diadochus, see pp. 201–10 (French original); pp. 220–9 (English translation). For a more popular treatment of the Jesus Prayer, see 'Un moine de l'Eglise d'Orient' (Lev Gillet), *La prière de Jésus* (revised ed., Chevetogne 1974); English translation, 'A Monk of the Eastern Church', *The Prayer of Jesus*, translated by 'A Monk of the Western Church' (New York/Tournai 1967). There is a brief but careful survey by P. Adnès in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (1974), cols. 1126–50. See also T. Spidlik, *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien: Manuel systématique (Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 206: Rome 1978), pp. 305–10. For further bibliography, consult Hausherr, *Noms du Christ*, pp. 9–18; Spidlik, op. cit., p. 385; K. Ware, in *Sobornost incorporating Eastern Churches Review* 2:2 (1980), pp. 92–93.

38. *Noms du Christ*, p. 208.

39. op. cit., p. 206.

40. *Chapters* 61, 97.

41. Twice in *Chapters* 31, once in 33, twice in 59. But in 32, 61, 88 and 97, he refers only to the remembrance of Jesus, without mentioning the name of Jesus. It is surprising that the very thorough 'Index ascétique et mystique' provided in the edition of des Places (pp. 188–204) does not include ὄνομα or ἐπικαλεῖν.

42. *Chapters* 85.

43. *Chapters* 59, 61.

44. *Noms du Christ*, p. 210 (italics in the original).

be done by restricting the mind (διάνοια) to the remembrance of God.[45] He continues:

> When we have blocked all its outlets by means of the remembrance of God, the intellect (νοῦς) requires of us imperatively some task that will satisfy its need for activity. For the complete fulfilment of its purpose we should give it nothing but the *O Lord Jesus*. 'No one', it is written, 'can say "Lord Jesus" except in the Holy Spirit' (1 Cor. 12:3). Let the intellect continually concentrate on this phrase within its inner shrine with such intensity that it is not turned aside to any mental images[46].

Here Diadochus starts by speaking of the 'remembrance of God' (μνήμη τοῦ Θεοῦ). But the text from 1 Corinthians refers not just to *remembering* Christ but to *saying* 'Lord Jesus'.[47] Moreover, in the sentence immediately preceding, Diadochus has deliberately replaced Paul's use of the nominative Κύριος Ἰησοῦς by the vocative form Κύριε Ἰησοῦ: this surely suggests that he has in view an actual invocation to Christ commencing with those words. He goes on to describe 'the *O Lord Jesus*' as a 'phrase', or 'word', ῥητὸν or ῥῆμα (there is manuscript support for both readings). All this makes it plain that he is concerned, not just with a presence recalled, but with *words pronounced.*

The second passage confirms this:

> At that time the soul possesses grace, which itself meditates together with the soul and cries out with it the *O Lord Jesus*, just as a mother teaches her child the name 'father', repeating it with him until she forms in him the habit of calling distinctly for his father even when asleep, instead of prattling in his usual way[48].

As before, this definitely implies words pronounced and not simply a memory recalled. It is true that Diadochus begins by using the word 'meditates' (συμμελετῶσαν); yet even this might also bear the sense 'recite'. What follows is, however, unambiguous. Grace 'cries out' (συγκράζουσαν) with the soul to the Lord: 'the *O Lord Jesus*' is a κραυγή, a 'cry' or 'shout', an invocation. The analogy of the mother and child reinforces this: the child is taught not merely to remember or recognize his father but to *repeat his name*, to *call* for him instinctively even when asleep.

In these two passages, then, it seems highly probable that Diadochus envisages a specific prayer, frequently repeated, and commencing with the words *Lord Jesus* (Κύριε Ἰησοῦ). Whether these two words were followed by any others, and if so what the other words were, Diadochus does not specify. In later sources the initial invocation 'Lord Jesus' is usually followed by an appeal for mercy. In the early sixth century St Varsanuphius and St John of Gaza[49], and also their disciple St Dorotheus[50], use the form 'Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me'. About the same time, or perhaps somewhat later, the *Life of Abba Philemon*, an Egyptian monk, employs what was to become in due course the standard from of the Jesus Prayer, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me'[51]. Possibly Diadochus was familiar with a similar form of words, but this we have no way of discovering; elsewhere in the *Chapters* there is no particular emphasis upon the need for mercy or on the formula *Kyrie eleison.* But at any rate it is clear that he did not envisage the invocation of the name 'Jesus' entirely on its own; it was accompanied at least by the word 'Lord'. The text of Diadochus, therefore, provides no support for the thesis of Archimandrite Lev Gillet, who considers that the Jesus Prayer began with the one word 'Jesus', and that this was only later expanded into what we have termed the 'standard form'[52].

Such is the sum total of what Diadochus has to tell us about the exterior practice of the invocation of the Holy Name. He does not say how quickly or slowly it is to be said, although, as we shall see shortly, he teaches that it should be so far as possible continuous. He says nothing about the bodily posture – whether standing or sitting, whether with the eyes open or closed. Nowhere does he suggest that the repeated invocation should be co-ordinated with the rhythm of the breathing. One point, however, emerges with clarity. Hausherr has surely taken an unduly minimizing view of the evidence[53]. It is reasonable

45. *Chapters* 58.

46. *Chapters* 59.

47. Diadochus' use of 1 Cor. 12:3 at this point underlines the Pneumatological dimension of the Jesus Prayer: invocation of the Lord Jesus involves the third person of the Trinity as well as the second.

48. *Chapters* 61.

49. *Erotapocriseis* (ed. S. Schoinas: Volos 1960), 126, 446; French translation by L. Regnault and P. Lemaire (Solesmes 1972), 175, 446. Cf. F. Neyt, 'The Prayer of Jesus', *Sobornost* 6:9 (1974), pp. 641–54.

50. *Life of St Dositheus* 10 (ed. L. Regnault and J. de Préville, *Sources chrétiennes* 92 [Paris 1963], p. 138).

51. Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν, vol. ii (3rd ed., Athens 1958), p. 244, line 39; cf. lines 19–20 for the shorter formula, without 'Son of God', as found in Varsanuphius and Dorotheus. Cf. the English translation of the *Life of Abba Philemon* in Palmer, Sherrard and Ware, *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, vol. ii (London 1981), p. 348. The work is hard to date: it could belong to the sixth or early seventh century, but may possibly be several hundred years later. See B. Krivocheine, 'Date du texte traditionnel de la "Prière de Jésus" ', *Messager de l' Exarchat du Patriarche Russe en Europe Occidentale* 7–8 (1951), pp. 55–59. It is certainly prior to the twelfth century, since it is quoted by Peter of Damascus: cf. J. Gouillard, 'Un auteur spirituel du douzième siècle, Pierre Damascène', *Echos d'Orient* 38 (1939), pp. 268–9.

52. See *La prière de Jésus*, p. 52 *et passim*; against this view, Hausherr, *Noms du Christ*, p. 118.

53. As he does also in regard to Nilus of Ancyra: cf. *Noms du Christ*, pp. 195–6, where he asserts somewhat arbitrarily that the term 'invocation', used several times by Nilus, is to be

to conclude that Diadochus has in mind, not only remembrance or meditation, but an actual phrase, an invocation of the name of the Lord Jesus; and so he may justly be regarded as a witness to the employment of the Jesus *Prayer*.

*The Jesus Prayer and Inner Silence*

What function, then, is played by this remembrance or invocation of the Lord Jesus within Diadochus' theology as a whole? Let us consider first the way in which Diadochus connects the repetition of the phrase *Lord Jesus* with Evagrius' notion of image-free prayer; and then let us see how the Jesus Prayer is related to Diadochus' anthropology.

Diadochus joins together two ways of praying, both of them to be found in fourth-century Egyptian monasticism, but at that stage juxtaposed rather than linked with each other. The first is the practice, found especially in the *Apophthegmata*, of employing brief phrases, frequently repeated, as a method of maintaining continual 'remembrance of God'.[54] This practice is often styled 'monologic prayer', prayer of a single *logos* or phrase (not necessarily a single word); the first known use of the word *monologistos* in this way, as a technical term for prayer, is in fact considerably later than the fourth century[55]. Among the Desert Fathers of Egypt a wide variety of short formulae is employed; while the name of Jesus occurs in some of them, it enjoys no special prominence.

The second element that Diadochus incorporates is the practice of 'pure' or imageless prayer, recommended by Evagrius of Pontus. According to Evagrius, 'Prayer is the laying aside of thoughts';[56] the aim in praying is to attain a state of inner silence, an intuitive and unmediated awareness of God, on a level above discursive thinking. But how in practice are we to achieve this non-iconic prayer? Evagrius suggests no method or technique. He does, it is true, recommend in general terms the use of 'brief but intense prayer' at times of temptation[57], and he proposes in the *Antirrheticus* the repetition of particular verses from the Psalms as a weapon against the different demons. But nowhere does he advocate the adoption of 'monologic prayer', as found among his contemporaries in Egypt, as a way of entry into the realm of inner silence.

The connection that Evagrius omits to make constitutes precisely a key point in the teaching of Diadochus, one of his major innovations. Taking over from Evagrius the notion of prayer as a 'laying aside' of thoughts[58], at the same time he proposes, in a way that Evagrius fails to do, a method for achieving such a state; and this method is the practice of 'monologic prayer'. He is also more definite than the Desert Fathers of Egypt about the form which the 'monologic prayer' should take. Whereas they used a diversity of short phrases, Diadochus insists on one unvarying form of invocation: the words *Lord Jesus*. In thus establishing a connection between 'monologic prayer' and image-free prayer, and in assigning a central place to the name of Jesus, Diadochus makes a decisive contribution to the evolution of the Jesus Prayer.

The manner in which the invocation of the Lord Jesus brings the aspirant to image-free prayer is indicated in the passage already quoted, *Gnostic Chapters* 59[59]. The *nous* or intellect, as Diadochus sees it, has an inherent 'need for activity' (ἐντρέχεια), which must in some way be satisfied. It is not possible, simply through an exertion of will-power, to hold our mind in a state of suspended animation: on the psychological as on the physical level, nature abhors a vacuum. As Nilus insists, the *nous* is by nature 'ever-moving';[60] in the words of Mark the Monk, a writer close in spirit to Diadochus, 'The rational intellect cannot rest idle'[61]. To meet this need for activity, so Diadochus teaches, the *nous* should be made to recite the prayer *Lord Jesus:* 'We should give it nothing but the *O Lord Jesus*'. The words 'nothing but...' are significant: in place of the multiplicity of formulae prevailing in fourth-century Egypt, Diadochus proposes a single, unvarying invocation. As Hausherr puts it, we are moving 'de la liberté à l'unicité', from freedom to uniformity[62]. It is exactly the unvarying character of the invocation that leads the aspirant to non-iconic prayer: by virtue of the very monotony of the formula of prayer, by virtue of the intellect's concentration exclusively upon one and the same phrase 'within its inner shrine', it succeeds in not 'being turned aside to any mental images'. As Diadochus puts it elsewhere, the invocation or remembrance of Jesus is in this manner a way of 'keeping guard' over the intellect, of preserving τήρησις τοῦ νοῦ[63].

understood 'not in the phonetic but in the theological sense'. Surprisingly Gillet, op. cit., makes no reference at all to Nilus.

54. See L. Regnault, 'La prière continuelle "monologistos" dans la littérature apophtegmatique', *Irénikon* 47 (1974), pp. 467–93; also K. Ware, '"Pray Without Ceasing": the Ideal of Continual Prayer in Eastern Monasticism', *Eastern Churches Review* 2 (1969), pp. 253–61.

55. The phrase 'monologic prayer' is first found in St John Climacus (7th century), *Ladder* 15 (*PG* 88, 889D), where it refers to the Jesus Prayer: μονολόγιστος Ἰησοῦ εὐχή. The adjective μονολόγιστος occurs at an earlier date in Mark the Monk, but he uses it as an epithet for hope or for demonic temptation, not for prayer: cf. *On the Spiritual Law* 10 (*PG* 65, 905C); *On those who think to be justified by works* 140 (952C); *On Baptism* (1001A, 1016A–D, 1020B, 1021B).

56. *On Prayer* 70 (1181C).

57. *On Prayer* 98 (1189A).

58. See above, note 14.

59. See above, note 46.

60. *On the Superiority of Monks* 23 (*PG* 79, 1088B).

61. *On Penitence* 11 (*PG* 65, 981B). For λογικῶς in the Migne text, read λογικὸς in accordance with the best manuscripts.

62. *Noms du Christ*, p. 197.

63. *Chapters* 97.

*The Reintegration of the Memory*

Imageless prayer is closely linked, in Diadochus' teaching, with the reintegration of the memory and so with his anthropology as a whole.

The remembrance of the Holy Name, as Hausherr rightly observes, is never treated by Diadochus as an end in itself, but only as a means. The supreme aim of the spiritual life is love: to love God, and other humans in him. This Diadochus makes clear in the very first sentence of the *Gnostic Chapters:* 'All spiritual contemplation, my brethren, should have as its guide faith, hope and love, but most of all love'[64]. And in his closing chapter he finishes upon the same note, describing how at the hour of death the God-centred soul is 'lifted with the angels of peace above the hosts of darkness' and 'given wings by spiritual love'[65]. Love is a recurrent *leitmotiv* throughout the work[66]. Love is the end, the Jesus Prayer a means–a 'way in' to divine love.

But the Jesus Prayer has also a more immediate purpose. It restores the human person, and more specifically the human memory (μνήμη), to its primal unity as intended by God. By *mneme* Diadochus and other ancient writers mean more than is denoted by the modern conception of the memory; often the word 'consciousness' might be more accurate as a translation.

In his doctrine of the human person, Diadochus first of all makes a distinction, in much the same way as do Irenaeus and Origen, between that which is 'according to the image' (τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα) and that which is 'according to the likeness' (τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν):

> All of us humans are made according to God's image; but to be according to his likeness is granted only to those who through great love have brought their own freedom into subjection to God. For only when we do not belong to ourselves do we become like him who through love has reconciled us to himself[67].

The 'image', then, denotes our essential humanity, that which makes us to be persons; it is the initial endowment bestowed upon all of us alike, and it is never altogether forfeited through sin. The 'likeness', on the other hand, signifies our final aim in the spiritual life, and when fully realized it is identical with *theosis*, with being 'deified through the riches of God's grace'[68]. The vocation of each human person is therefore to be a pilgrim journeying from the 'image' to the 'likeness'. The first Adam failed in this vocation, but through the incarnation, death and glorification of Christ, the second Adam, the way forward lies once again open before us.

Formed in God's image, called to attain the divine likeness, the human person in Diadochus' view was created as a single, undivided unity. This unity differs, however, from the original simplicity ascribed by Origen to the *logikoi*, since for Diadochus it involves the body as well as the *nous* or the soul. In its state of unified singleness prior to the fall, the soul according to Diadochus possessed a natural 'perceptive faculty' or 'awareness' (αἴσθησις) which was one and 'simple' (ἁπλῆ). As a result of Adam's disobedience this perceptive faculty has been split into two conflicting 'modes of operation' (ἐνέργειαι). On the one side, we are dragged down towards carnal pleasures: 'The senses of the body impel us almost violently towards what attracts them'. On the other side, the soul and intellect continue to be drawn towards 'invisible blessings' and the 'good things of heaven'.

This body–soul conflict is directly the consequence of the fall. In the beginning it was not so, for the human person was created as a psychosomatic unity. In the end it will not be so, for it is the aim of our spiritual life precisely to overcome this duality and to restore the primal integration. Instead of the state of conflict that is our present predicament, the *nous* will share its joy with the body, so that body and soul will together participate in a single joy, as they did in the *status ante peccatum:*

> According to the measure of its progress, the intellect communicates its own joy to the body also, as it rejoices endlessly in the song of love and praise: 'My soul trusted in him and I am helped; my flesh flowers again, and with all my will-power I shall sing his praise' (Ps. 27 [28]:7). The joy which then fills both soul and body is a true recollection of the life without corruption[69].

This insistence upon the Spirit-bearing potentialities of the human body, upon the basic, God-given unity of the human person, is one of the most attractive features in Diadochus. The soul's 'earthly appetite', he insists, is not to be suppressed but redirected: it is to be '*united* with the spiritual disposition' of the soul[70]. Diadochus' ideal is not the mortification of our physicality but its transfiguration. This is one of the points where, as already noted, he diverges clearly from the Origenist Evagrius, with his Platonizing conception of the human person as essentially a 'naked intellect'. Diadochus' preference for the

64. *Chapters* 1.
65. *Chapters* 100.
66. See especially 12–23, 89–91. While speaking most commonly of *agape*, Diadochus also uses the word *eros: Chapters* 10, 14, 19, 56, 74; *Vision* 2.
67. *Chapters* 4.
68. *Sermon* 6. Deification changes, not our nature (φύσις), but our habitual state (ἕξις): cf. below, note 73.
69. *Chapters* 24–25.
70. *Chapters* 29.

Biblical, holistic approach of the Macarian *Homilies* is very plain[71].

But in what way are we to return from our present state of fallen fragmentation to our original state of integration? The duality effected by the fall exists on the level both of the *will* (θέλημα) and of the *memory* (μνήμη). On the level of the will we are attracted simultaneously towards both good and evil. Similarly, on the level of the memory both good and evil thoughts arise spontaneously in our consciousness, even against our own volition. We cannot think of good without also thinking of evil:

> When a man stands out of doors in winter at the break of day, facing the east, the front of his body is warmed by the sun, while his back is still cold because the sun is not on it.... Such a man both shivers and yet feels warm at the touch of the sun; and in the same way it may happen that the soul has both good and evil thoughts at the same time. For, ever since our intellect fell into a state of duality with regard to its knowledge (εἰς τὸ διπλοῦν τῆς γνώσεως), it has been forced to produce at one and the same time both good and evil thoughts, even against its own will; and this applies especially in the case of those who have reached a high degree of discrimination (διάκρισις). When the intellect tries to think continually of what is good, it suddenly recollects what is bad, since from the time of Adam's disobedience the human memory has been split into two modes of thinking[72].

Diadochus makes in this connection an important distinction between 'nature' (φύσις) and 'habit' (ἕξις). It is *natural* for the heart to produce only good thoughts, for the heart as created by God is good. Evil thoughts are unnatural, even though since the fall bad thinking has become *habitual* to us:

> It is true that the heart produces good and bad thoughts from itself (cf. Luke 6: 45). This happens, not because the heart by nature produces evil thoughts, but because as a result of the original deception the remembrance of evil has become as it were a habit[73].

How, then, can we return from the state of fallen 'habit' to the 'natural' condition which was ours before the fall? The beginning of our return, made possible by virtue of Christ's incarnation, is effected through the sacrament of Baptism. Holy Baptism, according to Diadochus, cleanses us fully and completely from all the guilt and stain (ῥύπος) of sin, but it does not heal the duality in our will (τὸ διπλοῦν τῆς θελήσεως)[74]. Here Diadochus agrees substantially with St Augustine, who holds that Baptism confers a full forgiveness of sins, but does not by itself restore to man the *donum integritatis* enjoyed by Adam before the fall: 'The guilt of concupiscence is absolved in Baptism, but the weakness remains' (*concupiscentiae reatus in baptismate solvitur, sed infirmitas manet*)[75]. Mark the Monk, who in other ways agrees closely with Diadochus, adopts here a different standpoint: in his view Baptism by itself restores man to the *status ante peccatum*, to the situation of Adam in Paradise[76].

Through Baptism, so Diadochus teaches, the devil is expelled from the depths of the soul and grace is hidden secretly within it. Without this grace we could achieve nothing. Diadochus is no Pelagian: as Fr des Places observes, 'Grace forms the foundation of his theology'[77]. We become fully conscious, however, of this secret, indwelling grace of Baptism, only if we co-operate with it actively through the right use of our free will[78]. Thus, whereas the 'image' is renewed immediately at Baptism, the recovery of the 'likeness' can be achieved only gradually[79].

If inner duality persists after Baptism, how then is it to be overcome? Since the duality exists on the interconnected levels of both will and memory, healing is needed on both these levels at once. The two means of healing are 'the observance of the commandments' and the 'invocation of the Lord Jesus':[80] they are correlative, and the second presupposes the first. Duality on the level of the *will* is healed primarily through the observance of the commandments, through ascetic effort, through what Evagrius terms the 'active' life (πρᾶξις, πρακτική), although Diadochus does not himself use this term. The division in our *memory* is healed by 'always consuming our remembrance of evil with good thoughts'[81]. The 'remembrance of evil' is in this way displaced by the

71. There are passages where Diadochus speaks of the body as the 'house' (*Chapters* 88) or even the 'veil' (καταπέτασμα: *Chapters* 71) of the soul. Taken in isolation, these might perhaps be understood in a Platonizing, Origenistic fashion, but read in context they do not have such connotations.

72. *Chapters* 88.

73. *Chapters* 83. For the 'remembrance of evil' as a habit, not something natural, see also *Sermon* 6.

74. *Chapters* 78.

75. *Retract.* I, xv, 2 (*PL* 32, 609). Cf. *De nupt.* I, xxv, 28 (*PL* 44, 430); *Contra Jul.* VI, xvi, 49 (*PL* 44, 850–1): *qui baptizatur omni peccato caret, non omni malo.*

76. *On Baptism* (*PG* 65, 1013C, 1017A–1020A, 1025AB). Cf. K. Ware, 'The Sacrament of Baptism and the Ascetic Life in the Teaching of Mark the Monk', *Studia Patristica*, vol. x (*Texte und Untersuchungen* 107: Berlin 1970), pp. 441–52.

77. 'Introduction', *Sources chrétiennes* 5 (3rd ed.), p. 30.

78. *Chapters* 77, 85.

79. *Chapters* 78, 89. While attaching importance to Baptism, Diadochus nowhere speaks about the Eucharist. The same emphasis on Baptism and virtual neglect of the Eucharist is a feature of Mark the Monk.

80. Mentioned together in *Chapters* 85; cf. 88, 96.

81. *Chapters* 5.

'remembrance of good' or 'remembrance of God' (μνήμη ἀγαθοῦ, μνήμη Θεοῦ):

> It is the mark of one who truly loves holiness that he continually burns up what is earthly in his heart through practising the remembrance of God, so that little by little evil is consumed in the fire of the remembrance of good, and his soul returns to its natural brilliance with yet greater glory[82].

By the 'remembrance of good' or 'of God', Diadochus means more particularly the remembrance of Jesus. Thus, having spoken in a passage already cited[83] about the 'two modes of thinking' present in the memory as a result of the fall, he concludes:

> But when we begin with fervent zeal to carry out the commandments of God, all our organs of perception will be illumined by a profound awareness of the light of grace; grace will consume our thoughts with its flames, sweetening our hearts in the peace of uninterrupted love, and enabling us to think thoughts that are spiritual and no longer carnal. These effects of grace are always present in those who are approaching perfection and have the remembrance of the Lord Jesus unceasingly in their hearts.

The unceasing 'remembrance of the Lord Jesus' eliminates all 'carnal thoughts' and reduces the 'two modes of thinking' to one, so restoring our memory to unity.

Such, then, is the primary function of the Jesus Prayer in the teaching of Diadochus. It is first of all a way of releasing the intellect from its present fragmentation among a multiplicity of thoughts and images. Through the invocation of the name of Jesus we attain image-free, non-discursive prayer of an Evagrian type. Thus the invocation or remembrance of the name, although directed to the person of Jesus, is not a form of imaginative meditation upon the Passion or other moments in the life of our Lord. Such discursive, imaginative meditation is indeed sometimes recommended by the Greek Fathers, notably by Mark the Monk[84]. But what Diadochus means by the remembrance of Jesus is something different. So far from exploiting the image-making faculty or the discursive reason, the Jesus Prayer aims to bring these mental powers to stillness. It helps us to advance from diversity to simplicity and inner poverty, from distraction to single-pointed concentration.

The second function of the Jesus Prayer is closely related to the first. It heals the duality from which our memory suffers as a result of the fall. The evil thoughts that arise continually within us are, through the invocation of the name, continually displaced by good thoughts; the 'remembrance of evil' is expelled by the 'remembrance of good' or, more precisely, by the remembrance of the One who is good, the Lord Jesus. So, through the progressive healing of the memory, and with it of the will, the fallen disunity of the human person is overcome, the soul is integrated within itself, and the body is reintegrated with the soul.

*Pray without Ceasing*

In order to fulfil this double task – to eliminate the multiplicity of thoughts and images that fragment the intellect, and to unify the divided memory– the remembrance or invocation of Jesus should be so far as possible *continuous*. This is a point to which Diadochus attaches great importance. 'Let the intellect *continually* concentrate on this phrase', he says; we are to 'meditate *unceasingly* upon this holy and glorious name';[85] 'if, then, a man...*unceasingly* calls upon the Lord Jesus...';[86] those approaching perfection 'have the remembrance of the Lord Jesus *unceasingly* in their hearts'[87]. Most clearly of all, he writes:

> He who wishes to cleanse his heart should keep it continually aflame through the remembrance of the Lord Jesus, making this his only study (μελέτη) and his ceaseless task. Those who desire to free themselves from their corruption should not sometimes pray and sometimes not pray, but they should give themselves always to prayer, keeping watch over their intellect even when outside the places of prayer. When someone is trying to purify gold, and allows the fire of the furnace to die down even for a moment, the material which he is purifying will harden again. So, too, someone who merely practises the remembrance of God from time to time, loses through lack of continuity what he hopes to gain through his prayer. It is the mark of one who truly loves holiness that he continually burns up what is earthly in his heart[88].

The same insistence upon the need for continuity in the remembrance or invocation of Jesus is to be found already in Nilus:

> So we should not become sluggish or depressed, or grow weary, but should not cease from invoking the precious name of Jesus[89].

82. *Chapters* 97.
83. *Chapters* 88 (cf. note 72).
84. See especially *To Nicolas* 8–9 (*PG* 65, 1041C–1045A).
85. *Chapters* 59.
86. *Chapters* 85.
87. *Chapters* 88.
88. *Chapters* 97.
89. *Letters* III, 273 (*PG* 79, 520C).

> Skilfully arm yourself, night and day, with the remembrance of the Saviour and the fervent invocation of the venerable name[90].

As a result of the continuous, uninterrupted manner in which it is practised, the remembrance or invocation of Jesus grows ever more inward, ever more spontaneous, more an integral part of us – not just an activity but a state; something that we *are* as well as something that we *do*.

Diadochus expresses this point by underlining the particular significance of the *heart* in connection with the remembrance of God or of the Lord Jesus. By 'heart' he evidently means, not merely the emotions and affections, but, as in the Macarian *Homilies*, the deep centre of the human person as a whole[91]. We are, he says, to 'dwell always in our own heart';[92] we are to recover 'the remembrance of the heart' which has been dissipated by the bodily senses[93]. He speaks especially about the 'depths' of the heart (βάθος/βάθη τῆς καρδίας): it is here that grace makes its dwelling[94], and that the fullness of love is realized[95]. It is likewise in the depths of the heart that we are to establish the remembrance of God or of Jesus: we are to be 'always looking into the depths of our heart with unceasing remembrance of God';[96] those who say the Jesus Prayer 'meditate unceasingly upon this holy and glorious name in the depths of their heart'[97]. In these passages Diadochus seems to mean by the 'depths of the heart' the deep self, the ground of the soul, the point of unity and integration where we become one with that which we say or think: 'You are the music while the music lasts' (T.S. Eliot). In the *Gnostic Chapters* there can here be found, in seminal form, the ideas developed much later by the fourteenth-century Byzantine Hesychasts: through the use of the Jesus Prayer the intellect is enabled to descend into the heart, so that *nous* and *kardia* are united, and the prayer becomes prayer of the whole person, including the body.

As the invocation becomes more inward, so it grows ever more instinctive. The soul is to call automatically on Jesus, just as a child cries out spontaneously to his father even when asleep[98]. Indeed, to Diadochus this is more than a mere analogy, for he considers that the intellect should continue to practise 'the remembrance of the glorious and holy name of the Lord Jesus' even when 'we fall into a light sleep'[99]. In this way the prayer reaches out beyond the frontiers of the fully conscious into the borderland between waking and dreaming. As the Song of Songs puts it, 'I sleep, but my heart wakes' (5:2). St Isaac of Nineveh (seventh century) develops this idea in his own characteristic way:

> When the Spirit takes up its dwelling in a man, he does not cease to pray, because the Spirit will constantly pray in him. Then, neither when he sleeps nor when he is awake, will prayer be cut off from his soul; but when he eats and when he drinks, when he lies down or when he does any work, even when he is immersed in sleep, the perfumes of prayer will breathe in his soul spontaneously. And henceforth he will not possess prayer at limited times, but always; and when he has outward rest, even then prayer is ministered to him secretly. The silence of the serene is prayer[100].

*Weapon against Demons, Giver of Warmth and Light*

As well as stripping the intellect of images and unifying the memory, the remembrance of Jesus has three further effects:

First, it serves as a weapon against demonic assaults. We are to 'use the holy name to repel the evil' with which the devil tempts us[101]. When 'Satan importunes the soul with a sense of deceptive sweetness', the remembrance of the name of Jesus will reveal to us the true character of his suggestions:

> If the intellect at that time cleaves with fervent remembrance to the holy name of the Lord Jesus, and uses that holy and glorious name as a weapon against Satan's deception, he gives up this trick and for the future will attack the soul directly and personally. As a result the intellect clearly discerns the deception of the evil one and advances even further in the experience of discrimination[102].

The remembrance of the name confers *diakrisis*, 'discrimination' or 'discernment', enabling us to recognize the deceits of the devil for what they truly are. Nilus[103] and John Climacus[104] also set the Jesus Prayer in the same context, treating it especially as a means of combatting the demonic powers.

90. *Letters* III, 278 (*PG* 79, 521B). See also the very emphatic passage in I, 239 (169D) on the continuous remembrance of God (but without specific reference to the name of Jesus).

91. On the meaning of the 'heart' in early Christian authors, see A. Guillaumont, 'Les sens des noms du coeur dans l'antiquité' in *Le coeur (Etudes carmélitaines*, vol. xxix: Bruges 1950), pp. 41–81; 'Le "coeur" chez les spirituels grecs à l'époque ancienne', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 2 (1952), cols. 2281–8.

92. *Chapters* 57.

93. *Chapters* 56.

94. *Chapters* 81.

95. *Chapters* 92.

96. *Chapters* 56.

97. *Chapters* 59.

98. *Chapters* 61 (cited above, note 48).

99. *Chapters* 31.

100. *Mystic Treatises*, translated by A.J. Wensinck (Amsterdam 1923), p. 174.

101. *Chapters* 33.

102. *Chapters* 31.

103. *Letters* II, 140 (*PG* 79, 260A, D); II, 214 (312C); III, 273 (520C); III, 278 (521BC).

104. *Ladder* 15 (*PG* 88, 889CD); 21 (945C).

Secondly, when maintained by the intellect in the depths of the heart, the remembrance of the name is accompanied by 'warmth of heart' (θερμὴ τῆς καρδίας)[105]. Diadochus distinguishes two types of inner warmth: first, a warmth produced by the soul from within itself; second, a warmth conferred on the heart by the Holy Spirit. Evidently he regards the first type of warmth as natural and 'psychic', the second and higher type as a spiritual gift of grace[106]. In neither case, so it seems, is the warmth simply a sensation of physical heat, since it originates not from the body but from the soul or the Holy Spirit; on the other hand, in both cases it appears to be more than a purely metaphorical warmth of fervour or ardent zeal. Later writers on the Jesus Prayer, such as St Gregory of Sinai (died 1346) or the Russian Bishop Theophan the Recluse (1815–94), offer detailed criteria for discriminating between different kinds of warmth. In Diadochus the theme is not developed, but he has at any rate made explicit an aspect of the Jesus Prayer that recurs repeatedly in the later tradition. Neither merely physical nor yet purely symbolic, this warmth should be understood in the light of his teaching on the spiritual senses. It exemplifies the 'affective' quality that characterizes his spirituality as a whole.

Thirdly, the invocation of the name leads to a vision of light: 'Those who meditate unceasingly upon this holy and glorious name in the depths of their heart can sometimes see the light of their own intellect'[107]. In another passage Diadochus speaks somewhat more explicitly about this light of the intellect, although without on this occasion linking it with the invocation of the name. This intellectual light, like the 'warmth of heart', seems to be neither merely physical nor yet purely symbolic:

> You should not doubt that the intellect, when it begins to be strongly under the influence of the energy of divine light, becomes so completely translucent that it sees its own light in full abundance. It is said that this takes place when the power of the soul gains control over the passions[108].

It is significant that Diadochus makes a firm distinction here between the divine light and the light of the intellect: the first makes the second manifest within us, but the second is in itself no more than a created and natural light. There is thus an important difference between the vision of the light of the intellect, as understood by Evagrius and Diadochus, and the vision of the uncreated light of the Transfiguration, as interpreted by St Gregory Palamas and the Constantinopolitan Councils of 1341, 1347 and 1351. Although he speaks of the soul being 'under the influence of the energy of divine light', Diadochus does not speak directly and openly about the possibility of a vision of uncreated light in this present life. In general, he is reserved about visions of light:

> Let no one who hears us speak of the perceptive faculty of the intellect imagine that by this we mean that the glory of God appears to man visibly. We do indeed affirm that the soul, when pure, perceives God's grace, tasting it in some ineffable manner; but no invisible reality appears to it in a visible form, since now 'we walk by faith, not by sight', as St. Paul says (2 Cor. 5:7). If, then, light or some fiery shape should be seen by one pursuing the spiritual way, he should on no account accept such a vision: it is an obvious deceit of the enemy[109].

So, after referring to the light of the intellect, Diadochus adds at once:

> But when St Paul says that 'Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light' (2 Cor. 11:14), he definitely teaches us that everything which appears to the intellect, whether as light or as fire, if it has a shape, is the product of the evil artifice of the enemy[110].

The point here is that we should not accept any vision of light or fire if it has a form (εἶδος) or shape (σχῆμα). We are presumably to understand, even though Diadochus does not explicitly say this, that the light of the intellect has no such form or shape, but is an experience of simple, unarticulated luminosity. Much more so will this be the case with any vision of the divine light; for the divine beauty is altogether 'without form' (ἀνείδεος) or 'beyond form' (ὑπὲρ εἶδος)[111]. Even in the age to come, the only way in which the righteous will see the 'formless Father' is 'in the form and glory of the Son', that is to say, in and through the form of the Son's glorified humanity[112]. There are close parallels here between Diadochus and Irenaeus.

While accepting in this manner that the Jesus Prayer leads to a 'vision without form' of the light of the intellect, Diadochus does not consider this vision to be of fundamental importance. Experiences of light, even when sent by God, are no more than a preliminary stage, which the spiritual pilgrim is called to advance beyond. So he writes:

> At the start of the spiritual way the soul

105. *Chapters* 59.
106. *Chapters* 74.
107. *Chapters* 59. On the Evagrian and Macarian background to this, cf. notes 17–18.
108. *Chapters* 40.
109. *Chapters* 36.
110. *Chapters* 40.
111. *Vision* 15–16.
112. *Vision* 21.

> usually has the conscious experience of being illumined with its own light through the action of grace. But, as we advance further, grace works its mysteries within the contemplative soul in a manner of which it is not aware[113].

For Diadochus the final goal of the inner journey is not to behold visions of light but to be assumed into divine love:

> When the radiance of love is conferred, it is evident that the image has been fully transformed into the beauty of the likeness. So our inner man is renewed day by day through tasting love, and in the perfection of love it finds its own fulfilment[114].

'He reveals with the utmost precision the deepest mysteries of the virtue of prayer', states St Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain (1749–1809) in his preface to the *Hundred Gnostic Chapters;* the work forms 'as it were an archetype of the Church's teaching upon holy watchfulness'[115]. Exact yet fervent, subtle yet filled with affection, the *Chapters* are remarkable for their sobriety and balance. It is not surprising that they have proved deeply influential, and that, in the later tradition from the *Life of Abba Philemon* (?sixth–seventh century) onwards, St Diadochus of Photice has been regularly cited as a foremost authority on the Jesus Prayer.

The doctrine of the human person that underlies Diadochus' use of the Jesus Prayer is a doctrine of *unity*. The remembrance of the name is the way by which, as living persons, we recover the inner wholeness that was ours at the beginning. For Diadochus, then, far more is involved than a mere technique or method of concentration. The invocation of the Lord Jesus is essentially connected – and this is perhaps Diadochus' most decisive contribution to the development of the Jesus Prayer – with a particular understanding of man's nature, with a Biblical anthropology that sees our personhood as an organic whole comprising body as well as soul. Prior to the fall, so he believes, our human nature was unified, and through the repeated invocation *Lord Jesus* it can be reintegrated once again. Through the Jesus Prayer we are enabled to attain inner silence of heart – imageless prayer, such as Evagrius commends – and at the same time to overcome the duality in our memory that is the result of Adam's sin. The Jesus Prayer is our way of return to genuine selfhood, the means whereby the body comes to share with the soul in a single spiritual joy, so that our whole person finds fulfilment in undivided love.

113. *Chapters* 69.
114. *Chapters* 89.
115. Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν, vol. i (3rd ed., Athens 1957), p. 234.

# PARTIKULARITÄT UND EINHEIT IN DER SICHT DER ORTHODOXIE

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Dieses Thema verstehe ich als eine Aufforderung der anderen Kirchen das Besondere, spezifisch und echt Orthodoxe unter den westlichen Stellungnahmen zu den kirchlichen Einheitsbestrebungen herauszuheben und zu interpretieren. «Partikularität» enthält so verstanden keinen Anspruch auf Ausschliesslichkeit gegenüber den anderen kirchlichen Traditionen. Es handelt sich vielmehr um das Bemühen der Orthodoxie, im Dienst der ganzen Christenheit die eine Wahrheit in der Einheitsfrage deutlich zum Ausdruck zu bringen, war doch die Orthodoxie in der Zeit vor der Kirchespaltung zwischen Ost und West die Qualifikation und der feste Boden aller kirchlichen Gemeinden. Und auf diese Orthodoxie im Glauben und in der kirchlichen Praxis hinzuweisen, ist Pflicht aller orthodoxen Gläubigen, wenn sie unter Vertretern anderer kirchlichen Gemeinschaften über das partikular Orthodoxe sprechen und etwas zur kirchlichen Einheit beitragen wollen.

Nur so wird der Beitrag der heutigen Orthodoxie zum ökumenischen Dialog sinnvoll und fruchtbar für eine allmähliche Wiederherstellung der kirchlichen Einheit. Diese Einheit verstehe ich nicht nur als eine neue Errungenschaft, sondern als eine Rückkehr zu der seit den Anfängen vorgegebenen Einheit, aus der alle kirchlichen Gemeinschaften stammen, zu der alle gehören und zu der wir alle gemeinsam zurückberufen sind.

Das Hauptmoment der Partikularität in bezug auf die Einheitsfrage ist für die Orthodoxie gerade dieses fundamentale Bekenntnis zur «Rückkehr». Rückkehr ist hier nicht zu verstehen als ein So-Werden, wie wir Orthodoxen als geschichtlich orthodoxe Gemeinschaft heute leben und handeln, nicht als Übernahme unserer Erscheinungsformen und Gepflogenheiten, sondern «Rückkehr» zu dem orthodoxen Glaubensinhalt und der Praxis der einen, katholischen und apostolischen Kirche. Zu der Kirche, wie sie in der Geschichte als die eine und untrennbare gelebt hat, ungeachtet der inneren Schismen und Häresien oder der Bedrohung äussere staatliche Eingriffe oder unterschiedliche Hinterfragungen durch den Atheismus.

Diese Art von «Rückkehr» mag in den Augen vieler westlicher Pragmatiker wie eine abstrakte, sentimentale und unreflektierte Sehnsucht nach einer goldenen, kirchlichen Vergangenheit aussehen, einer Vergangenheit, die in der Kirchengeschichte nie wirklich existiert hat. Für uns Orthodoxe aber ist diese «Rückkehr» heute das wesentliche in der Suche nach der Einheit, denn sie ist und bleibt die höchste und umfassendste Realität und die einzige Hoffnung für die Wiederherstellung der Einheit in der Zukunft. Es handelt sich also nicht um eine «reale» Rückkehr in die Vergangenheit–denn das ist in der Tat unmöglich!–, sondern um die Wiederherstellung unserer gemeinsamen Herkunft als die eine Kirche aufgrund einer gemeinsamen, im Leben der Kirche festgelegten Tradition.

## I

Aufgrunt dieser Notwendigkeit eines gemeinsamen Bekenntnisses zu unseren uns allen eigenen Wurzeln kirchlicher Existenz und als Dients an unserer gemeinsamen Zukunft werde ich im Nachfolgenden versuchen, die spezifischen Elemente der orthodoxen Partikularität theologisch zu deuten und kritisch zu analysieren.

1. Der Rückkehrgedanke ist nicht Ausdruck einer oberflächlich-sehnsuchtsvollen Träumerei, denn nach orthodoxem Glauben ist die Kirche für das westliche wie für das östliche kirchliche Wissen und Gewissen durch die Jahrhunderte die eine Gemeinschaft gewesen, die auch heute noch als die *eine* zu verstehen ist und auch nur als untrennbare *communio* in der Zukunft existieren kann. Der Begriff «Kirch*en*», im Plural, als einzelne, selbständige Teile der getrennten Kirche, ist eine *contradictio in terminis;* er ist Austruck einer pathologischen und kirchenordnungswidrigen Situation, welche das wahre Selbstverständnis der Kirche unmöglich macht. Wenn in der Bibel die Rede von «Kirchen» ist, bedeutet es «Ortsgemeinschaften», welche aber auf der Basis der einen apostolischen Überlieferung in der vollen Kommunion miteinander stehen.

Sicherlich, die Situatuon war in dieser Hinsicht von Anfang an nicht ideal. Schon früh begannen einzelne Gemeinden und Gruppen von Christen sich wegen

unterschiedlicher Auffassungen vom Glauben und der kirchlichen Ordnung von den anderen abzusondern. Nichtsdestoweniger ist die katholische und apostolische Kirche auf eine gemeinsame und nicht definierbare Weise die Eine und Untrennbare durch die Jahrhunderte geblieben. Geschichtlich ist zwar nicht zu bezweifeln, dass die Kontinuität aufgrund von unterschiedlichen Meinungen -Interpretation der Christologie im 5. Jahrhundert, durch das grosse Schisma über den päpstlichen Primat im 11. Jahrhundert und besonders durch die Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert- gebrochen wurde. Nichtsdestotrotz sind die heutigen Orthodoxen der byzantinischen Überlieferung davon überzeugt (und in den Augen von Nichtorthodoxen mag das vereinfacht und selbstgefällig erscheinen), dass sie «die Orthodoxie» in ihrem kirchlichen Leben bewahrt haben, weil sie als Kirche niemals Hauptgrund einer dieser kirchlichen Spaltungen waren. Diese unkritische Haltung gehört zum Selbstverständnis und zur Selbstidentität der Orthodoxie. Sie ist durch geschichtliche Ereignisse wie z. B. durch die Kreuzzüge und die mannigfaltige Missionsarbeit der westlichen Kirchen im Osten noch verstärkt worden. Schliesslich wurde daraus der-von vielen Konservativ-Orthodoxen heute vertretene-Absolutheitsanspruch, die eine, wahre und einzige Kirche zu sein, die mit der einen, katholischen und untrennbaren Kirche von vor dem Schisma von 1054 identisch ist. In einem gewissen Sinne wurzelt zwar der Rückkehrgedanke in dieser Sicht der Kirchengeschichte, er beinhaltet aber nicht, wie schon gesagt, eine Rückkehr in die Vergangenheit, sondern eine Rückkehr zur orthodoxen Treue, zur Kontinuität der katholischen Kirche in der Geschichte als der einen ungebrochenen und sichtbar gebliebenen Gemeinschaft des apostolischen Glaubens.

Nach diesem Verständnis der Kirchengeschichte haben die Spaltungen die *Una Sancta* von innen her nicht zerstört, gäbe es doch sonst keine katholische Kirche. Man darf daher nur von einem Schisma *in* der Kirche sprechen und nicht von einem Schisma *unter* den Kirchen, weil ausserhalb der apostolischen Kontinuität keine Kirche *als Kirche* existieren kann. Diese Auffassung erlaubt auch keinen Raum für die Schaffung neuer Kirchen. Auch die Reformatoren wollten ja keine neue Kirchen schaffen. «Neue Kirchen» sind daher nur als kirchliche Gemeinschaften innerhalb des einen katholischen Stroms zu verstehen. Sie müssen die Hauptmerkmale der Katholizität bewahren, sonst sind sie im strengen Sinne der Orthodoxie keine kirchlichen Gemeinschaften. Mit anderen Worten: Eine häretische Kirche kann als solche nicht existieren. Entweder versteht sie sich und ihre Mitglieder als Teil der einer, durch die Jahrhunderte lebenden katholischen Kirche oder sie ist als eine geschiedene von ihr vollkommen emanzipierte Kirche ekklesiologisch nicht mehr verständlich. Die Orthodoxie hat bis heute noch nicht offiziell entschieden, wie die anderen Kirchen als Kirche ekklesiologisch in Übereinstimmung mit der traditionellen Basis zu deuten und zu verstehen sind. Das mag aben daran liegen, dass es für sie unmöglich ist, sich eine Kirche ausserhalb der Einen Kirche in ungebrochener Kontinuität der sakramentalen Kommunion und des einen apostolischen Glaubens vorzustellen. Und doch ist das Aufkommen neuer Kirchen ein historisches Ereignis gewesen!

2. Um diese Haltung ekklesiologisch besser verstehen zu können, möchte ich einiges über das besondere Einheitsverständnis der Orthodoxis sagen. Die Kirchliche Einheit als volle *unio* und *communio* (ἕνωσις und κοινωνία) ist nur als eine vorhandene, in Christo ein für allemal gegebene und im Heiligen Geist bewahrte und wachsende Einheit zu verstehen. Sie hat nichts mit einer ideologischen, kollektivistischen, anomymen, massenvereinigenden Einheit zu tum.

Es gibt die verschiedensten Einheiten, die alle aber nicht in unserem Sinne echte Einheit bedeuten. Die kirchliche Einheit ist die Überwindung aller dieser Einheiten in der Welt. Sie beruht nicht auf ideologichen Wahrheitskonzeptionen oder theoretischen Prinzipien und Definitionen. Sie hängt nicht von menschlichen Systemen und Gesetzen ab. Sie ist eine Einheit in der persönlichen Freiheit, sie ist es, die zur wahre Freiheit der Gemeinschaft führt, welche nicht die Unabhängigkeit des einzelnen als prinzipielle Voraussetzung oder als eigenes Ziel hat.

Die kirchliche Einheit in der Orthodoxie ist diejenige der freien *communio* im Heiligen Geist, sie begründet die wahre Freiheit der Gemeinschaft und ist ihren Mitgliedern als Gnadengeschenk gewährt worden. Somit ist die kirchliche Einheit kein menschliches Machwerk, sondern sie ist eine existentielle, d.h. die freie Entscheidung des einzelnen voraussetzende Beteiligung am Gemeinschaftsleben.

Sie ist ein Geschenk Gottes. Sie darf daher auch nicht aufgrund besonderer, individueller Konzeptionen von Wahrheit durch einzelne oder emanzipierte Gruppen gebrochen werden. Sie ist und bleibt eine dynamische Lebenseinheit, die wächst und immer wieder vollendet werden muss. Sie ist vorhanden, in Gott gegeben, aber in sich selbst nie perfekt und vollkommen. Sie ist als Lebensrealität weder definierbar noch erfüllt. Und sie muss letztlich durch uns, durch unsere absolute Hingabe und mit allen uns zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln bewahrt und gefördert werden.

Die Bibel und besonders der Epheserbief (Kapitel 4) zeigen deutlich, dass dis Einheit in Christus durch den einen Herrn, den eimen Glauben und die eine Taufe ein für allemal gegeben ist, dass sie aber gleichzeitig im Geist wachsen und in Christus vollendet werden muss. Gerade diese zweite und dritte Dimension (Wachstum und Vollendung) dürfen von uns nicht zu entscheidenden Kriterien der schon vorhandenen und gegebenen Einheit erhoben werden. Nicht wir sind es, die wirkliche Einheit schaffen. Unsere einzige, frei erfüllte Pflicht ist es, die uns gegebene Einheit zu bewahren. Dieses ist das Hauptmoment der gottgegebenen und nicht anthropozentrisch gegründeten kirchlichen

Einheit. Zu Wachstum und Vollendung tragen wir dank der freien *communio* am Werk des Heiligen Geistes mit bei.

Erneuerungsbestrebungen oder neue Interpretationen des einen Glaubens dürfen diese vorhandene Einheit also nicht zerstören. Natürlich darf diese Einheit durch echte Fragen im Dienst an der apostolischen Wahrheit durch einzelne Charismen von innen her kritisch betrachtet werden. Insofern haben die Schismen bestimmter Zeiten ihr eigenes Daseinsrecht in der Kirche. Sie sind in diesem sogar bis zu einem gewissen Grad notwendig, sie dürfen aber nie und nimmer zu einer permanenten Spaltung und zur Gründung neuer Kirchen führen. In diesem Sinne stellt die Orthodoxie die Wahrheitssuche oder die Erneuerungsbestrebungen nicht in Gegensatz zum Bewahren der Einheit. Beides gehört mit zum Wesen der Einheit. Enheit und Wahrheit können zwar wohl in Spannung, aber nie im Gegensatz zu einander existieren. Das eine vollendet sich gegenseitig im anderen. Darum ist die Einheit das erste Hauptmerkmal der «heiligen, katholischen und apostolischen Ekklesia» im Glaubensbekenntnis.

3. Diese besondere orthodoxe Auffassung beinhaltet, dass die geschichtliche Realität der kirchlichen Einheit auch heute die *conditio sine qua non* des kirchlichen Daseins ist. Daher gibt es für die Orthodoxie auch keine Diskontinuität oder Diskrepanz zwischen der unsichtbaren, transzendentalen Einheit der *ecclesia triumphans* als dem idealen Zustand der verborgenen Einheit in Christus, welche nur im persönlichen Glauben erfasst und erfahren werden kann, einerseits und der geschichtlichen Realität der historischen Kirche mit ihrem Auftrag zur Erhaltung der Einheit andererseits. In diesem Sinne ist die Spaltung in eine «geistliche Christenheit» und eine geschichtlich-menschliche Gemeinde, welche in der Sünde lebt, keine theologische Erklärung, sondern nur ein unberechtigter Dualismus. Die historisch-geschichictliche, im *hic et nunc* lebende Kirche wird unablässig vom Heiligen Geist geheiligt— obwohl ihre Glieder sündig sind! Ihre Heiligkeit setzt indes ihre Einheit voraus. Ihre Einheit ist von Christus gegeben und wird im Heiligen Geist gestärkt. Sie ist die sichtbare, erste und konkrete Realität in der Geschichte.

Daher darf es keinen Gegensatz zwischen dem Ereignis in Christus und der kirchlichen Institution geben. Eines ist ohne das andere nicht möglich. Auch die Institution ist ein Geschenk der Gnade, sie ist das einzige Mittel (mit allen ihr innewohnenden menschlichen Schwächen und Beschränkungen), die Wahrheit und die Gnade unter uns wahrhaftig zu machen. Auch der falsch wirkenden kirchlichen Institution bleibt die grundlegende Aufgabe, die Einheit zu bewahren und die Gnade Christi allen Menschen mitzuteilen. Einen radikalen Dualismus zwischen dem Ereignis und der Institution Kirche ansetzen zu wollen, bedeutet, die Wirklichkeit und Wirksamkeit der einen, apostolischen und katholischen Kirche zu bedrohen und das kirchliche sichtbare Dasein der Einheit als freie Gemeinschaft im Hl. Geiste hier und jetzt in der Geschichte zu idealisieren. Ich kann nur wiederholen, es mag eine Spannung zwischen der triumphierenden und der geschichtlichen Gemeinschaft der Kirche geben, das darf aber nie zu einer wirklichen Scheidung zwischen beiden führen, sonst wird aus einer verständlichen Dialektik des Glaubens eine Diskriminierung zwischen geistlich-unsichtbarer und historisch-sichtbarer Gemeinschaft mit dem Ergebnis einer allmählichen Entfremdung der sichtbaren Gemeinschaft der Kirche von ihren Wurzeln im Heiligen Geist. Eine immer weitergehende Aufsplitterung in neue Institution als emanzipierte kirchliche Gemeinschafter wird dann unvermeidlich.

4. Das höshste Kriterium der Einheit ist somit die Einheit selbst, wie sie in der Bibel und im Leben der Kirche zum Ausdruck kommt. Für die Orthodoxie ist diese Einheit kein besonderes theologisch zu erörtendes Thema. Sie ist einfach die Kirche in ihrem Dasein selbst und offenbart sich im täglichen, sichtbaren, kirchlichen Leben. Darum sprechen die Orthodoxen von einer unlösbaren Identität zwischen Einheit, Gottesdienst und Eucharistie. Nur im Leben der Kirche erfährt man über alle Spekulationen und theologische Deutungen hinaus die Einheit der Kirche. Wenn diese Einheit nicht existiert, ist die Beteiligung am Sakrament im vollen Sinn nicht möglich. Die *communio in sacris* ist die Einheit in der Praxis. Sie ist weder ihre Voraussetzung und Instrument noch ihr Ziel und Ende. Wohl muss alles «gemäss der Schrift» in der Kirche gemacht werden. Aber dieses Kriterium ist identisch mit dem, was die Kirche schon ist. Die Kirche ist als die eine und apostolische notwendigerweise auch die Trägerin dieses Kriteriums der Schrift. Das wirkliche Leben *in der Einheit* ist das höchste Kriterium ihrer Einheit. Jeder andere Massstab führt zu einer Abspaltung der Kirchen in ihrer sichtbaren, historischen Existenz als Kirche, wie dies leider oft geschehen ist.

Man suche nach Kriterien der kirchlichen Einheit daher nicht zunächst in Prinzipien und scholastischen Definitionen des kirchlichen Amtes und der Sakramentologie, sondern in der ganzen Schöpfung, die selbst eine ist. Das Kriterium aller Kriterien ist deshalb das Leben in der heiligen Trinität, dem Wesen des einen Gottes in den drei Hypostasen. Diese wiederum ist Grund des Lebens überhaupt und wird auch in einer besonderen und sichtbaren Weise zum Grund der Kirche.

Die heilige Trinität ist kein einfacher Typos oder ein abstraktes Symbol für Einheit, sondern sie ist die *Gnade* der Einheit, welche die Mitglieder des einen Leibes der Kirche als das neue Leben in der einen Taufe und der einen Eucharistie empfangen.

Neben diesem grundsätzlichen Kriterium des kirchlichen Lebens im göttlichen, selbst geoffenbarten Leben gibt es kein anderes Kriterium. Obwohl in drei

Personen offenbart, ist dieses göttliche Leben absolut eins und untrennbar. Die Beteiligung der Gläubigen an dieser höchsten Realität des Glaubens ist gleichzeitig auch der höchste Massstab ihrer Zugehörigkeit zur einen und untrennbaren, kirchlichen und eucharistischen Gemeinschaft. Durch und in der Taufe vereinigt sich der neue Mensch als nun nicht mehr gebrochene Existenz mit der einen und einzigen Quelle seines Lebens. Durch sie wird er Glied der einen Gemeinschaft aller getauften Menschen in demselben Glauben. Dieser Glaube ist in der Einheit des Ursprungs des Lebens gegründet und er wird im Dienst an der Einheit als Finalität der ganzen Schöpfung dynamisch erfahren.

Es gibt kein wirklich anderes Kriterium, das diese erste Realität infrage stellen kann. Will man ein zweites heranziehen, dann nur zur Stärkung des ersteren: nämlich das Abendmahl, die Eucharistie, die den Gläubigen als Glieder des einen Leibes diese vorhandene und von Anfang an gegebene Gotteseinheit als Geschenk der Gnade zum neuen Leben in der heiligen Trinität offenbart und manifestiert hat.

Kriterium bebeutet hier Aktualisation, Verwirklichung (nicht Schaffung!) der Einheit der Kirche, weil in der Eucharistie die Realität der schon existierenden *unio* im göttlichen hypostatischen Dasein allen Gliedern der einen Kirche als neues Leben mitgeteilt wird.

Darum heisst in Christus gläubig sein, in der Eucharistie die eine kirhliche Gemeinschaft erleben. «Weil es ein einziges Brot ist, sind wir Vielen ein einziger Leib; denn wir alle haben Anteil an dem einen Brot» (1. Kor. 10, 17). Die eucharistische Gemeinschaft ist neben der Taufe das Kriterium, das die schon existierende Einheit im dreieinigen Gott hier und jetzt als neues Leben sichtbar macht. Alle echten Einheitsbegriffe und Vorbilder müssen daher ein Kommentar zu dieser gegebenen und in der eucharistischen Gemeinschaft erlebten Einheit sein. Auch alle neuen Sichtweisen und Dimensionen der kirchlichen Einheit sind nichts anderes als Kommentare oder Interpretationen der schon existierenden Einheit, der Voraussetzung des Glaubens und der ersten Realität kirchlichen Lebens.

## II

Diese Stellungnahme zur kirchlichen Einheit als das schon feste, vorgegebene und fundamentale Ereignis in der Kirche umschreibt ihr einmaliges und einziges Modell, wie es in der kirchlichen Tradition durch die Jahrhunderte Realität geworden ist. Es hat die ununterbrochene Kontinuität, bei voller *unio* und *communio*, aller lokalen orthodoxen Kirchen bewahrt. Obwohl sich die Orthodoxie davor gehütet hat, die Prinzipien und die Wirkweise dieses Modells offiziell und verbindlich in einem logischen System zu kodifizieren, kann man seine geschichtliche Realität doch gemäss der biblischen und kirchlichen Überlieferung beschreiben und interpretieren. Einmal kann man es als das bekannte und in allen Kirchen auch nach der Spaltung noch fortbestehende konziliare Modell beschreiben. Für alle Kirchen entwickelte sich dieses Modell beinahe wie selbstverständlich als Verkörperung der biblischen Darstellungen und Beschreibungen von der Existenz der ersten und noch im Wachstum begriffenen kirchlichen Ortsgemeinden. Der besondere Wert dieses konziliaren Modells liegt darin, dass es nicht durch einen Obrigkeitsanspruch oder durch einen gesetzlichen Akt menschlicher Autorität von oben her begründet und entwickelt worden ist, sondern aus dem Wunch bestimmter historischer Gemeinden erwachen ist, ihren Gliedern das Wort und das Sakrament zu spenden wie auch ihre Mission in der Welt zu ermögchen.

1. Daher ist es für die Orthodoxie selbstverständlich, dieses Einheitsmodell zunächst aufgrund des Gottesdienstes und vor allem des Kerygmas und der Eucharistie charismatisch zu verstehen und zu interpretieren. Ob nun genau ein und dasselbe Modell kirchlichen Lebens in allen urkirchlichen Gemeinden in derselben Weise bestanden hat, ist hier nicht entscheidend. Der Ursprung einer charismatischen Einheit, die frei und aufgrund des spezischen Wunsches der Gemeinden gewachsen und weiterentwickelt worden ist, konnte gar nicht gesetzlich festgelegt oder schematisch geschaffen werden. Das wäre eine andere Einheit, die auf ideologischen oder staatlichen Potestas-Prinzipien beruhte.

Weil aber dieses Modell der Einheit einmalig und so frei und charismatisch entstanden ist, hat es für die orthodoxe Stellungnahme zur Einheit der Kirche heute einen einmaligen und absoluten Wert. Die kirchliche Tradition ist für die Orthodoxie in diesem Zusammenhang die Kristallisierung der unbegreiflichen, aber doch gelebten Realität der Energie des Heiligen Geistes. Was durch des Geistes Wirken überliefert worden ist–auch die Bibel ist Ergebnis dieser Energie, parallel zur Entstehung der ersten Gemeinden–ist *ipso facto* absolut und für immer in seinen wesentlichen Hauptmerkmalen gültig.

Das so geschaffene Modell ist durch den Geist und das Prinzip der persönlichen, freien Gemeinschaft gekennzeichnet. Es ist weder autoritär von oben herab noch anarchistisch von unten her. Es ist weder individualistisch noch kollektivistisch gepägt. Die verschiedenen Funktionen innerhalb der kirchlichen Gemeinde sollten als gegenseitige und einander ergänzende Dienste charismatischer Herkunft und Ordnung verstanden werden. Das Recht zur *exousia* wird ersetzt durch die freiwillige Erfüllung der Pflicht zur Diakonie. Keiner steht von amtswegen qualitativ höher als andere. Die innere, als selbstverständlich genommene und gottgegebene Ordnung wird von der Liebe und Gnade des Heiligen Geistes belebt.

2. Diese charismatisch verstandene und auch so wirkende Gemeinschaft ist alles andere als eine rein

abstrakte Idee. Sie ist eine Institution besonderer Art, weil alle Ämter nur um der Liebe und der *koinonia* und nicht um der Macht und des Gesetzes willen entwickelt worden sind. Auch der Primat ist in jeder Gemeinschaft und in der ganzen Kirche nur aus dieser Liebe heraus zu verstehen. Sein Stellenwert ergibt sich aus dem Vorgehen in der liturgischen, eucharistischen und kerygmatischen Synaxis. Somit ist der Primat immer mit der Funktion des *«proestós»* (d.h. des geistlichen Führers im eucharistischen Gottesdienst) aufs engste verbunden. Der *proestòs* hat an Christi priesterlichem Amt teil und er versammelt die Gemeinde um Christi Leib und Blut und nährt sie nach der Epiklese des Heiligen Geistes durch Wort und Sakrament. Aus dieser Funktion leitet sich die geistliche Autorität des persönlichen Charismas von *Episcopé* ab, die das persönliche mit dem allgemeinen Priestertum aller Gläubigen verbindet und verkörpert. Aufgrund davon wird jede kirchliche Ortsgemeinde als die wahre sichtbare Kirche *am Ort* erfasst und als Teil der einen katholischen *Ekklesia* anerkannt.

Das so verstandene Charisma des Bischofsamtes ist beides, Zentrum der sakralentalen inneren Identität mit Christus im Heligen Geist und Verbindung aller Ortskirchen mit der einen katholischen *Ekklesia*. In dem so verstandenen Priesteramt das konziliare Dasein der Gemeinschaft an jedem Ort begründet als die direkte Ausdrucksform des priesterlichen Amtes Christi und seiner Anwesenheit im Heiligen Geist bei allen kirchlichen, kerygmatischen und eucharistischen Versammlungen. Das gilt auch bei den verschiedenen Sendungen der Glieder der Kirche in die Welt.

Andererseits ermöglicht dieselbe konzilare Liebesinstitution die ökumenisch-konziliare Versammlung. So beruht das Konziliare auf dem persönlichen Amt, weil eben dieses Amt die direkte Ausdrucksform und Basis des Konziliaren ist.

So kann das orthodoxe Einheitsmodell nur aufgrund dieser kirchlichen, sakramentalen, gottesdienstlichen, missionarischen und pastoralen Sicht der Ortsgemeinde, die um einen Bischofsamt-Träger an jedem Ort versammelt ist, verstanden werden. Dabei trägt der Bischof nie allein die Autorität, sondern er übt sie im synodalen System gemeinsam mit allen Presbytern und Diakonen und dem ganzen Volke Gottes als gleichberechtigten Gliedern des einen Leibes aus. Gemeinsam wahren sie die Wahrheit der einen Katholischen Kirche an jedem Ort (lehrverbindliche Autorität als wirkliche Gemeinschaftsverantwortung) und bestimmen und erhalten die Ordung innerhalb der charismatischen Gemeinde. Der Bischof vertritt am Kopf des Presbyteriums das priesterliche Amt Christi und er personifiziert das allgemeine Priestertum aller Gläubigen und verbindet die Ortskirche mit der apostolischen Kirche aller Zeiten und an allen Orten.

3. Die Ortsgemeinde ist in diesem Modell der Kern und die sichtbare Wächterin im Heiligen Geist. Sie bewahrt die apostolische Wahrheitsüberlieferung des einen Glaubens, welcher im Symbolon als Credo der katholischen Kirche ein für allemal doxologisch und in einer sehr allgemein gehaltenen Terminologie (die für die theologische Interpretation viel Spielraum lässt) verkörpert ist. Die Ortskirche ist die echte Trägerin der apostolischen Wahrheit und der ganzen göttlichen Ökonomie. Neben der quantitativen, geographischen Katholizität der Kirche, d.h. der Kirche an allen Zeiten und an allen Orten, vertritt sie die qualitative Katholizität, d.h. die Kirche als die Säule der vollen Wahrheit, welche in Christus gewirkt und im Heiligen Geist den Gläubigen mitgeteilt worden ist.

Dieses Einheitsmodell der Orthodoxie darf nicht im engeren Sinne als Selbstzweck betrachtet werden. Das Modell deutet nämlich zunächst und vordringlich auf die universale kosmische Einheit. Die Bibel drückt das mit dem Neutrum «en» (eins) aus, dem Einswerden der ganzen Schöpfung als der Wiederaufnahme von allen und allem in der Kirche als dem Leib Christi. Dieses Einheitsmodell ist auf eine paradoxe und unbegreifliche Weise ein Mikrokosmos von der Einheit der Welt im Licht der Parusie Christi am Ende der Zeit. Es ist das Modell für die-noch vorläufige-Wiederherstellung aller Dinge in der Einheit mit Christus als der höchsten Finalität der Welt. Keine Einzelvorstellung von Einheit darf diese Welteinheit aus den Augen verlieren.

Ohne diesen besonderen Beitrag der Christen und ihre Gegenwart in der Welt verliert das Modell seinen charismatischen Inhalt und seine Dynamik im Heiligen Geist. Es würde im Laufe der Zeit nur noch zur Vergrösserung kirchlicher Selbstgefälligkeit in einer esoterischen Isolierung der Kirche in dieser Welt gebraucht werden. Somit hat das orthodoxe Einheitsmodell nur dann Sinn und Reatität, wenn es zur Erneuerung der christlichen Gemeinde herangezogen wird und in den Dienst an der Erneuerung der Welt zugusten von Gerechtigkeit und Frieden gestellt wird.

## III

Die Darstellung der Partikularität der Einheitsfrage in der Orthodoxie mag vielen christlichen und theologischen Kritikern im Westen seltsam, theoretisch und spekulativ und infolgedessen unrealistisch erscheinen. Zudem haben es die historischen orthodoxen Gemeinden weitgehend nicht vermocht, diesen theoretischen Ansatz in ihrem geschichtlichen Dasein auch zu verwirklichen. Unordnung, Schismen und innere Trägheit waren und sind sehr häufig die Zeichen eines zu geringen Engagements für dieses Modell, das so Gefahr läuft, wirklich nur ideale Grösse zu bleiben.

Ich bestreite nicht, dass diese westliche Kritik zum Teil zutrifft; ja, hier setzt auch unsere eigene Kritik an. Ich möchte jedoch anmerken, dass meines Erachtens bei der Frage nach dem Modell der Einheit kein absolutes ethisches Kriterium zum einzigen entscheidenden Massstab erhoben werden darf. In diesem Bereich ist

das ethische Prinzip nicht das einzig gültige. Das Modell ist ontologisch gegründet und gleichzeitig ist es Verheissung. Das heisst, es beruht in dem gemeinsamen Ursprung aller Kirchen, der Ziel und Vorbild für alle Kirhen heute in Glaube und Hoffnung ist, und gleichzeitig stellt Gott es vor uns als eine ständige Herausforderung an uns.

Ob und inwieweit wir dieses Modell nun verwirklichen können, ist nicht die Hauptfrage. Interessant ist lediglich, wieweit dieses Modell für uns alle von Gültigkeit ist, wenn wir nicht nur nach einer abstrakten, sondern auch nach einer echt organischen und sichtbaren Einheit der vollen *unio* und *communio* suchen. Aus dieser Sicht heraus wage ich zu behaupten, dass es bis jetzt keine andere realistische Alternative zu diesem orthodoxen Modell gibt, nicht weil es orthodox ist, sondern weil es die einzige Möglichkeit der Wiedervereinigung der Kirche darstellt, die auch in der Lage ist, gegen zentralisierte, jurisdiktionelle, individuelle Autoritäten und auch gegen die zentrifugalen Scheidungen von der Mutterkirche eingesetzt zu werden.

Die Schwierigkeit des Modells liegt vielmehr darin, dass es keine Spaltungen in der einen Kirche zulässt. Für die Orthodoxen stellt sich daher die Frage, wie sie mit diesem Einheitsverständnis echt und aufrichtig an den Einheitsbestrebungen mit den anderen Kirchen auf derselben Ebene teilnehmen und trotzdem diesem Modell treu bleiben können? Diese Schwierigkeit lässt die Orthodoxe den anderen Kirchen oft gegenüber als «konservativ» erscheinen, wobei vergessen wird, dass sie das nur im Namen der einen ungeteilten Kirche und gerade für die Ökumene tun.

Es lohnt sich mit dieser Frage weiter zu beschäftigen, will man die nächsten Schritte der Orthodoxen in der Einheitsfrage besser verstehen.

1. Mir scheint, dass die orthodoxe Kirche in der Praxis das Schisma in der einen Kirche als eine historische Tatsache anerkannt hat, nicht nur aufgrund einer Dispensation oder aus pastoralen Erwägungen, sondern aufgrund der Sündhaftigkeit in der Kirche und der historischen Umstände. Obwohl das Schisma selbst ohne direkte Mitwirkung der Orthodoxie geschah, gibt die Orthodoxie durch ihre Praxis zu, dass die schismatische Situation auch sie in ihrem historischen Dasein angeht, und sie daher bei den Einheitsbestrebungen nicht einfach aktiv am Randestehen bleiben darf.

2. Aus derselben Sicht heraus muss man die Frage nach dem allgemeinen Verständnis der kirchlichen Grenzen stellen. Die Orthodoxie, die mehr als alle anderen Kirchen die kosmische Dimension der Kirche hervorhebt und den Primat der Ekklesiologie im Leben der Kirche im Gottesdienst und in der Mission der Kirche in der Welt unterstreicht, sieht in den kanonischen Grenzen der *Ekklesia* nicht die endgültigen Grenzen der Ekklesialität. Über diese kanonischen Grenzen der Kirche im orthodoxen Sinne hinaus kann ein orthodoxer Gläubiger und die orthodoxe Gemeinschaft diese Ekklesialität als historische Tatsache und als Frucht des Heiligen Geistes betrachten und akzeptieren. Für die Orthodoxie gibt es eine Art apostolischen Strom, eine Kontinuität kirchlicher Gegenwart durch die Jahrunderte hindurch, welche auch von den kirchlichen Spaltungen und Schismen nicht zerstört worden ist und die breite Ekklesialität nicht aufgehoben hat. Diese Einstellung sollte man wegen des *kat' oikonomian*-Prinzips den anderen Christen gegenüber nicht als sentimental und nachsischtis abtun, sondern sie aus ernsten und rein ekklesiologischen Gründen verteidigen. Anders wäre eine Beteiligung der Orthodoxie am ökumenisch-theologischen Dialog sinnlos. Andererseits aber wird die breite Ekklesialität von einigen grundsätzlichen Merkmalen gekennzeichnet wie z.B. dem Sakrement der Taufe, der Firmung (Konfirmation) und der Eucharistie im Namen der heiligen Dreienigkeit, den vielen Formen von Episkope mit der Handauflegung bis zur Aussonderung derer, die den Gemeinden mit Wort und Sakrament dienen und geistliche Nahrung geben, der Autorität der Bibel und des Kerygmas wie auch dem apostolischen Bekenntnis, den missionarischen Tätigkeiten und der Evangelisation.

3. Für die Orthodoxie ist besonders bedeutsam, dass die anderen kirchlichen Gemeinschaften im Westen ihren Willen zur Wiederherstellung der kirchlichen Einheit in diesem Jahrhundert durch interkonfessionelle Bewegungen und besonders durch den ÖRK aufrichtig zum Ausdruck gebracht haben. Dieser Wille zur Wiedervereinigung und zur Zusammenarbeit zwischen den getrennten Kirchen, der dem früheren Gegeneinander in der Polemik und besonders der unannehmbaren westlichen Mission in orthodoxen Ländern weitgehend ein Ende gesetzt hat, war für die Orthodoxen Anstoss, sich an den Versuchen zur Einheit zu beteiligen. Natürlich sind die Orthodoxen keine Optimisten und sie wissen genau, dass es nicht denkbar ist, dass alle Christen einer einzigen kirchlichen Institution angehören werden, aber sie meinen doch, dass die Kirche im Glauben nur eine und untrennbare sein darf, und darum ist der Wille, zu dieser Realität des Glaubens zurückzukehren, für die Orthodoxie so ausschlaggebend. Für die Orthodoxen ist dieser Wille Ausdruck des im gemeinsamen Glauben getragenen Versuchs, die vorgegebene Einheit soweit wie möglich zu erreichen.

## IV

Die oben genannten Gründe für eine Beteiligung der Orthodoxie auf der Grundlage ihres traditionellen Einheitsmodells an den Einheitsbestrebungen der Kirchen stecken den Rahmen ab, in welchem die nächsten Schritte von den östlichen Kirchen unternommen werden könnten. Dabei ist die Verpflichtung auf die Überlieferung über den apostolischen Glauben als organische Einheit wegen der langen Entfremdung unter den getrennten Kirchen unerlässlich geworden.

Für das orthodoxe Einheitsmodell ist ja, wie gesagt, die Priorität der einen kirchlichen Gemeinschaft und des liturgischen Lebens die unerschütterliche Basis. Übereinstimmung im Glauben über Definitionen und konfessionelle Theologien ist dabei viel weniger wesentlich.

1. Der nächstfolgende Schritt ist darum die Konsensfindung im Bekenntnis des einen apostolischen Glaubens Zu diesem Zweck sollten alle Kirchen die Lehrgewalt der Bibel als das Wort Gottes wie auch ihre authentische, bekenntnisgebundene konziliare Interpretationen und die verbindliche Lehre der ungeteilten Kirche, die in den wesentlichen Artikeln des Symbolons festgeschrieben wurde, als obligatorische und rechtsverpflichtende Basis in ihrer universalen Dimension anerkennen. Dabei ist die Frage, inwiefern und inwieweit diese Bekenntnisüberlieferung theologisch heute neu entwickelt werden kann und muss, eine legitime missionarische Frage, die aber die grundsätzliche Notwendigkeit einer grundlegenden Übereinstimmung auf universaler Ebene nicht erschüttert Unter dem Vorwand der heutigen Einheimischmachung (Indigenisation) darf man nicht die alten Bekenntnisschriften nur als kulturgebunden und sogar europäisch-hellenistisch-römischer Herkunft bezeichnen und damit ihre grundlegende Verbindlichkeit und Bedeutung für den apostolischen Glauben, ihre Funktion als Einheitsgrund und Ursprung der Ausdrucksweise unseres Glaubens verneinen. Dadurch würden nämlich im Grunde alle nächsten Schritte zur Einheit überflüssig. Vor demselben Hintergrund dürfen soziologiche Analysen nicht zu der Annahme führen, dass es nur eine Klassentheologie in der sogenannten «europäischen Theologie» gebe. Das würde beinhalten, dass die kirckliche Einheit in der Vergangenheit nie wirklich existiert hat und auch in Zukunft nicht auf lokaler oder universaler Ebene bestehen kann. Eine politische Theologie, welche soziologische Analysen und die einseitige Interpretation der durch bestimmte Ideologien geprägten Wissenssoziologie übernommen hat, schliesst jede mögliche Einheitsbestrebung aufgrund des einen apostolischen Glaubens aus.

2. Konsensus heisst, dass im Blick auf die verbindliche Lehrautorität der Kirche für die gemeinsamen, konvergierenden Bekenntnislehren und die Amtsauffassung von den getrennten Kirchen in einem Geist der Offenheit und mit dem Willen zur Einheit neue gemeinsame Bewertungsansätze gesucht werden. Die nächsten Schritte sind Zeichen eines authentischen ökumenischen Ethos in der Bejahung der gemeinsamen Grundelemente unseres Glaubens, wie er durch die Jahrhunderte im Leben der Kirche gerprägt worden ist. Die Studie von «Glauben und Kirchenverfassung» des ÖRK über *«Taufe, Eucharistie und Amt»* ist ein Beweis einer solchen positiven Interpretation von *«consentire»*, d.h. einer Einigung auf die grundsätzlichen konstitutiven Glaubenselemente als uns allen gemeines Fundament, das durch das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis gelegt ist. Wir haben entdeckt, dass die getrennten Kirchen mit ihrer Erfahrung in der ökumenischen Gemeinschaft im 20. Jahrhundert viel mehr gemeinsam bekennen können als sie bisher geglaubt hatten.

3. Nun stellt sich die Frage, was die Kirchen in ihren Spaltungen dennoch zusammenhält. Der apostolische Glaube ist keine Ideologie und kein scholastisches System von Wahrheiten. Darum ist es notwendig, bei den nächsten Schritten unablässig voneinander zu lernen und uns gegenseitig als christliche kirchliche Gemeinschaften geistlich und im gemeinsamen Gebet anzuerkennen. Nur durch diese interkirchliche Erfahrung können wir die uns allen gemeinen Elemente des apostolischen Glaubens neu entdecken, um Christus heute miteinander im Dienst an der Welt zur Überwindung der Spaltungen zu verkünden. Alle neuen Schritte zur Einheit, die auf den Konsensus in dem einen apostolischen Glauben gegründet sind, verpflichten die Kirchen zur Selbstkritik. Sie müssen sich als miteinander zerstrittene Glaubensgemeinschaften, die einander immer noch misstrauen, fragen, inwieweit sie Christus in der heutigen Welt auch im Blick auf die Erfüllung ihrer Plicht zur Friedensverkündigung zumindest durch gemeinsame Tätigkeiten bekennen können.

4. Aber der Konsensus im Glauben ist auch existentieller Art, er ist nicht nur konfessionell-dogmatisch gebunden. Sicherlich sollten wir bei unserer Konsensfindung im Glauben bei den nächsten Schritten auf die Einheit zu eine Hierarchie von Dogmen und Wahrheiten und eine konkrete und nüchterne Objektivität gegenüber den schwierigen Fragen wahren. Beides ist auch im Text von *«Taufe, Eucharistie, Amt»* spürbar, wobei man die nächsten Schritte im Licht der vor uns liegenden Schwierigkeiten genau präzisieren kann. So bleibt z.B. in der Amtsfrage der Unterschied zwischen priesterlichen und nichtpriesterlicham Amt unüberbrückbar. Wie die in diesem Bereich bestehenden unterschiedlichen Meinungen ferner miteinander in Einklag gebracht werden sollen, ist heute noch nicht ersichtlich. So sieht die reformarische Lehre zwei verschiedene «Kanäle» zu Amt und Priestertum, welche zueinander nicht in gegenseitiger Abhängigkeit stehen (das kirchliche Amt wird direkt als von Gott gegebene Ordnung gegründet, es hat nichts mit dem allegemeinen Priestertum des Volkes Gottes zu tun). Diese Lehre ist für die Orthodoxie schwer mit ihrer Auffassung in Einklang zu bringen. Die nächsten Schritte sollten hier die Bedeutung des Priestertums und des kirchlichen Amtes erneut sorgfältig prüfen, um mögliche Konvergenzhaltungen und kirchliche theologische Stellungnahmen neu entfalten. Im Rahmen dieses kurzen Aufsatzes ist es nicht möglich, weiter auf diese Debatte einzugehen. Ich wollte auch nur ein Beispiel geben.

Ich bin aber davon überzeugt, dass in der Zukunft

ein Konsens über diese und andere heikle Fragen möglich ist, wenn unsere verchiedenen ekklesiologischen Thesen im Rahmen des Lebens der ganzen kirchlichen Gemeinschaft und unserer Treue zum apostolischen Bekenntnis der anderen Seite verständlicher dargelegt wird.

5. Parallel zu diesen angegebenen Schritten müssen wir, gemäss dem orthodoxen Einheitsmodell, die sichtbare Einheit in einer vorläufigen Weise existentiell erfahrbar machen, indem wir dazu beitragen, dass diese Eindeit in der Ortskirche entsteht. Die ökumenische Bewegung sollte daher nach der intensiven Arbeit auf der internationalen und universalen Ebene ihre Gegenwart vor Ort stärken. Die eine Kirche war, ist uns wird die Kirche an jedem Ort in synodaler Versammlung unter einem *proestòs* sein. Die getrennten Ortsgemeinschaften können neben dem Konsensus im Glauben vieles im Blick auf ihre zukünftige eucharistische sakramentale Wiedervereinigung gemeinsam unternehmen. Dabei dürfen die Schwierigkeiten zwischen römischen Katholiken und Nichtkatholiken, die sich aus dem katholischen Bischofsamt als in der Nachfolge des Petrusamtes stehend ergeben, die Initiativen vor Ort zwischen dene inzelnen Kirchengemeinden nicht beeinträchtigen. Auch in dieser Frage sollte ein Konsensus gefunden werden. Rom scheint heute bereit, die radikale Differenzierung im Bischofsamt durch die Kollegialität der Bischöfe zu interpretieren, und für die anderen Kirchen ist es notwendig, wieder zu einem echten Verständnis vom *primus inter pares* zurückzufinden. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass die allmähliche Entwicklung der örtlichen Einheit auch die Notwendigkeit ihrer universalen Verwirklichung offenlegen wird. Neue Schritte in dieser dornigen Frage können wohl positiv gefunden werden, wenn wir erst einmal in der Ortskirche die Einheit sichtbar erleben und das gegenseitige Misstrauen in diesem Problem endgültig abbauen.

6. Zusätzlich zur Ortsebene sollten Schritte im ökumenisch-universalen Bereich und durch bilaterale Gespräche gemacht werden. Dazu müssen viele Kirchen erst eine besondere Aufklärungsarbeit unter ihren Mitgliedern durchführen, um so deren aktive Beteiligung an den Einheitsbesrtebungen anzuregen. Die Zeit ist gekommen, dass die theologische Elite aller Kirchen aktiv mit den Laien an der Basis zusammenarbeitet. Gemeinden, Laienakademien, Studentenbewegungen usw. sollten sich mit der Einheitsfrage ernsthaft beschäftigen, aber auch kirchliche Leiter sollten zueinander in persönlichere und bessere Beziehungen treten.

Zusammenfassend sind die nächsten Schritte also folgendermassen anzusetzen:

a) Wiederfindung der alten ortskirchlichen Einheit mit verantwortlicher Teilnahme an einem lokalen, ökumenischen und synodalen Rat, um den verschiedenen Konfessionen am Ort wahrhaftige, direkte und sichtbare Handlungen der Einheit zu ermöglichen. Die Ortskirche ernennt nur einen *proestós*, einen ersten Leiter der Gemeinschaft, der die katholische Kirche gemeinsam mit den Presbytern und dem Kirchenvolk in vollem Recht und mit voller Autorität verkörpert.

b) Das bedeutet aber, dass man sich mit der Frage des Petrusamtes in der römisch-katholischen Tradition auseinandersetzen muss, um die genaue Bedeutung des *primus inter pares* im Licht der heutigen Umstände neu zu bestimmen und um die weltweite organische *unio* der Kirche auf universaler Ebene zu sichern.

c) Die ökumenische Bewegung, wie sie durch die Arbeit des Ökumenischen Rats der Kirchen und des Sekretariats für die Einheit der Christen auf römisch-katholischer Seite vertreten ist, sollte in den kommenden Jahren gestärkt werden. Ohne eine offizielle römisch-katholische Beteiligung ist die Gemeinshaft der Kirchen in der Ökumene nur beschränkt sinnvoll. Es wäre daher wünschenswert, dass sich die römische Kurie-ähnlich wie schon in der Untereinheit für Glauben und Kirchenverfassung-an allen ökumenischen Bemühungen als offizielles Mitglied beteiligte. Das könnte in Übereinstimmung mit den schon vorliegenden und von beiden Seiten angenommenen diesbezüglichen Memoranden der «Gemischten Arbeitsgruppe» zwischen Rom und dem ÖRK geschehen. Ein solcher Beschluss zur Vollmitgliedschaft würde für die Orthodoxie ein entscheidender Schritt noch zur Einheit hin bedeuten.

d) In den nächsten Jahren sollten die kirchlichen Leitungen das Wesen des Konsensustextes «Taufe, Eucharistie und Amt» rezipieren, (wenn auch ggfs. mit kritischen Ammerkungen), denn in ihm werden die grossen theologischen Konvergenzlinien gemäss der einen apostolischen Überlieferung deutlich. Eine echte Rezeption wäre gerade in diesem Falle wichtig, weil zum erstenmal in der neueren Geschichte ein Text von alle in «Glauben und Kirchenverfassung» vertretenen Kirchen einstimmich angenommen worden ist.

e) Eine der dringendsten theologischen Fragen wird für die nächsten Janre das Verständnis des priesterlichen und des nichtrpriesterlichen Amtes sein. Auch hier ist eine Rezeption von *episkopé* als Zeichen und Grund der Kontinuität der einen apostolischen Kirche anzustreben. Was heisst «Sakrament» im Blick auf die Ordination und wie ist es heute in einer neune Sprache zu deuten? Warum muss man immer noch von «*ordinatio*» sprechen, ohne Bezugnahme auf das allgemeine Priestertum aller Gläubigen? Warum sollte man in der reformatorischen Tradition nicht die individuelle Sukzession neben und mit der Gemeinschaftssukzession akzeptieren? Das könnte in Übereinstimmung mit der alten apostolischen Tradition und aufgrund der Erfahrungen in der Ökumene sowie durch eine neue theologische Deutung des Charismas von «*kybernesis*» geschehen, im Sinne von Zeichen.

f) Die echte Orthodoxie befreit von einem neo-orthodoxen dogmatischen Scholastizismus westlicher Herkunft, der sich wegen der getrennten Kirchen, d.h. wegen der polemischen Auseinandersetzungen unter ihnen und der damit verbundenen konfessionellen Ekklesiologien entwickelt hatte. Der Ausweg liegt hier in der echten orthodoxen Theologie, weil gerade sie imstande ist, den Übergang von *episkopé* zum eucharistisch-liturgisch-kerygmatischen Verständnis des persönlichen (nicht individuellen)! Bischofsamtes deutlich zu machen. So verstanden ist das Amt als eine *conditio sine qua non* der sichtbaren einen Ortskirche als Teil der universalen Kirche anzunehmen. Natürlich ist die Kirche nicht auf den persönlichen Episkopat gegründet, aber ohne ihn ist die sichtbare, organisierte Gemeinschaft wie auch die universale Katholische Kirche in Raum und Zeit nicht zu verstehen und zu verwirklichen. Ohne ihn ist auch die Einheit unter den grossen Konfessionsfamilien nicht wiederzufinden. Das hat die ökumenische Erfahrung gezeigt.

Die charismatische Substanz, Herkunft und Funktion des Bischofsamtes muss eindeutig Vorrang haben vor des Bischofs individueller Verantwortung in jurisdiktionellen und lehrmässigen Fragen, die er als Mitglied eines Magisteriums besitzt (das, wenn notwendig, durch Konzilien und synodale offizielle Versammlungen der Bischöfe das Gewissen des Volkes der Kirche zum Ausdruck bringt).

Die Bischofs Autorität ist grundlegend pastoral und geistlich, und seine *exousia* wird als eine ständige Diakonie an der ganzen Kirche ausgeübt. Diese Diakonie enthält aber das priesterliche, sakramentale Charisma als Mysterion, d.h. als unbegreiflich durch äussere Zeichen wirkende Gnade, wie es die Bibel so eindringlich über die *episkopoi* geschildert hat (Apg. 20, 28).

Die Kollegialität ist im eucharistisch-charismatischen Verständnis nicht nur unter den Bischöfen und dem Bischof von Rom zu sehen, sondern auch mit allen Priestern und Mitgliedern der Gemeinde. Das ist in Übereinstimmung mit der biblischen Aussage in Apostelgeschichte 15, 22: «Hierauf beschlossen die Apostel und die Ältesten samt der ganzen Gemeinde...»

Vom Bischof von Rom (und nicht vom Bischof der katholischen Kirche, denn diese Position ist ein spätere Entwicklung in der Kirchengeschichte, die sich nur in der westlichen Christenheit vollzogen hat) erwartet die Orthodoxie eine Neuinterpretation des Primats, die sich auf die alte gemeinsame Überlieferung in der Kirche gründet. Der Primat müsste wieder zum Primat der Ehre und Liebe werden und nicht des eines universalen Bischofs sein, dessen Zustimmung die Bischöfe der Ortskirchen für ihr Bischofsamt benötigen, ja dessen Stellvertreter am Ort sie in einem gewissen Sinne sind.

g) Weiter erwartet die Orthodoxie, dass die reformierten Kirchen sich als Teil der historischen, katholischen Kirche und nicht als separate Kirchen im Plural mit abgesonderten Institutionen betrachten. Es ist wohl inzwischen offensichtlich geworden, dass die grossen Reformatoren selbst nicht darin dachten, eine neue Kirche zu gründen (Luther z. B. war dagegen, dass die Anhänger seiner Lehre sich Lutheraner nannten) und dass die Ablehnung des Bischofsamtes nicht aufgrund theologischer Reflexionen, sondern bestimmter historischer Umstände geschehen ist (z.B. weil für dieses Amt nicht die geeignete Person zur Verfügung stand). Ferner ist inzwischen wohl deutlich geworden, dass die apostolische Sukzession nicht nur ein Gemeinschaftsereignis, sondern auch eine persönliche Sukzession ist und dass letztlich die Handauflegung ein äusseres Zeichen der besonderen Wirkung der Gnade des Heiligen Geistes aufgrunf der priesterlichen Funktion Christi ist.

h) Auch die Orthodoxie ist bereit, konkrete Schritte zugunsten der Einheit zu unternehmen. Sie hofft bei den obengenannten Gründen der Spaltung auf die Initiative der anderen Konfessionen, aber auch sie muss ihre Orthodoxie durch Orthopraxie beweisen, obwohl die ethische Dimension weder im Osten noch im Westen je das höchste Kriterium für die Einheit gewesen ist. Aus Gründen der Bewahrung nationaler Wesenzüge, Sprachen und Kulturen ist es möglich, dass in einer Ortskirche mehrere orthodoxe Bischöfe fungieren. Das Problem der Diaspora ist ein echtes Problem! Hier und auch bei einer eventuellen übertriebenen Sakralisierung des kirchlichen Lebens ist auch in der Orthodoxie eine kritische Überprüfung vonnöten.

Zum Schluss sei es mir erlaubt als Mitglied der Ortskirche eine persönliche Note anzufügen. Ich glaube, dass wir in allen Bereichen des ökumenischen Dialogs schon vieles erreich haben. Wir müssen auf demseben Wege weiterarbeiten und neue Schwierigkeiten, die unterwegs auftauchen, gemeinsam überwinden. Hier denke ich an Probleme, mit denen sich die «traditionellen Kirchen» nicht positiv auseinandersetzen können, weil sie davon überzeugt sind, dass solche Probleme nicht in ihr Einheitsmodell hineinpassen. Die Ordination der Frau, und die Art und Weise, wie diese heikle Frage in manchen ökumenischen Gerprächen dominierend aufgegriffen wird, ist nur ein Beispiel dafür, wie man die nächsten Schritte zur Einheit mit Stagnation bedrohen kann.

Sicherlich, die Ordination der Frau ist eine wichtige Frage, und ich bin der letzte, der ihre grosse Bedeutung für das kirchliche Leben unterschätzen möchte. Aber vergessen wir nicht, dass für manche Kirchen diese Ordination nichts Neues ist. Für diese Kirchen bedeutet eine Bejahung dieser Ordination keine fortschrittliche ökumenische Haltung. Von ihnen wird kein besonderer Schritt gefordert, sie haben es somit leichter. Daher dürfen sie keinesfalls ihre Tradition von kämpferischen Mitgliedern ihrer Kirche dazu misbrauchen lassen, dass sie nicht als ein Erneuerungsereignis des heutigen kirchlichen Lebens betrachtet wird-denn das ist sie für viele Kirchen-, sondern mit den säkularen Frauenbewegungen zur Erneuerung der

Gesellschaft gleichgesetzt wird. Eine solche Haltung hiesse die Kirchengemeinschaft in der Suche nach Wiedervereinigung zu ignorieren und die Ordination der Frau zur Hauptbedingung für weitere Schritte in der Einheitsfrage hochzuspielen.

Andererseits darf dieses Thema aber auch für die Orthodoxen keine Tabu-Frage sein (wie dieses leider häufig der Fall ist). Wir dürfen es nicht soweit kommen lassen, dass dieses Problem als das einzige konstitutive Einheitselement in der heutigen Zeit gilt und dass an der Einstelltng zu dieser Problematik die Ökumenizität einer Kirche gemessen wird. Die orthodoxe Kirche kennt zwar die Ordination der Frau zur Diakonisse, kann aber der heutigen ökumenische Position zur Ordination der Frau im allgemeinen nicht zustimmen. Dieser Vorbehalt bedeutet indes nicht, dass die Orthodoxie die nächsten Schritte zur Einheit blockieren möchte. Im Gegenteil man darf wohl behaupten, dass die Orthodoxie in der Ökumene aufgrund ihrer langen Einheitstradition viel Neues versucht und unternommen hat, wenn andere Kirchen nicht bereit waren, ihre radikalen Positionen, die ihre Tradition enthält, nicht ändern wollten, weil sie glaubten, dass sie die «wahre progressive Ökumene» vertreten. Oft bleibt unter diesen Umständen offen, wer in Wirklichkeit die nächsten Schritte behindert. Nur der bedienungslose Wille zur Konvergenz ermöglicht neue Schritte in den gemeinsamen Einheitsbestrebungen der Kirchen, wenn sie durch ihre erneuerten Theologien ernsthaft und konstruktiv versuchen, einseitige Positionen gemeinsam zu vermeiden und gegebenenfalls zu überwinden.

# SAINT JEAN CASSIEN A-T-IL ÉTÉ SEMI - PELAGIEN ?

P a r

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*Au lieu d'une préface.*

Pensant à revoir à un autre point de vue après trente ans cette étude (avec des modifications exigées par le temps), j'ai voulu manifester d'une manière pratique mon admiration pour Son Eminence l' Archevêque Methodios de Thyateire et Grande Bretagne, l'ajoutant à celle que j'ai toujours eue dans mon âme pour la génération des théologiens grecs de la taille d'un Balanos, Andrutsos, Diovouniotis, Karmiris, etc., etc... -parmi lesquels j'ai eu l'honneur de connaître personnellement quelques uns et même de présenter à mes connationnaux une petite partie de leurs études dans ma jeunesse.

Par leur essentielle contribution à la formation de ma génération leur importance s'est dévélopée d'une manière extraordinaire pour moi surtout parce que la Théologie grecque a doué la Théologie orthodoxe roumaine des élements qui forment partiellement le fond de la fierté de l' actualité et du futur de l' Église Orthodoxe Roumaine.

Parmi ceux-ci, je ne voudrais pas en rappeler que l'actuel chef de notre Église, Sa Béatitude Justin Moisescu, (docteur de la Faculté de Théologie d'Athènes et ancien professeur aux Facultés de Théologie de Varsovie et de Bucarest).

La plus importante étude sur le grand ascète du IVe siècle, Evagre le Pontique, publiée comme thèse de doctorat du jeune doctorand J. Moisescu, sous la direction du fameux professeur Démètre Balanos, ancien membre de l'Académie d' Athènes, donne aussi l'explication du fait que le disciple du grand patrologue a fait le compte-rendu de l'étude par laquelle celui-là défendait l'Orthodoxie de Saint Jean Cassien, le disciple d'Evagre (dans la revue "Biserica Orthodoxa Romana" de Bucarest, le no 7-8, 1937, aux pp. 546-548).

C' est donc le point de départ de la présente étude sur un point doctrinal encore et vainement discuté. Ce point s'est imposé après la fin d'une lutte interminable et de même injustifiée sur le pays d'origine de Saint Jean Cassien: "Origine scytha"-c'est ainsi que s'est exprimé Gennade de Marseille presque contemporain de Saint Jean Cassien, comme d'un fait connû par tout le monde. Et la lutte cessa avec la victoire des théologiens qui ont reconnu l'origine du Saint dans la Scythia Minor-la Dobroudja roumaine d' aujourd'hui-, où la tradition cassienne a été conservée intacte depuis un millénium et demi (identifiée ainsi non pas par les roumains mais par des étrangers comme le jésuite J. Marrou et le savant anglican O. Chadwick aprés la formulation de l'opinion du savant Vasile Pârvan, pleinement, justifiée par des traditions locales millénaires).

Entre temps un nouvel astre de la génération actuelle s'est levé sur le firmament de la Théologie hellène: Le Métropolite de l' Éthiopie qui devait briller non seulement comme chef d'une Église Orthodoxe très complexe, mais aussi comme un nouveau organisateur et directeur de plusieurs grandes revues -les plus grandes et les plus connues dans toute l'Orthodoxie. Leur continuation par l'actuelle Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία est de même trop connue par la chrétienté pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'en parler encore. Nous pouvons en dire de même de l'importance et de la multitude des publications de Son Eminence en grecque, en allemand et surtout en anglais, dont nous ne rappelerons que les trois derniers volumes d' "Études théologiques et historiques" de 1983 tellement actuels et d'une aire très riche et variée de preoccupations.

Honoré à temps par l' invitation de collaborer à ces revues-un veritable trésor de l'Église Orthodoxe, initié et dirigé, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, par ce grand directeur—, je me crois obligé à rappeler à l' occasion de l' hommage apporté à son Eminence, le vaste domaine héréditaire héllène dans lequel déploie une activité si profonde, et qui a des échos si puissants dans d' autres Églises Orthodoxes, comme l'Église roumaine par exemple.

Avec cela nous sommes arrivés au problème principal.

I. *La victoire des grandes luttes.*

Pourquoi tant de nombreux savants théologiens de

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différentes confessions s'intéressent du pays d'origine de Saint Jean Cassien; pourquoi l' académicien-professeur grec D. Balanos a écrit une étude tellement érudite sur lui et pourquoi nous-mêmes revenons sur le problème de son orthodoxie discuté à un niveau si haut par le grand patrologue dans l'étude à laquelle l'actuel Patriarche de l'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine a fait un si important compte -rendu, et que nous avons reprise pour la populariser?

Evidemment le grand Balanos a fait cela d'un côté parce que Saint Cassien compte être actuellement le plus grand écrivain érémitique de l' époque primitive du Christianisme, "maître de la vie spirituelle", sur les cimes de cette vie (d'après Marcel Viller, S.J. et Karl Rahner, S.J.: "Ascese und Mystik in der Vaterzeit", ein Abris. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1939, pp. 184-192): C'est celui qui a décrit son expérience de deux années comme moine de Béthléem du Pays Saint et celle d' anachorète du désert égyptien de dix-huit ans.

Cette expérience unique exposée à un niveau très haut, qui résout les problèmes de ce genre posés d' une manière toute à fait différente dans son siècle, lui a assûré une auréole aussi unique à des écrits dont le passage du temps leur agrandit l'intérêt grâce au fait d' être vecûs dans des temps totalement autres, comme nous l'avons déjà dit.

Nous ajoutons à cette auréole la gloire de la confirmation de l'affirmation de son contemporain, Gennade de Marseille, "natione scytha"-c'est-à-dire de notre Dobroudja-, affirmation confirmée par le savant roumain Vasile Pârvan (dans la séance solennelle de l' Académie Roumaine de 1913) et développée par le jésuite J. Marrou en 1947, par le savant anglican Owen Chadwick en 1953 et ensuite par une série illimitée d' autres théologiens, mais surtout par une autorité indiscutable de la tradition millénaire, fortement conservée sur place en Roumanie.

Nous allons rappeler ici quelque *dates des batailles spirituelles de ce brave soldat de Jésus Christ*, pour noter la victoire des grandes luttes en Lui-même.

Entré dans la vie publique dans l'époque du triomphe de la foi chrétienne aprés la cessation des persécutions et la réception du Christianisme comme religion d' État, Saint Cassien plaida avec sa vie toute entière pour la valeur suprême de l'érémitage comme moyen de vaincre la vie pécheresse, en abandonnant le monde et s'unissant avec le Créateur par ascèse et contemplation. C'est ainsi qu'il a mis en relief les valeurs des ermits -la prière continuelle et la contemplation, l'autorité absolue de Dieu acceptée par l' union avec Lui-, et des quinovitiques, mettant au centre la paix et l' obéissance, lesquelles n' excluent pas celles d'avant, mais aspirent à elles. C'est le fondement de la perfection, simplifié en quelque sorte en partant de la pratique des vertus ascétiques et de l' actualité évangélique-d'Égypte. Il s' étendra après la mort de Saint Cassien par ses écrits et par les chefs de l' Église Occidentale, dans toute l' Europe de l' Ouest et au Nord jusqu'à l'Irlande, tandis que l'Église Orientale en participera surtout par les traduction en circulations et par l'influence des grands hierarches comme Photios et d' autres; Saint Benoît, le grand inspirateur et organisateur de la vie monacale de l' Ouest l' universalisa, l'actualisa et le personnalisa comme le vrai successeur des saints Apôtres.

Les grands spécialistes de l' histoire de sa vie, comme le professeur Owen Chadwick, ont montré comment les partisans dévoués au Bienheureux Augustin, voulant détruire la monumentale création de Saint Cassien, le grand ermite, -la deuxième personalité de leur siècle-, celui-ci, poussé par la céleste humilité absolue, n'a rien répliqué, et la suite de cette lutte sera le triomphe de cette doctrine, que toute l' Église Orientale adoptera avec Saint Jean Chrysostome, Saint Antoine le Grand et avec Photios, à côté aussi des Saints Léon le Grand, Grégoire le Grand, Urbain V -les grands papes qui l'ont glorifié de même comme le grand Saint de l' Église Occidentale.

Il est étrange le fait que quoique la prédéstination du Bienheureux Augustin n'aie pas été accepté officiellement que par l'Église Réformée, pourtant les grands théologiens de notre siècle, tant de l'Église catholique-romaine, Don Pichéry et Guy, que ceux de l'Anglicanisme, comme le professeur Owen Chadwick et d'autres, soutiennent en continuation le prédestinatianisme contre la doctrine patristique des premiers siècles.

C'est pourquoi nous sommes obligés de décrire brièvement le triomphe de l'histoire de l'oeuvre de ce dobroudgean de la Scythia Minor -pour des exposés plus larges envoyant à la fin des oeuvres de O. Chadwick, J.-G.Guy, Don C.Pichéry et Philippe Rousseau, et ensuite à celles des théologiens roumains avec le professeur Jean Coman en tête.

Nous devons nous souvenir tout d'abord que une partie de la pensée de Saint Cassien s'est répandu sous la forme des sentences monacales, traduites en grec, -"Apophthegmata Patrum", -dans tout le monde chrétien.

Le Patriarche Photios rappelle par ses écrits que avant le Xème siècle existaient des traductions grecquse abrégées qui remplissaient les manques du monde chrétien de langue grecque. On a trouvé, par exemple, des résumés de la deuxième et de la septième Conférences spirituelles; le professeur C. I. Diovouniotis a découvert aussi des traductions grecques des Conférences spirituelles, la Ière et la IIème, la VIIème et la VIIIème et les a publiées en 1913. De même ont été incluses partiellement dans les Philocalies orthodoxes grecques, russes et roumaines (à l'heureuse édition de celle de l'évêque Théophane, qui a publié la plus grande partie des oeuvres de Saint Cassien).

Nous nous souvenons aussi que parmi les plus enthousiasmés des chefs-d'oeuvres spirituels de Saint Cassien comptent quelques papes et grands théologiens médievaux. Son contemporain, Saint Léon le Grand, l'a entouré tout le temps avec une admira-

tion et une sympathie, constantes, lui étant celui qui a insisté que saint Jean Cassien donne au monde chrétien le travail dogmatique contre l'hérésiarque Nestorius avant le Synode d'Ephèse. En 597 Saint Grégoire le Grand qui a usé couramment dans ses travaux des oeuvres spirituelles de Saint Cassien, en l' honorant tout le temps d'un véritable culte, a écrit une grande épitre à un monastère de Marseille, élevé à l'honneur de Saint Cassien pour rendre plus fort sont culte et pour maintenir sa fête du 23 juillet, établie au V-e siècle. Nous rappelons de même que le supérieur du monastère Saint Victor de Marseille -aussi la fondation de Saint Cassien-, devenant en 1362 le pape Urbane V, n-a pas oublie ni son monastère ni son grand fondateur. A son tombeau, bâti sur quatre piliers brûlait continuellement une veilleuse. Il a ordonné à parer la tête du saint avec un casque d'argent, sur laquelle a posé une mitre d'argent et d'or avec des pierres précieusses et sur la casque ont été gravés les mots: "La tête de Saint Cassien".

Saint Cassien a gagné pour toujours la priorité dans l'Ouest de l'Europe par l'intégration de sa doctrine dans la Règle bénédictine.

La chapître XLIIe de cette Règle demande que l'un des frères lise à la table pour la communauté des Conférences spirituelles (égyptiennes) ou d'autres livres spirituels. Dans le chapître LXXIIIe recomande à remplir le manque spirituel avec des méditations sur la Bible, ou des Pères sur les Conférences, ou les Établissements Quinovitiques de Saint Cassien, ou sur la Règle de Saint Basile le Grand. (On croit que la méditation sur les écrits de Saint Cassien a mené une influence réciproque de la Règle et des oeuvres de Saint Cassien pour ceux qui les ont méditées).

A la maintenance de sa gloire ont contribué de même les mystiques, -surtout les grands théologiens médiévaux, qui ont fait des oeuvres de Saint Cassien leur lecture journalière préférée. Parmi eux sont rappelés Alcuin, Pierre Damian, Dominic, Thomas d' Aquino, Ignace de Loyola, Thérèse d' Avila, François de Sales etc., etc.

L'introduction de la fête de Saint Jean Cassien dans le minée orthodoxe à la date de 29 février, -dans les années bisectes-, peut être appréciée sans doute comme une relativisation de sa gloire. Le fait est accentué par les informations totalement insufisantes du synaxare respectif (qui parle de sa naissance à Rome, etc., etc.), et par les légendes "bisectes" folkloriques de la Russie (dues aux influences négatives catholique-romaines du XVIIe siècle).

L'humilité absolue a empêché le saint Cassien d' écrire un mot sur soi-même et sur d'autre beauté que la divine. Mais il a beaucoup insisté, en évitant le prédestinationisme augustinien, sur les âpres luttes de l' ermitage, en montrant après cela que la vie monacale est beaucoup plus aisée assurant le salut et la paix commune. De cette manière il a donné à la vie monacale de l'ouest-et à l' entier monasticisme-, un fondement sage et adéquat à ses aspirations religieuses, en créant une nouvelle tradition de la spiritualité chrétienne.

Avec son expérience très riche de presque vingt ans de vie dans les déserts de l' Égypte, doué d'une pénétration psychologique exceptionnelle et vivant dans le monde des grands anachorets chrétiens de son époque, Saint Cassien a eu la possibilité d' offrir au Christianisme le plan de la montée heureuse de l' âme vers l'horizon lumineux de l' empire célèste dans une ininterrompue prière et dans la lumière divine.

Le catholique - romain Don E. Pichéry a achevé son étude introductif aux oeuvres de Saint Jean Cassien, avec l'appréciation que "même en dehors des cloîtres, il fût de plus en plus considéré comme le maître par excellence des voies ascétiques et mystiques: ses oeuvres ont étendu leur action à l' Église entière, et exercé une influence capitale sur la developpement de la spiritualité catholique.

Jusque dans les siècles modernes, en dépit d'une éclipse partielle, dont les raisons ne seraient pas peut-être malaisées à trouver, soit dans le déclin du grand Ordre monastique, soit dans le caractère nouveau que revêt en beaucoup de milieux la spiritualité, elles ne cessent pas d'être goûtées ni d'être utilisées; des traductions nombreuses s'appliquent à les mettre à la portée d'un plus vaste public.

L'intérêt que témoigne actuellement à Cassien le monde de la science ne peut que profiter à son influence. Nous croyons que les âmes qui apprendront à le connaître, surprises et charmées d'une oeuvre si antique et pourtant si neuve, ne se lasseront pas de boire à ces eaux toujours abondantes et savoureuses" (Jean Cassien, *Conférences* I-VII, vol. I, col. "Sources chrétiennes" No 42, Paris, 1955, p. 68).

...Nous répétons que, pleins d'enthousiasme, les théologiens roumains avec le professeur J. Coman à la tête ont rempli après les occidentaux les revues avec des articles intéressants en accentuant l' élément "scite", c'est-à-dire roumain et non "roman", c' est-à-dire de Rome (malgré leur lien intrinsèque), et démontrant les hypothèses déductives de l'affirmation de Gennade de Marseille, définitivenent fortifiées dans notre temps par l' apparition de trois études-signals sur le pays-d'origine de Saint Jean Cassien de Pârvan, Marrou et Chadwick. Ils ont été rappelés dans un compte - rendu spécial qui montre la richesse et la diversité de leur contenu (Pr. N. Niscoveanu, *Contributia St. Ioan Cassian la cunoasterea monahismului din secolele IV-V, in lumina ecumenismului crestin*,, dans "Glasul Bisericii", XXXI, 1972, Nos 5-6).

II. *Introduction dans le problème.*

Saint Jean Cassien est, pour le monde chrétien, ainsi que nous l'avons vu "le maître de la vie sur les cîmes de la spiritualité"; mais pour l' Orthodoxie est un des plus grands Pères, du point de vue dogma-

tique aussi, à savoir celui qui a mis en discution la prédéstination du Bienheureux Augustin, du Ve siècle. En conséquence celui-ci est devenu hérétique pour au moins la moitié du Christianisme de partout, les veritables prédestinatianistes étant seulement les calvinistes. Saint Jean Cassien a été ou condamné comme sémi-pélagien par une partie des théologiens catholiques-romains, ou maintenu dans un état de suspicion,-celle - ci ne pouvant lui diminuer l'autorité, ni même la gloire spirituelle de ses écrits, au moins dans le Catholicisme.

La prédestination non seulement a séparé en quelque sorte l'Occident chrétien de l'Orient,-la doctrine des grands Pères étant la même que celle de Saint Cassien-, mais elle a même divisé l'Ouest de l'Europe, par les nuances qu'elle a imposées aux systèmes explicatifs, et est restée un des mystères non-entièrement pénétrés par l'esprit humain. La définition restreinte que nous donnons du point de vue religieux à la liberté religieuse est réduite d'habitude à la liberté de se déterminer après avoir été refaite à l'image de Dieu. Mais en même temps on affirme que libre est seulement celui qui se décide pour le bien, parce que celui - là est libre de péchés et de passions impures.

Cette explication ne manque pas d'objections: Si, par exemple, seulement celui qui a été régénéré par la grâce est libre, on ne nie pas par cette affirmation la liberté des nonchrétiens? Et si nous proclamons libres seulement ceux qui se décident pour le bien, ne nions nous pas avec cela la liberté en soi? Car ne reconnaissons-nous pas par cela que la liberté est identique avec la soumission à la grâce? Et cette sorte d'explication ne reste-t-elle pas une explication plus ou moins prédestinatianiste?

D'autre part, dans l'hypothèse de la liberté de l' homme comment peut-on admettre que Dieu reste de même une sorte de spectateur des actes de celui-ci? Comment une telle conception est-elle compatible avec celle d'un Dieu tout-puissant et tout-connaisseur? Mais en même temps, comment pouvons-nous maintenir ses attributs de la justice et de l' amour si nous affirmons qu' Il punit le mortel, qu'Il n' a pas doté avec la liberté,-si nous acceptons de même l'hypothèse que Dieu est Celui qui nous décide dans un sens ou dans un autre?

...Voici quelques aspects pris au hasard d'un probléme dont les détails restent un mystère pour les théologiens, même s'il peut-être résolu dans les grandes lignes.

L' absence des travaux sur la grâce et la liberté dans l'Orthodoxie ne doit pas nous arrêter de l' examiner mais, au contraire, doit nour être une impulsion d'apporter notre contribution pour son explication.

Nous avons eu, néanmoins, un point de départ heureux dans la voix isolée du grand patrologue grec D. Balanos, avec son importante étude rappelée plus haut: Εἶναι κακόδοξος ἡ περὶ χάριτος διδασκαλία τοῦ Ἰωάννου Κασσιανοῦ; Athènes, 1936 (Extrait de l' annuaire scientifique de la Faculté de Théologie d' Athènes, vol. II, 1935-1936, avec le compte-rendu de la revue "L'Église Orthodoxe Roumaine", 1937, No 7-8, pp. 546-8). Dans cette étude le professeur Balanos montre que l' enseignement de Saint Cassien est la vraie doctrine de l'Église Orthodoxe, démontrant par de nombreux exemples des Saints Pères qu'il reste dans le consensus de la tradition de l'Église Oecuménique, héritée de notre Église sainte.

A l'interval de quelques années Mme Lot Borodine lui a apporté un fort appui en montrant à son tour dans l' étude "La doctrine de la grâce et de la liberté dans l' Orthodoxie greco-orientale" que l' homme est tombé, mais non pas mort, que l'esprit lui est obscur, mais non perdu et que sa volonté est inclinée vers le mal, mais non pas totalement perverti, comme dans l' augustinianisme.

Une part des théologiens catholique-romains a maintenu la tradition de compter comme hérétiques les adversaires du Bienheureux Augustin, et cela sous l'influence plus ou moins témoignée du prédestinatianisme, - quoi que en même tempts formulant des grandes résèrves sur cette doctrine.

Dans ce consensus peu clair, Saint Cassien a été compté plusieurs fois ensemble avec les courageux moines du sud de la Gaule, en général parmi les sémi-pélagiens, quoiqu'il ait combattu le pélagianisme comme le nestorianisme de même.

Prosper d' Aquitaine, l' admirateur sans réserve d' Augustin, "plus augustinien que Augustin lui-même", écrit un livre violent contre Saint Jean Cassien sur la grâce avec le titre: "De gratia et libero arbitrio, liber contra collatorem", (dans Migne, P.L. VI., Col. 213-216).

Le point incriminé de la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien se trouve dans la XIIIème "collatio" (traduite par les modernes chercheurs par "conférence"), qui exprime l'enseignement général des Saints Pères du désert d'Égypte, mais que les savants catholique-romains ont attribuée exclusivement à Saint Jean Cassien pour "ne pas offenser" la mémoire de ces Pères, au nom desquels il a écrit ses immortels souvenirs...

Avec cette affirmation ils font la preuve qu'on oublie purement et simplement que cette doctrine est identique avec celle des grands Saint Pères de la glorieuse époque des premiers siècles, en tête avec Saint Jean Chrysostome (son grand ami et protecteur qui le fait diacre et pour lequel il va à Rome ensuite pour plaider sa cause), - et non seulement du désert.

Voici les arguments qu'on apporte comme appui de l' idée que la doctrine de la prédestination est la sienne: "Dans cet interval de vingt ans, passé entre son voyage en Égypte et les écrits de ses souvenirs, becaucoup d' entre eux ont été perdus ou altérés" (voir Marcel Viller et K. Rahner, *op. cit.* p. 187-188). (Oui, mais qui peut affirmer que le grand maître n'a pas noté les points principaux de son enseignement,

après avoir été précisés dans les conversations spirituelles?) Ses contemporains, dit-on encore, mettent hors de doute que la doctrine exposée par lui est exclusivement la sienne propre; c'était l' opinion de Prosper d' Aquitaine et c'est facile à la justifier: On refuse l' appui moral à n' importe quelle doctrine contraire à celle de Saint Augustin. Nous avons vû plus haut que cela n'a pas empêché les Occidentaux de maintenir (St. Cassien) dans la catégorie des Saints et des grands maîtres spirituels et de lui traduire les écrits pour l' utiliser chaque jour, tandis que les théologiens orientaux ont refusé le nom de Saint à Augustin, le lui remplaçant avec le nom de "Bienheureux" à cause de son prédestinatianisme.

### *III. Le résumé de la doctrine de notre Église concernant la prédéstination.*

Notre Sainte Église admet une prédestination générale dans le sens des Écritures selon lesquelles Dieu "veut que tous les hommes soient sauvés et parviennent à la connaissance de la vérité" (I Tim. 2,4). Et pourtant non pas tous sont sauvés; par consequent la volonté de Dieu n'est pas toujours accomplie. Cela veut dire que l'homme peut accepter ou non l'appel divin: "Voici je me tiens à la porte et je frappe. Si quelqu'un entend ma voix et ouvre la porte, j'entrerai chez lui, je souperai avec lui et lui avec moi" (Apoc. 3,20). Dieu connaît de l' éternité ceux qui vont repondre à son appel (Rom. 8, 28 sq.). Il a prédéstiné ceux – là pour le bonheur éternel: "Venez vous qui êtes bénis de mon Père; prenez possession du royaume qui vous a été préparé dès la fondation du monde...". Dieu connaît de même ceux qui n'écouteront pas Sa voix et leur a préparé les châtiments correspondants: "Retirez-vous de moi, maudits; allez dans le feu éternel qui a été préparé pour le diable et pour ses anges..." (Mat. XXV, 34 et 41).

Le problème de la prédestination implique, selon les orthodoxes, la liberté de l' homme de collaborer ou non avec la grâce et l' appel de tous les hommes au salut; à sa base se trouve la préscience de Dieu. Ici intervient une différence entre la doctrine orthodoxe et donc celle du Christianisme oecuménique d'un côté et celle des occidentaux,-quoique les orientaux soutiennent contre le pélagianisme et le sémi-pélagianisme que la grâce fait pourtant le commencement du salut aussi. Mais avec cela ils acceptent l' enseignement que la collaboration avec la grâce est reçue ou non par la volonté libre de l'homme. Cela veut dire que c'est l'homme qui fait le commencement de son salut? A cette question nous répondons catégoriquement *par la négative* pour expliquer plus aisément le problème: Le fait de recevoir, initialement, la collaboration avec la grâce n' equivaut ni potentiellement avec l'initiative humaine du salut propre. Mais équivaut avec le désir et la nostalgie après Dieu, restées dans l' âme humaine après la chûte; équivaut donc avec l'aspiration de se dépasser, d' atteindere l' état de sur-homme, qui se réalise par la grâce.

Le professeur D. Balanos a maintenu la liaison entre notre nature tombée et la grâce sur la base de la tradition patristique, et Mme Lot-Borodine a demontré la possibilité et même la nécessité de cette liaison sur des fondements psychologiques,- tous les deux lui donnant un support synergétique-patristique-anthropocentrique. Car les Saints Pères ont enseigné que la chûte n'a pas privé entièrement l' homme de la grâce de l' éden, la nostalgie du paradis étant décrite comme "potence" dans l' Esprit, tandis que le surnaturel reste le centre d'attraction pour la nature humaine,- comme analogie entre Personne et personne, entre naturel et Surnaturel, lesquels se pénètrent, s' attirent et se désirent.

Dans "La doctrine de la grâce et de la liberté dans l'Orthodoxie greco-orientale" (de la revue "Oecumenica" de Londre, 1939), citée déjà, Mme Lot-Borodine montre que pour t'approcher de quelqu'un il faut avoir une parenté avec cette personne-et cela ne manque pas totalement à l'homme devant Dieu, d'après l' image duquel il a été créé, et donc il est lié même après la chûte.

Tant que nous pouvons établir des cas, comme celui de Zachée (Luc 19, 1), Corneille (Actes 10, 35) et du malfaiteur du paradis (Luc, 23, 43), on peut parler de l' inclination vers le bien, qui persiste après la chûte, que rappelle aussi l'Apôtre Saint Paul (Rom. 2, 14 etc.) et qui se manifeste de plusieurs manières par l' aide de la grâce, comme par exemple dans la Sainte Vierge. Ces cas sont développés avec un grand enthousiasme par Les Saints Pères au cadre de la co-existence des païens, laquelle est actuelle dans notre temps aussi.

Les Saints Pères comme, par exemple, Diadoque de Photicée ("La parole ascétique" 89), Saint Maxime le Confesseur ("Réponses à Thalase") etc., parlent de la persistance de la grâce dans l' homme déchu et du travail au Baptême pour refaire l'image et ensuite pour la perfection du chrétien dans la resemblance.

Les augustiniens croient que Dieu décide avant et la foi de l' homme et ses bones oeuvres,- ce que les Saints Pères orientaux n'acceptent pas; par exemple Saint Jean de Damas conteste catégoriquement cette doctrine (dans "De la foi orthodoxe", II, 30). Ils sont les fruits de la présence en nous de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, la foi étant "active par l' amour."

Cet état se réalise donc par la grâce, qui refait l' image de Dieu et ensemble avec l' image sa liberté affaiblie. Car, comme nous l' avons déjà dit, le libre arbitre n' a pas été anéanti par la chûte, mais seulement affaibli. Transformé par la grâce, il devient une liberté de plus en plus perfectionnée; en face des inclinations tellurique, pécheresses, le chrétien maintenant le plaisir dans la vertu et l' idéal dans la vie en Jésus Christ.

Le problème qui parait n' avoir pas été résolu d'une

manière satisfaisante, est celui qui a été énoncé, mais seulement dans l'ensemble de ce cadre dialogique et anthropologique, comme étant accompli par notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, l'hypostase de tous les vrais croyants. Et alors lorsqu'on refait l' image de Dieu dans l' homme déchû, la liaison avec Lui est reprise par un acte de décision de Sa volonté ou de la volonté de l' homme? Les disputes de l'époque patristique d'un côté (provoquées par les pélagiens et les sémi-pélagiens et leurs adeptes), ainsi que les médiévales et ceux des calvinistes, ont regardé presque exclusivement ce point de vue. On en a discuté ensuite surtout au cadre des querelles entre les Thomistes, Molinistes et congruistes sur ce thème.

Les points de vue comme ceux exprimés par Mme Lot-Borodine dans la revue "Oecuménica", rappelés plus haut et conformément auquels la grâce est quelque chose d'organique et qui rétablit une situation primordiale, c'est-à-dire l' état de perméabilité face au divin,- de tels points de vue, loin d'exclure ces problèmes, les imposent, précédant l'explication que la distinguée théologienne donne à cet état. Mme Lot-Borodine facilite son explication par l'analogie avec l'oeil et la lumière qui se cherchent réciproquement (dans l'art. cité, p. 219), utilisée aussi d' une manière heureuse par Origène et puis par Goethe et d' autres, après les sages Saints Pères inspirés, de l' époque patristique et que nous allons rappeler encore.

Ce problème de la liaison du fidèle avec Dieu pose encore un autre aussi crucial: Si Dieu veut le salut de tous les hommes - et si ce fait dépend exclusivement de Lui,- pourquoi ne sont pas tous sauvés?

Ces problèmes ont été discutés par Saint Jean Cassien, comme nous l' avons rappelé, provoqué par le prédestinatianisme du Bienheureux Augustin; il a fait cela d'une manière chrétienne, en paix, sans provocations et insinuation. D' autres, surtout les adversaires, ont actionné d'une toute autre manière. Saint Jean Cassien a eu ainsi ce mérite d' avoir été un modèle inimitable presque de sagesse et d' humilité chrétienne.

### *IV. L' Explication du mystère de la prédestination dans les écrits de Saint Cassien, de ses contemporains et de ses prédécesseurs.*

Parmi les écrits de Saint Jean Cassien, la XIIIème conversation spirituelle ("Collatio", ou "Conférence") a une importance tout à fait spéciale étant beaucoup discutée et même condamnée par certains cercles autoritatives-prédestinatianistes-augustiniens, parce qu'elle expose et défend sous une forme analytique le sens de la doctrine traditionnelle de l' époque oecuménique de l' église, gardée jusqu'aujourd'hui dans l'Église d'Orient. Voici un résumé très court des principales idées de cette "collatio spirituelle".

Le chapitre IIe pose la question: Pourquoi les mérites des vertus ne sont-ils pas mis au compte de ceux qui les accomplissent? Le suivant répond que rien de bon ne peut être fait sans l'aide de Dieu. Dans les chapîtres IVe et Ve, on décrit la valeur des vertus des païens, et dans le chapître VIe en tire la conclusion que sans la grâce de Dieu on ne peut pas couronner de succés aucun essai qui vise le domaine des choses surnaturelles au point de vue chrétien.

En développant cette idée Ava Cheremon rappele que les efforts des Pères du désert dépassent les pouvoirs naturels de ceux qui les accomplissent.

Les chapîtres suivants (le VIIe et le VIIIe), sont capitaux pour le problème de la prédestination. Dans ce cadre, Saint Jean Cassien commence avec l'affirmation que le plan de Dieu, selon lequel Dieu n'a pas créé l'homme pour périr mais pour vivre éternellement, reste inébranlable: "Propositum namque Dei, quo non ad hoc hominem fecerat ut periret, sed ut in perpetuum viveret, manet immobile", (dans l' éd. Petchenig, "Corpus", p. 308) Voilà pourquoi, lorsque la bonté de Dieu entrevoit en nous une étincelle si petite qu'elle soit de bienveillance même si Lui-même l' extrait de l'âpre roque de notre âme, le soigne, l' attise et la fortifie par son souffle. ("Cujus benignitas cum bonae voluntati in nobis, quantulam cumque scintillam emicuisse perpexerit vel quam ipse tanquam de dura silice nostri cordis excuderit confoveat eam et exsucitat suamque suaque inspiratione confortat"). Saint Cassien affermit cette affirmation avec des textes bibliques pris (dans l' ordre du texte) de I Tim., 2, 4; Matt., 18, 14; II Sam., ou II Rois 14, 14; Ezech. 33, 11; Matt. 23, 37 Jérém. 8, 5; 5, 3 etc. De quoi il ressort très clairement que Dieu veut à tout prix sauver tout le monde et que ceux qui ont péri, ont souffert cela selon leur volonté et contre la volonté du Dieu.

Cette idée est reprise dans d' autres textes sous une autre forme. Par exemple, dans le chapître VIIIe de la même Conférence Ava Cheremon enseigne que lorsque Dieu voit que en nous a pris naissance quelque bienveillance l'illumine, la fortifie et la pousse au salut, prenant sur Lui ce commencement - soit que c'est Lui-même qui a planté cette bienveillance, soit qu'Il constate qu'elle a jailli de notre tentative: "Qui cum in nobis ortum quaedam bonae voluntatis inspexerit inluminat eam confestim atque confortat et incitat ad salutem incrementum tribuens ei, quam vel ipse plantavit, vel nostro conatu viderit emersisse". Et il apporte une preuve en faveur du libre arbitre avec l'existence des deux anges, dont le Pasteur d' Herma enseigne aussi (VIII, 17,1) qu'ils accompagnent l'homme, un étant bon et l' autre mauvais, restant à l'élection de l' homme lequel doit suivre. C'est pourquoi on peut conclure que le libre arbitre reste toujours dans l' homme et peut ou négliger ou aimer la grâce de Dieu: "Adiacere autem homini in quamlibet parten liberti arbitrii libertate etiam liber ille qui dicitur Pastoris apertissime docet in quo duo angelli unicuique nostrum adhearere dicuntur, id est bonus ac malus, in hominis vero optione consistere, ut eligat quem sequatur, et idcirco manet in

homine liberum semper arbitrium, quod gradatiam Dei possit vel neglegere vel amare" (XIII, 12; ib. pp. 380–381.)

Par conséquent doit exister dans l' homme l' aspiration de se sauver, l'inclination vers le transcendent, le désir nostalgique et l' élan vers les hauteurs célèstes, même sous la forme la plus limitée de "bienveillance" ou d' "étincelle tant petite de bienveillance" qui se manifeste dans la collaboration avec la grâce.

Créé à "l' image de Dieu", l' homme aspire à "la ressemblance à Lui". L' inclination de l' homme vers son Créateur, avec laquelle il est né, – mais laquelle est évidente chez les croyants –, trouve son accomplissement dans la collaboration parfaite de ses fonctions affectives, l' image de Dieu dans l' homme, avec la grâce, pour pouvoir arriver à la ressemblance avec Lui, selon l'enseignement patristique. (Cela est possible parce qu' après la chûte aussi reste dans l'homme le libre arbitre qui peut et négliger et aimer la grâce divine). Alors Dieu développe cette étincelle, la fait se développer, porter des fruits, – les fruits inestimables du salut.

Les catholique–romains imputent à Saint Jean Cassien la première phrase qu'ils comprennent dans le sens qu'elle impliquerait l' idée que c'est l' homme qui fairait le commencement du salut. Mais ceci est le problème: "La bienveillance" de la part de l' homme, qui répond ainsi au mystérieux appel d' en haut et est par conséquent le moyen de lier la liberté humaine avec la grâce divine, fait elle le commencement du salut, ou seulement offre l' occasion à la grâce d' accomplir ce travail surnaturel avec le collaboration de la liberté humaine? Nous croyons que cette altérnative offre la réponse à la question.

Néanmoins elle a constitué le noeud gordien du problème du rapport de la grâce et de la liberté de tous les temps. A l'époque de son oecuménicité l' Église l'a résolu dans ce sens, le sens de Saint Cassien. Mais depuis le Bienheureux Augustin et quelques uns de ses disciples "plus augustiniens qu'Augustin lui–même" comme Prosper d' Aquitaine, l' Église Occidentale présente une histoire longue et sinueuse des tentatives infinies et fatigantes de lui donner une solution –et nous croyons qu'elle n'a pas réussi en réalité. Voilà le jugement du professeur catholique–romain J. Tixeront dans sa "Histoire des dogmes" (vol. IIIe, p. 279): Saint Jean Cassien regardait comme une blasphémie épouvantable la négation de la volonté du salut universel par Dieu; il refutait toute théorie de la prédestination "ante praevisa merita", admettait que la grâce est donné à tous d'une manière égale et que seulement l' utilisation, ou le manque d' utilisation d' elle décide notre salut ou notre damnation avec la foi et les bonnes oeuvres (cf. la XIIIème Conférence, 7, 17, 18; la XVIIème, 25).

En résumant d' une manière non–loyale la doctrine des moines "massiliens" en tête avec "le sémi –pélagien" Jean Cassien, d' après les textes de Prosper d'Aquitaine, le professeur catholique–romain résume l'enseignement du célèbre maître de la vie spirituelle en trois étapes dont la première est declarée erronée (v. J. Tixeront, op. cit., p. 282): 1. L' homme est en état de vouloir et de désirer le bien surnaturel sans l' aide de grâce, mais non pas l'accomplir; il peut commencer à croire, mais non pas s'offrir une foi complète. 2. Dieu veut le salut de tous les hommes et à tous, sans distinction Il veut offre la grâce salutaire. Tous les hommes peuvent répondre à cette grâce et peuvent, s'il veulent, persévérer en elle. 3. Il n'y a pas de prédestination absolue; la prédestination ainsi que la damnation, regardées en Dieu, sont la suite de la prescience des "mérites" (dans le sens catholique–romain ); regardées dans l' homme elles sont seulement la conséquence de sa conduite».

Ce résumé présente quelques difficultés du point de vue de ceux qui critiquent Saint Jean Cassien (même s'il font cela seulement partiellement).

Ainsi, de l' esquisse même de la XIIIème conférence on a pû voir que l' inclination de la volonté vers le bien est due au commencement, toujours au Créateur "qui nous a faits pour Lui"; mais elle peut se pervertir jusqu'au refus total de la collaboration. L' incrimination des théologiens occidentaux est néanmoins confuse. En quoi commence à croire l' homme d' après eux, dans l' état naturel, d' après l' enseignement de Saint Jean Cassien? Dans le Dieu connû ou dans l' inconnû? Donc cette foi présuppose la grâce. D' autre part l' homme est–il, ou ne l'est pas libre? S'il l' est, à quoi est reduite la liberté d' après les théologiens occidentaux?

Mais ainsi qu'on le sait, même l' enseignement catholique–romain présente beaucoup de différences lorsqu'il doit préciser les réponses aux problèmes posés par le rapport de la liberté et la grâce.

La pensée de Saint Jean Cassien présenterait, d' après les Occidentaux, une confusion quelconque du naturel et surnaturel parce que pour eux l' homme n'est pas capable de collaborer stricto sensu avec Dieu, quoique Saint Paul a proclamé cela (dans 1 Cor. III, 9) ainsi que Saint Cassien. Ce dernier n'a pas prétendu comme Pelage que l' homme est parfaitement normal au point de vue de la grâce; mais n'a pas reçu ni l' enseignement du Bienheureux Augustin qu'il est mort. Pour Saint Jean Cassien ainsi que pour l' Église des premiers huit siècles en général l' homme dechû est seulement malade. La resemblance de Dieu dans l' homme, si ténébreux qu' il est aprés la chûte et la persistance du libre arbitre de même, assûrent la possibilité de faire la liaison avec Dieu, de désirer la sainteté, – ce que confirme l' histoire des religions de tous les peuples et de tous les temps.

Les catholique–romains accusent Saint Jean Cassien de ne pas accepter une "volonté conséquente" de Dieu, avec une nuance occidentale et tellement catégorique que grâce à elle Dieu, en fait, ne désire plus le salut de tous. Mais l' universalité du salut est

une doctrine clairement révélée et la Révélation n'a pas connû les sophismes scolastiques, d'après lesquels on peut répondre à la même question en plusieurs manières.

De même ce serait simplifier trop les choses, affirmant que pour Saint Jean Cassien la prédestination se résumerait en prescience. Il croit quelque chose de plus; mais il ne nous offre pas un exposé systématique de dogmatiste, en exposant la Révélation expérimentée et une spéculation simple. La division de la grâce en "suffisante" et "efficace" etc., n'a pas pu constituer une réponse satisfaisante au problème même dans le Catholicisme-romain tel que nous le prouvent les essais faits tour à tour par le Thomisme, le Molinisme, le Congruisme, au sein de la même confession. Au contraire, il est plus naturel de compter cette "étincelle de bienveillance" dont nous parle Saint Jean Cassien, comme le moyen de refaire le lieu organique entre le divin et l' humain, entre le Créateur et la créature, mais d' une façon perceptible et en état d' offrir à Dieu un terrain propice pour la semence du salut.

L'Orthodoxie affirme d' une manière catégorique l'existence de certains "points aperceptifs" de l' union de ces deux réalités: L' âme de l'homme elle-même reflète la Sainte Trinité; elle est l' image de Dieu brisée, mais non pas détruite. Son inclination vers Dieu est confessée par "la soif" du Psalmiste, par son désir mélancholique de Dieu, par les différentes manifestations de cette inclination religieuse et par les diverses formes qu'ont pris les dieux dans les religions naturelles (Voici quelques textes sur la *soif* de Dieu: Le psaume 42,3; 63,1; 143; Les Proverbes 25,21; Is. 21,14; 41, 27, 55;1. Amos 8, 11; Matt. 5, 6; Jean 4, 13; 6, 35; 7, 37 etc.). Nous rappelons aussi le *désir mélancholique* de Dieu: Les Psaumes 39, 11; 119, 20; Proverbes 11, 23; Cantique des Cantiques 7, 11; Rom. 7, 19..., etc.

Dans l' article cité, Mme Lot-Borodine donne une explication très adéquate, que nous trouvons aussi chez Origène (v. Migne, P.G., XI, col. 280). Comme le malade des yeux participe potentiellement à la lumière c'est ainsi que l' homme tombé est resté potentiellement un participant au Saint Esprit. Mais tous les deux languisent, cherchent inassouvis ce qui leur manque, quoique s'entourent et se sollicitent. Et dans l' instant que l' homme est devenu conscient de cette recherche réciproque du lien avec Dieu, est refaite aussi "l'image de Dieu", l'organisme surnaturel fonctionne, la liberté de l' homme collabore avec la grâce pour son salut.

Ce commencement du salut le fait la grâce, qui retrouve dans l' homme *l' inclination* vers Dieu, son image étant cassée mais non pas détruite Il la refait progressivement jusqu'à "la ressemblance" -comme nous avons plusieurs fois répété,- en apportant ainsi la créature à la situation de collaborer avec Lui dans la véritable liberté, laquelle est celle de l'âme guerrie par la grâce.

L' étincelle presque imperceptible de bienveillance dont parle aussi Saint Basile le Grand (v. Migne, P.G. XXXI, col. 908-11), ainsi que Saint Jean Cassien, forme la préhistoire du salut: C' est elle qui détermine la collaboration de l' homme avec Dieu.

L'histoire du salut commence soudain avec cette collaboration, acceptée par cette manifestation mystérieuse de la liberté chrétienne, non encore pleine, mais réelle, qui a reçu dans la maison de son âme Celui qui frappe à sa porte.

Origène avait accentué l'idée de la nécessité que l' homme sente le besoin de l' aide d'en haut. Car Dieu promet le salut "non pas à ceux qui ne le désirent, pas mais à ceux qui viennent comme des malades à des docteurs" (l. c.). Saint Macaire l' Égyptien nous enseigne, de même que, quoique blessé avec les blésssures des passions infâmes et quoique aveuglé par l' obscurité du péché, pourtant (l' homme) a la volonté d' ouvrir et d' appeler Jésus, afin que venant Lui, qu' Il apporte le salut éternel à l'âme (Hom. XX, 6; Migne, P.G. XXXIV, 656 etc.). Saint Basile le Grand nous exhorte d'allumer l' étincelle cachée en nous avec le pouvoir de l'Esprit dans Lequel nous sommes habillés (l.c.). Saint Grégoire de Nysse reprend d' idée rappelée plus haut chez Origène et la développe, en enseignant que, ainsi que l'oeil, en dépendance de la lumière de l' aurore, entre d'une manière naturelle en communion avec la lumière du jour, en s'appropriant aussi les apparentées par le pouvoir inné,- de la même manière a été nécessaire de maintenir quelque chose d' inné dans la nature humaine apparentée à celle de la divinité. C'est ainsi qu'on a pû recevoir le pardon, par la conformation avec celle qui lui était familière avant... ("La grande parole catéchétique", Migne, P.G. XLV, vol. 21).

Enfin, le grand Chrysostomos, dont le très dévoué disciple a été Saint Jean Cassien, développa très largement les idées que nous allons retrouver chez celui-ci. Il affirme que l' homme, en collaborant avec Dieu, apporte la foi que nous portons tous en nous (dans "l'Ep. aux Romains" XI, 1; Migne, LX, col. 483). Dieu ne sauve pas avec la force. Car Il nous laisse maître de nos oeuvres, quoiqu'il veut seulement les bonnes. Car personne ne peut être bon que par la foi et l'inclination innée. ("Sur la trahison de Juda", dans Migne, XLIX, col. 377). Et il demande plus loin: S'il est nécessaire seulement l'appel (pour le salut) pourquoi ne sont pas sauvés tous les hommes? Non pas seulement l' appel réalise le salut, mais aussi l'intention de ceux qui sont appelés; car le salut est nécessaire, mais n'est pas forcé. Tous ont été appelés, mais ils n'ont pas écouté tous (Dans "L' Epître aux Romains" XI; Migne P.G. LX, col. 541. Apud D. Balanos, *op. cit.*, p. 7-9).

*V. Citation d'un auteur catholique-romain.*

[Du vol. "*Jean Cassien, vie et doctrine spirituelle*" de Jean-Claude Guy, col. "Théologie morale et spiri-

tuelle, recherches et synthéses", IX (Paris, 1961), pp. 17–140]:

*Grace et liberté*

a. *Conférence* III, 10b–12. (Abba Paphnuce vient d'expliquer le triple renoncement exigé du chrétien, à l' aide de l' exégèse allégorique de la vocation d' Abraham–cf. texte 12–et il poursuit):

(10)...Ceci prouve avec évidence et que le début de notre salut se fait par un appel du Seigneur qui dit: *quitte ton pays*, et que l'achèvement de notre perfection et de notre pureté doit lui être aussi imputé, puisqu'il dit: *pour le pays que je te montrerai*, c'est–à–dire non pas un pays que tu peut connaître par toi–même ou découvrir par ton habileté, mais un pays *que je te montrerai*, à toi qui non seulement l' ignores, mais qui même ne le recherches pas. On en conclut de toute évidence que, de même que nous accédons au chemin du salut par une inspiration du Seigneur, de même est–ce encore conduits par son enseignement et son illumination que nous parvenons à la perfection de la suprême béatitude.

(11) *Question de Germain:* En quoi consiste donc notre libre arbitre? Et les louanges qu'on nous accorde, comment les attribuer à notre ardeur, si Dieu est en nous au début et au terme de tout ce qui concerne notre perfection?

(12) *Réponse:* Votre objection serait normale si, en toute action, il y avait seulement un commencement et une fin, et aucun état intermédiaire. C'est pourquoi, de même que la possibilité du salut est, nous le savons, provoquée par Dieu de différentes manières, de même dépend–il de nous profiter avec plus ou moins d'empressement ou de tiédeur de cette possibilité offerte par Dieu. Car, de même que ce fut Dieu qui offrit le salut en appelant: *quitte ton pays*, de même fut–ce Abraham qui obéit en quittant son pays. Et de même *que va dans le pays* exprime le travail de celui qui obtempère, ainsi le *que je te montrerai* qui suit signifie la grâce de Dieu qui ordonne ou promet.

Cependant, nous devons tenir pour certain que, même si nous nous efforçons sans relâche à la vertu, nous ne pourrons jamais atteindre la perfection par notre effort ou notre application. L' empressement à la peine ne suffit pas pour faire parvenir l' homme à un si haut niveau de béatitude; nous ne pourrons l'atteindre que si Dieu coopère et dirige notre coeur vers ce qui convient. Aussi devons–nous, à tout moment, prier avec David: "Affermis mes pas dans tes sentiers, afin que mes pas ne chancèlent pas:" (Ps. 17, 5), et: "Il dressa mes pieds sur le roc, affermissant mes pas" (Ps. 40, 3),–afin que celui qui invisiblement, dirige l' esprit de l' homme daigne orienter vers le goût de la vertu notre libre arbitre, qui, trop porté par lui–même à ignorer le bien et à se laisser enchaîner par les passions, nous conduit aux vices.

b. *Ibid.*, c. 19:

(L' Écriture) nous enseigne sans aucune ambiguité que même le commencement de la volonté bonne nous est accordé par le Seigneur qui nous l' inspire, soit qu'il nous attire lui–même sur le chemin du salut, ou qu'il le fasse par le conseil d'un homme quelconque, ou par la nécessité. De même, la perfection de la vertu est un don qui vient de lui. Ce qui dépend de nous, c'est d'exécuter avec plus ou moins de tiédeur ou d'ardeur le conseil salutaire de Dieu; et nous méritons à juste titre récompense ou supplices, selon que nous négligeons le don que Dieu nous fait dans sa grande condescendence, ou que nous nous efforçons à le satisfaire par le service de notre obéissance.

c. *Conférences*, XIII, c.8:

A peine Dieu a–t–il vu un quelconque commencement de bonne volonté qu'il l'éclaire aussitôt, lui donne consistance et l'oriente en vue de notre salut en lui donnant de se développer, soit qu'il l' ait lui–même suscité, soit qu'il l'ait vu naître par notre effort. Car, "Avant même qu'ils appellent, dit le Seigneur, le leur répondrai: il parleront encore qu'ils seront déjà exaucés" (Is. 65, 24), ou encore: "A peine entendra–t–il le son de tes clameurs qu'il te répondra:" (*Id.* 30, 19). Et non content d'inspirer seulement dans sa bonté nos saints désirs, il nous prépare la possibilité de vivre bien et, lorsque nous nous trompons, il nous montre la direction du chemin du salut.

d. *Ibid.* c. 11:

Ainsi, grâce et liberté sont mêlées à ce point qu'on ne peut les séparer, et que c'est une question difficile que se posent de nombreux hommes que de savoir lequel dépend de l' autre: Dieu a–t–il pitié de nous parce que nous manifestons un début de bonne volonté, ou bien manifestons–nous un début de bonne volonté parce que Dieu a pitié de nous? Beaucoup, en effet, recherchant cela et affirmant plus qu'il n'était juste, se sont enfoncés dans des erreurs contraires. (...). Grâce de Dieu et libre–arbitre, bien qu'il semblent s' opposer mutuellement, concordent cependant. Et nous devons les recevoir avec une même fidélité, de peur que, en soustrayant l' homme à l' un des deux, nous ne semblions nous écarter à la règle de foi de l' Église.

e. *Ibid.*, c. 13:

La Grâce de Dieu coopère toujours pour le bien avec notre libre–arbitre, l' aidant, le protégeant et le défendant en tout, de telle sorte que parfois même elle exige ou attend de lui certains efforts de bonne volonté. Pour ne par paraître accorder ses dons à un dormeur ou à un homme totalement oisif, elle cherche, pour ainsi dire, les occasions grâce aux-

quelles, ayant secoué la torpeur de l' homme, la munificence de son don ne semblera pas déraisonnable puisqu'il sera accordé en semblant satisfaire un désir ou un effort. Et néanmoins, la grâce de Dieu demeure toujours gratuite, puisque, avec une générosité inestimable, elle accorde à quelques pauvres petits efforts la gloire de l' immortalité et le don de la béatitude eternelle. En effet, ce n'est pas parce qu'a precédé la foi du brigand sur la Croix qu'il fait affirmer que le bonheur du Paradis ne lui a pas été promis gratuitement.(...) L' homme, dans sa faiblesse, aura beau faire tous les efforts qu'il voudra, il ne pourra pas s'égaler à la récompense future; et avec tous ses efforts, il ne diminue pas la grâce divine, en sorte qu'elle ne demeurerait pas toujours gratuite. C'est pour cela que la Docteur des Gentils, bien qu'il affirme avoir reçu par la grâce de Dieu son degré d' Apôtre –"Par la grâce de Dieu, je suis que je suis", dit-il-proclame pourtant qu'il a répondu à la grâce divine: "et sa grâce en moi ne fuit pas vaine, mais j'ai travaillé plus abondamment que tous les autres non pas moi, mais la grâce de Dieu avec moi" (1 Cor , 15, 10). Lorsqu'il dit *J'ai travaillé*, il désigne l' effort de sa liberté; et en disant *non pas moi, mais la grâce de Dieu*, il montre la force de la protection divine. Et quand il ajoute *avec moi*, il déclare que la grâce a coopéré non pas avec un homme tranquille dans son oisiveté, mais avec quelqu'un qui a réellement peiné."

## VI. *Conclusion: caractérisation de la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien.*

Du temps même du Bienheureux Augustin sa doctrine a produit un étonement (comme celui des moines de Hadrumeda), a produit des adhésions passionnées (comme celle de Prosper d' Aquitaine), ainsi que des hésitations et ensuite résistence (comme celle des centres monastiques de Lerini et Massilia). L'Église oecuménique s'est situé sur cette dernière position, en face de l'enseignement augustinien sur la prédestination.

C'est pourquoi elle n'a jamais confirmé officiellement les sentences données par certains forums autoritatifs de l'Ouest contre la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien sur la prédestination: Ni l'encyclique du pape Célestin I (422–412), qui condamne le soi-disant "semi-pélagianisme de Saint Jean Cassien", ni le "decretum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis" qui comptait être de Gelase le Ier (492–96) et qui classe comme "apocryphe" c.à.d. non authentiquement orthodoxe la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien; ni le synode d'Orange (Arancicana secunda), de 529, qui condamne l'enseignement contraire à celui d' Augustin; aucune de ces formules n'ont pas été reçues par l'Église Oecuménique, qui a gardée l' unique vraie basée sur les deux colonnes de la Révélation divine. Sur elle s'appuie la Théologie Orthodoxe lorsqu'elle accepte la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien, comme la sienne, propre, se gardant tant de la doctrine de Pelage (+vers 420), qui affirme la suffisance de l' homme, que des exagérations d' Augustin qui niait la liberté de l'homme, arrivant au prédestinatianisme absolu.

Répétons ici que l' accusation injuste que Saint Jean Cassien serait "le père et le représentant" le plus important du sémi-pélagianisme s'appuie sur l' affirmation qu'il enseigne que c'est l' homme qui fait le commencement du salut. Mais cette affirmation doit être comprise ainsi que l' a comprise Saint Cassien lorsqu'il a declaré que même la liberté est un don de Dieu; nous avons vû dans quel sens: "Haec omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus". Sa doctrine explique comment c'est possible que la volonté du salut universel de Dieu ne soit accomplie et pourquoi non pas le Créateur mais la créature est responsable de son état.

En même temps la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien est une de plus intéressantes qui ont été formulées sur la prédestinations dans l' epoque de l'oecuménicité de l' Église, dont la richesse et la beauté n' ont pas encore été suffisamment approfondies jusqu' aujourd'hui.

## *A la place d'un épilogue.*

L' hommage apporté au grand hiérarch et théologien d'aujourd'hui, Son Eminence L'Archevêque Méthodios, par ce sujet spécial, m'a donné l' occassion d'évoquer aussi la génération des grands théologiens grecs, qui ont eu une influence importante sur la Théologie Orthodoxe Roumaine, par le compte-rendu de l'étude sur l'orthodoxie de la doctrine de Saint Jean Cassien du grand patrologue D. Balanos, fait en 1937, par Sa Béatitude l' actuel Patriarch de l' Église Orthodoxe Roumaine, le Dr. Justin Moisescu.

C' est aussi la cause de l'éléction de cette étude pour cet événement festive.

Mais il y a encore un événement qui a sollicité ce sujet dans un contexte festive: Nos préoccupations actuelles produites par la coincidence de deux dates: Le rendement de l' hommage à Son Eminence l'Archevêque Méthodios en 1985 et la fête, dans la même année de 1550 ans depuis la mort de Saint Jean Cassien. Je rappelle maintenant à nouveau cet événement que j'ai annoncé de même dans la préface du premier volume de la traduction en roumain des célèbres oeuvres spirituelles de Saint Jean Cassien.

En vue de cette fête spéciale Sa Béatitude le Patriarch Justin Moisescu a donné la bénédiction de publier dans la langue roumaine l'oeuvre spirituelle toute entière du grand ermit du monde, d' origine roumaine.

A cette date festive nous espérons que là, ou deux rochers sculptés depuis plus de quinze siècles –"la pierre écrite", les monuments les autochtones, qui indiquent les frontières de ce "vicus Cassiani"–, là où la crête des montagnes calcareux montre la

grotte appelée par les autochtones "la grotte de Cassien", tandisque les visitateurs de cette place disent qu'ils se trouvent sur "la montagne de Cassien" ou sur "le plateau de Cassien", - Sa Béatitude va mettre un signe qui signifie l' ecclésiasticité de ce nom, afin de confirmer une tradition qui maintient là-bas la présence spirituelle des Cassiens depuis plus d'un millenium et demi d'années.

C' est ainsi que dans cette même année, 1985, de l' hommage de Son Eminence l'Archevêque Méthodios des Thyateires et de la Grande Bretagne il y aura encore une fête: Non seulement la fête de Dobroudja, mais celle de l' Église Orthodoxe toute entière; non seulement celle de toute l'Église Orthodoxe, mais aussi celle de Marseille; et encore non seulement celle de Marseille, mais aussi celle de toute l' Église Occidentale, qui était une avec celle de l' Orient, dans l' époque heureuse de Saint Jean Cassien.

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# Η ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΗ ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΣ (381)

## Η ΚΟΡΩΝΙΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΕΠΙΤΥΧΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΚΑΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΩΝ, ΠΡΟΣΠΑΘΕΙΩΝ, ΑΓΩΝΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΕΡΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ Μ. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ

Ὑπὸ

*Κωνσταντίνου Β. Καλλινίκου*

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Ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς εἰρηνεύσεως τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξορίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκοπάς των τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐναγωνίως ἀνέμενεν ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος καὶ τόσον διακαῶς ἐπεπόθει καὶ ἤλπιζεν ἀκραδάντως ὅτι θὰ ἀνατείλῃ, ἀνέτειλεν αἰθρίως[1]. Μόνον ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος δὲν ηὐδόκησε νὰ ἴδῃ ταύτην διὰ τῶν σωματικῶν του ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον διὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων του ὀμμάτων. Περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 378 ἐξεδήμησε πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. Ἤδη, μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τοῦ Οὐάλεντος ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ 378, πρὸς ἀντιμετώπισιν τῶν Γότθων, οἵτινες ἔφθασαν καὶ μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν αὐτῆς ταύτης τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκ Ρώμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας Πέτρος «μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου τοῦ Ρώμης ἐπισκόπου, βεβαιούντων τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου κατάστασιν»[2].

Ὁ Οὐάλης, κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα, πρὶν ἀναχωρήσῃ ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας, φαίνεται, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ 377 πιθανώτατα ἢ ἀρχὰς τοῦ 378 διέταξε λόγῳ τοῦ κινδύνου τῶν Γότθων τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐξορίας τῶν διὰ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν των ἐξορισθέντων ἐπισκόπων, ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν[3]. Μὲ τὸ διάταγμα τοῦτο, φαίνεται, ὅτι δὲν ἐπέστρεψαν εἰσέτι εἰς τὰς ἐπισκοπάς των μεταξὺ ἄλλων καὶ οἱ Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιος, Σαμοσάτων Εὐσέβιος καὶ Ἐδέσσης Βάρσης. Περὶ τοῦ Μελετίου ρητῶς ἀναφέρει ὁ ἱστορικὸς Σωκράτης, ὅτι ὁ Γρατιανὸς ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν «Μελίτιος δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀνάκλησιν, πάλιν ὑπὸ Οὐάλεντος ἐξορισθείς, ὕστερον ἐπὶ Γρατιανοῦ ἀνεκλήθη»[4]. Μετὰ τὴν ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 216 ἐπιστολήν, ἥτις ἐγράφη περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 376, οὐδεμία ἐπιστολὴ παρεδόθη τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου πρὸς αὐτόν. Περὶ τοῦ Σαμοσάτων Εὐσεβίου ἔχομεν ὡσαύτως ρητὴν μαρτυρίαν: «καὶ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Σαμοσατέα Εὐσέβιον, Γρατιανὸς τῆς Θρακικῆς ἐξορίας ἀφέμενος, πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ποίμνιον ἐξαπέστειλε»[5]. Ἡ τελευταία πρὸς τὸν Σαμοσάτων Εὐσέβιον ἐπιστολὴ

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1. Πρβλ. ἐπ. 264: «μέχρι τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν αὐτὸς οἶδεν ὁ δίκαιος Κριτὴς πότε ἀποδώσει. Ἀποδώσει γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ παντελές», ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 331, 3 ἑξ. καὶ ἐπ. 267: «παράσχοι δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι περί τε τῶν λοιπῶν συλλειτουργῶν σου καὶ τῶν συναθλητῶν ἃ εὐχόμεθα...», ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 336, 19 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 140, 1, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 167, 28–34 καὶ 166, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 191, 13–16.

2. Σωκρ., Ἐ.Ἱ., 4, 37. Πρβλ. καὶ Σωζομ.,Ἐ.Ἱ., 6, 39: «Οἱ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν τὸ δόγμα τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου ζηλοῦντες, πάλιν ἀνεθάρρουν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ κατὰ Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. Ἐπανελθόντι δὲ τότε Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου, τά τε ἐν Νικαίᾳ δόξαντα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν κυρούντων, παρέδωκαν τὰς ἐκκλησίας».

3. «tum vero Valentis bella, quae ecclesiis inferebat, in hostem coepta converti, seraque paenitentia episcopos et presbyteros relaxari exiliis ac de metallis resolvi monachos iubet», Rufin. h.e. XI 13· πρβλ. καὶ Hieron. Chron.: «Valens de Antiochia exire conpulsus sera paenitentia nostros de exiliis revocat», Euseb. Werke VII, 1, σελ. 249, 3 ἑξ., ἐκδ. Helm (Ἀκαδημ. Βερολ.), πρβλ. καὶ Orosius VII 33, 12, Σωκρ. 4, 35 καὶ 37, Σωζομ. 5, 37, 17 καὶ 39, 1. Κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον «Valens de Antiochia exire compulsus», ἔνθ. ἀν., καὶ τὸν Ὀρόσιον «egressus de Antiochia», VII 33, 12 ὁ Οὐάλης ἐξέδωκε τὸν περὶ ἐπιστροφῆς νόμον κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ 378. Κατὰ τὸ Ἐδεσσινὸν Χρονικόν, ἐκδ. Assemani, Bibl. orientalis I 398 «Anno Graecorum 689 (=378 μ.Χ.) Decembris die 27. reversos esse orthodoxos ad ecclesiam Edessenam», φαίνεται ὅτι ὁ νόμος ἐξεδόθη κατὰ τὸ 378. Κατὰ τοὺς *Rauschen*, Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius, Freiburg i. Br. 1897, σελ. 28, ὑποσ. 6, καὶ *Seeck*, Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt, τόμ. 5ος, 111, 8, Anhang 469, ὁ νόμος ἐξεδόθη κατὰ τὸ 377. Κατὰ τοὺς ὑπολογισμοὺς ὅμως τοῦ ἡμετέρου Διδασκάλου *Hans Lietzmann*, Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die Jahre 1–2000 nach Christus. Berlin 1934 Leipzig (Sammlung Göschen 1085), σελ. 21, τὸ ἔτος 689 ἀντιστοιχεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἔτος 378. Ἐὰν πράγματι οἱ ὑπολογισμοὶ τοῦ Lietzmann εἶναι ὀρθοὶ καὶ τὸ ἔτος 689 ἀντιστοιχῇ πρὸς τὸ ἔτος 378, τότε ἐξηγεῖται, διατί οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ἔχομεν περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 378, δι' ἣς νὰ πανηγυρίζῃ τὸ χαρμόσυνον γεγονὸς τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων εἰς τὰς ἐπισκοπάς των, ἁπλούστατα, διότι οὗτος δὲν ὑπῆρχε πλέον ἐν τῇ ζωῇ. Πρβλ. ἡμετέραν διατριβήν, Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς ἐρεύνης τοῦ χρόνου συγγραφῆς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, «Ἐκκλ. Φάρος», τόμ. ΞΑ (1979), Κεφ. Β', σσ. 39–48 καὶ 125–128, Ἀνατύπου σσ. 23–32 καὶ 109–112. Νέον στοιχεῖον ὑποστηρίζον τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ μου ἄποψίν μου περὶ τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου.

4. Σωκράτ. 5, 5.

5. *Mansi*, Conc. omn. amplissima coll. III 596.

τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 268, γραφεῖσα κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα περὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 378, εὑρίσκει αὐτὸν ἐν Θράκῃ, ἐν ἐξορίᾳ ὄντα: «ὅπου γε καὶ τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν πανταχόθεν ὑμῖν, ὡς ἀκούω, τοῦ πολέμου περιχυθέντος σῴον διεφύλαξε. Καὶ φυλάξειέ γε πρὸς τὸ ἑξῆς ὁ δυνατὸς Θεὸς ἡμῖν, ἐὰν ἔτι ζῶμεν, τὸ πολύευκτον θέαμα, ἢ τοῖς γοῦν ἄλλοις οἳ τὴν σὴν ἐπάνοδον οὕτως ἀναμένουσιν ὡς οἰκείαν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν. Πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς δάκρυσι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τοῖς στεναγμοῖς οἷς ἐπὶ σοὶ πάντες στενάζουσι προσχὼν ὁ φιλάνθρωπος διαφυλάξει σε τῷ βίῳ, ἕως ἂν δῷ τὴν χάριν τοῖς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας δεομένοις αὐτοῦ»[1].

Ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἐδέσσης Βάρσην ἀμφότεραι αἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπευθυνόμεναι ἐπιστολαὶ ὑπ' ἀριθμ. 264 καὶ 267 ἐγράφησαν, ὅταν οὗτος εὑρίσκετο ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ. Ἆρα οὗτοι ἐπέστρεψαν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου. Ὡς πρὸς τὸν Σαμοσάτων Εὐσέβιον καὶ τὸν Ἐδέσσης Βάρσην, φαίνεται, ὅτι ἐπέστρεψαν κατὰ τὴν 27ην Δεκεμβρίου τοῦ 378, συμφώνως πρὸς τὸ Ἐδεσσινὸν Χρονικόν, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀναφέρει: «Anno Graecorum 689 (=378 μ.Χ.) Decembris die 27 reversos esse orthodoxos ad ecclesiam Edessenam»[2].

Ὁ Γρατιανὸς εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Οὐάλεντος ἐν Σιρμίῳ εὑρισκόμενος «ἅμα τῷ νέῳ Οὐαλεντινιανῷ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος, καταγνούς τε τοῦ θείου Οὐάλεντος τῆς περὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὠμότητος, τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐξορισθέντας ἀνεκάλει»[3]. Παρὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ Φιλοστοργίου: «ὁ δὲ Γρατιανὸς ἐκόψατο μὲν τὸν θεῖον, ἐθρήνησε δὲ τὴν Ρωμαίων συμφοράν»[4], φαίνεται, ὅτι δὲν ἐθρήνησε τόσον τὸν θάνατον τοῦ θείου του ὅσον πράγματι τὴν τῶν Ρωμαίων συμφοράν, ὡς μαρτυροῦσιν ὁ Εὐνάπιος: «καὶ γὰρ ὑπῆν τι ζηλοτυπίας αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμβασιλεύοντας, οἳ παῖδες μὲν ἦσαν ἀδελφοῦ, -τὴν βασιλείαν δὲ διῃρεῖσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐδόκουν, τὴν διανομὴν οὐκ ἀνενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖον»[5] καὶ ὁ Ζώσιμος: «ὃ δὲ οὐ σφόδρα μὲν λυπηρῶς τὴν τοῦ θείου τελευτὴν ἤνεγκεν· ἦν γάρ τις ὑποψία πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτοῖς»[6], παρὰ τὴν ἀντίθετον γνώμην τοῦ Rauschen[7]. Ὀλίγον μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Γρατιανὸς ἐθέσπισε νόμον: «μετὰ ἀδείας ἑκάστην τῶν θρησκειῶν ἀδιορίστως ἐν τοῖς εὐκτηρίοις συνάγεσθαι· μόνους δὲ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἴργειν Εὐνομιανούς, Φωτεινιανοὺς καὶ Μανιχαίους»[8].

Ὁ Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ Σωζομενὸς ἀναφέρουν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ Μελετίου εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας «δεινή τις τῷ λαῷ φιλονεικία συνέβη», διότι δύο ὀρθόδοξοι ἐπίσκοποι, ὁ Μελέτιος καὶ ὁ Παυλῖνος, ὑπῆρχον διεκδικοῦντες τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας. Ὁ λαὸς ἐζήτει σύνθρονον τοῦ Παυλίνου, ὅστις δὲν ἐξωρίσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐάλεντος καὶ παρέμενεν ὡς ἐπίσκοπος, χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ Λούκιφερ τοῦ Καλάρεως, μερίδος μικρᾶς τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, «γενέσθαι Μελέτιον ἠξίουν. Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν τὰ Παυλίνου φρονούντων, καὶ τὴν Μελετίου χειροτονίαν διαβαλλόντων, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀρειανῶν ἐπισκόπων γεγενημένην, βίᾳ τὸ σπουδαζόμενον εἰς ἔργον ἦγον οἱ Μελετίου ἐπαινέται. Πλῆθος γὰρ οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ὄντες, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν θρόνον ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτόν. Ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ χαλεπαίνοντος, καὶ στάσεως προσδοκωμένης, θαυμαστή τις ἐκράτησε βουλὴ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἄγουσα. Συνεδόκει γὰρ ὅρκους λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἐπισκοπεῖν τὸν ἐνθάδε θρόνον ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι νομιζομένων, ἢ προσδοκωμένων· ὧν ἦσαν ἕτεροι πέντε, καὶ Φλαβιανός, ὡς οὔτε σπουδάσουσι, οὔτε χειροτονίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γινομένης, ἀνέξονται ἐπισκοπεῖν, ἐς ὅσον Παυλῖνος ἢ Μελέτιος τῷ βίῳ περιῶσι· συγχωρεῖν δὲ θατέρου τελευτήσαντος, τὸν ἕτερον μόνον τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἔχειν. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ δοθέντων τῶν ὅρκων, σχεδὸν τὸ πᾶν ὁμονόει πλῆθος· ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν Λουκίφερος ἔτι διεφέροντο, ὡς ὑπὸ ἑτεροδόξων Μελετίου χειροτονηθέντος»[9].

Ἑτέραν παραλλαγήν, πλέον ἐκτενεστέραν, τῶν συμβεβηκότων τούτων ἀναφέρει ὁ Θεοδώρητος[10]. Ὁ Σαπώρ, λέγει, ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Γρατιανοῦ, ἔφθασεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν κομίζων καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος (Κῶδ. Θεοδ. XVI 1, 2· XVI 5, 6), καθ' ὃν ἐκέλευε «τοὺς ἑλληλαμένους ποιμένας ἐπανελθεῖν... καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀποδοθῆναι ποιμνίοις καὶ τοὺς θείους οἴκους παραδοθῆναι τοῖς τὴν Δαμάσου κοινωνίαν προαιρουμένοις... καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ μὲν ἔθνει τοῦτό γε ἀδηρίτως ἐγένετο.

1. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 268, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 337, 7 ἑξ.

2. Assemani, Bibl. orient. I 398.

3. Σωκράτ. 5, 2, πρβλ. καὶ Σωζομ. 7, 1, 3: «Γρατιανὸς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ πᾶσαν τὴν Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν διέπων, οὐκ ἐπαινέσας τὸν θεῖον τῆς γνώμης, ἣν περὶ τοὺς ἑτέρως αὐτῷ δοξάζοντας διετέλεσεν ἔχων, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν φεύγειν καταδικασθεῖσι, τὴν κάθοδον ἀπέδωκε» καὶ Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 2: «νόμον γὰρ ἔγραψε καὶ τοὺς ἐληλαμένους ποιμένας ἐπανελθεῖν κελεύων». Ζωναρ. 13, 16, 8. Κῶδ. Θεοδ., XVI 1, 2, XVI 5, 6.

4. Φιλοστ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 9, 17, σ. 124, 13 ἑξ., ἔκδ. Bidez.

5. Εὐναπ. ἀπ. 41 κατὰ Seeck, Gesch. Unterg. Ant. Welt V 474, σημ. 33.

6. Ζώσιμ. 4, 24, 4, ὡσαύτως κατὰ Seeck αὐτόθι.

7. *Rauschen*, Jahrbücher κλπ., σ. 19.

8. Σωκρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 2, 1. Κατὰ τὸν Βαλέζιον: Valesii annotationes εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐν *Migne*, P.G., 67, 567 C, ὑποσ. 16, ὁ νόμος οὗτος σήμερον δὲν ὑπάρχει. Γίνεται ὅμως περὶ αὐτοῦ μνεία ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοδοσιανοῦ κώδικος περὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως: «Hanc Gratiani legem memorat etiam Sozomenus in lib. VII, capite 1, et Theodoritus in libro V, capite 2, qui Saporem magistrum militum a Gratiano in Orientis partes missum esse dicit, ut eam legem exsecutioni mandaret. Id autem contigit anno Christi 378. Ea lex Gratiani hodie non exstat. Ejus tamen videtur fieri mentio in lege quinta, Codice Theodosiano de fide catholica». Πρβλ. καὶ Σωζομ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 7, 1, 3: «καὶ νόμον ἔθετο μετὰ ἀδείας ἑκάστους θρησκεύειν ὡς βούλονται, καὶ ἐκκλησιάζειν, πλὴν Μανιχαίων, καὶ τῶν τὰ Φωτεινοῦ καὶ Εὐνομίου φρονούντων». Ζωναρ. 13, 16, 8. Κῶδ. Θεοδ. XVI 1, 2. 5, 6. Ambr. ep. 10, 12, MPL 16, 944. Seeck, Gesch. Unt. Ant. Welt V 122, 7, 477.

9. Σωζομ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 7, 3, 4. Πρβλ. καὶ Σωκρ. 5, 5, 6.

10. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., V, 2-16 278, 15-282, 8, ἔκδ. Parmentier. Τὰ χωρία: 5, 2, 2.3, 9-16, σσ. 278, 17-19. 279, 7-9. 280, 23-282, 8.

ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δὲ τῇ τῆς Ἑῴας ἡγουμένῃ ἔρις ἐγένετο περὶ τοῦδε τοιάδε». Οἱ «τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὑπεραγωνιζόμενοι δογμάτων» ἦσαν διῃρημένοι εἰς τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τοῦ Παυλίνου καὶ εἰς τοὺς τοῦ Μελετίου. Ἐκτὸς τούτων ὑπῆρχον καὶ οἱ ὀπαδοὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλιναρίου, τοῦ ὁποίου ὁ Θεοδώρητος ἐν συντομίᾳ ἀναλύει τὴν διδασκαλίαν. Μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ Σαπὼρ καὶ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπόδειξιν τοῦ νόμου *«ἰσχυρίζετο μὲν ὁ Παυλῖνος αὐτὸς εἶναι τῆς Δαμάσου μερίδος, ἰσχυρίζετο δὲ καὶ Ἀπολινάριος κατακρύπτων τὴν νόσον· ὁ δὲ θεῖος Μελέτιος ἡσυχῇ καθῆστο, τῆς ἐκείνων ἀνεχόμενος ἔριδος. Φλαβιανὸς δὲ ὁ σοφώτατος, τῷ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐγκατειλεγμένος ἔτι χορῷ, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τὸν Παυλῖνον ἔφη τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπαΐοντος· "εἰ τὴν Δαμάσου, ὦ φιλότης, κοινωνίαν ἀσπάζῃ, ἐπίδειξον ἡμῖν σαφῶς τὴν τῶν δογμάτων συγγένειαν· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μίαν τὴν τῆς τριάδος οὐσίαν ὁμολογῶν τὰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις διαρρήδην κηρύττει, σὺ δὲ ἄντικρυς τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀναιρεῖς τὴν τριάδα. δεῖξον δὴ οὖν τῶν δογμάτων τὴν συμφωνίαν καὶ λάβε τὰς ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὸν νόμον"*. οὕτως ἐκεῖνον τοῖς ἐλέγχοις ἐπιστομίσας, *πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολινάριον ἔφη· "θαυμάζω σε, ὦ φιλότης, οὕτως ἀναίδην τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαχόμενον, καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενον ὡς ὁ θαυμάσιος Δάμασος τελείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ἀνειλῆφθαί φησιν, σὺ δὲ τοὐναντίον λέγων διατελεῖς· τὸν γὰρ νοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον τῆς σωτηρίας ἀποστερεῖς. εἰ δὲ ψευδῆ φαμεν ταῦτά σου κατηγοροῦντες, νῦν γοῦν τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ τεχθεῖσαν ἀρνήθητι καινοτομίαν καὶ τὴν Δαμάσου στέρξον διδασκαλίαν καὶ τοὺς θείους λάβε σηκούς"*. *ὁ μὲν οὖν σοφώτατος Φλαβιανὸς τοῖς ἀληθέσι λόγοις τὴν ἐκείνων κατέπαυσε παρρησίαν. Μελέτιος δέ, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πραότατος, φιλοφρόνως ἅμα καὶ ἠπίως ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Παυλῖνον· "ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ τῶνδε τῶν προβάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ τῶν προβάτων ἐνεχείρισε κύριος καὶ σὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναδέδεξαι τὴν φροντίδα, κοινωνεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰ θρέμματα, συνάψωμεν, ὦ φιλότης, τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλύσωμεν διαμάχην· κοινῇ δὲ τὰ πρόβατα νέμοντες κοινὴν αὐτοῖς προσενέγκωμεν θεραπείαν. εἰ δὲ ὁ μέσος θῶκος τὴν ἔριν γεννᾷ, ἐγὼ καὶ ταύτην ἐξελάσαι πειράσομαι. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ θεῖον προτεθηκὼς εὐαγγέλιον, ἑκατέρωθεν ἡμᾶς καθῆσθαι παρεγγυῶ. καὶ εἰ μὲν πρῶτος ἐγὼ δεξαίμην τοῦ βίου τὸ πέρας, μόνος σχήσεις, ὦ φιλότης, τὴν τῆς ποίμνης ἡγεμονίαν· εἰ δὲ σὺ πρότερος τοῦτο πάθοις, ἐγὼ πάλιν εἰς δύναμιν τῶν προβάτων ἐπιμελήσομαι"*. *ταῦτα ἠπίως μὲν ἅμα καὶ φιλοφρόνως ὁ θεῖος εἶπε Μελέτιος, ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος οὐκ ἔστερξεν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς κριτὴς τῶν εἰρημένων γενόμενος τῷ μεγάλῳ Μελετίῳ τὰς ἐκκλησίας παρέδωκεν, ὁ δὲ Παυλῖνος διέμεινε τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποκριθέντων προβάτων ἡγούμενος»*.

Κατὰ τὸν Θεοδώρητον[1] ὁ Μελέτιος καὶ ὁ Σαμοσάτων Εὐσέβιος ἐπιστρέψαντες εἰς τὰς ἕδρας των ἐπεδόθησαν καὶ εἰς χειροτονίας ἐπισκόπων. Καὶ ὁ μὲν «θεῖος Μελέτιος» «κατέστησε ποιμένα Ταρσῶν» τὸν Διόδωρον, ὅστις ὁμοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Φλαβιανοῦ, ἐνῷ ἦσαν εἰσέτι λαϊκοί, ἠγήθησαν μετὰ τὴν ἐξορίαν τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας Εὐσταθίου τῆς μεγαλυτέρας μερίδος τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ εἰσηγηταὶ τῆς ἀντιφωνικῆς μελῳδίας, «καὶ τὸ Κιλίκων αὐτῷ ἐνεχείρισεν ἔθνος». Ἐνεπιστεύθη «τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν ἐπιμέλειαν» τῆς Ἀπαμείας εἰς τὸν Ἰωάννην, τὸν δὲ συνεργὸν τοῦ Ἰωάννου «ἀξιέπαινον Στέφανον» εἰς Γερμανικείαν «ἀπέστειλεν ἰατρὸν ἀλεξίκακον». Ὁ δὲ «μέγας Εὐσέβιος» ὁ Σαμοσάτων ἐχειροτόνησε Βεροίας τὸν Ἀκάκιον, ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τὸν Θεόδοτον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ Χαλκίδος. Κύρου τὸν Ἰσίδωρον καὶ τὸν Εὐλόγιον ποιμένα τῆς Ἐδέσσης, διότι ὁ Βάρσης «ἤδη τοῦ βίου τέλος ἐδέδεκτο» καὶ τελευταῖον ἐπίσκοπον «Μάριν τῇ Δολιχῇ κεχειροτόνηκε».

Μὲ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ Μελετίου εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τῶν καθηκόντων καὶ τῆς ὅλης ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας δράσεως αὐτοῦ ἐπραγματοποιήθη ὁ διαπρύσιος πόθος τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, τὸν ὁποῖον διετύπωσε πρὸς τὸν Μ. Ἀθανάσιον *«ὅτι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀνατολῇ δι' εὐχῆς καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς παντοίως αὐτῷ συνημμένοις ἐπιθυμητὸν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν διέποντα τοῦ Κυρίου, τῇ τε πίστει ἀνεπίληπτον ὄντα καὶ τῷ βίῳ οὐδεμίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδεχόμενον σύγκρισιν καὶ τῷ τοῦ παντός, ὡς εἰπεῖν, σώματος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας αὐτὸν προεστάναι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οἷον μερῶν ἀποτμήματα εἶναι. Ὥστε πανταχόθεν ἀναγκαῖόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ συμφέρον τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ συναφθῆναι τοὺς ἄλλους, ὥσπερ τοῖς μεγάλοις τῶν ποταμῶν τοὺς ἐλάττους, περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους γενέσθαι τινὰ οἰκονομίαν τὴν κἀκείνοις πρέπουσαν καὶ τὸν λαὸν εἰρηνεύουσαν»*[2]. Ὡσαύτως ἱκανοποιήθη καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία του, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐξέφρασεν εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἐπιφάνιον ἐπιστολήν του: *«Τὴν δὲ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Ἐκκλησίαν (λέγω δὴ τὴν τῷ αὐτῷ φρονήματι συμβαίνουσαν) δῴη ποτὲ ὁ Κύριος ἰδεῖν αὐτὴν ἡνωμένην. Κινδυνεύει γὰρ αὕτη μάλιστα δεδέχθαι τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ μνησικακοῦντος αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν προσηγορίαν ἐμπολιτεύσαθαι. Καὶ τέτμηται μὲν ἡ αἵρεσις πρὸς τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν, τέτμηται δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡ ὀρθότης. Ἡμεῖς δέ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος παρρησιασάμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸν καλὸν ἐκεῖνον διαθλήσας ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν Κωνσταντίου ὁ αἰδεσιμώτατος Μελέτιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ἡ ἐμὴ Ἐκκλησία κοινωνικὸν ὑπεραγαπήσασα αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν καρτερὰν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀνένδοτον ἔνστασιν, καὶ ἔχομεν αὐτὸν κοινωνικὸν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ ἕξομέν γε, ἐὰν ὁ Θεὸς θέλῃ. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ μακαριώτατος Πάπας Ἀθανάσιος, ἐπιστὰς ἀπὸ Ἀλε-*

1. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 4-7, σσ. 282, 15–283, 15. Πρβλ. καὶ ἡμετέραν ἐργασίαν: «Τὸ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σχίσμα καὶ ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος», ἐν «Κληρονομίᾳ», 13 (1981), Α΄, 110 ἑξ.

2. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 67, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 100, 10 ἑξ. Ἐπιστολαὶ Μ. Βασιλείου πρὸς Μελέτιον Ἀντιοχείας: 57 89, 1, 2 120 121, 1–3 καὶ 216, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 91, 24–92, 7. 118, 29 ἕως 119, 22. 147, 29 – 148, 14. 156, 2–15. 254, 8–29. Μνεία τοῦ Μελετίου γίνεται ἐπίσης εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς 92, 1 ὡς συναποστολεύς, 95 98 99, 2.3 210, 5 214, 2 258, 3 266, 2, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 122, 1 127, 4 129, 31 131, 40 132, 15 247, 3 251, 30.33 252, 7 317, 28–318, 12 335, 30–336, 4.

*ζανδρείας, πάνυ ἐβούλετο αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν καταπραχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ κακίᾳ συμβούλων εἰς ἕτερον καιρὸν ὑπερετέθη αὐτῶν ἡ συνάφεια· ὡς οὐκ ὤφειλε. Τῶν δὲ τελευταῖον ἐπεισελθόντων οὐδενὸς οὐδέπω τὴν κοινωνίαν προσηκάμεθα* (=παρεδέχθημεν, ἀόρ. α' τοῦ προσίημι, προσηκάμην), *οὐκ ἐκείνους κρίνοντες ἀναξίους, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἔχοντες τούτου καταγινώσκειν. Καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν ἠκούσαμεν περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ προσηκάμεθα, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντικαταστῆναι τοῖς κατηγόροις τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους... Ὥστε οὔπω δυνάμεθα αὐτοῖς ἐπιστέλλειν, τιμιώτατε ἀδελφέ, οὔτε ἀναγκάζεσθαι εἰς τοῦτο ὀφείλομεν. Πρέπον δ' ἂν εἴη τῇ εἰρηνικῇ σου προθέσει μὴ τὸ μὲν συνάπτειν, τὸ δὲ διασπᾶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ προϋπαρχούσῃ ἑνώσει τὰ κεχωρισμένα προσάγειν... Ὥστε πρῶτον μὲν εὔξαι, ἔπειτα καί, ὅση δύναμις, παρακάλεσον ῥίψαντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν ἰσχὺν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ καθελεῖν τὸ φρύαγμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμβῆναι αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους»*[1].

**Ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σύνοδος (379).** Μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ Μελετίου εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν συνῆλθεν ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰς πληροφορίας τοῦ Νύσσης Γρηγορίου[2] τὸν Αὔγουστον κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα τοῦ 379 ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν Μελέτιον σύνοδος, ἐν ᾗ παρέστησαν περὶ τοὺς 153 ἐπίσκοποι, φίλοι οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοϊδεάται τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου[3]. Ὁ Schaefer[4] πολὺ ὀρθῶς γνωματεύει: καὶ Σύνοδος (381). Μεταθανάτιος θρίαμβος τῆς Οἰκουμενικῆς «Ὡς τὴν ὡραιοτάτην ἐπιτυχίαν τοῦ βιοτικοῦ του ἔργου (ἤτοι τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου) θεωρῶ τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σύνοδον τῆς Συρίας, ἥτις, κατὰ τὴν πληροφορίαν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης, περίπου 9 μῆνας μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Βασιλείου ἔλαβε χώραν (Ὀκτώβριον τοῦ 379)... Αἱ ἰδέαι τοῦ Βασιλείου δὲν κατῆλθον μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν τάφον, ἀλλ' ἐξηκολούθησαν ζῶσαι εἰς τοὺς φίλους καὶ ὀπαδούς του». Πράγματι ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη ἀπέδειξεν, ὅτι ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ὅλων ἐφλέγετο ἀπὸ τὴν φλόγα, τὴν ὁποίαν ἤναψεν ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος, τῆς εἰρηνεύσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ὁμοφροσύνης τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων καὶ τῆς δημιουργίας ἑνιαίου ἐν Ἀνατολῇ μετώπου. Ἡγέτης τώρα κατέστη ὁ τόσον ὑπὸ τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ἀγαπηθεὶς καὶ ὑποστηριχθεὶς Μελέτιος, συνεργοί του δὲ Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης, Ἀμφιλόχιος ὁ Ἰκονίου, Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσῶν, ὁ Θεολόγος Γρηγόριος, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι καὶ ὁμοϊδεάται τοῦ ἀκαμάτου ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῆς Νικαίας ἀγωνιστοῦ, τοῦ οἰκουμενιστοῦ καὶ νοσταλγοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Μ. Βασιλείου. Καὶ συνεχίζει ὁ Σαῖφερ: «Αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ μεγάλη ἀξία τῆς συνελεύσεως ταύτης τῶν Νεονικαέων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, τῆς ὁποίας ἡ ἐπίτευξις δὲν πρέπει νὰ καταγραφῇ μόνον εἰς τὰς εὐνοϊκὰς χρονικὰς συνθήκας, ἀλλὰ κυρίως εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ ὁλόκληρα ἔτη ἐπιδιώξεις τοῦ Βασιλείου διὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τῆς Νικαίας»[5]. Δυνάμεθα δὲ νὰ προσθέσωμεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου εἰς τὸ «κήρυγμα» καὶ «τὴν πίστιν τῆς Νικαίας».

Παραλείπω τὴν θέσιν τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἔναντι τῆς Δύσεως καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τονίζω μόνον, ὅτι κατὰ πᾶσαν πιθανότητα δὲν θὰ ἦτο εὐνοϊκή, ἐὰν λάβωμεν ὑπ' ὄψιν ὅτι πρόεδρος αὐτῆς ἦτο ὁ Μελέτιος, ὁ μὴ ὑπὸ τῆς Δύσεως καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀναγνωριζόμενος ὡς ὁ κανονικὸς ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας. Ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ πολιτικὴ ἠκολουθήθη καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, κατὰ τὴν προεδρίαν τοῦ Μελετίου εἰς τὴν δευτέραν Οἰκουμενικὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τοῦ 381 σύνοδον, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν δὲν προσεκλήθησαν, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ἀχολίου ἢ Ἀσχολίου Θεσσαλονίκης, οὔτε οἱ Δυτικοὶ οὔτε καὶ οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐπίσκοποι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὀφείλομεν νὰ φέρωμεν εἰς μνήμην ὅσα ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος γράφει πρὸς Εὐσέβιον τὸν Σαμοσάτων: *«Ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Διομήδους ἐπέρχεται λέγειν· "Μὴ ὄφελες λίσσεσθαι, διότι, φησίν, ἀγήνωρ (=ἰσχυρογνώμων, ὑπεροπτικὸς) ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνήρ". Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεραπευόμενα τὰ ὑπερήφανα ἤθη ἑαυτῶν ὑπεροπτικώτερα γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. Καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν μὲν ἱλασθῇ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν, ποίας ἑτέρας προσθήκης δεόμεθα; Ἐὰν δὲ ἐπι-*

1. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 258, 3, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 317, 20–318, 7.

2. Γρηγ. Νύσσης, Εἰς τὸν βίον τῆς Ὁσίας Μακρίνης «Ἕνατος ἦν μετὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο (ἤτοι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου) μήν, ἢ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, καὶ σύνοδος ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν πόλιν ἠθροίζετο, ἧς καὶ ἡμεῖς μετέσχομεν», ΜΕΠ 46, 974 D.

3. Πρβλ. τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς τὰς ὑπογραφὰς τῶν πρακτικῶν τῆς συνόδου ταύτης παρὰ *Merenda*, Opusc. Damasi 205 κατὰ *Schäfer J.*, Basilius des Grossen Beziehungen zum Abendlande, Münster i.W. 1909, σ. 201, ὑποσ. 1. Ὁ Μ.Βασίλειος εἰς τὸ πρωτόκολλον τῆς 92ας ἐπ. του πρὸς Ἰταλοὺς καὶ Γάλλους ἀναφέρει 32 ὀνόματα: Μελέτιος, Εὐσέβιος, Βασίλειος, Βάσσος, Γρηγόριος, Πελάγιος, Παῦλος, Ἄνθιμος, Θεόδοτος, Βῖτος, Ἀβραάμιος, Ἰοβῖνος, Ζήνων, Θεοδώρητος, Μαρκιανός, Βάραχος, Ἀβραάμιος, Λιβάνιος, Θαλάσσιος, Ἰωσήφ, Βοηθός, Ἀτρεῖος, Θεόδοτος, Εὐστάθιος, Βαρσούμας, Ἰωάννης, Χοσσορόης, Ἰωσάκης, Νάρσης, Μάρις, Γρηγόριος, Δαφνός. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 92, 1, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 121, 35–122, 6. Πρβλ. καὶ ἡμετ. διατρ. «Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα κλπ.», σσ. 48–57 καὶ 115/16 ἀνατύπου καὶ «Ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος ὡς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς πολιτικὸς» ἐν «Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ Θεολογίᾳ», Ε' (1984), σσ. 239–240, ὑποσ. 16. Εἰς τὸ πρωτόκολλον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Ρώμης Λιβερίου πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδονιανούς, ὡς καλεῖ ὁ Σωκράτης (Ἐ. Ἱ. 4, 12, ΜΕΠ 67, 489 BC) τοὺς Ὁμοιουσιαστάς, κάλλιον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀνατολικούς, διότι μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχουν καὶ πολλοὶ Ὀρθόδοξοι, τοῦ 366, μνημονεύονται 64 ἐπίσκοποι. Εἶναι δύσκολον νὰ καθορίσωμεν τὰς ἐπισκοπὰς τῶν περισσοτέρων ἐξ αὐτῶν.

4. *Schäfer J.*, Basilius des Grossen Beziehungen zum Abendlande, Münster i.W. 1909, 200: «Als schönsten Erfolg seiner Lebensarbeit betrachte ich die Synode von Antiochien in Syrien, die nach dem Berichte Gregors von Nyssa (Gregor. Nyss., Vita Macrinae II 187 D) etwa neun Monate nach dem Tode des Basilius stattfand (Oktober 379)... Die Gedanken des Basilius waren nicht mit ihm ins Grab, sondern lebten in seinen Freunden und Anhängern fort». Πρβλ. καὶ *Κονιδάρη, Γ.*, Ὁ Μέγας Βασίλειος πρότυπον Οἰκουμενικοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ Ἡγέτου, Ἀθῆναι 1970, σ. 73 ἑξ., ἔνθα τὸ ἑξ ἀβλεψίας τυπογραφικῆς 279 νὰ γίνῃ 379, καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Ἡ Β΄ Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος (381). Μεταθανάτιος θρίαμβος τῆς Οἰκουμενικῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Πολιτικῆς τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου († 378) ἐν «Θεολογίᾳ» 55, 1984, τεῦχος 1, σ. 55–81. Πρβλ. καὶ *Ritter A.M.*, Das Konzil κλπ., σ. 31/32 καὶ 60/61 ἑξ.

5. *Schäfer*, αὐτόθι: «Das ist der grosse Wert dieser Versammlung der Jungnicaener des Orients, deren Zustandekommen nicht nur den günstigen Zeitumständen zuzuschreiben ist, sondern vor allem dem jahrelangen Werben des Basilius für den nicaenischen Gedanken», σ. 201.

*μείνῃ ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος; Οἱ τὸ ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται, ψευδέσι δὲ ὑπονοίαις προειλημμένοι ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ· πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικίσαντες, τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτός, ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ σχήματος ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ κορυφαίῳ· περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον παραινίξασθαι ὅτι οὔτε ἴσασι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὔτε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἂν μανθάνοιεν καταδέχονται, καθόλου δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν ταπεινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι μηδὲ ἀξίωμα κρίνειν ὑπερηφανίαν, ἁμάρτημα καὶ μόνον ἀρκοῦν ἔχθραν ποιῆσαι εἰς Θεόν»*[1]. Ὡσαύτως χαρακτηριστικὰ εἶναι καὶ ὅσα ἔγραφε πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Πέτρον τὸν Β' (373–380): *«διηγήσατο (τ.ἔ. ὁ πρεσβύτερος Δωρόθεος) ἡμῖν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἐπισκόπου Δαμάσου πρὸς τὴν σὴν τιμιότητα γενομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις καὶ ἐλύπει ἡμᾶς λέγων τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν τοὺς συλλειτουργοὺς Μελέτιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον. Ὧν εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο συνίστη τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν, ὁ γοῦν παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν πόλεμος ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει ὀρθότητος οὐκ ὀλίγην τοῖς εὐγνωμόνως λογιζομένοις. Τὴν δὲ σὴν εὐλάβειαν συνάπτειν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀγάπην ὀφείλει καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τῶν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων. Ἐκεῖνο δὲ πέπεισο, ὡς ἀληθῶς τιμιώτατε, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι τι ῥῆμα ὀρθοδοξίας ὃ μὴ μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐκηρύχθη ὑπὸ Θεῷ μάρτυρι καὶ ἀκροαταῖς ἡμῖν»*[2].

Ὁ Μελέτιος λοιπόν, ὡς πολὺ ὀρθῶς ἐτόνισεν ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Μ. Ἀθανάσιον ἐπιστολήν του: *«ὅτι πᾶν τὸ κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐρωμένον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Ἐκκλησίαν Ἀντιοχείας λαοῦ εἰς μίαν συμφωνίαν χρὴ καὶ ἕνωσιν ἐναχθῆναι, πρὸς τὸ δηλῶσαι ὅτι τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Μελετίῳ δέοι τὰ εἰς μέρη πλείονα νῦν διῃρημένα συνάψαι.... ὅτι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀνατολῇ δι' εὐχῆς καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς παντοίως αὐτῷ συνημμένοις ἐπιθυμητὸν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν διέποντα τοῦ Κυρίου»*[3], εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς στιγμῆς, ἡ κινητήριος δύναμις τῆς μεγίστης μερίδος τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, ὁ ἐπηρεάζων τὴν ἐν Ἀνατολῇ θρησκευτικὴν πολιτικὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδοσίου καὶ ἐπιβάλλων δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀπόψεις του. Καὶ ἐὰν ἐκλάβωμεν ἔστω καὶ ὡς Θρυλούμενα ὅσα ὁ Θεοδώρητος ἀναφέρει περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου τοῦ Θεοδοσίου, στρατηγοῦ ἔτι ὄντος: *«Ὁ δὲ ἄριστος στρατηγὸς αὐτόθι μείνας ὅψιν εἶδε θεσπεσίαν τινὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ σαφῶς αὐτῷ δειχθεῖσαν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων Θεοῦ. ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁρᾶν τὸν θεῖον Μελέτιον, τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας τὸν πρόεδρον, χλανίδα τεαὐτῇ περιτιθέντα βασιλικὴν καὶ παραπλησίῳ στεφάνῳ κοσμοῦντα τὴν κεφαλήν. ταῦτα νύκτωρ ἰδὼν ἐμήνυσεν ἕωθεν τῶν συνήθων τινί. ὁ δὲ σαφὲς εἶναι τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἔφη καὶ μηδὲν αἰνιγματῶδες μηδὲ ἀμφίβολον ἔχειν. ὀλίγον δὲ ἄγαν διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν... ὁ βασιλεὺς... βασιλέα κεχειροτόνηκε καὶ τῆς Βάλεντος μοίρας τὰ σκῆπτρα παρέδωκε»*[4]. ὡς καὶ ὅσα συνέβησαν μετὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν ἔναρξιν τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, δεικνύουν τρανότατα τὴν ἐπιρροήν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἠδύνατο νὰ ἔχῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ὁ Μελέτιος: *«Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφίκοντο (πεντήκοντα δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἑκατόν), παρηγγύησε μηδένα οἱ μηνῦσαι ὅστις ὁ μέγας εἴη Μελέτιος· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μνήμης μηνυθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν βασίλειον εἰσελήλυθεν οἶκον ἅπας ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὁ ὅμιλος, τοὺς ἄλλους καταλιπὼν ἅπαντας τῷ μεγάλῳ Μελετίῳ προσέδραμε, καὶ οἷόν τις παῖς φιλοπάτωρ διὰ χρόνου μακροῦ θέας πατρικῆς ἀπολαύσας, περιεπύσσετό τε καὶ κατεφίλει καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ χεῖλη καὶ στέρνα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν στεφανώσασαν δεξιάν· ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἣν εἶδε. φιλοφρονησάμενος δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὡς πατέρας ἠξίωσε»*[5].

1. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 239, 2, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 293, 38–294, 10.

2. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 266, 2, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 335, 28–40. Περὶ Πέτρου Ἀλεξανδρείας πρβλ. καὶ ὅσα Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος λέγει: «Πῶς Πέτρος αὐτός, ὁ βραβεὺς τῶν ποιμένων, Πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐγκαθίστα γράμμασιν 860 Οὕτω προδήλως διπλόης ἐλευθέρους, Ὡς αὐτὰ πείσει τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράμματα, Καὶ συμβόλοις ἐτίμα τῆς ἰδρύσεως· Νῦν δ' ἦκεν ἡμῖν νεβρὸς ἀντὶ παρθένου· Ταὐτ' οὐ πρόδηλα, ταῦτα δεῖθ' ἑρμηνέως». Ἔπη ἱστορικά. Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ΙΑ'. Περὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, στ. 858–864. ΜΕΠ 37, 1088/89, καὶ στ. 890: «Ἐξ ὧν Ἀλεξάνδρεια ῥᾳστ' ἀνάπτεται», καὶ στ. 896: «Οὕτως Ἀλεξάνδρεια τιμᾷ τοὺς πόνους». 897: «Οὕτω δικάσαι τις ὑμῖν ἄλλος εὐμενής». Πρβλ. καὶ στ. 1013–1029. ΜΕΠ 37, 1099 Α. Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐπισκόπων στ. 1798–1855.

3. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 67, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 100, 2–8. 10–12.

4. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 6, 1–3, σ. 285, 9–15. 17–19. Πρβλ. καὶ 1, 7, 13, σ. 32, 22, ἔκδ. Parmentier.

5. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ.Ἱ., 5, 7, 2–3, σ. 286, 18–287, 2 καὶ 1, 7, 13: «οἷα δὴ παῖς φιλοπάτωρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὡς πατράσι προσέφερεν», σ. 32, 22. Περὶ Μελετίου πρβλ. ὅσα γράφει Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος εἰς Ἔπη ἱστορικά. Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ΙΑ'. Περὶ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου, στίχ. 1514–1524: «Ὧν ἦν ἀνὴρ πρόεδρος εὐσεβέστατος, 1515 Ἁπλοῦς, ἄτεχνος τὸν τρόπον, Θεοῦ γέμων. Βλέπων γαλήνην, θάρσος αἰδοῖ σύγκρατον Βάλλων ὀρῶσι, Πνεύματος γεώργιον. Τίς ἠγνόησε τοῦτον, ὃν δηλοῖ λόγος, Τῆς Ἀντιοχέων προστάτην Ἐκκλησίας, 1520 Τὸν ὄνθ' ὅπερ κέκλητο, καὶ καλούμενον Ὅ ἦν; Μέλιτος γὰρ καὶ τρόπος καὶ τοὔνομα. Ὅς πολλ' ἀνέτλη Πνεύματος θείου χάριν (Εἰ καὶ ξένη τι μικρὸν ἐκλάπη χερί), Ἀγῶσι λαμπροῖς τὴν χάριν ἀποξέων. ΜΕΠ 37, 1134 Α–1135 Α καὶ στ. 1573–1700, ἔνθα ἡ διένεξις Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ὑποστηρίζοντος ὡς διάδοχον τοῦ Μελετίου εἰς τὸν θρόνον Ἀντιοχείας τὸν Παυλῖνον. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης καὶ τὴν περὶ Μελετίου γνώμην τοῦ Γρηγορίου Νύσσης ἐν «Ἐπιτάφ. εἰς Μελέτιον», ἔνθα καλεῖ τοῦτον «ὁ νέος ἀπόστολος, ὁ συγκαταψηφισθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Εἴλκυσαν γὰρ οἱ ἅγιοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ὁμότροπον, τὸν ἀθλητὴν τὸν στεφανίτην οἱ στεφανῖται, τὸν ἀγνὸν οἱ ἀθληταί, τῇ ψυχῇ οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, τὸν κήρυκα τοῦ λόγου οἱ ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου... τὸ λαμπρὸν ἱστίον ἐκεῖνο, τὸ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι διὰ παντὸς ἰθυνόμενον... τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν πηδάλιον, δι' οὗ τὰς τρικυμίας τὰς αἱρετικὰς ἀπαθῶς παραπλέομεν... ἡ ἀμετάθετος τῆς γνώμης ἄγκυρα, ἣ μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας πεπονηκότες ἀνεπαυόμεθα... ὁ καλὸς κυβερνήτης, ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἄνω σκοπὸν διευθύνων τὸ σκάφος... Εὐγενὴς τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, ἀμεμπτος, δίκαιος, ἀληθινός, θεοσεβής, ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος... διὰ πάντων τιμῶν τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ τῶν ἀγώνων τὴν τιμὴν διεσώσατο, τρισὶ πειρασμῶν προσβολαῖς ἐναθλήσας... Ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον εἶδεν ἡ σώφρων Ἐκκλησία ἐκείνη

Ὡς λόγον τῆς μὴ κλήσεως τῶν Δυτικῶν εἰς τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει σύνοδον τοῦ 381, ὡς δευτέραν Οἰκουμενικὴν γενομένην δεκτήν, ὁ Θεοδώρητος ἀναφέρει, χωρὶς νὰ λαμβάνῃ ὑπ' ὄψιν καὶ θέσιν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ γεγονότος τῆς μὴ κλήσεως ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων: *«Εὐθὺς δὴ οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τῆς τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων συμφωνίας ἐπεμελήθη, καὶ τοὺς τῆς οἰκείας ἡγεμονίας ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν δραμεῖν παρηγγύησεν. αὕτη γὰρ μόνη τῆς Ἀρειανικῆς ἐνεπέπληστο λώβης· ἡ γὰρ Ἑσπέρα τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἐλευθέρα διέμεινε»*[1]. Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος ἀναφέρει: *«Ὅσον γὰρ ἦν Ἑῷον, Αἰγύπτου δίχα, 1510 Λαῶν πρόεδρον, ἄχρι Ρώμης δευτέρας, Γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐκ μυχῶν ἐσωτάτων, Κινηθέν, οὐκ οἶδ' οἵς τισι Θεοῦ λόγοις, Συνέρχεθ', ὡς πήξοντες εὐσεβῆ λόγον»*[2]. Ὁ Σωκράτης οὐχὶ ὀρθῶς ἀναφέρει, ὅτι ἐκλήθη ἀρχικῶς καὶ ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας Τιμόθεος: *«Μηδὲν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπερθέμενος, σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως συγκαλεῖ, ἐπὶ τὸ κρατῦναι τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν χειροτονῆσαι τῇ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐλπίσας δὲ δύνασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Μακεδονίου ἑνῶσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνης τῆς αἱρέσεως προεστῶτας ἐκάλεσε. Συνῆλθον οὖν τῆς μὲν ὁμοουσίου πίστεως, ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας Τιμόθεος· ἐκ δὲ Ἱεροσολύμων Κύριλλος, τότε ἐκ μεταμελείας τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ προσκείμενος. Μελίτιος δὲ ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας πάλαι παρῆν, ὅτε διὰ τὴν Γρηγορίου κατάστασιν μετεστάλη καὶ ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀσχόλιος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα»(5, 8)*. Καὶ ὁ Σωζομενὸς περίπου τὰ αὐτὰ λέγει καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μελέτιος εὑρίσκετο ἤδη πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει *«διὰ τὴν Γρηγορίου κατάστασιν ἀφικόμενος» (7, 7)*[3].

Πρόεδρος τῆς Συνόδου, ὡς εἶναι ἑπόμενον, ἀφοῦ τὰ περισσότερα μέλη της ἦσαν φίλοι, ὁμοϊδεάται καὶ ὁμόφρονες τοῦ τε Μ. Βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ Μελετίου, ἐξελέγη ὁ Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιος.

Ἡ ἔρευνα ἐδημιούργησε περὶ τὴν Σύνοδον ταύτην πλεῖστα ὅσα προβλήματα, ὡς τὸ τῆς συγκλήσεως αὐτῆς, τῆς Οἰκουμενικότητος καὶ τῶν Κανόνων καὶ τοῦ Συμβόλου της, τῆς ἐπιδράσεως τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποφάσεών της, τῆς συμμετοχῆς τῶν Ὁμοιουσιαστῶν ἢ Μακεδονιανῶν καὶ μάλιστα ὡρισμένης μερίδος των, τῆς μὴ προσκλήσεως τῶν Δυτικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐκτὸς τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀσχολίου κλπ.[4]. Ἐφ' ὅλων τῶν προβλημάτων τούτων

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τὸν ἄνδρα, εἶδεν πρόσωπον ἀληθῶς ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ μεμορφωμένον· εἶδεν ἀγάπην πηγάζουσαν· εἶδεν χάριν περικεχυμένην τοῖς χείλεσι· ταπεινοφροσύνης τὸν ἄκρατον ὅρον· μεθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπινοῆσαι τὸ πλέον... Οἴχεται τὸ κάλλος ἐκεῖνο, σιγᾷ ἡ φωνή· μέμυκε τὰ χείλη, ἀπέπτη ἡ χάρις», ΜΕΠ 46, 852 A 853 B 856 A 857 B 860 B. Περὶ Μελετίου πρβλ. καὶ *Ritter*, Das Konzil 32 33 «dass Theodosius gelernt hatte mit den Augen des "meletianischen" Ostens zu sehen», σ. 33 καὶ ὑπ. 1 μέρος τοῦ Rescriptum, ἔνθα κατὰ τὸν Ritter διαφαίνεται «ἡ καππαδοκικὴ θεολογία», πρβλ. καὶ σ. 305, ὑπ. 2. Πρβλ. καὶ Ἐπιφαν. Πανάρ. 73, 28, 1–35, 4 Ш, 302, 18–310, 11 ἐκδ. Holl, κυρίως τὰς κρίσεις τοῦ Ἐπιφανίου, 73, 34, 1–35, 4, σ. 309, 1–310, 11.

1. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 6, 3.4, σ. 285, 22–26. 5, 7, 2, σ. 286, 15 ἑξ. Παραδόξως οὐδὲν ἀναφέρει περὶ τῆς μὴ προσκλήσεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, ἐνῷ Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος ρητῶς ἀναφέρει: «Ὅσον γὰρ ἦν Ἑῷον, Αἰγύπτου δίχα», στ. 1509, ΜΕΠ 37, 1134 A.

2. Γρηγ. Θεολ. Ἔπη ἱστορ. ΙΑ' στχ. 1509–1513, ΜΕΠ 37, 1134 A «εὐσεβῆ λόγον» ἢ «εὐσεβῆ θρόνον», προτιμητέα ἡ γραφὴ «εὐσεβῆ λόγον», συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν ὁρολογίαν τῆς ἐποχῆς «λόγος» = «πίστις», ἤτοι πρὸς παγίωσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως. Ἡ Σύνοδος δὲν συνῆλθεν οὔτε πρὸς παγίωσιν τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ θρόνου οὔτε καὶ πρὸς στήριξιν τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Γρηγορίου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἀλλ' ὅπως διὰ τῆς καταδίκης τῶν αἱρετικῶν στηρίξῃ τὴν πίστιν τῆς Νικαίας, τὴν ὀρθόδοξον διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὸ δόγμα. Πρβλ. καὶ τὴν ὑποσ. «Λόγον» ἐν ΜΕΠ 37, 1134 καὶ *Ritter*, Das Konzil 99/100, ὑποσ. 3, σ. 209 ἑξ. καὶ Das II. Ökumenische Konzil und seine Rezeption: Stand der Forschung ἐν Le IIe Concile Oecuménique, Etudes Theologiques 2 du Centre Orthodoxe, Chambesy 1982, σ. 56, ὑπ. 3. Πρβλ. καὶ Γρηγ. Θεολ. λόγ. 43, 2, «περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἠσχολήμεθα κινδυνεύοντα», ΜΕΠ 36, 496 D, παράλληλον πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον στίχον, διότι πρόκειται περὶ τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως κινδυνευούσης ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ «ὅτι μὴ λόγον εὐσεβῆ καὶ κόσμου παντὸς σωτήριον» (497 A).

3. Πρβλ. ὅμως ὅσα ἀναφέρει ὁ *Ritter*, Das Konzil, σ. 35/36, ὑπ. 4, ἔνθα παραδέχεται, ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ Μελετίου ἐπέδρασεν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος: «ὅστις τοὐλάχιστον κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους μῆνας μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ νέου κυριάρχου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἔχαιρεν ἐξόχως ἀγαθῶν σχέσεων πρὸς τὴν αὐλὴν (carm. hist, XI, ἰδίως 1305–1395) καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μελετίου, ἂν καὶ δὲν δύναται νὰ συναγωνισθῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικοπολιτικὴν ἰδιοφυΐαν, ἀσφαλῶς ὅμως ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι ὁ μεγαλύτερος θεολόγος», «dem Einfluss des Nazianzeners... der sich wenigstens in den ersten Monaten nach der Ankunft des neuen Herrschers in Konstantinopel eines überaus guten Verhältnisses zum Hof erfeute (s. sein grosses autobiographisches Gedicht carm. hist. XI, bes. 1305–1395) und es mit Meletios zwar nicht an kirchenpolitischer Begabung aufnehmen konnte, wohl aber von beiden der grössere Theologe war».

4. Περὶ τῶν προβλημάτων τούτων πρβλ. *Χρυσοστόμου Παπαδοπούλου*, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν, Τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, Ἱστορικὴ καὶ κριτικὴ μελέτη, ἐν «ΕΕΘΣΑΠ» (= Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀθήνησι Πανεπιστημίου), τόμ. Α', τεῦχος 1, Ἀθῆναι 1924, σσ. 1–73 καὶ τὰ ἐν σ. 1, ὑπ. 1, ἀναφερόμενα ἔργα. *Ἰ. Καρμίρη*, Τὰ δογματικὰ καὶ συμβολικὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Ὀρθ. Καθ. Ἐκκλησίας, Ἀθῆναι 1952, I, 78 ἑξ. 82. 83. 84. 88 ἑξ. 131 ἑξ. *Χρυσοστόμου Κωνσταντινίδου*, Μητροπολίτου Μύρων, Αἱ ἱστορικο–δογματικαὶ προϋποθέσεις τῆς Οἰκουμενικότητος τῆς ἁγίας Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, ἐν «Θεολογίᾳ», 1981, τόμ. 52, τεῦχ. 4, σσ. 682–724. Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ γαλλιστὶ Les présupposés historico–dogmatiques de l' Oecuménicité du II Concile Oecuménique εἰς τὸν κατὰ πάντα ἀξιέπαινον τόμον τῶν ἐκδόσεων τοῦ Πατριαρχικοῦ Ἱδρύματος τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἐν Chambesy Le IIe Concile oecuménique, 1982, σσ. 63–91. *Π. Χρήστου*, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόμῳ, σσ. 111-122: Heresies condemned by the Second Ecumenical Council, τοῦ *αὐτοῦ*, Ὁ Μέγας Βασίλειος, Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 27, Θεσ/κη 1978, σσ. 103–124, τοῦ *αὐτοῦ*, Αἱ προσπάθειαι τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐν «Κληρονομίᾳ», 13, 1981, Α', σσ. 183–194. *Κ. Μπόνη*, Basilius von Caesarea und die Organisation der christlichen Kirche im Vierten Jahrhundert, Basilios der Kirchenmann, «Θεολογία» 52, 1981, 4, σσ. 625–630, τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν Basil of Caesarea Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, A Sixteen Hundredth Anniversary Symposium, Toronto 1981, I, 281–335. Πρβλ. καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐν τῷ τόμῳ τούτῳ, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Πῳ, ἐργασίας. *Μ. Φαράντου*, Δογματικαί τινες παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ Συμβόλου Νικαίας–Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, «Θεολογία» 52, 1981, 4, σσ. 725–753. Ἐφ' ὅλων τῶν προβλημάτων τούτων τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου ὑπάρχουν αἱ θαυμάσιαι ἐργασίαι τοῦ νῦν Καθηγητοῦ εἰς τὴν Θεολογικὴν Σχολὴν τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου τῆς Χαϊδελβέργης *A. M. Ritter*, κυρίως ἡ ἐξονυχιστικὴ ἐπὶ διδακτορίᾳ διατριβὴ Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol, Studien zur Geschichte und Theo-

ὑπάρχουν αἱ βασικαί, ἐμπεδωμέναι καὶ ἄριστα τεκμηριωμέναι ἐργασίαι τοῦ Καθηγητοῦ ἐν Heidelberg A.M. Ritter, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας καὶ παραπέμπω. Ὡς πρὸς τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Συνόδου ἀπὸ ὀρθοδόξου πλευρᾶς ὑπάρχει ἡ θαυμασία ἐργασία τοῦ ἀειμνήστου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν Χρυσοστόμου Παπαδοπούλου, Τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου. Ἐπίσης ὑπάρχουν καὶ πλεῖσται ἄλλαι ἀξιομνημόνευτοι ἐργασίαι, τὰς ὁποίας παραθέτω εἰς τὴν μελέτην μου ταύτην. Αἱ ἐργασίαι αὗται εἶναι βασικώταται, διαλευκαίνουν δὲ πολυπλεύρως πλεῖστα ὅσα τῶν προβλημάτων τῆς Συνόδου ταύτης.

Ὡς πρὸς τὴν Οἰκουμενικότητα τονίζω μόνον, ὅτι ἡ Οἰκουμενικότης μιᾶς Συνόδου δὲν ἔγκειται εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος σύγκλησιν αὐτῆς, οὔτε ἀπὸ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν μελῶν της, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν θεμάτων μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα ἠσχολήθη καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις τὰς ὁποίας ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀναγνώρισιν αὐτῆς ὡς Οἰκουμενικῆς ὑφ' ὅλης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἴτε κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς συγκλήσεώς της εἴτε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ κυρίως, ὅταν αἱ ἀποφάσεις της λαμβάνουν οἰκουμενικὸν κῦρος.

Εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐργασίαν μου συμπληρώνω μόνον μερικὰς τῶν ἀπόψεων τῶν διαφόρων ἐρευνητῶν βάσει τῶν μελετῶν μου ἐπὶ τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, διότι κατ' ἐμέ, ἂν καὶ ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος σωματικῶς δὲν ἦτο παρὼν εἰς τὴν Σύνοδον ταύτην, τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ὅμως, αἱ ἰδέαι του καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησιαστική του πολιτικὴ πρὸς εἰρήνευσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ αἱ ἀπόψεις του δεσπόζουν τῆς Συνόδου ταύτης, διαλάμπει δὲ ἡ ἐπίδρασίς του ἐπὶ τῶν μελῶν αὐτῆς, τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ὁποίων εἶναι συγγενεῖς, φίλοι καὶ πνευματικά του τέκνα.

Ὁ Ritter ἔχει ἀπόλυτον δίκαιον ἀντικρούων τὰς ἀπόψεις τοῦ W. Ensslin[1] καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κριτικῶν: «Μὲ ἄλλας λέξεις εἶμαι καὶ μένω τῆς γνώμης ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, ὅτι ὁ Θεοδόσιος κατὰ τὴν σύγκλησιν καὶ διεξαγωγὴν τῆς Συνόδου τοῦ 381 ἐστηρίχθη ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου θεμελιωθείσης καθοδηγητικῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς τηρήσεως τῆς "αὐτοκρατορικῆς συνοδικῆς ἐξουσίας" καὶ ἔκαμε χρῆσιν τοῦ "κυριαρχικοῦ εἰς ζητήματα πίστεως δικαιώματος" αὐτοῦ -ὑπὸ τὴν προϋπόθεσιν ὅτι ἰδιοποιήθη τοιοῦτον δικαίωμα- γενικῶς οὐδεμίαν χρῆσιν ἔκαμεν εἰς κίνδυνον θέτουσαν σοβαρῶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποφάσεων ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Συνόδου». «M.a.W.bin und bleibe ich, einstweilen der Auffasung, dass sich Theodosius bei der Berufung und Durchführung des Konzils von 381 an das von Konstantin begründete Führungsprinzip in der Wahrnehmung der "kaiserlichen Synodalgewalt" gehalten und von seinem "Herrscherrecht in Glaubensfragen" -vorausgesetzt, er hat ein solches Recht in Anspruch genommen- i.a. keinen die Entscheidunsfreiheit des Konzils ernsthaft gefährdenden Gebrauch gemacht hat»[2]. Πράγματι οἱ παραδεχόμενοι τὸν παράγοντα τοῦ Καισαροπαπισμοῦ παραγνωρίζουν τὰ πράγματα καὶ δὲν βλέπουν ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπίσκοποι ἐπιβάλλουν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὰς ἀπόψεις των καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδροῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πολιτικῆς του. Ἡ Ἐκκλησία ὅμως οὐδέποτε παρεδέχθη τὰς αἱρετικὰς καὶ μὴ ὀρθοδόξους διδασκαλίας τῶν περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἱρετικῶν ἐπισκόπων, ὅσον καὶ ἐὰν πρὸς στιγμὴν ἐφάνησαν ὑποστηριζόμεναι ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, παράδειγμα αἱ κατὰ τὸν 4ον αἰῶνα συνελθοῦσαι κατὰ διαταγὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος διάφοροι σύνοδοι, καὶ ἐπικρατοῦσαι, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῆς ὑποστηριζομένας ὀρθοδόξους τοιαύτας. Ἵνα μόνον δύο παραδείγματα ἀναφέρω, ἐφ' ὅσον ὁ Μ. Κωνσταντῖνος εὑρίσκετο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιρροὴν τοῦ Κορδούης Ὁσίου συνεκάλεσε τὴν Α' Οἰκουμενικὴν Σύνοδον, ἐν τῇ ὁποίᾳ ἐπεβλήθη τὸ «ὁμοούσιος». Μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν νέαν πρωτεύουσαν, τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, περιστοιχούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐσεβίου, τοῦ πρώην Νικομηδείας, ἐξορίζει τὸν Μ. Ἀθανάσιον. Γνωσταὶ εἶναι αἱ ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ Εὐδοξίου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπί τε τοῦ Κωνσταντίου καὶ τοῦ Οὐάλεντος. Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μ. Θεοδόσιος εὑρισκόμενος ἀκόμη εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην ὑφίσταται τὴν ἐπίδρασιν τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀσχολίου καὶ θέτει ὡς κανόνα εἰς τὸ διάταγμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ 20ῆς Φεβρουαρίου 380 «Cunctos populos»[3] τὴν συμφωνίαν τῆς πίστεως πρὸς τὸν Ρώμης Δάμασον καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας Πέτρον. Ἐλθὼν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπήρειαν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ κυρίως τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας Μελετίου συγκαλεῖ τὴν Β' Οἰκουμενικὴν Σύνοδον, χωρὶς ἀρχικῶς νὰ κληθῶσιν εἰς αὐτὴν

logie des II. Ökumenischen Konzils. Göttingen 1965, ὡς καὶ αἱ ἐργασίαι του Die Einberufung des Konzils in seinem geschichtlich-lehrmässigen Zusammenhang καὶ Das II. ökumenische Konzil und seine Rezeption: Stand der Forschung ἐν Le IIe Concile oecuménique Les Editions du Centre orthodoxe du Patriarcat oecuménique, Chambesy 1982, σσ. 31–62 καὶ Statt einer Zusammenfassung, Die Theologie des Basileios im Kontext der Reichskirche am Beispiel seines Charismaverständnisses, ἐν Basil of Caesarea Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, Edited by *Paul J. Fedwig*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1981, I, 411–436. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης *H. Dörries*, De Spiritu Sancto, Der Beitrag des Basilius zum Abschluss des trinitarischen Dogmas, Göttingen 1956, 163–176, *R. Staats*, Die Basilianische Verherrlichung des Heiligen Geistes auf dem Konzil zu Konstantinopel 381, ἐν Kerygma und Dogma, Gottingen, 25. Jahrg. 1979, 232–253, *W. Schneemelcher*, Die Entstehung des Glaubensbekenntnisses von Konstantinopel (381), Les Editions du Centre orthodoxe κλπ., σσ. 175–191. Πρβλ. καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας ἐν «Τόμος Ἑόρτιος Μ. Βασιλείου (379–1979)» Θεολ. Σχολῆς Ἀριστ. Παν/μίου Θεσ/κης, Θεσ/κη 1981 τῶν *Χ. Κρικώνη*, Ἡ ἑνότης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὸν Μ. Βασίλειον, σσ. 301–327, *P. Meinhold*, Die geschichtliche Rolle Basilius des Grossen, σσ. 329–355 καὶ *Ἰ. Καλογήρου*, Ἡ θέσις τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ἐπὶ τῶν Χριστολογικῶν ζητημάτων κατὰ τὴν ἐμφάνισιν τοῦ Ἀπολιναρισμοῦ, σσ. 357–424. Πρβλ. καὶ *L. Vischer*, Basilius der Grosse, Basel 1953, Die Einigung der Kirche, 85–105. Kirche und Staat, 116–140.

1. *W. Ensslin*, Die Religiospolitik des Kaisers Theodosius d. Gr. SBAW, PH. 1953, 27 ἑξ., 49.

2. *A. M. Ritter*, Die Einberufung κλπ. 2 ἐν IIe Concile oecum., σ. 34 ἑξ. καὶ ὑπ. 4, πρβλ. καὶ σ. 46 καὶ τὸ Exkurs I: Theodosius und das Konstantinopel Konzil von 381 εἰς τὸ ἔργον του Das Konzil von Konstantinopel κλπ., σσ. 221–239.

3. Cod. Theod. XVI, 1.2 = Cod. Justin. I, 5, 2, πρβλ. καὶ *Ritter*, Das Konzil, σ. 28 29, ὑπ. 11.

οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ οἱ Δυτικοί. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ διάταγμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ 30ῆς Ἰουλίου τοῦ 381 πρὸς τὸν Ἀνθύπατον Ἀσίας (proconsul Asiae) Αὐξόνιον[1], περὶ τῆς παραδόσεως τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς τοὺς Ὀρθοδόξους, ὡς κανόνα θέτει τὴν συμφωνίαν πρὸς τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κοινωνίαν *«τοῖς ἐν ὑποστάσει τριῶν προσώπων ἰσοτίμων καὶ ἰσοδυνάμων, μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμολογοῦσι θεότητα Πατρός, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Τούτους δὲ εἶναι τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας Νεκταρίῳ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει· ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ Τιμοθέῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἕω ἐκκλησίαις, Διοδώρῳ τῷ Ταρσοῦ, καὶ Πελαγίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Λαοδικείας τῆς Σύρων· παρὰ δὲ Ἀσιανοῖς Ἀμφιλοχίῳ τῷ προϊσταμένῳ τῆς ἐν Ἰκονίῳ ἐκκλησίας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἀπὸ Βιθυνῶν μέχρις Ἀρμενίων, Ἑλλαδίῳ τῷ Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ Γρηγορίῳ τῷ Νύσσης καὶ (Ὀτρηΐνῳ[2]) Ὀτρηΐῳ τῷ Μελιτίνης· ἐν δὲ ταῖς περὶ Θράκην καὶ Σκυθίαν πόλεσιν Τερεντίῳ τῷ Τομέων, καὶ Μαρτυρίῳ τῷ Μαρκιανουπόλεως. Τούτους γὰρ καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ἐπῄνεσεν ἰδὼν καὶ συγγενόμενος· καὶ δόξα ἀγαθὴ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκράτει, ὡς τὰς ἐκκλησίας εὐσεβῶς ἀγόντων»*[3]. Περὶ τοῦ Δαμάσου οὐδεὶς λόγος πλέον γίνεται. Προηγουμένως, τὴν 10ην Ἰανουαρίου τοῦ 381, ἐξεδόθη τὸ Rescriptum[4], τὸ ὁποῖον ἀπηγόρευεν εἰς τοὺς Φωτεινιανούς, Ἀρειανοὺς καὶ Εὐνομιανοὺς τὴν κατοχὴν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι συνάξεις των. Ἡ στροφὴ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς τοὺς τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους διαφαίνεται ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι ἅπασαι αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς Οἰκουμένης πρέπει νὰ ἀποδοθοῦν εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους ἐπισκόπους, τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τῆς Νικαίας, οὐδεὶς δὲ λόγος γίνεται πλέον περὶ Δαμάσου: «Is autem Nicaenae adsertor fidei, catholicae religionis verus cultor accipiendus est... apud quem intemeratae fidei sensu viget incorruptae trinitatis indivisa substantia, quae Graeci adsertione verbi οὐσία recte credentibus dicitur[5]... jubeamus, ut cunctis orthodoxis episcopis, qui Nicaenam fidem tenent, catholicae ecclesiae toto orbe reddantur»[6].

Δυστυχῶς μέχρι σήμερον δὲν ἠρευνήθη καὶ ἐμελετήθη δεόντως ὁ παράγων οὗτος τῆς ἐπιδράσεως τῶν περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πολιτικῆς των καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ Δύσει: -Μ. Κωνσταντῖνος: Ὅσιος Κορδούης, Εὐσέβιος Καισαρείας Παλαιστίνης, Εὐσέβιος Νικομηδείας, ἐξορίαι Ἀρείου, Εὐσεβίου Νικομηδείας κλπ. Μ. Ἀθανασίου, Εὐσταθίου Ἀντιοχείας κλπ. Κωνστάντιος: ἐπηρεάζοντες: ὁ ἀπὸ Νικομηδείας Εὐσέβιος, Εὐδόξιος, ἐξορίζονται: ὁ Ρώμης Λιβέριος, ὁ Βερκελλῶν Εὐσέβιος, ὁ Καλλάρεως Λούκιφερ κλπ. Οὐάλης: ἐπηρεάζοντες: Εὐδόξιος, ἐξορίζονται: ὁ Σαμοσάτων Εὐσέβιος, Ἀντιοχείας Μελέτιος, Νύσσης Γρηγόριος κ.ἑ.-. Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπικυροῖ καὶ διὰ διαταγμάτων ἐφαρμόζει τὰς λαμβανομένας εἰς διαφόρους συνόδους ἀποφάσεις εἴτε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων εἴτε τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ὡς πρὸς τὴν καταναγκαστικὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ Κράτους πρὸς ἐπιβολὴν τῶν συνοδικῶν ἀποφάσεων κατὰ τὴν καταπολέμησιν τῆς «πεπλανημένης διδασκαλίας» δὲν πρέπει νὰ λησμονῶνται καὶ ὅσα ἔπραξαν καὶ οἱ αἱρετικοί, ὅταν ἐπέδρων ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἐπέβαλλον ἐναντίον τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων τὰς διώξεις καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς βανδαλισμούς[7]. Αὐτὸ ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἀλήθεια. Ὅπως ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἱστορικὸς ὀφείλει νὰ γνωρίζῃ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ νὰ λαμβάνῃ ταύτην ὑπ' ὄψιν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς ἱστορικὸς καθῆκον ἔχει νὰ γνωρίζῃ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν διὰ νὰ εἶναι ἀκριβοδίκαιος εἰς τὰς ἀπόψεις καὶ κρίσεις του. Δὲν πρέπει δὲ νὰ κρίνωμεν τὰ πράγματα βάσει τῶν συγχρόνων μας ἀντιλήψεων καὶ πολιτικῶν καὶ ὁμολογιακῶν μας τοποθετήσεων καὶ φιλοσοφικῶν μας θεωριῶν. Ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτην στιγμὴν τῆς ἐμφανίσεως τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ δυστυχῶς πολλοὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν δὲν ἤλλαξαν μὲ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὰ φρονήματά των, παρέμειναν οἷοι ἦσαν καὶ ὀλίγοι ἔγιναν πραγματικοὶ Χριστιανοί, πολὺ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἅγιοι. Δὲν πταίει εἰς τοῦτο ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πολιτικὴ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων οὔτε καὶ ἡ ἐκκοσμίκευσις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν «Κωνσταντίνειον ἐποχήν», ἀλλ' ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις. Δὲν ἀποβάλλεται τόσον εὐκόλως ὁ «παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος». Πάντως ὁ Ritter[8] ἀπαντῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐπικριτάς του ἔχει ἀπόλυτον δίκαιον καὶ κρίνει ὀρθότατα τὰ πράγματα.

Ἔλθωμεν τώρα εἰς τὴν ἐξακρίβωσιν τῆς ἐπιδράσεως τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, βάσει κυρίως τῶν ἐπιστολῶν του, ἐπὶ τῆς ὅλης διαδικασίας, τακτικῆς καὶ τῶν ἀποφάσεων τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς τοῦ 381 Συνόδου. Ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ ταύτῃ ἐπεκράτησαν πλήρως αἱ ἀπόψεις καὶ ἡ τακτικὴ τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου α) ὡς πρὸς τὸ ζήτημα τῆς προσκλήσεως ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν Ὁμοιουσιαστῶν ἢ Μακεδονιανῶν[9], β) ὡς πρὸς τὴν

1. Πρβλ. *Rauschen*, Jahrbücher, 92 ἑξ. Cod. Theod. XVI, 1.3, *Ritter*, Das Konzil 32, *Lietzmann*, Geschichte der Alten Kirche 4, 26.

2. «Scribendum est Ὀτρηΐῳ, ut scribitur in lege tertia Codice Theodosiano De fide catholica, quam legem hic designat Sozomenus». Valesii Annot. ΜΕΠ 67, 1440 C. Πρβλ. καὶ Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 181, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 199, 27 ἑξ. «Ὀτρηΐῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Μελιτίνης».

3. Σωζ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 7, 9.

4. Cod. Theod. XVI, 5, 6.

5. Ἐνταῦθα διαφαίνεται ἡ ἐπίδρασις τῶν Καππαδοκῶν, ὡς παρατηρεῖ ὁ *Ritter*, Das Konzil, σ. 33, ὑπ. 1 καὶ 305, ὑπ. 2, ἢ κάλλιον, κατὰ τὴν γνώμην μου, τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, διότι ἡ βάσις τῆς καππαδοκικῆς θεολογίας εἶναι ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος. Αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ πυρὴν τῆς θεολογίας, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀνέπτυξαν οἱ Γρηγόριοι καὶ ὁ Ἰκονίου Ἀμφιλόχιος, ἐνεστερνίσθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Μελέτιος.

6. Cod. Theod. XVI, 5, 6, 2.3, σ. 856 ἑξ., ἐκδ. Mommsen.

7. Πρβλ. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 70 90, 2 91 92, 2.3 237, 2 242, 2 243, 2 κλπ.

8. *Ritter*, Die Einberufung...: IIe Concile κλπ., σ. 33-36.

9. Περὶ Ὁμοιουσιαστῶν ἢ Ὁμοιουσίων, Ὁμοουσιαστῶν καὶ Ὁμοουσίων οὐχὶ δὲ Ὁμοιουσιανῶν ἢ Ὁμοουσιανῶν, καθότι ἀφορᾷ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ οὐχὶ τὸ ὄνομα

διαδοχὴν εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Μελετίου, γ) ὡς πρὸς τὰς καταδικασθείσας αἱρέσεις καὶ δ) ὡς πρὸς τὴν λιτότητα τοῦ τρίτου ἄρθρου περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Παρεμπιπτόντως ἐγένετο λόγος περὶ τῶν ὅσων θίγονται ὑπὸ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐν Ἱστ. Ἔπη ΙΑ' στίχ. 1282 ἑξ. 1513, ἐνταῦθα κυρίως θὰ διερευνήσωμεν ποίαν ἑρμηνείαν δυνάμεθα νὰ δώσωμεν εἰς τοὺς στίχ. 1703–1724. Τῶν Ὁμοιουσιαστῶν δυνάμεθα νὰ διακρίνωμεν δύο ὁμάδας ἢ μερίδας ἢ κόμματα. Τοὺς συντηρητικούς, τοὺς προσκλίνοντας πρὸς τοὺς Ὁμοουσιαστάς, διὰ τῆς παραδοχῆς τοῦ Συμβόλου καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄκρων Ἀντινικαιεῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐνόμιον, τὸν Κυζίκου Ἐλεύσιον, Νικομηδείας Μαραθώνιον καὶ Σεβαστείας Εὐστάθιον, οἵτινες ἐπεξέτειναν τὴν ἀντίθεσίν των πρὸς τὸ Ὁμοούσιον τῆς Νικαίας καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διατεινόμενοι ὅτι «τὴν μὲν πίστιν τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν κατὰ Νίκαιαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν· δεῖξον δέ μοι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τῇ θεότητι συναριθμεῖται»[1]. Οἱ τελευταῖοι φέρουν ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Πνευματομάχων[2]. Δυστυχῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ 383 καὶ ἑξῆς γενικῶς ἐπεκράτησεν ὅπως οὗτοι ὀνομάζωνται Μακεδονιανοί, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Μακεδονίου, ἐνῷ εἰς τὴν πραγματικότητα ὁ Μακεδόνιος, ἀπέθανε κατὰ τὸ 360[3], ἦτο μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ συνόδῳ μία τῶν ἡγετικῶν προσωπικοτήτων τῶν Ὁμοιουσιαστῶν, μὲ τὰς πνευματομαχικὰς ὅμως ἀπόψεις οὐδεμίαν σχέσιν ἔχει, ὥστε νὰ χαρακτηρισθῇ ὁ ἡγέτης των ἢ αἱρεσιάρχης, ὡς χαρακτηρίζει αὐτὸν ὁ Θεοδώρητος «Μακεδόνιος αἱρεσιάρχης πνευματομάχος»[4].

Εἰς τὴν Β' Οἰκουμενικὴν Σύνοδον, φαίνεται, ὅτι ἐκλήθησαν ἀμφότεραι αἱ μερίδες, διότι πρωταρχικὸς σκοπὸς τῆς Συνόδου ταύτης ἦτο ἡ εἰρήνευσις τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὴν ὁποίαν τόσον διακαῶς ἐπεθύμει καὶ ἐνοστάλγει ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος. Πῶς ὅμως ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ εἰρηνεύσῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, ἐὰν δὲν συνήρχοντο ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ Ὀρθόδοξοι καὶ οἱ ἀντιφρονοῦντες; Ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος εἰς πλείστας τῶν ἐπιστολῶν του, ὡς θὰ ἴδωμεν εὐθὺς ἀμέσως, ἀκολουθῶν τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ Μ. Ἀθανασίου καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ συνόδου τοῦ 362 δίδει τὰς κατευθυντηρίους γραμμὰς καὶ τονίζει διαρκῶς ὅτι δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀποξενώσουν τελείως τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὴν πίστιν: «Ἐγὼ γὰρ δεξάμενος γράμματα τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Πατρὸς Ἀθανασίου τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου, ἃ καὶ ἔχω ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ προβάλλομαι τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσιν, ἐν οἷς φανερῶς διηγόρευσεν, εἴ τις ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀρειανῶν αἱρέσεως βούλοιτο μετατίθεσθαι ὁμολογῶν τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν, τοῦτον προσίεσθαι μηδὲν διακρινομένους ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τούτου τοῦ δόγματος κοινωνούς μοι παρεχομένου τούς τε τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἐπισκόπους ἅπαντας, νομίζων ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀκολουθεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοσούτῳ διὰ τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῶν νομοθετησάντων, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τὸν τῆς εἰρηνοποιίας μισθὸν ὑποδέξασθαι, τοὺς ταύτην ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν πίστιν ἐγκατέτασσον τῇ μερίδι τῶν κοινωνικῶν»[5]. *«Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παντελῶς μοι δοκεῖ τῶν μὴ δεχομένων τὴν πίστιν ἀλλοτριοῦν ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ ποιήσαθαί τινα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμέλειαν κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς θεσμοὺς τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης πᾶσαν παράκλησιν, μετ' εὐσπλαγχνίας προσάγοντας, καὶ τὴν τῶν Πατέρων πίστιν προτεινομένους προκαλεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς συνάφειαν· κἂν μὲν πείσωμεν, κοινῶς αὐτοῖς ἑνωθῆναι, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποτύχωμεν, ἀρκεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις, τὸν δὲ ἐπαμφοτερισμὸν τοῦτον ἐξορίσαι τοῦ ἤθους ἀναλαβόντας τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν καὶ ἄδολον πολιτείαν ἢ συνέζων οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς προσελθόντες τῷ λόγῳ. "Ἦν γάρ, φησί, τῶν πιστευσάντων καρδία καὶ ψυχὴ μία" (Πρξ. 4, 32). Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν πεισθῶσί σοι, ταῦτα ἄριστα. Εἰ δὲ μή,*

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τῶν αἱρεσιαρχῶν, Ἀρειανοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρείου, Μακεδονιανοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μακεδονίου, Εὐνομιανοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐνομίου κλπ., ἐνῷ Ὅμοιοι, Ἀνόμοιοι, Ὁμοουσιασταί, πρβλ. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 226, 3: *«τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ διαβάλλουσι πίστιν καὶ ὁμοουσιαστὰς ἡμᾶς ἀποκαλοῦσι»*, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 274, 35, ἐπ. 244, 7: *«Παρ' ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς ὁμοουσιασταὶ διωκόμεθα»*, *σ. 305, 10. Πρβλ. καὶ «τῶν Ἀνομοίων ἐπιφυέντων»*, *«Περὶ Σαβελλιανῶν καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν Ἀνομοίων»*, *«ὁποία ἡ νῦν παραβλαστήσασα τῶν Ἀνομοίων αἵρεσις»*, Μ. Βασ. Περὶ κρίματος Θεοῦ 1, Μ. Βασ. Ὁμ. ΚΔ', Ἑρμ. εἰς Ἡσαΐαν, κεφ. Ι', 232, ΒΕΠΕΣ 53, 13, 20 54, 217, 1 56, 230, 29. Πρβλ. ἐπίσης ἡμ. μελ. Τὸ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σχίσμα κλπ. ἐν «Κληρονομίᾳ» 13, 1981, τεῦχ. Α' καὶ Ἀνάτυπον, σσ. 124–129, καὶ Ὁ Μ. Βασ. ὡς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς πολιτικὸς ἐν «Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ Θεολογίᾳ», Δ', 1983, 20–24. *Π. Χρήστου*, Ὁ Μ. Βασ., σσ. 106–108. *Ritter*, Das Konzil, σσ. 68–85 καὶ τὰς σημαντικὰς καὶ πολυτίμους ὑποσημειώσεις.

1. Ἐπιφαν. Πανάρ. 74, 14, 4, τόμ. ΙΙΙ, 332, 14 ἑξ.

2. Ὁ ὅρος «Πνευματομάχου» τὸ πρῶτον ἀπαντᾷ εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 373 γραφεῖσαν 140, 2 ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου: *«Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀδιόριστός ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος λόγος, οὔπω τότε τῶν Πνευματομάχων ἀναφανέντων»* καὶ εἰς τὸ Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (375) ΚΑ' 52: *«τοῦτο τῶν Πνευματομάχων ἕκαστος ὅπλον ποιησάμενος»*, ὡς καὶ εἰς τὴν 263, 3 ἐπιστολήν: *«Εὐστάθιος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν, ὃς πάλαι μαθητευθεὶς τῷ Ἀρείῳ... Οὗτος νῦν πορθεῖ τὴν πίστιν ἐκείνην ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδέχθη καὶ τοῖς ἀναθεματίζουσι τὸ ὁμοούσιον σύνεστι καὶ πρωτοστάτης ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν Πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως»*, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 168, 20 ἑξ. 52, 275, 20 55, 329, 2. 24 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ Κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν κλπ. 6: *«κατὰ τὴν Πνευματομάχων ὑπόληψιν»* 54, 223, 25. Εἰς τὸν Μ. Ἀθανάσιον ἀπαντᾷ ὁ ὅρος «πνευματομαχοῦντες»: *«καὶ παρὰ πάντων δὲ κατεγνώσθησαν, ὡς τῷ ὄντι πνευματομαχοῦντες»*, Πρὸς Σεραπ. Θμούεως Ι, 32, ΜΕΠ 26, 605 Β καὶ 4, 1: *«ὅτι λογομαχεῖν μελετήσαντες, καὶ λοιπὸν πνευματομαχοῦντες, ἔσονται μετ' ὀλίγον νεκροὶ τῇ ἀλογίᾳ»* 637 Β = ΒΕΠΕΣ 33, 120, 15 καὶ 133, 30. Πρβλ. καὶ Ἐπιφ. Πανάρ. 74, 1 14, 6 *«Κατὰ Πνευματομάχων»*, *«οἱ Πνευματομάχοι καὶ ἀλλότριοι τῆς αὐτοῦ δωρεᾶς καὶ ἁγιαστείας»* ΙΙΙ, 313, 10 ἑξ. 332, 23 καὶ Ἀμφιλ. Τόμος Ἰκον. ΜΕΠ 39, 93 Β–97 C καὶ Παλλαδ. Κανονικὸν *«Πάντας τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα κατὰ τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκτεθέντα τόμον Πνευματομάχους χρῆναι καλεῖν»*, *Turner*, Canons 167.

3. Σωζομ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 4, 26, 1. Πρβλ. καὶ *Liebenam W.*, Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani, Kleine Texte von *Hans Lietzmann* 41/43, 37: Die Consuln = οἱ Ὕπατοι 360 Imp. Constantius X Flavius Claudius Iulianus Caesar III καὶ σ. 121.

4. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 40, 8, σ. 349, 9. Πρβλ. καὶ *Ritter*, Das Konzil, σ. 73 καὶ ὑποσ. 2.3, σ. 74 καὶ ὑποσ. 3.4. Περὶ Μακεδονίου πρβλ. *Στογιάγλου Γ.*, Μακεδόνιος, ἐν ΘΗΕ 8, 503–505, *Grumel V.*, Makedonios, LThK 6 (1961) 1314/15, *Chadwick H.*, RGG 4 (1960), 563.

5. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 204, 6, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 237, 33–43.

γνωρίσατε τοὺς πολεμοποιοὺς καὶ παύσασθαι ἡμῖν τοῦ λοιποῦ περὶ διαλλαγῶν ἐπιστέλλοντες»[1].

Εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὑπ᾽ ἀριθμ. 113 πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ 114 τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ περὶ Κυριακὸν ὑποδεικνύει τὴν τακτικήν, τὴν ὁποίαν ὀφείλουν νὰ ἀκολουθήσουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιφρονοῦντας ὅλοι οἱ Ὀρθόδοξοι: «Ὁ καιρὸς πολλὴν ἔχει ροπὴν πρὸς καταστροφὴν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ τοῦτο πολὺν ἔχομεν ἤδη χρόνον ἐξ οὗ καταμανθάνομεν. Οἰκοδομὴ δὲ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ σφαλμάτων διόρθωσις καὶ συμπάθεια μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας, ὑπερασπισμὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐδὲ εἷς... Ὡς οὖν ἐν καιρῷ τοιούτῳ, μεγάλης χρεία τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπιμελείας εὐεργετηθῆναί τι τὰς Ἐκκλησίας. Εὐεργεσία δέ ἐστιν ἑνωθῆναι τὰ τέως διεσπασμένα. Ἕνωσις δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ βουληθείημεν ἐν οἷς μηδὲν βλάπτομεν τὰς ψυχὰς συμπεριενεχθῆναι τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πολλὰ στόματα ἤνοικται κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου καὶ πολλαὶ γλῶσσαι ἠκόνηνται εἰς τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ βλασφημίαν, ἀξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν, εἰς ὀλίγον ἀριθμὸν περιστῆσαι τοὺς βλασφημοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ λέγοντας κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον δέχεσθαι εἰς κοινωνίαν, ἵνα μόνοι καταλειφθῶσιν οἱ βλάσφημοι καὶ ἢ καταισχυνθέντες ἐπανέλθωσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἢ ἐπιμένοντες τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀναξιόπιστοι ὦσι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα. Μηδὲν τοίνυν πλέον ἐπιζητῶμεν, ἀλλὰ προτεινώμεθα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἡμῖν συνάπτεσθαι ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν, κἂν ἐκείνῃ συνθῶνται ἐπερωτῶμεν καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν λέγεσθαι κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον μηδὲ κοινωνικοὺς αὐτῶν εἶναι τοὺς λέγοντας. Πέρα δὲ τούτων ἀξιῶ μηδὲν ἐπιζητεῖσθαι παρ᾽ ἡμῶν. Πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι τῇ χρονιωτέρᾳ συνδιαγωγῇ καὶ τῇ ἀφιλονείκῳ συγγυμνασίᾳ, καὶ εἴ τι δέοι πλέον προστεθῆναι εἰς τράνωσιν, δώσει ὁ Κύριος ὁ πάντα συνεργῶν εἰς ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν»[2]. «Ὅσον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὸν τί χρὴ λέγειν πρὸς ἄνδρας υἱοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης; Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ πᾶσι περισπούδαστον τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Κύριον κινδυνεύει λοιπὸν εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιστῆναι, διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγείσης λοιπὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς ἀγάπης, οἶμαι προσήκειν μίαν ταύτην εἶναι σπουδὴν τοῖς γνησίως καὶ ἀληθινῶς δουλεύουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ τὸ ἐπαναγαγεῖν πρὸς ἕνωσιν τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τὰς πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων διατμηθείσας. Ὃ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρῶν ποιεῖν, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως πολυπράγμονος αἰτίαν λάβοιμι. Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἰδιόν ἐστι χριστιανοῦ ὡς τὸ εἰρηνοποιεῖν· διὸ καὶ τὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ μισθὸν μέγιστον ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἐπηγγείλατο... Ἔστι δέ, ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, τὰ οὔτε ὑμῖν ὑπεναντία καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτάρκη πρὸς πληροφορίαν ταῦτα, ὁμολογεῖν ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐκ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐκτεθεῖσαν πίστιν τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ποτὲ συνελθόντων καὶ μηδεμίαν τῶν ἐκεῖ λέξεων ἀθετεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰδέναι ὅτι τριακόσιοι δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ, ἀφιλονείκως συνιόντες, οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας ἐφθέγξαντο, προσθεῖναι δὲ τῇ πίστει ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὸ μὴ χρῆναι λέγειν κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τοῖς λέγουσι κοινωνεῖν, ἵνα καθαρὰ ᾖ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ Ἐκκλησία μηδὲν ζιζάνιον ἑαυτῇ παραμεμιγμένον ἔχουσα»[3]. Ὅσα ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος ἀναφέρει εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽ ἀριθμ. 128, 3 πρὸς Εὐσέβιον τὸν Σαμοσάτων ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἐξετέθησαν ἀνωτέρω, ἐτέθησαν ὡς βάσις τῆς τακτικῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν ἠκολούθησαν ὡς πρὸς τοὺς Ὁμοιουσιαστὰς ὅλων τῶν χρωμάτων καὶ ἀποχρώσεων, ὑπεδείχθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Συνόδου πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων καὶ ὀπαδῶν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ἐπισκόπων ὡς ἡ μόνη ὀρθὴ τακτικὴ τῆς πρὸς εἰρήνευσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πολιτικῆς. Ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Θεοδόσιος οὐδὲν ἕτερον πράττει τῆς ἐφαρμογῆς τῆς τακτικῆς ταύτης τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, τὴν ὁποίαν καὶ αὐτὸς θέτει ὡς βάσιν τῆς ἰδικῆς του ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πολιτικῆς.

Δυστυχῶς, ἐλλείψει πρακτικῶν τῆς Β΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου τοῦ 381 ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, μόνον ὑποθέσεις δυνάμεθα νὰ κάμωμεν. Μετὰ βεβαιότητος ὅμως δυνάμεθα νὰ διισχυρισθῶμεν, ὅτι τὴν πολιτικὴν φρόνησιν τὴν ὁποίαν ἐφήρμοσεν ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος εἰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν Εὐστάθιον Σεβαστείας σχέσεις του καὶ κυρίως εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς εἰρηνεύσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἔθεσαν ὡς βάσιν καὶ οἱ Πατέρες τῆς Συνόδου εἰς τὰς μετὰ τῶν Ὁμοιουσιαστῶν σχέσεις καὶ διαπραγματεύσεις των. Ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος ἠκολούθησε πάντοτε τὸν σωστὸν δρόμον καὶ τὴν σοφὴν καὶ ὀρθὴν μέθοδον τῆς μὴ ἐξωθήσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ περαιτέρω ἀπαιτήσεων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν ἀντιπάλων· τῆς ἐκκαθαρίσεως τῶν ἐκκρεμοτήτων διὰ τῆς διαλύσεως τῶν ὑποψιῶν καὶ ὑπονοιῶν· διαλευκάνσεως τῶν διαφορῶν διὰ τῆς εὑρέσεως τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως καὶ ἐμπεδώσεως τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διασώσεως καὶ διαφυλάξεως ἀνοθεύτου, ἀπαρασαλεύτου καὶ ἀπαραχαράκτου τῆς ὀρθοδόξου τῶν Πατέρων πίστεως διὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως τῶν πραγμάτων: «τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνήν, κακῶς παρά τινων ἐκληφθεῖσαν, εἰσί τινες οἱ μήπω παραδεξάμενοι· οὓς καὶ μέμψαιτο ἄν τις δικαίως καὶ πάλιν μέντοι συγγνώμης αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσειεν»[4]. Τοῖς κατὰ Νεοκαισάρειαν λογιωτάτοις γράφει: «Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀρνῶνται μὴ λέγειν ταῦτα μηδὲ διδάσκειν οὕτω, κατώρθωται ἡμῖν τὰ σπουδαζόμενα. Καίτοι χαλεπὴν αὐτοῖς οὖσαν ὁρῶ τὴν ἄρνησιν, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τῶν λόγων τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας. Πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ σκοποῦμεν τὰ παρελθόντα, τὰ παρόντα μόνον ὑγιαινέτωσαν. Ἐὰν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένωσιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς ἄλλας Ἐκκλησίας ἐκβοῆσαι ἡμᾶς τὴν καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς συμφορὰν καὶ ποιῆσαι παρὰ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων γράμματα ὑμῖν ἀφικέσθαι, τὸ μέγεθος τοῦτο τῆς ὑποκατασκευαζομένης ἀσεβείας καταρρηγνύντα»[5]. Περὶ τὸ 361 γράφει πρὸς τὸν φιλόσοφον Μάξιμον: «Ἃ δὲ ἐπιζητεῖς τῶν Διο-

1. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 128, 3 55, 29 ἑξ.
2. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 113 55, 142, 32–143, 13.
3. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 114 55, 143, 16–26. 37–144, 7.
4. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 52, 1 55, 86, 8 ἑξ.
5. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 210, 4 55, 246, 31–39. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 69, 2: «ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ γνωρίζειν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμόφρονας καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ μηδεμίαν φίλων καὶ πολεμίων ἔχειν διάκρισιν» 55, 102, 29 ἑξ.

νυσίου ἦλθε μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ πάνυ πολλά... Ἔχομεν δὲ γνώμης οὕτως. Οὐ πάντα θαυμάζομεν τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ παντελῶς διαγράφομεν. Σχεδὸν γὰρ ταυτησὶ τῆς νῦν περιθρυλουμένης ἀσεβείας, τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἀνόμοιον λέγω, οὗτός ἐστιν, ὅσα γε ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρώποις τὰ σπέρματα παρασχών. Αἴτιον δέ, οἶμαι, οὐ πονηρία γνώμης, ἀλλὰ τὸ σφόδρα βούλεσθαι ἀντιτείνειν τῷ Σαβελλίῳ... Ἀντιβαίνων γὰρ σφοδρῶς τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ τοῦ Λίβυος, ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον κακὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν φιλοτιμίας ὑπενεχθείς. Ὥ γε τοσοῦτον ἐξαρκοῦν δεῖξαι ὅτι οὐ ταὐτὸν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱός, καὶ ταῦτα ἔχειν κατὰ τοῦ βλασφημοῦντος τὰ νικητήρια, ὃ δέ, ἵνα πάνυ ἐναργῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος κατακρατῇ, οὐχ ἑτερότητα μόνον τῶν ὑποστάσεων τίθεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσίας διαφορὰν καὶ δυνάμεως ὕφεσιν καὶ δόξης παραλλαγήν. Ὥστε ἐκ τούτου συνέβη κακοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν κακὸν διαμεῖψαι, τῆς δὲ ὀρθότητος τοῦ λόγου διαμαρτεῖν. Ταύτῃ τοι καὶ παντοδαπός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν, νῦν μὲν ἀναιρῶν τὸ ὁμοούσιον, διὰ τὸν ἐπ' ἀθετήσει τῶν ὑποστάσεων κακῶς αὐτῷ κεχρημένον, νῦν δὲ προσιέμενος ἐν οἷς ἀπολογεῖται πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀφῆκε φωνὰς ἥκιστα πρεπούσας πνευματικῷ (τῷ Πνεύματι ὁ Migne), τῆς προσκυνουμένης αὐτῷ θεότητος ἐξορίζων καὶ κάτω που τῇ κτιστῇ καὶ λειτουργῷ φύσει συναριθμῶν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ τοιοῦτος. 3. Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ χρὴ τοὐμὸν ἴδιον εἰπεῖν, τὸ ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν, εἰ μὲν προσκείμενον ἔχει τὸ ἀπαραλλάκτως, δέχομαι τὴν φωνὴν ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸν τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ φέρουσαν, κατὰ τὴν ὑγιᾶ δηλονότι τοῦ ὁμοουσίου διάνοιαν. Ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ νοήσαντας, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς καὶ Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν Μονογενῆ προσειπόντας, ἐπαγαγεῖν ἀκολούθως τὸ ὁμοούσιον. Οὔτε οὖν φωτὸς πρὸς φῶς, οὔτε ἀληθείας πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ποτε, οὔτε τῆς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς οὐσίας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πατρός, ἐπινοῆσαί τινα παραλλαγὴν δυνατόν. Εἴ τις οὖν οὕτως ὡς εἶπον ἐκδέχοιτο, προσίεμαι τὴν φωνήν. Εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον ἀποτέμνοι, ὅπερ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν πεποιήκασιν, ὑποπτεύω τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς τὴν δόξαν κατασμικρύνον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀμυδραῖς ἐμφερείαις καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἀρχετύπων ἀποδεούσαις τὸ ὅμοιον πολλάκις ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθαμεν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἧττον οἶομαι κακουργεῖσθαι τὸ ὁμοούσιον, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τίθεμαι»[1].

Διὰ τοῦτο, ὡς γράφει περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Μ. Ἀθανάσιος πρὸς τὸν Παλλάδιον, «Αὐτὸς μὲν γάρ, ὡς τεθάρρηκα, τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ἀσθενὴς γίνεται, ἵνα τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσῃ (Α΄ Κορινθ. 9, 22)»[2].

Τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς πολιτικῆς ταύτης τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου παρέχουν μεταξὺ ἄλλων αἱ ἐπιστολαί του 95, 98, 128 πρὸς Εὐσέβιον τὸν Σαμοσάτων, αἱ πρὸς τὸν Κόμητα Τερέντιον ὑπ' ἀρ. 99 καὶ 214 καὶ κυρίως ὡς ἐπ. ὑπ. ἀρ. 125 τὸ Ἀντίγραφον πίστεως ὑπαγορευθείσης παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Βασιλείου, ἣ ὑπέγραψεν Εὐστάθιος ὁ Σεβαστείας ἐπίσκοπος: «1. Τοὺς ἢ προληφθέντας ἑτέρᾳ πίστεως ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ μετατίθεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀρθῶν συνάφειαν βουλομένους ἢ καὶ νῦν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπιθυμοῦντας γενέσθαι διδάσκεσθαι χρὴ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν μακαρίων Πατέρων ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν ποτε συγκροτηθείσῃ συνόδῳ γραφεῖσαν πίστιν. Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ἂν εἴη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπονοουμένους ἐναντίως ἔχειν τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ συσκιάζοντας ἑαυτῶν ἀποφυγαῖς εὐπροσώποις τὸ τῆς κακοδοξίας φρόνημα. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτοις αὐτάρκης ἡ ἐγκειμένη πίστις. Ἢ γὰρ διορθώσαιντο ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ νόσον ἢ συγκαλύπτοντες αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ βάθει αὐτοὶ μὲν τὸ κρῖμα τῆς ἀπάτης βαστάσουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν κούφην ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως παρασκευάσουσιν, ὅτε ἀποκαλύψει ὁ Κύριος τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκότους καὶ φανερώσει τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν (Πρβλ. Α΄ Κορινθ. 4, 5). Λαμβάνειν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας προσήκει ὅτι πιστεύουσι κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐκτεθέντα ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑγιῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων ἐμφαινομένην διάνοιαν. Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν βούλημα τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ῥημάτων ἕλκοντες. Ὅπου γε καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐτόλμησεν ἀσεβῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενος λόγον ἐκεῖθεν προφασίσασθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφέναι τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὴν διάνοιαν κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος. Καί τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δυσσεβείας τοῦ Λίβυος Σαβελλίου ὑπόστασιν καὶ οὐσίαν ταὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐκεῖθεν ἕλκουσι τὰς ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἑαυτῶν βλασφημίας, ἐκ τοῦ ἐγγεγράφθαι τῇ πίστει ὅτι· "Ἐὰν δέ τις λέγῃ ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας ἢ ὑποστάσεως τὸν Υἱόν, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία". Οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὸν εἶπον ἐκεῖ οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν. Εἰ γὰρ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐδήλουν ἔννοιαν αἱ φωναί, τίς χρεία ἦν ἑκατέρων; Ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀρνουμένων τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι τοῦ Πατρός, τῶν δὲ λεγόντων οὔτε ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς ὑποστάσεως, οὕτως ἀμφότερα ὡς ἀλλότρια τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ φρονήματος ἀπηγόρευσαν. Ἐπεὶ ὅπου γε τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐδήλουν φρόνημα, εἶπον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν οὐκέτι προσθέντες καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως. Ὥστε ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἀπ' ἀθετήσει κεῖται τοῦ πονηροῦ φρονήματος, τοῦτο δὲ φανέρωσιν ἔχει τοῦ σωτηρίου δόγματος. Δεῖ τοίνυν ὁμολογεῖν ὁμοούσιον τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρί, καθὼς γέγραπται. Ὁμολογεῖν δὲ ἐν ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὑποστάσει τὸν Πατέρα, ἐν ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ἐν ἰδίᾳ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, καθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ σαφῶς ἐκδεδώκασιν. Αὐτάρκως γὰρ καὶ σαφῶς ἐνεδείξαντο εἰπόντες "Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς" ὅτι ἕτερον μὲν τὸ γεννῆσαν φῶς, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ γεννηθέν. Φῶς μέντοι καὶ Φῶς, ὥστε ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον»[3].

1. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 9, 2.3 55, 32, 10–33, 8.

2. Μ. Ἀθαν. ἐπ. Πρὸς Παλλάδιον. ΜΕΠ 26, 1168 Α ἑξ. = ΒΕΠΕΣ 33, 89, 23 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ ἡμετ. ἐργ. Σχέσεις Μ. Ἀθανασ. καὶ Μ. Βασ., σ. 664 ἑξ. ἐν «Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ Θεολογίᾳ», Β΄, 1981.

3. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 125, 1 55, 150, 27–151, 30. Παρατίθεται ἐν παραγρ. 2 τὸ τῆς Νικαίας Σύμβολον μὲ τὴν παράλειψιν τοῦ «καὶ» πρὸ τοῦ «ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς» καὶ τὴν προσθήκην «ἀποστολική», ἤτοι «ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία». Ἡ

Πληροφορίας περὶ τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος τῶν μετὰ τῶν Ὁμοιουσιαστῶν διαπραγματεύσεων παρέχουσιν οἱ Σωκράτης, Σωζομενὸς καὶ Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος. Φαίνεται, ὅτι οἱ προσκλίνοντες πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρθοδόξους Ὁμοιουσιασταὶ συνηνώθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν «*Μωαβίταις κ' Ἀμμωνίταις, οἷς Οὐ πάλαι, Νῦν εἰσιτητόν ἐστιν εἰς Ἐκκλησίαν*»[1], ἐνῷ οἱ τῶν ἄκρων Ὁμοιουσιασταί, οἵτινες καὶ προηγουμένως κατὰ τὴν ἐν Τυάνοις σύνοδον (367) ἦσαν οἱ ὡς ἀντιφρονοῦντες ἀποχωρήσαντες, τριάκοντα ἐξ τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὑπὸ ἀρχηγὸν τὸν Ἐλεύσιον, ἀπεχώρησαν καὶ πάλιν τῆς Συνόδου καὶ τὴν φορὰν ταύτην καὶ ὡς Πνευματομάχοι ἀνακηρυχθέντες ἀπεσχίσθησαν τελείως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ὁ Σωζομενὸς ἀναφέρει: «Ἐν τάχει τε καὶ σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ συνεκάλεσε, βεβαιότητός τε ἕνεκα τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ δοξάντων, καὶ χειροτονίας τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκοπεῖν τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον. Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ δύνασθαι συνάψαι τῇ καθόλου Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς καλουμένους Μακεδονιανούς, ὡς μὴ περὶ μέγα τι διαφερομένους ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα ζητήσει, συνεκάλεσε καὶ τούτους. Συνῆλθον οὖν, ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὁμοούσιον τὴν Τριάδα δοξαζόντων, ἀμφὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίου αἱρέσεως, ἓξ καὶ τριάκοντα, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἐτύγχανον ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πόλεων. Ἠγοῦντο δὲ τούτων Ἐλεύσιος ὁ Κυζίκου, καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Λαμψάκου· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων... καὶ Μελέτιος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος, ἤδη πρῴην εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν Γρηγορίου κατάστασιν ἀφικόμενος..., καὶ Διόδωρος ὁ Ταρσοῦ, καὶ Ἀκάκιος ὁ Βεροίας. Οἳ δὴ πάντες ἐπαινέται τυγχάνοντες τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ βεβαιωθείσης γραφῆς, ἐδέοντο σφίσιν ὁμογνώμονας γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἐλεύσιον, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες ὧν τε πρὸς Λιβέριον ἐπρεσβεύσαντο καὶ ὡμολόγησαν διὰ Εὐσταθίου, καὶ Σιλβανοῦ, καὶ Θεοφίλου, ὡς εἴρηται. Ἀλλὰ οἱ μὲν μήποτε ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ἀναφανδὸν εἰπόντες, εἰ καὶ ἐναντία ταῖς πρὸς Λιβέριον ὁμολογίαις ἐροῦσιν, ἀπεδήμησαν. Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πόλιν ὁμοφρονοῦσιν ἔγραψαν, μὴ συνθέσθαι τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ δεδογμένοις»[2]. Ὁ Σωκράτης ἀναφέρει: «Ὁ οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως ἐπίσκοποι, παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο ὁμονοῆσαι αὐτοῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἐλεύσιον ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τῆς πρεσβείας, ἧς αὐτοὶ πρὸς Λιβέριον πρότερον τὸν Ρώμης ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τῶν περὶ Εὐστάθιον ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ὅτι οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν κοινωνίαν ἑκουσίως ἀδιάκριτον ἐποιήσαντο (πρβλ. καὶ 5, 4. ἔνθα τὸ «ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας» πρέπει νὰ διορθωθῇ εἰς «ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Καρίας»)· μὴ ποιεῖν τε ὅσια τοὺς ἐπιγνόντας τὴν ὁμογνώμονα πίστιν, αὖθις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνατρέπειν τὰ καλῶς αὐτοῖς ἐγνωσμένα. Οἱ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ τῶν παραινέσεων καὶ τῶν ἐλέγχων φροντίσαντες, μᾶλλον ἔφθασαν τὴν Ἀρειανὴν αἱρεῖσθαι ὁμολογεῖν δόξαν, ἢ τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ συντίθεσθαι. Ταῦτα ἀποκρινάμενοι, ἀπηλλάγησαν τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως. Ἔγραφον δὲ τοῖς κατὰ πόλεις παρεγγυῶντες μηδαμῶς ὁμονοῆσαι εἰς τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδου»[3].

Πότε ἔλαβον χώραν αἱ ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ διαπραγματεύσεις αὗται; Κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην δι' αὐτῶν ἤρχισεν ἡ Σύνοδος, διεκόπησαν λόγῳ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ προέδρου της Μελετίου Ἀντιοχείας καὶ συνεχίσθησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεύσιον καὶ Μαρκιανὸν 36 ἐπισκόπων, προεδρεύοντος Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου. Ὁ Ritter[4] παραδέχεται ὅτι αὗται ἔλαβον χώραν μετὰ τὰς περὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τοῦ Μελετίου ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ ἔριδας, βασιζόμενος κυρίως ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοβιογραφίας Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου. Βεβαίως ἡ ποιητικὴ αὐτοβιογραφία Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου εἶναι ὡς πρὸς τὰ συμβάντα ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ γεγονότα, ὡς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐκθέτει ἀρίστη ἱστορικὴ πηγή, ὡς πρῶτοι παρεδέχθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὁ A. P. Lebedev[5] καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν Χρυσόστομος Παπαδόπουλος[6]. Γεννᾶται ὅμως τὸ ἐρώτημα, ἐκθέτει ἀράγε ὁ Θεολόγος Γρηγόριος συμφώνως καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρονικὴν αὐτῶν ἀκολουθίαν τὰ ἱστορικὰ γεγονότα ἢ παρασύρεται ἀπὸ τὸ ψυχικόν του τραῦμα καὶ ἐκθέτει ταῦτα οὐχὶ χρονολογικῶς, ἀλλὰ συμφώνως πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ βάθος τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πόνου, τὸν ὁποῖον προὐξένησαν εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ διαδραματισθέντα γεγονότα ὡς πρὸς τὸν διάδοχον τοῦ Μελετίου εἰς τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τὴν θεολογίαν τοῦ τρίτου περὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἄρθρου καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀποτυχίας καὶ ἀπογοητεύσεις, ἐναλλάσσει δὲ οὕτω τὴν σειράν των καὶ παραθέτει ταῦτα συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ «Εἰς ἑαυτὸν» καὶ τὴν προσωπικήν του ἱστορίαν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοπολιτικὴν ἀποτυχίαν;

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προσθήκη αὐτη, ἡ ὁποία ἀπαντᾷ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Σύμβολον, εὑρίσκεται ἐπίσης καὶ εἰς τὴν Πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιοχέων Ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιστ. 142, 2, ἔνθα παρατίθεται πρὸ τῆς Νικαίας Σύμβολον μὲ τὰς ἑξῆς παραλλαγάς: *ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν*, τὸ Ν (= Σύμβ. Νικαίας) ἔχει *πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καί*... Μετὰ τὸ *Ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός*, τὸ Ν ἔχει *Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ*, ἤτοι ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός· Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ· Φῶς ἐκ Φωτός. Παραλείπεται τὸ πρὸ τὸν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐρχόμενον τὸ κ α ὶ τοῦ Ν., ὡς καὶ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἢ τρεπτὸν τὸ ἢ κ τ ι σ τ ό ν. Πρβλ. ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 168, 7–20.

1. Γρηγ. Θεολ., Εἰς Ἑαυτὸν ἱστ. ἔπη ΙΑ', 1737 ἑξ. ΜΕΠ 37, 1151 Α. Πρβλ. καὶ Λόγ. 42, 18 ΜΕΠ 36, 480 Α καὶ *Ritter*, Das Konzil, σ. 261 ἑξ. καὶ Das II. Ökum. Konz.: Le IIe Conc. Oec., Chambesy 1982, σ. 51/52.

2. Σωζομ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 6, 12 7, 2.7.20.

3. Σωκρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5.4 8,4. 6,8. Πρβλ. καὶ Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 226, 3 244, 7 263, 3, ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 274, 41 ἑξ. 305, 11 ἑξ. 329, 1 ἑξ. ΜΕΠ 32, 848 Β. 921 ΑΒ 977 Β ἑξ. καὶ ἡμέτ. ἔργ., Τὸ ἐν Ἀντιοχ. σχίσμα ἐν «Κληρονομίᾳ», 13 Α, σ. 129 καὶ ὑποσ. 76, καὶ σ. 140.

4. «Zu diesem Zeitpunkt werden wir nämlich den Unionsversuch des Konstantinopler Konzils mit einer Abordnung der sogenannten "Makedonianer" anzusetzen haben», *Ritter*, Das Konzil, σ. 68 καὶ ὑποσ. 5. Πρβλ. καὶ *Hauschild W. D.*, Die Trinitätslehre des Konzils von Konstantinopel und die Situation der Kirche im 4. Jahrhundert ἐν Le IIe Concile, σ. 216.

5. Ἱστορία τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων τοῦ δ' καὶ ε' αἰῶνος (ρωσιστί), Σέργιεφ Ποσάδ 1898, σ. 285 ἑξ. κατὰ *Χρυσ. Παπαδόπουλον*.

6. Τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου: Ἐπ. Ἐπ. Θεολ. Σχολ. Ἀθήν. Πανεπ., τόμος Α', τεῦχος 1ον, Ἀθῆναι 1924, σ. 34.

**Διένεξις τοῦ Θεολόγου Γρηγορίου μετὰ τῶν μελῶν τῆς Συνόδου ὡς πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν εἰς τὸν θρόνον Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Μελετίου.**

Ἀπορεῖ τις καὶ ἐξίσταται μὲ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικοπολιτικὴν ἀμβλυωπίαν τοῦ ἀρίστου Θεολόγου Γρηγορίου. Οὐδὲν ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου ἀπὸ τὸν Μ. Βασίλειον. Ποσάκις δὲν παρεξήγησεν αὐτὸν καὶ δὲν ἐμνησικάκησεν ἀκόμη καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιμνημόσυνον πρὸς τὸν φίλον του λόγον. Πῶς ἦτο δυνατὸν ἡ Σύνοδος νὰ ἐκλέξῃ ὡς διάδοχον τοῦ Μελετίου τὸν Παυλῖνον, τὸν ἀντικανονικῶς χειροτονηθέντα ὑπὸ Λούκιφερ τοῦ Καλλάρεως, Μαρκελλιανίζοντα[1] καὶ Σαβελλιανίζοντα[2]; Ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος διεξῆγε σκληρὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸς ἀναγνώρισιν τοῦ Μελετίου ἐν Ἀνατολῇ καὶ Δύσει. Πῶς ἦτο δυνατὸν οἱ ὀπαδοὶ καὶ φίλοι του, μέλη τῆς Συνόδου, νὰ προτιμήσουν μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Μελετίου τὸν Παυλῖνον καὶ νὰ δικαιώσουν οὕτω τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τοὺς Δυτικούς, οἵτινες παρὰ τὰς ὑποδείξεις τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ἀνεγνώρισαν τὸν Παυλῖνον ὡς τὸν μόνον κανονικὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀντιοχείας[3]; Βεβαίως θὰ ὑπεστηρίζετο ὑπὸ τῆς Συνόδου ὁ Φλαβιανός, ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Μελετίου καὶ τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, ὅστις μετὰ τοῦ Ταρσοῦ Διοδώρου – ἀμφότεροι φίλοι τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου– ἐπωμίσθη τὸ βάρος τῆς εὐθύνης τῆς μεγαλυτέρας μερίδος τῶν Ὀρθοδόξων ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐνῷ μετὰ τοῦ φίλου του Διοδώρου ἦτο ἀκόμη λαϊκός[4]. Δὲν ἔχει λοιπὸν δίκαιον καταφερόμενος ἐναντίον τῶν μελῶν τῆς Συνόδου[5]. Ἐγνώριζε κάλλιστα τὴν περὶ τοῦ Παυλίνου γνώμην τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου καὶ μάλιστα ὅσα ἀναφέρονται ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Δυτικοὺς 263, 5 ἐπιστολῇ: *«Ὁ μέντοι Παυλῖνος εἰ μέν τι καὶ περὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐπιλήψιμον ἔχει αὐτοὶ ἂν εἴποιτε. Ἡμᾶς δὲ λυπεῖ τοῖς Μαρκέλλου προσπεπονθὼς δόγμασι καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ ἀδιακρίτως εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν αὐτοῦ προσιέμενος»*[6], καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ Μελετίου.

Ὡς πρὸς τὸ ζήτημα τῆς καταδίκης τῶν διαφόρων αἱρέσεων διὰ τοῦ πρώτου κανόνος τῆς Συνόδου: «Μὴ ἀθετεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν τῶν πατέρων τῶν τριακοσίων δεκαοκτώ, τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας συνελθόντων, ἀλλὰ μένειν ἐκείνην κυρίαν, καὶ ἀναθεματισθῆναι πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν· καὶ εἰδικῶς τὴν τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν, εἴτουν ἀνομοίων· καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν, εἴτουν Εὐδοξιανῶν· καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἡμιαρειανῶν, ἤγουν Πνευματομάχων· καὶ τὴν τῶν Σαβελλιανῶν, Μαρκελλιανῶν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Φωτεινιανῶν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀπολλιναριστῶν»[7], καταδικάζονται ὅλαι ἐκεῖναι αἱ αἱρέσεις ἐναντίον τῶν ὁποίων ἠγωνίσθη ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος καὶ οὕτως ἐδικαιώθησαν οἱ ἀγῶνες του καὶ αἱ προσδοκίαι του. Ὑπὸ Ἀρειανοὺς ὁ κανὼν ἀναφέρει τοὺς Εὐδοξιανοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡμιαρειανοὺς τοὺς Πνευματομάχους, ἄρα διεξήχθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν διαπραγματεύσεις ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ καὶ ἀπεκρυσταλλώθη τὸ τρίτον ἄρθρον τοῦ Συμβόλου καὶ τὸ Σύμβολον ἔλαβεν ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν τελικήν του μορφὴν μὲ τὰς

1. *«Ὁ μέντοι Παυλῖνος εἰ μέν τι καὶ περὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐπιλήψιμον ἔχει αὐτοὶ ἂν εἴποιτε. Ἡμᾶς δὲ λυπεῖ τοῖς Μαρκέλλου προσπεπονθὼς δόγμασι καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ ἀδιακρίτως εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἑαυτοῦ προσιέμενος»*, Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 263, 5 55, 330, 11–14.

2. *«Ἱκανῶς δέ μου κἀκεῖνο τὴν ψυχὴν παρεκάλεσε, τὸ προστεθὲν παρὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας τοῖς λοιποῖς καλῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς θεολογηθεῖσι· τὸ τρεῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογεῖν. Ὥστε τοῦτο καὶ οἱ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἀδελφοὶ διδασκέσθωσαν παρὰ σοῦ, πάντως δέ που καὶ ἐδιδάχθησαν. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἴλου δηλονότι τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς κοινωνίαν μὴ τοῦτο αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸ μέρος ἀσφαλισάμενος»*, Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 258, 3 55, 318, 7–12.

3. *«Πρὸς δὲ τῇ φήμῃ κατέλαβεν ἡμᾶς ἀκοὴ ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς κατὰ Παυλῖνον συντάξεως ἀδελφοὶ διαλέγονται τῇ ὀρθότητί σου περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἑνώσεως, ἡμᾶς δὲ λέγω τοὺς τῆς μερίδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, Μελετίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Οὓς καὶ γράμματα ἀκούω νῦν τῶν Δυτικῶν περιφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτρέποντα, παραλογιζόμεθα δὲ τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀληθινῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον. Καὶ οὐ θαυμάζω τοῦτο. Οἱ μὲν ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐνταῦθα, οἱ δὲ καὶ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἢ καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν εἰς τὸ γράφειν Παυλίνῳ ἦλθεν ὁ μακαριώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθανάσιος. Τὴν δὲ σὴν τελειότητα αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν τοὺς δυναμένους τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐπισκόπων γενόμενα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοβιανοῦ βασιλείας ἀκριβῶς διηγήσασθαι παρακαλοῦμεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδενὸς κατηγοροῦμεν, πρὸς πάντας δὲ ἔχειν εὐχόμεθα τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως, συγχαίρομεν τοῖς κομισαμένοις τὰ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης γράμματα. Κἂν τινα σεμνὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἔχῃ αὐτοῖς μαρτυρίαν, εὐχόμεθα ἀληθεύειν αὐτὴν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων βεβαιουμένην. Οὐ μέντοι τούτου γε ἕνεκεν δυνάμεθα ἑαυτοὺς πεῖσαί ποτε ἢ Μελέτιον ἀγνοῆσαι ἢ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν Ἐκκλησίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι ἢ τὰ ζητήματα ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ διάστασις γέγονε, μικρὰ ἡγήσασθαι καὶ ὀλίγην ἔχειν νομίσαι διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας σκοπόν. Ἐγὼ γάρ, οὐχ ὅπως εἰ ἐπιστολήν τις ἀνθρώπων δεξάμενος ἐπ' αὐτῇ μέγα φρονεῖ, τούτου ἕνεκεν ὑποσταλῆναί ποτε καταδέξομαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦκε τῶν οὐρανῶν, μὴ στοιχῇ δὲ τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως, δύναμαι αὐτὸν κοινωνὸν ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἁγίων»*, Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 214, 2 55, 251, 27–252, 14 καὶ ἐπ. 239, 2: «Ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιμείνῃ ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος; Οἳ τὸ ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται, ψευδέσι δὲ ὑπονοίαις προειλημμένοι ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ· πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες, τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτός, ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ σχήματος ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ κορυφαίῳ· περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον παραινίξασθαι ὅτι οὔτε ἴσασι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὔτε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἂν μανθάνοιεν καταδέχονται, καθόλου δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν ταπεινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι μηδὲ ἀξίωμα κρίνειν ὑπερηφανίαν, ἁμάρτημα καὶ μόνον ἀρκοῦν ἔχθραν ποιῆσαι εἰς Θεόν»*, 55, 293, 42–294, 10.

4. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 2, 24, 7–11.27,8 4, 25, 1–5.27.1 5.23,1, σσ. 154, 2–155, 2 160,8 263, 8–264, 14 267, 6 ἑξ. 321, 18 ἑξ. Περὶ Φλαβιανοῦ: Θεοδ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 3, 10 ἑξ. 23, 1.3–11 27, 2 4, 11, 5 σσ. 281, 3 ἑξ. 321, 17 ἑξ. 322, 20 ἑξ. 323, 1 ἑξ. 328, 19 230.10 ἑξ. Σωκρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 9 11.15, ΜΕΠ 67, 581 CD καὶ ὑποσ. m 593 A 601 C. Σωζομ. 7, 11 8, 3, ΜΕΠ 67, 1441 B ἑξ. 1520 C. Περὶ Διοδώρου: Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 99, 3 135: Διοδώρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ Ἀντιοχείας 244,3: «Διόδωρον δὲ ὡς θρέμμα τοῦ μακαρίου Σιλουανοῦ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεδεξάμεθα, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν καὶ περιέπομεν διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου χάριν δι' ἧς πολλοὶ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων βελτίους γίνονται», 55, 303, 4 ἑξ. καὶ σ. 132,15 161,6–162, 2, 14 302, 31. Θεοδ., Ἐ. Ἱ., 5, 4, 2: χειροτονία εἰς ἐπίσκοπον Ταρσῶν ὑπὸ Μελετίου 8, 4, 40, σσ. 282, 15 ἑξ. 287, 28 347, 21. Σωκρ. 5, 8. Σωζομ. 7, 8.9. Πρβλ. καὶ ἡμ. ἐργ. Τὸ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ σχίσμα κλπ.: «Κληρονομία» 13 (1981), Α', 110/11, κυρίως σ. 115 ἑξ.

5. Γρηγ. Θεολ., Ἱστ. ἔπη ΙΑ', 1570–1689, κυρίως 1680–89, ΜΕΠ 37, 1138–1147.

6. ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 330, 11–14.

7. *Mansi* III, 557 E/560 A.

προσθαφαιρέσεις. Ἄξιον ἰδιαιτέρας ἐπίσης προσοχῆς τυγχάνει τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι ὡς πρώτη αἵρεσις καταδικάζεται ἐν τῷ κανόνι ἡ τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν, ἐναντίον τοῦ ἡγέτου τῆς ὁποίας ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος διεξῆγε καὶ τὸν διὰ συγγράμματος ἀγῶνα, καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπεκράτησεν ἡ γνώμη τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου: «*Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἰταμὸν καὶ ἀναίσχυντον τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Ἀρειανῶν φανερῶς ἀπορραγὲν τοῦ σώματος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μένει ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας πλάνης καὶ ὀλίγα ἡμᾶς λυμαίνεται διὰ τὸ πᾶσι πρόδηλον αὐτῶν τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἶναι*»[1]. Ἡ Σύνοδος καταδικάζει ἀκριβῶς ἐκείνας τὰς αἱρέσεις, τῶν ὁποίων τὴν καταδίκην διαρκῶς ζητεῖ καὶ ἐπιδιώκει ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος, διότι οἱ αἱρετικοὶ αὐτοὶ εἶναι: «Οἱ... τὴν δοραν τοῦ προβάτου περιβεβλημένοι καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἥμερον προβαλλόμενοι καὶ πραεῖαν, ἔνδοθεν δὲ σπαράσσοντες ἀφειδῶς τὰ Χριστοῦ ποίμνια καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν ὡρμῆσθαι εὐκόλως ἐμβάλλοντες βλάβην τοῖς ἁπλουστέροις, *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ χαλεποὶ καὶ δυσφύλακτοι. Οὓς ἀξιοῦμεν* παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀκριβείας *πρὸς πάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀνατολὴν Ἐκκλησίας δημοσιευθῆναι, ἵνα ἢ ὀρθοποδήσαντες γνησίως ὦσι σὺν ἡμῖν, ἢ μένοντες ἐπὶ τῆς διαστροφῆς ἐν ἑαυτοῖς μόνοις τὴν βλάβην ἔχωσι μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐκ τῆς ἀφυλάκτου κοινωνίας τῆς ἰδίας νόσου μεταδιδόναι τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν. Ἀνάγκη δὲ τούτων ὀνομαστὶ μνησθῆναι*, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ γνωρίσητε τοὺς τὰς ταραχὰς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐργαζομένους καὶ ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις ὑμῶν φανερὸν καταστήσητε. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν λόγος ὑποπτός ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς τάχα διά τινας ἰδιωτικὰς φιλονεικίας τὴν μικροψυχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλομένων... *Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμφώνως πλείονες ὁμοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσητε, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δογματισάντων ἀναντίρρητον πᾶσι τὴν παραδοχὴν κατασκευάσει τοῦ δόγματος*»[2]. Ἡ Σύνοδος υἱοθέτησεν ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου χρησιμοποιηθέντα ὅρον «Πνευματομάχοι». Ὀνομαστὶ ἀναφέρει λοιπὸν ὡς πρῶτον «Εὐστάθιον ἐκ τῆς Σεβαστείας τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας», τοῦ ὁποίου παραθέτει τὰς διαφόρους μεταπτώσεις, τέλος δὲ γράφει περὶ αὐτοῦ: «Οὗτος νῦν πορθεῖ τὴν πίστιν ἐκείνην ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδέχθη καὶ τοῖς ἀναθεματίζουσι τὸ ὁμοούσιον σύνεστι καὶ πρωτοστάτης ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν Πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως»[3].

Γνωστοὶ εἶναι οἱ ἀγῶνες τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ἐναντίον τοῦ Εὐνομίου[4], τοῦ Ἀγκύρας Μαρκέλλου[5] καὶ τοῦ Σαβελλίου[6], τῶν ὁποίων ἐν συντομίᾳ ἐκθέτει καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἣν καὶ κατακρίνει. Ὡσαύτως καταφέρεται καὶ ἐναντίον τοῦ Ἀπολλιναρίου –ἁπαντᾷ καὶ ἡ γραφὴ εἰς τὰς πηγὰς Ἀπολιναρίου– τοῦ ὁποίου ὡσαύτως ἐν μεγίστῃ συντομίᾳ παραθέτει τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ ἐκφέρει καὶ κρίσεις ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλιναρίου[7].

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1. ἐπ. 263,2 266,1 204,6 91 55,328, 19 ἐξ. 334, 31 ἐξ. 237, 27 ἐξ. 121, 29 ἐξ. Πρβλ. καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πρὸς τοὺς Δυτικοὺς ἐπιστολάς του.

2. ἐπ. 263,2 55,328, 22–41.

3. ἐπ. 263,3 55,329, 1 ἐξ., τὸ χωρίον 329,24 ἐξ. ἐπ. 244, 5–9. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 138, 2 226, 1–4 237,2 244, 2–9 251, 2–4 55, 164,39 ἐξ. 273, 22–276, 18 291,30 ἐξ. 301,30 ἕως 306, 19 310, 15 ἐξ. κλπ.

4. Πρβλ. Μ. Βασ. Ἀνατρεπτικὸς τοῦ ἀπολογητικοῦ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Εὐνομίου, ΒΕΠΕΣ 52, 157 ἕως 227 ἐπ. 20 55, 39,34, ἐπ. 244,9 55,306,15.

5. Πρβλ.. ἐπ. 69,2: «τὸ τὴν Μαρκέλλου αἵρεσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς χαλεπὴν καὶ βλαβερὰν καὶ τῆς ὑγιαινούσης πίστεως ἀλλοτρίως ἔχουσαν ἐξορίσαι... Ὃς Λόγον μὲν εἰρῆσθαι τὸν Μονογενῆ δίδωσι, κατὰ χρείαν καὶ ἐπὶ καιροῦ προελθόντα, πάλιν δὲ εἰς τὸν ὅθεν ἐξῆλθεν ἐπαναστρέψαντα, οὔτε πρὸ τῆς ἐξόδου εἶναι οὔτε μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ὑφεστάναι. Καὶ τούτου ἀποδείξεις αἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀποκείμεναι βίβλοι τῆς ἀδίκου ἐκείνης συγγραφῆς ὑπάρχουσιν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦτον οὐδαμοῦ διαβάλλοντες ἐφάνησαν, καὶ ταῦτα αἰτίαν ἔχοντες ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κατ' ἄγνοιαν τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παραδεξάμενοι. Ἐκείνου τε οὖν μνησθῆναι πρεπόντως ἀπαιτεῖ τὰ παρόντα, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἀφορμὴν τοὺς θέλοντας ἀφορμήν, ἐκ τοῦ τῇ σῇ ὁσιότητι συνάπτειν τοὺς ὑγιαίνοντας καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἀληθῆ πίστιν ὀκλάζοντας φανεροὺς πᾶσι ποιῆσαι· ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ γνωρίζειν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὁμόφρονας καὶ μή, ὡς ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ, μηδεμίαν φίλων καὶ πολεμίων ἔχειν διάκρισιν», 55, 102, 11–31. ἐπ. 125, 1: «Ὅπου γε καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐτόλμησεν ἀσεβῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενος λόγον ἐκεῖθεν προφασίσασθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφέναι τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὴν διάνοιαν κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος», 55, 151, 7–10. ἐπ. 239, 2, σ. 294,2 ἐξ. ἐπ. 263,5, σ. 330, 12 ἐξ. ἐπ. 265, 3, σ. 333, 25 ἐξ. 334, 14.

6. Πρβλ. Μ. Βασ. Κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀνομοίων, Ὁμ. 24, ΒΕΠΕΣ 54, 217–225. ἐπ. 210,3: «Ἰουδαϊσμός ἐστιν ὁ Σαβελλισμὸς ἐν προσχήματι Χριστιανισμοῦ τῷ εὐαγγελικῷ κηρύγματι ἐπεισαγόμενος. Ὁ γὰρ ἓν πρᾶγμα πολυπρόσωπον λέγων Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ μίαν τῶν τριῶν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐκτιθέμενος, τί ἄλλο ποιεῖ ἢ οὐχὶ ἀρνεῖται μὲν τὴν προαιώνιον τοῦ Μονογενοῦς ὕπαρξιν; Ἀρνεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν οἰκονομικὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίαν, τὴν εἰς ἅδου κάθοδον, τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὴν κρίσιν· ἀρνεῖται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἰδιαζούσας τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας». «5. Ἐπεὶ τόν γε ἀνυπόστατον τῶν προσώπων ἀναπλασμὸν οὐδὲ Σαβέλλιος παρητήσατο, εἰπὼν τὸν αὐτὸν Θεόν, ἕνα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὄντα πρὸς τὰς ἑκάστοτε παραπιπτούσας χρείας μεταμορφούμενον, νῦν μὲν ὡς Πατέρα, νῦν δὲ ὡς Υἱόν, νῦν δὲ ὡς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον διαλέγεσθαι. Ταύτην πάλαι κατασβεσθεῖσαν τὴν πλάνην ἀνανεοῦνται νῦν οἱ τῆς ἀνωνύμου ταύτης αἱρέσεως ἐφευρεταί, οἱ τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἀθετοῦντες καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπαρνούμενοι», 55, 245, 26–33 247, 31–37· πρβλ. καὶ σ. 246, 3 ἐξ. ἐπ. 214, 3: «ἀλλ' οὖν τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σαβελλίου προειλῆφθαι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο λέγοντος· ἕνα μὲν εἶναι τῇ ὑποστάσει τὸν Θεόν, προσωποποιεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς διαφόρως κατὰ τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἑκάστοτε χρείας, καὶ νῦν μὲν τὰς πατρικὰς ἑαυτῷ περιτιθέναι φωνάς, ὅταν τούτου καιρὸς ᾖ τοῦ προσώπου, νῦν δὲ τὰς Υἱῷ πρεπούσας, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλας τινὰς οἰκονομικὰς ἐνεργείας ὑποβαίνῃ, νῦν δὲ τὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποδύεσθαι πρόσωπον, ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου προσώπου φωνὰς ἀπαιτῇ», σ. 252, 30–37. ἐπ. 226, 4: «*Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς τὰ Σαβελλίου νοσοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τὰ Ἀρείου δόγματα ἐκδικοῦντας ὡς ἀσεβεῖς ἀποφεύγομεν καὶ ἀναθεματίζομεν*. Εἴ τις τὸν αὐτὸν Πατέρα λέγει καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἓν πρᾶγμα πολυώνυμον ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν ὑπὸ τριῶν προσηγοριῶν ἐκφωνουμένην, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι τῶν Ἰουδαίων τάσσομεν. Ὁμοίως καὶ εἴ τις ἀνόμοιον λέγει κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρὶ ἢ εἰς κτίσμα κατάγει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ἀναθεματίζομεν καὶ ἐγγὺς εἶναι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς τιθέμεθα πλάνης», σ. 275, 34–41. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 9, 2 52,3 125,1 126 189,2 207, 1 224,2 236,6, σσ.52, 3 151, 10 153,33 210, 18 ἐξ. 240, 27 ἐξ. 271,1 ἐξ. 290, 13 ἐξ.

7. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 265,2: «Καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι πολλὴν εὕρομεν λύπην παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀντεχομένοις τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου εἰρήνης ἐπὶ ταῖς νεωτεροποιίαις ταῖς παντοδαπαῖς Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ Λαοδικέως, ὃς τοσούτῳ πλέον ἐλύπησεν ἡμᾶς ὅσῳ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἐξ ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς... Ὃν γὰρ προσεδοκήσαμεν συνασπιστὴν ἕξειν τῆς ἀληθείας, τοῦτον εὑρομεν νῦν ἐν πολλοῖς

Πρὶν διερευνήσωμεν καὶ διαπιστώσωμεν τὴν ἐπίδρασιν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ἐπὶ τῆς λιτότητος τοῦ τρίτου περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος ἄρθρου τῆς Συνόδου, θεωροῦμεν ἀπαραίτητον, ὅπως ἐπιχειρήσωμεν τὸν ἑρμηνευτικὸν σχολιασμὸν τῶν δυσερμηνεύτων καὶ ὄντως σκοτεινῶν στίχων ΙΑ' 1703-1796 τῶν ἱστ. ἐπῶν «Εἰς ἑαυτὸν» Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου[1]. Ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τοὺς στίχους τούτους ἔχομεν τὴν ἀφήγησιν καὶ ἔκθεσιν τῶν περὶ τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Νικαίας ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ γενομένων συζητήσεων, διενέξεων καὶ ἀποφάσεων, τὴν διεύρυνσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἄρθρου περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος καὶ τὰς διαφόρους προσθαφαιρέσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις ἐν αὐτῷ, ὥστε νὰ λάβῃ τοῦτο τὴν τελικήν του μορφήν. Τοῦτο διεπίστωσαν καὶ ἀπέδειξαν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων ὁ A. P. Lebedev[2], διεξοδικώτερον δὲ προχωρῶν περαιτέρω ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐπίτιμος Καθηγητὴς τοῦ Ἀθήνησι Πανεπιστημίου Χρυσόστομος[3] καὶ ἐκ τῶν ξένων οἱ F.J. Badock[4], Ed. Schwartz[5] καὶ κυρίως ὁ A.M. Ritter[6].

Παραθέτω τοὺς στίχους τούτους, τοὺς τόσον σημαντικούς, ἵνα προβῶ εἰς τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἑρμηνευτικὴν ἀνάλυσιν ἐνίων ἐξ αὐτῶν:

1703–1720: Ἱστορικὴ ἀναδρομή
1703 Κἀκεῖνο δ' οἷον; τὴν γλυκεῖαν καὶ καλὴν Πη-
γὴν Παλαιᾶς πίστεως, ἣ Τριάδος.
1705 Εἰς ἓν συνῆγεν τὴν σεβάσμιον φύσιν,
Ἧς ἦν ποθ' ἡ Νίκαια φροντιστήριον,

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ἐμποδίζοντα τοῖς σῳζομένοις ἐκ τοῦ περιέλκειν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ ἀποσπᾶν τῆς εὐθύτητος τῶν δογμάτων. Τί γὰρ ἐν ἔργοις παρ' αὐτοῦ θερμὸν καὶ τολμηρὸν οὐκ ἐπράχθη; Τί δὲ ἐν λόγοις οὐ παρεπενοήθη νεώτερον καὶ ἐπικεκινδυνευμένον; Οὐ πᾶσα μὲν Ἐκκλησία ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἐμερίσθη, μάλιστα δὲ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων κυβερνωμέναις ἐπιπεμφθέντων παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ σχίσαι καὶ ἰδίαν παρασυναγωγὴν ἐκδικῆσαι; Οὐχὶ γελᾶται τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον ὡς ἄνευ λαοῦ καὶ κλήρου ἐπισκόπων περιερχομένων, ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιφερόντων, οὐδὲν δὲ κατορθούντων εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου τῆς σωτηρίας; Οὐχὶ οἱ περὶ Θεοῦ λόγοι παρ' αὐτῷ πλήρεις εἰσὶν ἀσεβῶν δογμάτων, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀσεβείας τοῦ ματαιόφρονος Σαβελλίου δι' αὐτοῦ νῦν ἀνανεωθείσης τοῖς συντάγμασιν; Εἰ γὰρ ἃ περιφέρουσιν οἱ Σεβαστηνοὶ μὴ συμπέπλασται παρ' ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ εἰσι συγγραφαί, οὐδεμίαν εἰς ἀσέβειαν ὑπερβολὴν καταλέλοιπε τὸν αὐτὸν Πατέρα λέγων καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ πάλιν Υἱὸν καὶ Πατέρα καὶ ἄλλα σκοτεινὰ ἀσεβῆ ῥήματα ἃ ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἡμῶν κατεδεξάμεθα παραδέξασθαι, εὐχόμενοι μηδεμίαν ἔχειν μερίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ῥήματα φθεγξομένους. Οὐχὶ συγκέχυται παρ' αὐτῷ ὁ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως λόγος; Οὐκ ἀμφίβολος γέγονε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ σωτήριος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν οἰκονομία ἐκ τῶν θολερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ σκοτεινῶν περὶ σαρκώσεως ζητημάτων; Ἅ πάντα συναγαγεῖν καὶ εἰς ἔλεγχον καταστῆσαι μακροῦ καὶ χρόνου καὶ λόγου δεῖται. Τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τόπον τίς οὕτως ἠμαύρωσε καὶ ἠφάνισεν ὡς ἡ τούτου μυθολογία; Ὅς γε τὴν μακαρίαν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς πολιτευσαμένοις κατὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὕτω ταπεινῶς καὶ ἐρριμμένως ἐτόλμησεν ἐξηγήσασθαι ὥστε εἰς γραώδεις λόγους καὶ Ἰουδαϊκοὺς μύθους ἐκτραπῆναι. Ἄνωθεν ἐπαγγέλλεται τοῦ ναοῦ τὴν ἀνανέωσιν καὶ τῆς νομικῆς λατρείας τὴν παρατήρησιν καὶ πάλιν ἀρχιερέα τυπικὸν μετὰ τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ θυσίαν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν μετὰ τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν ἄραντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου καὶ βαπτίσματα μερικὰ μετὰ τὸ ἓν βάπτισμα καὶ σποδὸν δαμάλεως ραντίζουσαν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως σπίλον ἢ ρυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ καθαρισμοὶ λέπρας μετὰ τὴν ἀπάθειαν τῆς ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ζηλοτυπίας προσφοράν, ὅτε οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίσκονται, ἄρτοι προθέσεως μετὰ τὸν ἄρτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, λύχνοι καιόμενοι μετὰ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, καὶ ὅλως, εἰ νῦν ὁ νόμος τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι κατήργηται, δῆλον ὅτι τότε τὰ δόγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τοῖς νομικοῖς ἐντάλμασιν ἀκυρωθήσεται. Ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰσχύνη μὲν καὶ ἐντροπὴ ἐκάλυψεν ἡμῶν τὰ πρόσωπα, λύπη δὲ βαρεῖα πεπλήρωκεν ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας. Διὸ παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἐπιστήμονας ἰατροὺς καὶ δεδιδαγμένους ἐν τῇ πραΰτητι παιδεύειν τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους, πειραθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐπαναγαγεῖν πρὸς τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ πεῖσαι αὐτὸν καταφρονῆσαι τῆς πολυφωνίας τῶν συνταγμάτων (ἐβεβαίωσε γὰρ τὸν τῆς Παροιμίας λόγον ὅτι· "Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ πολυλογίας ἐκφυγεῖν ἁμαρτίαν", Παρμ. 10, 19), στενῶς δὲ αὐτῷ προβάλλειν τὰ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας δόγματα, ἵνα κἀκείνου ἡ ἐπανόρθωσις φανερὰ γένηται καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ γνωρισθῇ ἡ μεταμέλεια», σ. 332, 8–12.16–333, 24. Ἐπ. 263,4: «Δεύτερος μετ' αὐτόν ἐστιν Ἀπολινάριος οὐ μικρὰ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς Ἐκκλησίας παραλυπῶν. Τῇ γὰρ τοῦ γράφειν εὐκολίᾳ πρὸς πᾶσαν ὑπόθεσιν ἔχων ἀρκοῦσαν αὐτῷ τὴν γλῶσσαν, ἐνέπλησε μὲν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συνταγμάτων τὴν οἰκουμένην, παρακούσας τοῦ ἐγκλήματος τοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι "Φύλαξαι ποιῆσαι βιβλία πολλά" (Ἐκκλ. 12, 12)· ἐν δὲ τῷ πλήθει δηλονότι πολλὰ καὶ ἁμάρτηται. Πῶς γὰρ δυνατὸν ἐκ πολυλογίας ἐκφυγεῖν ἁμαρτίαν; Ἔστι μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς θεολογίας οὐκ ἐκ γραφικῶν ἀποδείξεων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνων ἀφορμῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν ἔχοντα. Ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀναστάσεως μυθικῶς συγκείμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ Ἰουδαϊκῶς, ἐν οἷς φησι πάλιν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν νομικὴν ὑποστρέφειν λατρείαν καὶ πάλιν ἡμᾶς περιτμηθήσεσθαι καὶ σαββατίζειν καὶ βρωμάτων ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ θυσίας προσοίσειν Θεῷ καὶ προσκυνήσειν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ὅλως ἀπὸ Χριστιανῶν Ἰουδαίους γενήσεσθαι. Ὧν τί ἂν γένοιτο καταγελαστότερον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀλλοτριώτερον τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ δόγματος; Εἶτα καὶ τὰ περὶ σαρκώσεως τοσαύτην ἐποίησε τῇ ἀδελφότητι τὴν ταραχήν, ὥστε ὀλίγοι λοιπὸν τῶν ἐντετυχηκότων τὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς εὐσεβείας διασῴζουσι χαρακτῆρα· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ταῖς καινοτομίαις προσέχοντες ἐξετράπησαν εἰς ζητήσεις καὶ φιλονείκους ἐφευρέσεις τῶν ἀνωφελῶν τούτων ῥημάτων», σ. 329, 32–330, 10. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 129,1 131,1 224,2 καὶ 244,3, σσ. 156, 3–16.26 ἐξ. 159,2 ἐξ. 270,21 ἐξ. 302, 30 ἐξ. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 361–364, σσ. 384–388 καὶ τὴν ὑποσ.* ἐν σ. 384. Πρβλ. ὡσαύτως καὶ *Χρήστου Π.*, Heresies condamned by the Second Ecumenical Council: Le IIe Conc. Oec.. Chambesy 1982, σσ. 111–122.

1. ΜΕΠ 37,1148 Α–1155 Α.

2. *A. P. Lebedev*, Νέα θεωρία περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Συμβόλου ΚΠ. (ρωσιστί). Περιοδ. «Πίστις καὶ Ἐκκλησία», Π, 1889, σσ. 535–564. Τοῦ *αὐτοῦ*, Περὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου συμβόλου τῆς πίστεως (ρωσ.), ἐν τῷ περιοδ. «Θεολογικὸς Ἀγγελιαφόρος» Μόσχας, ΙΧ, 1902, τεῦχ. Ἰανουαρίου–Φεβρουαρίου, καὶ τοῦ *αὐτοῦ*, Ἱστορία τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων. Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι τοῦ δ' καὶ ε' αἰῶνος (ρωσιστί), Σέργιεφ Ποσάδ 1898, σ. 285 ἐξ. κατὰ *Χρυσ. Παπαδόπουλον*: Τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, σ. 2 11, ὑπ. 1 καὶ 2. Ἐπίσης κατὰ *Χρυσ. Παπαδόπουλον*, σ. 11, ὑπ. 2: *N. Orloff*, A russian view on the Creed of Constantinopel, ἐν Journal of Theological Studies IV, 1903, σ. 285–90. «Τὸ ἄρθρον τοῦτο τοῦ Orloff εἶναι περίληψις τῶν γνωμῶν τοῦ Lebedev, διατυπωθεισῶν ἐξ ἀφορμῆς τοῦ ἄρθρου τοῦ Schmidt».

3. *Χρυσοστόμου Παπαδοπούλου*, Ἀρχιεπ. Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος, Ἐπιτ. Καθηγ. Παν. Ἀθ., Τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου, Ἱστορικὴ καὶ κριτικὴ μελέτη, Ἐπ. Ἐπετ. Θεολ. Σχ. Ἀθ. Παν., τόμ. Α', τεῦχ. 1, Ἀθ., 1924, σσ. 1–73.

4. *F. J. Badcock*, JThS XVI, 1915, 210 ἐξ. καὶ τοῦ *αὐτοῦ*, The History of the Creeds, London 1930, σσ. 171 ἐξ. 185 ἐξ.

5. *E. Schwartz*, Das Nicaenum und das Constantinopolitanum auf der Synode von Chalcedon, ZNW 25, 1926, 38–88, κυρίως σ. 43, ὑπ. 2.

6. *A. M. Ritter*, Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol, Göttingen, 1965, σσ. 253–270 Exkurs III: Zur Interpretation von Greg. Naz. Coarm. Hist. XI (Über sich selbst), V 1703–1796, καὶ σσ. 83–85 155 ἐξ. 190.

Ταύτην ἐώρων ἁλμυραῖς ἐπιρροαῖς
Τῶν ἀμφιδόξων ἀθλίως θολουμένην,
Οἳ ταῦτα δοξάζουσιν, οἷς χαίρει κράτος,
Μέσοι μὲν ὄντες, ἀσμενιστὸν δ' εἰ μέσοι,
Καὶ μὴ προδήλως κλήσεως ἐναντίας,
Ἐπίσκοποι νῦν μανθάνοντες τὸν Θεόν,
Διδάσκαλοι χθές, καὶ μαθηταὶ σήμερον
Τελειοποιοὶ καὶ τέλειοι δεύτερον,
Λαὸν καταρτίζοντες, οἳ τὰ σφῶν κακὰ
Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως μέν, ἐκλαλοῦσι δ' οὖν ὅμως,
Καὶ ταῦτα χωρὶς δακρύων· ὃ καὶ ξένον,
Ἄδακρυς ἐκλάλησις ἀρρωστημάτων!
Οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω. Δοῦλα καιρῷ γάρ φασι
Τὰ πάντα. Τοῦ παίζειν δὲ τίς μείζων τρυφή;
Ὅ μὴ πόνῳ τε κτητόν, ὡς τὰ πολλ' ἔχει,
Μήτ' ἄλλοθεν ποριστόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὤνιον.
Ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶς ποθ' οἱ φιλάνθρωποι λίαν;
Προυθήκαμεν κήρυγμα πρόθεν βημάτων·
Πᾶσι βοῶμεν· Ὅς θέλει, δεῦρ' εἰσίτω,
Κἂν δίστροφός τις ᾖ πολύστροφος τύχῃ.
Πανήγυρις ἕστηκεν, Ἀπίτω μηδεὶς
Ἀπραγμάτευτος· ἂν μεταστραφῇ κύβος
(Καιροῦ γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστιν εὐστροφώτερον),
Ἔχεις τὸ τεχνύδριον, ἀνάδραμε πάλιν.
Οὐκ εὐμαθὲς πίστει τὸ προσκεῖσθαι μιᾷ,
Βίων δὲ πολλὰς εἰδέναι διεξόδους.
Ἐξ οὗ τί γίνεθ'; Ἡ πολύπλοκος πάλαι
Εἰκὼν ἐν ὕπνοις· χρυσός, ἐξῆς ἄργυρος,
Χαλκός, σίδηρος, ὄστρακον τὰ πρὸς πόδας.
Δέδοικα μὴ τὰ πάντα λικμήσῃ λίθος.
Μωαβίταις κ' Ἀμμωνίταις, οἷς οὐ πάλαι,
Νῦν εἰσιτητόν ἐστιν εἰς Ἐκκλησίαν.
Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐπῄνεις ταῦτα τοπρόσθεν; λέγε.
Τῶν συλλόγων δὲ τίς πότ' εἶχε τὸ κράτος;
Οἳ σύλλογοι μὲν ἦσαν, ὧν ἦσαν τότε;
(Ὀκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὖθις, οἷς αἰσχύνομαι).
Ἦσαν δὲ πάντων, ἶσον εἰπεῖν οὐδενός.
Ἀναρχία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πλεισταρχία.
Ἐμοῦ δὲ καλῶς ἡ νόσος προεστάτη,
Ἥ μ' εἶργεν οἴκοι πολλὰ δὴ καὶ πολλάκις,
Πρὸς ἓν μόνον βλέποντα, τὴν ἐκδημίαν,
Ἥ πᾶσαν εἶχε τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήν.
Ὅ δ' οὖν παρέστη, τοῦτο καὶ κείσθω νόμος.
Τινὲς μὲν ἦσαν, οἳ βίᾳ μὲν καὶ μόγις,
Ἀλλ' οὖν συνῆλθον, οἷς τι μετῆν παρρησίας,
Ὅτοις ἄγνοια τοῦ κακοῦ συνήγορος,
Τῇ διπλόῃ κλαπεῖσι τῶν διδαγμάτων,
Τό τ' ἐν μέσῳ κήρυγμα εὐσεβῶς ἔχον,
Τόκος τεκόντων παντελῶς ἀλλότριος.
Τὸν συρφετὸν δὲ τὸν πολὺν Χριστεμπόρων
Τότε προσήσομ' ἡνίκ' ἂν καὶ βόρβορον
Εὐωδίᾳ μίξῃ τις ἀχράντου μύρου.
Ῥᾷων κακοῦ γὰρ ἢ καλοῦ μετουσία.
Τούτοις ὁ καινόδοξος οὐκ ἠρέσκετο
(Οὕτω καλοῦσι τοὺς προμηθεῖς οἱ θρασεῖς),
Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι τῷ προμηθεῖ. Γίνετ' οὖν
Ὁ Λὼτ ἐκεῖνος, χ' ὁ πατριάρχης Ἀβραάμ·
Ὁ μὲν βαδίζει τήν, ἐναντίαν δ' ὅδε,
Ὡς μὴ στενοῦσθαι τῷ πλάτει τῆς κτήσεως.
Τί δεῖ λέγειν, ὅσοις τε καὶ οἵοις λόγοις
Ταύτην ἐπείρων τὴν πολιὰν οἱ φίλτατοι·
Τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διδόντες, αἰτοῦντες δέ γε
Τί γνήσιον, φεῦ! Γρηγόριον τὸν γνήσιον,
Οἱ γνήσιοι μέν, εἰς δὲ σύμπνοιαν κακῶν·
Τόδ' ἔστιν, εἰς ἅπαντα συνεργοῦντ' ἔχειν.
Πῶς εἰς ἅπαντα; τίς δ' ἐφαντάσθη τόσον,
Ὡς πλῆθος ἄξει πρὸς τί μ', οὐ Θεὸς Λόγος;
Πρόσθεν ρυήσετ' εἰς ἄνω πηγῶν φύσις,
Καὶ πῦρ ὁδεύσει τὴν ἐναντίαν φοράν,
Ἢ τί προδώσω τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρίας.
Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξέκλεπτον ἐκ μέσου πόδα.
Δῆλον δέ· καὶ γὰρ οἶκον ἀντηλλαξάμην,
Ἕλκων ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βυθῶν ἐκκλησίας,
Πόρρω κακῶν τε καὶ λόγων καὶ συλλόγων.
Πλὴν ὅσα κατεστέναζον οἱ προσκείμενοι!
Λαοῦ μάλιστα, ὡς τὰ πάντων μὴ λέγω
Βοῶντες ἱκέτευον, εἰς Θεὸν χέρας
Αἴροντες, ὁρκίζοντες, ὡς τεθνηκότα
Πενθοῦντες ἤδη. Τοῦ πάθους! τῶν δακρύων!
Πῶς ἦν ἐνεγκεῖν ταῦτα; καὶ τίνος φρενός;
Ἡμᾶς ἀφίσεις τὸν σόν, ὡς ἠκούομεν,
Στάχυν, στενὸν ποτ', εὔκομον δὲ νῦν θέρος·
Λαὸν δὲ τὸν προσήλυτον, τὸν μὲν θύραις
Ταῖς σαῖς προσεστῶθ', οἷς ἀνοῖξαι δεῖ μόνον
Τὸν δ' ἔνδον ἤδη, τὸν δὲ θηρευτὴν ξένων,
Τίσι προήσῃ; τίς σὸν ἐκθρέψει τόκον;
Τοὺς σοὺς πόνους τίμησον, οἷς προσερρύης·
Δὸς τῆς πνοῆς τὸ λεῖπον ἡμῖν καὶ Θεῷ.
Ναὸς γενέσθω σοῦ βίου πεμπτήριος.
Ταῦτ' ἦν κλάσις μέν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκαρτέρουν.

Οἱ στίχοι αὐτοὶ εἶναι σκοτεινοὶ καὶ δυσερμήνευτοι, διότι κατὰ τὴν ταπεινήν μου γνώμην συνυφαίνουν καὶ συνδυάζουν γεγονότα μὲ ἱστορικὴν ἀναδρομὴν εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Α' Οἰκουμενικῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ Συνόδου (325) μὲ γεγονότα λαβόντα χώραν κατὰ τὰς συζητήσεις, διαπραγματεύσεις καὶ διενέξεις, διαδραματισθέντα δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνεδριάσεις τῆς Β' Οἰκουμενικῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Συνόδου (381), πρὸ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Μακεδόνων[1]. Οἱ στίχ. 1703–1706 ἀνάγονται εἰς τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ Σύνοδον. Ὑπὸ «ἁ λ μ υ ρ α ῖ ς ἐ π ι ρ ρ ο α ῖ ς» δὲν πρέπει νὰ νοηθῶσι μόνον αἱ ἐν τῇ Β' Οἰκουμενικῇ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει συνόδῳ (381) γενόμεναι εἰς τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Νικαίας προσθαφαιρέσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις λέξεων καὶ φράσεων ἐν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπασαι αἱ κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς καὶ εἰς διαφόρους συνόδους ἐπιχειρηθεῖσαι ἀλλοιώσεις τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Νικαίας: *«ὁμοιούσιος»*, *«ὅμοιος κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς»*, *«ἀνόμοιος»* κλπ., αἱ δημιουργίαι διαφόρων Συμβόλων, ἤτοι ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ (341 345) μὲ τὰς διαφόρους μορφὰς καὶ τύπους, Ρώμῃ (341), Σαρδικῇ (Σόφια) (342/3), Φιλιππουπόλει

1. Στίχ. 1798 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ στίχ. 1288/9: «Ὡς ἀντισῶσαι τοῖς παρελθοῦσι τὰ νῦν, Καιρῷ τὰ καιροῦ πταίσματ' ἐξιώμενος» (ἤτοι ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Θεοδόσιος), ΜΕΠ 37, 1117 Α.

(343), ἡ Μακρόστιχος Ἔκθεσις τῆς 3ης ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ συνόδου (345), αἱ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐν Σιρμίῳ συνόδῳ (351), τῇ δευτέρᾳ (357) καὶ τετάρτῃ (359), οἱ ἀναθεματισμοὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ συνόδου (358), τῆς ἐν Νίκῃ τῆς Θράκης (359), τῶν Ἀκακιανῶν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ καὶ Ἰσαυρίᾳ (359), αἱ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ (359), ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει (360) κλπ.[1]. Τὸ «ο ἱ ς χ α ί ρ ε ι κ ρ ά τ ο ς» δύναται νὰ ἀναχθῇ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Κωνσταντίνου, Κωνσταντίου καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίον τῶν ἀνθισταμένων ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων διωγμούς των[2]. Ὡσαύτως οἱ στίχ. 1710–1720 δύνανται νὰ ἀναχθοῦν κάλλιστα ἐπὶ τῆς πρὸ τῆς Συνόδου ἱστορικῆς ἀναδρομῆς καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὰς προαναφερθείσας διαφόρους συνόδους λαβόντας μέρος, ὄχι μόνον μελῶν τῆς Συνόδου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤδη ἀποθανόντας. Οἱ στίχ. 1723–1736 δύνανται νὰ ἐννοοῦν τὴν στάσιν τοῦ Γρηγορίου κατὰ τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει δρᾶσιν του[3]. Οἱ στίχ. 1730 ἑξ. ἐνθυμίζουν τὴν στάσιν πολλῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐποχῆς αὐτῆς καὶ κυρίως τὸν Σεβαστείας Εὐστάθιον, τὸν χαμαιλέοντα κατὰ τὸ φρόνημα[4], οἵτινες ἐναλλάσσουν τὰ φρονήματά των συμφώνως πρὸς τὰς καταστάσεις καλῇ τῇ πίστει ἢ ἐξ ἀγνοίας καὶ ἄλλοι συμφώνως πρὸς τὰ συμφέροντά των. Καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑπομένους στίχ. 1736 ἑξ. συνυφαίνονται γεγονότα τῆς Συνόδου μετὰ γεγονότων παρελθόντων ἐτῶν[5]. Ἀκόμη καὶ τὰ τῆς νόσου του στίχ. 1745 ἑξ. καὶ κυρίως ὡς ἐξάγεται ἐκ τοῦ «*πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πολλάκις*», παρὰ τὴν ἀντίθετον γνώμην τοῦ Ritter[6], ἀνάγονται καὶ εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν περίοδον τῆς Συνόδου. Διὰ τῶν στίχ. 1750–1765 καυτηριάζονται ἀρκετοὶ ἐπίσκοποι μέλη τῆς Β΄ Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου οὐχὶ ἀμέσως ἀλλ᾽ ἐμμέσως, διὰ τῆς ἀναδρομῆς πάλιν εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τῶν στίχων «*Ὅτοις ἄγνοια τῶν κακῶν συνήγορος, Τῇ διπλόῃ κλαπεῖσι τῶν διδαγμάτων*» μεταξὺ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐννοεῖ καὶ τὸν πατέρα του καὶ τὸν Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας Διάνιον, οἵτινες ὑπέγραψαν ἐξ ἀγνοίας καὶ καλῇ τῇ πίστει τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῷ 360 συνόδου[7]. Ἀπὸ τοῦ στίχ. 1765 ἑξ. μέχρι τοῦ στίχ. 1796 ὁ λόγος στρέφεται πλέον ἄνευ ἀναδρομῆς εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ περὶ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος συζητήσεις, τὰς προσπαθείας τῶν συνέδρων ὅπως συμφωνήσῃ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ Γρηγόριος, εἰς μάτην ὅμως[8].

Ἐρχόμεθα τώρα εἰς τὴν λιτότητα ὡς πρὸς τὴν διατύπωσιν τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος τρίτου Ἄρθρου τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Συνόδου. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι διάχυτος ἡ ἐπίδρασις τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, ἐπεκράτησαν δὲ αἱ ἀπόψεις καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία του περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ ὅσα διετύπωσεν εἰς διαφόρους του ἐπιστολάς, ἐπ᾽ εὐκαιρίᾳ διαφόρων ἐρωτήσεων καὶ ἀναφυέντων προβλημάτων καὶ εἰς διαφόρους λόγους του. Ἡ πικρὰ πεῖρα τὸν ἐδίδαξεν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ὅρου «ὁ μ ο ο ύ σ ι ο ς» ἐταλαιπωρήθη πικρῶς ἡ Ἐκκλησία καὶ ἐκινδύνευσε τὸν ἔσχατον τῶν κινδύνων, τὸν τῆς ἀποσυνθέσεως. Ἦτο ὁ θαυμάσιος καὶ πρακτικὸς ποιμήν, ὅστις ἐνδιεφέρετο καὶ διὰ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ «τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῷ πνεύματι» καὶ «τοὺς καθαροὺς τῇ καρδίᾳ», διότι αὐτοὶ θὰ κληρονομήσουν «τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν» καὶ «τὸν Θεὸν ὄψονται», τοὺς ἀ κ ε ρ α ι ο τ έ ρ ο υ ς, ὡς καλεῖ αὐτούς. Ὅσα

1. Πρβλ. *Hahn Aug.* und *L.*, Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche, Breslau 1897, σσ. 183–209.

2. Πρβλ. Γρηγ. Θεολ. λόγ. 42, 23, ΜΕΠ 36, 485 Β ἑξ.

3. Πρβλ. Γρηγ. Θεολ. λόγ. 42, 22, ΜΕΠ 36, 484 Β ἑξ.

4. Πρβλ. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 244,9: «Ἄνθρωποι δὲ ταῖς νεφέλαις ἐοίκασι, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων μεταβολὰς ἄλλοτε κατ᾽ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ ἀέρος ἐμφερομέναις καὶ μάλιστα δὴ οὗτοι περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος πολυτροπώτατοι τῶν εἰς ἡμετέραν πεῖραν ἡκόντων ἐφάνησαν. Εἰ μὲν καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα, εἴποιεν ἂν οἱ συμβεβιωκότες· ὃ δ᾽ οὖν ἐμοὶ ἐφάνη, τ ὸ π ε ρ ὶ τ ὴ ν π ί σ τ ι ν α ὐ τ ῶ ν ε ὐ μ ε τ ά β ο λ ο ν, οὐκ οἶδα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν ἄλλοις, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἱστορήσας οὔτε ἀκούσας ἑτέρων. Ἀρείῳ κατηκολούθουν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς· μετέθεντο πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τὸν κατὰ διάμετρον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα τῆς Ἀρείου κακοδοξίας, ὡς δηλοῖ αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις ἡ κατὰ Νίκαιαν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκφωνηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Ἐκοιμήθη Ἑρμογένης, καὶ πάλιν μετέστησαν πρὸς Εὐσέβιον, ἀνδρα κορυφαῖον τοῦ κατὰ Ἄρειον κύκλου, ὡς οἱ πειραθέντες φασίν. Ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπεσόντες, δι᾽ ἃς δήποτε αἰτίας, πάλιν ἀνέδραμον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καὶ πάλιν τὸ Ἀρειανὸν ὑπέκρυπτον φρόνημα. Παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπήν, ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παραλείπω, ὅσας ἐξέθεντο πίστεις; Ἐπ᾽ Ἀγκύρας ἄλλην, ἑτέραν ἐν Σελευκείᾳ, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τὴν πολυθρύλητον, ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἑτέραν, μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐν Νίκῃ τῆς Θράκης, νῦν πάλιν τὴν ἀπὸ Κυζίκου, ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀκούω ὅτι τὸ ὁμοούσιον κατασιγάσαντες, τὸ κατ᾽ οὐσίαν ὅμοιον νῦν περιφέρουσι καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα βλασφημίας μετ᾽ Εὐνομίου συγγράφουσι. Τούτων δὲ τῶν πίστεων ἃς ἀπηριθμησάμην, εἰ καὶ μὴ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσιν ἐναντίως, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν τὸ εὐμετάβολον τοῦ τρόπου ὁμοίως συνιστῶσι διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑστάναι ρημάτων. Ταῦτά ἐστιν ἀληθῆ μυρίων ἑτέρων ἀποσιωπηθέντων», 55, 305, 37–306, 19. Πρβλ. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 226, 2 240, 3–244, 5 251, 2.3.4, σ. 273, 37 ἑξ., σ. 295,22 ἑξ. 304, 3 ἑξ. 310,15–311,25, ἐπ. 263,3, σ. 329,1 ἑξ. καὶ Γρηγ. Θεολ. 42, 22.

5. Πρβλ. Γρηγ. Θεολ. λόγ. 42, 18, ΜΕΠ 36, 480 Α ἑξ.

6. Das Konzil κλπ., σ. 255.

7. Γρηγ. Θεολ. λόγ. 6ος, ΜΕΠ 35, 719/20 μετὰ τοῦ Monitum in orationem VI –752 καὶ λόγ. 18, 18 στήλ. 1005 C ἑξ. καὶ λόγ. 42, 14 καὶ 42,28, ΜΕΠ 36, 473 BCD καὶ 484 Β ἑξ. Μ. Βασ. ἐπ. 51, 2: «Περὶ μέντοι τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ βίου (ὡς πρὸς τὸν μακαριώτατον Διάνιον) (οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι τἀληθὲς) ἐλυπήθημεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ λύπην οὐκ ἀνεκτήν, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι φοβουμένων τὸν Κύριον, ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπογραφῇ τῆς πίστεως, τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν Γεώργιον ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κομισθείσης, Εἶτα, οἷος ἐκεῖνος πραότητι τρόπου καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ πάντας πληροφορεῖν ἐν σπλάγχνοις πατρικοῖς ἀνεχόμενος, ἤδη καταπεσὼν εἰς τὴν ἀρρωστίαν ὑφ᾽ ἧς καὶ μετῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου, προσκαλεσάμενος ἡμᾶς ἔφη ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ Κυρίῳ συντεθεῖσθαι μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γραμματείῳ, μηδὲν δὲ ἐπ᾽ ἀθετήσει τῆς κατὰ Νίκαιαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων ἐκτεθείσης πίστεως προελέσθαι· μηδὲ ἄλλως ἔχειν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἢ ὡς παρέλαβεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔχεσθαι μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς μερίδος τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτώ, τῶν τὸ εὐσεβὲς κήρυγμα διαγγειλάντων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ· ὥστε ἡμᾶς, λύσαντας πᾶσαν τῶν καρδιῶν τὴν διάκρισιν, προσελθεῖν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ λυπουμένους παύσασθαι», ΒΕΠΕΣ 55, 85, 12–26.

8. Πρβλ. Γρηγ. Θεολ., λόγ. 42, ΜΕΠ 36, 453 Α– 492 C, κυρίως 42,18: «ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξω τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῶν ἐμῶν διδαγμάτων, εἰ μὴ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐγὼ συναγωνιστής, καὶ κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱστάμενος», 480 C. Πρβλ. καὶ 42, 19–25, 480 C–489 Α. Ἡ Τριαδολογία τοῦ Γρηγορίου: 42, 15 16 17 476 A–480 A.

γραφει πρὸς τὸν Ἐπιφάνιον ἀποτελοῦν τὴν οἰκουμενικὴν τακτικὴν καὶ μέθοδον τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πολιτικῆς του, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐφήρμοσεν καὶ ἡ Β' Οἰκουμενικὴ Σύνοδος, πρὸς εἰρήνευσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, εἴτε κληθῶσι ταῦτα «οἰκονομία» ἢ «διαφορὰ δόγματος καὶ διδασκαλίας» ἢ «μοναστικὸν ἢ Μοναχοῦ δόγμα, Mönchsdogma»[1]: «οὐδὲν δυνάμεθα τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν πίστει προστιθέναι ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον, πλὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον δοξολογίας, διὰ τὸ ἐν παραδρομῇ τοὺς Πατέρας ἡμῶν τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐπιμνησθῆναι· οὕπω τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸ ζητήματος τότε κεκινημένου. Τὰ δὲ προσυφαινόμενα τῇ πίστει ἐκείνῃ δόγματα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἐνανθρωπήσεως, *ὡς βαθύτερα τῆς ἡμετέρας καταλήψεως οὔτε ἐβασανίσαμεν οὔτε παρεδεξάμεθα, εἰδότες ὅτι, ἐπειδὰν τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς πίστεως ἅπαξ παρακινήσωμεν, οὔτε τι πέρας τῶν λόγων εὑρήσομεν ἀεὶ τῆς ἀντιλογίας εἰς τὸ πλεῖον ἡμᾶς προαγούσης, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκεραιοτέρων παραταράξομεν τῇ παρεισαγωγῇ τῶν ξενιζόντων*»[2]. Πρὸς τοὺς Δυτικοὺς ἀπευθυνόμενος γράφει: «οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ταῖς καινοτομίαις προσέχοντες ἐξετράπησαν εἰς ζητήσεις καὶ φιλονείκους ἐφευρέσεις τῶν ἀνωφελῶν τούτων ρημάτων»[3]. Γνωρίζει κάλλιστα, ὅτι ἐτέθησαν ὅρια εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν, ὅστις δὲν δύναται νὰ συλλάβῃ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς θεότητος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς γράφει εἰς τὸν 15ον λόγον του «Περὶ πίστεως»: «1. Θεῷ μεμνῆσθαι μὲν διηνεκῶς, εὐσεβὲς καὶ κόρον οὐκ ἔχον τῇ φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ· λόγῳ δὲ διεξιέναι τὰ περὶ Θεοῦ, τολμηρόν· τῆς μὲν διανοίας πολλῷ τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς ἀξίας τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποπιπτούσης, πάλιν δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἀμυδρῶς παριστῶντος τὰ νοηθέντα. Εἰ οὖν ἡ μὲν διάνοια ἡμῶν παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολιμπάνεται, ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐλάττων ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας, *πῶς οὐκ ἀναγκαία ἡ σιωπή*, μήποτε ἐν τῇ τῶν ρημάτων εὐτελείᾳ δόξῃ κινδυνεύειν τῆς θεολογίας τὸ θαῦμα; Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ δοξάζειν τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιθυμία πᾶσι τοῖς λογικοῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνέσπαρται, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν πάντες ὁμοίως ἀπολιμπάνονται. Τῇ δὲ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν προθυμίᾳ ἕτερος ἑτέρου διενηνόχαμεν, οὐδεὶς δὲ οὕτω τετύφλωται καὶ φρεναπατᾷ ἑαυτόν, ὥστε οἴεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀναβεβηκέναι τῆς καταλήψεως· ἀλλ' ὅσῳπερ ἂν δόξῃ προκόπτειν ἐπὶ τὴν γνῶσιν, τοσούτῳ πλέον αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀσθενείας αἰσθήσεται... Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα ἀκοὴ ἤνοικται νῦν πρὸς θεολογίας ἀκρόασιν καὶ κόρος οὐκ ἔστι τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκροαμάτων,... ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν εἰς δύναμιν. Ἐροῦμεν δέ, οὐχ ὅσος ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν»[4]. Ὡσαύτως εἰς τὸ «Περὶ πίστεως» τῶν Ἀσκητικῶν του γράφει: «Διόπερ παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι, παυσαμένους τῆς περιέργου ζητήσεως καὶ ἀπρεποῦς λογομαχίας, ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰρημένοις»[5]. Πρὸς τὸν Κόμητα Μαγνηνιανὸν ἀπευθυνόμενος γράφει: «Ἡμεῖς δὲ παρακαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἠλικώτας εἰς Χριστὸν μηδὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν περιεργάζεσθαι πίστιν, *ἀλλ' ὡς πιστεύομεν, οὕτω καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι, ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, οὕτω καὶ δοξολογεῖν, ὀνόματα δὲ ἀρκεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκεῖνα ὁμολογεῖν, ἃ παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῆς Ἁγίας Γραφῆς καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις καινοτομίαν διαφεύγειν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐφευρέσει τῶν προσηγοριῶν ἡ σωτηρία ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὑγιεῖ περὶ τῆς Θεότητος εἰς ἣν πεπιστεύκαμεν ὁμολογίᾳ*»[6]. Πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιοχέων Ἐκκλησίαν γράφει: «Πίστιν δὲ ἡμεῖς οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων γραφομένην ἡμῖν νεωτέραν (ἐννοεῖ τοὺς Δυτικοὺς) παραδεχόμεθα οὔτε αὐτοὶ τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας γεννήματα παραδιδόναι τολμῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀνθρώπινα ποιήσωμεν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ῥήματα, ἀλλ' ἅπερ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων δεδιδάγμεθα, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν ἡμᾶς διαγγέλλομεν. Ἔστι τοίνυν ἐκ πατέρων ἐμπολιτευομένη τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡμῶν ἡ γραφεῖσα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων πίστις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Νίκαιαν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν· ἣν ἡγούμεθα μὲν διὰ στόματος εἶναι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐ παραιτούμεθα δέ, ἵνα μὴ ὄκνου ἔγκλημα ἀπενεγκώμεθα, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα ἐνσημᾶναι τῷ γράμματι. Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα· "Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. (πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν Ν.) Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τοὐτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός·/ (Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Ν) Φῶς ἐκ Φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ. Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα, /(καὶ Ν) σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανούς, /(καὶ Ν) ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας· ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καί, ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ /(κτιστὸν Ν) ἢ τρεπτόν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ (τὸ "ἀποστολικὴ" ἐλλείπει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ν) Ἐκκλησία". Πιστεύωμεν τούτοις. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀδιόριστός

1. *Dörries*, S.S., σ. 160.

2. M. Βασ. ἐπ. 258, 2 55, 317, 9–19.

3. ἐπ. 263, 4 55, 330, 8 ἑξ.

4. M. Βασ., Περὶ πίστεως 1, ΒΕΠΕΣ 54, 152, 3–16. 21–26. Πρβλ. M. Βασ. Κατὰ Εὐνομ. λόγ. Γ΄ 6, ΒΕΠΕΣ 52, 225, 24 ἑξ. Πλείονα πρβλ. εἰς *Martzelos G.*, Der Verstand und seine Grenzen nach dem Hl. Basilius dem Grossen ἐν Ἀριστ. Πανεπ. Θ/κης, Θεολ. Σχολή, Τόμος Ἑόρτ. χιλ. ἑξακ. ἑπετ. M. Βασ. (379–1979), Θεσ/κη 1981, σσ. 225–252. «Basilius bleibt pessimistisch in Bezug auf die Fähigkeit des menschlichen Verstandes, die göttliche Ousia, die Zeugungsweise des Sohnes und die Existenzweise des Hl. Geistes zu erkennen, aber er ist obtimistisch im Hinblick auf die Rolle, die der Verstand für die Gotteserkenntnis spielt», σ. 231. Τοῦ *αὐτοῦ*, Οὐσίαι καὶ ἐνέργειαι τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν M. Βασίλειον (Διδακτορικὴ διατριβὴ) Θεσ/κη 1983. Πρβλ. καὶ M. Βασ. ἐπ. 233, 234, 235 55, 282,15–286, 15.

5. M. Βασ., Περὶ πίστεως 5, ΒΕΠΕΣ 53, 29, 32 ἑξ.

6. Ἐπ. 175 55, 197, 13–20.

ἐστιν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος λόγος, οὕπω τότε τῶν πνευματομάχων ἀναφανέντων, τὸ χρῆναι ἀναθεματίζεσθαι τοὺς λέγοντας τῆς κτιστῆς εἶναι καὶ δουλικῆς φύσεως τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐσίγησαν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅλως τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος κτιστόν»[1].

Πρὸς τὸν Πατρόφιλον, ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἐν Αἰγαῖς Ἐκκλησίας, ὁμολογεῖ: «οὐδὲ γὰρ σχολὴ μοί ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα διερευνᾶσθαι καὶ ἅμα δυσχερής εἰμι πρὸς τὴν τῶν νεωτέρων παραδοχήν»[2]. Ἑρμηνεύων τὸν ὅρον «ὁμοούσιος» ταῖς Κανονικαῖς καὶ πλαισιώνων αὐτὸν καὶ ἱστορικῶς γράφει πρὸς αὐτάς, αἴρων καὶ τὴν δημιουργηθεῖσαν μετ' αὐτῶν παρεξήγησιν: «Ἓν γὰρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν τὸ τῆς πίστεως φρόνημα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Πατέρων κληρονόμοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Νικαίαν ποτὲ τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐξαγγειλάντων κήρυγμα· οὗ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μαθεῖν ἐστιν ἀσυκοφάντητα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνὴν κακῶς παρά τινων ἐκληφθεῖσαν, εἰσί τινες οἱ μήπω παραδεξάμενοι· οὓς καὶ μέμψαιτο ἄν τις δικαίως καὶ πάλιν μέντοι συγγνώμης αὐτοὺς ἀξιώσειεν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ Πατράσι μὴ ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων φωνὴν κυριωτέραν τίθεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν γνώμης ἐγκλήματος ἄξιον, ὡς αὐθαδείας γέμον· τὸ δὲ πάλιν ὑφ' ἑτέρων διαβληθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ὕποπτον ἔχειν, τοῦτο δή πως δοκεῖ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος αὐτοὺς μετρίως ἐλευθεροῦν. Καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι οἱ ἐπὶ Παύλῳ τῷ Σαμοσατεῖ συνελθόντες διέβαλον τὴν λέξιν ὡς οὐκ εὔσημον. Ἔφασαν γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνὴν παριστᾶν ἔννοιαν οὐσίας τε καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὥστε καταμερισθεῖσαν τὴν οὐσίαν παρέχειν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῖς εἰς ἃ διῃρέθη. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ χαλκοῦ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ νομισμάτων ἔχει τινὰ λόγον τὸ διανόημα, ἐπὶ Θεοῦ δὲ Πατρὸς καὶ Θεοῦ Υἱοῦ οὐκ οὐσία πρεσβυτέρα οὐδ' ὑπερκειμένη ἀμφοῖν θεωρεῖται· ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐπέκεινα τοῦτο καὶ νοῆσαι καὶ φθέγξασθαι. Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦ ἀγεννήτου πρεσβύτερον; Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ ἐκ τῆς βλασφημίας ταύτης καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν πίστις· ἀδελφὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς ὑφεστῶτα.

»2. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρῆχθαι τὸν Υἱὸν ἔτι τότε ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες, ἵνα καὶ ταύτην ἐκτέμωσι τὴν ἀσέβειαν, τὸ ὁμοούσιον προσειρήκασιν. Ἄχρονος γὰρ καὶ ἀδιάστατος ἡ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα συνάφεια. Δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ προλαβόντα ῥήματα ταύτην εἶναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν διάνοιαν. Εἰπόντες γὰρ Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν γεγενῆσθαι, οὐχὶ δὲ πεποιῆσθαι, ἐπήγαγον τούτοις τὸ ὁμοούσιον, παραδεικνύντες ὅτι ὅνπερ ἄν τις ἀποδῷ φωτὸς λόγον ἐπὶ Πατρός, οὗτος ἁρμόσει καὶ ἐπὶ Υἱοῦ. Φῶς γὰρ ἀληθινὸν πρὸς φῶς ἀληθινόν, κατ' αὐτὴν τοῦ φωτὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν, οὐδεμίαν ἔξει παραλλαγήν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐστιν ἄναρχον φῶς ὁ Πατήρ, γεννητὸν δὲ φῶς ὁ Υἱός, φῶς δὲ καὶ φῶς ἑκάτερος, ὁμοούσιον εἶπαν δικαίως, ἵνα τὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁμότιμον παραστήσωσιν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἀδελφὰ ἀλλήλοις ὁμοούσια λέγεται, ὅπερ τινὲς ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν καὶ τὸ αἴτιον καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αἰτίου τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπάρχῃ φύσεως, ὁμοούσια λέγεται.

»3. Αὕτη δὲ ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σαβελλίου κακὸν ἐπανορθοῦται· ἀναιρεῖ γὰρ τὴν ταυτότητα τῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ εἰσάγει τελείαν τῶν προσώπων τὴν ἔννοιαν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ τί ἐστιν ἑαυτῷ ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ· ὥστε καλῶς ἔχει καὶ εὐσεβῶς, τῶν τε ὑποστάσεων τὴν ἰδιότητα διορίζουσα καὶ τῆς φύσεως τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον παριστῶσα. Ὅταν δὲ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν εἶναι διδασκώμεθα καὶ γεννηθέντα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ποιηθέντα, μὴ καταπίπτωμεν ἐπὶ τὰς σωματικὰς τῶν παθῶν ἐννοίας. Οὐ γὰρ ἐμερίσθη ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰς Υἱόν, οὐδὲ ρυεῖσα ἐγέννησεν, οὐδὲ προβαλοῦσα, ὡς τὰ φυτὰ τοὺς καρπούς, *ἀλλ' ἄρρητος καὶ ἀνεπινόητος λογισμοῖς ἀνθρώπων τῆς θείας γεννήσεως ὁ τρόπος*. Ταπεινῆς γὰρ τῷ ὄντι καὶ σαρκίνης ἐστὶ διανοίας τοῖς φθαρτοῖς καὶ προσκαίροις ἀφομοιοῦν τὰ ἀΐδια καὶ οἴεσθαι ὅτι, ὡς τὰ σωματικά, οὕτω γεννᾷ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁμοίως, δέον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων λαμβάνειν τὰς ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ θνητὰ οὕτως, ὁ Ἀθάνατος οὐχ οὕτως. Οὔτε οὖν ἀρνεῖσθαι δεῖ τὴν θείαν γέννησιν, οὔτε σωματικαῖς ἐννοίαις καταρρυποῦν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν.

»4. Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον Πατρὶ μὲν καὶ Υἱῷ συναριθμεῖται, διὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν ἐστί, τέτακται δὲ ὡς ἐν Εὐαγγελίῳ δεδιδάγμεθα παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰπόντος· "Πορευθέντες βαπτίζετε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος". Ὁ δὲ προτιθεὶς Υἱοῦ ἢ πρεσβύτερον λέγων Πατρός, οὗτος ἀνθίσταται μὲν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ, ἀλλότριος δὲ τῆς ὑγιαινούσης πίστεως, μὴ ὃν παρέλαβε τρόπον δοξολογίας φυλάττων, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ καινοφωνίαν εἰς ἀρέσκειαν ἀνθρώπων ἐπινοῶν. Εἰ γὰρ ἀνώτερον Θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Γέγραπται γάρ· "Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ". Εἰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, πῶς πρεσβύτερόν ἐστι τοῦ ἐξ οὗ ἐστι; Τίς δὲ καὶ ἡ παράνοια, ἑνὸς ὄντος τοῦ ἀγεννήτου, ἄλλο τι λέγειν τοῦ ἀγεννήτου ἀνώτερον; Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς πρότερον· οὐδὲν γὰρ μέσον Υἱοῦ καὶ Πατρός. Εἰ δὲ μή ἐστιν ἐκ Θεοῦ, διὰ Χριστοῦ δέ ἐστιν, οὐδέ ἐστι τὸ παράπαν. Ὥστε ἡ περὶ τὴν τάξιν καινοτομία αὐτῆς τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀθέτησιν ἔχει καὶ ὅλης τῆς πίστεώς ἐστιν ἄρνησις. Ὁμοίως οὖν ἔστιν ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν καταγαγεῖν καὶ ὑπερτιθέναι αὐτὸ Υἱοῦ ἢ Πατρός, ἢ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἢ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν»[3]. Πρὸς τὸν φίλον του

1. Ἐπ. 140,2 55, 167, 37–168, 24. Τὸ ἕτερον Σύμβολον τῆς Νικαίας, τὸ καταχωρούμενον εἰς τὴν ὡς ἐπ. 125 παραδοθεῖσαν ὁμολογίαν πίστεως τὴν ὑποβληθεῖσαν πρὸς ὑπογραφὴν εἰς τὸν Σεβαστείας Εὐστάθιον, ἔχει πρὸ τοῦ «Φῶς ἐκ Φωτός», ὡς καὶ τὸ Σύμβολον τῆς Νικαίας (N) «Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ».

2. Ἐπ. 244, 3 55, 302, 39 ἑξ.

3. Ἐπ. 52, 1–4 55, 86, 5–87,17. Πρβλ. καὶ *Dörries H.*, De Spiritu Sancto (S.S.), Der Beitrag des Basilius zum Abschluss des trinitarischen Dogmas, Göttingen 1956 (Abhandl. der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, Rhil. hist. Klass, Dritte Folge Nr. 39). *Vischer L.*, ἐκδότης: Le traité sur le Saint-Esprit de Saint Basile (Foi et Constitution, Etudes

φιλόσοφον Μάξιμον περὶ τὸ 361, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέματος, γράφει: «Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ χρὴ τοὐμὸν ἴδιον εἰπεῖν, τὸ ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν, εἰ μὲν προσκείμενον ἔχει τὸ ἀπαραλλάκτως, δέχομαι τὴν φωνὴν ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸν τῷ ὁμοουσίῳ φέρουσαν, κατὰ τὴν ὑγιᾶ δηλονότι τοῦ ὁμοουσίου διάνοιαν. Ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ νοήσαντας, Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς καὶ Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν Μονογενῆ προσειπόντας, ἐπαγαγεῖν ἀκολούθως τὸ ὁμοούσιον. Οὔτε οὖν φωτὸς πρὸς φῶς, οὔτε ἀληθείας πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ποτε, οὔτε τῆς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς οὐσίας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπινοῆσαί τινα παραλλαγὴν δυνατόν. Εἴ τις οὖν οὕτως ὡς εἶπον ἐκδέχοιτο, προσίεμαι τὴν φωνήν. Εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον ἀποτέμνοι, ὅπερ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν πεποιήκασιν, ὑποπτεύω τὸ ῥῆμα ὡς τοῦ Μονογενοῦς τὴν δόξαν κατασμικρῦνον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀμυδραῖς ἐμφερείαις καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἀρχετύπων ἀποδεούσαις τὸ ὅμοιον πολλάκις ἐπιλέγειν εἰώθαμεν. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἧττον οἶομαι κακουργεῖσθαι τὸ ὁμοούσιον, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς τίθεμαι»[1]. Εἰς τὴν ἐπ. 125, 1, ἤτοι εἰς τὸ ἀντίγραφον πίστεως τὸ ὁποῖον ὑπέγραψεν ὁ Σεβαστείας Εὐστάθιος, ἐκτίθενται αἱ ἀκόλουθοι σκέψεις: «Λαμβάνειν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας προσήκει ὅτι πιστεύουσι κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐκτεθέντα ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑγιῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων ἐμφαινομένην διάνοιαν. Εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει δολοῦντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτὸν βούλημα τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ῥημάτων ἕλκοντες. Ὅπου γε καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐτόλμησεν ἀσεβῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ψιλὸν αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενος λόγον ἐκεῖθεν προφασίσασθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφέναι τοῦ ὁμοουσίου τὴν διάνοιαν κακῶς ἐξηγούμενος. Καί τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δυσσεβείας τοῦ Λίβυος Σαβελλίου ὑπόστασιν καὶ οὐσίαν ταὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἐκεῖθεν ἕλκουσι τὰς ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἑαυτῶν βλασφημίας, ἐκ τοῦ ἐγγεγράφθαι τῇ πίστει ὅτι· "Ἐὰν δέ τις λέγῃ ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας ἢ ὑποστάσεως τὸν Υἱόν, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία". Οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὸν εἶπον ἐκεῖ οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν. Εἰ γὰρ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐδήλουν ἔννοιαν αἱ φωναί, τίς χρεία ἦν ἑκατέρων; Ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀρνουμένων τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἶναι τοῦ Πατρός, τῶν δὲ λεγόντων οὔτε ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς ὑποστάσεως, οὕτως ἀμφότερα ὡς ἀλλότρια τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ φρονήματος ἀπηγόρευσαν. Ἐπεὶ ὅπου γε τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐδήλουν φρόνημα, εἶπον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν Υἱόν, οὐκέτι προσθέντες καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως. Ὥστε ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἐπ' ἀθετήσει κεῖται τοῦ πονηροῦ φρονήματος, τοῦτο δὲ φανέρωσιν ἔχει τοῦ σωτηρίου δόγματος. Δεῖ τοίνυν ὁμολογεῖν ὁμοούσιον τὸν Υἱὸν τῷ Πατρί, καθὼς γέγραπται. Ὁμολογεῖν δὲ ἐν ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει τὸν Πατέρα, ἐν ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ἐν ἰδίᾳ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, καθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ σαφῶς ἐκδεδώκασιν. Αὐτάρκως γὰρ καὶ σαφῶς ἐνεδείξαντο εἰπόντες "Φῶς ἐκ Φωτὸς" ὅτι ἕτερον μὲν τὸ γεννῆσαν φῶς, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ γεννηθέν, Φῶς μέντοι καὶ Φῶς, ὥστε ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον»[2]. Πρὸς τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν Ἀσκητὰς γράφει ἐπεξηγῶν ὡσαύτως τὸ ὁμοούσιον, καταφερόμενος ἐναντίον τοῦ Σεβαστείας Εὐσταθίου καὶ τῶν ὀπαδῶν του: «Οὗτοι νῦν καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ διαβάλλουσι πίστιν καὶ ὁμοουσιαστὰς ἡμᾶς ἀποκαλοῦσι διὰ τὸ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πίστει τὸν Μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ ὁμοούσιον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, οὐχ ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς οὐσίας μερισθείσης εἰς δύο ἀδελφά, μὴ γένοιτο· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνόησεν ἡ ἁγία ἐκείνη καὶ θεοφιλὴς σύνοδος ἀλλ' ὡς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ὁ Πατήρ, τοῦτο ὀφείλοντος νοεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἡρμήνευσαν εἰπόντες φῶς ἐκ φωτός»[3].

Περὶ ὁμοουσίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος οὐδεὶς γίνεται λόγος, ὡς συνέβη καὶ ἐν τῇ Β' Οἰκουμενικῇ Συνόδῳ κατὰ τὴν σύνταξιν τοῦ τρίτου περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος Ἄρθρου. Σαφεστάτη καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἡ ἐπίδρασις τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου. Πιστεύει ὅμως καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον αὐτοῦ, ἀποφεύγει ὅμως τὸν ὅρον «ὁμοούσιον», χρησιμοποιῶν ὅρους εἰλημμένους ἐκ τῆς Ἁγ. Γραφῆς. Διὰ τῶν ἔργων του περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Ἀμφιλόχιον, ἐπίσκοπον Ἰκονίου[4], εἰς τοὺς κατ' Εὐνομίου λόγους του καὶ εἰς διαφόρους ἐπιστολάς του διετράνωσε τὴν πρὸς τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος πίστιν του καὶ ἔθεσε τὰς βάσεις καὶ τὰ θεμέλια εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ Συνόδῳ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος συζητήσεις καὶ ἀποφάσεις καὶ εἰς τὴν διατύπωσιν τοῦ τρίτου περὶ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος Ἄρθρου. Δι' αὐτῶν ἡτοίμασε τὴν θεολογικὴν ἐμπέδωσιν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος διδασκαλίας ὄχι μόνον τῶν ἑτέρων Καππαδοκῶν καὶ τοῦ φίλου του Ἰκονίου Ἀμφιλοχίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Συνόδου. Πρὸς τὸν φίλον του φιλόσοφον Μάξιμον γράφει περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας Διονυσίου μεταξὺ ἄλλων ὁμολογῶν καὶ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος: «Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἀφῆκε φωνὰς ἥκιστα πρεπούσας πνευματικῷ, τῆς προσκυνουμένης αὐτὸ θεότητος ἐξορίζων καὶ κάτω που τῇ κτιστῇ καὶ λειτουργῷ φύσει συναριθμῶν»[5]. Εἰς τοὺς κατ' Εὐνομίου λόγους του καὶ κυρίως εἰς τὸν τρίτον λόγον Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀναφέρει:

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patristiques), Verbum Caro, Volume XXII (No 88 89 90). Συλλογικὸν ἔργον, κυρίως πρβλ. *Hornus J.-M.*, La divinité du Saint-Esprit comme condition du salut personnel selon Basile, σσ. 105–134 καὶ *P. C. Christou*, L' enseignement de saint Basile sur le Saint - Esprit, σσ.158–171, τὸ αὐτὸ ἑλληνιστὶ ἐν ΕΕΘΣΠΘ 10 (1965) καὶ Θρησκευτικὰ Μελετήματα 2, Θεσ/κη 1973, σσ. 175–191. *Staats R.*, Die Basilianische Verherrlichung des Heiligen Geistes auf dem Konzil von Konstantinopel 381, Kerygma und Dogma (KuD) 25 1979, 232–253.

1. Ἐπ. 9, 3 55, 32, 36–33, 8.

2. Ἐπ. 125, 1 55, 151, 1 ἑξ.

3. Ἐπ. 226, 3 55, 274, 35 ἑξ.

4. ΒΕΠΕΣ 52, 231–300 κατὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ Pruche Benoit, Sources Chrétiennes No 17 bis, Paris 1968, σσ. 250–396. Πρβλ. καὶ τὴν ἐν ὑποσ. 3 τῆς προηγουμένης σελίδος βιβλιογραφίαν.

5. Ἐπ. 9, 2 55, 32, 31 ἑξ.

«Ὡς γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς τάξει μὲν δεύτερος τοῦ Πατρός, ὅτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου· καὶ ἀξιώματι, ὅτι ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία, τῷ εἶναι αὐτοῦ πατέρα καὶ ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ ἡ πρόσοδος καὶ προσαγωγὴ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα· φύσει δὲ οὐκέτι δεύτερος, διότι ἡ θεότης ἐν ἑκατέρῳ μία· οὕτω δηλονότι καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, εἰ καὶ ὑποβέβηκε τὸν Υἱὸν τῇ τε τάξει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι (ἵνα καὶ ὅλως συγχωρήσωμεν), οὐκέτ' ἂν εἰκότως, ὡς ἀλλοτρίας ὑπάρχον φύσεως, ἀκολουθεῖν»[1], «Οὐ τοίνυν ὁμόδουλον ἡμῖν λέγειν αὐτὸ θεμιτόν, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῇ φύσει, οὔτε τῇ κτίσει συναριθμεῖν, τὸ τῇ θείᾳ καὶ μακαρίᾳ Τριάδι συναριθμούμενον... Καὶ ὥσπερ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Υἱός, οὕτω φύσει ἅγιον καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας»[2]. Περὶ τοῦ Εὐνομίου λέγει: «Ἀλλ' ὁ πάντα τολμηρὸς οὗτος... ἀμέτοχον αὐτὸ Θεότητος ἀποφαίνεται... Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ εὐσεβές, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος, μεθεκτὴν λέγειν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα τετιμῆσθαι καὶ οὐχὶ φύσει αὐτῷ συνυπάρχειν... Ἔστι γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα σφραγὶς τῆς πίστεως, ἡ δὲ πίστις θεότητος συγκατάθεσις. Πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ πρότερον, εἶτα τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐπισφραγίσασθαι. Τὸ δὲ βάπτισμα ἡμῶν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παράδοσιν, εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος· οὐδενὸς κτίσματος, οὐδὲ δούλου Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συντεταγμένου, ὡς τῆς θεότητος ἐν Τριάδι συμπληρουμένης»[3]. Εἰς τὴν ΚΔ' ὁμιλίαν του κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν Ἀνομοίων ἀναφέρει: «Ταύτην δὲ τὴν συνάφειαν (ἤτοι τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς) δηλοῖ καὶ ἡ παράδοσις τοῦ Βαπτίσματος καὶ ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως. Εἰ γὰρ ἀλλότριον ἦν τῇ φύσει, πῶς συνηριθμεῖτο τὸ Πνεῦμα; Καὶ εἰ χρόνοις ὕστερον προσγενόμενον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, πῶς τῇ ἀιδίῳ συνετάσσετο φύσει; Οἱ δὲ χωρίζοντες Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ τῇ κτίσει συναριθμοῦντες τὸ Πνεῦμα ἀτελὲς μὲν ποιοῦσι τὸ βάπτισμα, ἐλλιπῆ δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως. Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Τριὰς μένει Τριάς, ὑφαιρουμένου τοῦ Πνεύματος... 6. Ἀλλὰ μὴ χωρίσῃς Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, δυσωπείτω σε ἡ παράδοσις. Ὁ Κύριος οὕτως ἐδίδαξεν, ἀπόστολοι ἐκήρυξαν, Πατέρες διετήρησαν, μάρτυρες ἐβεβαίωσαν»[4].

Εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς του ὁμιλεῖ διαρκῶς περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαιότητος τῆς συμπληρώσεως τοῦ περὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος Ἄρθρου τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Νικαίας. Εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὰς θυγατέρας τοῦ κόμητος Τερεντίου ἐπιστολὴν γράφει πρὸς αὐτάς: «Εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πεπιστεύκατε· μὴ προδῶτε ταύτην τὴν παρακαταθήκην. Πατέρα τὴν πάντων ἀρχήν· Υἱὸν Μονογενῆ, ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα, ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, τέλειον ἐκ τελείου, εἰκόνα ζῶσαν, ὅλον δεικνύντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Πατέρα· Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, ἐκ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχον, τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ἁγιότητος, δύναμιν ζωῆς παρεκτικήν, χάριν τελειοποιόν, δι' οὗ υἱοθετεῖται ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀπαθανατίζεται τὸ θνητόν, συνημμένον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ κατὰ πάντα, ἐν δόξῃ καὶ ἐν ἀιδιότητι, ἐν δυνάμει καὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἐν δεσποτείᾳ καὶ θεότητι, ὡς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος παράδοσις μαρτυρεῖ»[5]. Εἰς τὰς γραμμὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι διάχυτος ἡ λιτότης τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος τρίτου Ἄρθρου τοῦ Συμβόλου: «Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον» = «τὴν πηγὴν τῆς ἁγιότητος», «τὸ ζωοποιὸν» =«δύναμιν ζωῆς παρεκτικήν», «τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον» = «συνημμένον Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ κατὰ πάντα, ἐν δόξῃ καὶ ἐν ἀιδιότητι, ἐν δυνάμει καὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἐν δεσποτείᾳ καὶ θεότητι». Πρὸς τοὺς Δυτικοὺς ἀπευθυνόμενος γράφει: «Λαλείσθω καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν μετὰ παρρησίας τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐκεῖνο κήρυγμα τῶν Πατέρων, τὸ καταστρέφον μὲν τὴν δυσώνυμον αἵρεσιν τοῦ Ἀρείου, οἰκοδομοῦν δὲ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὁ Υἱὸς ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ ὁμολογεῖται καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ὁμοτίμως συναριθμεῖταί τε καὶ συνδοξάζεται... τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ τῆς θείας καὶ σωτηρίου Τριάδος καύχημα... Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἀθετεῖται καὶ ὁ δυνάμενος ἐλέγχειν ἀποδιώκεται... τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον οὐ συμπληρωτικὸν εἶναι τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος οὐδὲ κοινωνὸν τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἔγ τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς κτίσεως, εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ προσερρῖφθαι»[6]. Πρὸς τὰς Κανονικὰς γράφει ὅτι τὸ Ἁγ. Πνεῦμα ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν ἐστί: «Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον Πατρὶ μὲν καὶ Υἱῷ συναριθμεῖται, διὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν κτίσιν ἐστί, τέτακται δὲ ὡς ἐν Εὐαγγελίῳ δεδιδάγμεθα παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰπόντος· "Πορευθέντες βαπτίζετε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος"... Ὁμοίως οὖν ἔστιν ἀσεβὲς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κτίσιν καταγαγεῖν καὶ ὑπερτιθέναι αὐτὸ Υἱοῦ ἢ Πατρός, ἢ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἢ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν»[7]. Ἐκτενέστερον ἐκτίθενται τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος εἰς τὸ ὡς ἐπ. 125 παραδοθὲν «Ἀντίγραφον πίστεως ὑπαγορευθείσης παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Βασιλείου ἣ ὑπέγραψεν Εὐστάθιος ὁ Σεβαστείας ἐπίσκοπος». Μετὰ τὴν καταχώρισιν τοῦ τῆς Νικαίας Συμβόλου ἡ «ἡ πίστις ἡ κατὰ Νίκαιαν», ὡς καλεῖ τοῦτο ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος, ἐκτίθεται ἡ περὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος διδασκαλία του: «3. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐνταῦθα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀρκούντως καὶ ἀκριβῶς διώρισται, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν βλαβέντων, τὰ δὲ εἰς προφυλακὴν τῶν προσδοκωμένων ὑποφυήσεσθαι, ὁ δὲ

1. Κατ' Εὐνομ. λόγ. Γ', 1, ΒΕΠΕΣ 52, 220, 28 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ 52, 216–227 καὶ *Anastos M.*, Basil's Κατὰ Εὐνομίου ἐν Basil of Caesrea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. P.J. Fedwick, Toronto P.I.M.S. 1981, σσ. 67–136 (Κριτικὴ ἀνάλυσις), πρβλ. καὶ τὴν βιβλιογραφίαν τὴν ὁποίαν ἀναφέρει εἰς τὴν ὑποσημ. 152 εἰς τὰς σσ. 111/12.

2. Κατ' Εὐνομ. λόγ. Γ', 2 καὶ 5 52, 222, 7 ἑξ. 29 ἑξ. 224, 26 ἑξ. 225, 6 ἑξ. 12 ἑξ.

3. Λόγ. Γ', 5 52, 224, 26 ἑξ. 225,6 ἑξ. 12 ἑξ.

4. Μ. Βασ., Κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν κλπ. 5.6, ΒΕΠΕΣ 54, 222, 2 ἑξ. 23 ἑξ.

5. Ἐπ. 105 55, 137, 3 – 11.

6. Ἐπ. 90, 2 91 243, 4 55, 120, 28 ἑξ. 121, 28 ἑξ. 300, 11 ἑξ.

7. Ἐπ. 52, 4, σ. 87, 14 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 113 καὶ 114, σσ. 143, 1 ἑξ. 144, 2 ἑξ.

περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος λόγος ἐν παραδρομῇ κεῖται οὐδεμιᾶς ἐξεργασίας ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ μηδέπω τότε τοῦτο κεκινῆσθαι τὸ ζήτημα, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιβούλευτον ἐνυπάρχειν ταῖς τῶν πιστευόντων ψυχαῖς τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν, κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ προϊόντα τὰ πονηρὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας σπέρματα ἃ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀρείου τοῦ προστάτου τῆς αἱρέσεως κατεβλήθη, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνου κακῶς διαδεξαμένων ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξετράφη καὶ ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς ἀσεβείας εἰς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος βλασφημίαν ἀπέσκηψεν, ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τοὺς μὴ φειδομένους ἑαυτῶν μηδὲ προορωμένους τὴν ἄφυκτον ἀπειλὴν ἣν τοῖς βλασφημοῦσιν εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐπανετείνατο ἐκεῖνο προτείνειν ὅτι χρὴ αὐτοὺς ἀναθεματίζειν τοὺς λέγοντας κτίσμα τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον καὶ τοὺς νοοῦντας οὕτω καὶ τοὺς μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας αὐτὸ φύσει ἅγιον εἶναι, ὡς ἔστι φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Υἱός, ἀλλ' ἀποξενοῦντας αὐτὸ τῆς *θείας καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως*. Ἀπόδειξις δὲ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος τὸ μὴ χωρίζειν αὐτὸ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ (δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς βαπτίζεσθαι μὲν ὡς παρελάβομεν, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, δοξάζειν δέ, ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα), ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν κτίσμα λεγόντων ὡς φανερῶς βλασφημούντων, ἐκείνου διωμολογημένου (ἀναγκαία γὰρ ἡ ἐπισημείωσις διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας) ὅτι οὔτε ἀγέννητον λέγομεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ἕνα γὰρ οἴδαμεν ἀγέννητον καὶ μίαν τῶν ὄντων ἀρχήν, τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὔτε γεννητόν, ἕνα γὰρ Μονογενῆ ἐν τῇ παραδόσει τῆς πίστεως δεδιδάγμεθα· τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι διδαχθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀκτίστως. Ἀναθεματίζειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς λειτουργικὸν λέγοντας τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὡς διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης εἰς τὴν τοῦ κτίσματος κατάγοντας τάξιν. Τὰ γὰρ λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα κτίσματα ἡμῖν ἡ Γραφὴ παρέδωκεν εἰποῦσα ὅτι "Πάντες εἰσὶ λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα". Διὰ δὲ τοὺς πάντα φύροντας καὶ μὴ φυλάσσοντας τὴν ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις διδασκαλίαν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο προσδιαστείλασθαι ὅτι φεύγειν δεῖ καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἣν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἐναμείβοντας, ὡς φανερῶς μαχομένους τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, καὶ Υἱὸν μὲν προτάσσοντας τοῦ Πατρός, Υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον προτιθέντας. Ἀκίνητον γὰρ καὶ ἀπαρεγχείρητον φυλάσσειν προσήκει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἣν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοῦ Κυρίου τῆς φωνῆς παρελάβομεν εἰπόντος· "Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη βαπτίζοντες εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος"»[1]. Εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐπατέριον καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα του ἐπιστολήν του ἔτι ἐκτενέστερον ἐκθέτει τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῆς Γραφῆς διδασκαλίαν του: «Ἡμῖν τοίνυν ἐνὶ μὲν λόγῳ ἡ τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντων Πατέρων πίστις πασῶν τῶν ὕστερον ἐφευρεθεισῶν προτετίμηται, ἐν ᾗ ὁμοούσιος ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Υἱὸς τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπάρχων φύσεως ἧς ὁ γεννήσας. Φῶς γὰρ ἐκ Φωτὸς καὶ Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ Ἀγαθὸν ἐξ Ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ὑπό τε τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ὡμολογήθη καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν νῦν, τῶν εὐχομένων κατ' ἴχνη βαίνειν ἐκείνοις προσμαρτυρεῖται. (Ἐνταῦθα ἔχομεν τὴν βάσιν τοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Συμβόλου, διότι αἱ προσθαφαιρέσεις καὶ μεταθέσεις ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδόλως παραβλάπτουν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Συμβόλου τῆς Νικαίας). 2. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ νῦν ἀνακῦψαν παρὰ τῶν ἀεί τι καινοτομεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων ζήτημα, παρασιωπηθὲν τοῖς πάλαι διὰ τὸ ἀναντίρρητον, ἀδιάρθρωτον καταλείφθη (λέγω δὴ τὸ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος), προστίθεμεν τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον ἀκολούθως τῇ τῆς Γραφῆς ἐννοίᾳ, ὅτι ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα, οὕτω καὶ πιστεύομεν, ὡς πιστεύομεν, οὕτω καὶ δοξολογοῦμεν. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν βάπτισμα ἡμῖν δέδοται παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτίσματι τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως παρεχόμεθα, ἀκόλουθον δὲ καὶ τὴν δοξολογίαν τῇ πίστει, *συνδοξάζοντες Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τῷ πεπεῖσθαι μὴ ἀλλότριον εἶναι τῆς θείας φύσεως. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν τῶν αὐτῶν μετέσχε τιμῶν τὸ ἀπεξενωμένον κατὰ τὴν φύσιν*. Τοὺς δὲ κτίσμα λέγοντας τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐλεοῦμεν ὡς εἰς τὸ ἀσυγχώρητον πτῶμα τῆς εἰς αὐτὸ βλασφημίας, διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης φωνῆς καταπίπτοντας. Ὅτι γὰρ διώρισται κτίσις θεότητος οὐδενὸς λόγου προσδεῖ τοῖς κἂν μικρὸν ταῖς Γραφαῖς ἐγγεγυμνασμένοις. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ κτίσις δουλεύει, τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐλευθεροῖ· ἡ κτίσις ζωῆς προσδεής ἐστι, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιοῦν· ἡ κτίσις διδασκαλίας δεῖται, τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ διδάσκον· ἡ κτίσις ἁγιάζεται, τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ἁγιάζον. Κἂν ἀγγέλους εἴπῃς, κἂν ἀρχαγγέλους, κἂν πάσας τὰς ὑπερκοσμίους δυνάμεις, διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν ἁγιωσύνην λαμβάνουσιν. Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα φυσικὴν ἔχει τὴν ἁγιότητα οὐ κατὰ χάριν λαβόν, ἀλλὰ συνουσιωμένην αὐτῷ· ὅθεν καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου ἐξαιρέτως τετύχηκεν. Ὁ τοίνυν φύσει ἅγιον, ὡς φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Υἱός, οὔτε αὐτοὶ τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος χωρίσαι καὶ διατεμεῖν ἀνεχόμεθα, οὔτε τοὺς εὐκόλως τῇ κτίσει συναριθμοῦντας ἀποδεχόμεθα. Ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, ἀρκούντως τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ ὑμῶν εἰρήσθω... Τὴν δὲ τελειοτέραν διδασκαλίαν εἰς τὴν κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς συντυχίαν ὑπερθησόμεθα, δι' ἧς καὶ τὰ ἀντικείμενα ἐπιλύσασθαι, καὶ πλατυτέρας τὰς ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν παρασχέσθαι μαρτυρίας, καὶ πάντα τύπον τὸν ὑγιῆ τῆς πίστεως βεβαιώσασθαι δυνατόν. Τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον συγγνώμην νείματε τῇ βραχύτητι. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπέστειλα τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ μείζονα ἡγούμην τὴν βλάβην ἀρνήσασθαι τὴν αἴτησιν παντελῶς ἢ ἐλλιπῶς παρασχέσθαι»[2]. Πρὸς τοὺς λογιωτάτους τοὺς κατὰ Νεοκαισάρειαν

1. Ἐπ. 125, 1.3, σσ. 151, 1 ἑξ. 152, 7. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 140, 2, σ. 168, 20 ἑξ.

2. Ἐπ. 159, σ. 182, 5 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 214,3 καὶ 258,2, σσ. 252, 5 ἑξ. 317, 6 ἑξ.

τονίζει ἀπευθυνόμενος τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος: «Τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἰδιάζουσαν καὶ αὐτοτελῆ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχειν οὐδεὶς τῶν καὶ μικρὸν μετεχόντων τοῦ φρονεῖν ἀμφιβάλλει. *Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος φύσις μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ θεότης μία*, ὀνόματα δὲ διάφορα περιωρισμένας καὶ ἀπηρτισμένας τὰς ἐννοίας ἡμῖν παριστῶντα. Ἀμήχανον γάρ, μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἑκάστου ἰδιώμασι τὴν διάνοιαν γενομένην ἀσύγχυτον, δυνηθῆναι Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀποπληρῶσαι»[1]. Πρὸς τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσκητὰς ἀπολογούμενος γράφει: «Διαβάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς καινοτομοῦντας περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου. Ἐρωτήσατε οὖν τίς ἡ καινοτομία. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὁμολογοῦμεν ὃ καὶ παρελάβομεν, μετὰ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τετάχθαι τὸν Παράκλητον, οὐ μετὰ τῆς κτίσεως ἀριθμεῖσθαι. Εἰς γὰρ Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ βαπτιζόμεθα εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδέποτε τῆς πρὸς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν συναφείας τὸν Παράκλητον ἀποσπῶμεν. Ὁ γὰρ νοῦς ἡμῶν φωτιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος πρὸς Υἱὸν ἀναβλέπει καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι θεωρεῖ τὸν Πατέρα. Οὔτε οὖν ὀνόματα παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπινοοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον καὶ Παράκλητον ὀνομάζομεν, οὔτε τὴν ὀφειλομένην αὐτῷ δόξαν ἀθετεῖν καταδεχόμεθα. Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ ἡμέτερα μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας»[2].

Ἡ τεκμηρίωσις τῆς περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος διδασκαλίας τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου βασίζεται ἐπὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Γραφῆς καὶ κυρίως ἐπὶ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ Ματθαίου 28, 19: «Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος». Γραφικαὶ εἶναι καὶ αἱ προσηγορίαι τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, τὰς ὁποίας ἀπαντῶμεν εἰς τοὺς λόγους, τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς του. Οὐδαμοῦ ἀπαντᾷ ὡς πρὸς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ὁ ὅρος «ὁμοούσιος». Αἱ Γραφικαὶ προσηγορίαι περὶ τοῦ Ἁγ. Πνεύματος εἶναι: Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, Παράκλητος, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι, Πνεῦμα ἀληθείας, Πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, Πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας (Ρωμ. 8, 9 15). «Πνεῦμα γὰρ Θεοῦ εἴρηται» (Α΄Κορ. 3, 11 16) καὶ «Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται» (Ἰωάνν. 14, 17 15, 26), «Πνεῦμα εὐθὲς» (Ψλμ. 50, 12), «Πνεῦμα ἡγεμονικὸν» (Ψλμ. 50, 14), «Πνεῦμα ἅγιον» (Λκ. 1, 35 καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Κ.Δ.), «*ἡ κυρία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδιάζουσα κλῆσις*· ὅπερ δὴ μάλιστα παντὸς τοῦ ἀσωμάτου καὶ καθαρῶς ἀύλου τε καὶ ἀμεροῦς ὄνομά ἐστι»[3]. Εἰς τὸν Κατ' Εὐνομίου Γ΄ 6 λόγον του ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος ἀναφέρει: «Τί οὖν αὐτὸ χρὴ καλεῖν; Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον καὶ Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἀληθείας, ἀποστελλόμενον παρὰ Θεοῦ, διὰ Υἱοῦ χορηγούμενον, οὐ δοῦλον, ἀλλ' ἅγιον, ἀγαθόν, ἡγεμονικόν· Πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν, Πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας, ἐπιστάμενον πάντα τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ» (Λκ. 1, 35, Ἰωάνν. 14, 26 καὶ πλειστάκις, Α΄ Κορινθ. 3, 11, 16, Ἰωάνν. 14, 17 16, 13, Α΄ Πέτρ. 1, 12, Ἰωάνν. 15, 26 16, 7 κ.ἀ. Λκ. 1, 35, Ἰωάνν. 14, 26, Ψλμ. 142, 10 50, 14, Ἰωάνν. 6, 63, Ρωμ. 8, 15, Α΄ Κορινθ. 2, 10, Ἀμ. 4, 13, Ἰωάνν. 1, 3, Ψλμ. 18, 2, Ἰωάνν. 12, 29)[4].

Ἐν κατακλεῖδι παραθέτω ἐκ τῆς συνοδικῆς ἐπιστολῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀπέστειλαν τὸ ἑπόμενον ἔτος πρὸς τοὺς Δυτικοὺς καὶ αὖθις συνελθόντες ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τὸ 382 οἱ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐπίσκοποι, ἐκείνην τὴν παράγραφον, ἐν ᾗ ἀναφέρονται οἱ διωγμοὶ τοὺς ὁποίους ὑπέστησαν κατὰ τὸ παρελθὸν οἱ Ὀρθόδοξοι τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ συνοψίζονται ὅσα ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος, ὡς ἤδη ἐξεθέσαμεν, διετράνωσεν εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς, εἰς τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ τοὺς λόγους του καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔργα του περὶ τοῦ τριαδικοῦ δόγματος καὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς καὶ ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως περὶ οὐσίας καὶ ὑποστάσεων ἐν τῇ παναγίᾳ Τριάδι. Ὅσοι ἐμελέτησαν καὶ ἐνεβάθυναν εἰς τὰ ἔργα, τὰς σκέψεις, ἀπόψεις καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν του, ὅσοι ἔκαμον βίωμά των τὰς φροντίδας, τοὺς ἀγῶνας, τὰς ἐλπίδας, τὴν πίστιν πρὸς τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν εἰρήνευσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου, αὐτοὶ θὰ κατανοήσουν, ὅτι αἱ γραμμαὶ αὐταὶ ἀποκρυσταλλώνουν τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν καὶ ἐπικράτησιν τῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας του καὶ τὴν δικαίωσιν τῶν ἀγώνων, θυσιῶν, ὁραματισμῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως διὰ τὴν τελικὴν νίκην: «Ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἴτε διωγμούς, εἴτε θλίψεις, εἴτε βασιλείους ἀπειλάς, εἴτε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων ὠμότητας, εἴτε τινὰ πειρασμὸν ἕτερον παρὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ὑπεμείναμεν, ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας παρὰ τῶν τιη΄ πατέρων κυρωθείσης ὑπέστημεν. ταύτην γὰρ καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μὴ διαστρέφουσι τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως συναρέσκειν δεῖ (ἣν μόλις ποτὲ) πρεσβυτάτην τε οὖσαν καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτίσματι, καὶ διδάσκουσαν ἡμᾶς πιστεύειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, δηλαδὴ θεότητος καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ οὐσίας μιᾶς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πιστευομένης, ὁμοτίμου τε τῆς ἀξίας καὶ συναϊδίου τῆς βασιλείας, ἐν τρισὶ τελειοτάταις ὑποστάσεσιν, ἤγουν τρισὶ τελείοις προσώποις, ὡς μήτε τὴν Σαβελλίου νόσον χώραν λαβεῖν συγχεομένων τῶν ὑποστάσεων εἴτ' οὖν τῶν ἰδιοτήτων ἀναιρουμένων, μήτε μὴν τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν καὶ Ἀρειανῶν καὶ Πνευματομάχων βλασφημίαν ἰσχύειν, τῆς οὐσίας ἢ τῆς φύσεως ἢ τῆς θεότητος τεμνομένης καὶ τῇ ἀκτίστῳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ καὶ συναϊδίῳ τριάδι μεταγενεστέρας τινὸς ἢ κτιστῆς ἢ ἑτερουσίου φύσεως ἐπαγομένης. καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως δὲ τοῦ κυρίου λόγον ἀδιάστροφον σῴζομεν, οὔτε ἄψυχον οὔτε ἄνουν ἢ

1. Ἐπ. 210, 4, σ. 246, 25 ἑξ., πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 233, 1, σ. 282, 15 ἑξ.

2. Ἐπ. 226, 3, σ. 275, 9 ἑξ.

3. Μ. Βασ., Περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος Θ΄, 22, ΒΕΠΕΣ 52, 429, 6 ἑξ., πρβλ. καὶ Κατὰ Σαβελλ. κλπ. 6.7, ΒΕΠΕΣ 54, 222.30 ἑξ. 224, 14 ἑξ. καὶ Κατ' Εὐνομίου λόγ. Β΄ 34, Γ΄ 4, ΒΕΠΕΣ 52, 218, 37 ἑξ. 219, 1 ἑξ. 223, 15 ἑξ. 224, 10 ἑξ. Πρβλ. καὶ ἐπ. 52, 4 90,2 91 243, 4 125, 3 159 226, 3 258, 2. Πρβλ. καὶ Ὁμιλ. εἰς ΛΒ, 6 Ψαλμ. 52, 67, 11.

4. Μ. Βασ., Κατ' Εὐνομ. λόγ. Γ΄ 6 52, 226, 8 ἑξ. καὶ Περὶ ἁγ. Πνεύμ. ΙΘ΄ 48 52, 271, 32 ἑξ. καὶ ΚΑ΄ 52, σ. 276, 3 ἑξ.

ἀτελῆ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν παραδεχόμενοι, ὅλον δὲ εἰδότες τέλειον μὲν πρὸ αἰώνων ὄντα θεὸν λόγον, τέλειον δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν γενόμενον»[1]. Νομίζει τις, ὅτι ἀναγινώσκει καὶ ἀκούει τὸν Μ. Βασίλειον. Ἀρκεῖ νὰ ἐπαναφέρω εἰς τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν τὸ περὶ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἔργον, τὴν ΚΔ΄ 5. 6 Ὁμιλίαν Κατὰ Σαβελλιανῶν καὶ Ἀρείου καὶ τῶν Ἀνομοίων, τοὺς κατὰ τοῦ Εὐνομίου λόγους του καὶ ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιστολῶν του ὀλίγας μόνον, τὰς ἐπιστολὰς 9, 52, 90, 91, 92, 105, 113, 114, 125, 140, 159, 210, 214, 224, 226, 233, 243, 251, 258 καὶ 263 πρὸς τεκμηρίωσιν τῆς θέσεώς μου.

Ὁ Μ. Βασίλειος παραμένει εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν ὡς ἡ φωτεινὴ προσωπικότης γνησίου ὀρθοδόξου ἐπισκόπου, ποιμένος καὶ ἀγωνιστοῦ ὀρθοτομοῦντος τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου καὶ τρισυποστάτου θεότητος.

1. Θεοδωρ., Ἐ. Ἱ., V 10 11 12, σσ. 292, 5 – 293, 3 Ἐκδ. Parmentier.

# THE "RIGHTEOUSNESS OF GOD" AND THE "ECONOMY OF GOD": TWO GREAT DOCTRINAL THEMES HISTORICALLY COMPARED

B y

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It was a challenge from Archbishop Methodios himself that led to what is undertaken here, however imprerfectly and in an initial way, a comparison and contrast of two great themes in theology. For he remarked, upon a visit in London in August of 1983, when presented with a volume from the United States Lutheran–Roman Catholic dialogue on Righteousness Justification[1], and with long awareness of my interest in the varied meanings of *oikonomia* in Greek thought, "You must write about these two great themes in theology, justification and the economy of God."

Happily these themes span years of contact from Aksum to Thyateira, for it was a letter from Addis Ababa in 1976 that first introduced me to the church leader honored in this scholarly volume and whose friendship and services to theological learning I delight in saluting. For the then Metropolitan of Aksum had, in far–off Ethiopia, procured a copy of my dissertation, microfilmed, written in classical studies at an American University, and his alert eye determined that it was important enough, on "The Use of *Oikonomia* and Related Terms", to be published in full in instalments under his editorship"[2]. It was after he was translated to the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain that we finally met, and his gracious remark encouraged me to tackle two themes that have often been discussed but seldom together, the one all too frequently only in Eastern theology and the other only in the West. I was challenged to tackle them together, even in their magnitude.

It is not too often that one can, in writing for a Festschrift, deal with matters dear to one's own heart and career, while also taking up themes of interest to the person being honored. But the Greek word *oikonomia* has been a subject of professional investigation and personal interest ever since I puzzled over how to render it as a graduate student reading Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and other of the church fathers. Over the years it has been possible to publish modestly on New Testament and some patristic applications, as well as, in a dissertation, deal with backgrounds in classical sources that may explain some of the twists and turns in usage during the Christian centuries[3]. As for righteousness/justification, there has been a scholarly love affair with that

1. J. Reumann, *"Righteousness" in the New Testament: "Justification" in the United States Lutheran–Roman Catholic Dialogue*, with responses by Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Jerome D. Quinn (Philadelphia: Fortress, New York: Paulist, 1982). The material in this volume was presented to the dialogue in 1980–81 as part of its seventh round of discussion, on Justification 1979–83).

2. "The Use of *Oikonomia* and Related Terms in Greek Sources to about A.D. 100 as a Background for Patristic Applications" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pensylvania, 1957; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1957). Published as follows, to date: *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* (hereafter *E Ph*) 60, 3-4 (1978): 482–579, preface, and Part I. Previous Studies on the Topic; summary in *New Testament Abstracts* (hereafter *NTA*) 23, 3: 771.

"Part II. The Evidence: 1. *Oikonomia* and its Related Terms in the Sense of Household Management". *E Ph* 61, 1-4 (1979): 563–603; *NTA* 24, 1: 31.

"Part II. The Evidence: 2. *Oikonomia* and its Related Terms Applied to a Larger Household, in the State. "*Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology* (hereafter *EkT*) 1 (1980): 368–430; *NTA* 26,2: 418.

"(Part II. The Evidence:) 3. *Oikonomia* and its Related Terms Applied to Arrangement Generally". *EkT* 2 (1981): 591–617; *NTA* 26,2: 418.

"(Part II. The Evidence: 3.) (cont.), Applications in Rhetoric, Ethical 'Arrangement' of Conduct". *EkT* 3 (1982): 115–40: *NTA* 28,2: 445.

To be published: "4. *Oikonomia* and its Related Terms Applied to the Largest 'Household', the Universe", and "Part III. Results".

3. In addition to the dissertation cited in n. 2, see "Stewards of God' – Pre–Christian Religious Application of *oikonomos* in Greek", *JBL* 77 (1958): 339–49; "OIKONOMIA = 'Covenant'; Terms for Heilsgeschichte in Early Christian Usage," *NovT* 3 (1959): 282–92; "*Oikonomia* as 'Ethical Accommodation' in the Fathers, and its Pagan Backgrounds, "*Studia Patristica* III, ed. F.L. Cross (TU 78; Berlin: Akademie–Verlag, 1961): 370–79; "*Oikonomia*-Terms in Paul in Comparison with Lucan Heilsgeschichte," *NTS* 13 (1966–67): 147–67; "Heilsgeschichte in Luke: Some Remarks on its Background and Comparison with Paul," *Studia Evangelica* IV, ed. F. L. Cross (TU 102; Berlin; Akademie–Verlag, 1968): 86–115.

theme over twenty years. It has been possible to touch on it in the Weber lectures in 1964[4], in a book on approaches to social justice from the contrasting theological bases found in the Second Vatican Council, the World Council of Churches in 1966, and in what Reformation Christians at their best might hope for[5]. Finally, ecumenically, it has recently been my task to take up every passage in the New Testament using terms from the root *dikaio-* in Greek, in the process of ecumenical dialogue[6].

Neither of these two themes, of course, directly concerns that topic of "the person of Jesus Christ" on which Methodios G. Fouyas has especially written[7], though each one does give us an occasionally used title in Christology: *Iesoun Christon dikaion* (1 John 2: 1), Jesus is "the Righteous One" (Acts 3:14, 7:52, 22:14; 1 Peter 3: 18; more rarely and chiefly in the church fathers, Jesus as Steward or Manager *(oikonomos)*[8]. Yet in that *oikonomia* can denote the Incarnation and God's whole plan of salvation in Christ and *dikaiosyne* often refers to the saving righteousness wrought by Christ in accord with God's righteous will, both terms touch deeply the Christology that is, as Methodios has written, "the central theological concern of the Greek Church, for which salvation is an implication of Incarnation"; and we shall have to test, with regard to our topics, the extent to which his next statement holds, that "in the West, Roman Law took the place of Greek metaphysics as the controlling influence in theological thought"[9].

If space and time permitted, one could probably relate both righteousness and *oikonomia* to the several other subjects of this volume, ecclesia and creation, as well as to salvation. For the church is those to whom Paul could write in Corinth, "You were washed (baptized), you were sanctified, you were justified *edikaiothete*" (1 Cor. 6: 11,) those "justified by faith *(dikaiothentes oun ek pisteos)*" who have "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. 5: 1), those out of every nation who are righteous by faith *(ek pisteos dikaioi ta ethne*, Gal. 3: 8). And in contrast to long habits of reading righteousness /justification as an individual matter between each person and God in Christ, recent New Testament scholarchip has mounted a case – correct, in my opinion[10]– for at least Paul's view of the matter as highly corporate (and therefore ecclesiastical), if not cosmic, seen against its background in the Old Testament scriptures. As for *oikonomia*, its whole heritage of pre-Christian Greek usage disposed it to include "God's management of the universe as his household *oikos)*", especially in the Stoic philosophers[11], and the Ephesians references (1:10; 3:2, 9–10) to the administration *(oikonomia)* of God's plan *(mysterion)* for creation and salvation includes the church (cf.

4. "Justification: The Justification of the Unjust–Righteousness and Eschatology; The Justification of God –Righteousness and the Cross," *The Bulletin*, Moravian Theological Seminary (Bethlehem, Pa.), Fall, 1964, pp. 1–31. More technical is "The Gospel of the Righteousness of God: Pauline Reinterpretation in Romans 3: 21–31, "*Interpretation* 30 (1966) 432–52, dealing with Paul's treatment of an even earlier Christian formulation about salvation.

5. With William Lazareth, *Righteousness and Society: Ecumenical Dialogue in a Revolutionary Age* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967).

6. See note 1.

7. *The Person of Jesus Christ in the Decisions of the Ecumenical Councils: A historical and doctrinal Study wih the relevant Documens referring to the Christological relations of the Western, Eastern and Oriental Churches* (Addis Ababa: Central Printing Press, 1976). I note with interest a reviewer's observation (in *Abba Salama* 10 (1979): 396) that here the author "treats his material with great sympathy toward the Ancient Oriental Orthodox Churches and his attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church is more irenic than in his other book, *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism (*London: Oxford University Press, 1972)" (but cf. p. vii in that book). Christology, of course, always puts us on what is, or should be, common ground. I note also, as an American Lutheran especially involved in dialogue with theologians of the Roman Catholic Church, that not only is "righteousness" (in spite of the biblical evidence) seldom a theme for ecumenical discussions centering on Christology and the ancient creeds but also that, from our experiences and conversations, it could provide some insights in the face of ancient impasses. It is characteristic of the situation that, in *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism* (p. 30), Bishop Gore, of the Church of England, can be quoted as saying that in the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion (not "of Faith") "the whole discussion of Justification and Predestination is antiquated and quite unenlightening" – a far cry from the view that Justification is that on which the church stands or falls! It should be remembered that Justification, like all ways of talking about salvation, is a way of stating the meaning of Christology.

8. Cf. J. Reumann, "Jesus the Steward," An Overlooked Theme in Christology," *Studia Evangelica* V, ed. F.L. Cross (TU 103; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968): 21–29; and, in light thereof, the entry in *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W.H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961–68), p. 944, s.v. "*oikonomos*," B, and p. 1567 (Addenda).

9. *The Person of Jesus Christ* (cited above, n. 7), p. 11.

10. Cf. "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), sections 32–33, 38, 44, 50, 67, 111, 130, 133, 155, 179, 299, and, for Father Fitzmyer's reservations, sections 361, 366, 381, 392, 396, 399, and p. 200 n. 7. This "cosmic" emphasis rests especially on the work of H.G. Reventlow, *Rechtfertigung im Horizont des Alten Testament* (BEvT 58; Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971); H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* (BHT 40; Tübingen: Mohr–Siebeck, 1968), and Schmid's "Creation, Righteousness, and Salvation: Creation as the Broad Horizon of Biblical Theology," in *Creation in the Old Testament*, ed. Bernhard Anderson ("Issues in Religion and Theology"; London: SPCK, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), pp. 102–17; and the work of Ernst Käsemann, and his pupil, Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (FRLANT 87; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), and Christian Müller, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gotes Volk* (FRLANT 86; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964). It is clear from the exchange with Prof. Fitzmyer that if the word "corporate" had been used in my presentation, rather than "cosmic", there could have been far more agreement; the point is well taken, for it is true that Paul's description of the meaning of Christ's work concern human beings and only rarely inanimate nature (as is the notoriously difficult phrase *ta panta*, as at 1 Cor. 15:27 or. 1: 20).

11. Cf. Part II. 4, pp. 391–485, in the dissertation referred to in n. 1 above (forthcoming in *EkT)*.

3:10, *dia tes ekklesias)* in this great Epistle about the Church[12].

We shall here, however, deal especially with righteousness and *oikonomia* in the sense of "salvation" though not overlooking certain other aspects of meaning. With each there is a large number of related terms - from *dike*, we have an adjective and adverb as well as the noun *dikaiosyne* and the verb *dikaioo*, plus *dikaioma* and even *adikos;* from *oikos* plus *nemein*, "to manage", a number of Greek words, including the related compound *dioikesis*[13]. By and large, we shall concentrate on nouns and verbs, with the phrases *oikonomia tou theou* and *dikaiosyne tou theou* as general (but with an awareness that even how to take the genitive, "righteousness *of God*", is disputed and that meaning may vary from passage to passage; is it "the righteousness that comes from God", the "righteousness that seeks God as objective," or righteousness as an attribute to God?)[14].

Our method will be to compare the concepts, first in the Old Testament and the teachings of Jesus; then in the writings of the Pauline corpus, where each probably has its most significant usage in the Bible; next, in other parts of the New Testament and related writings; and finally in the church fathers and subsequent theology. We recognize that it is in the rich materials of these centuries from the second and third onwards that the most work needs to be done in the future and that we can provide only a preliminary and sketchy picture here for other investigators.

Finally, it must be remarked that both sets of terms are notoriously difficult to put into accurate English, though for different reasons. In the case of *oikonomia*, *oikonomeo*, etc., the problem is the range of different senses. Often we shall argue for a very specific meaning (as with Ephesians 1:10), but in other cases it will suffice or be wisest simply to transliterate the Greek form being used. With *dikaio-*language the problem is not only that often a Hebrew concept is being rendered, as at Romans 1:17 (*ho de dikaios ek pisteos zesetai* = Habakkuk 2:4) or Romans 4:3 and Galatians 3:6 (Abraham believed God *kai elogisthe auto, eis dikaiosynen* = Genesis 15:6)–so that one may say the Pauline usage rests on the Hebrew scriptures and their translation. It is also a problem of English usage where we have two possible sets of renderings, one from the Latin and the other from Anglo-Saxon, both of which have been used in subsequent theological discussion:

| | *adjective* | *noun* | *verb* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Latin: | just | justice, justification | justify |
| Anglo-Saxon: | right (eous) | righteousness | rightwise(n) |

I do not believe one can make two separate concepts ("justification" and "righteousness") out of a single term in Greek (*dikaiosyne*) or Hebrew *(sedaqa)* and so will often use "righteouseess justification" as a compound rendering to catch up the several aspects of the original. The real debate comes with the verb form of "righteous": shall it be "declare righteous" (forensically) or "make righteous" (in terms of "sanctification" and even ethics)? Both aspects are present in the New Testament, one often more so in certain passages. We shall sometimes indicate what the evidence seems to us to call for, and other times avoid what is a false problem brought on by English usage, for we can shift to "justify" or simply quote the original (Greek)[15].

## I. Righteousness and *Oikonomia* in the Old Testament and in the Teachings of Jesus

There is really no comparison between these terms as to importance in the Hebrew scriptures and their Greek translations like the Septuagint (LXX). At best, *oikonomia* terms occur only some fifteen or twenty times, usually in late writings and in insignificant ways. *Dikaio-*terminology occurs some 500 times, with a variety of significant meanings, rendering words most of the time from the Hebrew root *sdq*, "(be, declare) righteous"[16]. In quantity and quality of meanings, righteousness/justification is the concept of the two that can be called important in the Old Testament.

The verb *oikonomein* occurs at Psalm 112 (LXX 111): 5, about the man who "conducts his affairs with justice" (Hebrew *kul* in the pilpiel; cf. Basil the Great, *Ep.* 265 for the sense). At 2 Maccabees 3:2 and 14 it refers to making (financial) arrangements. The noun *oikonomia* occurs just twice (Isaiah 22:19

12. Cf. "*Oikonomia*-Terms in Paul," *NTS* 13 cited above, n. 3): 164–65, and the similar, subsequent analysis in Markus Barth, *Ephesians* (AB 34; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 76 and 326.

13. On etymology, see *E Ph* 61, 1-4 (1979): 565–70 (diss. pp. 144–52).

14. Cf. "*Righteousness" in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), sections 119, 131, 138 157, 387, for discussion and references in grammatical discussion (favoring a subjective genitive at, e.g., Rom. 3:5, but at times a genitive of authorship or source, cf. Phil. 3:9).

15. Ibid, sections 26, 100, 136–37, 180, 246, 359, 382. Cf. the index, s.v. "account righteous," "declare righteous", "make righteous," and "reckon righteous,".

16. For exact references see S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae* (Berlin, Margolin, 1925, reprinted Graz: Akadamischer Druck, 1955), and E. Hutch and H.A. Redpath, A *Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897, reprinted Graz: Akademischer Druck, 1954). Summaries in *E Ph* on *oikonomia*, etc., 60, 3-4 (1978): 548 n. 89 and 61, 1-4 (1979): 563–64 (diss., pp. 87 n, 89, 140–42, 609), and on *dikaiosyne*, etc. in J. A. Ziesler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Inquiry* (SNTSMS 20; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 18–36 (for the Hebrew) and 52–67 (LXX).

and 21) for the office and authority of an *oikonomos* (see below). The latter noun appears twelve times at most, usually for a palace official, the *'al-habayit*, who is "over the house (hold)," e.g. at 1 Kings (LXX 3 Kingdoms) 4:6, 16:9, or 18:3. These meager statistics result because *oikonomein* is a *Greek* concept, used only occasionally in the LXX to translate Hebrew terms.

The one passage of some later importance is that at Isaiah 22. It has been used, especially by Roman Catholic scholarchip, to present the role of Peter in Matthew 16[17]. In Isaiah 22 the prophet delivers an oracle against one of King Hezekiah's courtiers, Shebna, the steward who is over Hezekiah's household. At the lavish tomb that Shebna is having carved for himself, Isaiah predicts that Sbebna will never use it, for the Lord will thrust him from his office (22:19, *oikonomia*) and he will die in exile. In v. 21 the passage then prophesies that God will give that office to Eliakim, son of Hilkiah: "I...will commit your authority (*oikonomia*) to his hand" (v. 21). Such an administrator was often second in command after the king and held the keys of office (v. 22, "the key of the house of David; he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open"). It is to this latter idea, in connection with „the keys of the kingdom," for "binding" and "loosing" in Matthew 16: 19, that some appeal, making Eliakim a pattern for Peter's role there. (Besides the question of the singular "key" in the Isaiah verse and the plural in Matthew 16:19 and the textual corruption in the LXX here, the real problem lies in the messianic overtones of 22: 21–23, which do not apply to Peter; at best we have an ancient Near Eastern illustration of key(s) indicating authority).

It may be noted that the *oikonomos* over a king's household was thus not a concept from "biblical theology" but simply a reflection of widespread ancient practice, and the Davidic "investiture" language of vv. 21–23 causes problems for Matthean application if one is convinced that Matthew has this passage in mind. It also appears that Eliakim turned out to be a "peg" not that held fast (v. 23) but that gave way in time and failed ("it will be cut down and fall... cut off"), perhaps because of nepotism (cf. v. 25)[18]. Far more overt than this possible echo of Isaiah 22 at Matthew 16 is the direct usage of the imagery for Christ, to whom "the keys of Death and Hades" are given at Revelation 1:18[19]. I have not been able to locate a tradition of Peter as God's *oikonomos* in subsequent usage.

Even when *dioikein* terms are added (Dan. 3:1 LXX, 3:2; Tobit 1:21, 22; 2 Esdras 8:36, ), the trail leads to nothing of theological significance for *oikonomia* in the Old Testament. Not so with *dikaio*–terminology. The problem is how to summarize, in short compass, the rich results of the literally hundreds of verses that speak of "righteousness/justification."

The verb *dikaioun* occurs 45 times in the LXX (15 of these in the so–called Apocrypha), often with the sense of the Hebrew "to declare righteous, acquit" (*sdq*, especially in the hiph'il). With regard to non–verbal forms, Ziesler reports that" of 481 cases in the Hebrew O.T. only about 32 are not represented in the LXX by some form of *dikai*–."[20]

There has been debate over whether these Greek renderings may not narrow down too much the range of meanings found in the original Hebrew. Descamps[21] concluded that use of *dikaiosyne*, in passages like Isaiah 41 *(RSV*, v. 2, "vistory"), has distrorted the meaning of the Hebrew in the direction of *iustitia distributiva* (if so, is this an early example of "(Roman) Law...as the controlling influence in theological thought"?) and, Descamps went on, that in cases where the Hebrew suggests God's gracious, saving activity, the translation misses that point in its rendering. For example, Jeremiah 33:16, "The Lord is our righteousness" is missing, along with all of 33:14–26 in the LXX (40:1–13 only), probably because it was thought to duplicate earlier passages, in this case 23:6 (LXX *kyrios Iosedek)*; Isaiah 61:10, "garments of *salvation*... the robe of *righteousness*," has become in the LXX "*himation soteriou kai chitona euphrosynes*"; Psalm 24:5, "he will receive... *vindication* from the God of his salvation," has become tamely (LXX 23:5) "*lempsetai... eleemosynen para theou soteros autou*".

A famous study by C.H. Dodd[22] reached the conclusion that the Greek translation often "polarised" the two aspects of the Hebrew *sdq* by rendering it as *dikaiosyne*, on the one hand, in the sense of "(strict) justice" and as *eleemosyne*, "mercy", when a "benevolent" meaning is present. In this way, *sdq* (*dikaiosyne*) would be stripped of its salvatory, gracious

17. E.g., *Peter in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars*, ed. ed. R. E. Brown, K. P. Donfried, J. Reumann (Minneapolis: Augsburg, New York: Paulist, 1973), pp. 96–97; Raymond E. Brown, *The Churches the Apostles Left Behind* (New York: Paulist 1984), p. 135.

18. For historical allusions, cf. 2 Kings 18:18 (Isa. 36:3) and 19:2 (Isa. 37:2), where Eliskim is "over the household" and Shebnah is "secretary." On the problems of content, source and redaction, cf. Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah* 13–39, trans. R.A. Wilson (London: SCM, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), pp. 148-59. If Matthew, in writing 16: 13–23, had at all in mind the imagery and story of Isaiah 22: 15–25, then we must say that his dual picture of Peter as the rock when he confesses Christ (16: 16-19) and as the stone of stumbling when he denies Christ's way of suffering (16: 21–23) is parallel to Eliakim as "a peg in a sure place," with the key of the house of David (22: 21–24), *and* as "the peg that was fastened in a sure place" that gives way and falls (22: 25).

19. Cf. "Jesus the Steward" (cited above, n. 8), pp. 24–25, where the contrast between Moses and Christ in Hebrews 3: 1–6, "in" and "over God's house" is discussed.

20. *The Meaning of Righteousness* (cited above, n. 16), p. 59.

21. "La Justice de Dieu dans la Bible grecque," *Studia Hellenistica* 5 (Louvain, 1948:) 69–92, especially 75ff.

22. *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935), pp. 42–57, especially p. 53.

vindicating aspects and placed into an antithesis with mercy, goodness, and grace. In that case the tendency will alo be to contrast sharply the words underlined below in Psalm 85:10 (LXX 84:11).

> Steadfast love and faithfulness will meet,
> *righteousness (dikaiosyne)* and *peace* will kiss each other.

Ziesler expresses doubts on both theories, but he allows "a tendency" to exist in this direction, if not "a general rule"[23]. One is admonished by this discussion, however, constantly to ask if the LXX has caught the sense of the Hebrew original.

As to the meaning of the Hebrew *sdq*, *sedaqa*, there is widespread agreement among Old Testament scholars that there is no other concept of "so central a significance"[24] for Israelite thought about God and all of life. While it is difficult to settle on a single master-theme behind all passages using the words-for, like *oikonomia*, it was destined to grow in use-Hebraic "righteousness" terminology occurs in all areas of Old Testament literature, law, prophets, psalms, wisdom, and apocalyptic. It especially occurs in books associated with Jerusalem, the Psalter, Proverbs, and Isaiah and Ezekiel. One may trace its way from a general ancient Near Eastern background, where it helped synthesize kingdom, wisdom, law, nature, cult, justice, and salvation, through a maze of uses about God and human beings. God is "the Righteous One" (Isa. 24: 16) who does "steadfast love, justice, and righteousness in the earth" (Jer. 9:24). He calls for king and people to do justice and righteousness also (Jer. 23:5; Ps. 15: 1–2).

Out of the many things that might be said about righteousness/justification in the Old Testament, we shall hihglight here several aspects important for later considerations.

It is often claimed, and not without reason, that *sdq* in the Old Testament is a "relationship" term. Sometimes this has been taken as "conformity to a norm", i.e., the law, but more often it involves God's conforming to what he himself is and to what the current situation calls for as "just" and "right". "Shall not the Judge of the whole earth do right (Hebrew *mispat;* Greek *krisin)?*" (Gen. 18: 25) is what everyone expects. (In that chapter about the righteous and the wicked in Sodom, what is "right" involves more than God's distributive justice, for God shows that "doing righteousness and justice," v. 19, includes mercy. The close relation to judgment that can be seen here we shall turn to shortly in more detail). But how justice/righteousness works out in specific cases produces some surprises. Often it relates to faithfulness in a relationship, and not to outward "moral" appearances or even the norms of law.

A famous example is the climax of the unsavory story of Judah and Tamar in Genesis 38. The action of Tamar, in posing as a prostitute and inveigling her father-in-law, Judah, to get her pregnant, seems immoral; she should be burned (38:24). But when she produces the signet, cord, and staff of "the man to whom these belong, by whom I am with child", i.e., Judah, it is acknowledged by Judah, "She is more righteous than I" (38:26, *dedikaiotai Thamar e ego)*. Later commentantors might term the whole thing an *oikonomia* of some sort. The Israelite explanation is that she has been true to what the relationship demanded that is prescribed in levirate marriage (Deut. 25: 5–10). Judah did not sincerely intend to give her another of his sons to "perform the duty of husband's brother" to her, so she forced Judah to fulfill mimself what the relationship demanded.

The relational view of *sdq* in the Old Testament leads into another aspect that needs underscoring, especially in comparison with certain later treatments of righteousness/justification. The understanding of it in the Hebrew scriptures is dymanic, not static. We are dealing with "right" not in the abstract but in concrete situations (Like Tamar's!). Proper response to God is not just obeying precepts of a remote law but walking uprightly and humbly, doing justice and loving kindness in situations as they confront one. God's righteousness is not so much an attribute or a state but what God does. So also with humans. Perhaps the most important aspect of "righteousness/justification" to be stressed in this connection is that of *sdq sedaqa* as a gracious, saving activity on the part of God. Here is where the funneling of the Hebrew concept into the narrower confiness of "distributive justice" ("to each, his own") is so unfortunate. For one of the periodic rediscoveries in the history of scriptural studies is that God's righteousness in the Old Testament means active, saving work on the part of God, not simply demands for right living by human beings or norms that God sets.

Isaiah 40–66 is a portion of the Old Testament where God's saving righteousness especially comes to the fore. Here "righteousness" is frequently paralleled with "salvation": 46:13 (*ten dikaiosynen mou kai ten soterian)*, or 51: 5, 6, and 8 *(he dikaiosyne mou, to soterion mou)*. We also encounter verses where the proper rendering of *sedaqa* is "vindication": e.g., Isaiah 62: 1–2 *(RSV; he dikaiosyne mou*, parallel with *soterion)*. One must especially cite Judges 5:11, in the Song of Deborah, one of the oldest passages in the Bible and what may be the earliest use of a noun from *sdq*:

> there they repeat the *triumphs* of the Lord (*sidqot* YHWH),

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23. *The Meaning of Righteousness* (cited above, n. 16), p. 68; cf. his appended note, "The Inadequacy of *dikaiosyne*," 67–69.

24. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, New York: Harper & Row, 1962, 1965), Vol. 1, p. 370. For what follows, cf. "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* cited above, n. 1), sections 27–40, where further bibliography is cited, justifying and expanding many of the points made here.

The *triumphs* of his peasantry in Israel.

The LXX somewhat misses the point, especially if *dikaiosyne* is not understood against its active, salvatory Hebrew background: *ekei dosousin dikaiosynas* (MS Alexandrinus: *dikaiosynen) kyrio*, followed by either (MS Vaticanus) *dikaiosynas auxeson en Israel* ("exalt (God's) triumphs in Israel," though one translator makes it, "O Lord, increase righteous acts in Israel"!)[25], or, less acceptably, (MS A) *dikaioi enischusan en to Israel* ("the righteous gained strength in Israel"). In the LXX, God is to have righteousness ascribed to him (cf. Baruch 2:18), not win triumphs for Israel[26].

Relational, dynamic, saving and victorious, God's righteousness in the Old Testament also involves in a number of passages a "law court" aspect. This means what has often in later theology been called the "forensic" side of justification, i.e., having to do with the "forum" or public meeting place and hence the courts that met there (cf. Acts 28:15, 19:38; 1 Cor. 4: 3–4). But it is here not so much a matter of the law in court but of God himself as judge (cf. Gen. 18: 25) and indeed as accuser of Israel, on "the day of the Lord", in history and eschatologically. One can, to make the links in English, scarcely think of the "justice of God" without an awareness of God as "Judge", yet precisely the God who also "justifies." Some Old Testament scholars like H. Wheeler Robinson, have seen the sense of "acquittal at the bar of God" as basic to the sense of *sdq*, a forensic sense[27].

There are Old Testament passages that speak of righteousness/justification in the setting of a human tribunal (Isa. 5:23; Deut. 24:13). But recent scholarship has especially paid attention to a "covenant lawsuit" setting. Here, in court before God, Israel as a people is arraigned. God brings suit for infidelity (perhaps through the prophet's words, perhaps in the first person). Hosea 4:1 ff. begins such a "controversy" (Hebrew *rib;* Greek *krisis)* on the part of God with people and priests. Micah 6:1 ff, eloquently depicts God recalling "the saving acts of the Lord" (6:5, *Sidgot* YHWH: Greek *he dikaiosyne tou Kyriou)* in the exodus and Israel's history; yet Jerusalem has reacted against God even worse than did Samaria (6: 9–16). Psalm 50 recites this lawsuit theme in liturgical form; God the judge, whose righteousness is declared by the heavens (50:6), excoriates those who, even as they offer sacrifices, have no right to have God's covenant on their lips (50: 7–17). Only at the end is there a note of "the salvation of God" (50: 23). Yet precisely those prophets who use this form, like Isaiah (1: 2–9) and Jeremiah (2: 4–13), can also offer a word of hope, indeed through God's saving righteousness (see above; cf. Jer. 23:6 in the context of v. 5, or 33: 16)[28].

The final accent to underscore in the Old Testament picture of God's righteousness/justification has to do with the aspect of future expectation that increasingly entered in. This facet of the picture is the eschatological or apocalyptic element. It stemmed from the fall of Israel and then of Judah and the fact that many of the hopes raised by the prophets during the exile (even Isaiah 40 ff), turned out to be unfulfilled. The Davidic line of kings went into eclipse. The rebuilt temple did not capture the glory of the one that Solomon had built. Righteousness did not abound; justice was not served. The nation was oppressed under foreign rulers. And so the longing grew for what "the Lord our righteousness" would do, or for a messianic "righteous branch" from the stump of Jesse (Isa. 11: 1–2; Jer. 23: 5, 33:15), but increasingly projected into the future. The world was regarded as very evil; the hope was, as 2 Peter 3:13 would later put it, in a classic phrase, for "new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells". But that hope for righteousness is an echo of Isaiah 65:. 17 and 66:22, the hope voiced in 2 Esdras 7: 43–44 (113–114), for "the day of judgement" and a time to come when "unbelief has been cut off, and righteousness has increased and truth has appeared." Precisely in this period "the righteousness of God" may have become a set formula in apocalyptic, for God's vindicating righteousness[29].

Our concern has been to show something of the nature of the Old Testament view of righteousness/justification. We have stressed aspects often overlooked. There is, of course, also a strong "ethical" side to the Old Testament picture, but that has usually been amply present, though sometimes in a "moralized" form, in later understandings of the theme. If space permitted, we could also trace developments through documents and decades outside the scriptural material cited above. At points the forensic aspect was combined with legalistic piety. Second Baruch (the Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch) speaks of "those who proved to be righteous on account of my law" and "the righteousness of the law" (51: 3; 67: 6[30]; cf. Phil. 3:9; Rom. 3:21,

25. Lancelot Charles Lee Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament according to the Vatican Text* (London: S. Bayster and Sons, 1844), Vol. 1, p. 264, reading *Kyrie.*

26. Cf. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes* (cited above, n. 10), pp. 108-111, 201.

27. H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (London: Duckworth, 1913), pp. 168-69. Similarly Gustav Dalman, *Die richterliche Gerechtigkeit im Alten Testament* (Berlin, 1897).

28. Striking application of the "covenant-complaint" pattern is that made by Markus Barth in *Justification: Pauline Texts Interpreted in the Light of the Old and New Testaments* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971). He sees Romans 1:18–3:20 as serving this function (pp. 18–19, 25–34.)

29. So P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes* (cited above, n. 10), pp. 145–75. Further, in *"Righteousness" in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), sections 40, 93, 335.

30. See now the translation and introduction by A.F. J. Klijn, pp. 615–52, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Vol. 1, *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1983).

28). In the Dead Sea scrolls God's judgments and forgiveness, combined under the terms from *sdq* ("justification/righteousness"), are heightened alongside human aptivity to sinfulness[31].

Against this Old Testament panorama that we have sketched, it is somewhat surprising that Jesus spoke relatively little in terms of righteousness/justification, but less surprising that he used *oikonomia* terms virtually not at all.

Statistically, "righteousness" terminology is not common in the gospels. The noun *dikaiosyne* occurs just ten times, the adjective 33, the verb 7. As for the noun, the instance at Luke 1:75, in the Benedictus, "... to serve (God) in holiness and *righteousness* all the days of our life...," is good Old Testament language (cf. Joshua 24:14). The two examples in John 16: 8 and 10, about the Paraclete convincing the world about "righteousness and judgement," likely reflects the forensic, law-court setting, where the Spirit, speaking for God, sets people straight on how Jesus, in "going to the Father," has been vindicated[32]. The seven, striking cases of *dikaiosyne* in Matthew are best taken up together, below in Section III, for they reflect an Old Testament theme, in the teachings of Jesus, but presented within a special perspective of Matthew's Gospel.

In the gospels the adjective *dikaios* occurs more frequently, 33 times, usually in the sense of a "just or righteous' person (like Joseph, Matt.1:19) or "innocent" (of Jesus, Matt. 27:19). But occassionally it is used ironically, as of scribes and Pharisees who "outwardly appear" "righteous," but inwardly are full of iniquity (Matt. 23:28). The hardest sense to decide is that in Jesus' saying, "I came to call not 'righteous people (*dikaious*)' but 'sinners' " (Mark 2:17, parallels at Matt. 9:13 and Luke 5:32). It could be ironic. The sense clearly is that Jesus' mission was above all to "sinners" (in the eyes of the religion of the day)[33].

The verb *dikaioun*, which Luke uses five times and Matthew twice, can have the ironic sense of "trying to justify oneself" (Luke 10:29; 16:15). There are juridical tones in the phrase to "be justified (or condemned) by your words" (Matt. 12:37). "Justifying (or vindicating) God" in a positive sense is what the tax collectors did in receiving baptism (Luke 7:29)– they acknowledged their guilt and God's vindicating righteousness. That "wisdom is justified (*edikaiothe*) by her works" (Matt. 11:19) or "her children" (Luke 7:35) is another example of the verb in the sense of "vindicate". There is thus enough evidence to say that Jesus knew and reflected some aspects of the Old Testament theme of righteousness/justification.

The most interesting and debated example of such usage comes in Jesus' Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Luke 18: 9–14). When he says it was the tax collector, rather that the Pharisee, that went home from praying at the temple "justified" (*dedikaiomenos*), he certainly means "vindicated" by God. Some go further and see in this the seeds at least of Paul's doctrine of justification[34].

Jesus, of course, in his central message about the kingdom of God (*basileia tou theou*), did speak of the impending judgment by God and called for repentance and faith (e.g., Mark 1:15)[35]. What may be called God's great "eschatological reversal" of things was prominent and imminent in his teaching. His emphasis was definitely on God's power to save, rather than on sin and condemnation. In all these ways what he taught was consonant with the Old Testament theme of "righteousness/justification", but he did not use excessively its terminology of *sdq* or *dikaiosyne*. What he did say was enough to pave the way for developments after Easter to which we shall turn in Section II. Above all, his cross and resurrection would be the point from which interpertation began.

Our account of Jesus and *oikonomia*–vocabulary can be given more briefly, for, as with the Old Testament, there is relatively little to tell. The verb *oikonomein* occurs just once in the gospels, *oikonomos* four times, and *oikonomia* three times, all instances being in Luke and seven of the eight examples occurring in a single passage, the Parable about the Unjust Steward, Luke 16: 1–8. It could, of course, be argued that Luke's is the most Hellenistic of all four gospels and hence it is not surprising that terms for "steward(ship)" occur in his account. But it is also a fact that the Greek *oikonomos* was a loan word in the Hebrew of the Targums and Midrashim (though *oikonomia* was not, to the best of our knowledge): the loan word *'iqonômôs* meant "steward" or "town official", just as in the Greco-Roman world[36]. Given the cultural penetration of Greek language and social intitutions into Palestine, it could have been quite possible for Jesus to have known by this title the sort of manager of a household or estate described in Luke 16.

Jesus' parable, found only in Luke, describes an *oikonomos* charged before his rich master with "wasting his goods" (16:1). Told to turn in the records of his stewardship (*ton logon tes oikonomias*), the steward resolves what to do help himself in the time

31. Details and literature in "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), sections 42-43, 363–64.

32. Ibid., section 256.

33. Ibid., section 224.

34. Ibid., sections 50, 247, 411.

35. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology, Part One: The Proclamation of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1971), pp. 96ff. He goes on to speak of Jesus "vindicating" the good news he preached by pointing to "sinners", to "the righteous" (who were farther yet from God in their need), and to God's gracious nature that reverses so much in ordinary human calculations.

36. *E Ph* 61, 1–4 (1979): 564 (diss., p. 141), citing Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumin, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Litterature* (New York Berlin: Verlag Choreb, London: E. Shapiro, Vallentine & Co., 1926), p. 60.

when his office of steward (*oikonomia*) is taken away (16: 3–4). He calls in his master's debtors and cuts the amounts of olive oil and wheat they owe according to these records. This "dishonest steward" (*oikonomos tes adikias*, a Semitic genitive usage) is then commended by the lord because he acted shrewdly (*phronimos*, 16:8). To this story are then attached a series of ethical exhortations (16: 9–13), about making friends by use of unrighteous (*adikias*) mammon (v. 9), being faithful with what is entrusted to you (vv.10–12), and serving God, not mannon (v. 13)..

We need not discuss here the likelihood that the steward was not so much dishonest (the only charge against him in v. 1 was waste) as crafty, and that in the bills he reduced he was simply cutting back the profits from usury that he had built in for himself, not cheating the master. We can even leave open whether the *kyrios* in the account at v. 8 might be Jesus, rather than the rich master, and that what Jesus then commended was the steward's prudence – with the hint that Jesus' hearers should act with similar dispatch in the face of the offer of God's kingdom[37].

The one other Lukan reference to a steward can be noted in light of this passage. It is his description in 12: 42–48 of "the faithful and wise steward *(ho pistos oikonomos ho phronimos)* whom his master will set 'over his household'" (cf. the Hebrew *'al-habayit.*). Some think the picture there was intended for not only the disciples but also for later church leaders. The possibilities are by no means all flattering, for options for stewards include the drunkard who beats other servants (v. 45), the person who knows the lord's will but does not do it (v. 47), and the one who does not know his will and behaves badly (v. 48) – as well as the servant-steward who feeds the household at the proper time (v. 42). It may be that the passage reflects the description of a faithful servant (*pistos*) in 19: 17 combined with 16:10, and the steward in 16:8 who acted wisely (*phronimos*), emanating in a circle where *oikonomoi* were expected to be faithful[38].

We may say that Jesus' description of stewards accords with insights that we have from Greek sources about *oikonomoi*,[39] but it cannot be said that there is anything profoundly theological in these few references. Not much more is added if one includes the dozen references in the Synoptics to the *oikodespotes* or "master of the house"[40], unless it be used, as Alivisatos once suggested[41], to explain why *oikonomia* came into prominence rather than *dioikesis* in Christianity: namely, because the gospels employ *oikodespotes* (and a handful of *oikonomia* – words).

All in all, we must conclude that statistically and sowewhat in content *dikaiosyne* and related terms enjoy a preference over *oikonomia* and related terms in the material from and about Jesus in our gospels. But it is after Easter that each concept came into greater prominence.

## II. Righteousness and *Oikonomia* Terms in the Pauline Epistles of the New Testament

The statistics from the thirteen letters in the corpus Paulinum (Hebrews will be treated in Section III, below) are impressively weighted in favor of the importance of righteousness/justification[42].

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *dikaiosyne* | 57 examples | *oikonomia* | 6 examples |
| *dikaioun* | 27 | *oikonomein* | none |
| *dikaios* | 17 | *oikonomos* | 5 |
| *dikaioma* | 5 | | |
| *dikaios* (adv.) | 3 | | |
| *dikaiosis* | 2 | | |
| *dikaiokrisia* | 1 | | |

Even more significant than this disparity of 114 versus 11 examples in favor of *dikaio*-words is the spread and meaningfulness of the two concepts in Paul's letters. While righteousness/justification terminology occurs especially in two epistles, 63 of the above 114 examples being in Romans and 13 more occurring in Galatians, *dikaio-vocabulary* is spread over twelve of the thirteen letters (no example is found in Philemon, though it is sparse in 1–2 Thessalonians and Colossians). On the other hand, *oikonomia* and related terms appear in only seven letters, with the largest number of examples in 1 Corinthians and Ephesians (three each; none in 2 Corinthians, Philippians, 1–2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy, or little Philemon). While *oikonomia* can be called a sub-theme in Ephesians and *oiconomos* a

37. Discussion and literature on these views in J. Reumann, *Jesus in the Church's Gospels: Modern Scholarship and the Earliest Sources* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968; London; SPCK, 1970), pp. 189-98. Similarly, but with more recent views and options, I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 614–24.

38. Cf. J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Story of the Dishonest Manager (Lk. 16: 1-13)," *Theological Studies* 25 (1964): 23–42, especially 29–30, reprinted in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, Missoula, Mont.: Scholars' Press, 1974), pp. 161–86, especially 168-69; H. Preisker, "Lukas 16, 1–7," *TLZ* 74 (1949): 85–92; I.H. Marshall *Luke* (cited above, n. 37), pp. 540–45, plus 616 for reference to Kamlah's suggestion about "steward" as a reference to Jesus' underlings.

39. *E Ph* 61, 1–4 (1979): 576–603, especially 602–603 (diss., pp. 162–205, esp. 204–205).

40. Matt. 10:25; 13: 27,52; 20: 1, 11; 21:33; 24:43; Mark 14:14; Luke 12:39; 13:25; 14:21, 22:11.

41. Hamilcar S. Alivisatos, *H OIKONOMIA kata to kanonikon dikaion tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias* (Athens: Aster Publishing House, 1949), p. 23, n. 1.

42. Data here and elsewhere from Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* (Zürich/Frankfurt: Gotthelf-Verlag, 1958) and H. Bachmann and W. A. Slaby, *Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece* (Berlin /New York: de Gruyter, 1980).

term of self-description by Paul in 1 Corinthian, *dikaiosyne* (*tou theou*) emerges as *the* theme of Romans and the central issue of dispute (along with Paul's apostleship) in Galatians.

Thus righteousness/justification has an importance in Paul that cannot be claimed for *oikonomia* there. He puts his entire gospel into *dikaiosyne* terms in his most carefully written epistle, Romans. *Oikonomia* gains a toe hold for future developments only in one of the later Pauline epistles, Ephesians, a document where righteousness/justification is by no means out of the picture.

Because of this preponderance of the theme of *dikaiosyne* in Paul and its chronological priority, we shall begin with righteousness/justification and only afterwards turn to the briefer but fascinating story of the rise of *oikonomia* as a biblical theological theme in the letters of Paul.

Precisely the statistics just cited about *dikaio*–terms have given rise to one charge against the "righteousness/justification" theme. It is claimed that the topic came into prominence only because of Paul's controversy with the "Judaizers" in Galatia over "righteousness by the works of the law" versus "righteousness through faith in Jesus Christ" (Gal. 2:16). It was, on this view, a product of polemic, not worthy of being regarded as any sort of center in Paul's thought. Albert Schweitzer classically made this case, demoting justification[43]. Quite apart from the wide spread of *dikaio*–terms in so many of Paul's letters, this theory faces (a) the fact that Romans, which was written in a relatively tranquil period to prepare Paul's way for a visit to a congregation not of his own founding in Rome, places the gospel pre-eminently in terms of the righteousness of God and justification (1: 16–17; 3: 21–28); and (b) the fact that letters traditionally dated late in Paul's career, namely Philippians (if written from Rome) and Ephesians, do make righteousness/justification a prominent theme (cf. Phil. 3: 6–11; Eph. 2: 4–10) in situations where the Judaizers of Galatia were no issue.

More recently, however, it has proven possible to mount another argument, even more significant. On the basis of linguistic and other observations it is possible to isolate in New Testament epistles (some of them not by Paul) snatches of hymns, creedal affirmations, and kerygmatic slogans that go back to the earliest days of Christianity, indeed prior to the time of Paul's letters and his dispute in Galatia in behalf of the apostolic faith. A surprising number of these pre-Pauline formulas, stemming in some cases from Jewish Christianity, use *dikaio*–terminology, particularly to present who Jesus was (Christology) and the meaning of his cross (what can be called a primitive doctrine of the atonement or interpretation of what Jesus' death means).

For the U.S. Lutheran–Roman Catholic dialogue I have outlined seven such formulas from earliest Christianity, and six of them Father Fitzmyer accepted[44]. These include 1 Peter 3:18 ("the Righteous One suffered (or died) for those who are unrighteous"); 1 Timothy 3:16 (Christ "was manifested in the flesh, was vindicated (*edikaiothe*) in the spirit..."); 1 Corinthians 1:30 (Jesus Christ "became wisdom for us from God, both righteousness and sanctification and redemption..."); 1 Corinthians 6:11 ("you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God"); Romans 4:24, about Jesus our Lord who was put to death for our trespasses and was raised for our justification (*dia ten dikaiosynen hemon*); and, above all, Romans 3: 24–26,

> [24]being declared righteous (*dikaioumenoi*) as a gift through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus,
> [25]whom God put forward as a *hilasterion* ("expiation," possibly the Hebrew *kapporet* or sacrifice in the Day of Atonement ritual of Leviticus 17) in his blood (to be received by faith),
> for showing God's righteousness (*eis endeixin tes dikaiosynes autou*), because of the passing over of former sins,
> [26]in the forebearance of God, (Paul then goes on) for demonstrating his righteousness (*pros ten endeixin tes dikaiosynes autou*) in the present time, in order that God might be just even while justifying (or righteous in declaring righteous) the person who lives on the basis of faith in Jesus.

The passage on which we differed as to whether Paul composed it himself or is quoting earlier material is 2 Corinthians 5: 21; "The One who did not know sin God made to be sin (or, perhaps, "the sin offering" of Lev. 6:23, 14:19) in order that we might become God's righteousness (*dikaiosyne theou*) in him".

Naturally, many questions about details can be raised, but there is some considerable agreement in recent New Testament literature on such passages as reflections of common apostolic Christianity and not specifically Pauline theology. (Hence the appearance of the theme in letters other than those by Paul.) The importance of this finding is that righteousness/justification must then be recognized as a topic of reflection and means of expression on the part of very early Christians with regard to the heart of their

43. Schweitzer termed justification merely a "subsidiary crater" alongside the volcanic (but somewhat imprecisely defined) center that he preferred, "Christ-mysticism"; cf. *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (London: A & C. Black, 1931), pp. 220–21, 225.

44. Because extensive literature is cited and details discussed in "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), sections 58–76, the material is not repeated here; for Fitzmyer's views, see sections 368–75.

gospel. At this we should not be surprised, because what could be more natural than for them, Jewish Christians especially, to have expressed the meaning of the Christ event in terms most familiar to them from God's revelation in the Old Testament. It will be surprising when Christians use a term basically from the Greek world like *oikonomia* to talk of the Christ event. It was inevitable that they should use a theme so central as righteousness/justification to tell of Jesus Christ, his manifestation and its meaning, particularly the cross, and the significance for us and all the world.

Righteousness/justification, then, can be regarded as a key way of expressing the *euangelion* before Paul (or any one else) wrote a single epistle. In his early letters Paul occasionally reflects the Old Testament ethical sense of "righteous behavior" (1 Thess. 2:10) or that of God's "righteous judgment" (2 Thess. 1:5). First Corinthians already uses *dikaiosyne* Christologically (1:30) and speaks of believers there having become justified and sanctified with baptism (6:11). In 2 Corinthians not only is Christ the source of believers becoming "God's righteousness' (2 Cor. 5:21); they also have a "ministry of righteousness," of reconciliation, and of the Spirit (3: 8–9, cf. 5: 18)[45].

It is, of course, with Galatians that the theme of righteousness/justification comes more fully before us[46]. In some ways it is not *dikaiosyne* that is at issue but rather how one becomes justified (*dikaioutai*), whether by obeying and doing "works of the law" or by faith in Jesus (2:16) and his cross (2:20; 6:14). Galatians 2: 15–21 serves as a summary of Paul's gospel in this situation but using early Christian and Old Testament vocabulary. His teaching is clear: Jew and Gentile alike are rightwised on the basis of faith in Jesus and in no other way. This is stated with increasing clarity as "the truth of the gospel" (2: 5, 14) in the face of the positions of Judaism (that salvation = the covenant of circumcision and doing all that is written in the law, cf. 3: 10), of the Judaizers (that salvation = Christ and then doing the works of the law, including circumcision), and even of Cephas (2: 11–14). Paul's words in 2: 15ff. may or may not have been spoken in the presence of Cephas (Peter) at Antioch, but they strike at the way he had drawn back from previous table fellowship (including the Lord's Supper?) with Gentile Christians. One cannot, in the face of Paul's vehement words, accept the later view of Chrysostom that this dispute between Peter and Paul was merely a mock fight (an *oikonomia*), staged in order to smoke out other views[47]. Paul actually did have to defend the truth of the gospel, as righteousness/justification by faith, before those claiming to represent Jerusalem and James (2:12) and against the conduct of Peter (2:14) when he "judaized".

Paul's particular scriptural example of having righteousness reckoned to one by faith is Abraham (3: 6–9; cf. 4: 21–31). This precedent, with its proleptic gospel for Gentiles (3:8), Paul will also use and develop in Romans 4. It is to be noted that Paul's appeal is precisely to two Old Testament texts, Genesis 15:6 and Habakkuk 2:4 (Gal. 3:6 and 11), a phenomenon also repeated more systematically in Romans. It is also worth pointing out that, in this Letter to Galatia, where Paul first develops for us a sort of salvation history view based on justification, around Abraham, Moses, and Christ (3: 6–29)[48], he also does not omit such Old Testament aspects of his theme as eschatology (5:5, "the hope of righteousness") and the ethical "walk" or conduct of Christians in the Spirit and in freedom (chaps 5–6) that the power of the gospel of God's righteousness enables.

About Romans[49], with its massive use of *dikaio-* vocabulary, enough has already been said to make clear that the righteousness of God is its theme. This righteousness/justification is revealed in the sin-expiating death of Jesus, so that those who believe are justified – and with justification comes peace with God, new life in the Spirit (5: 1ff.), and new light on all of existence and the world. Romans 1: 18–3:20 represents the negative side of *dikaiosyne* in 1: 16–17, as judgment and as wrath revealed against all wickedness (*adikia*, 1:18)– possibly reflecting the Old Testament "covenant lawsuit" theme. The biblical illustration of Abraham in Romans 4 is to be noted again, exemplifying faith in "God who justifies the ungodly" (4:5; contrast Exod. 23:7 LXX, *ou dikaioseis ton asebe heneken doron!*).

New in Romans is the way Paul uses the contrast between Adam and Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 15: 45–49) to teach how Jesus brings justification (and therefore life), not condemnation (5:16, 17, 18, 19, 21, each verse with *dikaio-*terms). Not to be overlooked is the ethical meaning, on Christians as instruments and obedient slaves of righteousness (6: 13–20). In a significant verse (14:17) Paul even defines Jesus' phrase, "the kingdom of God", in terms of righteousness: it means not "food and drink" but "*dikaiosyne* and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit". Perhaps the most interesting insight from recent discussion of our topic in Romans is how chapters 9–11, on the fate of God's ancient people Israel, fits in both as a theodicy (or justification of God for bringing righteousness so freely in Christ to all who believe) and

45. Cf. ibid., sections 77–97.

46. Ibid., sections 98–106.

47. *Expos. in Gal.* 2.5; PG 61. 641. Trans. in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. Philip Schaff, Vol. 13, *Saint Chrysostom, Homilies on Galatians*, etc., (New York: Scribner's, 1905), p. 19.

48. Cf., in addition to "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), section 102, "*Oikonomia*-Terms in Paul" (cited above, n. 3), pp. 149 and 155.

49. Ibid., sections 114–62.

as a reiteration of righteousness/justification based on faith (in contrast to that based on law, 9: 30-10:17, especially 10: 5-6)[50]. Paul's most systematic exposition of the Christian message is thus about "the God who justifies" (*theos ho dikaion*, 8:33; cf. Isa. 50:8).

To those who think Paul's interest in righteousness/justification does not extend beyond Galatians and Romans, attention must also be called to Philippians. Here Paul again, within the context of his own autobiographical experience, contrasts the "two kinds of righteousness" (3: 6–11) – of one's own, based on law, and from God, through faith in Christ– in a most artful way[51]. Important as this experiential starting point was for Paul (and for many subsequent Christians, like Augustine, Luther, and Wesley), it must not blind us to the corporate aspects to be seen in Romans and elsewhere. The Philippians passages also take cognizance of the eschatological and ethical aspects of justification (1:11, "fruits of righteousness that come through Jesus Christ" for "the Day of Jesus Christ"; cf. 4:8, where typically Greek virtues like "whatever things are just (*dikaia*)" are what Christians should think on).

In the other "captivity epistles" of Paul – whether because they reflect later sitiuations in his life or are the work of pupils of the apostle in the Pauline school– a number of his themes undergo a certain change. This is true in Ephesians[52] in that the emphasis is less on the "last things" (*ta eschata*) than on *ta prota*, the "first things" (protology), and election by God "before the foundation of the world" (1:4). There is less of the perspective of the individual believer who has experienced rescue by God and more on the church through which "the principalities and powers" come to know the wisdom of God revealed in Christ (3:10). It is in this setting that *oikonomia* as God's administration of his plan for salvation will come to the fore (see below).

But salvation by grace through faith is not forgotten in Ephesians. Indeed, it is given its clearest articulation in the Pauline corpus in the hymnlike words of Ephesians 2: 4–10, "by grace you are saved through faith" (2: 5, 8), not by your own doing or works. In what later became a sort of paradigm slogan for Reformation theology it was scarcely noted that what has changed is the verb: Ephesians uses *sozo*, "saved," in place of *dikaioo*, justified/rightwised. This is probably because it was written for an audience that knew less and less about the Hebraic–Old Testament sense of *sdq* and thought instead of the more Hellenistic term, *soteria*. But Markus Barth has argued, particularly with regard to 6:14, about "the breastplate of righteousness," that Old Testament imagery is not lost (cf. Isa. 59: 17); in fact, Barth finds here imagery from the Old Testament "Holy War" theme and from the "cosmic lawsuit" motif. Specifically at 6:14, "the 'righteousness of God' is meant through which man is justified by grace alone (Rom 3: 21–31)"[53].

We may look finally among the letters attributed to Paul at those called the Pastoral Epistles[54]. Again, in a different situation – depending on which imprisonment and when in Paul's life one decides for, or at a later time when pupils put together pieces of Paul's thought to serve new needs – the language of justification/righteousness continues. This is true not only in an ethical sense (1 Tim. 6: 11, 2 Tim. 2:22, "Pursue righteousness") but also in the fullest expressions that these documents provide about the meaning of the coming of Jesus Christ. Besides 1 Timothy 3:16 (cited above as a likely early hymn), 2 Timothy 1: 9–10 speaks in a way akin to Ephesians 2 above about salvation manifested (not by works but by grace) in Christ. Titus 2: 11–14 is similar, with its resulting call to live uprightly (*dikaios*). Titus 3: 3–7 is closest to Paul's abiding formulations over the years: God "saved us not because of deeds done by us in righteousness" but by his mercy; that, "having been justified (*dikaiothentes*, cf. Rom. 5:1) by his grace, we might become heirs in hope of eternal life." Righteousness/justification thus remains part of "the deposit of faith" (2 Tim. 1: 12).

It cannot be denied that the theme of righteousness/justification experiences a certain development from the earliest to the latest uses of *dikaio*–terminology in the Pauline corpus. But that is true of all living themes in theology. There is also a remarkable constancy, rooted in the Old Testament and developed in light of Jesus as the Righteous One and the significance of his death. All subsequent theology that reckons seriously with Paul and wrestles especially with Romans cannot but help make an important place for God's righteousness and the justification of sinners through Christ.

In turning now to the relatively few (11) cases of *oikonomia*–terminology in the Pauline corpus, we may begin with the fact that Paul, growing up as the Greek–speaking Saul in Tarsus[55], was doubtless familiar with the ubiquitous *oikonomoi* of the Greco–Roman world, both in the sense of (1) hou-

50. Ibid., sections 155–60, reflecting Chr. Müller, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit* (cited above, n. 10).

51. See "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), sections 109–11, especially 110 on the chiastic structure.

52. Ibid., sections 166–77.

53. *Ephesians* (Anchor Bible 34, 34A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1974), Vol. 2, p. 796.

54. "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1), sections 178–87, cf. 428–37.

55. This is said aware of the contention by W.C. van Unnik, in *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth* (London: Epworth, 1962), based on his interpretation of Acts 22:3 as a fixed pattern in Hellenistic rhetoric, that Paul, though born in Tarsus, "spent the years of his youth completely in Jerusalem" (p. 44). But Paul's knowledge of Greek makes clear that he would have known social-economic institutions like the Hellenistic *oikonomos*.

schold managers or stewards and (2) as administrators in city and other levels of government[56]. Indeed, Paul's list of greetings in Romans includes at 16:23 the statement, "Erastus, the city treasurer (*ho oikonomos tes poleos*), and our brother Quartus, greet you", the recipients in Rome (or Ephesus). An inscription, dated between A.D. 50 and 100, found in Corinth in 1929, actually speaks of an Erastus, who was then aedile or "commissioner of public works"; opinions have varied as to whether this Erastus is the same official in Corinth mentioned at Romans 16:23, and possibly the Erastus mentioned at Acts 19:21 and 2 Timothy 4: 20[57].

A similar "secular" use of *oikonomos* occurs at Galatians 4:2 in Paul's analogy to how Christians have been freed from bondage to legalism by Christ's coming. The heir-to-be, he says, is "under guardians and trustees" (*epitropous... kai oikonomous*) until the time set by his father. The first term denotes the Latin *tutor* or guardian of a minor, but in Roman law the second term should have been *curator* (Greek, *kourator*). Has Paul substituted the general term for "administrator" (*oikonomos*) because of the servile connotation he has in mind, i.e., an *oikonomos* was often a supervisor of slaves and might be a slave himself (cf. v. 1, the heir "is no better than a slave")[58]? Such a sense for *oikonomos* is amply apparent in the world of the day.

Against this background we may turn to Paul's more theological usage of *oikonomia*-terminology. It begins with Paul's description of himself as a steward of God (1 Corinthians) but later (in Ephesians) talks of God (or Christ) as the administrator (*oikonomos* in each case). There will also be development from "administration of Paul's apostolic office" to "administration of a divine plan of salvation." Finally, often mixed into the discussion are references to the "mystery" or "mysteries" of God. While use of *mysterion* develops, especially in Colossians and Ephesians, we are dealing with a term, it should be recognized, that for Paul has its roots not in Greek mystery cults (as history-of-religion enthusiasts have often claimed) but in a Semitic concept found especially in apocalyptic (cf. Dan. 2:28, e.g., and Qumran), for God's secrets revealed through his prophets[59].

To say, "It is required of stewards that they be found faithful" (1 Cor. 4:2) is simply a truism or even a proverb (cf. Luke 12: 42, above). This aphorism Paul has applied in 4:1 to himself and to other Christian missionaries (like Apollos and Cephas, 3:22), as "servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God" (*hyperetas Christou kai oikonomous mysterion theou*). Patristic commentators would see here a reference to the sacraments as "mysteries", but that is later usage. In Paul's context the reference is, as in apocalyptic, to God's revealed secrets, specifically "the mystery of God" (2:1), the wisdom of God hidden in a mystery (2:7), now revealed in "Christ and him crucified" (2: 2,8). For *oikonomoi mysterion theou* no precise parallel can be found in Greek cult, though temples had "administrators" and civil officials of that name had some religious duties. All in all, Paul, who has previously described himself and other missionaries as *diakonoi* (3:5) and *synergoi* for God (3:9), here is stressing that they are attendants of Christ and administrators of God's revealed secrets. And he claims to be a faithful *oikonomos*[60].

In light of Paul's understanding of the apostolic preachers as *oikonomoi* of God, we may now turn to a phrase he uses in passing at 1 Corinthians 9:17. It comes as part of a strongly personal defense of his *apostole* (9: 1-2) and of his paradoxical right to waive financial support from his converts, because he wished to work with his own hands to meet his needs, so as to be able to present the gospel of freedom "free of charge" (9:18, *adapanon*). Paul says (9:17), "I have been and am entrusted with a commission (*oikonomian pepisteumai*), i.e., the office of steward/apostle (of the gospel, cf. *euangelizomai/euangelion* five times in vv. 16 and 17). It is attractive to punctuate so as to bring out the parallelism in what Paul says at 9:17:

> For if willingly (*ei gar hekon prasso*) I am doing this (i.e., preaching the gospel without pay), I have a reward (i.e., grounds for boasting, vv. 15-16).

56. Detailed survey in *E Ph* 61, 1-4 (1979): 563-603, and *EkT* 1 (1980): 368-430.

57. C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark), Vol. 2 (1979), pp. 807-8, leaves the question open. There has been little change in the evidence available since Henry J. Cadbury wrote "Erastus of Corinth," in *JBL* 50 (1931): 42-58. Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), pp. 75-83, is inclined to identify the Erastus of the inscription with the man of Rom. 16:23, when he was quaestor.

58. So H. D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), pp. 203-4. Lightfoot's old view that the two words mean respectively "guardians of person" and "guardians of propetry" is not regarded as tenable. The proposal of E. D. Burton (ICC *Galatians*, 1921), that we have two titles for one person, "guardians who are also administrators", runs afoul of the fact that we now have an inscription from Egypt (*OGIS* 669) that distinguishes *oikonomoi* and *epitropoi*; cf. my "Stewards of God" (cited above, n. 3), pp. 339-40, n. 2. On application of 4: 1ff. to "salvation history" in Paul's theology, cf. Oscar Cullmann, *Salvation in History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), p. 265, and James D. Hester', 'The 'Heir' and Heilsgeschichte: A Study of Galatians 4: 1ff.", In *Oikonomia: Heilsgeschichte als Thema der Theologie*, ed. F. Christ (Hamberg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich Verlag, 1967), pp. 118-25.

59. Cf. "*Oikonomia*-Terms in Paul" (cited above, n. 3), pp. 157, 160-61, and " 'Stewards of God' " (cited above, n. 3), p. 340.

60. Ibid., "*Oikonomia*-Terms," pp. 160-61; "Stewards of God," pp. 339, 341-42, 349. Hans Conzelmann's more recent commentary (German, 1969), *1 Corithians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), pp. 82-83, takes a similar line: "the language of administrations"; *mysterion* "provides the reference to the church," the "Christian touch."

> If, on the other hand, unwillingly, I have been entrusted with a commission (or have an *oikonomia* against my will, *ei de akon oikonomian pepisteumai*), what is then my reward?

Paul anwers that it is preaching the gospel free of charge (v. 18). He sees himself a free man, working voluntarily, with apostolic authority, but also under a sort of compulsion and necessity (*anagke*, v. 16), so that, like many an *oikonomos* of the day, he is also a slave (v. 19, *edoulosa*) – to Christ. Paul's apostolic self-understanding was complex, but it included a view of himself as God's *oikonomos*, with an *oikonomia* of the gospel[61].

The single reference to *oikonomia* in Colossians represents a significant advance, perhaps even in one way beyond what we shall find in Ephesians. For Colossians 1:25, in speaking of Paul's ministry (as *diakonos* of the church), says it is "according to the *oikonomia* of God that was given me for you..." (*kata ten oikonomian tou theou ten dotheisan moi eis hymas*...). What should be underscored is "economy *of God.*" This is the first time that full phrase has occurred, and even Ephesians will not use this phrase with the genitive "of God," so well-known from Greco-Roman (Stoic) philosophy[62]. The *RSV* rendering, as "divine office," is too limited, though it does reflect the fact that Paul, who can elsewhere speak of "the grace that was given me" (Gal. 2:9) in his apostolic office, here used *oikonomia* to refer to his apostolic, commissioned task. But because *oikonomia tou theou* was such a common Hellenistic phrase for God's administration on the universe and would have included for Christian ears God's recent acts in Christ in his program of salvation for world, the phrase also includes the idea of God's plan and administration of salvation.

It must not be overlooked that, in this *oikonomia*, Paul, as minister of the church, is part of something even bigger, God's *oikonomia*. It is as a cog in this that the role has been given to him, specifically as v. 25 goes on, "to fulfill the world of God to you," i.e., to make known to the Gentiles what had been hidden for ages but was now revealed. Paul does this by proclaiming Christ. No other "apostle" is mentioned in Colossians, and one gets the impression from Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastorals that Paul is "*the* apostle," the key one in God's plan to bring Christ to the Gentiles[63].

We have already intimated above that the three uses of *oikonomia* in Ephesians represent the crown and climax of this strand of thinking in the New Testament. Given what we have described above, none of the uses is surprising–simply more grandiose–and we have above and elsewhere suggested that the basic sense of "administration" fits all three[64].

The almost liturgical thanksgiving of 1: 3–14, in speaking of the redemption (mystery, divine purpose) set forth in Christ (1: 7,9), describes all this as being "for the administration of the fulness of the times, that all things might be summed up (or brought together) in the Christ, things in the heavens and on earth". Against *RSV* and many commentators, I do not believe *oikonomia* here refers to a "plan of God" (if any Pauline term means that, it is *mysterion*, as in v. 9); rather it denotes how God "arranges", administers, or carries out his will. Markus Barth's more recent commentary offers five arguments for preferring "administration" over "plan". He goes even further, by rendering "that he (Christ) should administer the days of fulfillment", and arguing that Jesus is "the administrator,,' God's "archsteward" over all other servants, in a "Christological concentration" that shifts from Paul as steward (in 1 Cor. 4:1 and Col. 1:25) to Christ as *oikonomos*[65].

At Ephesians 3:9 Paul's functions as "minister (*diakonos*) (of the gospel) according to God's grace which was given to me" (3:7) are listed as "to preach good news to the Gentiles (v. 8) and "to make (all) see what the administration of the mystery means (*photisai* (*pantas*) *tis he oikonomia tou mysteriou*), the mystery which has been hidden from the ages by God who created all things..." Here Paul is the one carrying out the task as *oikonomos*, though Barth also brings in his idea of Christ as administrator by rendering, with an insertion, "...how the secret is administered (by the Messiah)..."[66] In any case, administering activity, not a "plan", is referred to here by our term, and I note the connection of this salvific work with God as Creator, a sense well-known for *oikonomia tou theou* in Greek classical usage.

The final Ephesians reference at 3:2 is the beginning of an aside as Paul begins his prayer for the strengthening of, indwelling of Christ in, and know-

61. Ibid., "*Oikonomia*-Terms," pp. 157–60; Conzelmann, *1, Corinthians*, pp. 157–58, regards the first "if"-clause *(hekon)*, as "a foil for the real case of Paul": unwillingly he was laid hold of and given his apostolic destiny (cf. 1 Thess. 2:4; Gal. 1: 15–16; in Acts, chaps. 9, 22, and 26, the Damascus Road conversion).

62. Cf. Part II. 4, of the dissertation referred to in n. 2 (diss., pp. 391–485, summary 478–85).

63. Ibid., "*Oikonomia*-Terms," pp. 161–63; E. Lohse, *Colossians* and *Philemon* (German, 1968; Hermeneia, Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), pp. 72–73, stresses "office" more than "plan" and Paul as "the Apostle to the nations".

64. "*Oikonomia*-Terms," pp. 163–65.

65. Ibid., p. 164. Barth, *Ephesians* (cited above, n. 53), pp. 76, 86–88, and (Comment XII: Christ the Administrator) 127–28 (without awareness of the article referred to above in n. 8).

66. Ibid., p. 164; Barth, pp. 326, 342–43.

ledge for, Gentile believers (3: 1, 14–19). It involves that strange anacolouthon, "...of indeed you have heard of the administration of the grace of God (*ten oikonomian tes charitos tou theou*) which was given me for you..." Unlike Colossians 1:25, the "which-was-given me" clause here modifies "grace" in the genitive, not *oikonomia*, a usage that echoes Galatians 2:9 (*charin ten dotheisan moi*). Commentators have variously taken 3:2 to refer to Paul's activity as a steward (cf. 1 Cor. 9: 17;) his office given by God's grace (cf. Gal. 2:9); his administration of the grace given to him (cf. Col. 1:25); God's plan (cf. Eph. 1:10 in the *RSV*); or God's administration of his mystery (cf. Col. 1:25 and Eph. 1:10,above). If *charitos* is an adjectival genitive, it means "God's graciously given office of apostle" that Paul has received; if a genitive of content, the divine arrangement of the message about grace, revealed in Christ and given to Paul to proclaim. I find it difficult to exclude either God's administering of the good news or Paul's role in sharing this. Here Barth, differently from his treatment of 1:10 and 3:9, favors as a rendering, "I was given God's grace in order to administer it to you," and so he speaks of Paul's "Stewardship of Grace for the Nations." This is taken in the senses of serving in the salvation of the Gentiles, with the caveat it means "defusion" of a gift, not "infusion" (or *gratia infusa*)[67].

Of the two *oikonomia*–terms in the Pastoral Epistles, one reference is routine, the other debated in meaning. Titus 1:7, in a section about appointing elders (*presbyterous*), goes on, in listing requirements for them, with the statement, "For an overseer/bishop must be blameless, as God's steward (*dei gar ton episkopon anegkleton einai, hos theou oikonomon)*...." It would be attractive to argue that these presbyter/bishops in Crete should be understood as *oikonomoi* within the *oikonomia* that Paul carried out as the Apostle of the *oikonomia* of God. However, it is more likely that the concept stems from the house churches of early Christianity (cf. Col. 4:15; Rom. 16:5); in an *oikos* there must be an *oikonomos*. This is technically the first time we have had the phrase "steward *of God*", though cf. 1 Corinthians 4:1 for the same sense[68].

First Timothy 1:5 recalls how Paul urged Timothy in Ephesus not to let certain people (*tinas*) teach different doctrines or give heed to "myths and endless genealogies that promote speculations rather than the economy of God that (is) in faith (*ekzetesesi parechousin mallon e oikonomian theou ten en pistei*)." It thus presents a phrase that has been the bane of translators. First, one may exclude the King James Version rendering, "godly edifying", because it is based on a Western reading, *oikodomen theou*, not preffered by text critics today[69]. The New English Bible takes *oikonomia as* "God's plan for us, which works through faith"; this is convincing if one thinks *oikonomia* = plan of salvation in previously considered passages in Paul. So one is left with the three options that *RSV* provides: God's "stewardship" (also adopted in the *NEB* note); or "order", either in the sense of church administration (so Moffatt's translation) or of "ordered living", ethically (J.B. Phillips;) or "divine training" (*RSV* text). This last sense of "education in salvation", perhaps coming about by observation of the divine administration of the world and (for Christians) of salvation, has bachground in Stoic philosophy and later appears in the thought of Clement of Alexandria, among other fathers[70].

If that is the right meaning (so G. Holtz), one must still decide whether "in faith" refers to Christian doctrines or personal faith. Holtz's commentary argues convincingly for "training in salvation received by faith." The interesting suggestion is also made that there is a reference to the Lord's Supper here: in a house church the overseer/bishop must manage *(prostenai)* his household well (3:4, cf. 15), i.e., the congregation as it celebrates the Lord's Supper, so that it enters into God's *oikonomia* and not into "speculations"[71]. But this is speculative.

These eleven Pauline uses of *oikonomia*–terminology provide a slim but developing base in the Bible for all the later patristic usages. In comparison to what Paul said about righteousness/justification, however, the economy of God was a very minor ememphasis in his thought.

## III. Righteousness/Justification and *Oikonomia*-Terms in the Rest of the New Testament and in the Apostolic Fathers

The statistics on our two themes in the remaining books of the New Testament are very one-sided. Outside the gospels and the letters of Paul, we find:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *dikaiosyne* | 24 | examples | *oikonomia* | none |
| *dikaioun* | 5 | » | *oikonomein* | *none* |
| *dikaios* | 29 | » | *oikonomos* | 1 example |
| *dikaioma* | 4 | » | | |
| *dikaios* | 1 | » | | |

67. Ibid., pp. 164–65; Barth, pp. 326, 328–29, 358–59.

68. Cf. Part III of the dissertation cited in n. 2, p. 555. Further, Gottfried Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (THKNT 13; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 3d., 1980), p. 208.

69. For confusion of *oikodomia* and *oikonomia* in manuscripts of classical texts, cf. *Ekt* 3 (1982): 138, n. 170 (diss., p. 385, n. 170).

70. E.g., *Paed.* 1, 3, 3 (1, 91, 17;) 1, 74, 3 (1, 133, 17); 3, 99, 1 (1, 290, 6), etc. Stressed by O. Lillge, "Das patristische Work *oikonomia*, seine Geschichte und seine Bedeutung bis auf Origines" (diss., Erlangen, 1955), pp. 85–87.

71. *Pastoralbriefe* (cited above, n. 68), pp. 35-36: "Heilserziehung in persönlichem Glauben," though on p. 33 he has the rendering "Haushalterschaft Gottes, die im Glauben geschieht."

Because I have discussed all the *dikaio-*references elsewhere, we shall here summarize only the highlights of use in selected New Testament books[72]. The single use of *oikonomos* at 1 Peter 4: 10 we shall allow to serve as springboard for some recent speculations about the *oikonomia* of God as an underlying, unifying theme in that epistle. Finally, to balance things somewhat, we shall note in this section, even though the distinction between canonical scriptures and documents outside the canon from the "church-building period" is to be taken seriously for church and theology, some references in the Apostolic Fathers. They are harbingers of things to come in the partistic period (Section IV).

Allusion has already been made to the seven occurrences of *dikaiosyne* in the Gospel of Matthew as representing a particular perspective. All of them occur on the lips of Jesus, but two of them are in sayings where the parallel (in Luke) does not include the word (Matt. 5:6; 6:33), and the rest are in sayings unique to Matthew (3:15; 5:10; 5:20; 6:1; 21:32). For that reason in can be claimed the usage is redactoral. One example (6:1) has the very Jewish sense of "piety" (variant reading: reading: "alms-giving" as an interpretation). All the instances root in Old Testament usage, and the exegetical debate has been over which sense of the Hebrew *sdq* is involved, whether the reference is to ethical conduct or to God's saving activity. My own analysis[73] argued for at least two verses suggesting the gift of salvation: 5:6 ("hunger and thirst after righteousness") and 6:33 (where *dikaiosyne* is parallel with God's "kingdom", which in the teaching of Jesus represents a gift). Two others may reflect a Matthean idea of salvation history (3:15, God's righteous plan; 21:32, 21:32, "the way of righteousness" in which John the Baptist and Jesus came). Demand for righteous conduct is to be seen in 5: 10, 20, and 6:1. There is general agreement in Fitzmyer's response and in a more recent commentary treatment[74]. Matthew's represents a different way of looking at the Old Testament theme than Paul's.

The Epistle of James has always been a problem in discussions of righteousness/justification. Because of words in 2: 14–26 it appears that James contradicts Paul. Accordingly, it has, as a document, sometimes been dated quite early, as a reflection of Jesus' simple teachings, which did not speak of "justification (by faith)." However, James is one of the few places in the New Testament where the phrase so prominent in Paul, the "righteousness *of God*", occurs (James 1:20) and is the place where "by faith *alone*" occurs (2: 24; in Paul, implied, but never in express words). For such reasons, as well as others – including the excellent quality of the Greek in James (best explained by a later date, when Christianity had advanced further into the Greco-Roman world)–it is better to view James as knowing of Paul's teaching, but in a form where poor disciples of the Apostle had misunderstood what Paul had said. James may then be regarded as an attempt to defend Paul's intent by carrying the opponents' views to absurd lengths. By "faith and works", unfortunate formula that it proved to be for measuring Paul, the author was trying to preserve what Paul had meant by the "obedience of faith" (Rom. 1:5; 16:26)[75].

To an extent, 1 Peter can also be said to relate to Paul's views on many issues, including righteousness/justification (or is it that both are reflecting the earliest common apostolic Christianity, of which we spoke above?). Besides 3:18, already quoted (cf. 2:24, Christ died "that we might...live to righteousness"), 1 Peter speaks of God who "judges justly" (2:23), Christ the Righteous One, and Christians as righteous (3:12) who suffer for righteousness' sake (3: 14)[76].

If 1 Peter is somewhat Pauline, Hebrews must be measured as having a quite different view on righteousness/justification than does Paul. Hebrews quotes, as Paul does, Habakkuk 2:4, but with 2:3 and for a different purpose (Heb. 10: 36–39). It talks of "the righteousness that comes by faith" (11:7) and stresses *pistis* throughout chapter 11, but Hebrews never uses the verb *dikaioun*, and its understanding of faith (as "firm assurance") is different than Paul's. Hebrews has yet another way, then, of using *dikaio-*terminology[77].

A good case can be made for 1 John as stressing God and Christ as righteous (1:9; 2:1, 29), the work of Christ as "expiation" (as in Paul; 1 John 2:2); and the need for doing righteousness" (3: 7, 10). Likewise for an interest, in Acts, in Christ as "the Righteous One" (3:14; 7:52; 22:14) and once for an echo of Paul's doctrine of justification in a sermon by Paul at Pisidian Antioch (13:39)[78]. But all this is simply to labor the obvious, the breadth and variety of *dikaio-*terminology and of righteousness/justification as a theme in the New Testament beyond Paul and the gospels.

The single *oikonomia*–term in all these books occurs at 1 Peter 4:10 in the context of gospel-based (4:1), eschatologically-oriented (4:7) paraenesis. "Practice

72. "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above, n. 1).

73. Ibid, sections 226–43.

74. Ibid., section 410. Cf. Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), pp. 50–51, 70, 72–73, 81–82, 101, 118–19, 422–23. Gundry well brings out the arguments for *dikaiosyne* as redactoral in Matthew. Not available to me: Heinz Giessen, *Christliches Handeln: Eine redaktionskritische Untersuchung zum* dikaiosyne–*Begriff im Matthaeus-Evangelium* (Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/181; Frankfurt/Bern: Lang, 1982 (diss., Biblical Institute, Rome, 1979).

75. Ibid., sections 266–83, 413–14.

76. Ibid., sections 301–304.

77. Ibid., sections 285–300, 415–17.

78. Ibid., sections 258–60 (1 John); 248–53 (Acts).

hospitality to one another without grumbling; each one, just as he/she received a grace-gift (*charisma*), use it in ministry for yourselves (*eis heautois auto diakonountes*), as good stewards (*kaloi oikonomoi*) of the varied grace (*charis*) of God" (4:9–10). Though some commentators have applied this reference to money spent on others, specifically in entertaining guests (v. 9), the reference in the "grace-gift" coming from God's grace is probably broader than that. The imagery may recall a saying of Jesus at Luke 12:42 about the "faithful *oikonomos*," but any attempt there, as here, to limit the admonition to church leaders is wrong, for all Christians are meant. The sentiment is very much like that of certain passages in Paul (cf. 1 Cor. 12; Rom. 12: 3–8; Eph. 4: 7–12), but 1 Peter is not interested in listing a series of *charismata*, nor is the unifying appeal to "the body of Christ"[79].

It is on the basis of such observations that John H. Elliott, in a sociological analysis of 1 Peter, has used 4: 10 to claim a much fuller "*oikonomia* theology" behind that book and in Asia Minor Christianity in general[80]. He argues that 4: 7–11 aims to encourage "group solidarity" in the Christian community, "toward one another" (v. 9), "for yourselves" (vv. 8, 10). The admonitions center around *diakonia* (vv. 10 and 11) and – Elliott's term – *oikonomia*. For he contends that *philadelphia* ("brotherly love", 1:22) and *philoxenia* ("hospitality", 4:9) were tied to "domestic order" (*oikonomia*), and he can invoke the various treatises from antiquity on "household management"[81]. The *oikonomoi* motif at 4:10 "is a characteristic Petrine adaptation of a traditional *topos*", injected into the common pattern of presenting *charismata* found in Paul's letters (Elliott, p. 162).

As further support, Elliott also invokes the *oikos tou theou* material in 1 Peter and references to *oiketai* or "household servants" (2:18). He refers specifically to "the household of God" at 4:17 and the designation of God's people in Christ as an *oikos pneumatikos* at 2:5 ("household of the Spirit," as he takes it). to *oikonomia* as "management of the household of God" and as "God's arrangements for human redemption"[82], Elliott suggests an "*oikos*-based theological symbolism", where "the believing community" is "household of God...and object of the divine *oikonomia*" (p. 265 n. 248). Inevitably, then, all Christians can be described "as *oikonomoi* and *oikeioi*", as at 1 Peter 4:10.

These proposals I find intriguing and wish they were so – or, better, could be convincingly demonstrated. This is not the first time that, in "biblical theology," *oikos*, *oikonomia*, and even *oikodome* have been brought together fruitfully[83]. Elliott's case could be strengthened by referring to some of the things said about "the economy of God" in Greek philosophy as a background to any Christian *oikonomia tou theou* and even, for the prevalence of his terms in documents (like 1 Peter) associated with Asia Minor, to the type of "Asia Minor theology" and its use of *oikonomia*– terms that emerge in the second century[84]. But, while welcoming for further exploration many of his proposals, I am hesitant to build so much on a single verse, especially when *oikonomia tou theou* does not occur in 1 Peter and the "house" concept can also have roots in the Old Testament and in the "house church"[85].

Turning to the Apostolic Fathers, we find that the varied documents going under that name preserve something of the New Testament emphasis on *dikaiosyne* as God's saving righteousness but also more and more treat it as something which a Christian is to do, often in terms of individualistic piety[86].

We may illustrate with 1 Clement (ca. A.D. 95–96). Echoing Paul, Clement wrote to Corinth, "We too therefore... are being justified (*dikaioumetha*), not through ourselves, nor through our own wisdom or understanding, or piety, or deeds that we have done in holiness of heart, but through faith, through which God the Almighty has justified (*edikaiosen*) all from the beginning" (1 Clem. 32.4). Abraham is cited (10.1) as an example: "he was found faithful". But this is then explained in terms of Abraham's being "obedient to the words of God" (10,1), of his "doing righteousness and truth through faith" (31.2), and even of his being given a son in his old age "on account of his faith and hospitality" (10:7). So strong is the emphasis on "faith and hospitality" that it has been suggested that 1 Clement reflects a situation in Corinth where, with rival groups of clergy, there were

79. Further references in E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (London: Macmillan, 2d ed. 1947), p. 218, and in Elliott (cited in the next note), pp. 146–47, 161–62 n. 145.

80. *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Analysis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), especially pp. 145–48 with. n. 145; 156–70 (with correction of the widely held view of 2: 4–10 as "cultic" or 2:5 as "spiritual temple"); 191–82; 200–208, and n. 248. For sake of brevity, I omit Elliott's attention to a possible "pilgrim theology," suggested by *paroikos* (2: 11, cf. 1:1).

81. Ibid., pp. 170–82 and 213–15, with nn. 43 and 217 especially. I would prefer to start with Xenophon and Aristotle, etc., and not Philo, and not simply to bring in these writings *peri oikonomias* in connection with "household codes" (Haustafeln) in presenting an "*oikonomia* tradition" (p. 214). Cf. *E Ph* 61, 1–4 (1979): 563–603 (diss., pp. 153–205).

82. *Home for the Homeless* (cited above, n. 80), p. 192, referring to, among others, the first two titles in n. 3 above; Elliott seems, however, not to know the other material referred to in nn. 3, 2, and 8.

83. Cf. Helge Brattgard, *God's Stewards: A Theological Study of the Principles and Practices of Stewardship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1963), pp. 22–51.

84. So F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1906), summarized in *E Ph* 60: 3–4 (1978): 512–14, 518, 529, 548 (diss., pp. 30–33, 39, 57, 87–88, cf. 606–7).

85. As Elliott himself (cited above n. 80) shows, pp. 182–200.

86. Cf. *Righteousness and Society* (cited above, n. 5), pp. 86–93. Compare also Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes* (cited above, n. 10), pp. 11–13, who sees the difference in a shift from Paul's eschatology of the "two ages".

uncertainties about offering and accepting hospitality and so *philoxenia* is stressed alongside faith[87]. Elsewhere, Clement writes, "Blessed are all those who enter in and pursue their way in holiness and righteousness", using the "gate of righteousness" (Ps. 118: 19) that opens into life, the gate which is "in Christ" (1 Clem. 48. 2–4).

The *Epistle of Barnabas* (late first or early second century) also refers to Abraham who, by believing alone, was established in righteousness" (*monos pisteusas, etethe eis dikaiosynen*, 13.7; *sola fide?*). *Barnabas* even retains Paul's future side of justification: "do not live in solitude, retiring by yourselves, as if already justified *(hos ede dedikaiomenoi*, 4–10), for "being made alive by faith in the promise and in the word, we shall live, exercising lordship over the land" (6:17). On the ethical side, the document speaks of "the way of righteousness" (1.4; 5.4, where the Lord "travelled together with me," *synodeusen*), in contrast to a "way of darkness." The three basic doctrines of the Lord are (1.6).

> hope (of life), the beginning and end of our faith;
> righteousness, the beginning and ending of judgment;
> love, a witness of joy and gladness, of works of righteousness.

Those on "the way of death" get "no reward of righteousness" (20.2). The "righteous ordinances" *(dikaiomata)* of God loom large (1.2; 4.11; 10.2, 11; 16.9; 21. 1,5). While mostly the tone is one of admonition to learn and walk in these commands (21.1), the *dikaiomata* may also at times suggest God's righteous acts in the sense of saving actions toward the Christians addressed: they are so "great and rich toward you" that joy abounds over the grace and the implanted gift of the Spirit that they have received (1.2)[88].

We find both emphases in Ignatius of Antioch. He wishes "to be justified through" Jesus' cross, death, and resurrection and "faith through him" *(Philadelphians* 8.2). Moreover, "I am not thereby justified," he writes *Romans* 5.1, echoing Paul at 1 Cor. 4:4), when "I battle with wild beasts" (cf. 1 Cor. 15:32) –the famous "ten leopards"– on his way to Rome and martyrdom. Yet *dikaios* is used in its sense of "moral uprightness" (e.g., *Magnesians* 12 = Prov. 18: 17).

In 2 Clement the talk is more of "doing righteousness": "Let us do *(praxomen) dikaiosyne*, in order that we may at the end be saved" (19.3). "Though in the midst of the engines of the devil, I strive to pursue *dikaiosyne*" (18.2). In the *Shepherd* of Hermas, "faith" and "practicing righteousness" are just two items in a list of virtues *(Mandates* 8. 9–10).

When Polycarp wrote to the Philippians (3. 1–3) "concerning righteousness", it was not a reflection of what Paul had written to them on justification (Phil. 3: 6–11) but rather about being able, from Paul's letters, "to be built up into the faith given to you, which is 'mother of us all', with hope following and love going before... If one be within these, he/she has fulfilled the command of righteousness" (cf. 4.1; 9. 1–2). Yet Polycarp can also quote Ephesians 2: 8–9, "saved by grace, not works" *(Philippians* 1.3) and can speak of not the Holy Spirit as our guarantee *(arrabon)* but Christ and his cross *(Phil.* 8.1).

All in all, the Apostolic Fathers hold on to both aspects of the biblical view of righteousness/justification – God's saving work and the human response, perhaps with more of a nod to the latter.

*Oikonomia*–terms in the Apostolic Fathers show, on the other hand, not only a continuation of "secular" meanings from classical Greek and a reflection of New Testament usages, but also a further development that points toward the patristic proliferation of meanings to come.

The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* describes, for example, how, when some martyrs were scourged, "the arrangement (*oikonomia*) of their flesh was seen, right down to the inner veins and arteries" (2.2.)[89]. The *Epistle to Diognetus* 4.5 speaks of "the arrangements of God *(tas oikonomias tou theou)* and the changes of the seasons" in the divine ordering of the creation.

Reflective of the New Testament, as well as of the world of the day are Ignatius's words to the Christian community: "Give heed to the *episkopos*... Toil together with one another, train together, run together, suffer together, rest (or sleep in death) together, rise together, as God's stewards and assistants and attendants" *(theou oikonomoi kai paredroi kai hyperetai*; *To Polycarp* 6.1; cf. 1 Cor. 4:1). Ignatius, *Ephesians* 6.1, says with regard to an *episkopos* –whom one is to fear so much the more when the bishop keeps silent (cf. 15.1)– "Everyone whom the master of the house *(oikodespotes)* sends for his management of the house *(eis idian oikonomian)*, him we must receive, as the one who sends him himself." This is a reflection of the rabbinic principle, perhaps reflected in Matthew 10:40, "The one sent by a person is as the person himself"[90]. Diognetus 7.1 says with regard to the rank (*taxis*) to which all Christians are appointed, "It is a management not of human mysteries with which we are entrusted" *(oude anthropinon oikonomian mysterion pepisteuntai*; cf. 1 Cor. 4:1 and 9:17).

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87. Ibid., *Righteousness and Society*, pp. 89–90, citing H. Chadwick, "Justification by Faith and Hospitality," *Studia Patristica* IV, ed. F. L. Cross (TU 79; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961): 281–85.

88. Ibid., *Righteousness and Society*, pp. 90–91; cf. Robert A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* ("The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary," 3, ed. R.M. Grant; New York: Nelson 1965), pp. 31–32, 81–83.

89. For classical parallel of this use, cf. *EkT* 2 (1981): 601.

90. Cf. K. H. Rengstorf, "*apostolos*," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), Vol. 1 (1964): 414–30, especially 415.

It is in presenting God's arrangement of salvation through Jesus Christ that the greatest advance comes in the use of our terms beyond the New Testament. There is, first, a problematic reference in *Diognetus* 9.1 when the plan *(boule)* of God is being discussed and how "God revealed through his beloved son (or servant, *pais*) and manifested the things prepared from the beginning" 8.11). "All things therefore he (God) knew (*edei*) by himself together with his son *(pais)* 'economically' *(oikonomikos)*, and... he allowed us to be carried along... by pleasures and lusts" (cf. 1 Cor. 12:2; Rom. 1:24, 9:32). So at least the single manuscript, dating from the 13th or 14th century, that preserves *Diognetus*, was reported as reading. (This codex, Argentoratensis, was accidentaly burned during the siege of Strasbourg in 1871. However, with Lachmann, most editors read,...*ede... oikonomekos* (perfect participle, rather than adverb), i.e., "Therefore, having planned (or arranged) all things by himself together with his son, God..."

Most significant are two passages in Ignatius, *Ephesians* 18.2 and 20. 1. After a reference to the cross at 18.1, reflecting 1 Corinthians 1: 20–24, Ignatius goes on in a creed-like sentence (18.2), "For our God, Jesus the Christ, was borne in the womb by Mary, according to an arrangement *(kat' oikonomian)* of the seed of David and of the Holy Spirit (cf. Rom. 1: 3–4), who was born and baptized in order that by his passion he might cleanse the water (of baptism). Then follows a reference in 19.1 to the "three mysteries", Mary's virginity, her child-bearing and the death of the Lord. Some manuscripts and versions add to *oikonomia* the words *tou theou*. Some commentators see here the origins of the patristic doctrine of "reserve", for it is said that the three *mysteria* "were wrought in the silence of God". But while the sense is of God arranging salvation in Christ, and that specifically through the Incarnation (when the word came "out of silence", *Magnesians* 8.2), we are not yet for kat' *oikonomian* at such later technical senses as "incarnation" or "reserve".

The final Ignatian reference (20.1) proposes that "in the second little book" which the bishop hopes to write, "I will make clear to you the 'arrangement' for the new man Jesus Christ, an arrangement which I began (to present) *(hes erxamen oikonomias eis ton kainon anthropon)*, in his faith and in his love, in his passion and resurrection...., Here *oikonomia* refers to the whole "Christ event", how God planned and carried it through. Here, as in 18. 1–2 and 19.1, and elsewhere in Ignatius, the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus are treated together.

These last examples, early in the second century, point to one type of development, along salvation history lines, so that eventually *oikonomia* will come to mean "incarnation" but also other aspects of God's management of salvation.

In the Apostolic Fathers, therefore, the biblical senses of righteousness/justification continue, but new applications for *oikonomia* have begun to appear.

We may tie our two themes together with a passage from *Diognetus*. In the chapter about the "plan of salvation," with its textually disputed reference to God either having "planned" everything together with the Son or having known all "economically", the author goes on to offer a sort of paraphrase summary of Paul's Letter to the Romans. While he can be accused of dropping the phrase *dikaiosyne tou theou* in favor of words his audience would more readily appreciate, like God's "goodness and power" (*chrestotes kai dynamis;* but cf. Rom. 2:4; 11:22; and 1:16 and 20) or his "philanthropy and love" *(philanthropia, agape*, 9.2; but cf. Titus 3:4), our author does speak of Christ's death as ransom *(lytron)*, and how he took upon himself our sins (2 Cor. 5:19), "the Righteous One for the unrighteous" (1 Peter 3:18), and then goes on to describe the "sweet exchange" (cf. Luther's "froehliche Wechsel"): "What else could have covered our sins but that One's righteousness? In whom was it possible for us, lawless and impious, to be justified *(dikaiothenai*, Rom. 4:5) except in the Son of God alone? O, the sweet exchange! O, the inscrutable (cf. Rom. 11:33) creative act! O, the unexpected benefactions! That the wickedness of many be concealed in one Righteous One, that the righteousness of One should justify many lawless ones (cf. Rom. 5: 12–13, 18)" *(Diognetus* 9. 3–5).

In this panegyric, the Pauline depiction of redemption in terms of righteousness/justification in Romans is made the substance of the plan God "arranged" *(oikonomein)* in Christ.

## IV. The Two Doctrines in Patristic Thought

It would be attractive to conclude on this high note in the *Epistle to Diognetus*, combining "justification" and "the economy." But in the brief space still available something must be said in outline about the fortunes of these two great themes in succeeding centuries, for there were significant developments. Our survey can be only that, a survey, often indicating where existing research points and what needs more study, as righteousness/justification wanes and occasionally waxes and *oikonomia* comes into its own in Greek theology and beyond with many new senses.

In general, the impression often given about righteousness/justification is that it went into eclipse after Paul's day and thereafter resurfaced only occasionally, chiefly in Western theology, usually in controversies at that -Augustine vs. Pelagius and then in the Reformation debate of Luther against the Church of Rome[91]. If comparisons are made with the East,

91. So, e.g., Gerhard Müller, *Die Rechtfertigungslehre. Geschichte und Probleme* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1977), pp. 12–24; Vittorio Subilia, *Die Rechtfertigung aus Glaube: Gestalt und Wirkung vom Neuen Testament*

justification as a "Protestant" doctrine is likened with *theosis*[92].

This impression is correct to the extent that Paul on the whole (not just with regard to justification) went out of style in some quarters already by the end of the first century, and many of his themes proved for successors "hard to understand" and subject to twisting (2 Peter 3:16). We may list as reasons, besides the fact that the situations to be faced had shifted,

(1) changes in eschatology, so that his (Jewish) framework of the "two aeons" – the present evil age (Gal. 1:4) and the new age already impinging in Christ on the "now time" (Rom. 3:26) – was replaced by the notion of a prolonged period, expecting a distant parousia;

(2) an increasing emphasis on "ontology," whereby, in contrast to Hebraic ways of looking at the world, Greek metaphysics became "the controlling influence in theological thought"[93];

(3) the championing of Paul by Marcion (and (Gnostics too at times). When Marcion came to be regarded as archheretic, the Apostle whom he made so central (with Galatians first in his canon) was tainted too, or at least subsequent thinkers were made to handle Paul only with care. That Origen did a commentary on Romans (preserved only in Latin by Rufinus), with characteristic Origenistic thoughts such as his remark on Romans 1:16, "the righteousness of God is revealed in the gospel so that no one, whether Jew or Greek or barbarian, is excluded from salvation" (and thus universalism), probably did not help Paul's doctrine either in some quarters (*PG* 14. 861B).

(4) We must also mention the fact that Christianity, after the first century, soon and increasingly distanced itself from its Semitic roots. That meant that a theme like righteousness/justification, which was so derived from the Hebrew scriptures and concepts in them (cf. Paul's use of Gen. 15:6 and Hab. 2:4), would become more and more difficult to understand. Perhaps even for so gifted an exegete and preacher as John Chrysostom the "anti-Judaism" of his day gave problems in grasping and presenting Paul's thoughts. Chrysostom's homilies on Romans, for all the enthusiasm over Paul, do "not take the opportunity to discuss" the "great dogmatic problems" dealt with there"[94], and one has the feeling that Chrysostom was happier speaking about the autobiographical details of Galatians 1 – 2:15 than the doctrinal matters of 2: 15–21 in his homilies.

Marcion's approach to Paul bears further examination. In championing "the gospel of an 'Alien God' *(ho theos allotrios, kainos)*" and rejecting the Old Testament but stressing Paul, Marcion had to split asunder the gospel of righteousness/justification in Romans. He contrasted "the God who is righteous (or just, *dikaios*)", the Demiurge, with the "good God" revealed in Christ. In his ensuing sharp distinction between "law" and "gospel" Marcion evidently allowed that, just as law had value over against evil and sin, so *dikaiosyne* and related terms are objectionable only in the manner in which the Demiurge employs them. Thus Marcion's expurgated Bible still contained Romans 1: 17a ("God's righteousness is revealed in the gospel") but not 1:17*b* (Hab. 2:4). It included 5:1 ("justified by faith") but on 3:31–4:25 (on Abraham); Romans 10:4 *(eis dikaiosynen panti to pisteuonti)*, but not 10:5–11:32. But that meant that he could no longer preserve Paul's full view of God's righteousness, rooted in the Hebrew scriptures, any more than he could admit any real incarnation, an *ensarkos Christou oikonomia*[95]. In a dualism where grace overcomes justice, the saving righteousness of God the judge was shattered[96]. It is unlikely that Paul's view of justification can ever stand apart from the Old Testament.

What is needed is a fuller survey than I have found anywhere of how the Greek and Latin fathers commented on, preached about, and theologized over all the Old and New Testament passages on *dikaiosyne*, recognizing that they also often necessarily missed some of the original meanings or felt it neces-

*bis heute* (Italian, 1976; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981); pp. 42–54; George H. Tavard, *Justification: An Ecumenical Study* (New York: Paulist, 1983), pp. 17–30; O.H. Pesch and A. Peter, *Einführung in die Lehre von Gnade und Rechtfertigung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgellschaft, 1981), pp. 1–42 ("the significant silence of the early fathers"; but note, p. 12. the suggestition that "grace" has the same function as *oikonomia* in Eastern theology in expressing God's saving work). The impression stated above is given even by the U. S. Lutheran–Roman Catholic Dialogue statement "Justification by Faith" (*Origins* 13, 17 (Oct. 6, 1983): 277–304, because it works backwards from the sixteenth century only to Augustine (sections 5–20) and does not carry its biblical insights (sections 122–47) into the centuries between the New Testament and Middle Ages (cf. section 148).

92. Ibid., sections 6 and 103. The paper for the dialogue by William G. Rusch, "How the Eastern Fathers Understood What the Western Church Meant by Justification," published in "Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue, 7," *Justification by Faith* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), deals primarily with "divinization" or "defication." One ought to ask how the Eastern Fathers treated the biblical material on righteousness/justification.

93. These first two points are ephasized by Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes* (cited above, n. 10), pp. 12–13, though he is concerned more strictly only with the phrase *dikaiosyne theou*, which he maintains became an "exegetical relic" by the second century. He draws heavily on K. H. Schelkle, *Paulus Lehrer der Väter: die altkirchliche Auslegung von Römer 1-11* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1956), which goes through Romans section by section, citing patristic views.

94. J. Quasten, *Patrology*, Vol. 3, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Utrecht: Spectrum, Westminster, Md: Newman, 1960), p. 442.

95. For references, cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (TU 54; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921), pp. 86–87, 161–53, 109.

96. E.C. Blackman, *Marcion and his Influence* (London: SPCK, 1948), p. 71.

sary to speak differently in their later situations. Even with all the changes in scene indicated above and the paucity, often, of our sources, there is a fair amount of material to be considered.

Even a quick perusal, for example, of the Oxford *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (cited above, n.8), which has nine columns of entries for some twenty-five terms (compared with some eight and a half columns for six *oikonomia*-terms, excluding *oikos* and *oikodome* and *dioikeo*-terms), indicates the plentitude of evidence. While senses that are not theological abound (*dikaioo* as "deem right", or *dikaios* as "meet" or "fitting," or *dikaiosynai* as "judgments") one is struck by the continuing examples with regard to God or Christ. "The righteousness of God is good, and his goodness is righteous" (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 6.14)[97]. Chrysostom, on Romans 3:26, about "the *endeixis* (proof) of God's righteousness: not only that 'he himself is righteous', but also that he makes others who are rotting away in sin suddenly righteous" (*Homily* 7.2 on Romans; PG 59.9. 485D). "To seek Jesus is to seek the word and wisdom and the righteousness and truth and power of God" (Origen, *Commentary on John* 32. 31 (19); GCS 4. 478.28; PG 14. 825C). Origen even calls Christ *autodikaiosyne* (*ibid.*, 6.6. (3); p. 115, 4; PG 14. 212B,) a term he uses elsewhere alongside *autosophia, autoaletheia, and autobasileia (Commentary on Matthew* 14.7; GCS 12, 289.20; PG 13. 1197B).

However, in such references *dikaiosyne* may be either justifying or judgmental. "The lawlessness of sinners was not so great as the righteousness of him who dies for them" (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* 13.33; PG 33. 813A). On the other hand, "The Son is the power of the Father. Those saved through the Son were saved by the power of the Father, and those being judged by him undergo the judgment by the justice of God. For Christ is the *dikaiosyne* of God which is revealed through the gospel" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* 6; Jaeger ed. 2, p. 136. 15; PG 45. 724D).

The verb *dikaioo*, for all its other uses, still keeps the sense of justify, often with the phrases attached "by grace" and "through faith", and even "faith alone" (examples from Basil the Great and Theodoret on p. 371 of the *Lexicon*, to which can be added instances from Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, Augustine, and Hilary)[98]. But the forensic sense may lessen, the eschatological tension drop away, and the process of justification may also involve works, orthodox belief, or "spiritual sacrifice". And alongside of Abraham as an example, we have now cited also Noah and Enoch (Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* 2.3; GCS 6, 91.22; PG 22. 161B), the Queen of Sheba (Theodoret, *Quaestiones in 3 Reg.*, 1. 479, Schultze-Noesselt ed.; PG 80), and even, through philosophy, the Greeks (Clem. Alex., *Stromateis* 1.20, GCS 2, 63.19; PG 9. 816C).

For the task of sorting out and classifying such varied references, there are other approaches too. Stuhlmacher, using especially the data gathered by Schelkle from patristic commentaries on Romans, seeks to classify fathers on the basis of how they define *dikaiosyne theou*, especially at Romans 1:17; 3: 25–26; and 10:3. The dominant view in Origen and most of the Latin fathers except Augustine is to see God's justice as a *distributiva iustitia* at work or as *aequitas*, an impartiality, or equinimity, in judgment. Even when *dikaiosyne* stands in these writers as an abbreviation for the justifying event or refers to a gift from God, it is the just judgment of God that is overarching. Thus Theodoret (*Interpretationes in Pauli epistulas, Rom.*, 60; PG 82) at one point takes *dikaiosyne theou* as God's own righteousness which accepts the atoning satisfaction of Christ[99]. Acacius of Caesarea (*Fragmenta in Rom.*, ed. Staab, p. 53) saw it as recompense for those who have done the right, as God's wrath is revealed over his enemies. For Origen it was not only God's possession as *aequitas* but also, grouped under that term, both Christ (1 Cor. 1:30) and faith[100].

This same view can be found in Gregory of Nyssa (cf. the quote from him above), Arethas of Caesarea, and Photius. One should probably also place here Clement of Alexandria from whom justification meant moral transformation, being "blended with the Holy Spirit" (*Strom.* 7. 87, GCS 17 (Clement 3), 62, 9ff.; PG 9. 521A); and Ephraem the Syrian and Philoxenus of Mabbug, with their unified view of God's justice and goodness yet with the two as contrasting poles[101]. Tertullian, Irenaeus (who in *Adv. haer.* 4. 22.2 first tackled the topic from Romans 3: 21–31), and Ambrosiaster (who stressed Philippians 3:9 and God's faithfulness – to his Old Testament promise) may also fit here, but a church father's views are often quite complex.

The second major patristic view that Stuhlmacher proposes stresses the character of *dikaiosyne* as gift. Augustine is his particular example, *iustitia* as gift

97. GCS (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzing: Hinrichs), 15 (Clemens Alex., vol. 2), p. 486, line 29; PG (Migne, *Patrologie Graeca-Latina*) 9. 332A. Patristic references will be cited hereafter in the text itself above, using such standard abbreviations and editions; in some cases, if not in CGS or PG, by the editor's name.

98. Schelkle, *Paulus* (cited above, n. 93), p. 112 n. 1; "*Righteousness*" *in the New Testament* (cited above' n. 1), p. 221 n. 51.

99. Schelkle, ibid., p. 41, his references above. Theodoret (60) = PG 82. 104C, but consult also 40 = PG 82. 83D.

100. Stuhlmacher (cited above, n. 10), p. 13.

101. Ibid., pp. 13–15. Cf. also Jouko Martikainen, *Gerechtigkeit und Güte Gottes: Studien zur Theologie von Ephraem dem Syrer und Philoxenos von Mabbug* (Göttinger Orientsforschungen, ed. F. Junge, I. Syriaca, 20; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981).

of righteousness or of justifying faith or of grace itself, but Greek fathers taking this position included Theodore of Mopsuestia, Diodore of Tarsus, John Chrysostom, Servian of Gabala, Gennadius of Constantinople, and Oecumenius[102].

One passage in Theodor of Mopsuestia (Karl Staab, *Paulus-kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, NTAb 15 (Münster, 1933), 150, 36), on Romans 10:3, contrasted with "their own righteousness" that the Jews sought, "the righteousness promised us from Christ by grace." Gift that it is, this concept of *dikaiosyne* led to a view of faith (alone) as "trustful waiting," because for it the fulfilliment is future at the resurrection. This led to Swete's summary that, for Theodore, "the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith resolves itself into the fact of the believer's daily struggle towards perfection,"[103] so that "it is necessary to run towards the righteousness which is by faith" (Staab, 115, 9, on Rom. 1:18) and even therefore "to believe (or trust) the laws" *(to peithenai tois nomois*, on Rom. 7: 13, Staab, 129, 16–17). Wickert's more recent treatment qualifies Swete's judgment to this extent: a person does not have a righteousness of his own but one which, as God gave it to him, he makes his own by good work, now in promise and imitation *(kata mimesin)*, then in actuality *(ergo)*[104].

We may also illustrate from Chrysostom's eloquent and magisterial treatment[105]. Though *dikaiosyne* is a quality of God, God's own righteousness, it is also a gift. Paul is said to call it God's righteousness by faith "because its entirety is from the grace above, and it means to be justified not by labors but by the free gift of God" *(Homily* 17 on Romans, PG 60.565). Once there is belief by a person, there is justification *(Homily* 7.4; PG 60. 447). The precise moment comes in baptism *(Homily* 15.2 on Rom. 8:30, God justified by the regeneration of the washing or the laver; PG 60. 541). Yet in a note of reality, perhaps from experience about the sinfulness of believers, Chrysostom the preacher says, on Romans 6: 3–4, about baptism, "At the time of illumination, we undergo a change for ten or twenty days, but then take up our old doings again. Not for a set number of days but for our whole life Paul requires of us such a 'walk' " *(Homily* 10.4; PG 60. 480).

Perhaps these examples are enough to show the richness of patristic treatments of righteousness/justification, especially in the Greek fathers. There is no silence, no uniform view, no total pattern of "East versus West." What is needed is study not of how such fathers reacted to a "Western" (Augustinian) doctrine, nor even a classification based on such Latin terms as *iustitia distributiva* or *aequitas*, but a study of how each writer, in his situation, handled the biblical theme of righteousness/justification. Then one could test the interesting thesis of Ernst Benz, "The East accepted the Paul of the Corinthian Letters, while the West accepted the Paul of the Letter to the Romans"[106]. Romans stresses God's justifying righteousness; 1 Corinthians has apostles as *oikonomoi* and an *oikonomia* with which they are entrusted.

Somewhat surprisingly, when we turn to *oikonomia*–terms in the church fathers, for all that needs to be studied on that topic there is perhaps more available in surveys and specialized monographs than on *dikaiosyne*! (This is in part due to the efforts of those interested in Greek theology.) Not only do we have the wealth of references now in Lampe's *Patristic Lexicon* (above, cited n. 8), but also the interpretation of a good deal of this material by one of his predecessors on the project, G.L. Prestige[107]. Prestige has spelled out something of the history of *oikonomia* in the sense of God's management of the world ("providence") and of salvation (in the "covenanted dispensations of grace") and in individual lives (as "divine interpositions") and even the sacraments ("administration" of the Eucharist). Prestige has also traced the use of the same term in connection with the "economical Trinity" and its other uses in the patristics picture of God, as well as for the Incarnation. On many of these matters there also exist surveys in the various histories of dogma and

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102. Ibid., Stuhlmacher, p. 18, cf. 15–16.

103. H.B. Swete, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii, the Latin Version with Greek fragments*, 2 vols., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1880–82), 1, p. lxxxvii.

104. Ulrich Wickert, *Studien zu den Pauluskommentaren Theodors von Mopsuestia als Beitrag zum Verständnis der Antiochenischen Theologie* (BZNW, 27; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1962), pp. 133–46, especially 146.

105. Besides Stuhlmacher and Schelkle, I have found helpful J. Coman, "Le repport de la justification et de la charité dans les homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome à l'Epître aux Romains," *Studia Evangelica* V (cited 1bove, n. 8), pp. 248–71, especially p. 271 (faith as decisive; love and righteousness as one, with the former dominant over the juridical), and the paper for the Lutheran—Roman Catholic Dialogue (see above, n. 92) by Robert Eno, "Som Patristic Views on the Relationship of Faith and Works in Justification," also appearing in another version in *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes* 30 (1984). Neither these writers nor I have had access to J. a Jesu Macias, "La doctrina de la justification en el commentrario de S. Juan Crisostomo a los Romanos" (diss., Gregorian University, Rome, 1951).

106. "Das Paulusverständnis in der morgenländischen und abendländischen Kirche," *ZRGG* 3 (1951): 291, cited in H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* (London: Lutterworth, Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), p. 273. Schoeps, pp. 262–80, provides as succinct a treatment as can be found anywhere on the history of Pauline interpretation, and his comments reinforce many of the points made above; see especially p. 267: "righteousness was no longer understood on Pauline lines as the righteousness of Christ disclosed to the believer in the act of faith... but as a right disposition by which man becomes righteous."

107. *God in Patristic Thought* (London: Heinemann, 1936; 2d ed., SPCK, 1952) especially chaps. 3 and 5. Summary in *E Ph* 60, 3-4 (1978): 532–37.

in specialized monographs[108]. I find it interesting that Harnack's *History of Dogma*, from which a fair amount of material can be ferreted out on *oikonomia*, takes up "justification" (according to his Index) only when he gets to Westerners like Victorinus and Augustine and deals with the "righteousness of God" chiefly under the doctrine of God as the view that "the gods are *just*, because they reward and punish," so that "in almost all the Fathers the attributes of goodness and justice stood asunder"[109].

For *oikonomia*-words, perusal of the *Patristic Lexicon* provides an overview. This shows that in the fathers, the old "secular" uses continued, for management, administration, physical "organization" (of the body), or mental "disposition." Such uses were also drawn into church life, e.g., for ecclesiastical administration by *oikonomoi* of revenues and property (the term no doubt as diversely used as in the classical world). But every article, on the verb, the noun *oikonomia*, and even *oikonomos* (not to mention *dioikeo* and *dioikesis)*, shows applications to God and to Christ. The examples are numerous on God's managing, dispensing, planning, and ordering things in the word providentially and for salvation. Especially is application made to the supreme example of this, the coming of Christ in the flesh. But *oikonomia* is not only used of his incarnation but also for various events in the earthly ministry, especially the passion, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Hence it has to do with the person of Christ, as the equivalent of *enanthropesis;* there is an excellent illustration in Theodoret, *Eranistes (Dialogue)* 2.92 (PG 83.129 C); "the becoming-man *(enanthropesin)* of the Word of God we call *oikonomia*". New other references show how *oikonomia* (Latin, *oeconomia*) became an early term to describe the inner functional organization of the Trinity. One is also struck by the number of applications of our terms for acting prudently, making concession, accommodating oneself (used even of God), and employing "strategy". But all these senses, I have argued elsewhere, go back to classical usages, inherited via Jewish writers like Philo[110].

One way of course, to organize this material is to proceed father by father, perhaps picking out the particular emphasis each makes in using *oikonomia*-terminology. Thus, Lillge's findings are generally correct, that Irenaeus employed the words especially in a redemptive-history sense; Tertullian in a structural way, with regard to the Trinity; and Clement of Alexandria in an ethical sense, for training and a method of acting that involves accommodation, in the divine pedagogy and the human imitation[111]. But such focuses may miss the diversity in each father. Moreover the approach may miss backgrounds in pre-Christian Greek, as well as in biblical thought, and the controversial evidence from Gnostic sources which is very important for *oikonomia*. Lillge's treatment of Irenaeus does pick out a sense not highlighted in the *Patristic Lexicon*, that of *oikonomia* as *Heilsgeschichte*. While I differ with Oscar Cullmann that *oikonomia* has this sense already in the New Testament, I do agree it is the patristic word for this concept[112].

My own preference, as an approach, would be to try to trace patristic meanings in light of those already existing, at the time of each father, from classical and biblical usage and then in prior Christian sources. We can readily see how the classical senses of (1) *oikonomia* and related terms in the sense of household management and (2) application to a larger household, simply carried over into Christian use, often with regard to management of a chuch or monastery. The Greco-Roman sense (3), of *oikonomia* applied to arrangemeet generally, had carry-over, in medicine and rhetoric or for managing one's life and in ethical "arrangement" of conduct (e.g., all theories of "accommodation"). But it is under heading (4), applied to the larget "household," the universe, that development was largest. Here, I think, the old Stoic idea of a divine management of the world readily lent itself to Christian use, and this could be connected to God's *oikonomia* or managing of redemption, as already in Colossians, Ephesians, and Ignatius, the latter applying it to Christ's incarnation (and death and resurrection).

It is this final area (4) that so expands in patristic usage, but the developments need detailed recounting. In the dissertation on *oikonomia*, examples are cited of tentative applications of the classical backgrounds to such things as Tertullian's trinitarian usage, *oikonomia* as a legal will or testament and therefore "covenant", and history as "divine economy"[113]. Within such treatment must be seen also such specialized uses as, in connection with the incarnation, the Son's accommodation in the *kenosis*- "the whole economy of both emptying and humbling himself" (Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica* 10.8, GCS 23 (Eusebius 6), 489.15; PG 22. 785C).

One may even wish to look for how references to *oikonomia* (*tou theou*) and related terms connect with

108. Cf. *E Ph* 60, 3-4 (1978): 501-60, especially 546-53 on Otto Lillge's dissertation, cited above, n. 70.

109. Harnack's *History of Dogma* (German, 3d ed., 1894-97; trans., Boston: Little, Brown, 1903-7, reprinted New York: Dover, London: Constable, 1961) is summarized on *oikonomia* in *E Ph* 60, 3-4 (1978): 508-12 (diss., pp. 22-29). For "justification," see especially Harnack (Eng. trans.), Vol. 5, p. 36 n. 1 and 204ff.; for "righteousness," see Vol. 3, chaps. 2 and 4, quotations above from Vol. 3, pp. 245-46.

110. See "Oikonomia as 'Ethical Accommodation' " (cited above, n. 3).

111. Dissertation cited above in n. 70.

112. For Cullmann's views, see *E Ph* 60, 3-4 (1978): 554-60 (diss., pp. 97-108); discussion in "*Oikonomia*-Terms in Paul" and "Heilsgeschichte in Luke," cited above, n. 3.

113. Op. cit., above n. 2; diss., pp. 537-608.

"righteousness/justification". For example, Chrysostom, in his sermons on Romans, commented on the phrase in 1:3, "born of the seed of David according to the flesh", that Paul began thus and not from some "higher" point because Matthew, Luke, and Mark also begin their gospels in this way; in a phrase that reflects "Christology from below" and the incarnation, he wrote, "For the One who was going to lead people to heaven, it was necessary to lead them upwards from below; for thus also the matter was 'arranged' *(to pragma okonomethe)*." Later, discussing 4:25, Chrysostom said, "For this reason he both died and rose, in order that he might make people righteous *(dikaious ergasetai)*". To this extent, justifying righteousness for us is the outcome of the whole economy *(Homily* 1, PG 60. 397; *Homily* 9, PG 60. 467A).

Clement of Alexandria, strong on *oikonomia* language, reflects Romans 1:17 in the following way (typical of how Clement redoes Paul): in the Word of God's "holy economy" (almost his "office," as Instructor), all peoples are his; "dispensing *(paraschon)* in former times to some his precepts (the Jews and the law), to others (the Greeks) philosophy, now at length by his own personal coming, he has closed the course of unbelief, which is henceforth inexcusable (cf. Rom. 1:20); Greek and barbarian being led forward by a separate process to that perfection that is through faith" *(Stromata* 7.2, 5,6–11,2, GCS 17, 6, 3–9, 17; PG 9. 409A–413D).

Theodoret commented on Romans 3:21 ("Now the righteousness of God has been revealed apart from law"), "What was the hidden mystery of the economy, he (God) has made manifest to all" *(to gar kekrymmenon tes oikonomias mysterion delon pepoieken hapasin) (Interpretatio in quatuordecim epistolas S. Pauli* 43; PG 82. 83B). Later, in connection with 3:26, in speaking about God "preparing in advance the medicine of salvation *(tes soterias to pharmakon)*", he says of the paradoxical Pauline phrase that God is "just and justifying": "justly and with philanthropy the God of the universe administered all things for us *(dikaios kai philanthropos ho ton holon theos ta kath' hemas okenomese)*, and everyone who believes Christ the Master reaps the fruits of the righteousness that is by faith" *(ibid.* 44, PG 82.85B; cf also 21 and 22, PG 82 57C and 60A: the *dikaiosyne theou* in 1:17 is "not only that supplied to us but also that shown openly in the mystery of the economy", in the way God "managed" our salvation)

## V. Conclusions

Many of our findings have been stated above, in each section of the paper. But we may summarize thus.

1. Righteousness/justification, a major or, for some, the central theme in the Old Testament, takes on new applications in light of Christ in the New Testament. This is true above all for the Pauline letters, where it is of similar major or even central proportions. It has a variety of uses in the rest of the New Testament. It did not totally die out in the Apostolic Fathers, and it continues in the church Fahers with a variety of nuances, not only as righteousness demanded and the justice with which God judges but also as a gift, i.e., justifying righteousness. The terms are used of God, Christ, salvation, and a righteous life and just conduct.

*Oikonomia*-terms, on the other hand, coming from the Greek world, have virtually no LXX use. From a parable and saying about a steward and metaphorical application to apostles, the terms find limited usage in the Pauline letters for the apostle's function or office and for God's arranging for salvation. From this small base in the Bible they expand through use in the Apostolic Fathers (once in connection with the incarnation), into widespread patristic applications concerning the triune God, Christ, salvation history, church life, and ethics.

The two concepts can, and occasionally in the fathers, do interconnect. More work is needed on each one, however, as well as on the two together.

2. *Dikaiosyne*-terms, with their Hebraic roots, early faced the problem of making themselves properly understood in a church that became more and more Gentile. *Oikonomia*-vocabulary appealed to a Greek (and Latin-) speaking and thinking church but subsequently faced the problem of emerging senses that are without biblical roots (e.g., ethical "accommodations" can contrast with "what is right" in a relationship). The burden for righteousness/justification terminology was to speak meaningfully in a changing world; for *oikonomia*, to remain biblically theological in a world where many of its nuances were secularly popular. While we cannot "play Semite" in our thinking always, the church continually faces the peril from forms of Marcionitism.

To answer a question posed earlier (above, p. 3), the sequence, for these terms, has been that Greek metaphysics replaced Old Testament insights, such as the forensic, with regard to righteousness; Roman law in the West undoubtedly led things further away from the biblical outlook, but in this case courtroom aspects were present from the time of the Old Testament prophets in the root *sdq*.

3. An ecumenical comment may be ventured. The Eastern Church has treasured *oikonomia* categories. In the West there have been several occasions when righteousness/justification as an expression of the gospel gave new life in the church–e.g., Augustine, Luther, Wesley (though the history of the understanding of this theme, as of "the economy of God", is a complicated one). Neither East nor West will understand the other without grasping the other's theme here and vocabulary. But they do combine: God's economy, at its heart, in Jesus Christ, had as its aim that the righteousness of One justify many lawless ones *(Diog.* 9.5).

# CREATION AND INCARNATION IN THE ICONOLOGY OF ST. JOHN OF DAMASCUS

BY

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'Because man is made in the image and likeness of God, there is something divine about painting an icon.'[1] With these words, St. Theodore the Studite epitomises the orthodox theology of art. God, the primordial artist, creates man from nothing as reflection of his own beauty and wisdom, and implants in him something of his own creative mind. Hence the desire of man through the ages to impose form and meaning on the material world around him.

Under the Old Dispensation of the Law, it was forbidden to make an image of the invisible God. But when God himself became man for our sake in the person of Christ, recreating the divine image in the flesh, then it became not only permissible but desirable to celebrate the saving Incarnation by a work of human art, the icon. In such an image, man, the restored image of God, creates an image of the One who is the image of God *par excellence,* Christ the Word, and thereby vindicates afresh the sacramental capacity of matter to become a vehicle for spirit.

The purpose of the present paper, which is dedicated with respectful and affectionate homage to Archbishop Methodios on his Jubilee, is to trace the development of the ideas outlined above in the thought of St. John of Damascus. It was John who in the eighth century produced the first really sustained defence of Christian religious art, giving the icon cult at last a necessary theological context in the doctrines of creation and incarnation, which are themes of this Festschrift. To recall the minds of Orthodox to his teaching is to make explicit what is perenially and centrally involved in their devotion to the icons of Christ and his saints; and it may also be salutary to remind Christians of the West that the theology of the icon is part of the ecumenical teaching of the Universal Church, as enshrined in the decrees of the second Nicene Council.

First, we should put the achievement of Damascene in historical perspective, by recalling that the creation of Christian art substantially predates the emergence of an associated theological apologetic. Indeed, we have no evidence of Christian works of art at all before the third century (Dura Europos, the Roman catacombs); and the veto against graven images in the Old Testament[2], and the need for churchmen to combat the cult-images of the pagans, sufficiently explains why visual art is the last major aspect of the classical cultural tradition to be baptised into the church[3]. However, the existence of sacred art in places of Christian initiation, worship and burial in the century before and after Constantine itself suggests that there was no general antipathy to religious art at that time[4].

The first positive notices of art in church literature are not until the Cappadocian Fathers, who refer to the power of art to elicit religious emotions and to make us

1. Antirrheticus III. ii. 5, P.G. XCIX, 420A.

2. In the Decalogue (Ex. XX. 4; cf. *Deut.* IV. 9, 8-17), and often reiterated by the prophets.

3. By the 2nd cent., the Greek Apologists were using Greek literary traditions and philosophical thought-forms to commend their faith to their educated contemporaries. It cannot be claimed that art was a primordial part of Eastern Christian culture, which has always had reservations about religious sculpture in the round.

4. Sister Charles Murray has argued that there was *no* hostility to religious art in the Early Church (J.T.S., XXVII. 2, 1977). In my view, she overstates her case, as I hope to show in a forthcoming monograph. I would prefer to see Byzantine iconoclasm as the radical expression of a long tradition of Christian scrupulosity and depreciation (if not outright hostility) to art, beginning with Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. In the third and fourth centuries, unambiguously positive attitudes to religious art are very rare in Christian literature and outweighed by negative responses (although these could not have been typical).

empathise with the exploits and sufferings of those depicted. Gregory of Nyssa in one passage also equates image with scripture (art as a 'speaking book')[5], and Nilus of Ancyra commends the use of art to edify the illiterate[6]; but in fact the vindication of art as a teaching-aid is much more typical of the patristic West (Paulinus of Nola[7], Gregory the Great[8]) than of the East[9]. In any case, the paedagogic argument only applies to narrative art, not to individual iconic representations.

Evidence of the latter as foci of personal piety also first appears in the fourth century. Gregory Nazianzus relates the conversion of a prostitute by the image of St. Polemon ('she... was filled with shame before the holy man, depicted as if he were alive')[10], and John Chrysostom tells of the eagerness of citizens of Antioch to honour commemorative portraits of their beloved bishop Meletius[11]. It is Damascene himself who tells us how Chrysostom kept an icon of St. Paul on his desk, 'and when he studied the Epistles at night, the picture seemed to come alive and speak to him.'[12] In such references, we clearly see the emergence of the icon - *cult* as such, and the use of images, not only to tell a story or to inculcate a moral, but to mediate a presence and to provide a point of encounter with the holy. I have argued elswhere[13] that the cult of the saints (especially the martyrs, and their spiritual successors the ascetics) provided the prime growing point of what Kitzinger has called the 'potentiated image'[14]. But it must be admitted that Christian teachers were slow to provide a reasoned apologetic for these new devotional practices. Again, one has the impression that until the iconoclast crisis, religious art was not a sufficiently controversial issue to generate much comment.

In the sixth century, the Platonising symbolic theology of the Ps. Dionysius provided thought-forms for a more profound 'anagogical' account for the function of icons[15]: thus we have Hypatius' grudging concession[16] that art may assist the spiritual ascent of the simple; and dedicatory epigrams on icons, asserting that such art is able to 'direct the mind to a higher contemplation, and... convey to its object (the holy person depicted) the prayer of the mind'[17]. But such passages are scattered fragments, not followed up, despite the astonishing burgeoning of the icon-cult in the age after Justinian.

The immediate background to the contribution of Damascene is the response to Jewish polemic of the seventh century, which fixed on the icon-cult as evidence of Christian idolatry[18]. For the most part (given the identity of the adversaries), writers such as Leontius of Neapolis and Anastasius of Sinai limit themselves to mining the text of the Old Testament for instance in which holy persons or things are venerated by the Saints of Old Dispensaton: 'Just as Jacob embraced... the bloody coat of Joseph, so all Christians hold and physically embrace the icon of Christ.'[19] From this is deduced the important principle that the sacred symbol (e.g. the cross) or image is not itself worshipped but through it, love and reverence are conveyed to the one associated with it or depicted in it. Leontius adds one further insight, concerning the priestly role of man in articulating through art and architecture, as well as through nature, the inarticulate praise of the whole Creation. The visible material world, both divine and human artefacts, are here as sacraments of God's presence and media of human response[20]. In this passage we come closest to Damascene's view (developed from the ideas of ἀναγωγή in Ps. Dionysius) that rightly perceived, the created order offers a great

5. *Hom. in mart. Theod.*, P.G. LXVI, 739D.

6. *Ep.* IV. 61, P.G. LXXIX, 577ff.

7. *Poems* XXVII, 542f; Ep. XXXII. 2.

8. *Ep. ad Serenum*, Pl. LXXVII, 91 (painting is 'like scripture', the Bible of the illiterate).

9. *Vid.* N. Gendle, 'Art as Education in the Early Church', *Oxford Art Journal*, III, 1979, pp. 3-8.

10. *Poems*, P.G. XXXVII. 737-8.

11. *Hom. in S. Meletium*, P.G. L., 576.

12. *In imag. hom.*, I, P.G. XCIV, 1277C.

13. N. Gendle, "The Role of the Byzantine Saint in the Development of the Icon Cult", in: *The Byzantine Saint, Studies Supplement to Sobornost V*, London 1981, pp. 181-96.

14. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images before Iconoclasm", DOP VII, 1954, pp. 83-151.

15. *Vid.* especially, his tracts *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and *On the Divine Names*.

16. *Miscellaneous Enquiries*, ed. Diekamp, O.C.A. CXVII, 1938, pp. 127-129.

17. Agathius, *Greek Anthology*, I, 34; of Nilus Scholasticus, *Palatine Anthology*, 33: the image of St. Michael 'leads us up to the intelligible memory of heavenly beings'.

18. *vid.* P. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, Oxford 1958, pp. 30-34.

19. Leontius, *Apol. contra Judaeus*, P.G. XCIII, 1599C.

20. *vid.* N. Gendle, "Leontius of Neapolis: A Seventh Century Defender of Holy Images" *(Cistercian Studies*, in press). It is unfortunate that neither John of Damascus nor (as far as I know) any iconodule theologian carried further Leontius' extremely suggestive idea of the priestly role of the Christian as artist creating in the image of the Creator. Perhaps here the Byzantine believer, with his highly developed aesthetic sense, might have found a theological evaluation not only of the icon but of artistic creativity in general.

repository of symbols, capable of elevating the mind to God.

It was the attack on the holy images by the imperial government itself in the 720's that finally forced the Church to produce a sustained theological defence of Christian art[21]. Faced with Leo III's charge of idolatry, the iconodule theologians of the first phase of the Crisis (John of Damascus, Germanos of Constantinople) evolved clear distinctions between worship and veneration and developed the account of the icon as a vehicle of knowledge, grace and power. In the second phase of the conflict, attention was diverted from the crucial issue of the sacramentality of religious art by the famous *dilemma* of Constantine V; this had the effect of channelling most of the debate into the well-worn tracks of christological controversy concerning the relation of the two natures in Christ, and whether to depict the Saviour in art does not involve either confusing or dividing the natures[22]. The writings of S.S. Theodore Studites and Nicephoros indeed yield new scholastic precisions about the hypostatic union and circumscription[23]; but they add little substantially new to the defence of St. John of Damascus, based on the twin foundations of creation and incarnation. It is this theology, I would argue, that addresses the nub of the issue, and most convincingly vindicates the essential legitimacy of the believer's approach to the holy through the mediation of material images of Christ and the saints.

The teaching of St. John of Damascus is contained principally in his three *Orations against those who attack the Holy Images*[24]. Underlying the incarnational defence of icons which lies at the heart of his apology, is a strong sense that image-making is a basic mode of divine creativity and self-revelation. God the Father eternally begets the Son, who is 'the first natural and precisely similar "image of the invisible God"[25], for he reveals the Father in his own person'[26]. Then God created man according to his own image and likeness, to reflect and share the divine life not by nature but by imitation[27]. So God himself, the primordial artist, was the 'first to make an image, and presented images to our sight, for "God created man in his own image"[28], and Abraham, Moses, and all the prophets saw images of God, but not the essence of God'[29].

In referring to the images seen by the prophets, John has in mind the theophanies of the Old Testament, in which the divine manifestations are described in anthropomorphic terms. Thus 'Moses saw as it were the back of a man, and Isaiah saw God as a man sitting upon a throne'[30]. God projected himself under the figure of a man because man is the crown of his creative work, and the most appropriate image or figure under which he may communicate with men — an image which prefigured the appearance of his Son in the flesh.

Moreover, the saints of the Old Dispensation rightly responded by adoration to these self-revelations of God through visionary images, and this too provides scriptural justification for our veneration of holy images: 'Abraham did not see the divine nature, for no man has ever yet seen God, but he saw an image of God (viz. the three angels at Mamre)[31], and fell down and worshipped'[32]. So, God's work in making his image, man, provides a living icon whereby man can approach his creator and indeed in respecting and honouring each other, we are simply venerating the primordial image made by God himself, and the form assumed for our sake by his Son.

But on a wider level, God in creating the world, brought into being a great repertory of images capable of elevating the mind to himself. John here is developing the thought of Ps. Dionysius, whom he cites widely in his catena of patristic testimony concerning images.

21. For an historical and theological account of the Iconoclast Controversy, *vid.:* J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, (New York, 1975), pp. 173-192.

22. Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-53. argues convincingly *(ib.*, pp. 47-8) that before Constantine V, Christology was not at issue in iconoclast theology: I would add that it is very much a secondary issue at this stage in iconodule theology also.

23. Alexander, *ibid.*, pp. 189ff.

24. P.G. XCIV, *ed.* B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, Berlin, 1979. Eng. Trans: D. Anderson, *St. John of Damascus, On the Divine Images*, New York, 1980. This, by and large, is the version I have quoted in this article. Damascene summarises his teaching in ch. 16 of his *de Fide Orthodoxa*, IV.

25. Col I. 15.

26. *de imag. hom.* III. 18 (All subsequent references are to this work, unless otherwise specified).

27. III. 20.

28. Gen. I. 27.

29. II. 20.

30. III. 26, citing Ex. XXXIII. 24, and Isa. VI. 1.

31. Gen XVIII. 2. The three angels at Mamre provide the basic O.T. prefiguration of the Trinity, and the subject - matter of the Orthodox icon of the Trinity.

32. III. 26. The distinction might have been made clearer by referring to the divine energies which come down to us and the essence which remains unapproachable. (cf. Basil, *Ep.* CCXXXIV. 1). In discussing revelation, John is always careful to preserve the apophatic dimension.

As Dionysius explains, we are led to the perception of God by the visible images in creation, and Scripture draws upon terms derived from nature to explain supernatural truth[33]. The world around us, created as an expression of divine wisdom, offers to our view a plethora of natural symbols whereby invisible realities may be partly apprehended: 'Visible things are corporeal models which provide a vague understanding of intangible things'[34]. All this is part of God's accommodation to the limitations of human nature, 'since our inability immediately to direct our thoughts to contemplation of higher things makes it necessary that familiar things be utilised to give suitable form to what is formless, and make visible what cannot be depicted'[35]. This is why Scripture is replete with concrete, perceptible images: 'using what is common to nature, it brings within our reach that which we long for but are unable to see'[36]. Hence, for example, the use of the image of the rock (referring to God) in the Psalms brings to mind a sense of the divine steadfastness and irrefragibility[37]. It is not only within Scripture that Nature performs an analogical function: 'Since the creation of the world, the invisible things of God are clearly seen by means of images'[38]. Thus, the image of the sun, its light and rays, may form a rough analogue of the true God. Such images in creation, 'though only dim lights, still remind us of God'[39].

Indeed, it is useless to try to attempt to begin the ascent to knowledge of God except from the level of sense - perception. We are embodied spirits, not bodiless pure intelligences, and as Gregory Nazianzen warns us, 'the mind which is determined to ignore corporeal things will find itself weakened and frustrated'[40]. 'Since we are fashioned of both soul and body, and our souls are not naked spirits, but covered as it were by a fleshly veil, it is impossible for us to think without using corporeal images. Just as we physically listen to perceptible words to understand spiritual things, so by using bodily sight, we reach spiritual contemplation'[41]. God's self - revelation in the Incarnate Christ (and the Church's sacramental system that stems from this) is but the supreme example of God's providential way since the creation of man to lead him to the invisible and spiritual by way of created, material things. Like images in nature and in Scripture, Christian visual images are eloquent yet necessarily imperfect vehicles for communicating a sense of the invisible and transcendent: "Now the icon is a dark glass, fashioned according to the limitations of our physical nature. Though the mind wear itself out with effort, it can never cast away its bodily nature" (I.5).

Even under the Law, the same God who in the Decalogue forbade the making of graven images, ordered Moses to construct the tabernacle as 'a shadow and copy of the heavenly sanctuary'[42], indeed as 'an image of the whole creation'[43]. The tent itself, the altar and all the furnishings were human artefacts, and included the carved cherubim, made specifically at the divine command, and 'venerated by all Israel'[44]. Here we have a clear Old Testament case of not only material things, but works of human art, used by God's permission for worship and instruction. Christian icons fulfil exactly the same function as these Jewish cult-objects: they remind us of the mighty acts of God in the past, and of the exploits of the heroes of the faith, and stir us up to gratitude, devotion and moral and spiritual effort'. 'You see that the law and everything it commanded and all our own practices are meant to sanctify the work of our hands, leading us through matter to the invisible God'[45]. The creation of a commemorative sacred image sanctifies both the maker and the matter from which it is made, enduing the material image with sacramental significance.

Thus we see that even before the Incarnation, God through his visible creation, through the making of man

33. Ps. Dionysius, *de div. nom.* I and *de eccles. hier.* I, cited by John at the start of his first Catena (end of *Or.* I).

34. I. 11 (cf. III. 21).£

35. *loc. cit.*

36. *loc. cit.*

37. Other scriptural images may be called typological, rather than anagogical: e.g. the Ark of the Covenant or the Burning Bush as emblems of the Mother of God, or the Brazen Serpent of the Cross. (cf. I, 12).

38. I. 11 (citing Rom I, 20).

39. *loc. cit.*

40. *Theol. Or.* 2.

41. I, 12 (cf. III, 17) John in fact places verbal and visual symbols absolutely on a par as media of revelation: if Scripture constantly uses concrete images to adumbrate divine truth, then the icon translates the events and images of Scripture into visual form. The Icon *is* the Gospel made visible *(vid:* II. 10, III.12, 18, 23).

42. II.22 (citing Ex. XXV.40 and Heb: VIII.4-9). cf. I.13, 15, 17, II.14, III. 11 (the Tabernacle and its artefacts). The figural decorations Bezaleel was ordered to make for the Temple provide another telling O.T. precedent for Christian images and their veneration (e.g. I,16, 20).

43. *de Fid Orth.*, IV, 16.

44. I. 22. But (as we have seen) not *all* figural art was banned in the Israelite place of prayer, though (as John admits) Jewish religious art was unknown.

45. II. 23.

as a body/soul unity in his image, by inspiring concrete images drawn from nature in Scripture, and by permitting the man-made cult-furnishings of the Jewish Tabernacle and Temple, provided a wealth of material images by and through which man might attain to knowledge of his Creator. All these images in different ways illustrate the spiritual potentiality of matter, finally elevated to the highest degree by the appearance of God himself in the flesh.

Before this point, it was of course forbidden to make an image of God — not only to inhibit the idolatrous tendencies of the Jews[46], but because in the very nature of things, the transcendent Godhead exceeds all definition: 'It is impossible to make an icon of God the incorporeal, the invisible, the immaterial and uncircumscribed, who has no form and is beyond comprehension: for how can that which is not seen be depicted? But while no-one has ever seen God, yet the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, has made this unseen God manifest...'[47]. The last sentence of this citation brings us at once to the heart of the matter; the coming of God the Word in the flesh has made possible and legitimate what before was unthinkable, since God himself has deigned to take upon himself human form and become an object of sense-perception. Looking at the incarnate Christ, we behold the human face of God.

That body assumed by Christ is not merely a temporary expedient of revelation, but is permanently united with his Godhead; and it is this new and saving union of divinity and humanity in Christ which the icon commemorates and celebrates. It forcibly reminds us that "in the Incarnation, a decisive and eternal change took place in the relationship between God and material creation"[48]. The Incarnation restored not only the defaced image of God in fallen man, but also matter itself, created good by God at the beginning, but then caught up in the Fall and rendered opaque to the divine energies. Through the deified material body of the Saviour, the whole cosmos has been re-created and redeemed. As John remarks in the first Oration: 'In former times, God, being without form or body, could in no way be represented. But today, since God has appeared in the flesh and lived amongst men, I can represent what is visible in God. I do not worship matter, but I worship the Creator of matter who became matter for my sake, who has been pleased to dwell in matter and through matter has achieved my salvation. Never will I cease to honour the matter which brought about my salvation'[49].

The Incarnation, then, is the basic divine validation of the icon, superseding the Mosaic veto. 'Israel of old did not see God, but we "with unveiled faces behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord"[50]. And so with confidence I make an icon of the invisible God, not in so far as he is invisible, but in so far as he became visible for our sakes by partaking in flesh and blood. I do not make an icon of the invisible Godhead, but I make an icon of the visible flesh of God'[51].

Of course, the veneration of icons is not without danger, if improperly understood; and this is why it is necessary first, to harmonise iconology with Christology, and secondly, to distinguish carefully between worship and veneration[52]. We may sum up the orthodox view of the icon of Christ by saying that *through* the image, we worship the One depicted, not the icon itself, and that what is depicted is not the divinity of Christ ('not as invisible') but the outward form of his humanity ('as become visible for our sake'[53]). Matter is, of course, honourable in itself, all the more so as a result of the Incarnation. Nonetheless, John emphasises that 'when we venerate icons, we do not offer veneration to matter, but by means of the icon, we venerate the person depicted. For, as St. Basil says, "the honour given to the image passes to the prototype"[54].

The icon is to be venerated only because of its inner relationship of similarity to what it depicts. When the likeness is impaired by physical damage, then the artwork ceases to be a sacred icon and must be discarded: 'Obviously, I do not worship matter; for if it should happen that a cross, which has been fashioned from matter, should be ruined, I could consign it to the flames, and the same with damaged icons"[55-57]. The icon, then, is not an idol, but a quasi - sacramental sign and a point of encounter with the holy.

We ourselves cannot share the Apostles' experience

46. I. 7.
47. II. 8 (citing Jn. I. 18).
48. Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 8.
49. I. 16.
50. *loc. cit,* quoting II Cor. III. 18.
51. I.4. This chapter is, in fact, John's personal confession of faith, beginning with the Trinity, then Christology, then the orthodox theology of the icon.
52. For this distinction, *vid.* I.8, 14, III. 27-40.
53. *loc. cit.*
54. III. 41, citing Basil, *de Spiritu Sancto,* 18.
55. II. 19.
56. II. 5.
57. cf., II. 19 (relics of the Passion, the Tomb).

of direct physical contact with the Incarnate Lord, but in and through the icon we come into intimate personal contact with 'God incarnate, seen on this earth in the flesh — for we yearn to see how he looked'[58]. The icon (like the relic[59]) answers to a deeply seated human need for a palpable and sensible point of contact with the transcendent. Christ is now risen and ascended, but through the icon we can still encounter him as it were face to face, and worship him whom we can no longer directly see with our bodily eyes: "Shall I not make an image of him who was seen in nature of flesh for me? Shall I not worship and honour him through honouring and venerating his image?" This may (by extension) apply legitimately as much to icons of the glorified saints as to those of Christ himself[60].

Finally, let us take up again the importance of John's theology of the icon for our understanding of the dignity and potentiality of the material creation. As we have seen, even before the Incarnation, and despite the Fall, matter has been a necessary and providential vehicle for embodied man to achieve a partial apprehension of God and divine things. Indeed, one of the most telling charges that John is able to bring against the iconoclasts is that they are crypto-Manichaeans: 'You despise matter, and call it contemptible. So did the Manichaeans, but Scripture proclaims it good, for it says, "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good". Therefore, I declare that matter is the creation of God, and a good thing'[61]. So the doctrine of Creation provides the first validation for our respect for the material world, and the Christian sense of it as a sacrament of the divine presence. The goodness of the created world is also the ultimate basis for our understanding of the material image as a channel of spiritual grace.

But the Incarnation (the paradigm *par excellence* of matter as a vehicle of spirit) has raised matter to an entirely new level of significance and dignity. 'Behold the glorification of matter, which you (iconoclasts) despise -- "And the Word was made flesh"-- so I salute matter, approach it with reverence, and I venerate that through which my salvation has come. I honour it, not as God, but because it is full of grace and strength'[62]. Matter can now become a diaphanous and luminous medium of grace, above all through the church's sacramental signs[63], but also in a special way, through man - made images. Icons are part of a whole nexus of *res sacra* within the Church, which include the sacred relics of Christ and his saints, places associated with their lives, the cross, the gospel - book, church buildings, altars and liturgical vessels, all of which are material things set apart by God's will for spiritual purposes, as media of grace[64]. All, because of association or divine consecration, are by tradition objects of veneration within the church. If the iconoclast will bow before the cross and kiss the Gospel-book, why will he not accord the same love and respect to the icon, which (in a different mode) communicates exactly the same saving message[65].

It is to be hoped that this paper has sufficiently shown the fundamental importance of the doctrines of Creation and the Incarnaton for the Icon-theology of St. John of Damascus. His iconology is profoundly christocentric; though never (as so often in the next generation) narrowly christological. Christ, the perfect and eternal image of the invisible God, who created man as living image of his maker, takes on human form to restore the divine image in us. By creating images of Christ, man uses his own God-given creative power to commemorate the permanent and concrete salvific actuality of the Incarnation, and to provide a point of meeting with the Risen Lord, through which the presence of the One depicted may be mediated[66].

We have also seen that he teaches a consistently 'high' sacramental view of matter: created by God as 'very good' in the beginning, a vehicle of revelation at all times, renewed and sanctified in the Incarnation, it continues and extends the incarnational principle in the life of the church as the matter of the sacraments, relics and (in particular) holy images. The icon, in short, celebrates at once the redemption of matter and the restoration of the image of God in man through the Incarnation.

58. III. 26.

59. *vid:* N. Gendle, 'The Byzantine Saint' (:note 13 above), p. 183. John deals with the icons of the saints at: I. 19-22, III. 26.

60. III. 26.

61. II. 13, citing Gen. II. 31.

62. II. 14 (cf., I. 16).

63. I. 16 (cf., III. 12)

64. *loc. cit.*

65. The Cross was the only visual religious symbol the iconoclasts venerated. On the analogy between icon and Gospel, *vid:* II. 10, III. 12, 18, 23, and note 41 above. In II. 10, it is clear that by John's time, the same warm physical devotion was extended by believers to both icon and Gospel ("we embrace them... kiss them and bow before them"). We are sanctified as much by *seeing* Christ's form and saving acts in icons as by *hearing* about them from Scripture (III. 12).

66. So too with commemorative images of the saints.

This doctrine, it seems to me, constitutes the essence of orthodox icon-theology. But that is not to claim that it is comprehensive or incapable of further development. In particular, I would suggest, the relationship between icons and sacraments needs to be more precisely explored, and the nature of art and human creativity as such requires further theological explication: not least, development of Leontius' remarks about the priestly role of the artist as maker,creating in the image of God the Creator. As Gervase Matthews reminds us, "through man alone, the material becomes articulate in praise of God"[67].

Then again, the nature of Christian iconography as the art of transfiguration is a rich field for development: John notes that it is the divinised and transfigured human nature of Christ which is shared by the saints[68], but does not draw out the implications of this for sacred art. The icon of the saint is precisely the image of a *holy* man, and so an icon can never be merely naturalistic, but is an attempt to convey the radiant faces of those who, while still on earth, anticipated the resurrection of the body[69]. Thus the icon has also an eschatological dimension.

In fact, it has had to wait till our own century for these further aspects of the art and cult of the icon to be explored by theologians and Byzantinists. But within the history of image-theory in the Eastern Church, it is the achievement of St. John Damascene to have responded to the challenge of iconoclasm by evolving the first sustained theological account of Christian art. In this teaching, we see the integration of the icon within its primary dogmatic matrix, the re-creation of man and the cosmos in Christ.

67. *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1963) pp. 23-4.

68. I.4. ('The flesh assumed by him is made divine'), and I. 19 (the saints divinised by grace).

69. *vid.* Gendle, 'The Byzantine Saint', pp. 185-6.

# ΟΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΙ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΙ

Ὑπὸ

*Βασιλείου Ν. Ἀναγνωστοπούλου*

Ὁμοτίμου Καθηγητοῦ Ἱ. Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς Χάλκης

Αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος ἀναληφθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου[1] καί τινων Χριστιανικῶν Κινήσεων[2] πρωτοβουλίαι διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς ἀπὸ δέκα περίπου αἰώνων διῃρημένης Μιᾶς, Ἁγίας, Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, εὑροῦσαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ μὲ τὴν πάροδον τοῦ χρόνου τὴν δέουσαν ἀνταπόκρισιν ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν ἐνδιαφερομένων Ἐκκλησιῶν[3], ἐδημιούργησαν μέσα εἰς τὰς τελευταίας δεκαετίας τὰς ἀπαραιτήτους προϋποθέσεις διὰ μίαν παγχριστιανικὴν διεκκλησιαστικὴν συνεργασίαν καὶ ὡδήγησαν ἐν συνεχείᾳ εἰς τὰς θεολογικὰς μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν συζητήσεις.

Ἀποκορύφωμα δὲ ὅλων αὐτῶν τῶν πρωτοβουλιῶν καὶ προσπαθειῶν ὑπῆρξαν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔτους 1964 καὶ ἑξῆς ἐγκαινιασθέντες ἐπίσημοι Διαχριστιανικοὶ Θεολογικοὶ Διάλογοι[4] μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν διὰ τὴν ἄρσιν τῶν διαιρουσῶν αὐτὰς περὶ τὴν πίστιν θεολογικῶν διαφορῶν καὶ ἀντιλήψεων καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτῶν.

Τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτό, ὑψίστης καθ' ἑαυτὸ σημασίας, ἀποτελεῖ τῷ ὄντι σταθμὸν ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τὸν σπουδαιότερον καὶ σημαντικώτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ σχίσματος μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, διότι θεωρεῖται ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἑνὸς θετικοῦ βήματος τῶν διαλεγομένων Ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς τὰς προσπαθείας των νὰ ἐπανεύρουν τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν καὶ συνεπῶς καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὡς ἐντέλλεται τοῦτο ὁ θεῖος ἱδρυτὴς αὐτῆς «ἵνα πάντες ἓν ὦσιν...ἵνα ὦσιν τετελειωμένοι εἰς ἕν», καὶ ὡς διδάσκουν οἱ διάδοχοι αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεχισταὶ τοῦ ἔργου του ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀπόστολοι, Πατέρες, Ποιμένες καὶ Διδάσκαλοι.

Ἐξαίροντες δμως τοὺς Θεολογικοὺς Διαλόγους ποὺ διεξάγονται σήμερον μὲ σκοπὸν τὴν ἐπανασύνδεσιν τῆς διῃρημένης Ἐκκλησίας, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν, κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον, «καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως», ὡς τὸ σπουδαιότερον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν γεγονὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος μας, δὲν δυνάμεθα ἀπὸ τὴν ἄλλην πλευρὰν νὰ ἀγνοήσωμεν τὰς μεγάλας δυσκολίας ποὺ παρουσιάζει ἡ διεξαγωγὴ τῶν μὲ ἐπικρεμάμενον τὸν κίνδυνον νὰ ἀποτελματωθοῦν ἤδη ἀπὸ τὰ πρῶτα βήματα αὐτῶν εἰς ἀτέρμονας συζητήσεις καὶ χωρὶς οὐσιαστικὴν πρόοδον καὶ θετικὸν ἀποτέλεσμα εἰς τὸ μέγα θέμα τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Καὶ εἶναι εὐνόητοι αἱ δυσκολίαι καὶ αἱ ἀνησυχίαι διὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων. Ἡ μακραίων διαίρεσις τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἡ ἔλλειψις κάθε ἐπαφῆς καὶ ἐπικοινωνίας μεταξύ των, ἐκτὸς ἐλαχίστων περιπτώσεων, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ σχίσματος κατὰ τὸν 11ον αἰῶνα μέχρι τῶν ἀρχῶν τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶ-

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1. Πατριαρχικὴ καὶ Συνοδικὴ Ἐγκύκλιος Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς πάσας τὰς κατὰ τόπους Ὀρθοδόξους Αὐτοκεφάλους Ἐκκλησίας, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, Κωνσταντινούπολις 1903, σελ. 162-165. Ἐγκύκλιος Συνοδικὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρὸς τὰς Ἀπανταχοῦ Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Κωνσταντινούπολις 1920.

2. Παγκοσμία Κίνησις «Ζωὴ καὶ Ἐργασία», Στοκχόλμη 1925. Παγκοσμία Κίνησις «Πίστις καὶ Τάξις», Λωζάννη 1927. Αἱ δύο αὐταὶ Παγκόσμιαι Χριστιανικαὶ Κινήσεις διὰ τῆς συγχωνεύσεώς των κατὰ τὸ 1948 ὡδήγησαν εἰς τὴν ἵδρυσιν τοῦ Παγκοσμίου Συμβουλίου τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς τὸ Ἀμστερνταμ.

3. Αἱ Θεολογικαὶ ἐπαφαὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Μεταρρυθμίσεως ἤρχισαν κατὰ τὸν 17ον αἰῶνα. Αἱ Θεολογικαὶ συζητήσεις μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Παλαιοκαθολικῶν ἤρχισαν τὸν 19ον αἰῶνα (1874-1875), μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὸ ἔτος 1920.

4. Ἡ Γ' Πανορθόδοξος Διάσκεψις, ἐν Ρόδῳ, τὸ 1964, ἀπεφάσισε τὴν ἔναρξιν Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου ἐπὶ πανορθοδόξου ἐπιπέδου μετὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Παλαιοκαθολικῶν, τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ μετὰ τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς. Πρακτικὰ τῆς Γ' ἐν Ρόδῳ Πανορθοδόξου Διασκέψεως, Ἐκ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, 1964, σελ. 1/6-1/8.

νος, εἶχεν ὡς συνέπειαν τὴν ἀνεξάρτητον διαμόρφωσιν καὶ ἐξέλιξιν τῆς πίστεως, τῆς λατρείας καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ ἐδημιούργησε τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ τὸ ὑφιστάμενον σήμερον χάσμα μεταξὺ τῆς πίστεως τῶν διῃρημένων πρὸς ἀλλήλας Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῆς Μιᾶς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας.

Οἱ Θεολογικοὶ Διάλογοι, ποὺ διεξάγονται μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν τελευταίαν εἰκοσαετίαν, ἀποβλέπουν, ἀναμφιβόλως, εἰς τὴν ἐπαναγεφύρωσιν τοῦ χάσματος τούτου, τὴν ἐξουδετέρωσιν τῶν διαφορῶν ποὺ τὰς χωρίζουν καὶ τὴν ἐπανεύρεσιν τῶν κοινῶν σημείων τῆς πίστεως ποὺ θὰ τὰς ὁδηγήσουν εἰς τὴν ἑνότητά των. Αἱ διαλεγόμεναι Ἐκκλησίαι ἐπιθυμοῦν τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ δὲν παύουν νὰ προσεύχωνται κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δι' αὐτήν, νὰ ὁμιλοῦν καὶ νὰ διακηρύττουν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀναγκαιότητά της καὶ νὰ καταβάλλουν προσπαθείας διὰ τὴν πραγμάτωσίν της, ἵνα ἐκπληρωθῇ ἡ ἐντολὴ τοῦ θείου ἱδρυτοῦ αὐτῆς περὶ τῆς ἑνότητός της. Οὐχ ἧττον ὅμως ὅλαι αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι ἐμμένουν εἰς τὰς βασικὰς τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν ἀρχάς, αἱ ὁποῖαι εἴτε συνιστοῦν τὴν μακραίωνα Πίστιν καὶ Παράδοσιν τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, εἴτε διεμορφώθησαν κατὰ τοὺς μετὰ τὸ σχίσμα μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως χρόνους καὶ τὴν μακραίωνα περίοδον ἀπὸ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Δύσεως εἰς Ρωμαιοκαθολικὴν καὶ Προτεσταντικήν.

Νομίζω ὅμως ὅτι ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον προβληματίζει τὰς διαλεγομένας σήμερον Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι ἡ μεθοδολογία καὶ ἡ θεματολογία τῶν Θεολογικῶν τούτων Διαλόγων. Τὸ θέμα τοῦτο εἶναι ἐκεῖνο ποὺ δημιουργεῖ τὰς δυσκολίας διὰ τὴν ὁμαλὴν καὶ ἐπιτυχῆ διεξαγωγήν των καὶ παρεμποδίζει τὴν πρόοδον καὶ ἀποτελεσματικὴν ἔκβασιν τῶν θεολογικῶν συζητήσεων.

Ἡ διαπίστωσις αὐτή, ἡ ὁποία βασίζεται εἰς τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν ἀποκτηθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐπὶ δύο ἤδη δεκαετίας διεξαγομένους Θεολογικοὺς Διαλόγους μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ δὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τῆς τῶν Παλαιοκαθολικῶν, τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς, τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ τῆς Λουθηρανικῆς[5], ὡδήγησε τὸν γράφοντα εἰς τὴν θεώρησιν τῶν Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῆς πατερικῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ παραδόσεως πρὸς ἀνίχνευσιν καὶ ἀναζήτησιν μέσα εἰς τὸν ἀνεξάντλητον πλοῦτον αὐτῆς προτύπων, ποὺ θὰ βοηθήσουν τὰς διαλεγομένας Ἐκκλησίας ἄμεσα ἢ ἔμμεσα εἰς τὰς προσπαθείας των νὰ ἐπανακτήσῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία τὴν ἑνότητά της.

Ἡ θεώρησις αὐτὴ ἀποτελεῖ, νομίζω, ἀδήριτον ἀνάγκην καὶ κρίνεται ἀπαραίτητος. Διότι ἡ πατερικὴ διδασκαλία καὶ παράδοσις εἶναι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ θείου ἱδρυτοῦ τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τεθεμελιωμένον ὑπόβαθρον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὁποίου αἱ διῃρημέναι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Ἐκκλησίαι ὀφείλουν νὰ στηριχθοῦν καὶ νὰ διεξαγάγουν τὰς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν θεολογικὰς συζητήσεις διὰ τὴν ἀνεύρεσιν τῶν κοινῶν σημείων τῆς πίστεως, τὰ ὁποῖα ἤνωνον αὐτὰς πρὸ τῆς διαιρέσεώς των εἰς τὴν Μίαν, Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.

Ἡ σημασία καὶ σπουδαιότης τῆς πατερικῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ παραδόσεως εἰς τὴν προκειμένην περίπτωσιν ἔγκειται εἰς τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι αὐτὴ ἐνσαρκώνει, ἑρμηνεύει καὶ ἐκπροσωπεῖ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας ὅπως ἐδίδαξεν αὐτὴν ὁ ἱδρυτὴς αὐτῆς Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ οἱ ἀμέσως διάδοχοι Αὐτοῦ Ἀπόστολοι, ὅπως διεμορφώθη αὐτὴ εἰς τὴν ἀρχέγονον Ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ τῶν διαδόχων ἐκείνων Πατέρων καὶ Διδασκάλων καὶ ὅπως ἐξειλίχθη κατὰ τοὺς ἐπακολουθήσαντας αἰῶνας, κατὰ τοὺς ὁποίους ἐν τῇ ἑνότητι τῆς πίστεώς της, ποὺ ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ διεκήρυξαν οἱ Πατέρες τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων, συνεκρότει τὴν Μίαν, Ἁγίαν, Καθολικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.

Ἡ ἀνεύρεσις, συνεπῶς, προτύπων μέσα εἰς τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ παράδοσιν τῶν ὀκτὼ κυρίως πρώτων αἰώνων διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τῶν διεξαγομένων Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων καὶ τὴν ἐπίτευξιν τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι βεβαία καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπιβάλλεται. Καὶ τοῦτο διότι ἡ Ἐκκλησία ὡς Μία, συνισταμένη ἀπὸ τὰς ἀνὰ τὴν Οἰκουμένην τοπικὰς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ἡνωμένη, ἐγνώρισε κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνας αὐτοὺς διαιρέσεις καὶ σχίσματα, κατώρθωσεν ὅμως μετὰ ἀπὸ σκληροὺς ἀγῶνας νὰ διατηρήσῃ καὶ διαφυλάξῃ τὴν ἑνότητά της ἐναντίον τόσον τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν ἀντιπάλων, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐπεβουλεύοντο αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν ὑπόστασίν της, ὅσον καὶ τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐζήτουν νὰ διαστρέψουν τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν διαμορφωθεῖσαν βάσει τῆς Παραδόσεως ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν της, νὰ ἐπιβάλουν εἰς αὐτὴν τὰς αἱρετικὰς αὐτῶν ἀπόψεις καὶ νὰ τὴν διαιρέσουν.

Ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπιτυχὴς

5. Ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν Λουθηρανικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, ἐπὶ πανορθοδόξου ἐπιπέδου καὶ πανλουθηρανικοῦ, ἀπεφασίσθη εἰς τὴν Δ' Πανορθόδοξον Διάσκεψιν, ἡ ὁποία συνῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ὀρθόδοξον Κέντρον τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, ἐν Σαμπεζὺ (Γενεύῃ) τῆς Ἑλβετίας, τὸ 1968. Συνοδικὰ VI, Σαμπεζὺ-Γενεύη, 1982, σελ. 105.

ἀντιμετώπισις τῶν σοβαρῶν κινδύνων, ποὺ κατα διάφορα χρονικὰ διαστήματα μέσα εἰς τοὺς ὀκτὼ πρώτους αἰῶνας ἐπηπείλουν νὰ διαιρέσουν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὀφείλεται ἀναμφιβόλως εἰς τὴν βαθεῖαν πίστιν τῶν Πατέρων εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ εἰς τὸν ἄμετρον σεβασμὸν καὶ τὴν ἀφοσίωσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχέγονον Παράδοσιν, ἡ ὁποία κατωχύρωσε τὴν διδασκαλίαν περὶ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῇ Μιᾷ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Μία σύντομος ἀναδίφησις εἰς τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον τῶν Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ δὴ ἐκείνων ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων τῶν πρώτων αἰώνων, ὡς τοῦ Ἰγνατίου Ἀντιοχείας, Εἰρηναίου, Διονυσίου Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἱεροῦ Κυπριανοῦ, Φιρμιλιανοῦ Καισαρείας, Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Βασιλείου Καισαρείας τοῦ Μεγάλου, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐν τῇ σταδιοδρομίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ συνεδύασαν τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἔργον μὲ τὸ ποιμαντορικόν, ὡς ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ὑπεύθυνοι ποιμένες, ἀγωνισθέντες διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἰδιότητας τοῦ συγγραφέως καὶ τοῦ ποιμένος, τόσον ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ αὐτῶν ὅσον καὶ ἐν τῇ καθόλου Ἐκκλησίᾳ, μπορεῖ ἀσφαλῶς νὰ βοηθήσῃ τὰ μέγιστα τὰς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὰς μεταξύ των θεολογικὰς συζητήσεις νὰ ἀνεύρουν τὰ μέσα καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ποὺ ἀναζητοῦν διὰ τὴν ἐπανένωσίν των ἐν τῇ πίστει. Διότι αἱ προϋποθέσεις διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχῆ ἔκβασιν τῶν Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων ποὺ διεξάγονται εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας μας καὶ διευρύνονται συνεχῶς, εὑρίσκονται εἰς τὰ ὡς ἄνω πατερικὰ πρότυπα τῆς πρώτης Ἐκκλησίας, ποὺ εἰς τὸ σύνολόν του ἐκπροσωποῦν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀκραιφνῆ Παράδοσιν τῆς Μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας, ποὺ εἶναι ἀπολύτως ἀναγκαία διὰ τὴν ἐπίλυσιν τοῦ μεγάλου θέματος τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτῆς, ποὺ ἐνδιαφέρει τὰς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὰς ἀπασχολεῖ τόσον ἔντονα σήμερον.

Ὁ Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας, ἡ ἐξαίρετος αὐτὴ φυσιογνωμία τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν Πατέρων, ποὺ διεκρίθη τόσον ὡς συγγραφεὺς ὅσον καὶ ὡς ποιμήν, κατὰ τὴν μεταποστολικὴν περίοδον, ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὑπῆρξεν ὁ διαπρύσιος κήρυξ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς του, ποὺ ἔγραψε κατὰ τὴν πορείαν του πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ κάτω ἀπὸ δυσκόλους συνθήκας καὶ ποὺ τὰς ἀπηύθυνε πρὸς τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ρώμης Πολύκαρπον καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ρώμης, ἐμμένει εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαιότητα τῆς ἑνότητος ἐν τῇ πίστει θεωρῶν αὐτὴν ὡς ἀπαραίτητον προϋπόθεσιν τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἐφέσου, συνιστᾷ εἰς τοὺς πιστοὺς ὅπως συνέρχωνται ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ προσευχὴν καὶ λατρείαν καὶ τὴν τέλεσιν τῆς θείας εὐχαριστίας, ὁμολογοῦντες μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. «Πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συνέρχεσθε ἐν μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαβίδ, τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ υἱῷ θεοῦ,...ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅς ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός»[6].

Γράφων πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Μαγνησίας ἐπαναλαμβάνει πρὸς τοὺς πιστοὺς αὐτῆς τὰς ἰδίας παραινέσεις, ἀφοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ εὔχεται ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς πίστεως ἐν Χριστῷ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, τὰς ὁποίας εἶδεν ὁδηγούμενος δέσμιος πρὸς τὸ μαρτύριον. «Καταξιωθεὶς γὰρ ὀνόματος θεοπρεπεστάτου, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ἰδὼν τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἕνωσιν εὔχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ...μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἷς νοῦς, μία ἐλπὶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῳ, ὅ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, οὗ ἄμεινον οὐδέν ἐστιν. πάντες ὡς εἰς ἕνα ναὸν συντρέχετε θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα»[7].

Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Σμύρνης Πολύκαρπον παρακαλεῖ αὐτὸν ὅπως ἐπιδεικνύῃ ἰδιαίτερον ἐνδιαφέρον καὶ φροντίζῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν τῆς ἑνότητος ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ποὺ εἶναι κατ' αὐτὸν τὸ κατ' ἐξοχὴν χαρακτηριστικὸν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς. «Παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι, ᾗ ἐνδέδυσαι, προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν, ἵνα σώζωνται... τῆς ἑνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον. πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς καὶ σὲ ὁ κύριος»[8].

Τὴν ἑνότητα ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ζητεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς πιστοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Φιλαδελφείας, φέρων ὡς παράδειγμα τοὺς ἰδικούς του ἀγῶνας διὰ τὴν ἐπίτευξίν της καὶ συνιστᾷ εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀποφυγὴν τῶν διαιρέσεων, διότι ὅπου ὑπάρχει διαίρεσις δὲν ὑπάρχει ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Θεοῦ. «Τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε· μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς ἕνωσιν κατηρτισμένος. οὗ δὲ μερισμός ἐστιν καὶ ὀργή, θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ»[9].

6. ΒΕΠΕΣ 2, 268, XX, 17-22.
7. Ἔνθ. ἀν. I, 2-4.270, VII, 4-8.
8. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2, 282, I, 2-6.
9. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2,278, VII, 28-VIII, 32.

Ἡ ἀποφυγὴ τῶν διαιρέσεων ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιτυγχάνεται μὲ τὴν ἀπόρριψιν καὶ ἀποφυγὴν τῶν ξένων πρὸς τὴν χριστιανικὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διδασκαλιῶν. Ἡ συμμετοχὴ δὲ εἰς διαιρέσεις καὶ ἡ ἀποδοχὴ κακοδοξιῶν συνεπάγεται τὸν ἀποκλεισμὸν ἀπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν συγκατάθεσιν καὶ συμμετοχὴν εἰς τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου πάθη. «Τέκνα οὖν φωτὸς ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας... εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ, εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται»[10].

Βασικὸς παράγων τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἶναι ἡ ἑνότης τῆς πίστεως, τὴν ὁποίαν, κατὰ τὸν Ἰγνάτιον, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ὁμοφώνως κλῆρος καὶ πιστοὶ ὀφείλουν ν' ἀποδέχωνται καὶ νὰ διακηρύσσουν. Γράφων πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους, τοὺς ὁποίους ἀποκαλεῖ συνδιδασκάλους, ἀπὸ τοὺς ὁποίους, ὡς ἀναφέρει, θὰ ἔπρεπε νὰ λάβῃ τὸ ἐπίχρισμα εἰς τὰ τῆς πίστεως, «προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς συνδιδασκαλίταις μου. ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὑπαλειφθῆναι πίστει, νουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ»[11], ἐπαινεῖ αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν συγκέντρωσίν των περὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τὸ πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τὴν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ διάδοσιν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διδασκαλίας. «...πρέπει ὑμῖν συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ, ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε. τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέριον, τοῦ θεοῦ ἄξιον, οὕτως συνήρμοσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ᾄδεται. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς γίνεσθε, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, χρῶμα θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐν ἑνότητι ᾄδετε ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ πατρί... χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστίν, ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀμώμῳ ἑνότητι εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ θεοῦ πάντοτε μετέχετε»[12].

Τὴν ἀναγκαιότητα τῆς συγκεντρώσεως περὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τὸ πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τὴν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ συνεργίαν εἰς τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὥστε νὰ ἐξασφαλίζεται καὶ νὰ διαφυλάσσεται ἡ ἑνότης της, ἐκφράζει ὁ Ἰγνάτιος καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς του πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας μικρασιατικὰς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολήν του πρὸς τοὺς πιστοὺς τῆς Μαγνησίας λέγει: «παραινῶ, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ θεοῦ σπουδάζετε πάντα πράσσειν, προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τύπον θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν διακόνων, τῶν ἐμοὶ γλυκυτάτων, πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ...

»Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἡνωμένος ὤν, οὔτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων· οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε»[13]. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πιστοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Τράλλεων γράφει: «Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ... Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν... χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται»[14].

Κατὰ παρόμοιον τρόπον παραινεῖ τοὺς πιστοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Φιλαδελφείας, «τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις... χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε»[15], καὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σμύρνης, «Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς θεοῦ ἐντολήν. μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν»[16].

Ἡ περὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον συγκέντρωσις τῶν πιστῶν καὶ ἡ ὑποταγὴ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πρεσβυτέριον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, καθὼς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχή των εἰς τὰς ἀγάπας, τὰ κοινὰ δηλ. δεῖπνα, καὶ τὴν θείαν εὐχαριστίαν, τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων καὶ μόνον τελούμενα, διασφαλίζουν κατὰ τὸν Ἰγνάτιον τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. «ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω· ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν ὃ πράσσεται»[17]. Διὸ καὶ γράφων πρὸς τοὺς πιστοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Φιλαδελφείας συνιστᾷ τὴν προσέλευσιν καὶ συμμετοχὴν εἰς τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θείας εὐχαριστίας, τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τελούμενον, θεωρῶν αὐτὸ ὡς τὸ μόνον ἔγκυρον. «Σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ· ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος ἅ-

10. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2, 277, II, 20-21, III, 30-32.
11. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2, 264, III, 32-34.
12. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2, 265, IV, 3-11.
13. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2, 269, VI, 31-35, VII, 41-43.
14. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2,272, II, 6-9, III, 15-16.
15. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2, 278, VII, 23-24, 27.
16. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 12, 281, VIII, 18-21.
17. Αὐτόθι, 21-26.

μα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διακόνοις, τοῖς συνδούλοις μου· ἵνα, ὅ ἐὰν πράσσητε, κατὰ θεὸν πράσσητε»[18]. Ἡ παραίνεσίς του δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πιστοὺς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἐφέσου εἶναι, ὅπως αἱ συνάξεις διὰ τὴν τέλεσιν τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς θείας εὐχαριστίας, τὴν συμμετοχήν των εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν δοξολογίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι συχνότεραι. Καὶ τοῦτο διότι αἱ συχνότεραι συνάξεις ἀποτελοῦν ἐκδήλωσιν καὶ ἔκφρασιν τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς πίστεώς των καὶ συντελοῦν εἰς τὴν καθαίρεσιν καὶ ἐξουδετέρωσιν τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν καταστρεπτικῶν συνεπειῶν ποὺ θὰ εἶχον δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. «Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν. ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως»[19].

Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τῶν κατὰ τόπους Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας διὰ τὸν Ἰγνάτιον, μὲ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀντιπροσωπειῶν των διὰ νὰ τὸν συναντήσουν κατὰ τὴν διέλευσίν του ἐκ Σμύρνης, καθ' ὁδὸν πρὸς τὴν Ρώμην διὰ τὸ μαρτύριον, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἰδιαίτερον ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ Ἰγνατίου διὰ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας αὐτάς, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐξεδήλωσε μὲ τὴν ἐπικοινωνίαν δι' ἐπιστολῶν μαζί των, παρακαλῶν καὶ παραινῶν αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἀποδεικνύει ὅτι ἡ ἔννοια τῆς ἑνότητος ἀπετέλει συνείδησιν τῶν κατὰ τόπους Ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς κοινοτικῆς αὐτῶν ἀναπτύξεως καὶ τὸ κυριώτερον μέλημα τῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπων. Συνεπῶς ἡ ἑνότης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐκφράζεται, πλὴν τῆς συμπνοίας τῶν μελῶν αὐτῆς, ἐξ ἴσου ἰσχυρῶς καὶ διὰ τοῦ συνδέσμου τῶν τοπικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλας. Μολονότι ἑκάστη τοπικὴ Ἐκκλησία, διατελοῦσα ὑπὸ τὴν διακυβέρνησιν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, εἶναι αὐτοτελὴς καὶ ἴση πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας, εὑρίσκεται εἰς στενὰς σχέσεις πρὸς ταύτας, καὶ ἅπασαι ὁμοῦ ἀποτελοῦν τὴν μίαν καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς αὐτὸς πρῶτος ὠνόμασε ταύτην[20].

Ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, ἐπίσκοπος Λουγδούνων, τῆς σημερινῆς πόλεως Λυὼν τῆς Γαλλίας, καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεύς, ὁ ὁποῖος ἤκμασε κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἥμισυ τοῦ δευτέρου αἰῶνος καὶ ὁ ὁποῖος διεκρίθη μὲ τὴν συγγραφικήν του δραστηριότητα κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ τῶν Γνωστικῶν, θεωρεῖ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἑνότητα περὶ τὴν πίστιν, τῶν ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον κατὰ τόπους Ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς παραδοσιακήν, ποὺ ἀνάγεται εἰς τοὺς Ἀποστόλους καὶ μετεδόθη διὰ τῶν διαδόχων αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Μίαν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον Ἐκκλησίαν. Εἰς τὸ σπουδαῖον καὶ λίαν ἐμπεριστατωμένον ἀντιαιρετικὸν αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα «*Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*»[21], ἀντικρούων τὰς διδασκαλίας τῶν Γνωστικῶν, στιγματίζει καὶ ἀναιρεῖ αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς χαρακτηρίζει ὡς ξένας πρὸς τὴν μίαν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν, ἡ ὁποία διαφυλάσσεται ὑπὸ τῆς διεσπαρμένης ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον Μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ κηρύσσεται καὶ διδάσκεται ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι. «Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα, παντοκράτορα,... πίστιν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας· καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα ἅγιον,... Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν, ὡς προέφαμεν, ἡ Ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη»[22].

Ἡ ὑπάρχουσα διαφορὰ γλώσσης μεταξὺ τῶν ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον διεσπαρμένων κατὰ τόπους Ἐκκλησιῶν ὄχι μόνον δὲν ἐμποδίζει τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς παραδόσεως περὶ τὴν πίστιν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξουδετερώνεται ἀπὸ τὴν δύναμίν της.

«Καὶ γὰρ αἱ κατὰ κόσμον διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιοι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή. Καὶ οὔτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἱδρυμέναι Ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλως παραδιδόασιν, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, οὔτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολάς, οὔτε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οὔτε ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὔτε αἱ κατὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου ἱδρυμέναι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, τὸ κτίσμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός· οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχῇ φαίνει καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. Καὶ οὔτε ὁ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις προεστώτων, ἕτερα τούτων ἐρεῖ (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν διδάσκαλον), οὔτε ὁ ἀσθενὴς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ἐλαττώσει τὴν παράδοσιν. Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πί-

18. ΒΕΠΕΣ, 2, 277, IV, 33-37.

19. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 2, 266, XIII, 41-44.

20. *Παναγιώτου Κ. Χρήστου*, Θεολογικὰ Μελετήματα, Θεσσαλονίκη 1973, σελ. 228, 229.

21. ΒΕΠΕΣ, 5, σελ. 93-171.

22. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 115, X, 15-20, 35-116, 1-2.

στεως οὔσης, οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν, ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἠλαττόνησε»[23].

Ἡ ἑνότης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπῆρξε τὸ μέλημα τοῦ Εἰρηναίου καὶ ὡς συγγραφέως καὶ ὡς ἐπισκόπου κατὰ τὴν ἐξάσκησιν τῶν ποιμαντορικῶν αὐτοῦ καθηκόντων ὑπὸ τὴν στενὴν καὶ εὐρυτέραν αὐτῶν ἔννοιαν, ὡς ἀποδεικνύεται ἀπὸ τὴν σθεναρὰν ἀντίδρασίν του κατὰ τῆς ἀποφάσεως τοῦ Πάπα Βίκτωρος Α' (189-198) ν' ἀποκηρύξῃ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας «ὡς ἂν ἑτεροδοξούσας» καὶ νὰ διακόψῃ τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν κοινωνίαν, διότι ἐώρταζον τὸ Πάσχα κατὰ τὴν 14ην τοῦ μηνὸς Νισὰν μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Εἰς ἐπιστολήν του πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἔγραψεν ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν Γαλλίᾳ ὑπ' αὐτὸν εὑρισκομένων ἐπισκόπων, συνίστα εἰς αὐτὸν ν' ἀποφύγῃ νὰ προβῇ εἰς τὴν ἀποκοπὴν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκείνων ἀπὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, διότι ἡ συνήθεια τὴν ὁποίαν τηροῦν προέρχεται ἀπὸ σεβασμὸν εἰς ἀρχαίαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας παράδοσιν. «ὁ μὲν τῆς Ρωμαίων προεστὼς Βίκτωρ ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἅμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας ἀποτέμνειν, ὡς ἂν ἑτεροδοξούσας, τῆς κοινῆς ἑνώσεως πειρᾶται, καὶ στηλιτεύει γε διὰ γραμμάτων ἀκοινωνήτους πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς· ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσί τε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταῦτ' ἠρέσκετο. ἀντιπαρακελεύονται δῆτα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἑνώσεώς τε καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν, φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτωρος· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐκ προσώπου ὢν ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστείλας, παρίσταται μὲν τῷ δεῖν ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῆς Κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον, τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτωρι προσηκόντως, ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας...»[24].

Ὑπενθύμιζε δὲ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος εἰς τὸν Βίκτωρα ὅτι αἱ ὑφιστάμεναι εἰς τὰ ἤθη καὶ ἔθιμα ποικιλίαι καὶ διαφοραὶ εἰς τὰς κατὰ τόπους Ἐκκλησίας δὲν διαφοροποιοῦν τὴν πίστιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας οὔτε καὶ ζημιοῦν τὴν ἑνότητά της. Ἄλλωστε εἶναι γεγονὸς ὅτι τόσον διὰ τὸν ἑορτασμὸν τοῦ Πάσχα ὅσον καὶ διὰ τὸ θέμα τῆς πρὸ αὐτοῦ νηστείας ὑπῆρχεν ἀνέκαθεν ποικιλία ἐν τῇ πράξει τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, πολλαὶ δὲ ἰσχύουσαι ἤδη συνήθειαι ἐπεκράτησαν ἀργότερον. Αἱ ποικιλίαι ὅμως αὐταὶ δὲν ἐμπόδισαν τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἡ δὲ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας ἐκδηλώνει τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως. «Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινάς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσιν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀκριβές, ὡς εἰκός, κρατούντων τὴν καθ' ἁπλότητα καὶ ἰδιωτισμὸν συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μετέπειτα πεποιηκότων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσάν τε καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησιν»[25].

Πρὸς ἐπίρρωσιν δὲ τῆς ἀπόψεως αὐτοῦ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐπικαλεῖται τὴν περίπτωσιν τῆς διαφωνίας κατὰ τὸ παρελθὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ 155, ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος τοῦ ἑορτασμοῦ τοῦ Πάσχα, μεταξὺ τοῦ Πάπα Ἀνικήτου καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Σμύρνης Πολυκάρπου, διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος μετέβη εἰς Ρώμην πρὸς ἐξεύρεσιν λύσεως καὶ ἄρσεως τῆς μεταξύ των διαφωνίας. Ἐπειδὴ ἀμφότεροι ὑπεστήριζον τὴν ἐξ ἀρχαίας παραδόσεως παραλαβὴν ἕκαστος τοῦ ἔθους ἑορτασμοῦ τοῦ Πάσχα, συνεφώνησαν νὰ διατηρήσωσι αὐτὴν τὴν παράδοσιν, καὶ ἀφοῦ ἐτέλεσαν τὴν θείαν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπεχωρίσθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰρηνικῶς καὶ οὕτως ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπεκράτησεν εἰς ὁλόκληρον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. «Τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισεν τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλειν κατέχειν. καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ' εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην ἐχόντων, καὶ τῶν τηρούντων καὶ τῶν μὴ τηρούντων»[26].

Ὁ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἡ εὐγενὴς αὐτὴ μορφὴ καὶ ἐξέχουσα φυσιογνωμία τόσον τῆς Ἐκ-

23. Αὐτόθι, 116, 2-14.

24. *Εὐσεβίου*, Ἐκκλ. Ἱστορ. Ε', 24, 9-12. ΒΕΠΕΣ, 19, 343, 5-18.

25. Αὐτόθι, 12-14, ΒΕΠΕΣ, 19, 343, 19-28.

26. Αὐτόθι, 16-18, ΒΕΠΕΣ, 19, 344, 1-11.

κλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας ὅσον καὶ τῆς καθόλου Ἐκκλησίας διὰ τὴν ἐπισκοπικὴν αὐτοῦ δρᾶσιν καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας του διὰ τὴν εἰρήνευσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν διατήρησιν τῆς ἑνότητός της, εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τονίζει ἰδιαιτέρως τὴν ἀναγκαιότητα τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐξαίρει τὴν σημασίαν της καὶ συνιστᾶ τὴν ἀποφυγὴν δημιουργίας σχισμάτων καὶ διαιρέσεων εἰς τοὺς κόλπους αὐτῆς.

Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ρώμῃ πρεσβύτερον Νοουατιανὸν (251), ὁ ὁποῖος ἀπεσχίσθη τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπειδὴ διεφώνησε μὲ τὸν Πάπαν τῆς Ρώμης Κορνήλιον, ποὺ ἀπεδέχετο εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τοὺς πεπτωκότας, αὐτοὺς οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔθυσαν εἰς τὰ εἴδωλα κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν τοῦ Δεκίου, τὸν παρακαλεῖ νὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ εἰς αὐτὴν μαζὶ μὲ τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς καὶ ὑποστηρικτάς του καὶ νὰ ἀποφύγῃ μὲ κάθε θυσίαν τὴν δημιουργίαν σχίσματος χάριν τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. «Διονύσιος Νοουατιανῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. εἰ ἄκων, ὡς φῄς, ἦχθης, δείξεις ἀναχωρήσας ἐκών. ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὅτι οὐν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ εἰδωλολατρῆσαι γινομένης ἡ ἕνεκεν τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μείζων... καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ πείσαις ἢ βιάσαιο τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἐλθεῖν, μεῖζον ἔσται σοι τοῦ σφάλματος τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐ λογισθήσεται, τὸ δὲ ἐπαινεθήσεται»[27].

Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν Ρώμης Στέφανον (253) διαμαρτύρεται διὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ Πάπα νὰ διακόψῃ τὰς σχέσεις του μετὰ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας, ἐπειδὴ σύμφωνα μὲ παλαιὰν συνήθειαν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν αὐτὴν ἐπανεβάπτιζον τοὺς ἐξ αἱρέσεως προσερχομένους. Ἐζήτει δὲ ἀπὸ αὐτὸν σεβασμὸν πρὸς τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν τῶν μικρασιατικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. «Τούτῳ (Στεφάνῳ) τὴν πρώτην ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν διατυποῦται, ζητήματος οὐ σμικροῦ τηνικάδε ἀνακινηθέντος, εἰ δέοι τοὺς ἐξ οἵας δ' οὖν αἱρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας διὰ λουτροῦ καθαίρειν. παλαιοῦ γέ τοι κεκρατηκότος ἔθους ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μόνῃ χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχῇ, πρῶτος τῶν τότε Κυπριανὸς τῆς Καρχηδόνα παροικίας ποιμήν, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἢ διὰ λουτροῦ πρότερον τῆς πλάνης ἀποκαθηραμένους προσίεσθαι δεῖν ἡγεῖτο. ἀλλ' ὅ γε Στέφανος μὴ δεῖν τι νεώτερον παρὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν ἀρχῆθεν παράδοσιν ἐπικαινοτομεῖν οἰόμενος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ διηγανάκτει· πλεῖστα δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ Διονύσιος ὁμιλήσας,... γράφει δὲ ὧδε... περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου λέγων ταῦτα: "ἐπεστάλκει μὲν οὖν πρότερον καὶ περὶ Ἑλένου καὶ περὶ Φιρμιλιανοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν τε ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ δῆλον ὅτι Γαλατίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἑξῆς ὁμορούντων ἐθνῶν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις κοινωνήσων διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς αἱρετικούς, φησίν, ἀναβαπτίζουσιν. καὶ σκόπει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πράγματος. ὄντως γὰρ δόγματα περὶ τούτου γέγονεν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν ἐπισκόπων συνόδοις, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ὥστε τοὺς προσιόντας ἀπὸ αἱρέσεων προκατηχηθέντας εἶτα ἀπολούεσθαι καὶ ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτου ζύμης ῥύπον. καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ πάντων δεόμενος ἐπέστειλα"»[28]. Αἱ δύο αὐταὶ περιπτώσεις ἀποτελοῦν ἁπτὰ δείγματα τῆς μεγάλης σημασίας τὴν ὁποίαν ἀπέδιδεν εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ κατ' ἐξοχὴν εἰρηνοποιὸς οὗτος ἐπίσκοπος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Ὁ Κυπριανός, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καρχηδόνος, ἐν Ἀφρικῇ, ὑπῆρξεν ἐφάμιλλος πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἦθος, τὸν ἥπιον χαρακτῆρα καὶ τὴν εὐγενῆ χριστιανικὴν ψυχήν. Τὸ ποιμαντορικὸν αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ συγγραφικὸν ἦσαν ἕνας συνεχὴς καὶ σκληρὸς ἀγὼν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἐπικρατήσεως καὶ ἐπιβιώσεως αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς διατηρήσεως τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας ἐν αὐτῇ, κατὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν στάσεων ἐκείνων ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ ἰδίως τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ Πάπα τῆς Ρώμης Στεφάνου, οἱ ὁποῖοι ὡδήγουν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰς διαίρεσιν καὶ σχίσματα.

Τὸ συγγραφικὸν αὐτοῦ ἔργον εἰς τὸ σύνολόν του ἀφορᾶ ἀποκλειστικῶς εἰς τὴν ἔκθεσιν τῆς πίστεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ διαφόρων θεμάτων ἐπὶ τῶν ὁποίων ὑπῆρχον ἤδη κατωχυρωμέναι ἐκ παραδόσεως διδασκαλίαι εἰς τὰς κατὰ τόπους ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, πρὸς τὰς ὁποίας ὁ σεβασμός του ἦτο ἀπόλυτος. Εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ εὑρίσκεται τὸ «De catholicae ecclesiae unitate»[29] (Περὶ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας), τὸ περιεχόμενον τοῦ ὁποίου ἀποδεικνύει σαφῶς ὅτι κατὰ τὸν τρίτον αἰῶνα ἦτο πλέον τεθεμελιωμένη ἡ παράδοσις ἐν τῇ καθόλου Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτὴ εἶναι Μία, καθολική, ἡνωμένη μὲ τὴν κοινὴν αὐτῆς πίστιν, ποὺ ὁμολογοῦν καὶ διακηρύσσουν ἁ-

27. *Εὐσεβίου*, Ἐκκλ. Ἱστορ. ΣΤ', 45, ΒΕΠΕΣ, 19, 383, 13-21.

28. Ἐνθ. ἀν. Ζ', II—V, 4-6, ΒΕΠΕΣ, 20, 13, 5-19, 34, σ. 14, 1-7.

29. *Maurice Bévenot*, S.J. Cyprian, Oxford Early Christian Texts, Oxford 1971, p. 56-99.

πασαι αἱ κατὰ τόπους καὶ περιοχὰς τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς Δύσεως Ἐκκλησίαι, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Μία αὕτη καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία εἶναι ἡ μόνη ποὺ παρέχει τὴν σωτηρίαν. «Ecclesia una est, quae in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur, quomodo solis multi radii sed lumen unum, et rami arboris multi sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum, et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiae largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Avelle radium solis a corpore, divisionem lucis unitas non capit; ab arbore frange ramum, fructus germinare non poterit; a fonte praecide rivum, praecisus arescit. Sic et ecclesia Domini luce perfusa per orbem totum radios suos porrigit: unum tamen lumen est quod ubique diffunditur, nec unitas corporis separatur. Ramos suos in universam terram copia ubertatis extendit, profluentes largiter rivos latius pandit: unum tamen caput est et origo una et una mater fecunditatis successibus copiosa: illius fetu nascimur, illius lacte nutrimur, spiritu eius animamur.

»...Quisque ab ecclesia segregatus adulterae iungitur, a promissis ecclesiae separatur, nec perveniet ad Christi praemia qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi: Alienus est, profanus est. hostis est. Habere non potest Deum patrem qui ecclesiam non habet matrem... Dicit Dominus: Ego et Pater unum sumus (Io. 10, 30). Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est: Et tres unum sunt (I Io. 5.7). Et quisquam credit hanc unitatem de divina firmitate venientem, sacramentis caelestibus cohaerentem, scindi in ecclesia posse et voluntatum conlidentium divirtio separari? Hanc unitatem qui non tenet, non tenet Dei legem, non tenet Patris et Filii fidem, vitam non tenet et salutem»[30].

«...Unus Deus est et Christus unus, et una ecclesia eius et fides una, et plebs in solidam corporis unitatem concordiae glutino copulata. Scindi unitas non potest nec corpus unum discidio compaginis separari...»[31].

«Ἡ Ἐκκλησία εἶναι μία, καίτοι αὕτη ἔχει ἐξαπλωθῆ καὶ ἀναπτυχθῆ εὐρύτερα εἰς πλῆθος Ἐκκλησιῶν, αὐξανομένη συνεχῶς ἐν εὐφορίᾳ. Ὅπως ἀκριβῶς αἱ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ ἡλίου αἱ ὁποῖαι εἶναι πολλαὶ ἐν τούτοις ὅμως τὸ φῶς τους εἶναι ἕνα, καὶ οἱ κλάδοι τῶν δένδρων ποὺ εἶναι πολλοὶ ἐνῷ ἡ ρίζα ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποίαν πηγάζει ἡ δύναμίς των εἶναι μία, καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ ποὺ ρέουν ἀπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν πηγὴν καὶ ἡ πολλαπλότης των φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀναβλυζόντων ὑδάτων, διατηροῦν τὴν ἑνότητά των εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποίαν ρέουν, οὕτως ἔχει καὶ ἡ σχέσις τῆς μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν (ἤτοι τῆς ἑνότητός των διαφυλασσομένης καὶ ἐξαρτωμένης πάντοτε ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς τῶν ἀκτίνων ἀπὸ τὸν ἥλιον, τῶν κλάδων ἀπὸ τὴν ρίζαν καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπὸ τὴν πηγήν). Ἀπόκοψε μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ ἡλίου, ἡ ἑνότης της δὲν ἐπιτρέπει τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ φωτός. Ἀπόσπασε ἕνα κλάδον τοῦ δένδρου, δὲν θὰ μπορέσῃ νὰ βλαστήσῃ ἐκ νέου. Φράξε ἕνα ποταμὸν ἀπὸ τὴν πηγήν του, τότε αὐτὸς θὰ ἀποξηρανθῇ. Οὕτω καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία λάμπουσα μὲ τὸ φῶς τοῦ Κυρίου χέει τὰς ἀκτῖνας της ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον, δὲν παύει δὲ νὰ ἀποτελῇ ἕνα καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ φῶς ποὺ διαχέεται πανταχοῦ χωρὶς νὰ παραβλάπτῃ καὶ χωρὶς νὰ διαιρῇ τὴν ἑνότητα τοῦ σώματος. Μὲ τὴν πλουσίαν καρποφορίαν της ἐπεκτείνει τοὺς κλάδους της ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἐκχέει ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτῆς. Εἶναι δὲ μία κεφαλή, μία πηγή, μία μητέρα. Ἐκ τῆς μήτρας αὐτῆς γεννώμεθα, ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτός της τρεφόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός της ζωοποιούμεθα.

»...Ὅποιος ἐγκαταλείπει τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ προσκολλᾶται εἰς μίαν μοιχαλίδα, ἀποκόπτει ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας της. Ὅποιος ἀπομακρύνεται ἀπὸ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δὲν δικαιοῦται τῶν ἀνταμοιβῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Αὐτὸς εἶναι ξένος πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, εἶναι ἐχθρὸς καὶ πολέμιός της. Δὲν δύνασαι νὰ ἔχῃς τὸν Θεὸν ὡς Πατέρα παρὰ μόνον ἐὰν ἔχῃς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὡς μητέρα ...Ὁ Κύριος λέγει: "Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμὲν" (Ἰωάνν. 10, 30) καὶ πάλιν περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος γέγραπται: "καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν" (Ι Ἰωάνν. 5, 7). Δύναται κανεὶς νὰ πιστεύσῃ ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ ἑνότης, ἡ ὁποία πηγάζει ἀπὸ τὸ ἀμετάβλητον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐμπερικλείεται εἰς τὰ ἐπουράνια μυστήρια, θὰ ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ διασπασθῇ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ νὰ διαιρεθῇ (διαμελισθῇ) μὲ τὴν σύγκρουσιν διαφόρων βουλήσεων; Αὐτὸς ὁ ὁποῖος δὲν διαφυλάττει αὐτὴν τὴν ἑνότητα (τῆς Ἐκκλησίας), δὲν διαφυλάττει καὶ τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ, δὲν διαφυλάττει τὴν πίστιν εἰς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, ἀποκόπτει ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ (ἔχει χάσει) τὴν σωτηρίαν».

«Ἕνας Θεὸς ὑπάρχει, ἕνας Χριστός, μία εἶναι ἡ Ἐκκλησία Του, μία εἶναι ἡ πίστις, ἕνας μόνος λαὸς τῶν πιστῶν ὑπάρχει, συνδεδεμένων διὰ τοῦ δεσμοῦ τῆς ὁμονοίας εἰς μίαν στερεὰν ἑνότητα ἑνὸς σώματος. Ἡ ἑνότης αὐτὴ δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ διασπασθῇ, οὔτε καὶ τὸ ἕνα σῶμα νὰ διαιρεθῇ μὲ ὁποιανδήποτε θραῦσιν τῆς οἰκοδομῆς του».

30. Αὐτόθι, σελ. 64, 5. 12-27.
31. Αὐτόθι, σελ. 94, 23. 19-22.

Ὁ Φιρμιλιανός, ἐπίσκοπος Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκίας, συγκαταλέγεται μεταξὺ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ποὺ ἠγωνίσθησαν διὰ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τὴν διαφύλαξιν τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτῆς. Ὑπῆρξε συναγωνιστὴς τοῦ ἱεροῦ Κυπριανοῦ καὶ συμπαραστάτης αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν διαμάχην του μετὰ τοῦ Πάπα Στεφάνου. Διεπνέετο δὲ ἀπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ὡς καὶ ὁ Κυπριανὸς ἀρχὰς καὶ πεποιθήσεις καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σεβασμὸν πρὸς τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολήν του πρὸς τὸν Κυπριανόν, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐζήτησε τὴν βοήθειάν του εἰς τὴν διένεξιν μετὰ τοῦ Πάπα Ρώμης Στεφάνου, διεμαρτύρετο διὰ τὴν συμπεριφορὰν τοῦ τελευταίου πρὸς τὰς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τὴν ἀπειλήν του νὰ διακόψῃ τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν σχέσεις καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐβάπτιζον τοὺς ἐξ αἱρέσεων προσερχομένους, τηροῦντες ἀρχαίαν παράδοσιν. Ἐκαυτηρίαζε δὲ τὰς πράξεις καὶ ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κατήγγελλεν ὡς ὑπαίτιον καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἐρίδων ποὺ ἐτάρασσον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ὡς σχισματικόν.

«Haec apostoli mandata et monita salutaria (scil. Ephes. 4, 1-6), quam diligenter Stephanus implevit, humilitatem sensus et lenitatem primo in loco servans. Quid enim humilius aut lenius quam cum tot episcopis per totum mundum dissensisse, pacem cum singulis vario discordiae genere rumpentem, modo cum orientalibus, quod nec vos latere confidimus, modo vobiscum, qui in meridie estis»[32].

«...excidisti enim te ipsum, nolli te fallere. si quidem ille est vere schismaticus, qui se a communione ecclesiasticae unitatis apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti»[33].

«Πόσον ἐπιμελῶς ὁ Στέφανος ἐκτελεῖ ταύτας τὰς σωτηριώδεις νουθεσίας καὶ ἐντολὰς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου (ἤτοι τὸ Ἐφεσ. 4, 1-6), πλήρης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ πρὸ πάντων δεικνύων πραότητα. Διότι ὑπάρχει ταπεινοφρονέστερον καὶ πραΰτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ διαφωνήσῃ μετὰ τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, νὰ διαταράξῃ τὴν εἰρήνην μόνον ἐξ ἀφορμῆς διαφόρων λόγων φιλονικίας, ποτὲ μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, ὅπερ ἐλπίζομεν νὰ μὴ διαφεύγῃ ὑμᾶς, ποτὲ δὲ μεθ' ὑμῶν, οἵτινες εὑρίσκεσθε ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ».

«Ἀπέκοψας λοιπὸν ἑαυτόν, μὴ ἐξαπάτα σεαυτόν. Σχισματικὸς εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὁποῖος ἐγένετο ἀποστάτης τῆς ὁμονοούσης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας. Φρονεῖς ὅτι δύνασαι νὰ ἀποκόψῃς ἅπαντας τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας, ἀπέκοψας σὲ (ἑαυτὸν) μόνον ἐξ ὅλων».

Τὸ περιεχόμενον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ Φιρμιλιανοῦ ἀποδεικνύει ὅτι ἡ ποικιλία εἰς συνηθείας εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἐκκλησίαν δὲν διῄρει οὔτε καὶ ἔβλαπτε τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐφ' ὅσον αἱ συνήθειαι αὐταὶ ἐβασίζοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παραδόσεως. Πᾶσα ὅμως αὐταρχικὴ ἐπιβολὴ ἀπόψεων ἢ παραδόσεων τῆς μιᾶς τοπικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐδημιούργει καὶ τὴν ἀντίδρασιν καὶ τὰς διαιρέσεις καὶ τὰ σχίσματα, διὸ καὶ ἐθεωρεῖτο ἀπόβλητος καὶ ἀπαράδεκτος, ὡς ἀντιβαίνουσα εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν.

Ὁ ἐπιδεικνυόμενος σεβασμὸς πρὸς τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν Πατέρων καὶ ἑξῆς, κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς πρώτους αἰῶνας, πρὸς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἑνότητά της συνεχίζεται καὶ ἐπαυξάνεται, καθιστάμενος ἄγραφον σχεδὸν δόγμα, κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον αἰῶνα, διὰ τοὺς μεγάλους Πατέρας καὶ Διδασκάλους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ποὺ ἤκμασαν κατ' αὐτόν, καὶ ἰδίως διὰ τὸν Μέγαν Ἀθανάσιον, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὸν Μέγαν Βασίλειον, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκίας, τῶν ὁποίων ἡ προσφορὰ εἰς τὴν διαμόρφωσιν καὶ διατύπωσιν τῆς διδασκαλίας τῆς πίστεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τῶν δύο πρώτων Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων εἶναι ἀναμφιβόλως ἀνεκτίμητος. Τόσον κατὰ τὴν ἐξάσκησιν τοῦ ταραχώδους ποιμαντορικοῦ αὐτῶν ἔργου, ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὸ συγγραφικὸν αὐτῶν ἔργον, ἠγωνίσθησαν σθεναρῶς, δυναμικῶς καὶ ἀποτελεσματικῶς διὰ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Ὁ Μέγας Ἀθανάσιος εἰς τὴν Ἐγκύκλιον Ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συλλειτουργοὺς ἐπισκόπους τῶν κατὰ τόπους Ἐκκλησιῶν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀπέστειλε κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ ἐκθρόνισιν ἀπὸ τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν θρόνον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τὴν ἐξορίαν του, περιγράφων τὰ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς του καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ποὺ ὑπέστη ἀπὸ τοὺς ἀρειανούς, τοὺς ἐθνικοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, κάμνει ἔκκλησιν εἰς πάντας νὰ σπεύσουν νὰ περισώσουν τὴν παραδεδομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πίστιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· «κινήθητε δὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, παρακαλῶ, μὴ ὡς ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὑμῶν ἀδικηθέντων καὶ ἕκαστος ὡς αὐτὸς παθὼν βοηθησάτω, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγου οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ κανόνες

32. Cyprian ep. 75, 25. CSEL. III, II, 826 (Hartel).

33. Αὐτόθι, Ἐπ. 75, 24. CSEL. III, II, 825.

καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πίστις παραφθαρῇ. κινδυνεύει γὰρ ἀμφότερα, ἐὰν μὴ ταχέως ὁ Θεὸς δι' ὑμῶν τὰ πλημμεληθέντα διορθώσηται καὶ ἐκδικίας ἡ ἐκκλησία τύχῃ. οὐ γὰρ νῦν κανόνες καὶ τύποι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐδόθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καλῶς καὶ βεβαίως παρεδόθησαν. οὐδὲ νῦν ἡ πίστις ἤρξατο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς διαβέβηκεν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχαίων μέχρις ἡμῶν τηρηθέντα ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐν ταῖς νῦν ἡμέραις παραπόληται καὶ τὰ πιστευθέντα ἡμῖν ζητηθῇ παρ' ἡμῶν, κινήθητε, ἀδελφοί, ὡς "οἰκονόμοι μυστηρίων θεοῦ" (Α' Κορ. 4, 1), τυγχάνοντες καὶ ταῦτα ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἁρπαζόμενα θεωροῦντες»[34].

Ὁ Μέγας Βασίλειος εἰς τὴν Ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας, ἀφοῦ ἐκφράζει τὴν συμπάθειαν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὅλο τὸ πλήρωμά της διὰ τὰ δεινὰ ποὺ ὑφίσταται ἀπὸ τὴν μανίαν τῶν πνευματομάχων, συνιστᾷ ἐμμονὴν πάσῃ θυσίᾳ εἰς τὴν πίστιν τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων, τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθόντων.

«...ὁ δοκιμάζων ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας διὰ μακρᾶς καὶ παρατεταμένης τῆς δοκιμασίας βούλεται ἡμᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης στεφανίτας ἀποδειχθῆναι. Μόνον ἀνένδοτον φυλασσέσθω τὸ φρόνημα ἡμῶν, ἄσειστον τὸ στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως διατηρείσθω, καὶ ἥξει ἐν τάχει ὁ ἀντιλημψόμενος ἡμῶν· ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονιεῖ...

»Πίστιν δὲ ἡμεῖς οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων γραφομένην ἡμῖν νεωτέραν παραδεχόμεθα οὔτε αὐτοὶ τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας γεννήματα παραδιδόναι τολμῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἀνθρώπινα ποιήσωμεν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ῥήματα, ἀλλ' ἅπερ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων δεδιδάγμεθα ταῦτα τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν ἡμᾶς διαγγέλλομεν. Ἔστι τοίνυν ἐκ πατέρων ἐμπολιτευομένη τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡμῶν ἡ γραφεῖσα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων πίστις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Νίκαιαν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν· ἣν ἡγούμεθα μὲν διὰ στόματος εἶναι καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐ παραιτούμεθα δέ, ἵνα μὴ ὄκνου ἔγκλημα ἀπενεγκώμεθα, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα ἐνσημᾶναι τῷ γράμματι». Ἐνταῦθα παραθέτει τὰ ἄρθρα τῆς πίστεως εἰς τὸν Τριαδικὸν Θεὸν καὶ διακηρύσσει ὅτι πάντας τοὺς ἀρνουμένους ταύτην «ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία»[35].

Εἰς τὴν Ἐπιστολὴν δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Ἀμφιλόχιον Ἰκονίου ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκλογῇ καὶ χειροτονίᾳ του εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, ἀφοῦ εὐχαριστεῖ τὸν Θεὸν διότι ἔκρινεν αὐτὸν ἄξιον καὶ τὸν ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα «ἀγαγὼν (αὐτὸν) εἰς τὰ μέσα τῆς Πισιδίας, ὥστε ἀνθρώπους ζωγρεῖν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ἕλκειν ἀπὸ τοῦ βυθοῦ εἰς τὸ φῶς τοὺς ἐζωγρημένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου θέλημα»[36], συγχαίρει καὶ νουθετεῖ αὐτόν. Χαρακτηρίζει δὲ τὴν διακονίαν του ὡς ἐπισκόπου διακονίαν ὄχι μόνον τῆς λαχούσης αὐτῷ ἐπισκοπῆς, ἀλλὰ ἁπάσης τῆς μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας. «Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἷς λαὸς πάντες οἱ εἰς Χριστὸν ἠλπικότες καὶ μία Ἐκκλησία νῦν οἱ Χριστοῦ, κἂν ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων προσαγορεύηται, χαίρει καὶ ἡ πατρὶς καὶ εὐφραίνεται ταῖς τοῦ Κυρίου οἰκονομίαις καὶ οὐχ ἡγεῖται ἕνα ἄνδρα ἐζημιῶσθαι, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑνὸς ἐκκλησίας ὅλας προσειληφέναι. Μόνον παράσχοι ὁ Κύριος καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀπόντας ἀκούειν τὴν προκοπήν σου, τὴν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν»[37].

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Ἡ σύντομος αὕτη ἀναδίφησις εἰς τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν, ποὺ ἐκπροσωπεῖ καὶ τὴν Παράδοσιν τῆς Ἐκλησίας, παρέχει εἰς ἡμᾶς τὴν μαρτυρίαν ὅτι ἡ Ἐκκλησία εἶναι μία καὶ ὅτι ἡ ἑνότης αὐτῆς ἐξαρτᾶται ἐκ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς πίστεως. Τὴν μαρτυρίαν δὲ ταύτην βασίζουν οἱ Πατέρες ἐπὶ τῆς Παραδόσεως τῆς ἀρχεγόνου Ἐκκλησίας, ἐκδηλοῦντες δι' ὅσων λέγουν καὶ ὑποστηρίζουν τὸν ἀπόλυτον καὶ ἄμετρον πρὸς τὴν Παράδοσιν ταύτην σεβασμόν.

Μὲ πρότυπον τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν Πατέρων περὶ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ περὶ τοῦ σεβασμοῦ τῆς Παραδόσεως, ἡ ὁποία κατοχυρώνει τὴν ἑνότητα ταύτην, δυνάμεθα, νομίζω, νὰ προβῶμεν εἰς τὴν θεώρησιν τῶν Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν σήμερον πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν τῆς ἑνότητός των.

Τὸ φαινόμενον τῶν διαιρέσεων ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲν ἦτο κάτι τὸ ἐντελῶς ξένον εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Μιᾶς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ὁριστικοῦ σχίσματος μεταξὺ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, διαιρέσεις ἀπαντῶνται καὶ εἰς τοὺς πρώτους αἰῶνας καὶ ἰδίως κατὰ τὸν τέταρτον καὶ πέμπτον αἰῶνα, ὡς πληροφορούμεθα ἀπὸ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, οἱ ὁποῖοι καὶ ἀντέκρουσαν τὰς αἱρέσεις αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐδημιούργησαν τὰς διαιρέσεις.

Πλὴν τῶν Γνωστικῶν καὶ Ἰουδαΐζουσῶν αἱρέσεων, αἱ ὁποῖαι κατεπολεμήθησαν καὶ ἐξουδετερώθησαν ἐν τῇ ἀναπτύξει των, ὑπάρχουν αἱ μεγάλαι ἐρι-

34. ΒΕΠΕΣ, 31, 195, 6-18.

35. Ἔνθ. ἀν. 55, Ἐπ. 140, 167, 26· πρβλ. καὶ Ἐπ. 258, 55, 317, 9 ἑξ.

36. Ἔνθ. ἀν. Ἐπ. 161, 55, 186.

37. Αὐτόθι, 17-23.

δες περὶ τὸ Τριαδολογικὸν καὶ Χριστολογικὸν πρόβλημα ποὺ ἐδημιούργησαν διαιρέσεις εἰς τὴν τότε Ἐκκλησίαν. Τὸ Χριστολογικὸν θέμα, τὸ ὁποῖον ἰδίως συνετάραξε τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τὸν πέμπτον αἰῶνα, ἐπέφερε τὸν διαχωρισμὸν ἀπὸ τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν καταδικασθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων ὀπαδῶν τοῦ Μονοφυσιτισμοῦ καὶ Μονοθελητισμοῦ. Ὑπῆρξε λοιπὸν ἕνα καθαρῶς ζήτημα δογματικῆς ἑνότητος καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀδιαίρετον Μίαν Ἐκκλησίαν λόγῳ θεολογικῶν διαφωνιῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι ὅμως δὲν ἦσαν τόσον βαθεῖαι ὡς πρὸς αὐτὴν ταύτην τὴν πίστιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Διαπρεπὴς θεολόγος τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὁ Dr. G. L. Prestige, ἔγραφε πρὸ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε ἐτῶν περὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν:

«The problem of the fifth century may... fitly serve as an introduction to the problem of the twentieth.

»It is true that the modern reunion problem is immensely complicated by vital questions of Church order and institutions, which did not arise in the fifth century, because on those questions all parties held similar views and practised identical principles. This makes the problem more difficult, but does not make it essentially different, for allthe serious questions about order are at bottom questions about faith... Church order is relevant to Church union only in so far as it is relevant to the doctrine of the Church, in other words, the difficulties which have to be surmounted are not merely institutional but theological, and must be theologically solved. We are brought back to the point that the unity of the Church depends on the unity of the faith»[38].

«Τὸ πρόβλημα τῆς διαιρέσεως κατὰ τὸν πέμπτον αἰῶνα δύναται νὰ χρησιμοποιηθῇ καταλλήλως ὡς μία εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα τοῦ εἰκοστοῦ αἰῶνος. Εἶναι ἀληθὲς ὅτι τὸ σύγχρονον πρόβλημα τῆς ἑνότητος τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν εἶναι τρομερὰ περιπεπλεγμένον μὲ ζωτικὰ θέματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως καὶ θεσμῶν, τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν ἔκαμον τὴν ἐμφάνισίν των κατὰ τὸν πέμπτον αἰῶνα, ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν θεμάτων ἐκείνων ὑπῆρχε ταυτότης ἀπόψεων ἀπ' ὅλα τὰ ἐνδιαφερόμενα μέρη καὶ ταυτότης ἀρχῶν ἐν τῇ πράξει. Τοῦτο καθιστᾷ τὸ πρόβλημα περισσότερον δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ δὲν τὸ διαφοροποιεῖ οὐσιαστικά, καθότι ὅλα τὰ σοβαρὰ θέματα περὶ τῆς τάξεως βασικὰ εἶναι θέματα πίστεως... Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τάξις σχετίζεται μὲ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐφ' ὅσον σχετίζεται αὐτὴ μὲ τὸ δόγμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Μὲ ἄλλας λέξεις αἱ δυσκολίαι αἱ ὁποῖαι πρέπει νὰ (ὑπερπηδηθοῦν) ὑπερνικηθοῦν δὲν εἶναι ἁπλῶς καὶ μόνον θεσμικαὶ ἀλλὰ θεολογικαὶ καὶ πρέπει νὰ λυθοῦν θεολογικῶς. Ἐπανερχόμεθα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ σημεῖον ὅτι ἡ ἑνότης τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως».

Ὑφίσταται ὅμως σημαντικὴ διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ φαινομένου τῶν διαιρέσεων εἰς τὴν ἀρχέγονον καὶ Μίαν ἀδιαίρετον Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοῦ φαινομένου τῆς διαιρέσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σήμερον, ποὺ ἐγκατέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ 11ου αἰῶνος, τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν αὐτῇ, διηυρύνθη ἀπὸ τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνος, καὶ συνεχίζεται ἔκτοτε μέχρι τῶν ἡμερῶν μας. Ἐνταῦθα ἔχομεν διάσπασιν τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ διαίρεσιν αὐτῆς ποὺ ἐδημιουργήθη ἀπὸ τὴν ἀποστασίαν ἐκ τῆς καθιερωμένης ἀπὸ κοινοῦ πίστεως τῆς Μιᾶς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, βάσει τῆς διδασκαλίας τῶν Πατέρων καὶ τῆς Παραδόσεως, ὑπὸ τῶν Οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων.

Ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς διαιρέσεως ταύτης ὑπῆρξεν, ὡς ἐλέχθη ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν διηρημένων Ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνεξάρτητος ρύθμισις τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν, ἡ ὁποία, ὁμοῦ μὲ τὰς καινοτομίας ποὺ ὡδήγησαν εἰς τὸ σχίσμα, ἐδημιούργησε τὴν περὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν διαφορὰν καὶ τὸ μέγα χάσμα, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ γεφύρωσις μόνον μὲ μίαν ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὴν πίστιν τῆς Μιᾶς, πρὸ τοῦ σχίσματος, Ἐκκλησίας δύναται νὰ ἐπιτευχθῇ. Καὶ ἡ πίστις αὕτη εἶναι τεθησαυρισμένη εἰς τὴν Παράδοσιν καὶ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῶν Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. «Ἡ διδασκαλία αὕτη τῶν Πατέρων», κατὰ τὸν μεγάλον ὀρθόδοξον θεολόγον Γεώργιον Φλωρόφσκυ, «εἶναι τὸ ἴδιον ἁπλοῦν κήρυγμα, τὸ ὁποῖον παρεδόθη καὶ ἐφυλάχθη διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἅπαξ καὶ διὰ παντός. Ἀλλὰ ἦτο ἐπάναγκες ἵνα κυρίως καὶ πλήρως ἐναρθρωθῇ καὶ ἀναπτυχθῇ εἰς συμπαγὲς σῶμα μεμαρτυρημένης συνδέσεως· ἀνεπτυγμένης διὰ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὅμως διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἰδίου Πνεύματος. Τὸ ἀποστολικὸν κήρυγμα ζῇ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ἐν τῇ ἐννοίᾳ ταύτῃ ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν Πατέρων ἀποτελεῖ μόνιμον κατηγόρημα τῆς χριστιανικῆς ὑπάρξεως, σταθερὸν καὶ τελικὸν μέτρον καὶ κριτήριον τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως. Ἑπομένως ἡ στροφὴ ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πατέρας εἶναι κάτι περισσότερον ἀπὸ ἁπλῆν ἱστορικὴν ἀναδρομὴν εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν ἢ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. Οἱ Πατέρες δὲν εἶναι μόνον μάρτυρες τῆς ἀρχαίας πίστεως, testes antiquitatis, ἀλλὰ εἶναι καὶ μάρτυρες τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως, testes veritatis. Ὁ ὅρος νοῦς ἢ φρόνημα τῶν Πατέρων εἶναι ἐσωτερικῆς ἀναφορᾶς ἐν τῇ ὀρ-

38. *G.L.Prestige*, Fathers and Heretics, S.P.C.K. London 1940, p. 365-366.

θοδόξῳ θεολογίᾳ, μὴ ὑπολειπόμενος τοῦ λόγου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Γραφῇ καὶ ὄντως οὐδέποτε ἀπὸ αὐτῆς χωριζόμενος»[39].

Ἡ ἐπιστροφὴ εἰς τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ παράδοσιν ἐπιβάλλεται, διότι εἰς αὐτὴν εὑρίσκεται ἡ ἀκραιφνὴς πίστις τῆς Μιᾶς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, ἀπηλλαγμένη ἀπὸ τὰς καινοτομίας ποὺ εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αἱ διῃρημέναι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Ἐκκλησίαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ σχίσματος καὶ ἐντεῦθεν. Οὐδόλως δὲ εὐσταθεῖ ἡ κατηγορία καὶ ἡ ἐπικρατοῦσα ἀντίληψις ὅτι ἡ ἐμμονὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ σχίσματος ὀφείλεται εἰς τὴν λῆξιν τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Πατέρων δι' αὐτήν. Ἡ ἀντίληψις αὐτὴ εἶναι ἐσφαλμένη, ὡς ὑπεστήριξε καὶ ὁ ἐκ τῶν πρωτοπόρων καὶ πρωταγωνιστῶν τῆς Διαχριστιανικῆς συνεργασίας καὶ τῆς Οἰκουμενικῆς Κινήσεως, ὁ ὁραματιστὴς τῶν σημερινῶν Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων, διακεκριμένος ὀρθόδοξος θεολόγος Ἀμίλκας Ἀλιβιζᾶτος, δι' ὅσων διετύπωσεν εἰς τὴν ἀνακοίνωσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει του εἰς Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν: «Ἐπὶ τελείᾳ παρεξηγήσει τοῦ ἄλλην ἔννοιαν ἔχοντος παροιμιακοῦ ἀποφθέγματος "μὴ μέταιρε ὅρια αἰώνια, ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ Πατέρες σου", παραβλέπεται τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι οὐσιαστικῶς οὔτε οἱ Πατέρες ἔθεσαν περιοριστικὰ ὅρια, διότι τὰ βασικὰ ἀμετακίνητα ἀληθῶς ὅρια τῆς πίστεως τὰ ὁποῖα ἁπλῶς οὗτοι ἀνέπτυξαν, τὰ ἔθεσεν πρότερον αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστός, μὲ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τῆς μιᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστεως καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτῆς ἑνότητος, οὔτε ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ἡ καθ' ἑαυτὴν μεγάλη αὕτη σαγήνη τοῦ πνευματικοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἐκήρυξεν ἑαυτὴν στεῖραν ἁγιότητος καὶ πνευματικότητος, κινήσεως δηλ. καὶ προόδου ζωῆς. Διότι αὕτη δύναται εἰς πᾶσαν ἐποχὴν καὶ γενεὰν καὶ Ἁγίους Πατέρας νὰ παράγῃ καὶ δόγματα νὰ θεσπίζῃ καὶ κατὰ τὰ παρ' αὐτῇ κρατοῦντα καὶ πρέποντα νὰ ἐξελίσσεται ἐν τῇ ζωῇ, ἐφ' ὅσον καθοδηγεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ζῇ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἶναι οἰκονόμος τῶν ἱερῶν μυστηρίων, δι' ὧν πάντων φωτίζονται καὶ ἁγιάζονται αἰωνίως οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ ταύτην κατὰ τὰς ἀτελειώτους γενεὰς τῆς Οἰκουμένης ἀποτελοῦντες»[40].

Ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία τὴν ἀνάγκην ταύτην τῆς ἀναδρομῆς εἰς τοὺς Πατέρας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας διὰ τὴν ἀνεύρεσιν τῆς κοινῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτῆς διετύπωσε πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας Ἐκκλησίας ἤδη ἀπὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν Διεκκλησιαστικῶν ἐπαφῶν καὶ τῆς Διεκκλησιαστικῆς συνεργασίας κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον τέταρτον τοῦ αἰῶνος μας, καὶ ἰδιαίτερα εἰς τὴν Παγκόσμιον Κίνησιν «Πίστις καὶ Τάξις» ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδρύσεώς της κατὰ τὸ 1925, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὰ μεγάλα καὶ παγκόσμια συνέδρια αὐτῆς, εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα καὶ ἀνέπτυξε διὰ τῶν ἐκπροσώπων της τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ παράδοσιν περὶ τῶν βασικῶν καὶ οὐσιωδῶν θεμάτων τῆς πίστεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Δὲν ἔπαυσε δὲ νὰ πράττῃ τοῦτο τόσον εἰς τὸ Παγκόσμιον Συμβούλιον τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν κατὰ τὰ 37 ἔτη τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ, ὅσον καὶ εἰς τὰς διμερεῖς θεολογικὰς συναντήσεις μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐκκλησιῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι προηγήθησαν τῶν ἐπὶ πανορθοδόξου ἐπιπέδου Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων καὶ ἀπετέλεσαν τὴν βάσιν αὐτῶν. Εἶναι γεγονὸς ἀναμφισβήτητον ὅτι ἡ συμβολὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ ἐκτίμησιν τῆς πατερικῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ παραδόσεως ὑπὸ τῶν Προτεσταντικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι εἶναι Ἐκκλησίαι-μέλη τοῦ Π.Σ.Ε., εἶναι τῷ ὄντι μεγάλη καὶ πολύτιμος. Ἀπόρροια αὐτῆς θεωρεῖται καὶ τὸ κείμενον «ΒΕΜ», «Βάπτισμα, Εὐχαριστία, Ἱερωσύνη», ποὺ κατήρτισεν ἡ Ἐπιτροπὴ «Πίστις καὶ Τάξις» τοῦ Π.Σ.Ε. μὲ σκοπὸν τὴν θεμελιώδη συμφωνίαν ἐπὶ τῶν τριῶν τούτων θεμάτων ὅλων τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν-μελῶν τοῦ Π.Σ.Ε.

Ἡ ραγδαία ἐξέλιξις, ἡ ὁποία παρετηρήθη εἰς τὰς σχέσεις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς 11ης ἑκατονταετηρίδος κατ' ἀρχήν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς 16ης καὶ μετέπειτα διῃρημένων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων Ἐκκλησιῶν, κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὰς τελευταίας δύο δεκαετίας, μὲ τὴν καθιέρωσιν τῶν Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς θρησκευτικῆς Μεταρρυθμίσεως εἰς τὴν Δύσιν προελθουσῶν Διαμαρτυρομένων Ἐκκλησιῶν μὲ σκοπὸν νὰ ἐπανεύρουν καὶ νὰ ἐπανακτήσουν τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, μόνον ὡς θαῦμα καὶ ὡς ἔργον καὶ εὐλογία Θεοῦ δύναται νὰ χαρακτηρισθῇ.

Ἡ θαυματουργικὴ αὐτὴ ἐπανασύνδεσις τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μὲ ἀδελφικοὺς δεσμούς, ποὺ τοὺς διαπνέει τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀγάπης, τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας, τὰ διακριτικὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τῆς πατερικῆς διδασκαλίας, τὰ ὁποῖα διεσφάλιζον τὴν κοινὴν πίστιν καὶ ἑνότητα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, μέσα εἰς ἕνα τόσον βραχὺ χρονι-

39. Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς καὶ ἡ Πατερικὴ Παράδοσις, Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς, Θεσσαλονίκη 1960, 43, σελ. 103.

40. *Ἀμίλκα Ἀλιβιζάτου*, Ὁ Φιλελεύθερος χαρακτήρ, τὸ κατ' ἐξοχὴν γνώρισμα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, Ἀνάτυπον ἐκ τῶν Πρακτικῶν τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, Ἀθῆναι 1963, σελ. 50.

κὸν διάστημα, καὶ μετὰ ἀπὸ μίαν μακραίωνα περίοδον διαιρέσεως καὶ ἀποτελματωμένων σχέσεων, ἐπιβεβαιώνει ἀσφαλῶς ὅτι οἱ ἐγκαινιασθέντες ἀπό τινος χρόνου καὶ διεξαγόμενοι σήμερον Θεολογικοὶ Διάλογοι μεταξὺ αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατευθύνονται ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος.

Αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι ὑπὸ τὴν κατεύθυνσιν καὶ χειραγωγίαν ταύτην καλοῦνται νὰ συνεχίσουν τοὺς Θεολογικοὺς Διαλόγους. Ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν Πατέρων, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ἀνευρίσκεται ἡ κοινὴ πίστις τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ὀφείλει νὰ εἶναι ἡ βάσις τῶν θεολογικῶν συζητήσεων.

Εἰς τοὺς διεξαγομένους σήμερον Θεολογικοὺς Διαλόγους κοινὴ εἶναι ἡ πεποίθησις ὅλων, ὅτι ἄνευ τῆς πατερικῆς διδασκαλίας εἶναι ἀδύνατος ἡ πρόοδος καὶ προαγωγὴ τῶν Διαλόγων. Τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον ὅμως διὰ τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀποδοχὴν αὐτῆς ὡς βάσεως καὶ κριτηρίου διὰ τὰς θεολογικὰς συζητήσεις ποικίλλει ἀνάλογα πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογιακὴν πίστιν τῶν διαλεγομένων Ἐκκλησιῶν. Διὸ καὶ ἡ διεξαγωγὴ ἐνίων Θεολογικῶν Διαλόγων καθίσταται δύσκολος καὶ προβληματική. Ἡ δὲ ἐφαρμογὴ διαφορετικῆς μεθοδολογίας καὶ θεματολογίας ἀναγκαία καὶ ἀπαραίτητος.

Ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας εἰς τοὺς Διαλόγους αὐτῆς μετὰ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, αἱ ὁποῖαι προῆλθον ἀπὸ τὴν Θρησκευτικὴν Μεταρρύθμισιν εἰς τὴν Δύσιν καὶ ἔχουν ἀποκόψει ἑαυτὰς ἀπὸ τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν παράδοσιν, ὑπῆρξε καὶ πρέπει νὰ συνεχίσῃ νὰ εἶναι μία συνεχὴς μαρτυρία τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐκφράζει ἡ πατερικὴ διδασκαλία.

Ἡ βραδεῖα πορεία διὰ τὴν καρποφορίαν τῶν Θεολογικῶν αὐτῶν Διαλόγων δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀποθαρρύνῃ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὴν συνέχισιν τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῆς, καὶ δὴ ὅταν ἡ συνέχισις αὐτῶν τυγχάνει εὐσεβὴς καὶ διακαὴς ἐπιθυμία τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Μεταρρυθμίσεως. Ὡς πρὸς τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τῆς Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς, μετὰ τῆς ὁποίας ἡ Ὀρθόδοξος Ἐκκλησία ἔχει κοινὴν κληρονομίαν τὴν διδασκαλίαν τῶν Πατέρων καὶ τὴν κοινὴν πίστιν τῆς πρὸ τοῦ σχίσματος ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, ἡ ἐφαρμογὴ εἰς τὸν Διάλογον αὐτὸν διαφόρου μεθοδολογίας καὶ θεματολογίας ἀπὸ τοὺς λοιποὺς Διαλόγους ἐπιβάλλεται.

Τὰ θέματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁποίων συμπίπτει εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ἡ διδασκαλία τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν εἶναι πολλὰ καὶ γνωστά. Αἱ συζητήσεις δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς λεπτομερείας, ποὺ μποροῦν νὰ φθάσουν μέχρι τῶν διαφορῶν καὶ τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν ἠθῶν καὶ ἐθίμων τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ ἐλάχιστα προσφέρουν καὶ τὴν πορείαν τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου ἐπιβραδύνουν.

Ἀντιθέτως ἡ μελέτη καὶ ἐξέτασις μὲ κριτήρια τὴν πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ παράδοσιν ἐπιμάχων θεμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐδημιούργησε τὸ σχίσμα καὶ ἐπηύξησεν ἡ ἐπὶ μίαν σχεδὸν χιλιετηρίδα διαίρεσις καὶ διακοπὴ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν, θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ καταστήσῃ τὸν ἤδη διεξαγόμενον Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον περισσότερον ἐπωφελῆ καὶ ἐλπιδοφόρον διὰ τὸ μέλλον καὶ ἐπιτυχῆ τὴν ἔκβασίν του. Τὴν ὕπαρξιν κοινῆς κληρονομίας Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὴν διεξαγωγὴν τοῦ Διαλόγου ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει αὐτῆς, ἡ ὁποία εἰς τὸ μεγαλύτερον μέρος της κατὰ τὴν πρώτην χιλιετηρίδα τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐκπροσωπεῖ τὴν ἀκραιφνῆ περὶ τῆς ἑνότητος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πατερικὴν διδασκαλίαν, διετύπωσε καὶ ὁ Πάπας Ἰωάννης Παῦλος ὁ Β' εἰς τὴν προσφώνησίν του πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιπροσωπείαν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου, ἡ ὁποία παρέστη εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς ποὺ ὠργανώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου. «Ὁ διάλογος μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν μας εὑρίσκει τὸ σταθερό του θεμέλιο εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐζήσαμε μαζὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτη χιλιετηρίδα παρ' ὅλες τὶς ἐντάσεις ποὺ δὲν ἔλειψαν κατὰ τὴν περίοδον αὐτήν. Αἱ Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι ὑπῆρξαν ἡ ἔκφρασις εἰς τὸ ἀνώτατο ἐπίπεδο τῆς συνοδικῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. Διετύπωσαν καὶ διεκήρυξαν τὴν ἀποστολικὴ πίστιν, ὑπερασπίζοντας αὐτὴν ἀπὸ κάθε ἀλλοίωσιν... Εὑρισκόμεναι εἰς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς πίστεως αὐτῆς, αἱ Σύνοδοι ἐξέφραζον συγχρόνως τὸν μεγαλύτερο δυνατὸ σεβασμὸ πρὸς τὴν νόμιμη ποικιλία ἐκφράσεως τῆς πίστεως αὐτῆς ὅπως διεμορφώθη εἰς τοὺς διαφορετικοὺς λειτουργικούς, πειθαρχικοὺς καὶ θεολογικοὺς τύπους τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ τῆς Δύσεως. Ἂς ἐνθυμηθῶμεν πῶς, εἰς τοὺς πρώτους χριστιανικοὺς χρόνους, ὁ Κλήμης ὁ Ρώμης ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Κορίνθου, καὶ πῶς ὁ Ἰγνάτιος ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἔγραφεν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ρώμης. Ἂς θυμηθοῦμε τὸν ἅγιο Εἰρηναῖο καὶ τὸ ἔργο του... Μὲ τὸν Θεολογικὸν Διάλογον δοκιμάζομε νὰ ἐπανεύρωμε μαζὶ μία κοινὴν ἔκφρασιν τῆς πίστεώς μας, ὡς πρὸς τὰ σημεῖα

εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα διαφορετικαὶ ἐξελίξεις εἶχαν δημιουργήσει παρεξηγήσεις καὶ διαφωνίας. Αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἱ ὁποῖαι ὡδήγησαν τοὺς Πατέρας μας εἰς τὸ νὰ διατηρήσουν τὴν κοινωνία τους μέσα εἰς τὸν σεβασμὸν τῆς ποικιλίας τῶν ἐθίμων καὶ τῶν θεολογικῶν ἐκφράσεων ὀφείλουν νὰ μᾶς ὁδηγήσουν εἰς τὸ νὰ ἀποκαταστήσωμε μεταξύ μας τὴν πλήρη κοινωνία»[41].

Ἡ ἄρσις τῶν παρεξηγήσεων καὶ διαφωνιῶν ἐντάσσεται ἀσφαλῶς μέσα εἰς τὰ πλαίσια τόσον τοῦ συνεχιζομένου Διαλόγου τῆς ἀγάπης ὅσον καὶ τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ, ὁ ὁποῖος, κατὰ τὸν Πάπαν Ἰωάννην Παῦλον τὸν Β', ἀνθίζει χάρις εἰς τὸν πρῶτον. «Σήμερα αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι μας συναντῶνται μέσα εἰς τὸ αὐθεντικὸ πνεῦμα ἀδελφοσύνης, τὸ ὁποῖο χαρακτηρίζει τὰς σχέσεις μεταξὺ ἀδελφῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν. Μετὰ ἀπὸ αἰῶνες συναντώμεθα καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν Διάλογον τῆς ἀγάπης, εἰς τὰ πλαίσια τοῦ ὁποίου ἀνθίζει ὁ Θεολογικὸς Διάλογος»[42].

Παρομοίαν πρὸς τὴν ὡς ἄνω ἄποψιν διετύπωσεν ὁ Πάπας Ἰωάννης Παῦλος ὁ Β' καὶ κατὰ τὴν προσφώνησιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιπροσωπείαν τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου κατὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ παρελθόντος ἔτους ἐν Ρώμῃ, ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου: «A sound and really fruitful continuation of the theological dialogue will need to be supported by that wider dialogue which we call the dialogue of charity»[43]. «Μία ὑγιὴς καὶ πράγματι καρποφόρα συνέχεια τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου θὰ χρειασθῇ νὰ εἶναι ἐνισχυμένη ἀπὸ τὸν εὐρύτερο διάλογο τὸν ὁποῖον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμε διάλογο τῆς ἀγάπης».

Εἶναι γεγονὸς ἀναμφισβήτητον ὅτι κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τοῦ Διαλόγου τῆς ἀγάπης, ὁ ὁποῖος ὀφείλεται πρωτίστως εἰς τὰς πρωτοβούλους ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰς ἀόκνους προσπαθείας τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ Α' (1948-1972) καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀνταπόκρισιν εἰς αὐτὰς τῶν Παπῶν τῆς Ρώμης Ἰωάννου τοῦ ΚΓ' (1958-1963) καὶ Παύλου τοῦ ΣΤ' (1963-1978) καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐπισήμου ἐνάρξεως τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1980, ἐν Πάτμῳ καὶ Ρόδῳ, ἔλαβον χώραν μεγάλης ἱστορικῆς σημασίας γεγονότα, ὑψίστης σπουδαιότητος διὰ τὴν ἑνότητα τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν, Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ Ὀρθοδόξου, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐδημιούργησαν «τὸ αὐθεντικὸ πνεῦμα ἀδελφοσύνης» ποὺ ἐπικρατεῖ σήμερον μεταξὺ αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον ἔκαμε λόγον εἰς τὴν ὡς ἄνω προσφώνησίν του ὁ Πάπας τῆς Ρώμης Ἰωάννης Παῦλος ὁ Β'. Τὰ γεγονότα αὐτὰ εἶναι ἡ συνάντησις τῶν δύο Προκαθημένων τῆς Ρώμης καὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Παύλου τοῦ ΣΤ' καὶ Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ Α' εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ἱερὰν πόλιν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἡ ἄρσις τῶν ἀναθεμάτων, τῶν ἐξενεχθέντων κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1054, ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας ἐναντίον ἀλλήλων τῶν ἐκπροσώπων τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν Ρώμης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τὰ ὁποῖα ὡδήγησαν εἰς τὴν πλήρη διάσπασιν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κοινωνίας μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν, ἡ ἐπίσκεψις τοῦ Προκαθημένου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης Πάπα Παύλου τοῦ ΣΤ' εἰς τὸ Οἰκουμενικὸν Πατριαρχεῖον, κατὰ τὸ 1967, ἡ συμπροσευχὴ τῶν δύο Προκαθημένων εἰς τὸν Πατριαρχικὸν Ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου καὶ ἡ προσευχὴ τὴν ὁποίαν ἔκαμε γονυκλινὴς ὁ Πάπας Παῦλος ἐντὸς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας κατὰ τὴν προσκυνηματικὴν ἐπίσκεψίν του εἰς αὐτόν, διὰ τὴν ἄρσιν καὶ ἐξάλειψιν τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξενεχθέντων ἀναθεμάτων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκπροσώπων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης κατὰ τὸ 1054, ἡ ἀντίστοιχος ἐπίσκεψις τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ Α' εἰς τὴν Ρώμην, τὸν Ὀκτώβριον τοῦ 1967, καὶ ἡ συμπροσευχή του μετὰ τοῦ Πάπα τῆς Ρώμης εἰς τὸν Καθεδρικὸν Ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου.

Τὰ γεγονότα αὐτὰ ἀποδεικνύουν ὅτι καὶ σήμερον ποὺ συνεχίζονται καὶ οἱ δύο Διάλογοι, ὁ τῆς Ἀγάπης καὶ ὁ Θεολογικός, μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν, θὰ ἦτο δυνατὸν μὲ τὰς πρωτοβούλους ἐνεργείας τοῦ Προκαθημένου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης νὰ ἀρθοῦν ὡρισμέναι παρεξηγήσεις καὶ διαφωνίαι ποὺ ὑφίστανται ἀκόμη μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ δὲν ἅπτονται τῆς πίστεως, καὶ αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐμπίπτουν μέσα εἰς τὰ πλαίσια τοῦ Διαλόγου τῆς ἀγάπης. Εἶναι καιρὸς διὰ σταθερὰς καὶ θετικὰς πρωτοβούλους ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἐνεργείας εἰς τὰς προσπαθείας νὰ ἐπιτευχθῇ ἡ ἑνότης τῆς πίστεως.

Ὁ Πάπας τῆς Ρώμης Ἰωάννης Παῦλος εἰς τὴν προσφώνησιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν Πατριαρχικὴν Ἀντιπροσωπείαν κατὰ τὸ παρελθὸν ἔτος, περὶ τῆς ὁποίας ἐγένετο λόγος ἀνωτέρω, ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι: «Mutual love, candid dialogue to bring out the whole truth, and steadily closer contacts, will bring Catholics and Orthodox to full communion of faith within a variety of liturgical, disciplinary spiritual and theological traditions»[44]. «Ἀμοιβαία ἀγάπη, εἰλικρινὴς διάλογος, νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς φῶς ἡ ἀλήθεια ὁλόκληρος, καὶ σταθερὰ στενώτεραι ἐπαφαὶ θὰ φέρουν τοὺς Καθο-

41. Ἐπίσκεψις, Ἀρ. 340, 1985, σελ. 6.
42. Αὐτόθι.
43. L' Osservatore Romano, 9 July 1985, p. 7.
44. Αὐτόθι.

λικοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ὀρθοδόξους εἰς πλήρη κοινωνίαν τῆς πίστεως, μέσα εἰς μίαν ποικιλίαν τῶν λειτουργικῶν, πειθαρχικῶν, πνευματικῶν καὶ θεολογικῶν παραδόσεων».

Ἐὰν ὅλαι αὐταὶ αἱ παραδόσεις περιλαμβάνωνται μέσα εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πατερικῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ παραδόσεως καὶ εἰς τὴν περίοδον τῆς ἀδιαιρέτου Ἐκκλησίας, «δύνανται ἐλευθέρως, κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἑκατέρας τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, ἵνα ἀποτελέσωσιν ἴδια ἑκάστης βιώματα καὶ γνωρίσματα, σεβαστὰ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ»[45], ἐὰν ὅμως εἰς τὴν ἐποχὴν τῆς ἐπὶ μακροὺς αἰῶνας διαιρέσεως τῶν δύο Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐπίλυσίς των μέσα εἰς τὰ πλαίσια τοῦ διαλόγου τῆς ἀγάπης εἶναι ἀπαραίτητος πρὸς διευκόλυνσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πρόοδον τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου.

Νομίζω ὅτι θὰ ἦτο ὀρθὸν νὰ κατακλείσω τὴν μελέτην αὐτὴν μὲ ὅσα περὶ Διαλόγου ἀνέφερεν ὁ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Ἀθηναγόρας ὁ Α′ εἰς τὴν προσφώνησίν του εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν τῆς Ρώμης Παῦλον τὸν ΣΤ′: «Δὲν δυνάμεθα...ἵνα προσδιορίσωμεν τὸ μῆκος τῆς πορείας (τοῦ Διαλόγου) ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόθεσις πίστεως ἐπὶ τὴν τελικὴν ἔκβασιν πολλῶν προσευχῶν, ἁγίας ὑπομονῆς, ἐπιμελοῦς ἐργασίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸ παντὸς ὑπόθεσις ἀγάπης. Διότι μόνον ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ θὰ δυνηθῶμεν νὰ ἀποκαθάρωμεν ὅλα τὰ ἀρνητικὰ στοιχεῖα ἐκ τῆς κληρονομίας τοῦ παρελθόντος, ἄρωμεν τὰ ἐπιπροσθοῦντα ἐμπόδια, ἀποκαταστήσωμεν πλήρως τὴν ἀμοιβαίαν ἀδελφικὴν ἐμπιστοσύνην, καὶ ἐν ἀλληλοσεβασμῷ καταρτίζοντες μίαν νέαν νοοτροπίαν, τὴν τῆς ἐγγύτητος, οἰκοδομήσωμεν σταθερῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὴν ἑνότητα ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Ὅς ἐστὶν ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας»[46].

45. Τόμος Ἀγάπης, Ρώμη-Ἰσταμπούλ, 1971, σελ. 414.

46. Αὐτόθι, σελ. 414-415.

# ΤΑ ΣΧΟΛΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ Μ. ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ

Ὑπὸ

*Ἐπισκόπου Τροπαίου Γρηγορίου*

Τὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρετανίας ἱδρύθηκαν μὲ τὴν πρωτοβουλία τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ κοινοτήτων γιὰ νὰ πληρώσουν ἐκπαιδευτικές, θρησκευτικὲς καὶ ποιμαντικὲς ἀνάγκες τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων μεταναστῶν τῆς Μεγάλης Βρετανίας.

Ἡ διοίκηση, ἡ συντήρηση καὶ ἡ λειτουργία τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν σχολείων εἶναι κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν κηδεμονία τῶν κοινοτικῶν, τῶν τοπικῶν κοινοτικῶν παραγόντων, τῶν γονέων καὶ κληρικῶν τῆς ἐνορίας.

Ὁ ἱερὸς Κλῆρος διαδραμάτισε καὶ συνεχίζει νὰ παίζει σπουδαιότατο ρόλο γιὰ τὴν πρόοδο καὶ σωστὴ ὀργάνωση τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ σχολείου. Κληρικοὶ καὶ λαϊκοὶ παράγοντες πυρωμένοι ἀπὸ ἱερὸ ζῆλο συνεργάζονται γιὰ τὴν αὐθύπαρξη, τὴν αὐτοτέλεια, τὴν αὐτοσυντήρηση καὶ πρόοδο τοῦ κοινοτικοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ σχολείου.

Ἔχοντες αὐτὰ ὑπόψη συστήνουμε καὶ προτείνουμε νὰ ἐνισχυθεῖ καὶ νὰ ἐνθαρρυνθεῖ πιὸ πολὺ ὁ τοπικὸς παράγοντας. Οἱ γονεῖς, οἱ ἐθελοντὲς καὶ οἱ φίλοι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ὀρθόδοξης παιδείας καλοῦνται νὰ αὐξήσουν τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον καὶ τὴν προσφορά τους γιὰ τὸ ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο. Ἴσως θὰ πρέπει νὰ μελετηθοῦν οἱ τρόποι ἐξασφαλίσεως καὶ ἀξιοποιήσεως ἐκείνων ποὺ μποροῦν νὰ προσφέρουν ἐθελοντικὰ τὶς ὑπηρεσίες τους γιὰ τὴ διδασκαλία τῆς γλώσσας, τῆς θρησκείας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν μας.

Οἱ ἐκπαιδευτικοὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἐθνικό μας κέντρο εἶναι εὐπρόσδεκτοι στὰ σχολεῖα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἡ προσφορὰ καὶ ἡ παρουσία τους ἀνάμεσά μας αὐξάνει τοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς ὁμογένειας μὲ τὴν πατρίδα. Γεφυρώνει καὶ μικραίνει τὶς ἀποστάσεις καὶ ἀνανεώνει τὴν προσωπικότητα καὶ τὸ χαρακτήρα τῶν μεταναστῶν.

Οἱ ἐκπαιδευτικοὶ ὅμως πρέπει νὰ περιορίσουν τὶς δραστηριότητές τους στὸ διδακτικὸ τομέα. Ἡ τυχὸν ἀνάμειξή τους στὴ διοίκηση τῶν σχολείων θὰ δημιουργήσει προβλήματα. Θὰ μειώσει τὴν προσφορὰ καὶ θὰ ζημιώσει τὴν ἐκπαιδευτική τους ἀξία καὶ προσωπικότητα. Ἡ διοίκηση, ἡ ὀργάνωση καὶ ἡ λειτουργία τῶν σχολείων θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἀνήκει στὴν ἀπόλυτη κυριότητα τῆς ὁμογένειας. Αὐτὴ τὰ ἵδρυσε, τὰ περιέθαλψε μὲ τὴν ἀγάπη καὶ θυσία της καὶ μεριμνᾶ ἀνύστακτα γιὰ τὴν πρόοδο καὶ ὕπαρξή τους. Εἶναι τὰ παιδιά της καὶ κατὰ κάποιο τρόπο συνταυτίζονται τὰ ἑλληνικὰ σχολεῖα μὲ τὰ φυσικὰ παιδιά της, γιὰ τὰ ὁποῖα καὶ ἱδρύθηκαν στὴ χώρα τῆς φιλοξενίας μας.

Ἡ πεῖρα ἀπέδειξε πὼς εἶναι ἐπιβεβλημένη ἡ ὕπαρξη (κάποιου) κεντρικοῦ ταμείου πρὸς ἐνίσχυση τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας. Ὡρίμασαν οἱ συνειδήσεις γιὰ τὴν ἀναγκαιότητα τέτοιου εἰδικοῦ ταμείου γιὰ τὴν προστασία τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπαιδευτηρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ γιὰ τὴν πρόνοια ἱδρύσεως νέων φυτωρίων γιὰ τὴ διάδοση τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ Γένους μας.

Βασικὴ ἐπιδίωξη καὶ στόχος τῶν τοπικῶν κοινοτικῶν παραγόντων εἶναι ἡ αὐτοσυντήρηση καὶ πλήρης αὐτάρκεια σὲ ὅλα τὰ ζητήματα ποὺ ἀφοροῦν τὴ λειτουργία τοῦ τοπικοῦ σχολείου. Τὸ ἑλληνικὸ σχολεῖο τῆς ξενιτιᾶς πρέπει νὰ εἶναι καὶ οἰκονομικὰ καὶ κτιριακὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ἄποψη διδακτικοῦ προσωπικοῦ αὐτοσυντήρητο καὶ ἀνεξάρτητο. Μιὰ τέτοια ἰδεώδης λύση θὰ ἐπιτευχθεῖ μόνο μὲ τὴ μελέτη καὶ τὸν καλὸ προγραμματισμὸ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν μας πραγμάτων πάνω σὲ γενικὲς βάσεις.

Γι' αὐτὸ ἐπιβάλλεται νὰ συσταθεῖ εἰδικὴ μόνιμη Ἐπιτροπὴ τοῦ Κεντρικοῦ Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ Συμβουλίου (Κ.Ε.Σ.) γιὰ νὰ μελετήσει μακροπρόθεσμα τὰ ἐκπαιδευτικά μας πράγματα. Χωρὶς προβληματισμὸ σωστό, ἐνιαῖο καὶ σὲ βάθος δὲν θὰ μπορέσουμε

AKSUM – THYATEIRA, A *Festschrift* for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain.

σὰν ὁμογένεια νὰ διαπιστώσουμε τὰ καυτὰ προβλήματα παιδείας τῆς νέας γενιᾶς τῆς ὁμογένειας. Οὔτε θὰ εἴμαστε σὲ θέση νὰ γνωματεύσουμε γιὰ τὴν ὀρθὴ ἐπίλυση καὶ ἀντιμετώπισή τους.

Γι' αὐτὸ προτείνουμε τὴν κυκλοφορία δελτίου, τὸ ὁποῖο θὰ ἐνημερώνει τὴν ὁμογένεια γιὰ τὰ γενικὰ προβλήματα τῆς παιδείας. Θὰ εἶναι τὸ δελτίο τοῦτο ἀκόμα ὁ συνδετικὸς κρίκος τοῦ τοπικοῦ σχολείου μὲ ἐκεῖνα τῶν λοιπῶν κοινοτήτων καὶ μὲ τὴν Κεντρικὴ Ἐκπαιδευτική μας Ὑπηρεσία καὶ Ἀρχή. Ἴσως ἡ ἔκδοση καὶ κυκλοφορία ἑνὸς τέτοιου δελτίου θὰ συντελέσει στὴν καλλιέργεια σὲ βάθος τῆς παιδείας μας καὶ θὰ ἐπαναφέρει στὴν ἐπιφάνεια τὴν ἀναγκαιότητα καὶ σπουδαιότητα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ὀρθόδοξης παιδείας καὶ παράδοσης γιὰ τὸ μέλλον τῆς ὁμογένειάς μας.

Γι' αὐτὸ εἶναι καιρὸς ὅλη ἡ ὁμογένεια νὰ καλλιεργήσει στενότερα καὶ καλύτερα τὴ γεφύρωση τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παιδείας. Τὸ σχολεῖο τῆς ξενιτιᾶς, τῆς διασπορᾶς, πρέπει καὶ ἐπιβάλλεται νὰ ἔχει ἐκκλησιαστικὸ χαρακτήρα. Τὸ ἕνα σκέλος του εἶναι ἡ ἑλληνικὴ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἡ θρησκευτικὴ παιδεία καὶ ἐκπαίδευση, ὅπως τήν πιστεύει, τὴ διδάσκει καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγέλλεται ἡ ὀρθόδοξη παράδοση.

Ὁ ἠθελημένος διαχωρισμὸς αὐτῆς τῆς παιδείας εἶναι καταστρεπτικὸς καὶ τείνει νὰ ἀποχρωματίσει τὴν ὁμογένεια ἀπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα ποὺ τὴ συναποτελοῦν καὶ τὴν ἐκφράζουν. Γι' αὐτὸ θὰ εἶναι φρόνιμο νὰ τονίζεται πάντοτε ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καὶ θρησκευτικὸς χαρακτήρας τοῦ σχολείου τῆς ὁμογένειας. Δάσκαλοι, κληρικοί, παράγοντες τοπικοί, γονεῖς καὶ κηδεμόνες καλοῦνται νὰ συνειδητοποιήσουν αὐτὴ τὴν πραγματικότητα καὶ νὰ προσανατολίζουν τὰ σχολεῖα ἀνάλογα.

Ἡ ἵδρυση καὶ τακτικὴ λειτουργία Σεμιναρίων γιὰ πληρέστερο καταρτισμὸ τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν μας —ἰδιαίτερα ἐκείνων ποὺ ἔχουν μειωμένα προσόντα— ποὺ εἶναι ὡρομίσθιοι κρίνεται ἀπαραίτητη, εἶναι μάλιστα χρησιμότατη γιὰ τὴ βελτίωση τῆς ἤδη προσφερομένης παιδείας. Φαίνεται πὼς ἡ λειτουργία Σεμιναρίων εἶναι πραγματοποιήσιμη, ἐφικτή, ἂν εἶναι μονοήμερη, ἂν γίνεται βραδινὲς ὧρες καὶ ἂν ἀσχολεῖται μὲ συγκεκριμένα θέματα. Νὰ διοργανώνεται μάλιστα κατὰ περιφέρειες καὶ ἡ πρωτοβουλία νὰ ἐπαφίεται στὶς γειτονικὲς κοινότητες καὶ τὰ σχολεῖα.

Σχετικὴ μὲ τὴ λειτουργία Σεμιναρίων εἶναι ἡ προετοιμασία εἰδικῶν σχολικῶν βιβλίων καὶ βοηθημάτων γιὰ τὴ χρήση τοῦ κοινοτικοῦ μας σχολείου. Ὁμάδες ἐργασίας ἀπὸ τὰ περιφερειακὰ Σεμινάρια θὰ μποροῦν νὰ ἐργάζονται γιὰ τὸν καταρτισμὸ τῆς σχετικῆς διδακτικῆς ὕλης, ἡ ὁποία θὰ τίθεται σὲ χρήση καὶ θὰ δοκιμάζεται ἀπὸ τὰ σχολεῖα. Ἀπ' αὐτὴ τὴν ἐργασία θὰ ξεπηδήσουν ἀναγνωστικὰ καὶ ἄλλα βοηθήματα γιὰ τὰ σχολεῖα τῆς ὁμογένειας στὴ Μεγάλη Βρετανία. Μὲ τοῦτο τὸν τρόπο θὰ πληρωθεῖ ἕνα κενὸ καὶ θὰ διαπλατυνθεῖ ἡ ὕλη τὴν ὁποία διδάσκουμε στὰ παιδιά μας μὲ βάση τὰ βιβλία ποὺ προσφέρει στὴν ὁμογένεια τὸ Ἐθνικὸ Κέντρο.

Εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ πρέπον σὰν κατακλείδα νὰ ἐκφραστεῖ ἡ εὐγνωμοσύνη καὶ οἱ θερμὲς εὐχαριστίες τῆς ὁμογένειας πρὸς τὰ Ὑπουργεῖα Παιδείας καὶ Θρησκευμάτων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς Λευκωσίας γιὰ τὴν ὡς τώρα ποικίλη καὶ σημαντικὴ βοήθειά τους πρὸς τὰ σχολεῖα τῆς ξενιτιᾶς. Τόσο ἡ χρηματικὴ ὅσο καὶ ἡ σὲ εἶδος καὶ διδακτικὸ προσωπικὸ προσφορὰ καὶ βοήθειά τους συνέβαλαν σημαντικὰ γιὰ τὴ διατήρηση, τὴν ἐμπέδωση καὶ ἐξάπλωση σὲ πλατύτερα στρώματα τοῦ Λαοῦ μας τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας καὶ τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἤθους τοῦ Γένους μας.

Εἶναι ὅμως ἐπιβεβλημένο καὶ ἀναγκαῖο νὰ τονιστεῖ πὼς ἡ ἐκπαίδευση καὶ ἑλληνορθόδοξη κατάρτιση καὶ γνωριμία τῆς νέας γενιᾶς θὰ πρέπει νὰ παραμείνει κύριο μέλημα καὶ βασικὴ φροντίδα καὶ χρέος τῶν μεταναστῶν. Αὐτοὶ καλοῦνται «εὐκαίρως καὶ ἀκαίρως» νὰ ἐργαστοῦν γιὰ τὴ διατήρηση τῶν πολιτιστικῶν καὶ θρησκευτικῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν μας. Ὄχι μόνον πρέπει νὰ ἐργαστοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὲ αὐξημένο ζῆλο νὰ ἀναλάβουν τὸ ἔργο τους. Νὰ ἐπωμισθοῦν μάλιστα στὴν πληρότητα τὴν ἱερὴ εὐθύνη τῆς παιδείας καὶ παροικιακῆς ἐκπαίδευσης τῶν παιδιῶν μας.

Μιὰ τέτοια ἱερὴ εὐθύνη τιμᾶ τὸν Ἑλληνισμὸ τῆς Μεγάλης Βρετανίας, ὁ ὁποῖος συνεχίζει τὴ μεγάλη παράδοση τῶν ἑλληνικῶν κοινοτήτων ποὺ ἄκμασαν καὶ ἔδρασαν στὸ παρελθὸν σ' ὅλη τὴν οἰκουμένη. Λαμπρὰ παραδείγματα ἔχουμε τὴν Αἴγυπτο καὶ λοιπὴ Ἀφρική, Μικρὰ Ἀσία, Ρουμανία, Βενετία καὶ στὶς δικές μας μέρες τὶς Ἡνωμένες Πολιτεῖες τῆς Ἀμερικῆς.

Τὸ Κεντρικὸ Ἐκπαιδευτικὸ Συμβούλιο τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρετανίας καλεῖται νὰ διαδραματίσει τὸ νέο ρόλο ποὺ τοῦ διανοίγεται μὲ τὴ νέα κατάσταση τῶν ἐκπαιδευτικῶν μας πραγμάτων. Ἡ ἀναδιοργάνωση τοῦ Κ.Ε.Σ. κρίνεται ἀπαραίτητη. Ἡ ἐνίσχυση τῆς Γραμματείας του καὶ ὁ διορισμὸς ἐμμισθου - μόνιμου ὑπαλλήλου θὰ συμβάλει στὸ συντονισμὸ τῆς

παιδείας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Τὸ Κ.Ε.Σ. χρειάζεται τὸ ὄργανο μὲ τὸ ὁποῖο θὰ ὑλοποιεῖ τὸ πρόγραμμά του. Θὰ διερευνᾶ τὰ προβλήματα τῶν κατὰ τόπους σχολείων μας. Θὰ καλλιεργεῖ μάλιστα σὲ βάθος καὶ στὴν πράξη ἐκεῖνα τὰ ὁποῖα τὸ Κέντρο θὰ προγραμματίζει γιὰ τὴν προαγωγὴ καὶ ἐπέκταση τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως ὅπως τὴν ἐκφράζει ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ὀρθόδοξη Ἐκκλησία καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων στὴ Μεγάλη Βρετανία.

# ΓΕΝΙΚΟΝ ΕΥΡΕΤΗΡΙΟΝ

Ὑ π ό

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Α


«Abba Salama», ἐπετηρίς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Ἑλληνοαιθιοπικῶν Σπουδῶν: 50, 52, 76, 87, 202
Ἀβραάμ: 423, 606
Ἄγαβος, προφήτης: 289
Ἄγγελοι: 63, 119, 301, 305 κ.ἑ., 612
Ἀγγλία - Ἄγγλοι: 7, 19, 34, 37, 38, 58, 60, 64, 65, 67, 71, 72, 76, 79, 87, 88, 97, 203, 204, 207, 209, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 221, 223, 374, 375, 523, 541
Ἀγγλικανοί (-ισμός): 13, 15, 16, 20, 36, 51, 55, 59, 60, 64, 65, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 100, 119 σημ., 213, 214, 216, 217
Ἀγγλικανο - Ὀρθόδοξος θεολογικός διαδογματικός Διάλογος: 13, 15, 20, 87, 213, 222
Ἀγγλικανο - Ὀρθόδοξος Κοινή Δογματική Ἐπιτροπή: 87
Ἀγγλοελληνικόν Νηπιαγωγεῖον Tokington Ἀγγλίας: 220
Ἀγγλοσάξωνες (-ικός): 120
Ἁγία Γραφή (Βίβλος): 122, 174, 175, 178, 216, 541, 608, 610, 612, 613, 658
Ἁγία Τράπεζα: 210
Ἁγία Τριάς: 67, 121, 468, 593, 602, 611, 612, 613, 657
ἅγιαι εἰκόνες: 174, 299 - 362
Ἅγιον Ὄρος: 326, 329, 330
Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα: 11, 18, 42, 43, 56, 60, 65, 67, 80, 84, 167, 175, 199, 206, 288, 290, 291, 292, 295, 302, 467, 471, 472, 526, 598, 599, 600, 601, 605, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 651, 654, 657, 658, 659
Ἁγιοταφική Ἀδελφότης: 380, 381
ἀγνωστικοί (-ισμός): 93, 205
Ἀγριππῖνος, Ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης: 250
Ἀδάμ: 122, 176, 266, 267 σημ.
Ἀδδίς Ἀμπέμπα: 17, 33, 34, 41, 47, 50, 51, 76, 97, 381
Ἀδόσογλου, Γεώργιος: 308
Ἀθανάσιος, Μέγας —: 50, 95, 395, 593, 595, 597, 598, 599, 601, 649, 655
Ἀθηναγόρας Α' (Καββάδας), Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων: 28, 34, 37, 200, 372, 524
Ἀθηναγόρας Β' (Κοκκινάκης), Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων καί Μ. Βρεταννίας: 20, 37, 39, 54, 200, 524, 525
Ἀθηναγόρας Α' , Οἰκουμενικός Πατριάρχης: 36, 37, 81, 86, 90, 92, 94, 224, 300, 307, 311, 314, 322, 324, 325, 326, 362, 389, 390, 467, 468, 660, 661
Ἀθῆναι: 13, 19, 23, 27, 28, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, 41, 47, 53, 54, 76, 203, 220, 223, 274, 299, 330, 375, 378, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 541, 550, 664
Αἴγυπτος - Αἰγύπτιοι: 87, 250, 305, 317, 369, 384, 596, 598, 606, 651, 664
Αἰδέσιος, νεοπλατωνικός φιλόσοφος: 396, 398
Αἰθιοπία (-ες): 17, 20, 33, 34, 41, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 75, 76, 87, 95, 98, 202, 369, 384
Αἰκύτιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἱππῶνος: 262, 263 σημ.
αἵρεσις - αἱρετικοί: 39, 120, 156, 168, 174, 175, 249 σημ., 250, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 394, 593, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 603, 604, 611, 612, 613, 648, 651, 653, 655, 656
Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν: 50, 52, 53, 54, 658
Ἀκαδημία Πλάτωνος: 394, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400
Ἀκάκιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Βεροίας: 593, 602
Ἀκρωτήριον Καλῆς Ἐλπίδος: 382
«ἀλάθητον τοῦ Πάπα»: 166, 472, 473
Ἀλεξάνδρεια (-ινοί): 17, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 42, 43, 76, 87, 251 σημ., 254, 384 σημ., 394, 395, 591, 594, 596, 598, 603, 655
Ἀλεξανδρίδου, Μαγδαληνή: 308
Ἀλιβιζᾶτος, Καθηγ. Ἀμίλκας: 32, 39, 40, 271, 274, 658
Ἀλύπιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ταγάστης (Θεαγαστέων): 252, 254
Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: 367, 379
Ἀμερικανική Ἀρχαιολογική Σχολή Ἀθηνῶν: 552
Ἀμερική (-ανοί): 77, 81, 224, 368, 369, 525
Ἀμμωνῖται: 606
Ἀμφιλόχιος Ἰκονίου: 594, 598, 610, 656
Ἀναγέννησις: 174, 523
Ἀναγνωστόπουλος, Βασίλειος Ν.: 200, 647
Ἀνανίας: 291
Ἀναστάσιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 262, 263, 264
Ἀνάστασις: 122, 205
Ἀνατολική Ἀφρική: 381
Ἀνατολική Εὐρώπη (-αῖοι): 83, 369
Ἀνεστίδης, Ἀδαμάντιος: 308, 333
ἀνθρωπισμός (οὐμανισμός)-ἀνθρωπισταί: 82, 174, 176, 393 σημ.
Ἀνθυπατική Ἀφρική: 249, 250, 251 σημ., 252, 261, 262, 265
Ἀνίκητος, Πάπας Ρώμης: 652
«Ἀνόμοιοι»: 603, 611, 614
«ἀνόμοιος»-«ἀνόμοιον»: 601, 606
Ἀντινικαεῖς: 599
Ἀντιόχεια: 251 σημ., 254, 591, 592, 593, 602, 603
Ἀντιχαλκηδόνιοι: 47, 48, 97
Ἀντώνιος, Μητροπολίτης Σουγδαίας: 213
Ἀξώμη: 11, 33
Ἀπιάριος, Πρεσβύτερος Σίκκης (Β. Ἀφρικῆς): 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 260, 267
Ἀπόδημος Ἑλληνισμός: 59, 72, 88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 99, 211, 367-388, 523, 663-665
Ἀποκάλυψις: 524
Ἀπολλινάριος (-ισμός): 593, 604
Ἀπολλιναρισταί: 603

Ἀποστολική διαδοχή: 84
Ἀποστολική Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος: 299
Ἀπόστολοι, Ἅγιοι —: 63, 84, 121, 166, 390, 611, 647, 650, 651, 652, 657
«Ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας», περιοδ. ἔκδοσις τοῦ Οἰκουμεν. Πατριαρχείου: 299
Ἀραβία-Ἄραβες: 380, 381
Ἀραβορθόδοξοι: 380, 381
Ἀργεντινή (-οί): 385, 471
Ἀρειανοί (-ισμός): 592, 595, 596, 598, 599, 603, 604, 613, 655
Ἄρειος: 598, 611, 612, 614
Ἀριανζός Καππαδοκίας: 394
Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ζηνουπόλεως (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 62, 213, 214, 215, 216, 221, 389 σημ.
Ἀριστεύς ὁ Προκοννήσιος: 324
Ἀριστηνός: 259, 262 σημ., 270, 274
Ἀριστοτέλης (-ικοί): 101, 174, 178, 368, 393 σημ., 398, 399
Ἀριστοτέλους, Ἀρχιμ. Λεόντιος: 211
Ἀρκάδιος, αὐτοκράτωρ Βυζαντίου: 257, 258 σημ., 264
Ἀρμενία (-ιοι): 174, 598
Ἀρμενόπουλος, Κων/τῖνος: 249 σημ.
Ἀρούν ἀλ Ρασίδ, Καλίφης Βαγδάτης: 173
Ἀρχαία Ἑλλάς – Ἀρχαῖοι Ἕλληνες: 174, 178, 203, 317, 393-400
Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Ἀθηνῶν: 19
— Αὐστραλίας: 62, 213, 371, 374 σημ.
— Βορείου καί Νοτίου Ἀμερικῆς: 83, 173 σημ., 371, 376, 377
— Θυατείρων καί Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 7, 14, 28, 33, 37, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78, 86, 197-225, 371, 374, 375, 377, 385 σημ., 523-526, 663-665
— Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: 299-304
Ἄσελλος, Πρεσβύτερος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης: 249, 252, 254, 267
Ἀσημακόπουλος, Θεόδωρος: 45
Ἀσία: 368, 369, 386, 396, 398, 598, 652
ἀσκηταί (-ική): 396, 608, 610
Ἀσμάρα Ἐρυθραίας: 44, 381
Ἀστυνάρογλου, Βαρβάρα: 308
Ἀσχόλιος Θεσσαλονίκης: 594, 596, 597
Ἀττικός, Ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: 254, 267
Αὐγουστῖνος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἱππῶνος: 249 σημ., 252
Αὐγουστῖνος, Ἱερός —: 260, 390
Αὐγουστῖνος, Μητροπολίτης Γερμανίας: 373, 375, 382
Αὐξόνιος, Ἀνθύπατος Ἀσίας: 598
Αὐρήλιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης: 249, 250, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 268
Αὐστραλία (-οί): 81, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 377, 378, 379, 382, 384, 386
Αὐστρία (-ιακοί): 200, 372, 385, 524
Ἀφρική (-ανοί): 33, 61, 89, 90, 249, 250, 252, 253, 254, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 268, 368, 369, 371, 381, 382, 653, 664
Ἀχαΐα: 599

B

Βαγδάτη: 173
Βαλκάνια: 382
Βαλλιᾶνος, Ἀθανάσιος: 545
Βαλλιᾶνος, Μαρῖνος: 545, 546
Βαλλιᾶνος, Παναγῆς: 537, 538, 545, 546, 547
Βαλλιάνου, Μαρία Μ.: 545
Βαλσαμών: 249 σημ., 259, 261, 265 σημ., 270, 274
Βαξεβανίδης, Γ.: 307, 308, 322, 327, 333
Βάπτισμα: 121, 250, 295, 468, 541, 608, 611, 612, 613, 653, 658
Βαρθολομαῖος, Μητροπολίτης Φιλαδελφείας: 57, 467
Βαρνάβας, Ἀπόστολος —: 222, 288
Βαρούχας, Διονύσιος (Γρατιανουπόλεως): 324, 325
Βάρσης, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἐδέσσης: 591, 592, 593
Βασίλειος, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Βρυξελλῶν: 21, 78
Βασίλειος, Μέγας —: 20, 36, 75, 100, 174, 393 σημ., 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 591-614, 649, 655, 656
Βασίλειος, Μητροπολίτης πρώην Λήμνου: 23 σημ., 27
Βασιλική Ἀκαδημία Λονδίνου: 35
Βάσσος, Ὕπατος: 266
Βατικανόν: 168, 330
Βαυαρία (-οί): 373, 543
Βεζάνης, Λεωνίδας: 311
Βέλγιον (-οι): 19, 78, 385
Βελισκόφσκυ, Παΐσιος: 67
Βενεζουέλα: 385
Βενέριος, Ἐπίσκοπος Μεδιολάνων: 262, 263, 264
Βενετία (-οί): 165, 188, 274, 317, 523
Βενιαμίν Α', Οἰκουμεν. Πατριάρχης: 320, 324
Βευερήγιος: 249-274 (σποραδικῶς)
Βησσαρίων, Καρδινάλιος: 165, 166
βιβλιογραφία ἐπί τῆς ἱεραποστολικῆς δράσεως τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου: 463-465
Βιβλιοθήκη, Βατικανή: 323
— Γεννάδειος Ἀθηνῶν: 537, 552
— Ἐθνική Ἀθηνῶν (Βαλλιάνειος): 259, 274 σημ., 537, 545, 547
— Ἐθνική Παρισίων: 308
— Πατμιακή: 259, 263 σημ., 270 σημ., 273 σημ.
— Πατριαρχική Ἀλεξανδρείας: 51
— Πατριαρχική Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: 330
Βιέννη: 200, 467, 523, 524
Βιθυνία: 267, 309, 598
Βικεντιανός, Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Β. Ἀφρικῆς: 262
Βίκτωρ Α', Πάπας: 652
Βλασσόπουλος, Θεόδωρος: 538
Βλάσταρις, Ματθαῖος: 249 σημ.
Βλιέρης, Ὀκτ.: 538
Βοηθητικαί Ἀδελφότητες Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 69, 206, 209, 210, 525
Βοημία: 174
Βονιφάτιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 251, 252, 253, 254, 256, 267, 271
Βόρειος Ἀφρική: 249 σημ., 250, 253, 381, 386
Βόρειος Ἤπειρος: 381
Βόρις-Μιχαήλ, βασιλεύς Βουλγάρων: 177
Βουλγαρία (-οι): 173, 174, 382
Βραβεῖον Templeton: 220
Βραζιλία: 385
Βρεταννία-Βρεταννοί: 55, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 76, 90, 200, 203, 204, 207, 213, 214, 375, 524, 525, 538
Βρεταννική Ἀκαδημία: 75, 220
Βρυξέλλαι: 19, 20, 76, 87, 375
Βυζακηνή: 250, 261
Βυζαντινή Μουσική: 380
Βυζάντιον (-ινοί): 55, 75, 120, 173, 249 σημ., 258, 261, 299, 311, 317, 523

Γ

Γαβριήλ, Μητροπολίτης Κολωνίας: 57
Γαλανός, Ἀλέξιος: 90
Γαλάτης, ἱερεὺς Γαλακτίων —: 537
Γαλατία: 653
Γαλλία (-οι): 370, 372, 373, 385, 471, 523, 652
Γανωτάκης, Ἀλέξανδρος: 45
Γαρῆς, Μιχαήλ: 538
Γεδεών, Μ.: 299
Γεθσημανῆ: 119, 120, 390
Γεμιστός, Γεώργιος (Πλήθων): 174
Γενέθλιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης: 249 σημ., 250, 252, 255 σημ., 256, 259, 260 σημ., 268
Γενεύη: 47, 49
Γεννάδιος, Γεώργιος: 552
Γεννάδιος, Ἰωάννης: 537, 538, 550, 551
Γεράλης, Δημήτριος: 45
Γερβάσιος, ἑλληνορθόδοξος ἱερεὺς Αἰθιοπίας: 41
Γερμανία (-οί): 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 38, 52, 53, 87, 166, 369, 372, 373, 382, 386, 651
Γερμανός (Στρηνόπουλος), Μητροπολίτης Θυατείρων (πρώην Μητρ. Σελευκείας): 199, 200, 524
Γερμανός (Καραβαγγέλης), Μητροπολίτης Κεντρώας Εὐρώπης: 524
Γεωργακάκης, Σταῦρος: 373
Γεωργιάδης, Ν.: 37
Γεώργιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἑλληνοκαθολικῶν Ἑλλάδος: 469
Γεώργιος, Μητροπολίτης Νευροκοπίου: 28
Γιαννακάκης, Φώτιος: 311
Γιαννούλας, Χρῆστος Ε.: 197
Γιάντσον, Ἰωάννης: 322
Γκικόπουλος, Παν.: 379
Γλῶσσα Ἀγγλική: 16, 37, 58, 60, 77, 97, 209, 221, 274 σημ., 380
— Ἀραβική: 380
— Γαλλική: 274
— Ἑβραϊκή: 120, 370
— Ἑλληνική: 16, 58, 167, 174, 219, 258, 274, 368, 374, 382, 386, 393, 663
— Λατινική: 251, 256, 258, 274
Γνωστικοί (-ισμός): 651, 656
Γολγοθᾶς: 123, 124
Γότθοι (-ικός): 317, 591
Γουέστον-σοῦπερ-Μαίαρ Ἀγγλίας: 62, 217
Γούρτσεστερ Κόλλετζ Ὀξφόρδης: 76
Γραικοί: 168
Γραμματεία Ἐκπαιδευτικοῦ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων: 71, 219, 220, 664
Γραμματεῖς καί Φαρισαῖοι: 123
Γραμματίδης, Α.: 333
Γρατιανός, αὐτοκράτωρ: 591, 592
Γράτος, Ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης: 250, 255 σημ., 256, 259, 260 σημ., 268
Γρηγόριος, Ἐπίσκοπος Τροπαίου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 55, 58, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216, 525, 663
Γρηγόριος Ναζιανζηνός, ὁ Θεολόγος: 75, 100, 174, 175, 393-400, 594, 596, 597, 599, 602, 603, 605, 607
Γρηγόριος ὁ Νύσσης: 18, 67, 174, 594, 598
Γρηγόριος ὁ πρεσβύτερος: 397, 398
Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς, Μητροπολίτης Θεσσαλονίκης: 167
Γρηγόριος ΙΓ', Πάπας: 389
Γρίβας, Κ.Α.: 307, 311, 313, 333

Δ

Δαβίδ: 94, 289, 291, 292, 649
Δαμασκηνός (Παπανδρέου), Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν καί πάσης Ἑλλάδος: 23, 27
Δάμασος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 20, 591, 592, 593, 595, 597, 598
Δανία: 385
Δεβλέτογλου, Νικόλαος: 312
Δέκιος, Ρωμαῖος αὐτοκράτωρ: 653
Δημήτριος, Ἐπίσκοπος Θερμῶν: 373
Δημήτριος Α', Οἰκουμενικός Πατριάρχης: 11, 55, 56, 57, 66, 73, 78, 324, 467, 472
Δημοκρατικόν Κόμμα Κύπρου: 90
Διάλογος μετά τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἀντιχαλκηδονίων Ἐκκλησιῶν (Ἀδδίς Ἀμπέμπα, 1971): 47, 51
«Διάλογος τῆς ἀγάπης»: 660
Διάνιος Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκίας: 607
Δίδυμος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς (ὁ Τυφλός): 121, 122, 395
Διεθνής Ἀκαδημία Θρησκευτικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν: 49, 75, 76, 87
Διεθνής Ἕνωσις Φίλων τοῦ Ρομπέρ Σουμάν Ἑλλάδος: 76, 223, 224
Διεθνής Μεικτή Ἀγγλικανορθόδοξος Δογματική Ἐπιτροπή: 79
Διογένης ὁ Λαέρτιος: 178
Διόδωρος, Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων: 381
Διόδωρος Ταρσοῦ: 593, 594, 598, 602, 603
Διοκλητιανός, αὐτοκράτωρ: 250
Διομήδης: 594
Διονύσιος Ἀλεξανδρείας: 610, 649, 652, 653
Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης: 174
Διονύσιος ὁ Μικρός (Σκύθης μοναχός): 251, 257, 258, 262, 266, 267 σημ., 270 σημ., 271, 274 σημ.
Διόσκορος, Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας: 49
Δονατισταί (-ισμός): 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267
Δοσίθεος, Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων: 168
Δουβλῖνον: 37, 61, 62, 76, 79, 217
Δράγας Γεώργιος, Πρωτοπρεσβύτερος: 8, 17, 23, 25, 102, 215, 216, 217, 222
Δράκος, Νικόλαος: 34, 41
Δυτική Γερμανία: 369, 372, 373, 382, 385, 386
Δυτική Εὐρώπη: 11, 83, 199, 369, 381, 523, 524, 526
Δυτικός Πολιτισμός: 204, 524
Δωρόθεος (Γιανναρόπουλος), Μητροπολίτης Ἀττικῆς (πρώην Μητρ. Καστορίας): 18, 32, 33, 38, 39
Δωρόθεος, Πρεσβύτερος: 595

Ε

Ἑβραϊκή Διασπορά: 370
Ἑβραῖοι (-ικός): 120, 123, 370, 394
Ἐγγύς Ἀνατολή: 380
Ἐδιμβοῦργον: 51
Ἐθνικοί: 655
εἰδωλόθυτα: 155-158
εἰδωλολατρία (-αι): 396, 399, 400, 653
εἰκόνες Ἱ. Ναῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: 299-362

εἰκονομαχία: 173
Εἰρηναῖος, Ἐπίσκοπος Λουγδούνων: 649, 651, 652, 659
Εἰρηναῖος (Βασιλείου), Ἐπίσκοπος Πατάρων (Ἀρχ/πὴ Θυατείρων): 62, 63, 64, 213, 214, 216
Ἐκκλησία Ἀγγλικανική: 7, 47, 53, 55, 65, 78, 200, 214, 215, 217, 222, 223, 648, 657
— Ἀδιαίρετος: 471, 648, 651, 657, 658, 659, 661
— Αἰγεῶν: 609
— Αἰθιοπική: 53, 202
— Ἀλβανίας, Ὀρθόδοξος: 30
— Ἀλεξανδρείας: 19, 31, 39, 47, 51, 52, 254, 265, 653
— Ἀμερικῆς, Ὀρθόδοξος: 376
— Ἀνακαινιστική Σοβιετικῆς Ἑνώσεως: 31
— Ἀντιοχείας: 254, 593, 595, 599, 603, 608, 656
— Ἀρχαία (Καθολική καί Ἀποστολική): 15, 39, 50, 69, 84, 85, 99, 120, 178, 390, 471, 601, 608, 610, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659
— Ἀρχέγονος: 656
— ἀχειροτονήτων ἐν Οὐκρανίᾳ (Ἐκκλησία Ληπκώβ): 30
— Βορείου Ἀφρικῆς (Λατινική): 249-274
— Δυτικῆς Εὐρώπης, Ὀρθόδοξος: 373, 382
— Ἑλληνική Ὀρθόδοξος: 14, 18, 72, 92, 95, 203, 204, 206, 211, 217, 218, 219, 221, 665
— Ἑλληνική Ὀρθόδοξος τῆς Διασπορᾶς: 367-388
— Εὐαγγελική Δυτ. Γερμανίας: 382
— Θυατείρων: 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 207, 208, 209, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222
— Ἱεροσολύμων: 380, 381
— Ἰρλανδίας: 222
— Καθολική Δυτ. Γερμανίας: 382
— Καππαδοκίας: 598
— Καρθαγένης: 256, 263
— Λουθηρανική: 648
— Μαγνησίας: 649, 650
— Μεγάλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ — (Κων/πόλεως): 65, 88, 102, 174, 199, 207, 254, 302, 314, 379, 602, 660
— Μεγ. Βρεταννίας, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος: 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 96, 211, 216, 376
— Νικαιανή: 99
— Ὀρθόδοξος (Ἀνατολική): 11, 15, 16, 30, 31, 48, 51, 53, 64, 65, 69, 77, 81, 82, 84, 85, 88, 92, 95, 98, 120, 178, 200, 205, 207, 208, 213, 214, 257, 258, 267 σημ., 369, 370, 371, 373, 380, 387, 389-391, 467-473, 599, 648, 658, 659, 660, 661
— Ὀρθόδοξος τῆς Διασπορᾶς: 93, 201, 202, 211, 218, 367-388
— Οὐκρανίας, Ὀρθόδοξος: 30
— Παλαιοκαθολικῶν: 648
— Προτεσταντική: 648
— Ρουμανική Ὀρθόδοξος: 30, 468
— Ρωμαϊκή (Λατινική): 36, 55, 166, 167, 178, 249-274
— Ρωμαιοκαθολική (Δυτική): 7, 15, 16, 55, 60, 81, 100, 166, 370, 389-391, 467-473, 648, 658, 659, 660, 661
— Ρωμαιοκαθολική Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 200, 222
— Ρωσική Ὀρθόδοξος: 20, 47, 83, 468
— Σμύρνης: 650
— τῆς Ἀγγλίας: 47, 78, 203, 223
— τῆς Αἰθιοπίας (Ἀξώμης), Ἑλληνική Ὀρθόδοξος: 98, 201, 202
— τῆς Ἀρμενίας: 47
— τῆς Βουλγαρίας: 47, 48
— τῆς Δύσεως: 648
— τῆς Ἑλλάδος: 40, 51, 53, 83, 87, 199, 330, 383, 469
— τῆς Ἐφέσου: 649, 651
— τῆς Κορίνθου, Ἀποστολική: 36, 38, 39, 40, 52, 659
— τῆς Ρώμης: 306, 467-473, 649, 659, 660
— τῆς Σκωτίας, Πρεσβυτεριανή: 47, 51, 76, 83, 85, 222
— Τράλλεων: 650
— τοῦ Μάντσεστερ, Ἑλληνική Ὀρθόδοξος: 35, 95
— τοῦ Μονάχου, Ἑλληνική Ὀρθόδοξος: 95, 372
— Τσεχοσλοβακίας, Ὀρθόδοξος: 30
— Φιλαδελφείας: 649, 650
«Ἐκκλησία καί Θεολογία», ἐπετηρίς τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 16, 76, 78, 87, 198, 221, 526, 579
Ἐκκλησίαι Ἀρχαῖαι Ἀνατολικαί (Ἀντιχαλκηδόνιοι): 47, 49, 51, 53
— Αὐτοκέφαλοι Ὀρθόδοξοι: 524, 647 σημ.
— Ἀφρικῆς: 655
— Δυτ. Εὐρώπης: 383
— Ἑλληνικαί Ὀρθόδοξοι τῆς Διασπορᾶς: 198, 199, 211, 218, 224
— Ἐπισκοπελιαναί: 78
— Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 222
— Μετερρυθμισμέναι: 100, 658, 659
— Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας: 649, 651, 652, 653, 655
— Ὀρθόδοξοι: 46, 47, 50, 51, 78, 79, 83, 86, 87, 199, 222, 390
— Ὀρθόδοξοι τῆς Εὐρώπης: 200, 223
— Προτεσταντικαί (Διαμαρτυρομένων): 55, 60, 658
— τῆς Ἀνατολῆς: 30, 471, 604, 647, 648, 654, 659
— τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως: 524
— τῆς Δύσεως: 471, 647, 648, 654, 658, 659
«Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἀλήθεια», περιοδ. ἔκδοσις Κων/πόλεως: 299
Ἐκκλησιαστικόν Φροντιστήριον τῆς Ἀρχ/κῆς Θυατείρων: 216
«Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος», περιοδ. ἔκδοσις τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας: 50, 52, 76, 87, 202, 221, 299
Ἐκπαιδευτικόν Ἵδρυμα Καίμπριτζ τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 220
— — Μπρίστολ — — —: 74, 220
Ἑλβετία (-οί): 79, 385
Ἕλενος: 653
Ἐλεύσιος Κυζίκου: 599, 602
Ἑλλάδιος Καισαρείας: 598
Ἑλλάς-Ἕλληνες-Ἑλληνισμός: 13, 14, 17, 20, 27, 29, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 50, 54, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 99, 165, 167, 168, 173, 174, 176, 180, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 250, 257, 265, 266, 307, 367-388, 390, 393-400, 469, 470, 473, 523, 524, 525, 526, 537, 538, 543, 550, 552, 553, 663-665
Ἑλληνικά Σχολεῖα Αἰθιοπίας: 381
— — Ἀφρικῆς: 381, 382
— — Αὐστραλίας: 377, 378, 379
— — Ἐξωτερικοῦ: 219, 367-388
— — Καναδᾶ: 377
— — Κων/πόλεως: 379-380
— — Μεγ. Βρεταννίας (Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων): 74, 218-220, 221, 377, 525, 663-665
Ἑλληνικαί ἐνορίαι καί σύλλογοι Κων/πόλεως: 299-362
Ἑλληνικαί Κοινότητες Αἰθιοπίας: 43, 44, 45, 98

— — Αὐστραλίας: 378
— — Ἀφρικῆς: 381, 382
— — Η.Π.Α.: 377
Ἑλληνική Ἐκπαιδευτική Ἀποστολή Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 219
Ἑλληνική Ἐπανάστασις: 205, 208, 368, 382
Ἑλληνική Ἑταιρεία Λονδίνου: 223
Ἑλληνική Κοινότης Ἀδδίς Ἀμπέμπας: 33, 41, 44, 45, 46
— — Δαμασκοῦ: 380
— — Ὑόρκης Ἀγγλίας: 36
Ἑλληνική Κυπριακή Ἀδελφότης Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 68, 92
Ἑλληνικόν Κοιμητήριον τοῦ Norwood ἐν Λονδίνῳ: 537-556
Ἑλληνικόν Κολλέγιον Λονδίνου: 74, 219, 375, 377
Ἑλληνικόν Κολλέγιον τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ ἐν Μπρουκλάιν Μασσαχουσέττης: 86
Ἑλληνικόν Σχολεῖον Ἁγίας Σοφίας Λονδίνου: 374
— — Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ Λονδίνου: 211
— — Ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου Κέντις Τάουν Λονδίνου: 219
— — Ἀστόριας Ν. Ὑόρκης: 375
— — Βηρυτοῦ: 380
— — Birmingham: 220
— — Δαμασκοῦ: 380
— — Κάρλτον Μελβούρνης: 375, 379, 384
— — Camberwell: 220
— — Μονάχου: 373
— — Nottingham: 220
— — Πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων: 380, 384
— — Reading Ἀγγλίας: 220
— — Σαχέτι Γιοχάννεσμπουργκ: 375
— — Twickham Ἀγγλίας: 220
— — Hastings Ἀγγλίας: 220
Ἑλληνικός Πολιτισμός: 75, 205, 207, 209, 393-400
Ἑλληνιστικός κόσμος: 393 σημ., 395
Ἑλληνοκαθολικοί: 468, 469
Ἑλληνοκυπριακά Σχολεῖα Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 219, 377
Ἑλληνοκύπριοι: 200, 206, 368
Ἑλληνορθόδοξοι Κοινότητες Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 93, 197-225, 525, 663-665
Ἑλληνορθόδοξον Ἐκπαιδευτικόν Κέντρον «Ἅγιος Νικόλαος» τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 68
Ἑλληνορθόδοξος Κοινότης Ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας Bury-St. Edmynds (Norfolk): 217, 221
— — Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Edmonton Ἀγγλίας: 220
— — Ἁγίου Μάμαντος Μπέντφορντ (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217
— — Ἀποστ. Βαρνάβα καί Παναγίας Wood Green Λονδίνου: 210, 525
— — Bradford: 214
— — Γούλιτς Λονδίνου: 71
— — Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Λονδίνου: 220
— — Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου Λονδίνου: 220
— — Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Σπυρίδωνος Gt. Yarmouth Ἀγγλίας: 221
— — Ἱ. Ναοῦ Ἁγ. Ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καί Παύλου Bristol: 221
— — Ἱ. Ναοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς Θεοτόκου Manchester: 221
— — Ἱ. Ναοῦ Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Βορείου Λονδίνου: 220
— — Ἱ. Ναοῦ Παναγίας τῆς Μεγαλόχαρης Norwich: 221
— — Κόλτσεστερ Ἀγγλίας: 217
— — Λήντς Ἀγγλίας: 217
— — Λίβερπουλ: 37
— — Λονδίνου: 537, 538, 543
— — Μπίρμιγχαμ Ἀγγλίας: 63, 217
— — Μπρίστολ Ἀγγλίας: 223
— — Νόργουιτς Ἀγγλίας: 217
— — Σαουθάμπτον Ἀγγλίας: 206
— — Σωτῆρος, Μονάχου: 28
— — Τιμίου Σταυροῦ καί Ἀρχαγγ. Μιχαήλ Χέντον καί Μπάρνετ Ἀγγλίας: 217, 220
— — Τορκαίυ Ἀγγλίας: 217
Ἑλληνορθόδοξος Ὀργανισμός Φιλοπτώχου τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 68
Ἑλληνοχριστιανικός πολιτισμός: 59, 82, 180, 203, 204, 205, 207, 211, 212, 370, 376
Ἑλλήσποντος: 602
ἐνανθρώπησις τοῦ Λόγου τοῦ Θεοῦ: 176, 608, 613
«Ἑνορία», περιοδ. ἔκδοσις: 39
Ἑνορία Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τῆς Κροστάνδης Λονδίνου, Ρωσική –: 218
Ἑνορία Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου Kentish Town Λονδίνου: 216
Ἔντυπα τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 220-222
Ἕνωσις Ἑλλήνων Διδασκάλων Βρεταννίας καί Ἰρλανδίας: 74, 220
Ἕνωσις Κυπρίων Ἀγγλίας: 223
Ἐξαρχία Δυτ. Εὐρώπης: 11, 56, 96, 197, 200
— Δυτ. Εὐρώπης, Ἰρλανδίας καί Μελίτης: 214, 224
— Εὐρώπης, Δυτικῆς καί Κεντρῴας: 199, 200, 524
— Κεντρῴας Εὐρώπης: 524
— Πάσης Ἰβηρίας: 15
Ἑορτή Ἑλληνικῶν Γραμμάτων: 220, 376 σημ.
Ἐπιγόνιος, Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Β. Ἀφρικῆς: 262
Ἐπισκοπή Ἀλεξανδρείας: 655
— Θαβράκης (Β. Ἀφρικῆς): 254
— Ἱππῶνος: 250
— Καρθαγένης: 253, 256
— Ρώμης: 166, 249-274
— Σίκκης (Β. Ἀφρικῆς): 252, 253
Ἐπιστολαί Ἀποστόλου Παύλου: 121, 288, 291, 655, 656
Ἐπιφάνιος: 593, 608
Ἔρχαρντ, Ἄρνολντ: 52
ἐσχατολογία: 16
«Ἑταιρεία Ἑλληνοαιθιοπικῶν Σπουδῶν»: 50, 52, 75, 87, 202
Εὐαγγέλιον-α: 59, 89, 96, 97, 98, 99, 120, 121, 221, 290, 292, 303, 320, 524, 593, 609, 611, 612, 648, 656
Εὐαγγελισταί: 122
Εὐάγριος ὁ Ποντικός: 175
Εὐγένιος Δ', Πάπας Ρώμης: 167
Εὐδοξιανοί: 603
Εὐδόξιος Κων/πόλεως: 597, 598
Εὐλόγιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἐδέσσης: 593
Εὐνάπιος: 396, 397, 399, 592
Εὐνόμιος (-ιανοί): 592, 598, 599, 603, 604, 610, 611, 613, 614
Εὐόδιος, Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Β. Ἀφρικῆς: 264
Εὐρωπαϊκή (Οἰκονομική) Κοινότης (ΕΟΚ): 223, 375, 382, 383
Εὐρώπη (-αῖοι): 29, 33, 77, 81, 82, 83, 89, 90, 98, 200, 223, 224, 368, 375, 381, 383, 386, 523, 524
Εὐσέβιος Βερκελλῶν: 598
Εὐσέβιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Χαλκίδος: 593
Εὐσέβιος Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης: 598
Εὐσέβιος Κων/πόλεως (πρὶν Νικομηδείας): 597, 598
Εὐσέβιος Σαμοσάτων: 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 598, 600, 601

Εὐστάθιος Ἀντιοχείας: 593, 598
Εὐστάθιος Σεβαστείας: 599, 600, 601, 602, 604, 607, 610, 611
Ἔφεσος (-ιοι): 650
Ἐφημερίδες καὶ Περιοδικὰ Ἑλληνικὰ Κων/πόλεως: 299

Ζ

Ζαγκόρσκ: 47
Ζαΐρ: 384
Ζερβόπουλος, Σ.Ν.: 299
Ζήσης, Καθηγ. Θεόδωρος —: 165
Ζηζιούλας, Καθηγ. Ἰω. —: 471
Ζιγαβηνός, Εὐθύμιος: 120
Ζιμπάμπουε: 382
Ζωγράφειον Γυμνάσιον Κων/πόλεως: 329
Ζωναρᾶς, Ἰωάννης: 249 σημ., 253, 259, 261, 265 σημ., 270, 274
Ζώσιμος: 592
Ζώσιμος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 251, 252, 253, 254

Η

Ἡλιάδη, Μαρία Η.: 556
«Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγ. Βρεταννίας»: 197, 198, 221, 525, 526
Ἡμιαρειανοί: 603
Ἡνωμένον Βασίλειον: 89
Η.Π.Α.: 36, 330, 370, 371, 372, 373, 376, 382, 385, 386, 524, 552, 664
Ἡρόδοτος: 324
Ἡρώδης: 207
Ἡρωδίων, ἑλληνορθόδοξος ἱερεύς Αἰθιοπίας: 41
Ἡσαΐας, προφήτης: 288, 289, 290, 292, 295
Ἥστμπουρν Ἀγγλίας: 62

Θ

Θανασούλιας, Δρ. Α. —: 223
Θεάσις, Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Β. Ἀφρικῆς: 264
Θεία Ἀποκάλυψις: 48, 97
— λατρεία: 205, 209, 210, 649
— Λειτουργία (Εὐχαριστία): 13, 37, 55, 178, 205, 299, 398, 468, 469, 649, 650, 651, 652, 658
— Οἰκονομία: 176
— Πρόνοια: 25, 54, 379
— Φιλανθρωπία: 176, 526
— Χάρις: 13, 25, 42, 60, 96, 210, 213
Θεοδόσιος Α', ὁ Μέγας: 257, σημ., 264, 595, 597, 600
Θεοδόσιος Β', ὁ Μικρός: 257 σημ., 258 σημ.
Θεοδόσιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας: 254 σημ.
Θεοδόσιος, Πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας: 322
Θεόδοτος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεραπόλεως: 593
Θεοδώρα Καντακουζηνή: 309
Θεοδωρακόπουλος, Ἰωάννης Ν.: 53, 54, 75, 220
Θεοδώρητος ὁ Κύρου: 120, 592, 593, 595, 596, 599
Θεοδωρίδης, Οἰκονόμος Παναγιώτης: 308
Θεόδωρος, Ἅγιος — Ταρσοῦ: 67
«Θεολογία», περιοδ. ἔκδοσις Ἀθηνῶν: 299
Θεολογική Σχολή Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν: 299
— — — Ἐδιμβούργου: 51
— — — Θεσσαλονίκης: 389
— — — τοῦ Durham: 215
— — τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος (Μπρούκλαϊν Μασσαχουσέττης, Η.Π.Α.): 76, 86, 88, 224
— — Χάλκης: 101, 199, 320, 358, 389, 524, 591, 647
Θεολογικός Διάλογος Ὀρθοδόξων-Ρωμαιοκαθολικῶν: 467-473, 658, 659, 660, 661
Θεοτοκόπουλος, Δομήνικος (El Greco): 331
Θεοφανείδης, Σπυρίδων: 313, 324, 325, 326
Θεοφάνης ὁ Κρής: 309
Θεόφιλος Ἀλεξανδρείας: 265
Θεοφύλακτος, βυζαντινός ἑρμηνευτὴς τῶν Γραφῶν: 121
Θεσπέσιος, ρήτωρ: 394
Θεσσαλονίκη: 95, 274, 299, 330, 378, 597
Θουκυδίδης: 199
Θράκη: 591, 592, 598
«Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία»: 299
Θυάτειρα: 11, 524
Θωμᾶς, Μητροπολίτης Χαλκηδόνος: 322

Ι

Ἰάκωβος, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Β. καὶ Ν. Ἀμερικῆς: 101, 224, 375
Ἰάκωβος (Βίρβος), Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπαμείας: 37, 524
Ἰάκωβος, ἡγούμενος Ἱ. Μονῆς Πεντέλης: 27
Ἰάκωβος Μητροπολίτης Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου: 322
Ἰάμβλιχος, νεοπλατωνικὸς φιλόσοφος: 396, 398
Ἰάσων, ἑλληνορθόδοξος ἱερεὺς Αἰθιοπίας: 41
Ἰβηρία (Ἰβηρικὴ χερσόνησος): 15, 651
Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας: 649, 650, 651, 659
Ἰγνάτιος, Πατριάρχης Ἀντιοχείας: 86
Ἵδρυμα «Pro Oriente»: 467, 473
Ἰεζεκιήλ, προφήτης: 289
Ἱερὰ Παράδοσις: 13, 15, 48, 67, 77, 78, 81, 98, 119-124, 167, 175, 178, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 222, 330, 375, 376, 469, 471, 472, 648-661, 664
Ἱερὰ Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος: 13, 38, 95
— — τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου: 55, 56, 62, 201, 203, 357, 389, 524, 525, 526
— — τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας: 42
Ἱερατικὸν Σεμινάριον τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 215, 216
Ἱερεμίας, προφήτης: 288, 291, 292
Ἱεροδιδασκαλεῖον Βελλᾶς: 378
Ἱερουσαλήμ (Ἱεροσόλυμα): 251 σημ., 389, 390, 467, 471, 660
Ἱερώνυμος, Ἅγιος: 394
Ἱερώνυμος (Κοτσώνης), Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν: 38, 46, 389
Ἱερώνυμος, Μητροπολίτης Ροδοπόλεως: 57
ἱερωσύνη: 62, 67, 84, 210, 216, 263, 264, 658
Ἴμβρος (-ιοι): 322
Ἰμέριος ὁ σοφιστής: 396
Ἰννοκέντιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 265
Ἰννοκέντιος, Πρεσβύτερος —: 254, 267
Ἰορδανία: 369
Ἰουδαΐζοντες: 656
Ἰουδαῖοι (-ισμός): 76, 98, 289, 652, 655
Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης: 124, 207
Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Παραβάτης: 396, 397, 398, 399, 591

Ἰουστέλλος, Χριστοφόρος: 274
Ἰουστινιανός, Πατριάρχης Ρουμανίας: 46
Ἰουστῖνος, Μητροπολίτης Μολδαβίας (μετ. Πατριάρχης Ρουμανίας): 48
Ἰουστῖνος ὁ ἀπολογητής: 174
Ἰράκ: 384
Ἰράν: 384
Ἰρλανδία (-οί): 37, 79, 83, 200
Ἰρλανδική Σχολή Οἰκουμενικῶν Σπουδῶν: 76
Ἰσαάκ ὁ Σύρος: 67
Ἰσίδωρος, Ἐπίσκοπος Κύρου: 593
Ἰσλάμ (-ικός): 173, 317
Ἰσοκράτης: 178
Ἱσπανία (-οί): 250, 266
Ἰσραήλ (-ῖται): 288, 380, 381, 384
Ἰταλία (-οί): 200, 249 σημ., 372, 385, 523
Ἰωακείμειον Παρθεναγωγεῖον Κων/πόλεως: 327
Ἰωάννης, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπαμείας: 593
Ἰωάννης Κασσιανός: 582, 589
Ἰωάννης Μαυρόπους, Μητροπολίτης Εὐχαΐτων: 31
Ἰωάννης ὁ Εὐαγγελιστής: 120, 121, 290, 295, 652
Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος: 35, 38, 39, 75, 100, 120, 121, 122, 175, 249 σημ., 265
Ἰωάννης-Παῦλος Β', Πάπας Ρώμης: 61, 78, 83, 467, 468, 472, 473, 659, 660
Ἰωάννης Πλουσιαδηνός (Ἰωσήφ Μεθώνης): 165-168
Ἰωάννης ΣΤ' Καντακουζηνός, αὐτοκράτωρ: 308, 331
Ἰωάννης ΚΓ', Πάπας: 467, 471, 473, 660
Ἰωαννίδης, Ἐλευθέριος: 313
Ἰωαννίδης, Καθηγ. Βασίλειος —: 31
Ἰωάννου, Περικλῆς — Πέτρος: 249-274 (σποραδικῶς)
Ἰωνίδης, Κ.: 537

Κ

Καβάσιλας, Ν.: 167
Κάθμπερτ, Ἅγιος — τοῦ Λίντεσφαρν: 67
Καικιλιανός, Ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης: 249, 250, 253, 254
Καιλεστῖνος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 254, 255, 267, 271
Καινή Διαθήκη: 83, 120, 124
Κάιρον: 41
Καισάρεια Καππαδοκίας: 174, 394, 655
Καισάρεια Παλαιστίνης: 394, 395, 396
Καισάριος (ἀδελφός Ἁγ. Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου): 394, 395
Καισαροπαπισμός: 597
Κακλαμάνης, Ἀπόστολος: 375
Καλλιγιώργης, Ἱερεμίας (Σασίμων): 307
Καλλίνικος, Κων/τῖνος Β.: 35, 199, 591
Καλλίνικος, Μητροπολίτης Πριγκηποννήσων: 57
Κάλλιστος (Γουέαρ), Ἐπίσκοπος Διοκλείας (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 207, 213, 214, 216
Κάλλιστος Ξανθόπουλος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: 67
Καλύβια Φενεοῦ Κορινθίας: 26
Καμαλακίδης, Ι.: 333
Καματηρός: 167
Καμερούν: 384
Καμινάρια Κύπρου: 548
Καναδᾶς: 368, 371, 372, 373, 382, 385, 386, 524
Καντέρμπουρυ (Ἀγγλία): 79
Καππαδοκία (-αι): 394, 653
Καραγεώργος, Νικόλαος: 313, 329
Καραγιαννίδης, Δημ.: 379
Καρμίρης, Ἰωάννης: 32, 48, 53, 54
Κάρολος ὁ Μέγας: 173
Καρχηδών (Καρθαγένη): 249 σημ., 250, 257, 258, 263, 265 σημ., 266, 653
Κατηχητική Σχολή Ἀλεξανδρείας: 395
«Κείμενα καί Μελέται», ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Ἱδρύματος διά τόν Ἑλληνισμόν ἐν Μεγ. Βρεταννίᾳ: 16, 76, 87
Κελέστιος (-ιανοί): 267 σημ.
Κέλται: 651
Κεντρική Ἀφρική: 381, 386
Κεντρικόν Ἐκπαιδευτικόν Συμβούλιον (Κ.Ε.Σ.) τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 73, 74, 211, 219, 220, 525, 526, 663, 664, 665
Κεντρικόν Συμβούλιον τῶν Βοηθητικῶν Ἀδελφοτήτων τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 68, 69
Κέντρον Μελετῶν τοῦ ἐν Μ. Βρεταννίᾳ καί Ἰρλανδίᾳ Ἑλληνισμοῦ: 75, 76, 87, 221
Κεντρῴα (Κεντρική) Εὐρώπη: 199, 200, 523
Κεραμειαί Κεφαλληνίας: 545
Κεραμίδας, Α.Ι.: 39
Κέρεν Αἰθιοπίας: 381
Κέρκυρα: 524
Κηφᾶς: 36
Κηφισία Ἀττικῆς: 17
Κίεβον: 47
Κιλικία-Κίλικες: 593, 653
Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς: 13, 174
Κλήμης ὁ Ρώμης: 659
Κόβας, Εἰρήναρχος: 299-362
Κόγκαν, Δρ. Ντόναλντ, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καντουαρίας: 55
Κολοκοτρώνης, Θεόδωρος: 368
Κολούμπα, Ἅγιος — τῆς Ἰώνας: 67
Κόλτσεστερ Ἀγγλίας: 62
Κονομῆς, Νικ.: 74, 220, 376 σημ.
Κόρινθος (-ιοι): 13, 18, 20, 40, 95
Κορνήλιος, Πάπας Ρώμης: 653
Κορφιάτης, Ἕκτωρ: 538
Κουβέιτ: 384
Κουλούρης, Ἀρχιμ. Παντελεήμων: 216
Κοῦμπος, Ν.: 41
Κουρτέσης, Ἀρχιμ. Ἱερόθεος: 379
Κουτσόγιωργας Ἀγαμέμνων: 375
Κρεατσούλης, Ἀρχιμ. Καλλίνικος: 541
Κρήτη-Κρῆτες: 165, 167, 168, 523
Κριθιώτης, Ἀρχιδιάκονος Μελέτιος: 308
Κριτόπουλος, Μητροφάνης: 216
Κυκκώτης, Ἀρχιμ. Μακάριος: 548
Κυπριακή Ἐκπαιδευτική Ἀποστολή Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 219
Κυπριακή Ἑστία Λονδίνου: 223
Κυπριανός, Ἐπίσκοπος Καρθαγένης: 250, 649, 653, 654, 655
Κυπριανοῦ Σπυρίδων, Πρόεδρος Κυπριακῆς Δημοκρατίας: 90
Κύπρος (-ιοι): 54, 70, 73, 74, 90, 94, 200, 204, 213, 220, 222, 223, 251 σημ., 374, 375, 382, 526, 548
Κυρηναϊκή: 250
Κυριαζίδης, Νικόλαος: 207
Κυριακός Ταρσοῦ: 600
Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας: 123, 254, 267
Κύριλλος Ἱεροσολύμων: 596

Κύριλλος, Μητροπολίτης Χαλδίας: 57
Κωνσταντέλος, Καθηγ. Δημ. –: 78, 173
Κωνσταντῖνος, Μητροπολίτης Δέρκων: 57
Κωνσταντῖνος, Μέγας —: 597, 598, 607
Κωνσταντινούπολις: 34, 51, 61, 63, 78, 251 σημ., 254, 299-362, 368, 379-380, 384, 390, 394, 395, 467, 470, 548, 591, 596, 597, 598, 601, 602, 607, 610, 660
Κωνστάντιος, αὐτοκράτωρ Βυζαντίου: 396, 593, 597, 598, 607
Κωτσοβίλης, Κ.: 373

Λ

Λαγὰκος, Εὐστάθιος: 54, 74
Λαιμός, Κων/τῖνος Π.: 538
Λάμπεθ: 13, 201
Λάμπεθ Παλάς: 13
Λαμπίρη, Ἠώ: 299, 313
Λαμπρινούδης, Παντιᾶς Λ.: 538
Λάνταφ (Οὐαλία): 79
Λαοδίκεια Συρίας: 598
Λάς, Ἀρχιμ. Συμεών: 216
Λατῖνοι (-ικός): 66, 168, 174, 249, 250, 270, 381
Λεβίδιον Ἀρκαδίας: 27
Λέλος, Δρ. Ἀθανάσιος: 86
Λένινγκραντ: 47
Λεονάρδος Ἁγάπιος, ἱερομόναχος: 274
Λέοντας, Οἰκονόμος Χαράλαμπος —: 216
Λευκωσία: 222, 664
Λέων ὁ Μέγας, Πάπας: 260 σημ.
Λέων ΙΓ', Πάπας: 389
Λήντς Ἀγγλίας: 36, 37
Λιάλιου, Δέσπω Ἀθ.: 393
Λιβάνιος: 396
Λίβανος: 369, 384
Λιβέριος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 598, 602
Λιβύη-Λίβυες: 249 σημ., 257, 369, 384, 601, 610, 651
Λονδῖνον: 15, 23, 33, 34, 54, 55, 61, 62, 70, 73, 74, 76, 78, 88, 92, 93, 96, 199, 213, 220, 374, 524, 525, 537, 541, 543, 544, 545, 548, 550, 553
Λούβαρις, Καθηγ. Νικόλαος —: 31
Λουθηρανοί (-ισμός): 119 σημ.
Λούκιφερ Καλλάρεως: 592, 598, 603
Λουξεμβοῦργον: 375, 385
Λοῦτον Ἀγγλίας: 217
Λύκος, Χρῆστος: 45
Λυών Γαλλίας: 651
Λώτ: 606

Μ

Μαγνηνιανός, Κόμης –: 608
Μακάριος, Ἀρχιεπ. Κύπρου: 46, 86, 90, 92, 94, 224
Μακεδονία (-όνες): 599, 606
Μακεδόνιος (-ιανοί): 596, 598, 599, 602
Μάλτα (Μελίτη): 83, 200
Μανδαλίδης, Σ.: 33
Μανιχαῖοι (-ισμός): 175, 592
Μάντσεστερ (Μαγχεστρία): 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 61, 213
Μάξιμος, Μητροπολίτης Σάρδεων: 57
Μάξιμος, Μητροπολίτης Σταυρουπόλεως: 57, 101
Μάξιμος, Οἰκουμεν. Πατριάρχης: 324
Μάξιμος, φιλόσοφος: 600, 610
Μαραθώνιος Νικομηδείας: 599
Μαριάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ: 45
Μάρις, Ἐπίσκοπος Δολιχῆς: 593
Μαρκελλιανίζοντες: 603
Μαρκελλιανοί: 603
Μάρκελλος Ἀγκύρας: 601, 603, 604, 610
Μάρκελλος, ὑποδιάκονος: 254, 267
Μαρκιανός Λαμψάκου: 602
Μᾶρκος Ἐφέσου ὁ Εὐγενικός: 165, 166, 167, 168
Μᾶρκος ὁ Εὐαγγελιστής: 17
Μαρξισμός (-ισταί): 176
Μαρόκο: 369
Μαρτάκος, Νικηφόρος: 88
Μαρτύριος Μαρκιανουπόλεως: 598
Μασάουα Αἰθιοπίας: 381
Μασσαλία: 523, 541
Ματθαῖος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀσπένδου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 213
Ματθαῖος ὁ Εὐαγγελιστής: 120, 613
Μαυριτανία: 250, 261, 266
Μαυροκορδᾶτος, Ἀλέξανδρος: 543
Μαυροκορδᾶτος, Θεόδωρος Μ.: 538
Μεγάλη Βρεταννία: 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 86, 98, 200, 201, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 214, 216, 219, 220, 222, 224, 225, 370, 372, 373, 376, 377, 382, 385, 537, 664, 665
Μεγάλη Παρασκευή: 122
Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή (Κων/πολις): 315, 322, 326
Μεγκλίδης, Παντελῆς: 91
Μεθόδιος (Φούγιας), Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θυατείρων καί Μεγ. Βρεταννίας (πρώην Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης): 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25-116, 173 σημ., 197-225, 372, 374, 375, 377, 523 σημ., 525, 526
— — Ἐκδόσεις τοῦ Ἀρχιεπ. Μεθοδίου: 103-108
— — Κατάλογος βιβλιοκρισιῶν καί νεκρολογιῶν τοῦ Ἀρχιεπ. Μεθοδίου: 109-114
— — Κατάλογος βιβλιοκρισιῶν ἐπί τῶν ἐκδόσεων τοῦ Ἀρχιεπ. Μεθοδίου: 115-116
Μεθόδιος ὁ Ὁμολογητής, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: 102
Μειζόνιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Βυζακηνῆς (Β. Ἀφρικῆς): 261
Μελᾶς, Μιχαήλ: 313
Μελβούρνη: 379
Μελέτιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας: 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 602, 603
Μελέτιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρηγίου: 524
Μελέτιος, Μητροπολίτης Γαλλίας: 15, 55, 57, 200
Μελέτιος Πηγᾶς: 51
Μελέτιος Δ' Μεταξάκης, Οἰκουμενικός Πατριάρχης: 51, 66, 199, 200, 523
Μελίτων, Μητροπολίτης Χαλκηδόνος: 49, 57, 299, 305, 465, 472
Μερίκας, Γ.Ε.: 75, 220
Μερόη: 76
Μεσαίων (-ικός): 173, 178
Μεσαιωνικός Ἑλληνισμός: 173
Μέση Ἀνατολή: 50
Μεσόγειος θάλασσα: 382
Μεσσίας (-ιανισμός): 122

Μεταμόρφωσις: 121, 216
Μεταξᾶς, Κυριάκος: 538
Μεταρρύθμισις - Μετερρυθμισμένοι: 86, 166, 658, 659
Μήλιας, Ἀρχιμ. Σπυρίδων: 271, 274
Μήλλας, Ἀκύλας: 313
Μητρόπολις Ἀξώμης: 7, 17, 33, 34, 42, 45, 46, 51, 52, 95, 97, 197, 201, 202
— Αὐστρίας, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος: 83, 200, 524
— Βελγίου, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος: 83, 369, 371
— Γαλλίας: 15, 330, 371, 524
— Γερμανίας: 369, 373, 382, 524
— Δέρκων: 323
— Εἰρηνουπόλεως: 33
— Ἐλαίας: 524
— Ἑλβετίας: 369, 371
— Ἡλιουπόλεως καὶ Θείρων: 467
— Θυατείρων: 37, 66, 199, 200, 524, 525
— Ἴμβρου καὶ Τενέδου: 305, 330
— Καρπενησίου: 306, 330
— Κασσανδρείας: 326
— Κεντρῴας Εὐρώπης, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος: 200, 330
— Κορίνθου: 40
— Πριγκηποννήσων: 304, 330
— Σουηδίας: 369
— Σουηδίας καὶ πάσης Σκανδιναβίας, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος: 200, 371
— Φιλαδελφείας: 523, 524
— Χαλκηδόνος: 304, 325, 330
— Χίου: 306, 330
Μικέδη, Θέκλα: 313
Μικρὰ Ἀρμενία: 604
Μικρὰ Ἀσία: 395, 524, 664
Μικρασιατικὴ Καταστροφή: 382
Μιχαήλ, αὐτοκράτωρ Βυζαντίου: 166
Μιχαήλ, πρωτοσπαθάριος: 174
Μίχος Α.: 33
Μοναχοί (-ισμός): 19, 27, 42, 66, 167, 173, 176, 178, 212, 591, 608
Μόναχον: 15, 28, 330, 373, 468, 470, 543
Μονὴ Ἁγίας Λαύρας Ἄθω: 326
— Ἁγίου Γεωργίου Κουδουνᾶ Πριγκήπου (Κων/πολις): 305
— Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τῆς Κρονστάνδης Ἀγγλίας, Ρωσική – : 218
— Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου: 258
— Ἁγίου Σάββα (Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας): 27
— Κύκκου: 548
— Πεντέλης: 7, 19, 27, 95
— τῆς Χώρας (Κων/πολις): 331
Μονοθελητισμός: 657
Μονοφυσῖται (-ισμός): 120, 657
Μόντε Κάρλο: 541
Μοραβία: 174
Μόσχα: 47
Μοσχάμπαρ: 167
Μπάθ Ἀγγλίας: 62
Μπαχτσετζῆ, Εὐφροσύνη: 313
Μπελλίντερ Χάους (Μήθ Ἰρλανδίας): 79
Μπίρμιγχαμ: 61, 62
Μπορμπόλογλου, Βασίλειος: 313
Μπουρούντι: 384
Μπρίστολ: 62
Μπρουκλάιν Μασσαχουσέττης: 36, 76
Μυριανθεύς, Ἀρχιμ. Ἱερώνυμος: 548
«Μυριόβιβλος» τοῦ Φωτίου: 174
μυστήρια: 39, 59, 216, 468, 469, 658
Μωαβῖται: 606
Μωαμεθανοί (-ισμός): 174
Μωραϊτάκης, Πρωτοπρεσβύτερος Κων/τῖνος: 380
Μώραλης, Πέτρος: 375

N

Ναζιανζός Καππαδοκίας: 394
Ναοί Ἑλληνικοί Κριμαίας: 30
— — Κων/πόλεως: 299-362
— Ἑλληνορθόδοξοι Ἰταλίας: 523
— — Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 214, 524, 525
— — Οὐγγαρίας: 523
Ναός Ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας Bury - St. Edmunds, Norfolk (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217, 221
— — Βαρβάρας Southend - on - Sea (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Εὐφροσύνης Λονδίνου, Ὀρθόδοξος Λευκορωσικός: 218
— — Ζώνης Κυψέλης Ἀθηνῶν: 38
— — Μαρίας Μαγδαληνῆς Χαϊιστιγκς (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217
— — Σοφίας Κων/πόλεως: 660
— — Σοφίας Λονδίνου, Καθεδρικός Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 15, 55, 68, 70, 200, 213, 214, 525, 553
— — Τριάδος Brighton (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 215
— — Τριάδος Μπίρμιγχαμ (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217
— — Τριάδος Ντάραμ (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217
— — Τριάδος Oxford (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου Cambridge (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Ἀνδρέου Torquay (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Ἀντωνίου Newcastle - Upon - Tyne (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Γεωργίου Kingston (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Γεωργίου Κων/πόλεως, Πατριαρχικός: 56, 307, 308, 325, 326, 336, 660
— — Γεωργίου Μάλτας: 214
— — Δημητρίου Ἀμπελοκήπων Ἀθηνῶν: 33
— — Δημητρίου Ἔντμοντον (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217, 220
— — Δημητρίου Hastings (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Δημητρίου Plymouth (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Ἐλευθερίου (Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων) Whalthamstow Ἀνατολ. Λονδίνου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217
— — Ἰακώβου Μπίρμιγχαμ, Ἀγγλικανικός: 217
— — Ἰωάννου Βαπτιστοῦ (Νέος - Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217
— — Ἰωάννου Βαπτιστοῦ (Παλαιός - Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Ἰωάννου Βαπτιστοῦ Χολογουαίυ Λονδίνου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217
— — Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου Λονδίνου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 220
— — Κωνσταντίνου Croydon (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Λαζάρου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Μάμαντος Bedford (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Μεθοδίου Κόλτσεστερ (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 217
— — Νεκταρίου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214

— — Νεοφύτου Northampton (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Νικολάου Cardiff (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Νικολάου Leicester (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Νικολάου Liverpool (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Νικολάου Λονδίνου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 220
— — Νικολάου Southampton (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Παντελεήμονος Eastbourne (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Παντελεήμονος Λονδίνου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Πέτρου, Καθεδρικός Βατικανοῦ: 660, 661
— — Σάββα Ἀλεξανδρείας, Πατριαρχικός: 42, 43
— — Σπυρίδωνος Great Yarmouth (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217, 221
— — Τζάιλς Ἐδιμβούργου, Καθεδρικός: 83
— — Φανουρίου Aylesbury (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Φρουμεντίου Ἀδδὶς Ἀμπέμπας, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος: 41
— — Χαραλάμπους Luton (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Ἁγίων Ἀναργύρων (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Πάντων Λονδίνου, Καθεδρικός (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 218
— Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου Jersey (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Ἀνδρέου Κέντις Τάουν Λονδίνου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217, 225
— — Ἀνδρέου Weston - super - Mare (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — Βαρνάβα (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου Bristol (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217, 221
— Ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ Margate (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Γενεσίου τῆς Θεοτόκου Λονδίνου (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 69, 214, 525
— Ἑλληνορθόδοξος Μάντσεστερ: 34, 214, 221
— Εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς Θεοτόκου Δουβλίνου, Καθεδρικός: 214, 218
— — — — Middlesbrough (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ Glascow (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Καθεδρικός Νέας Ὑόρκης, Ἑλληνορθόδοξος: 173 σημ.
— Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Μασσαλίας: 541
— — — — Μπίρμιγχαμ, Καθεδρικός (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 62, 213, 214, 218
— — — — Wood Green, Καθεδρικός (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217, 220
— Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος Coventry (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— — — — Woolwich (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Παναγίας Ἐλεούσης Nottingham (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217
— — τῆς Μεγαλόχαρης Norwich (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 221
— Προφήτου Ἠλία Reading (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214
— Τιμίου Σταυροῦ καὶ Ἀρχαγγ. Μιχαὴλ Λονδίνου, Καθεδρικός (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 217, 218, 220
— Τριῶν Ἱεραρχῶν Leeds (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 214, 215
Ναυατιανός, Πρεσβύτερος Ρώμης: 653
Νέα Ζηλανδία: 384 σημ., 386
Νέα Ρώμη: 173, 174, 178
Νεκτάριος Κων/πόλεως: 598
Νεοκαισάρεια: 600, 613
Νεονικαεῖς: 594
Νεοπλατωνικοί (-ισμός): 393 κ.ἑ.
Νησιώτης, Νικ.: 75
Νιάρχος, Σταῦρος: 313, 314
Νιγηρία: 384
Νίκαια Βιθυνίας: 394, 603, 605, 608, 613
Νικήτας ὁ Παφλαγών: 173
Νικόδημος Εὐμενείας: 329
Νικόδημος, Μητροπολίτης Λένινγκραντ: 48
Νικόδημος ὁ Ἁγιορείτης: 67
Νικόλαος Μεθώνης: 167
Νικόλαος, Μητροπολίτης Ἀξώμης: 32, 33, 34, 41, 42
Νικόλαος, Πάπας Ρώμης: 178
Νικόλαος ΣΤ', Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας: 17, 32, 33, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49
Νικομήδεια: 396, 398
Νομίδου, Θάλεια: 317
Νορβηγία: 385
Νόργουϊτς Ἀγγλίας: 49, 62
Νότιος Ἀμερική: 386
Νότιος Ἀφρική: 381, 382, 384, 386
Νότιος Εὐρώπη: 200
Νόττιγχαμ Ἀγγλίας: 62
Νουβία: 76, 98
Νουμιδία: 250, 251 σημ., 262 σημ.
Νταούτ, Μαρία: 314
Ντβόρνικ, Φράνσις: 174
Ντέμπι Ντόλλο Αἰθιοπίας: 44
Ντίρε Ντάουα Αἰθιοπίας: 44, 381

Ξ

Ξενάκης, ἱερεύς Διονύσιος: 537

Ο

Ὀδησσός: 20, 47, 79
Ὀθωμανική Αὐτοκρατορία: 379
Ὄθων, Βασιλεύς τῆς Ἑλλάδος: 543, 544
Οἰκουμενική κίνησις (οἰκουμενισμός): 15, 31, 41, 58, 77, 81, 85, 86, 94, 96, 99, 100, 173 σημ., 202, 215, 471, 472, 658
Οἰκουμενική Σύνοδος, Α' (Νίκαια, 325): 97, 249 σημ., 250, 251, 253, 254, 256, 259, 267, 594, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 606, 608, 609, 610, 655, 656
— — Β' (Κων/πολις, 381): 77, 167, 251 σημ., 472, 591-614, 655
— — Γ' (Ἔφεσος, 431): 251 σημ.
— — Δ' (Χαλκηδών, 451): 16, 250, 251 σημ., 271
— — Πενθέκτη (691): 249 σημ., 251 σημ., 257, 258, 267 σημ., 274 σημ.
«οἰκονομία»: 25, 48, 51, 608, 614, 656, 658
Ὁλλανδία: 385
«ὅμοιος»: 606, 610
«Ὁμοιουσιασταί»: 596, 598, 599, 600, 602
«ὁμοιούσιος»: 606
«Ὁμοουσιασταί»: 599, 610
«ὁμοούσιον»: 49, 591, 596, 599, 600, 601, 602, 604, 609, 610
«ὁμοούσιος»: 131, 132, 597, 601, 602, 607, 608, 609, 611, 612, 613
Ὀνώριος, αὐτοκράτωρ: 257, 258 σημ., 264, 265 σημ., 266
Ὀξφόρδη: 13, 19, 20, 37, 62, 259, 274
Ὀργανισμός Ἀγγλικανορθόδοξος Δουβλίνου: 37

«Ὀρθοδοξία», θεολογ. περιοδ. ἔκδοσις: 119 σημ.
Ὀρθοδοξία (-οι): 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 30, 31, 36, 39, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 92, 93, 99, 100, 101, 119-124, 165, 166, 167, 168, 174, 176, 178, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 330, 368, 369, 373, 374, 375, 377, 379, 381, 382, 390, 467-473, 523, 524, 525, 537, 591 κ.ἑ., 600 κ.ἑ., 648, 651, 661, 663, 664
Ὀρθόδοξος (Ἑλληνική –) Διασπορά: 16, 28, 30, 48, 58, 71, 72, 73, 77, 92, 93, 197, 199, 204, 205, 207, 211, 212, 214, 216, 218, 367-388, 663-665
Ὀρθόδοξος θεολογία: 52, 62, 65, 173, 213, 658
«Ὀρθόδοξος Κῆρυξ», μηνιαῖον ὄργανον τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 61, 64, 71, 72, 73, 197, 209, 210, 213, 219, 221, 526
Ὀρχάν, Σουλτάν: 309
Ὅσιος Κορδούης: 597, 598
Ὀτρήιος Μελιτίνης: 598
Οὐαλεντινιανός, αὐτοκράτωρ: 592
Οὐάλης, αὐτοκράτωρ: 591, 592, 595, 597, 598, 607
Οὐγγαρία: 200, 369, 523, 524
Οὐκρανία: 468
Οὐνῖται (Οὐνία): 167, 381, 468, 469
Οὐρβανός, Ἐπίσκοπος Σίκκης (Β. Ἀφρικῆς): 252, 253
«οὐσία»: 130, 131, 593, 601, 608, 609, 610, 613

Π

Παγκόσμιον Συμβούλιον τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν (ΠΣΕ): 77, 658
Παλαιά Διαθήκη: 122, 399
Παλαιοκαθολικοί: 166
Παλαιστίνη (-ιοι): 394, 395
Παλλάδιος: 601
Παναγία Θεοτόκος: 67, 123, 299
Παναγίδης, Τάσος: 54, 74, 89
Παναγιωτίδης, Καθηγ. Ἰωάννης: 320, 325, 360, 389
Πανάρετος: 167
Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν: 27, 32, 48, 52, 75, 95, 220
— Ἐδιμβούργου: 25, 40, 51, 52, 86, 215, 220, 224
— Θεσσαλονίκης: 165, 389
— Λονδίνου: 76
— Μονάχου: 28, 29, 31, 52
— Ὀξφόρδης: 36, 40, 52, 62, 64, 65, 213, 219
— Πρίνστον Η.Π.Α.: 215
— τοῦ Καίημπριτζ: 35
— τοῦ Μάντσεστερ: 34, 35, 52, 86, 95, 203, 224
— τοῦ Ντάραμ: 17, 35, 76, 213
«Πάνταινος», περιοδ. ἔκδοσις τοῦ Πατριαρχείου Ἀλεξανδρείας: 29, 32
Παπακωνσταντίνου, Κων.: 380
Παπαμιχαλάκης, Ι.: 223
Παπανδρέου, Ἀνδρέας: 375
Παπαντωνίου, Ἀντ.: 383
Παπᾶς Ἀθανάσιος, Μητροπολίτης Ἑλενουπόλεως: 299, 307, 316
Παπασπύρου, Δημήτριος: 74, 220, 376 σημ.
Παπαστράτος, Ἀντώνιος: 322
«Παράκλητος»: 60, 80, 123, 613
Παρεκκλήσιον Ἁγ. Ἀθανασίου Λονδίνου: 214
— Ἁγ. Στεφάνου Norwood Λονδίνου: 537, 538, 541, 542
— Ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου Λονδίνου: 214
Παρίσι(οι): 15, 274, 315, 330, 332, 524
«Παροικιακή Χαραυγή», Ἑλληνική ἐφημερίς Λονδίνου: 377
Πατέρας, Ἰωάννης Δ.: 538
Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας: 16, 63, 64, 67, 84, 85, 101, 122, 173 σημ., 174, 176, 202, 267, 274 σημ., 471, 472, 599, 601, 608, 611, 647-661
— — —, Ἀνατολικοί (Ἕλληνες): 13, 67, 119, 122, 205, 599, 600
— — —, Ἀποστολικοί: 649, 655
— — —, Δυτικοί (Λατῖνοι): 67
— — —, Καππαδόκαι: 174, 610
— — —, Νικαιανοί: 599, 601, 608, 612, 656
Πάτμος, νῆσος: 266, 271, 274 σημ., 468, 524, 660
Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας: 17, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 87, 95, 174, 202, 221, 372, 381
— Ἀντιοχείας: 174, 330
— Βουλγαρίας: 330
— Ἱεροσολύμων: 174, 380, 381
— Μόσχας: 20, 468
— Οἰκουμενικόν (Κων/πόλεως): 15, 16, 20, 28, 31, 46, 47, 49, 54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 77, 78, 79, 83, 86, 87, 95, 96, 100, 101, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 207, 213, 221, 222, 299-362 (σποραδικῶς), 377, 379, 389, 467, 469, 523, 524, 525, 526, 647, 659, 660
— Ρουμανίας: 30, 47
Πατριαρχική Σχολή Κων/πόλεως: 379
Παυλίδης, Μακάριος: 373
Παυλῖνος Ἀντιοχείας: 592, 593, 603
Παῦλος, Ἀρχιεπ. Καρελίας καί πάσης Φινλανδίας: 77
Παῦλος, Ἀπόστολος –: 63, 121, 175, 288, 289, 291, 295, 647, 655, 659, 660
Παῦλος, Μητροπολίτης Σουηδίας: 249
Παῦλος ὁ Σαμοσατεύς: 609
Παῦλος ΣΤ', Πάπας: 389, 390, 467, 471, 660, 661
Πελαγιανοί (-ισμός): 267
Πελάγιος: 267 σημ., 598
Πεντηκοστή: 64, 65, 213
Πέργαμος: 396, 398
Πέτρος, Ἀπόστολος –: 166, 167, 207, 289, 291, 659, 660
Πέτρος (Bunce), Διάκονος τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 215
Πέτρος Β', Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας: 591, 595, 597
«Πηδάλιον»: 249-274 (σποραδικῶς)
Πίος Θ', Πάπας: 389
Πίος ΙΒ', Πάπας: 324
Πισιδία: 656
«Πίστις καί Τάξις», Παγκόσμιος Κίνησις –: 658
Πλάτων: 174, 178, 399
Πλούταρχος: 178
«Πνευματομάχοι»: 599, 602, 603, 604, 609, 613, 656
Ποιμήν, Πατριάρχης Μόσχας: 47
Πολύκαρπος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ρώμης: 649
Πολύκαρπος, Ἐπίσκοπος Σμύρνης: 649, 652
Πολωνία (-οί): 369
Πόντος: 598
Πόρος: 537
Πόρτ Σουδάν: 381
Ποσσίδιος: 260
«Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων»: 289, 295

Προαιρέσιος ὁ σοφιστής: 396, 397, 399, 400
Πρόκλος ὁ Πλατωνικός: 393 σημ.
«πρόσωπον»: 130, 131, 289, 609, 613
Προτεστάνται (-ισμός): 83, 166, 200
Προῦσα: 309
«Πρωτεῖον τοῦ Πάπα»: 166, 470, 472

Ρ

Ράλλη, Μαριέττα: 541, 544
Ράλλης, Ἀντώνιος Θ.: 537, 541
Ράλλης Αὔγουστος: 537, 538, 541
Ράλλης Εὐστράτιος: 537, 553
Ράλλης, Λουκᾶς: 553
Ράλλης, Πανδίας Στεφ.: 537, 541, 543, 544
Ράλλης, Στέφανος: 538, 541, 553
Ράνσιμαν, Σέρ Στῆβεν –: 75, 81, 220
Ράνσυ Ρόμπερτ, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καντουαρίας: 14, 55, 58, 78, 200, 222, 223
Ρέντιγκ Ἀγγλίας: 217
Ροδεσία: 384
Ρόδος: 471, 660
Ρόσσι, Χιοῦ: 200
Ροταριανός Ὅμιλος Ἀθηνῶν: 86, 88, 89, 90, 92, 94, 224
Ροταριανός Ὅμιλος Ἀμμοχώστου: 90
Ροταριανός Ὅμιλος Λονδίνου: 88, 90, 94
Ρόταρυ (-ιανοί): 90, 100
Ρουμανία (-οι): 222, 382, 664
Ρωμαϊκή Αὐτοκρατορία: 250
«Ρωμαϊκή Κουρία»: 471
Ρωμαῖοι (-ικός): 288, 395, 471, 592, 652
Ρωμαιοκαθολικοί (-ισμός): 36, 51, 55, 77, 80, 81, 83, 119 σημ., 165, 167, 324, 325, 370, 467-473, 660, 661
Ρώμη: 20, 83, 166, 167, 173, 174, 178, 251, 252, 254, 267, 274, 306, 390, 394, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 591, 596, 651, 652, 659, 660
Ρωσία (-οι): 31, 47, 67, 173, 218, 222, 317, 468

Σ

Σαβαώθ: 294, 295
Σαβελλιανίζοντες: 603
Σαβελλιανοί: 603, 611, 614
Σαβέλλιος: 601, 604, 609, 610, 613
Σακκουλίδης, Πρωτοπρεσβύτερος Μελέτιος: 316
Σαμαρεῖτις: 292
Σαμπεζύ Γενεύης: 49, 79
Σαουδική Ἀραβία: 384
Σαουθάμπτον: 206
Σαπώρ, στρατηγός Γρατιανοῦ: 592, 593
σεραφείμ: 294
Σεραφείμ, Ἅγιος – τοῦ Σαρώφ: 67
Σερβία (-οι): 222, 382
Σηλυβρία: 309
Σιβάροφ, Ν.: 48
Σίλβανός Ταρσοῦ: 602
Σινανίδης, Πλάτων: 538
Σίρμιον: 592
Σκανδιναβία: 200
Σκαπούλης, Διάκονος Νικόλαος (Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων): 206
Σκαραμαγκᾶς, Πέτρος: 541
Σκυθία: 598
Σκυλίτσης, Ἰ.: 537
Σκυλίτσης, Πέτρος: 541
Σλάβοι: 83, 173, 174
Σλίπυ, Καρδινάλιος –: 468
Σμύρνη: 651
Σοβιετική Ἕνωσις: 47, 79, 369
Σουδάν: 369, 381, 384
Σουηδία: 372, 385
Σοφισταί (-ική): 396, 397, 398, 399
Σπάρτη: 203
Σταυρίδης, Καθηγ. Βασίλειος: 78, 299
Σταυρίδης, Sir Τζών: 538
Σταύρωσις: 121, 122, 124
Στεφανόπουλος, Ἀλέξ.: 373
Στέφανος Γερμανικείας: 593
Στέφανος ὁ πρωτομάρτυς: 289
Στέφανος, Πάπας Ρώμης: 653, 655
Στόκτον Ἀγγλίας: 62
Στουττγάρδη: 299
Στυλιανός, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Αὐστραλίας: 377, 378, 379, 470
Συκᾶς, Δημήτριος: 41
Σύμβολον Νικαίας: 259, 599, 605, 606, 611, 612, 656
Σύμβολον Νικαίας – Κων/πόλεως: 167, 596, 597, 599, 603, 607, 611, 612
Σύμβολον τῆς Πίστεως: 85, 121, 222, 259, 656
Συμεών, Μητροπολίτης Εἰρηνουπόλεως: 57
Συμεών ὁ Νέος Θεολόγος: 67
«Σύναξη», θεολογική περιοδ. ἔκδοσις: 470
Σύνδεσμοι Ἑλληνορθοδόξου Νεολαίας Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 68, 206
Σύνδεσμος Βοηθητικός καί Ἐκπολιτιστικός τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων: 69
Σύνδεσμος Ἑλλήνων Ἐπιστημόνων Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 68, 76
Σύνδεσμος τῶν Ἑλληνορθοδόξων Κοινοτήτων Μεγ. Βρεταννίας: 68, 70, 223
Συνέδρια Ἀγγλικανο-Ὀρθόδοξα (1970-1984): 47, 79
Συνέδριον, Διεθνές Βιβλικῶν Σπουδῶν Ὀξφόρδης (1965): 36
— Διεθνές Πατρολογικόν Ὀξφόρδης (1963): 36
— ΣΤ' Διεθνές Πατρολογικόν Ὀξφόρδης (1971): 258 σημ.
— Ζ' Διεθνές Πατερικόν Ὀξφόρδης (1975): 49
— περί Ἐκπαιδεύσεως τῆς Ἀρχ/πῆς Θυατείρων (Λονδῖνον, 1981): 73, 220
Συνέσιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος: 174
Συνθήκη τοῦ Μπρέστ: 468
Σύνοδος Ἀγκύρας (358): 607
— Ἀδρουμήτου: 261
— Ἀλεξανδρείας (362): 599
— Ἀντιοχείας (341-45): 606
— — (345): 607
— — (379): 594
— Ἀριμίνου (359): 607
— Βασιλείας (1431-1438): 166
— Βατικανοῦ Α' (1870): 166
— Γενική τῆς Ἀγγλικανικῆς Ἐκκλησίας (1981): 222
— Γενική τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σκωτίας (1982): 83, 85
— Δρυός (403): 265

— Ἱππῶνος (393): 249 σημ., 250, 255 σημ., 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 260, 261, 262 σημ., 263, 268, 269
— — (427): 256 σημ., 257 σημ.
— Ἰσαυρίας (359): 607
— Καρθαγένης (348): 250, 255 σημ., 256, 259, 268
— — (390): 250, 252, 255 σημ., 256, 259, 260 σημ., 268
— — (394): 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 261, 263
— — (397): 250, 252, 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 260, 261, 262, 268, 269
— — (399): 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 259, 262
— — (401): 250, 255 σημ., 256 σημ., 260 σημ., 262, 263, 264, 268, 269
— — (403): 250, 264, 269
— — (404): 256 σημ., 263 σημ., 264, 269
— — (405): 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 265, 269
— — (407): 256 σημ., 265, 269, 270
— — (408): 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 265, 274 σημ.
— — (409): 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 266, 270
— — (410): 256 σημ., 257 σημ., 266, 267 σημ., 270, 274 σημ.
— — (418): 255, 256 σημ., 260 σημ., 266, 268, 270
— — (419): 249-274
— — (421): 256 σημ., 257 σημ.
— — (424-426): 255, 257 σημ., 267
— — (525): 256, 257 σημ., 260, 261
— Κωνσταντίας (1414-1418): 166
— Κων/πόλεως (360): 607
— — (382): 613
— — (394): 258 σημ.
— Λατερανοῦ (1215): 389
— Μιλέβης (402): 256 σημ., 263, 269, 273, 274 σημ.
— — (416): 267 σημ.
— Νίκης Θράκης (359): 607
— Ρώμης (341): 606
— Σαρδικῆς: 251, 253, 259 σημ., 606
— Σελευκείας (359): 607
— Σιρμίου (351): 607
— — (357): 607
— — (359): 607
— τῆς Λυών (1274): 389
— Τριδέντου (1545-1563): 166
— Τυάνων (367): 602
— Φερράρας - Φλωρεντίας (1439): 165-168, 389
— Φιλιππουπόλεως (343): 607
«Σύνταγμα Ράλλη-Ποτλῆ»: 249-274 (σποραδικῶς)
Συντονιστική Ἐπιτροπή Κυπρίων Ἀγγλίας: 222
Συρία - Σύροι: 67, 369, 384
Συρόπουλος, Σίλβεστρος: 165
σχίσμα - σχισματικοί: 39, 166, 167, 168, 174, 249 σημ., 261, 263, 471, 472, 647, 648, 653, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659
Σφακιανούδη, Εἰρήνη: 314
Σφακιανούδης, Μιχαήλ: 306, 314, 333
Σωζομενός: 592, 596, 602
Σωκράτης, ἱστορικός: 591, 592, 596, 602
Σωτηριάδης, Γρηγόριος: 314
Σωτήριος, Ἐπίσκοπος Τορόντο: 377

T

Ταϊγάνιον Ρωσίας: 545
Ταλιαδοῦρος, Ἀθανάσιος: 74, 75, 220, 376
Ταμεῖον Ἀνακουφίσεως Κύπρου ἐν Μεγ. Βρεταννίᾳ: 223
Τανζανία: 369, 384
Ταράσιος (ἀδελφός Φωτίου τοῦ Μεγάλου): 177
Ταρσός: 600
Τεργέστη: 523
Τερέντιος, Ἐπίσκοπος Τομέων: 598
Τερέντιος, Κόμης: 601, 611
«Texts and Studies», ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Ἱδρύματος διά τόν Ἑλληνισμόν ἐν Μεγ. Βρεττανίᾳ: 76, 198, 221, 222, 526
Τίμιος Σταυρός: 89, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124
Τιμόθεος (μαθητής Ἀπ. Παύλου): 289
Τιμόθεος Ἀλεξανδρείας: 596, 598
Τιμόθεος, Ἐπίσκοπος Μιλητουπόλεως (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 209, 213, 214, 215, 216, 221, 222, 525, 537
Τομάζος, Ἰωάννης: 34
Τόρρανς, Καθηγ. Θ.Φ. – : 50, 51, 75, 94
Τουρκία - Τοῦρκοι (-ικός): 166, 324, 325, 369, 379, 381
Τράνσβααλ: 541
Τρανσυλβανία: 468
Τραπεζοῦς: 259, 271, 274 σημ.
Τρεῖς Ἱεράρχαι: 74, 75, 220
Τρεμπέλας, Παναγιώτης: 32
Τρικούπη, Ἀγλαΐα Σπ.: 543
Τρικούπης, Σπυρίδων: 543
Τρίπολις Λιβύης: 250
Τσαλίκης, Χρῆστος: 92
Τσιμπουτί: 44
Τσιρπανλῆς, Καθηγ. Ζαχαρίας: 168
Τσοκώνας, Κίμων: 317

Y

Ὑάκινθος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἑλληνοκαθολικῶν Ἑλλάδος: 469
Υἱός (Λόγος) τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ ἐνσαρκωθείς: 67, 79, 80, 119, 120, 121, 122, 167, 176, 292, 295, 398, 472, 598, 601, 602, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 649, 651, 654
Ὑπατία, νεοπλατωνική φιλόσοφος: 395
«ὑπόστασις» (ὑποστατική ἕνωσις): 120, 121, 130, 131, 132, 295 σημ., 593, 601, 613
ὑψισταρίων αἵρεσις: 394

Φ

Φανάρι(ον): 78, 301, 304, 307 κ.ἑ., 327, 467, 472
Φαυστῖνος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ποτεντίνης (Πικένου): 249, 252, 254, 255, 267
Φενεός Κορινθίας: 26, 27, 525
Φιλέλληνες (-ισμός): 221
«Φιλιόκβε»: 77, 85, 167, 222, 470, 472
Φίλιππος, Πρεσβύτερος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης: 249, 252 254, 267
Φίλιππος, ὕπατος: 266
Φιλοσοφική Σχολή Περγάμου: 396, 398
Φιλοστόργιος, ἱστορικός: 592
Φιλόστρατος: 398
Φιρμιλιανός Καισαρείας: 649, 653, 655
Φλαβιανός Ἀντιοχείας: 593, 603

Φλωρεντία: 167
Φλωρέντιος, Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Β. Ἀφρικῆς: 265
Φλωρόφσκυ, Γεώργιος: 66, 657
Φορτουνατιανός, Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Β. Ἀφρικῆς: 265
Φούγια, Ἀναστασία: 26, 217
Φούγιας, Γεώργιος: 26
Φούγιας, Ἰωάννης (Μεθόδιος): 26, 27
Φούγιας, Παναγιώτης Γ.: 35, 367
Φουρνῆς: 167
Φράγκοι: 167
Φρίμπουργκ Ἑλβετίας: 49
Φρουμέντιος, Ἅγιος (Φωτιστής τῆς Αἰθιοπίας): 41, 50
«φύσις»: 121, 130, 131, 132, 612
Φωτεινιανοί: 592, 598, 603
Φωτιάδης, Νικόλαος: 35
Φώτιος, Μητροπολίτης Ἴμβρου καί Τενέδου: 57
Φώτιος, Πατριάρχης Κων/πόλεως: 166, 167, 173-179, 266, 267 σημ., 271

Χ

Χαίηστιγξ Ἀγγλίας: 62
Χαϊλέ Σελασιέ, αὐτοκράτωρ Αἰθιοπίας: 42
Χαλάνδριον Ἀθηνῶν: 19
Χάλκη Κων/πόλεως: 305, 389
Χαλκηδόνιοι: 48, 97
Χαπίπης, Δρ. Ὅμηρος: 92, 216
Χαρισιάδης, Χαράλαμπος: 314
Χαρτούμ: 381
Χατζηαθανασίου, Μ.Α.: 311
Χατζηεμμανουήλ, Ἐμμ.: 376
Χατζηπατέρας, Ἰωάννης Α.: 93
Χατζησαββῆς, Δρ. Ἀνδρέας: 210, 215
Χίλλ Χένρυ, Ἀγγλικανός Ἐπίσκοπος: 79
Χίος - Χῖοι: 301 κ.ἑ., 310 κ.ἑ., 537, 538, 544
Χιούμ, Καρδινάλιος Βασίλειος –, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Γουεστμίνστερ: 55, 58, 78, 200
χρῖσμα: 468
Χριστολογία - Χριστολογικοί ὅροι: 591-614, 657
Χριστοφόρος, Ἐπίσκοπος Τελμησσοῦ (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 210, 213, 214, 216, 525
Χριστοφόρος, Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας: 27, 29, 32, 33, 381
«Χρονικά» Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης: 94
Χρυσόστομος, Ἐπίσκοπος Θερμῶν: 524
Χρυσόστομος, Ἐπίσκοπος Κυανέων (Ἀρχ/πή Θυατείρων): 71, 213, 214, 216, 220, 523, 525
Χρυσόστομος (Κωνσταντινίδης), Μητροπολίτης Μύρων: 48, 57, 119
Χρυσόστομος, Μητροπολίτης Νεοκαισαρείας: 323
Χρυσόστομος Παπαδόπουλος, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν: 38, 597, 602, 605

Ψ

«Ψαλμοί»: 122
Ψαρρός, Ἰωάννης: 538
Ψελλός, Μιχαήλ: 167, 174
Ψευδο-Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης: 174
Ψυχογυιός, Ἀνατόλιος - Ἀπόστολος: 215

Ω

Ὠριγένης: 123, 174

# GENERAL INDEX

By

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A

Aalst, P. van der — : 491
Aba, Archdeacon of Seleucia: 127
Aba, Syrian Catholicos: 126, 127, 134
"Abba Salama", A Review of the Association of Ethio -Hellenic Studies: 50, 52, 76, 87
Abba Mikael: 430
Abbadie, Antoine d' — : 435
Abi - Sader, Georges: 492
Abraham: 189, 423, 424, 425, 426, 475, 533, 587, 617, 624, 630, 631, 633, 634, 641
Abramowski, L.: 129
Abreha, King of Aksum: 277
Abu Salih the Armenian: 475
Abyssinia (-ns): 433
Acacius of Caesarea: 634
Académie Roumaine: 580, 589
Academy of Athens (Académie d' Athènes): 50, 52, 53, 54, 75, 579
Achaia (Greece): 184, 185
Achatius: 171
Acropolites, G.: 231
"Acts of the Apostles": 147, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 284, 286, 288, 289, 291, 292, 294, 295, 296, 620, 626, 629
Adam: 134, 140, 155, 156, 563, 564, 624
"Adam's sin": 568
Addis Ababa: 17, 33, 34, 41, 42, 47, 50, 51, 97, 275, 276, 434, 615
Addis Zemen (Ethiopia): 275
Adrian, Patriarch of Moscow: 240
Adriatic Sea: 456
Adua (Ethiopia): 275
Aegean Islands: 416
Africa (-ns): 33, 61, 89, 91, 232, 427, 436, 437, 450, 462, 479, 481
Agabus the prophet: 289
"Age to Come, The — ": 137, 138
Agnostics (-cism): 92, 527, 529
Agrippa, king: 187
Ahmet Gran: 433
Akakios, Syrian Catholicos: 126, 130
Aklilu, Dr. Amsalou: 435
Aksum: 11, 17, 20, 42, 277, 428, 433, 434, 615
Al - Maqrizi: 475
Alaska: 462
Alberigo, Prof. G.: 500, 501
Alcuin: 581
Aleppo (Syria): 129 note
Ales, Pavel: 491
Alexander, Metropolitan of Novgorod and Pskov: 238
Alexander the Great: 430, 431
Alexandria (-ns): 17, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 42, 43, 76, 87, 126, 150, 170, 228, 229, 231, 298, 406, 409, 410, 411, 418, 429, 448, 455, 476, 477, 491
Alexandrian Theology: 52, 132, 455
Alexis, Russian Metropolitan: 413, 414
Alexis, Tsar: 420
Alexius I Comnenus, Byzantine Emperor: 363, 412
Alivizatos, Prof. Hamilcar: 32, 39, 40, 622
Alkibiade: 405
Allemagne: 404
Alphabet Greek: 457
— slavic (Cyrillian): 457, 458
Alps, The — : 456
Ambrosiaster: 284, 634
Ambrose, Archimandrite of the Church of Finland: 491
Ambrose, St.: 283, 284, 290 note, 296, 429
Amda Sion, king of Aksum: 277, 278
America (-ns): 76, 80, 193 404, 462, 504, 557, 615
Amhara: 278
"Amos, the book of — ": 586
Anachoretes: 581
Ananias, Archbishop of Achaltsike: 491
Ananias of Damascus: 182, 291
Anastasios (Yannoulatos), Bishop of Androusa: 458
Anastasius of Sinai: 640
Anchialos: 235
Ancient Greece - Greeks: 228, 231, 232, 428, 433, 438, 449, 627, 636
Andrew, St. — the Apostle: 162, 485, 488, 492
Andronicos II, Byzantine emperor: 231
Angels: 63, 134, 141, 147, 477, 559, 563, 641
Angleterre: 404, 405
Anglican Communion: 78, 79, 503, 504, 505, 507, 508, 509, 510
Anglican - Orthodox Association: 37
Anglican - Orthodox Dialogue: 20, 80, 509 - 512
Anglican - Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions (1973): 13, 196 note, 213
Anglican - Roman Catholic Dialogue: 494 - 509
Anglican - Roman Catholic International Commision: 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508
Anglicans (-ns): 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 36, 51, 53, 55, 60, 65, 76, 79 80, 193, 242, 479, 494 - 512, 557, 579, 580
Anglo - Saxons: 194, 404, 617
Anhomoeans: 137
Anna Porphyrogennete: 461
Anointment: 135, 291

Anselm, St. — Archbishop of Canterbury: 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522
Anthemios of Tralles: 229
Anti - Chalcedonian/s/ : 47, 53
Anti - Theopaschite/s/ : 132
Antioch (-enes): 126, 127, 129, 130, 139, 181, 183, 184, 228, 455, 624, 640
Antioch of Pisidia: 181, 182, 186, 189, 629
Antiochene Theology: 125 - 142, 455
Antiochus Epiphanes: 475
Antoine, St. — le Grand: 580
Antonios, Metropolitan of Transylvania: 491
Antony, Metropolitan of Surozh: 3
Antony, Patriarch of Constantinople: 414
"Apocrypha" of the Old Testament: 618
Apollinarians: 136
Apollinarius (-ianism): 131, 236
Apollo: 532
Apollonios of Rhodes: 229
Apollos: 155, 626
Apologists (-getic): 189, 424, 455, 639, 640
Apostles, The — : 63, 83, 84, 129, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 141, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 181, 183, 243, 291, 292, 296, 455, 457, 492, 495, 498, 509, 533, 570 ff, 580, 627, 628, 629, 635, 637, 643
Apostolic succession (Apostolische Sukzession): 83, 84, 160, 486, 490, 495, 496, 506, 570 ff
"Apostolike Diakonia of the Church of Greece": 463
Aquinas, St. Thomas — : 520, 533
Arabia - Arabs (-big): 129, 182, 183, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 402, 431, 437, 444, 448, 456
Archdiocese (Archbishopric) of Athens: 19, 161
— — — Australia, Greek Orthodox: 62
— — — Austria, Greek Orthodox: 82
— — — Bar (Serbia): 460
— — — Belgium, Greek Orthodox: 82
— — — Dyrrachium: 460
— — — Elasson (Greece): 236
— — — France (Archéveché de France), Greek Orthodox: 15
— — — Iberia: 416
— — — Nizni Novgorod (Russia): 417
— — — North and South America, Greek Orthodox: 82, 462, 513
— — — Ochrid: 416, 460
— — — Petch (Serbia): 416
— — — Riazan (Russia): 237, 417
— — — Salzbourg of Bavaria: 457
— — — Serbia: 460
— — — Sirmium: 457
— — — Smolensk (Russia): 417
— — — Split: 460
— — — Suzdal (Russia): 417
— — — Thyateira and Great Britain: 7, 17, 28, 33, 37, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78, 86, 98, 557, 615
— — — Tirnovo: 416
— — — Tver (Russia): 417
— — — Vologda (Russia): 417
Archimedes: 229
Areopagus: 187, 189, 190
Aretas, Nabataean king: 183
Arethas of Caesarea: 634
Arian/s/: 152, 281 - 298
Aristarchos, Bishop of Zenoupolis (Archbishopric of Thyateira): 62
Aristarchos of Cyrene: 228
Aristotle (-telian): 228, 229, 230, 427, 429, 430, 438, 533
Arius (-ianism): 131, 136, 137, 152, 244
Armagh: 193
Armenia (-ns): 402, 416, 428, 456
Arsenios, Metropolitan of Elasson: 417
Artemis: 532
Asbeha, king of Aksum: 277
Ascension: 128, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 141, 529, 534, 535, 558
Asia: 232, 402, 403, 404, 460
Asia Minor (Asie Mineure): 181, 184, 404, 630
Asmara (Erythraea): 42, 44, 275
Asparuch, ruler of Bulgaria: 460
Assembly, IIIrd General of the WCC (New Delchi, 1961): 463
Assimakopoulos, Theod.: 45
Association, Charity and Cultural — of the Archbishopric of Thyateira: 69
— Internationale des Amis de Robert Schuman: 76
— of Greek Scientists in Great Britain: 68, 76
— of Ethio - Hellenic Studies: 52, 75, 87
— of the Greek Orthodox Communities in Great Britain: 68, 70
Associations of the Greek Orthodox Youth of Great Britain: 68
Astarte: 532
Athanasius, St. — the Great: 50, 95, 146, 147, 152, 153, 281 - 298, 429
— works of — : 281 - 296
Atheism (-ists): 522, 527, 569
Athenagoras I (Kavvadas), Archbishop of Thyateira: 28, 34, 37
Athenagoras II (Kokkinakis), Archbishop of Thyateira and great Britain: 20, 39,54, 509, 511
Athenagoras I, Ecumenical Patriarch: 36, 81, 86, 90, 92, 94, 159, 160, 162, 485, 493, 494, 509
Athens (Athènes): 13, 19, 23, 28, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 47, 48, 54, 76, 161, 181, 185, 189, 190, 228, 230, 232, 403, 431, 462, 491, 510, 582, 589
Athos Mount (Holy mountain): 19, 236, 414, 415, 460, 461
Atieh, G.: 492
Atlantic Ocean: 194
Audollent, A.: 249 note
Augsburg: 169
Augustine, St.: 144, 169, 194, 509, 533, 564, 580, 582, 583, 584, 585, 588, 625, 632, 634, 636, 637
Australia (-ns): 80, 557
Ayo, Atinafu: 275, 276

B

Baal: 532
Babai the Great: 127, 128, 130, 131, 132
Babylon (-ia, -ians): 230
Bacon, R.: 230, 232
Badcock, F. J.: 605
Badoglio, Marschall — : 275
Balanos, Prof. D.: 579, 580, 582, 583, 586, 588, 589

Balkans: 456, 459, 461, 462
Baltic Sea: 456
Baptism: 134, 135, 137, 138, 153, 157, 195, 196, 242, 246, 247, 283, 284, 291, 294, 295, 459, 460, 461, 481, 492, 503, 505, 508, 528, 531, 532, 534, 564, 583, 624, 632, 635
Bardas, Byzantine Emperor: 229
Bari (Italy): 491
Barlaam, Metropolitan of Rostoff and Yaroslave: 238
Barnabas the Apostle: 181, 183, 184, 186, 288
Barrett, Prof. C. K.: 155
Barsauma, Metropolitan of Nisibis: 126, 128, 130
Barth, Karl: 521, 522
Barth, Marcus: 625, 627, 628
Bartholomaios, Metropolitan of Philadelphia: 57, 492, 494
"Baruch, the book of — ": 620
Basel: 275
Basil, Archbishop of Brussels: 3, 21, 78
Basil, Grand Prince of Moscow: 414, 415
Basil, St. — the Great: 20, 36, 74, 75, 100, 170, 171, 228, 283, 429, 557, 581, 586, 617, 634, 643
Basil I, Russian Ruler: 412, 414
Basill I the Macedonian, Byzantine emperor: 457, 459, 460
Basilios, Metropolitan formerly of Lemnos: 23, 27
Bath (England): 213
Baum, Cardinal W.: 491
Bavaria: 490
Bea, Cardinal — :503
Beauduin, Dom Lambert: 503
Beck, H.-G.: 28, 230
Beethoven: 441
Beiruth (Berytos): 228, 431
Belgium: 19, 78
Belgrade: 489
Bell, George: 503
Bellinter House (Meath, Ireland): 79, 196 note
"ben Sira": 424
Benedictine/s/: 581
Benjamin: 182
Benoît, Saint — : 580
Benz, Ernst: 635
Berbers: 456
Berlin: 404
Bessarabia: 461
Béthléem: 580
Bianciotti, Hector: 471
bibliographie concernant Chypre: 406 - 407
bibliography on Byzantine Science (Especially Astronomy): 232 - 233
bibliography on Missionary work of the Ecumenical Patriarchate: 463 - 465
Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris: 401, 435
Biener, F. A.: 258
Billerbek, Francis: 411
Binchy, D. A.: 193
Birmingham: 61, 62
"Biserica Orthodoxa Romana", Revuede Bucarest: 579, 589
Bishopric of Aksum: 7
— — Eirenoupolis: 33, 41
— — Novgorod (Russia): 238
— — Riazan (Russia): 238
— — Rome: 169
— — Suzdal (Russia): 238
— — Yaroslave (Russia): 238
Black Sea: 416, 456, 459, 461
Blauen Nil (Blue Nile): 275
Bohemia: 457, 459
Bolsevic Revolution: 30
Boris-Michael, ruler of Bulgaria: 459, 460
Boyer, Louis: 486, 488, 490, 491, 496
Bradford (England): 214
Bréhier, L.: 230, 231, 232
Brent, Charles: 503
Bria, Prof. Ion: 463
Brini, Archbishop M.: 491
Bristol: 62, 507
Britain - British: 15, 55, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 70, 72, 76, 77, 86, 91, 96, 98, 194, 195, 196, 364, 401, 404, 557
British Academy: 35, 75
British Council of Churches: 485
British Isles: 232
British Museum: 323, 359
Britons: 195, 196
Brock, Dr. Sebastian: 125
Brookline, Mass. (U.S.A.): 36
Bruce, Prof. F. F.: 3, 181
Brussels (Bruxelles): 19, 21, 76, 87
Bucha, Habib: 492
Bucharest: 485, 579, 589
Buckler, G.: 227
Buddha: 532
Buddhism: 528, 532, 533
Budge, Wallis: 364
Bulgaria (-ns): 48, 418, 456, 457, 459, 460, 461, 491
Bultmann: 480, 481
Bury, J. B.: 227
Bury St. Edmunds (England): 502
Butler, Bishop Christopher: 496, 498
Byzantine civilization: 227, 420, 456, 460, 461
Byzantium (-ines, -ine empire): 16, 55, 75, 162, 227 - 233, 235, 236, 240, 363, 404, 409, 412, 413, 414, 415, 417, 418, 429, 430, 455 - 465, 475, 566, 570

C

Cabalists (-ism): 530
Caesar of Arles: 284
Caesarea of Cappadocia: 183, 228
Cairo: 41, 416
Cajetan, Cardinal — : 169
Callinicos, Constantinos: 35
Calvin (-ism): 411
Calvinist/s/: 409, 411, 582, 584
Cambridge: 3, 129, 510, 589
Camille: 405
Campenhausen, Prof. Hans G. von — : 39, 40
Camus, Albert: 527
Canada (-dians): 495, 502, 510, 511
Cantacuzenoi, Byzantine dynasty: 239, 418
Canterbury (England): 79, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 504, 505, 506, 511

Cantor, M.: 230, 231
Cape de Bonne Espérence: 405, 406
Capitalism (-ists): 533
Carpathian Mountains: 459
Carthago: 249 note
Casablanca: 529
Caspian Sea: 456
Catholics (-cism): 195, 196, 582, 660
Caucasus: 459
Célestin I., Pape de Rome: 588
Central Council of Assisting Brotherhoods of the Archbishopric of Thyateira: 68
Central Educational Council of the Archbishopric of Thyateira: 73, 74
Cephas: 36, 155, 624
Chabot, J. B.: 125
Chadwick, Henry: 498, 499, 500, 501
Chadwick, Owen: 579, 580, 581, 589
Chalcedon: 132
Chalcedonian/s/: 47, 97, 127, 128, 131, 132
Chaldedonian definition: 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 195, 481, 503
Chambésy of Geneva: 49, 79, 486, 492
Chardin, Teillhard de — :447
Charity Brotherhoods of the Archbishopric of Thyateira: 69
Charlesworth, J.: 515
Charley, Julian: 495
Chartier, Auguste: 527
Chavoutier, L.: 282, 284, 296, 297, 298
Chechs: 456, 459
Chediath, G.: 128
Cheremon, Ava — : 584
Cherubim: 295, 642
Chevetogne (Belgium): 489, 491
China (-nese): 232, 275, 276, 462, 532
Chioniades, Greg.: 231
Chitescu, Prof. Nicolae: 579, 589
Chojnacki, Stanislav: 363
Chrischona, St. — : 275
Chrismation: 492
Christology (-gical terms): 125 - 142, 143 - 154, 162, 163, 281 - 298, 479 - 483, 487, 489, 493, 570, 623, 627, 637, 641, 643
Christophoros, Patriarch of Alexandria: 27, 29, 32, 33
Chrysanthos, Metropolitan of Morphou: 491
Chrysokokkis, G.: 231
Chrysostomos, Arcbishop of Athens: 38
Chrysostomos, Bishop of Kyanea (Archb/ric of Thyateira): 71
Chrysostomos, Metropolitan of Myra: 3, 48, 57, 489
Chrysostomos (Zaphiris), Metropolitan of Peristerion: 162, 489, 491
Church Ancient (Holy Catholic and Apostolic): 15, 39, 69, 84, 99, 133, 137, 138, 143, 152, 153, 243, 244, 419, 486, 487, 494, 532
— Anglican: 7, 55, 65, 78, 82, 494 - 512
— British: 194, 196
— Byzantine: 232, 413, 416, 461
— Coptic: 476
— Early: 147, 148, 149, 153, 169, 244, 499
— English (-of England): 7, 47, 78, 494 - 512
— Evangelical: 463
— Galatian: 145
— Gentile: 155, 184, 188
— Greek: 14, 18, 72, 92, 95, 169, 415, 421, 488, 489, 616
— Nicene: 99
— of Albania, Orthodox: 30
— — Alexandria: 19, 31, 38, 39, 51, 52, 53, 409, 410, 420, 462, 491
— — Antioch: 181, 184
— — Armenia: 47
— — Bulgaria: 47, 460, 461, 462, 491
— — Cilicia, Primitive: 184
— — Constantinople (Great Church of Christ): 65, 88, 414, 416, 455, 460, 461, 462, 490, 491
— — Corinth, Apostolic: 36, 38, 39, 40, 52, 155, 156, 158, 184
— — Cyprus: 184, 491
— — Czechoslovakia, Orthodox: 30, 491
— — Ephesus: 190
— — Ethiopia: 53, 95, 427, 428
— — Ethiopia, Greek Orthodox: 98
— — Finland, Orthodox: 491
— — Great Britain, Greek Orthodox: 64, 65, 69, 70, 95
— — Greece: 39, 51, 82, 87, 462, 491, 492, 493
— — Hungary: 460
— — Jerusalem: 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 191, 491
— — Lystra: 188
— — Manchester, Greek Orthodox: 35, 95
— — Moravia (Slavonic): 457
— — Moscow: 491
— — Munich, Greek Orthodox: 95
— — Poland, Orthodox: 491
— — Scotland: 47, 51, 82, 84
— — Serbia: 460, 462, 491
— — South Galatia: 184
— — Syria, primitive: 184
— — The East: 125 - 142
— — Thessalonica: 184
— — Ukrania, Orthodox: 30
— — Ukrania, the Self - ordained Lipkof — : 30
— — West Germany: 244
— Orthodox (Eastern): 11, 15, 16, 30, 31, 48, 66, 69, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 92, 95, 98, 99, 125 - 142, 239, 244, 296, 409, 416, 419, 462, 485 - 512, 557, 637, 645
— Persian: 130
— post-apostolic: 455
— Primitive: 184, 491
— Protestant: 409, 463
— Roman Catholic (Latin, of Rome): 36, 55, 80, 100, 125, 169, 170, 171, 187, 236, 241 - 248, 284, 298, 409, 410, 411, 459, 460, 463, 485 - 512, 532, 533, 632
— Rumanian Orthodox: 30, 462, 463, 491
— Russian Orthodox: 20, 47, 82, 235 - 240, 409 - 422, 460, 461, 462, 485
— Syrian Orthodox: 127, 130, 131
— Undivided: 193, 195, 241 - 248
— Uniat: 463
— United: 241 - 248
— United Reformed: 496
— Universal: 490, 501, 502, 639
— Western: 169, 171, 229, 244, 296, 297, 298, 637
church Canterbury Cathedral: 508

— Greek Orthodox in Manchester: 34
— of Haghia Sophia in Constantinople: 164, 229, 457
— — Haghia Sophia in London, Greek Orthodox Cathedral: 15, 54, 55, 68, 70
— — St. Clement in Rome: 457
— — St. Demetrios at Ambelokipi, Athens: 33
— St. Demetrios in Xyloporta, Constantinople, Patriarchal — : 415
— — St. Demetrios Kanabou in Constantinople: 235
— — St. Frumentios, Greek Orthodox in Addis Ababa: 41
— — St. George in Constantinople, Patriarchal — : 56, 415
— — St. Giles in Edinburgh: 82
— — St. John Maddermaket (Norwich): 217
— St. Mary the Theotokos in Dublin, Greek Orthodox Cathedral: 79
— — St. Peter in Vatican: 490
— — St. Savvas in Alexandria, Patriarchal — : 43
— — the Immaculate Virgin in Moscow: 238
— the Panaghia of Consolation in Constantinople, Patriarchal — : 415
— — the Sacred Girdle in Kypseli, Athens: 38
— — Theotokos in Birmingham: 62
— — Theotokos in London, Greek Orthodox: 69
— Theotokos Pammakaristos in Constantinople, Patriarchal — : 235, 415, 416
— St. Paul's — within - the - Walls in Rome : 504
"Church and Theology", a theological review of the Archbishopric of Thyateira and Great Britain: 16, 76, 78, 87
Churches, Ancient Oriental (Orthodox): 47, 49, 51, 125, 132
— Eastern: 30, 51, 169 - 171, 410, 463, 491, 492, 511
— of Judaea: 183
— Orthodox: 46, 53, 82, 87, 243, 409, 410, 462, 463, 485, 487, 488, 511
— Protestant (Free): 55
— Reformed: 100, 245, 247, 500
— Slavic: 460
— Uniate: 486, 488
— Uniate of the East: 409
— Western: 511
churches, Greek in Krimaia: 30
Cilicia: 183
Cincinatus: 405
"Clarendon Press": 19
Clark, Bishop Alan: 496, 500, 501
classic (-al): 228, 230, 231, 232, 615, 627, 631, 636, 639
Claudius Ptolemy: 228, 229, 230, 231
Clement, Bishop of Belitsa: 459, 460
Clement, St. — of Alexandria: 13, 615, 628, 630, 631, 634, 636, 637
Clement, St. — of Rome: 457
"Clergy Review": 499
Coggan, Dr. Donald — Archbishop of Canterbury: 55, 503, 505, 508
Columba, St. — of Iona: 67
Coman, Jean: 580, 581
Communists (-ism): 95, 169, 276, 462
"comprehensiveness": 20, 498
Conference for "Faith and Order" (1937): 247, 496
— Inter - Orthodox with the Ancient Oriental Churches ( Addis Ababa, 1971): 47
— Lambeth — (1968): 497, 498, 504, 505
— — (1978): 503, 504, 505, 510, 511
— — (1978): 247
— 7th International Patristic (Oxford, 1975): 49
— on Education of the Archbishopric of Thyateira (London, 1981): 73, 74
— 1st Pan - Orthodox (Rhodes, 1961): 463
— 3rd Pan - Orthodox (Rhodes, 1963): 485
Conferences, Anglican - Orthodox (1970 - 1984): 47, 79, 510, 511
"Confessio Augustana": 242, 243
Confirmation: 195
Congregatio pro Ecclessiis Orientalibus: 485
Congress, International of Biblical Studies (Oxford, 1965): 36
— of Orthodox theology, 2nd (Athens, 1976): 462
— Sixth International of Patristic Studies (Oxford, 1963): 36
"Congruistes" (-isme): 584, 586
Conomes, Nicholas: 74
Constantellos, Prof. D.: 78
Constantine Porphyrogennitos: 228, 459
Constantine the Great: 228, 416, 455, 456, 639
Constantine V., Byzantine emperor: 641
Constantinople (Konstantinopel): 3, 11, 34, 35, 51, 57, 61, 78, 127, 159, 160, 162, 163, 170, 228, 229, 231, 232, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 404, 405, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 485, 488, 490, 491, 509, 511
Constantinos, Metropolitan of Derki: 57
Copernicus: 229
Coptic Saints: 475 - 477
Coptic Synaxarion: 475, 476
Copts (-tic): 410, 428, 475, 476, 477
Coran: 406
Corinth (-ians): 13, 18, 26, 39, 40, 95, 150, 155, 156, 157, 184, 185, 187, 430, 616, 626, 630
Cormac, Dr. Robin: 363
"Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium": 128
Cosmas the Aetolian, St. — : 462
Council of Antioch: 411
— — Basle (1434): 414
— — Constance (1414-1418): 170, 414
— — Constantinople (1341): 567
— — — (1347): 567
— — — (1351): 567
— — Ferrara - Florence (1438-9): 170, 409, 410, 412, 414
— — Jerusalem, Apostolic — : 181, 184
— — the Areopagus: 181
— — Trent: 505
— — Trullo (692): 412, 419
— Vatican I: 242, 244, 494, 498, 499, 501
— Vatican II: 160, 161, 241, 243, 246, 247, 248, 487, 497, 498, 499, 616
— World Methodist (1967-70): 496
Courtauld Institute of Art (University of London): 363
Creed (Symbol) of Faith, The — : 84, 236, 241, 490, 498, 503, 510, 511, 573
Crete (-tans): 409, 410, 416, 509, 628
Crimea: 457, 461
Croatia - Croats: 456, 457, 460
Crombie, A.: 232
"Cronicles", book of — of the Old Testament: 94

Cross, Prof. F. L.: 39, 40, 257 note
Crummey, Ronald: 277
Crusius, Martin: 411
Crypto - Manichaeans: 644
Cullmann, Oscar: 636
Cupitt, Don — : 480
Cyprian, St. — : 241
Cyprius: 170
Cyprus (Chypre) - Cypriot/s/: 54, 70, 73, 74, 89, 90, 91, 94, 181, 238, 363, 364, 401 - 407, 475, 491, 492
Cyril and Methodios, Saints: 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460
Cyril Lukaris: 420
Cyril of Alexandria: 634
Cyril of Jerusalem: 634
Cyrillos, Metropolitan of Chaldia: 57
Cyrus of Edessa: 128
Czechoslovakia: 491

D

Däbrä Libanos (Ethiopia): 276
Däbrä Tabor (Ethiopia): 275 - 279
Däbrä Tabor Church School: 276
Däbrä Zabit (Ethiopia): 275
Dacia (-ns): 456, 461
Damascenos (Papandreou), Archbishop of Athens and all Greece: 23, 27
Damascenos, Metropolitan of Tranoupolis: 162
Damaskinos, Metropolitan of Switzerland: 494
Damascus: 182, 183, 184, 228, 528
Damasus, Pope of Rome: 20, 296
Dampier, Sir W. C. — : 227
Daniel, Metropolitan of Moscow: 415
"Daniel, the book of —": 626
Danube, River: 459, 460, 461
Dapola, François: 317
Dar es Salaam: 247
Därämo (Ethiopia): 276, 277
Davey, Colin: 216, 485, 495
David: 94, 141, 189, 289, 291, 293, 433, 434, 587, 618, 620, 632, 637
David, Archbishop of Souchoum and Aphazia: 491
David, King of Aksum: 277
Dead Sea: 621
Debi - Dollo (Ethiopia): 44
"Decalogue, The — ": 642
Demetrios I, Ecumenical Patriarch: 11, 55, 57, 66, 73, 78, 159, 160, 162, 485, 488, 490
Descamps: 618
Descartes, René: 434, 450, 513
Dessie (Ethiopia): 275
"Deuteronomy, the book of —": 291, 292, 619, 620
Deutschland (-Deutsche): 276
Diadochus, St. — of Photice: 557 - 568, 583
"Dialog der Liebe": 159, 160, 161, 162
Didymus the Blind: 282 note, 283 note, 284, 294
Diehl, Charles: 227
Dijksterhuis, E.: 232
Diocletian, emperor: 475, 477
Diodore of Tarsus: 128, 635
Diogenes Laertius: 430
Diogenes the philosopher: 430, 431
"Diognetus": 631, 632, 637
Dionysios, Metropolitan of Moscow: 415
Dionysios, Metropolitan of Tirnovo and Archbishop of Bulgaria: 239, 418
Dionysios the Areopagite: 132
Dionysus: 532
Diophantos: 230
Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria: 49
Diovouniotis, C. I.: 579, 580
Dire Dawa (Ethiopia): 42, 44
Divine Economy: 490, 573, 615 - 637
— Grace: 25, 42, 60, 65, 96, 137, 140, 145, 147, 151, 157, 169, 187, 242, 245, 247, 425, 441, 508, 511, 530, 563, 564, 565, 567, 568, 580 ff, 619, 628, 630, 635, 644
— Liturgy: 37, 55, 152, 163, 164, 489, 492, 499, 501, 508, 510, 528, 573, 577, 644
— Philanthropy: 163, 164, 637
— Providence: 25, 32, 449, 500, 530, 635, 642
— Revelation: 48, 97, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 182, 244, 456, 481, 482, 498, 499, 509, 532, 535, 586, 588, 624, 642, 643, 644
— righteousness: 615 - 637
Djeddah: 405
Djibouti: 42, 44
Dnieper, river: 461
Dobroudja (Roumanie): 461, 579, 580, 589
Dodd, C. H.: 618
Dölger, F.: 28
Döllinger, Prof. — : 166
Dominic le théologien: 581
Domninos the philosopher: 229
Don, river: 456, 460
Döring, Heinrich: 245
Dorotheos (Giannaropoulos), Metropolitan of Attica (form. Metrop. of Kastoria): 17, 18, 32, 33, 38
Dorotheos, Metropolitan of Monemvasia: 416, 417
Dorotheos, St. — : 561
Dörr, F.: 558, 559
Dörries, H.: 558, 559
Dostojevsky, F.: 171, 535
Dragas, Protopresbyter Dr. George —: 3, 8, 17, 23, 25, 102
Drakos, Nicholaos: 34, 41
Drama (Greece): 416
Dualism (-stic): 150, 445, 447, 448, 449, 531, 534, 535, 563, 564, 571
Dublin: 37, 61, 62, 79, 498, 505, 511
"Dumbarton Oaks Papers": 128
Dunn, Prof. James D..G.: 423
Duprey, Fr. Pierre — : 486, 491, 500
Dura Europos: 639
Durham: 3, 102
Dyophysite/s/ (-tism): 132

E

East Africa: 462
East Berlin: 431
East Syrian/s/: 126, 128, 129, 131, 133

"East Syrian Synodicon": 126, 133
Eastbourn: 62
Eastern Europe (-ans): 82, 227, 414, 460
Eastern Germany: 169
Eastern Rite Catholics: 488
Eastern Theology: 615
Ecclesia Catholica: 653, 654
— Graeca: 170, 258 note, 274
— Romana (Latina): 170, 171, 274
— Universa: 170
Ecclesiae Occidentales: 296, 297, 298
— Orientales: 296, 297, 298, 469
Eck, John: 169, 170
École Normale Superieure de Paris: 527
"Economy": 25, 48, 51, 138, 163
Ecumenical Council, 1st (Nicaea, 325): 97, 126, 129, 143, 145, 147, 148, 149, 152, 154, 170, 171, 411, 419, 498, 598
— — 2nd (Con/ple, 381): 77, 147, 490
— — 3rd (Ephesus, 431): 126, 129, 420, 581
— — 4th (Chalcedon, 451): 16, 126, 129, 130, 147, 171, 419, 461, 558
— — 5th (Con/ple, 553): 127, 130
— — 7th (Nicaea, 787): 412, 509, 639
"Ecumenical Didascaleion" of Constantinople: 228
Ecumenical movement ("ecumenism"): 30, 58, 77, 80, 84, 86, 94, 96, 99, 100, 125, 159 - 164, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 409, 410, 462, 463, 479, 487, 489, 493, 508, 616
Edessa (Syria): 128, 228
Edinburgh: 3, 51
Education Office of the Archdiocese of Thyateira: 74
Education Centre of Bristol of the Archdiocese of Thyateira: 74
Église Ancienne: 585
— Catholique - Romaine: 580
— de Perse: 128
— Occidentale: 580, 585, 589
— Oecuménique: 582, 588
— Orientale: 580, 584, 589
— Orthodoxe: 579, 582, 583, 589
— Orthodoxe d' Éthiopie: 579
— Orthodoxe Roumaine: 579, 580, 582, 583, 588
— Réformée: 580
Églises Orthodoxes: 579
Egypt (-ians): 87, 152, 161, 229, 230, 232, 277, 404, 410, 416, 429, 430, 438, 445, 449, 475, 476, 477, 532, 533, 562, 580, 581, 582
Ehrhardt, Arnold: 35, 52
"Ekklesiastiki Alitheia", Theological Paper of the Church of Greece: 492
"Ekklesiastikos Pharos", a theological review of the Patriarchate of Alexandria: 48 note, 50, 52, 76, 87
Eleusinian Mysteries: 532
Eliakim: 618
Eliot, T. S.: 566
Elliot, H.: 630
Empire of Nicaea (Byzantine —): 228
Enbaqom (Habbakuk): 430
Enferaz (Ethiopia): 434, 442
England - English: 7, 13, 16, 17, 19, 34, 37, 38, 49, 58, 64, 65, 67, 78, 87, 194, 228, 279, 404, 435, 479, 495, 497, 509, 528, 628
English Catholics: 528
Enoch: 634
Ensslin, W.: 597
Eoghanacht Dynasty: 193
Ephesus (-ians): 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 228, 626, 628
Ephraim the Syrian: 634
Epiphanius, St. — : 170, 171
Epiphanius, St. — Archbishop of Constance in Cyprus: 429
Epirus (Greece): 558
Epistle of Barnabas: 631
Epistle of St. James the Apostle: 629
Epistles of St. Paul the Apostle: 147, 148, 149, 150, 155 - 158, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195, 241, 242, 244, 286, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 296, 423 - 426, 430, 496, 561, 567, 584, 616, 617, 620, 622 - 628, 630, 631, 632, 633, 636, 640
Epistles of St. Peter the Apostle: 629, 630, 632, 633
Erlangen: 281
Eros: 532
Esau: 448
eschatology (-ical): 16, 163, 482, 620, 621, 624, 625, 629, 633, 634, 645
"Esdras, the book of —": 620
"essence": 131, 133, 136, 137, 138, 140, 641
Etats - Unis d' Amérique: 404
Etchegaray, Cardinal R.: 491
Ethiopia (-ns): 17, 20, 34, 41, 45, 49, 50, 75, 76, 87, 95, 98, 275 - 279, 363 - 364, 427 - 453, 456, 615
Ethiopian Leterature: 427 - 453
Ethiopian Philosophy: 427 - 453
Eton College of London: 541
Euclid: 228, 230
Eugenius, Archbishop of Mt. Sinai: 410
Eugenius, IV, Pope: 170, 414
Eunomius (-ians): 131
Europe (-ans): 29, 33, 77, 80, 81, 82, 89, 91, 98, 169, 227, 231, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 414, 433, 434, 455 - 465, 479, 527, 532
Eusebius of Vercelli: 281
Euthymius of Tirnovo, Patriarch — : 414
Eutocios of Askalona: 229
Eutyches (-ians): 132, 136, 138, 171
Evagrius of Pontus (Evagre le Pontique): 558, 559, 560, 562, 563, 564, 565, 567, 568, 579
Evangelical: 195, 196, 242, 275, 276, 455, 463, 580
Exarchate of All Iberia: 15
— — Western Europe: 11, 57, 95, 96
Excommunication: 163, 194, 195, 412, 485
Exegesis (-etes, -etic): 130, 139, 171, 244, 295, 425, 426, 629, 633
existentialism (-ists): 428
"Exodus, the book of —": 292, 624
"Ezechiel, the book of —": 289, 584, 619
Ezechiel, the prophet: 289
Ezekiel, Catholicos —: 127

F

Faculté de Théologie d' athènes: 579, 582, 589
— — — de Bucarest: 579
— — — de Varsovie: 579
Faculty of Theology of the University of Athens: 27
— — Divinity — — — — Edinburgh: 51
— — Theology — — — — Manchester: 191

Fairweather, Prof. Eugene: 502
Fall of Constantinople: 414, 462
Famagusta (Cyprus): 405, 406
Far East: 232
Fasiladas: 277, 278
Fathers of the Church: 13, 15, 63, 67, 83, 84, 101, 136, 137, 139, 140, 171, 228, 232, 241, 292, 293, 458, 492, 557, 581, 582, 583, 584, 615, 616, 617, 628, 634, 635, 636, 637
— — — — Apostolic — : 455, 628 - 632, 633 ff, 637
— — — — Cappadocian — : 639
— — — — Desert — of Egypt: 562, 582, 584
— — — — Greek (Eastern) —: 13, 67, 143, 171, 565, 583, 633, 635, 640
— — — — Latin (Western) — : 633, 534, 640
— — — — Nicene — : 136, 137, 139, 143, 145, 146, 147, 152
Faustus of Riez: 284
Feodor, Tsar: 236 -240
Ferré, F.: 520
Fethiye Cami (The Mosque of Victory) in Constantinople: 235
Fiedler, Leslie A.: 530, 533
"Filioque": 20, 77, 84, 126, 163, 222, 236, 409, 410, 411, 457, 486, 509, 510, 511
Findlay, J. N.: 521
Finland: 491
Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury: 503
Fitzmyer, Father — : 623, 629
Florence: 231
Florovsky, George: 66
Foscolos, Archbishop N.: 491
Foucauld, Charles de — : 473
Foundation for Hellenism in Great Britain: 75, 76, 87
Fouya, Anastasia: 26
Fouyas, George: 26
Fouyas John (Methodios): 26, 27
France - French (Français): 15, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 411, 435, 491, 527, 532, 533, 557
François de Sales: 581
"Free Will": 169
French Catholics: 496
Freud, S.: 431
Fribourg (Switzerland): 49
Fries, Heinrich: 241, 242, 245
Frumentios, St. — the Illuminator of Ethiopia: 41, 50
Fuchs, F.: 229, 230

G

Gabriel, Metropolitan of Kolonia: 57
Gabriel of Sinjar: 127
Gabriel the Archangel: 134
Galanos, Alexis: 90
Galatia: 623, 624
Galatians: 182, 187, 188
Galicia: 413
Galilee: 183, 189
Galileo Galilei: 229
Galitis, Prof. G.: 491
Galla (Ethiopia): 275, 278, 279
Gamaliel: 182
Ganotakis, Alexandros: 45
Gaul (Gallia): 194, 195, 582
Gaunilo: 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 522
Gaynt: 275 - 279
Gaza: 228, 229
Gazzada (Italy): 494, 495, 496
Gdala (Syria): 129
Geez: 428
Gelase le Ier: 588
Gelawdewos, emperor of Ethiopia: 276, 277
Gelzer, H.: 249 note
Gemistos, Georghios (plethon): 231
Gendle, Nicholas: 639
General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1982): 82, 84
"Genesis, the book of —": 423, 424, 425, 426, 617, 619, 624, 633
Geneva: 409
Gennade de Marseille: 579, 580, 581
Gennadius of Constantinople: 635
Genova: 405
Gentiles: 147, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 228, 241, 298, 588, 624, 627, 628, 637
Georgia - Georgian/s/ (Soviet Union): 235, 416, 428, 491
Georgiadis, N.: 37
George, Metropolitan of Nevrokopion: 28
George of Lydda: 430
Geralis, Dem.: 45
Germain, St. — : 587
Germanos, Metropolitan of Petra: 491
Germanos of Constantinople: 641
Germany (-ns): 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 38, 53, 87, 169, 239, 241, 242, 245, 246, 247, 404, 428, 456, 457, 459, 490, 557
Gerson: 169
Gervasios, Greek Orthodox Priest in Ethiopia: 41
Gethsemane: 239
Ghana: 462, 463
Gildas: 195
Gilkey, L.: 514, 521
Gill, J.: 167
Gillet, Archimandrite Lev: 561
Giusto d' Urbino, Padre —: 435
Glasswell, Rev. Mark E.: 479
Gnostics (-cism): 158, 433, 447, 481, 482, 500, 528, 531, 533, 557, 558, 559, 560, 562, 563, 566, 568, 633, 636
Godjam (Ethiopia): 275, 277, 278
Gôdunov, Boris: 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 417, 418, 420
Goethe: 584
Gondar (Ethiopia): 275, 277, 278, 279, 363 - 364
Goodman, A. E.: 129
Gormigny, French Ambassador in Con/ple: 416
Gosevic, Prof. S.: 491
Gospel/s/ (Evangelium): 59, 90, 96, 97, 98, 99, 136, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 156, 158, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 195, 238, 242, 243, 246, 290, 423, 457, 479, 480, 481, 482, 496, 497, 501, 504, 508, 509, 530, 533, 621, 622, 624, 626, 627, 629, 633, 637, 644
Goths: 456, 461
Graeci - Graecia: 170, 171, 598
Granj, emir Mohammed: 278
Graves, Charles: 409
Great Britain: 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 63, 66, 68, 72, 73, 74

Greco - Roman (World): 621, 625, 627, 629, 636
Greece - Greeks (Grèce - Grecs): 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 50, 54, 58, 59, 60, 64, 66, 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 129, 130, 131, 170, 186, 188, 195, 228, 229, 231, 232, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 241, 276, 282 ff, 296, 297, 298, 363 - 364, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 417, 420, 421, 422, 428, 429, 430, 431, 437, 438, 444, 448, 449, 456, 458, 460, 461, 462, 475, 485, 491, 532, 533, 557, 579, 580, 582 ff, 615, 616, 622, 624, 625, 626, 631, 633, 634, 637
Greek - Christian Civilization: 59, 82
— Civilization: 75, 228
— Community of Addis Ababa: 33, 41, 44, 45
— — — Birmingham: 63
— — — Leeds: 36
— — — Liverpool: 37
— — — Manchester: 35
— — — Venice: 410, 411
— — — Woolich (London): 71
— Communities in Ethiopia: 44, 45, 98
— Cypriot Brotherhood of Great Britain: 68, 92
— — Community of Great Britain: 92
"Greek Gazette", Newspaper of London: 538
Greek Orthodox Charity Organization of Great Britain: 68, 525
— — Community of our Saviour in Munich: 28
— — Communties in Germany: 28, 29
— — — — Great Britain: 61, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 93
— — Education: 74
— — School, Khandali — : 410
— — Youth of America (GOYA): 462
— Philosophy: 150, 228, 528, 630
— Schools in Great Britain: 74
— Theology (Théologie Hellène): 283, 579, 632, 635
Greeks Abroad (Immigrant —): 91, 92, 94, 95, 99
Gregorian Calendar: 231, 411, 433
Gregory, Bishop of Tropaion (Archb/ric of Thyateira): 55, 58
— of Nazianzos: 640
— — Tours: 195
— Palamas: 414, 560, 567
— Sinaita: 460, 567
— St. — of Nyssa: 18, 67, 228, 586, 634, 640
— St. — the Nazianzene (the Theologian): 75, 100, 170, 171, 227, 228, 557, 642
— the Great, Pope: 169, 509, 580, 581, 640
— I, Syrian Catholicos: 127
— IX, Pope: 411
— XIII, Pope: 231
Griechenland: 161
Grottaferrata: 499, 500, 501
Guilland, R.: 231
Guillaumont, A.: 128
Guy, J. - C.: 580, 586, 589

H

"Habakkuk, the book of —": 617, 624, 629, 633
Habibbis, Dr. Homer — : 92
Hadjipateras, John: 93
Hadrian II, Pope: 457
Hadrumeda: 588
Haenchen, Ernst: 183
Haile Selassie, emperor of Ethiopia: 42, 276, 279
Halandrion (Athens): 19
Halifax, Lord — : 503, 509
Halleux, A. de — : 126, 128, 129, 491
Halliburton, John: 498, 499
Hamda Seyon, king of Ethiopia: 430
Hammonios: 229, 231
Hanks, D.: 514
Hanson, Prof. R.P.C.: 193
Harnack, Adolph: 186, 636
Hartel, W.: 250
Hartshorne, C.: 515, 520, 521
Hastings (Gt. Britain): 62
"hatt humayann": 401 - 407
Hausherr, I.: 560, 561, 562, 563
Hebblethwait, Peter: 494
Hebrew/s/ (-aic): 182, 450, 532, 533, 616 ff, 622, 623, 629, 633, 637
Heidelberg: 275, 597
Hellenes - Hellenism (-nic): 79, 89, 91, 92, 93, 99, 231, 232, 403, 475, 527, 529, 579
Hellenic College of the Holy Cross in Brookline Mass. U.S.A.: 86
Hellenistic (world): 155, 182, 424, 621, 625, 627
Henophysites: 132
"Henotikon" of Zeno: 132
Henry, D. P.: 521
Herakleides: 127, 128, 130
Herakleios, Byzantine Emperor: 129 note, 229, 460
Heraclitus: 438
Herbert, George: 528
Heresy - Heretics: 39, 128, 129, 132, 137, 139, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 152, 153, 170, 236, 237, 243, 265, 283, 286, 455, 485, 527, 533, 535, 569, 581, 582
Hermas: 631
Hermes: 181
Hermogenes, Patriarch of Moscow: 240
Herodion, Greek Orthodox priest in Ethiopia: 41
Heron, Prof. Alasdair: 281
Hesychasm (-asts): 460, 461, 557, 560, 566, 580
Heyer, Prof. Friedrich: 275
Hezekiah, King — : 618
Hick, J.: 520
Hieronymus, St. — : 171
"High School of Natural Sciences" in Trebizond of Pontos: 228
Hilarion, Russian Metropolitan: 412
Hilary, St. — : 143, 144, 146, 153, 634
Hilkiah: 618
Hill, Fr. Edmund: 498
Hill Henry, Bishop of Ontario: 79, 511
Hill, Rev. Christopher: 498
Hinduism: 528, 532, 533
Hipparchos the Astronomer: 228
Hippocrates: 427
Hira (Mesopotamia): 430
Hitler: 533
Holland: 491
Holtz, G.: 628
Holy Bible: 132, 143, 144, 148, 171, 194, 196, 289, 296, 364, 428,

429, 446, 447, 456, 457, 458, 459, 479, 499, 531, 534, 535, 558, 560, 564, 568, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 577, 581, 617, 618, 619, 628, 630, 633, 637
Holy Cross: 89, 90, 134, 136, 137, 139, 189, 237, 429, 458, 506, 527, 529, 530, 534, 588, 621, 624, 631, 640, 644
"Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Press" in Brookline, Mass. (U.S.A.): 36
Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology (Brookline Mass, U.S.A.): 76, 86, 88, 462
Holy Liturgy (Eucharist): 13, 129, 152, 163, 164, 171, 195, 196, 238, 241, 243, 244, 245, 277, 296, 297, 298, 416, 419, 427, 428, 458, 461, 485, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 505, 506, 507, 508, 510, 532, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 635
Holy Sacraments: 39, 59, 157, 242, 245, 247, 486, 487, 492, 493, 498, 501, 505, 506, 528, 531, 532, 534, 564, 571, 572, 573, 574, 626, 635, 644, 645
Holy Scripture/s/: 134, 137, 139, 141, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 171, 195, 241, 243, 283, 284, 286, 288, 292, 293, 294, 428, 429, 493, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 508, 509, 532, 583, 587, 615 - 637, 642, 643, 644
Holy Spirit (Spiritus Sanctus): 18, 43, 56, 60, 65, 67, 79, 83, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 195, 241, 242, 281 - 298, 410, 420, 482, 486, 488, 489, 490, 493, 498, 499, 500, 502, 503, 506, 507, 509, 510, 528, 561, 563, 566, 567, 586, 588, 621, 624, 630, 631, 632, 634, 654
Holy Synod of the Church of Greece: 13, 38, 53, 95, 489
— — — — Ecumenical Patriarchate: 55, 56, 62, 235, 239
— — — — Patriarchate of Alexandria: 42
— — — — — — Moscow: 240
Holy Tradition: 15, 25, 48, 67, 77, 78, 80, 98, 125, 147, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154, 164, 171, 193 - 196, 246, 247, 409, 419, 421, 461, 479, 486, 487, 488, 491, 493, 494, 497, 498, 499, 501, 502, 510, 511, 528, 529, 557, 569, 572, 576, 577, 578, 660
Holy Trinity (Trinité Sainte): 67, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 146, 151, 152, 153, 154, 171, 194, 281 - 298, 409, 489, 490, 493, 511, 532, 571, 572, 586, 635, 636
"homoousion - homoousios": 49, 136, 146, 152
Hong Kong: 510
Hooft, Visser t' — : 246
Hopkins, M. J.: 514, 522
"Hosea, the book of —": 620
Houndonji, Prof. Paulin J.: 437
Howe, Bishop John: 505, 510
Hryniewicz, W.: 491
Hugo, Victor: 447
Human in ibn Ishaq: 430
Humanism (-ists): 82, 169, 230, 231, 415, 438, 558
Hume, Cardinal Basil —, Archbishop of Westminster: 3, 7, 55, 58, 78, 492
Hungary (-rians): 414, 456, 459, 460
Huns: 456, 461
Huss, John: 170
Husserl, E.: 522
Hypatia: 228
Hypatius: 640
"Hypostasis" (Hypostatic union): 127, 128, 129, 131, 135, 138, 139, 141, 143, 145, 571, 572, 641

I

Iabout, Heraclius: 430
Iakovos, Abbot of the Monastery of Penteli: 27
Iakovos, Archbishop of North and South America: 101, 463
Iakovos (Virvos), Bishop of Apameia: 37
Iamblichos the Neo - Platonic: 228
Iberia (-ns): 456
Iconoclasts (-tic): 229, 639, 640, 644, 645
Icons: 363 - 365, 460, 475, 477, 511, 639 - 645
idols (-latry): 156, 157, 184, 190, 430, 432, 640, 641, 643
Ieronymos (Kotsonis), Archbishop of Athens: 38, 46
Ierotheos, Bishop of Turkia (Hungary): 459, 460
Ignace de Loyola: 581
Ignatius of Antioch: 162, 631, 632, 636
Igor, ruler of Rhos: 461
Illyricum - Illyrians: 460, 461
Imperial College of London: 538
Incarnation: 143, 144, 145, 148, 163, 281 - 298, 479, 480, 481, 482, 528, 529, 532, 534, 535, 563, 564, 616, 632, 635, 636, 637, 639 - 645
India (-ns) (Les Indes): 230, 232, 279, 404, 427, 432, 532
Indulgence: 169
Institute Für Oekumenische Forschung (Universität Tübingen): 159
Intercommunio: 469
International Academy of Religious Sciences: 49, 75, 76, 87
International Joint Anglican - Orthodox Doctrine Commission: 79, 87, 213
International Missionary Council (IMC): 462, 463
Ioannides, Prof. Basil: 31
Ireland - Irish: 37, 74, 82, 193, 194, 195, 196, 404, 505, 580
Irenaeos (Vassiliou), Bishop of Patara (Archb/ric of Thyateira): 62, 64
Irenaeus, St. — : 148, 149, 150, 563, 567, 615, 634, 636
Irene, Tsaritsa: 236, 237, 238, 417, 418, 420
"Irish Annals": 193
Irish School of Ecumenics in Dublin: 76
Isaac: 424
Isaac Argyros: 231
Isaac, Catholicos — : 126
Isaac, St. — of Nineveh: 566
Isaac, St. — the Syrian: 67
"Isaiah, the book of —": 143, 288, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 586, 617, 618, 619, 620, 625
Isaiah the prophet: 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 296, 297, 618, 641
Isho'yahb I, Syrian Catholicos: 127, 138
Isho'yahb II, Syrian Catholicos: 129
Isidore, Metropolitan of Moscow: 414
Isidore of Miletus: 229
Islam (-ic): 164, 278, 402, 403, 416, 435, 475
Islamism: 404
Israel (-ites): 157, 158, 182, 189, 275, 276, 288, 295, 424, 425, 481, 482, 532, 533, 619, 620, 624, 642, 643
Isthm de Suez: 404, 405, 406
Italy (-ians): 231, 232, 275, 276, 277, 410, 415, 435, 456, 527
Ivan I, Moscovite Ruler: 413
Ivan III, Tsar: 235, 414
Ivan IV the Terrible, Tsar: 236, 414, 415, 417

J

Jacob: 640
Jagaillo, Lithuanian Prince: 414
"Jäger - Stählin" Circle: 242
Jakab, Bishop R. — : 491
James, St. — the Apostle: 182, 183, 184, 188, 425, 624, 629
Japan (-ese): 462
Jason, Greek Orthodox priest in Ethiopia: 41
Jay, Eric: 502
Jean, St. — Cassien: 579 - 589
Jehovah: 533
"Jeremiah, the book of —": 143, 288, 291, 292, 293, 584, 618, 620
Jeremiah the prophet: 143, 288, 291
Jeremias II (tranos), Patriarch of Constantinople: 235 - 240, 409, 411, 412, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419
Jerome, Metropolitan of Rhodopolis: 57
Jerome, St. — : 296
Jerusalem: 134, 159, 161, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 191, 410, 491, 619, 620, 624
Jesse: 620
Jesuits: 276, 278, 409, 410, 411, 433, 579, 580
Jew/s/ - Jewish (Juifs): 98, 134, 136, 139, 141, 161, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 241, 294, 402, 423, 424, 425, 426, 442, 447, 456, 475, 481, 527, 532, 533, 623, 624, 629, 633, 635, 636, 637, 640, 642, 643
Joachim, Patriarch of Alexandria: 420
Joachim, Patriarch of Antioch: 236, 239, 415, 416, 417, 418
Joachim, Patriarch of Constantinople: 417
Joannes Constantinopolitanus: 171
Joannou, Périclès - Pierre: 274
Joasaph, Metropolitan of Moscow: 415
Joasaph II, Patriarch of Constantinople: 236, 411, 415
Job, Metropolitan (th/aft. Patriarch) of Moscow: 237, 238, 239, 240, 417, 418, 420, 421
Johannes IV, Emperor of Ethiopia: 277
John, Bishop of Dragovitsa: 491
John, Climacus: 566
John, Mark, St. — Apostle: 181, 184
John, Mavropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita: 31
John, Metropolitan of Helsinki: 3
John, Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor: 414
John, Paul I, Pope: 487, 505
John, Paul II, Pope (Johannes Paul II, Papst): 61, 78, 82, 160, 161, 162, 487, 488, 489, 490, 493, 504, 507, 508
John Philoponos: 229, 230, 231
John Scholasticus: 412, 458
John, St. — the Chrysostom: 35, 38, 39, 75, 100, 171, 429, 430, 580, 582, 586, 624, 633, 634, 635, 637, 640
John, St. — the Damascene: 229, 583, 639 - 645
John, St. — the Evangelist: 134, 136, 139, 141, 171, 181, 246, 286, 290, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 480, 481, 482, 529, 530, 586, 621, 629, 634
John, St. — of Gaza: 561
John the Baptist: 134, 141, 291, 629
John VIII, Pope: 457
John XXIII, Pope: 503
Joint Anglican - Orthodox Commission: 509, 511
Joint Lutheran - Roman Catholic Study Commission: 496
Jonah, Bishop of Riazan (th/aft. Metropolitan of Moscow): 414, 415
Jordan, river: 141
Joseph: 640
Joseph, hegumen of Volokolamsk Monastery: 414, 415
Joseph, Syrian Catholicos: 127
"Joshua, the book of —": 621
"Journal Asiatique": 128
Joviniani: 171
Judaea (-ns): 181, 183, 184, 185, 187, 190, 289, 447
Judaean Christians: 181, 183, 186, 188, 624
Judaeo - Christian tradition: 532, 624
Judah: 619, 620
"Judaisers": 623, 624
Judaism (-ic): 76, 133, 139, 155, 182, 185, 189, 424, 425, 426, 448, 528, 529, 624, 633
Judas Iscariote: 586
Judith, queen of Aksum: 277
Julian calendar: 411
Julian the Apostate: 228
Julius Caesar: 228
Justellus, Christophorus: 274
Justin, Martyr: 505
Justin, Metropolitan of Moldavia (now Patriarch of Rumania): 48, 579, 580, 588, 589
Justinian, Ratriarch of Rumania: 46
Justinian the Great, Byzantine emperor: 128, 130, 412, 456, 640
Juvenalij, russisch Metropolit: 161

K

Kabasilas, N.: 231
Kähler, Martin: 480
Kallinikos, Metropolitan of Pringiponnessa: 57
Kallistos (Ware), Bishop of Diokleia (Archb/ric of Thyateira): 62, 64, 65, 66, 557
Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Patriarch of Constantinople: 67
Kamateros, John: 230
Kane, Sister Theresa: 504
Kant, Immanuel: 452, 516, 517, 519, 520
Karagiannopoulos, Prof. J.: 232
Karlstadt, Andrew: 169
Karmiris, Prof. Ioannis: 32, 48, 53, 54
Kelleher, J.V.: 193
"kenosis": 531, 636
Kent (England): 364, 365
Kenya: 462
Keramidas, A. I.: 39
"kerygma": 491, 572, 573, 574, 577, 623
Khazars: 457, 459, 461
Khodr, Metropolitan G.: 492
Khosroes II, Persian Shah: 127
Kiev: 47, 413, 461
Kifissia (Athens): 17
"Kings, the book of —": 618
Kirche, Äthiopische: 276
— Eine, Katholische und Apostolische: 569, 570, 571, 573, 576
— Evangelische: 160, 164
— Griechische: 161, 162, 635
— Griechisch - Katholische: 160
— Konstantinopolische: 162
— Orthodoxe (Ostkirche): 159 - 164, 569 - 578

— Romisch - Katholische (Westkirche): 159 - 164, 570, 573, 576, 577
— Russisch - Orthodoxe: 161, 162
— Ukrainische: 161, 162
Kitzinger, E.: 640
Knapp - Fisher, Bishop —: 498, 500
Kocel, ruler of Slovenia: 457, 459
Kolvenback, P. H.: 491
König, Cardinal Franz —: 467
Korea: 462
Koressa, John: 416
"Kormchaija Kniga": 412, 420
Kosmas Indicopleustes: 126, 228
Kotsakis, Dem.: 227, 232
Kottayam: 128
Kougeas, S.: 231
Koumpos, N.: 41
Kremlin: 237
Kretschmar, G.: 282, 284, 296, 297, 298
Krishna: 528, 532
Krumbacher, K.: 230, 232
Küng, Prof. Hans: 159, 162
Kyprian, Bulgarian Metropolitan: 413, 414
Kyrenia (Cyprus): 363
Kyril, Archbishop of Vyborg: 491

L

La Croix, R.: 521
Lagakos, Eustathios: 54, 74
Lampe, Prof. G. W. H.: 19, 635
Lambeth: 13, 223, 247, 510
Lambeth Palace: 13, 223, 507
Language, Amharic (Ethiopic): 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 448
— Arabic: 410, 428, 430, 431, 432
— Aramaic: 182
— Coptic: 430
— English: 16, 37, 58, 60, 128, 129, 452, 463, 495, 496, 527, 579, 617, 620
— French: 128, 129, 401, 406
— Geez: 427, 428, 430, 433, 434, 435, 452
— German: 579
— Greek: 16, 58, 130, 143, 281 ff, 298, 363, 410, 415, 420, 428, 430, 431, 448, 460, 463, 490, 532, 579, 580, 616, 617, 618, 620, 621, 625, 626, 629, 637
— Hebrew: 182, 532, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 629
— Latin: 128, 193, 194, 196, 281 ff, 298, 410, 415, 448, 457, 490, 617, 633, 635, 636, 637
— Persian: 432
— Rumanian: 588
— Russian: 237, 412, 415, 417
— Sanskrit: 432
— Semitic: 427, 622, 633
— Slavic: 456, 458
— Slavonic: 457, 458, 459, 461
— Syriac: 126, 127, 128, 129, 130
Lanne, Dom E.: 491
Laoghaire, High - King of Ireland: 194
Larnaca (Cyprus): 406
Last Judgment, The — : 460
Lasta, Ethiopian dynasty: 277, 278
Latin/s/: 66, 129, 170, 230, 283 ff, 296, 297, 298, 410, 411, 414, 422, 452, 457, 459, 475, 626
Latin Theology: 283
Laud, Archbishop — : 509
Law of Moses: 189
Lazlo: 551
Lazs: 456
Lebanon: 492
Lebedev, A.P.: 602, 605
Leeds (England): 36, 37
Leipsig: 169, 170
Lelon, Dr. Athanasios: 86
Leningrad: 47
Leo the Mathematician: 228, 229, 457
Leo III, Byzantine Emperor: 558, 641
Léon le Grand, Pape: 580
Leontius of Neapolis: 640, 645
Lerini: 588
Levant: 404, 405
Levidion (Arcadia, Greece): 27
"Leviticon, the book of —": 292, 623
"Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche": 243
"Liber Turris": 127
Library of Addis Ababa, National: 427, 431
— — Alexandria: 228
— Patriarchal — of Alexandria: 51
— Vatican — : 435, 491
Lillge, O.: 636
Limassol (Cyprus): 406
Lindos (Rhodes): 416
Lithuania (-ns): 237, 239, 413, 414, 456, 459
Littman, Enno: 434
Liturgy of St. Mark: 298
Liverpool: 507
Llandaff (Wales): 79, 511
London (Londres): 15, 17, 23, 33, 35, 54, 61, 62, 70, 74, 75, 76, 78, 88, 92, 93, 95, 363, 403, 485, 500, 505, 509, 589, 615
London Hellenic College: 74
Long, J.: 491
Lot - Borodine, M.: 582, 583, 584, 586, 589
Louis, St. — : 401
Louvaris, Prof. Nicholaos: 32
Louvain: 491
Ludwig, duke of Württemberg: 411
Luke, St. — the Evangelist: 141, 181 - 191, 284, 363, 481, 621, 622, 626, 629, 630, 637
Lukites, K.: 231
Lusignans, dynastie Française: 401, 405, 406
Luther, Martin: 169 - 171, 245, 577, 625, 632, 637
Lutheran - Roman Catholic Dialogue: 499, 506, 615, 623
Lutheran Theological Seminary of Philadelphia: 615
Lutheran World Union: 247
Lutherans (-nism): 169, 171, 239, 242, 244, 245, 409, 411, 426, 496, 499, 506, 577
Lykos, Christos: 45
Lystra: 181, 184

M

Macaire, Saint — l' Égyptien: 586
Macarios, Archbishop of Cyprus: 46, 86, 90, 92, 94
Macarius, St. — : 558, 559, 564, 566
"Maccabees, the book of —": 617
Maccarone, Bishop M.: 491
Macedonia (Greece): 184, 185, 457
Macedonian dynasty of Byzantium: 456
Macedonius (-ians): 137, 171
Macomber, W.: 128
Magdala (Ethiopia): 275, 279
Magrassi, Archbishop M.: 491
Makarios, Metropolitan of Moscow: 415
"Malachias, the book of —": 298
Malcolm, N.: 515, 516, 519, 520, 521
Malmsey: 238
Malta: 82, 498, 503, 504, 505, 506
Manchester: 3, 34, 35, 36, 38, 61, 404, 553
Mandalidis, S.: 33
Manichaeans (-nism): 137, 171, 528, 531, 533, 644
Mann, W. E.: 515
"manna": 157
Manuel Bryennios: 230
Manuel Comnenos, Byzantine emperor: 230, 414
Manuel the Astronomer: 231
Manuel I (Sarantenos), Ecumenical Patriarch: 460
Marburg: 247
Marcellus of Ancyra: 282
Marcion (-ites): 138, 533, 633, 637
Margarita, queen of Navarra: 411
Margounios, Maximos: 410
Mariakis, Emmanuel: 45
Maritain, Jacques: 533
Mark, St. — the Evangelist: 17, 181, 286, 298, 416, 479, 480, 481, 482, 621, 637
Mark, St. — the Monk (the Hermit): 559, 562, 564, 565
Maronite/s/: 492
Marrou, J.: 579, 580, 581, 589
Marseille (Massilia): 402, 491, 581, 588, 589
Martakos, Nicephoros: 88
Martin, F.: 128
Martyrius - Sahdona: 128, 129
Marusyn, Bishop M.: 491
Marutha, Bishop of Martyropolis: 126, 129
Marxism (-ists): 527
Mary, Virgin — (Panaghia Theotokos): 67, 127, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 238, 363, 583, 632
Matara (Erythraea): 428
Matthew, St. — the Evangelist: 284, 292, 481, 584, 586, 618, 621, 629, 631, 634, 637
Matthews, Gervase: 645
Maurice, Byzantine emperor: 127
"Maurolykos School" of Constantinople: 228
Maxim the Greek: 415, 420
Maximos, Metropolitan of Sardis: 57
Maximos, Metropolitan of Stavroupolis: 57, 101
Maximos, Planudes: 230
Maximos V, Melchite Patriarch: 161
Maximus, St. — the Confessor: 560, 583
McAdoo, Bishop Henry: 496, 500, 501, 502, 505
McLeod, F.G.: 128
McManus, Prof. F.: 491
Mecque: 402
Mediterranean Sea (Mer Mediterranée): 402, 403, 404, 405, 411, 456
Megalocomnenoi, Byzantine dynasty: 228
Meinardus, Otto F.A.: 475
Melchisedek: 150, 528
Meletios Metaxakis, Ecumenical Patriarch: 51, 66
Meletios, Metropolitan of France: 3, 15, 16, 55, 57
Meletius of Antioch: 640
Meletius of Vlastos: 410
Meletios Pigas, Patriarch of Alexandria: 51, 409 - 422
Meliton, Metropolitan of Chalcedon: 49, 57, 486, 490, 492
Melkite/s/: 492
Menglides, Pantelis: 91
Menilek, Äthiop. Kaiser: 279
Mer Noire: 406
Mer Rouge: 402, 405, 406
Mercier, Cardinal — : 503
Merikas, Prof. G.E.: 75
Meroe: 76
Mesopotamia: 438
Messalians (-nism): 558, 559
Messiah (-ssianic): 479, 480, 481, 531, 618, 620, 627
metaphysics: 616
Methodios (Fouyas), Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain (form. Metropolitan of Aksum): 3, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25 - 116, 125, 147 note, 155, 191, 479, 511, 557, 579, 588, 589, 615, 616, 639
  Publications of — — : 103 - 108, 579, 616 note
  List of reviews and obituaries by — — : 109 - 114
  List of reviews on publications of — — : 115 - 116
Methodios the Confessor, Patriarch of Constantinople: 102
Methodists: 495
Metrophanes III, Ecumenical Patriarch: 235
Metropolis of Aksum: 17, 32, 34, 42, 45, 46, 51, 52, 95, 97
— — Astrakhan: 417
— — Caesarea: 416
— — Corinth: 39
— — Germany, Greek Orthodox: 492
— — Kazan: 417
— — Kiev and All Russia: 413, 414, 461
— — Krutitz: 417
— — Monemvasia: 236
— — Moscow: 236, 237, 238
— — Novgorod: 417
— — Philadelphia: 411
— — Philippoupolis: 416
— — Thyateira: 66
Mexico: 462
"Micah, the book of —": 620
Michael, Archbishop of America: 463
Michael, Tsar: 420
Michael III, Byzantine emperor: 456, 458, 460
Michos, A.: 33
Middle Ages (-medieval): 169, 193
Middle East: 50
Midlands (Gt. Britain): 213

Midonios, Leonard: 416
Mikhail Romanof, Tsar: 240
Miletus: 190
Miller, P.J.W.: 514, 517, 522
Miltiade: 405
Mittwoch, Eugen: 435
Moges, Ato Alemayyehu: 435
Mohamet II, Sultan: 402
Mohamoud, Sultan: 402
Möhler, Johann Adam: 245
Moir, Canon John Maitland: 215
Moldavia: 235, 416, 418, 461
Molinistes (-nisme): 584, 586
Monastère Saint Victor de Marseille: 581
Monasteries of Ethiopia: 275 - 279
Monastery Chilandar — (Mt. Athos): 415, 460
— Chudov — (Moscow): 418
— of Agkarathos (Crete): 410
— — Armagh: 193
— — Kykkos (Cyprus): 363
— — Mt. Sinai, Orthodox: 410
— — Panteleimon (Mt. Athos): 239
— — Penteli (Athens): 7, 19, 27, 95, 510
— — Polychronios in Bithynia: 457
— — Pskov (Russia): 171
— — St. Antony (of the Sabbatiani) in Venice: 410
— — St. Catherine (Mt. Sinai): 416
— — St. Sabbas in Palestine: 239
— — St. Savvas of the Patriarchate of Alexandria: 27, 410
— — Troitsa (Russia): 238
— Volokolamsk — : 414, 415
Monemvasia (Greece): 410
Monks - Monasticism (monastic life): 7, 11, 19, 23, 25, 27, 43, 66, 127, 128, 194, 195, 196, 236, 410, 411, 415, 416, 420, 429, 433, 441, 447, 451, 452, 456, 457, 458, 460, 461, 462, 475, 558, 561, 562, 580, 581 ff, 624
Monophysite/s/ (-tism): 131, 132, 558
Monotheism (-stic): 241, 242
Montfaucon: 281, 282
Mooken, G.: 129
Mopsuestia: 139
Moravia (-ns): 456, 457, 458, 459
More, Sir Thomas: 169
Morea (Greece): 416
Moschopoulos, M.: 231
Moscow (-vites): 47, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 491, 509, 510
Moses: 134, 150, 157, 189, 291, 533, 624, 641, 642, 643
Moslem (Musulmans): 161, 276, 277, 278, 401, 402, 403, 411, 412, 433
Mount of Transfiguration: 150
Moussorki: 240
Munich (München): 15, 28, 31, 160, 245, 490, 492
Münster: 635
Murad, Sultan: 235, 239, 416
"Myriobiblos" of Photios the Great: 229
Mysteries: 491, 493, 511, 533, 577, 626, 632
mysticism (-ics): 227, 527 ff, 581

N

Nairobi: 247
Napier, Lord — : 279
Napoleon III, empereur français: 401
Narsai, Syrian poet: 128, 130
"Nature": 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 148, 150, 151, 152, 285, 558, 641, 642, 643, 645
Nazareth: 480, 535
Nazirite/s/: 188
Near East (-ern): 232, 410, 610
Neo - Chalcedonians: 132
Nestorians (-anism): 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 430, 582
Nestorius: 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 171, 581
Neo - Platonic/s/: 228, 430, 448
New Covenant: 506
New Testament: 82, 134, 135, 140, 148, 182, 195, 244, 455, 475, 494, 495, 496, 497, 499, 500, 501, 531, 532, 533, 534, 615, 616, 617, 622, 623, 627, 628 ff, 636, 637
New York: 491, 509
Newcastle - Upon - Tyne: 507
New Zeland (Nouvelle Zelande): 404
Nicaea (-cenes): 49, 126, 147, 153, 228, 460
Nicene Creed: 84, 126, 133, 139, 143, 145, 147, 153, 154, 195, 196
Nicene - Constantinopolitan Creed: 136 note, 140, 147, 163
Nicene Theology: 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 152
Nicephoros Blemmydes: 230, 232
Nicephoros Gregoras: 230, 231, 232
Nicephoros, St. — : 641
Nicholaou, Dr. Constantine: 71
Nicholaos, Metropolitan of Aksum: 32, 33, 34, 41, 42
Nicholas, Priest of the Ecumenical Patriarchate: 236
Nicholas I, Pope: 457, 460
Nicholas VI, Patriarch of Alexandria: 17, 32, 33, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49
Nicodemos, Metropolitan of Leningrad: 48, 487
Nicodemus: 290
Nicodemus, St. — of the Holy Mountain: 67, 568
Nicomachos: 230
Nicon Metanoeite, St. — : 462
nihilism (-ists): 530
"Nikaean Club" of the Lambeth Palace: 223
Nikon, Patriarch of Moscow: 240, 420, 421, 422
Nil (Sorski), hermit: 414, 415
Nile Delta: 476, 477
Nile, River: 277, 477
Nilus, St. — of Ancyra: 557, 562, 565, 566, 640
Ninian: 196
Niscoveanu, Prof. N.: 581
Nisibis: 128
Nissiotis, Prof. N.: 75, 569
Noah: 634
Non - Chalcedonian/s/: 97
North Africa: 456
North America (Amérique du Nord): 405, 496
Norwich (England): 49, 62
Nossol, Bishop A.: 491
Nottingham (England): 62
Novgorod: 413
Nubia (-ns): 76, 98, 456

O

Odessa: 47, 79, 162, 511
"Oecumenica", revue de Londres: 583, 584, 589
Oecumenius: 635
Oedipus: 431
"oikonomia": 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 621, 622 - 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637
"Ökumische Dialog": 569, 574, 577
"Old Catholics": 244
Old Testament: 134, 135, 140, 150, 157, 189, 190, 424, 431, 475, 499, 532, 533, 534, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 624, 625, 629, 630, 633, 634, 637, 639, 640, 641, 642
Olga (Heleni), princess of Rhos: 461
Olympiodoros: 228
Olympos Mt. (Bithynia): 457
"One in Christ", Theological review: 499
O'Rahilly, T. F.: 193
Oriental Intitute of Oxford: 125
"Orientalia Christiana Periodica": 128, 129, 589
Origen: 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 297, 559, 563, 584, 586, 633, 634
Orthodox (-y): 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 30, 31, 36, 39, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 58, 60, 64, 65, 67, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 100, 101, 126, 127, 129, 132, 137, 139, 153, 159 - 164, 171, 193, 195, 232, 235 - 240, 276, 277, 278, 403, 405, 409 ff, 418 ff, 456, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 480, 482, 485 - 512, 557, 569 - 578, 579, 580, 581, 582 ff, 534, 639, 643, 645, 660
Orthodox (Greek —) Diaspora: 16, 28, 29, 30, 48, 58, 59, 65, 71, 72, 73, 77, 88, 92, 557, 577
"Orthodox Herald", a monthly Journal of the Archdiocese of Thyateira: 61, 64, 71, 72
Orthodox missionary work: 455 - 465
"Orthodox Patriarchal Center" at Chambésy in Geneva: 511
Orthodox Theology: 52, 62, 65, 462, 493, 569, 588, 639, 645
Osiris: 528, 532
Ottawa: 491
Otto I, German emperor: 460
Ottoman/s/: 237, 239, 240, 402, 403, 462
Ottoman Empire (Empire Ottoman): 237, 239, 240, 401, 402
"ousia": 131
Oxford: 13, 19, 20, 37, 62, 496, 499, 501, 502, 509, 634
"Oxford University Press": 36, 52

P

Pachomios (Batestos), Patriarch of Constantinople: 416
Pachymeres, George: 230, 232
Padua: 410
Pagans (-nism): 133, 136, 139, 186, 190, 265, 447, 449, 477, 639
Palaeologi, Byzantine dynasty: 230, 232, 239, 418
Palestine (-nians): 182, 441, 532, 621
Palladius: 193
Panagides, Tassos: 54, 74, 89
"Pandidactirion" of Constantinople: 228, 229, 230, 457
Pankhurst, Richard: 363
Pannonia (Slovenia): 457, 459
Panotis, A.: 492
"Pantainos", periodical issue of the Patriarchate of Alexandria: 29, 32
Pantheism (-ists): 433, 436, 447, 448, 449
Papachristophorou, Prof. M.: 491
Papadopoulos, Prof. S.: 491
Papageorgiou, Athanasius: 363
Papaspyrou, Demetrios: 74
Paphnuce, Abba — : 587
Paphos (Cyprus): 181, 475
Pappos the Astronomer: 230
"Paraclete, The — ": 60, 79, 84, 133, 134, 151, 621
Paradise: 137, 564, 583, 588
Paris: 15, 403, 405, 527, 581, 589
Parthenios, Metropolitan of Carthage: 491, 492
Pârvan, Vasile: 579, 580, 581, 589
"Pasteur d' Herma": 584
Patmos, island: 160, 488
Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople: 235, 239
"Patriarchal School" of Constantinople: 228, 230
Patriarchate Ecumenical (of Constantinople): 15, 16, 20, 28, 30, 46, 49, 54, 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 77, 78, 79, 82, 86, 87, 95, 96, 100, 101, 127, 159, 164, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240, 411 ff, 420, 455 - 465
— of Alexandria (Orthodox): 17, 19, 20, 28, 29, 30, 31, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 87, 95, 161, 235, 236, 239, 410, 411, 416, 418, 419, 421, 430
— of Antioch: 127, 161, 236, 411, 416, 418, 420, 421
— — Jerusalem: 161, 236, 411, 416, 418, 420, 421
— — Moscow: 20, 161, 162, 235 - 240, 409 - 422, 487
— — Rumania: 30, 47
Patrick, St. — : 193 - 196
"Patristic Greek Lexicon, A —": 19, 634, 635, 636
"Patrologia Orientalis": 128
Paul, Archbishop of Karelia and All Finland: 77
Paul, K.A.: 129
Paul, Metropolitan of Nisibis: 128
Paul of Samosata: 138
Paul VI, Pope: 159, 160, 485, 486, 487, 494, 503, 505, 508
Paul, St. — the Apostle: 63, 135, 141, 145, 147, 150, 155, 156, 157, 158, 171, 181 - 191, 241, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 297, 423 - 426, 430, 485, 496, 500, 528, 533, 561, 567, 583, 585, 616, 617, 621, 622 - 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 635, 637, 640
Paulinians: 138
Paulinus of Nola: 640
Pays Saint: 580
Pelagian/s/ (-nism): 169, 171, 564, 579 - 589
Pelagius: 196, 284, 585, 588, 632, 634
Pentecost: 64, 65, 134, 187, 189, 291, 490, 508, 509, 529, 534, 535
Perga (Pamphylia): 181
Peri, V.: 491
Périclès l' Athenien: 405
Perrin, Dominican monk: 528, 529, 531, 532, 534, 535
Persia (-ns): 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 230, 235, 416
Peter, Bishop of Alexandria: 429
Peter, Russian Metropolitan: 413, 414
Peter, St. — the Apostle: 162, 170, 181, 182, 183, 184, 189, 289, 291, 485, 499, 500, 618, 620, 623, 624
Peter, St. — the Wonder - worker: 238
Peter the Great, Tsar: 240
Peter, voïvode of Moldavia: 416
Petrement, Simone: 529
Petzenegs: 461
Phanar: 485, 492

Pharandos, Prof. Megas: 491, 493
Pharaos (-onic): 475, 477
Pharisee/s/: 182, 425, 426, 621
Pheidas, Vlassios J.: 458
Pheneos (Corinth, Greece): 26
Philaret (Feodor Romanof), Patriarch of Moscow: 240, 420
Philemon, Egyptian monk: 561, 568
Philip, Metropolitan of Moscow: 236
Philippi: 185, 186
Philippians: 138
Phillips, J. B.: 628
Philo the Jew: 150, 423, 424, 636
Philothey, Russian monk: 412
Philoxenus of Mabbug: 132, 634
Photiadis, Nicholaos: 35
Photice (North Greece): 558
Photinians: 138
Photios, Metropolitan of Imvros and Tenedos: 57
Photios the Great, Patriarch of Constantinople: 229, 461, 558, 580, 634
Photios I, Ecumenical Patriarch: 456, 457, 458, 460
Photius, Russian Metropolitan: 414
Pichéry, Dom E.: 580, 581, 589
Pichler, Bishop A.: 491
Piffl - Persevic, Dr. Theodor: 467
Pius V, Pope: 410
Pius XI, Pope: 243
Places, des — , A.: 558, 559, 564
Plantiga, A.: 516
Plato (-nic): 150, 228, 229, 230, 231, 242, 427, 430, 438, 447, 563
"Platonising": 640
Platonism: 533, 560
Poimen, Patriarch of Moscow: 47
Poland - Polish (Poles): 239, 240, 414, 420, 456, 457, 459, 491
Polemon, St. — : 640
Poletti, Cardinal — : 490
Polycarp, St. — : 631
Pontifical Institute of Historical Studies: 491
Pontius Pilate: 137, 139
Poringland (Norwich): 495, 496, 500, 501, 502
Porphyrios the Neo - Platonic: 228
Portal, Abbé — : 503, 509
Portugal (-guese): 278, 433, 528
Portus, Francis: 411
Powell - Cotton, P.H.G.: 364, 365
Pre - Socratic/s/: 430, 438
prédestination: 579 - 589
Prestige, G.L.: 635, 657
"Primacy of Pope" (Primat des Papstes): 162, 169, 170, 409, 410, 486, 496, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 570, 573
priesthood: 62, 67, 494, 495, 496, 497, 505, 506, 510, 528
Proclos the Neo - Platonic: 228
Prometheus: 532
Prophets, The — : 134, 135, 137, 138, 140, 148, 153, 289, 291, 480, 533, 619, 620, 626, 637, 641
proselytism: 463
"prosopon" (person): 127, 129, 131, 132, 134, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 171, 242, 287, 289, 295, 296, 483, 562, 563, 565, 572, 641
Prosper d' Aquitaine: 582, 583, 585, 588
Protestants (-ntism): 82, 161, 169, 195, 409, 411, 419, 421, 422, 425, 462, 463, 479, 493, 506, 557, 633
"Proverbs, the book of —" (Proverbes, le livre des —): 286, 586, 619, 631
Prusse (-ssien): 404
"Psalms, the book of —": 189, 289, 291, 292, 293, 295, 423, 433, 434, 446, 562, 586, 587, 617, 618, 619, 620, 642
Psellos, Michael: 228, 230
Pseudo - Ambrose (-ian): 284 note, 296, 297
Pseudo - Athanasius (-ian): 281 - 298
Pseudo - Basil (-ian): 284
Pseudo - Dionysius: 640, 641, 642
Pskov (russia): 171
Pushkin: 240

Q

Queen of Sheba: 634
Qumran: 626

R

Rabban, Abraham: 129
Rabdas, Nic.: 231
Rahner, Karl: 509, 580, 582
Ramsey Michael, Archbishop of Canterbury: 503, 505, 508, 509
Ratzinger, Cardinal Joseph —, Bishop of Munich: 245, 491, 492
Rauschen: 592
"Reallexikon zur byzantinische Kunst": 299
Rebecca, St. — (Sitt Rifqah): 475 - 477
Reformation (- med Christians): 84, 169, 244, 246, 425, 426, 494, 496, 570, 616, 632
Reformation theology: 625
Régulus: 405
Renaissance: 230, 232, 415, 428
Resurrection: 128, 133, 134, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 151, 155, 189, 429, 447, 481, 529, 534, 535, 621, 631, 632, 635, 636
Reumann, Prof. John: 615
Revelation (Apocalypse): 618
Rhodes, island: 160, 235, 488
Rhos: 461
Ritter, A.M.: 597, 598, 602, 605, 607
Robinson, J.A.T.: 186
Robolowski, K.: 307
Roché, Déodat: 534
"Rois, le livre des —": 584
Roman/s/: 128, 130, 131, 169, 171, 184, 185, 187, 189, 194, 195, 229, 288, 293, 410, 420, 428, 431, 456, 461, 633, 634, 635, 637
Roman Catacombs: 639
Roman Catholic Theological Commission: 496, 497
Roman Catholic - Orthodox Joint Commission: 488, 489, 492, 493, 494
Roman Catholic - Orthodox Dialogue: 485 - 512
Roman Catholics (-cism): 15, 16, 21, 36, 51, 55, 60, 76, 80, 82, 159 - 164, 169, 193, 241 - 248, 409, 410, 414, 421, 433, 434, 459, 460, 463, 485 - 512, 557, 576, 581, 582, 585, 586, 618
Roman Empire: 126, 129, 130, 194, 412, 447, 455, 456, 534
Roman Law: 232, 616, 626, 637
"Romans, Epistle to —" of St. Paul: 423 - 426, 583, 586, 617, 622 - 628, 630, 631, 632, 633, 635
Romanos the hymn - writer: 229

Rome: 82, 129, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 169, 170, 181, 185, 187, 191, 194, 235, 236, 237, 240, 404, 405, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 415, 418, 423, 435, 457, 458, 459, 460, 485 - 512, 533, 576, 577, 581, 582, 623, 626, 631
Rossini, Carlo Conti — : 277, 435
Rostislav, ruler of Moravia: 456, 457, 458, 459
Rotarian Association of Athens: 86, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94
— — — Famagusta: 90
— — — London: 88, 90, 93, 94
Rotary (-ians): 90
Rousseau, Philippe: 580
Rückert: 244
Ruether, R.R.: 397
Rufinus: 633
Rumania (-ns): 461, 491, 509, 579, 580, 581
Runcie Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury: 3, 7, 14, 55, 58, 78, 505, 507, 508, 511
Runciman, Sir Steven: 3, 16, 75, 80, 220, 235, 370, 376
Rupp, Prof. Gordon: 3, 35, 169
Rüppell, E.: 278
Russia (-ns): 30, 47, 66, 67, 161, 232, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 276, 403, 404, 405, 409, 410, 412, 413, 414, 415 ff, 456, 459, 461, 557, 580, 581
Russian revolution: 240, 462
Ryan, Herbert: 499

S

Sabaoth: 294, 296
Sabbas, St. — the Serbian: 460
Sabellius (-ianism): 138
Sabrisho, Syrian Catholicos: 127
Sako, L.R.M.: 129
Salachas, Prof. D.: 491
Salisbury: 505
Salmond, S.D.: 120
Salonika (Thessalonike): 95
Samaria (-ritans): 183, 620
Samaritana mulier: 293
Samblak, Gregory: 414
"Samuel, the book of —": 584
Sanders, E.P.: 425
Sanhedrin: 187
Sapeto, Giuseppe: 435
Saracens: 457
Sarah: 423, 475
Sarmateans: 461
Särsä Dengel, emperor of Ethiopia: 277
Sartre, Jean Paul: 527
Sasanian Empire: 129, 130
Satan (devil): 134, 136, 559, 566, 567
Saul (St. Paul): 182, 625
Savvas, Bishop of Bialistok and Gdansk: 491
Savvas, Bishop of Soumadia: 491
Saxony: 457
Scandinavia (-ns): 461
Sceptics (-cism): 155, 522
Schaefer, J.: 594
Schelkle, K.H.: 634
Schermann, T.: 282 ff, 290 ff
Schillebeeckx, E.: 162
Schism (-atics): 39, 132, 138, 160, 163, 170, 171, 244, 486, 492, 499, 569, 570, 571, 573, 574
Scholarios, Gennadios: 231
Schufreider, G.: 521
Schuman, Maurice: 533
Schürpf, Augustin: 169
Schwartz, Ed.: 605
Schweiger, Solomon: 411
Schweitzer, Albert: 480, 623
Scotland (Scottish): 3, 82
Scythia Minor: 579, 580, 589
Sebastopol: 403
Sebastopoulos George: 416
Secretariat of Education of the Archbishopric of Thyateira: 71
See of Masil: 477
— — Rome: 490, 505
— — Thyateira and Great Britain: 557
Seidl, Wolf: 314
Seifa Arad, King of Aksum: 278
Selim II, Sultan: 410, 415, 416
Semi - Pelagien: 579 - 589
Semites (-tic): 427, 428, 437, 444, 447, 448, 453, 506, 626, 637
"Septuagint, the translation of —": 617
Seraphim, the — : 293, 294, 295, 296, 297
Seraphim, St. — of Sarov: 67
Serbia - Serbs: 456, 457, 460, 491, 492
Servian of Gabala: 635
Severus, Gabriel: 410, 411
Severus of Antioch: 132
Shahdost, Syrian writer: 129
Shapland: 281 ff, 290 ff
Shebna: 618
Shein, Prof. Louis J.: 527
Sheol: 136
Shivarov, Prof. N.: 48, 491
Shoa (Ethiopia): 434
Shoan Kingdom, First — : 433
Shuisky, Vassily: 240
Siberia: 462
Sidoroff, Matti: 491
Silas (Silvanus): 184, 185
Silas, Bishop of Amphipolis (th/aft. Metropol. of New Jersey): 462
Silesia: 457
Simms, Archbishop of Armagh: 505
Simon, Bishop of Lodz and Poznan: 491
Simonetti, M.: 282 ff
Simonians: 137
Sinai, Mt.: 161, 236
Slavs (-ic): 82, 403, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461
Slipyj, Kardinal — (ukrainische Kirche): 161, 162
Slovaks: 456
Slovenia (-ns): 456, 457, 459, 460
Smolensk (Russia): 236, 237
Socrates (-tic): 427, 430, 441
Sokolov, Pl.: 412
Solomon: 427, 429, 441, 620
Solomonian dynasty of Ethiopia: 430
Son (Logos - Word) of God, the Incarnate: 67, 79, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146,

147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 171, 182, 185, 190, 241, 242, 246, 283 - 298, 479 - 483, 488, 490, 499, 500, 508, 528, 532, 567, 632, 634, 636, 637, 639, 641, 642, 643, 644
"Song of Deborah": 619
"Song of Songs" (Cantique des Cantiques): 566, 586
Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem: 239, 418
South Africa (-ns): 495, 496, 499, 500
South America: 462
South Arabia: 456
Southampton: 206
Soviet Union (USSR): 47, 79, 276, 511
Spain (Spanish): 410, 527
St. Albans: 509, 511
St. Augustine's College (Canterbury): 495
St. Katherine's College in Liverpool: 507
St. Michael's College in Llandaff: 511
St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Educational Centre (Archb/ric of Thyateira): 68
St. Pétersbourg: 403
Staab, Karl: 635
Staniloae, Prof. D.: 491
Stavrides, Prof. B.: 78, 455, 465
Stephanides, M.: 231
Stephen, king of Hungary: 460
Stephen, of Alexandria: 229
Stephen, St. — the Protomartyr: 181
Stockton -on- Tees (England): 62
Stockton State College of New Jersey (U.S.A.): 173
Stoics (-cism): 531, 532, 616, 627, 628, 636
Strabo: 231
Stuhlamcher, Peter: 634
Stülcken: 281 ff, 290 ff
Stylianos, Archbishop of Australia: 488, 491
"Syblime Porte, La —": 403, 404, 406
"substantia" (Substance): 143, 283 note
Sudan: 364
Sulpicius Severus: 194
Sumner, Prof. Claude: 427
"Supremacy of Rome": 240
Susa (Persia): 127
Susenyos, Ethiopian emperor: 278, 434, 442
Suttner, Prof. E.: 491
Suzdal (Russia): 413
Svetopulk, ruler of Moravia: 457, 459
Sweden (-dish): 461
Swete, H.B.: 635
Switzerland (Suisse): 49, 79
Sykas, Dem.: 41
Sylvester of Rome: 170
Sylvester, Patriarch of Alexandria: 239, 410, 416, 418, 420
Symeon, Metropolitan of Eirenoupolis: 57
Symeon, ruler of Bulgaria: 459
Symeon the New Theologian: 67, 558 ff
Synesios, Bishop of Cyrene: 228, 231
Synod of Beth Lapat (484): 126, 130 note
— — Constantinople (1561): 415
— — — (1590): 418, 419, 420, 421, 422
— — — (1593): 418, 419, 420, 421, 422
— — Orange (529): 588
— — Russian Church (1551): 236
"Synodicon Orientale": 125, 126, 127, 128
Synods of Seleucia - Ktesiphon (from 5th to early 7th centuries): 125 - 142
Syria (-ns): 67, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 181, 183, 404, 405, 406
Syriac: 428
Syrian Orthodox: 125 - 142

T

Tachiaos, Antonios - Emilios: 458
Takkaze, river: 434
Takkaze Valley: 442
Täklä Haymanot: 277, 278, 435
Taliadouros, Athanasios: 74, 75
Tamar: 619
Tamiathios (Egypt): 410
Tana - See: 275, 276, 277, 278
Tannery, P.: 230
Tanzania: 462
Tao: 532
Taoism: 528, 532, 533
Tarsus: 182, 183, 625
Tatars: 163, 459
Tavard, RR. George: 495, 496, 502
Temple, William: 503
Tertullian: 634, 636
Tetz, M.: 282 ff
Tewodros, emperor of Ethiopia: 275, 278, 279
"Texts and Studies", a review of the Foundation for Hellenism in Gt. Britain: 16, 76, 87
Tezergil, Burhan: 317
Theo of Alexandria: 228, 230
Theodegios the Astronomer: 229
Theodorakopoulos, Prof. Ioannis: 54, 75
Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury: 228
Theodore Meliteniotis: 230
Theodore Metochites: 230, 232
Theodore of Mopsuestia: 127, 128, 129, 130, 139, 635
Theodore Prodromos: 230
Theodore St. — of Tarsus: 67
Theodore St. — the Studite: 639, 641
Theodore the Geometrician: 229
Theodore, Tsar: 415, 417, 420
Theodoret: 132, 634, 636, 637
Theodorou, Prof. Evangelos: 458
Theodosius II, Byzantine emperor: 228
Theoleptos, Patriarch of Constantinople: 236, 237, 416
"Theological Dialogue of Truth in Love": 486
Theological School of Chalki (Con/ple): 101, 462
— — — Edessa, Persian — : 130
— — — Nisibis: 128, 130
— — — St. Sergius in Paris: 462
"Theology", periodical issue: 479, 499
Theopaschite/s/: 126, 127, 131, 132, 135
Theophan the Recluse, Russian Bishop: 567
Theophanes, Patriarch of Jerusalem: 420
Theophilos, Byzantine emperor: 229
Theophylactos, Ecumenical Patriarch: 460
"theosis": 633
Thérèse d' Avila: 581

Thessalonians: 185
Thessalonike: 185, 186, 190, 228, 457
Thibon, Gustave: 528, 532, 534, 535
Thomas of Marga: 128
Thomistes (-misme): 584, 586
Thrace - Thracians: 460, 461
"Three Hierarchs, The —": 74, 75
Thucidides: 190
Thyateira: 11, 17, 18, 615
Tihon, A.: 227
Tillard, Jean: 491, 494, 495, 499, 500, 501
Tillyrides, Andreas: 401
"Times, The —": 496
Timothy: 184, 185, 188, 289, 628
Timothy Ailouros: 132
Tirechán: 193
Tixeront, J.: 585
Tomazos, Ioannis: 34
Tomis (Constantsa): 461
"Tomos Agapis": 159, 160
Torrance, Prof. T.F.: 3, 39, 40, 50, 51, 75, 93, 143, 220
Torrella, Bishop R.: 491
Transfiguration: 216
Transylvania: 461
Travis, Father John: 513
Trebizond of Pontos: 228, 231
Trembelas, Prof. Panayiotis: 32
Trichur: 129
Truro: 509
Tübingen: 245, 411, 491
Turcocratia: 235
Turkey (Turquie): 402, 403, 404, 405
Turks (Turkish): 163, 228, 363, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 415, 416, 420, 461
Turner, Prof. H. E. W.: 35
Tver (Russia): 413
Tzetzes, John: 230

U

Uganda: 462
Ukraine: 240
"Unia" (-ates): 411, 414, 485, 489
"Union of Florence": 235, 409, 414
United Kingdom: 89
University McMaster — in Hamilton, Ontario: 527
— of Addis Ababa: 427
— — Athens: 27, 32, 48, 52, 75, 95, 227, 228, 458, 569
— — Bologna: 500
— — Cambridge: 35, 169
— — Durham: 17, 35, 76, 155, 423
— — Edinburgh: 25, 40, 51, 52, 75, 86, 143
— — Ingolstadt: 169
— — London: 76, 363
— — Manchester: 35, 52, 86, 95, 181
— — Marburg: 241
— — Munich: 28, 29, 52
— — Nicaea, Byzantine: 228
— — Nigeria: 479
— — Oxford: 40, 62, 65, 557
— — Paris: 169
— — Tübingen: 159, 411
"Upanishads": 427
Urbain V, Pape: 580, 581
U.S.A.: 36, 404, 495, 499, 504, 507, 510, 615, 623
Utrecht: 491

V

Valenti, Olinto: 317, 322, 324
Valery, P.: 232
Vandals: 456
Varangians: 461
Varsanuphius, St. — : 561
Vaschalde, A.: 128
Vatatzes, John: 228, 230
Vatican: 159, 160, 161, 485, 491, 503, 504
Velichokovsky, Paissy: 67
Venice (-netians): 405, 410, 411, 416, 457, 459, 489, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 507
Vienna: 491, 492
Vigilantiani: 171
Vigilius of Thapsus: 281
Viller, Marcel: 580, 582
Vistula, river: 456
Vitö, Miklos: 531
Vitoft, Lithuanian prince: 414
Viviano Gasparo, Latin Bishop: 410
Vlachernae (Con/ple): 416
Vladimir (Russia): 237, 417
Vladimir, Russian prince: 461
Vogel, Bishop — : 499, 502
Vogel, Prof. K. : 227
Vogt, Prof. H. : 491
Volga, river: 460
Voronov, Prof. L.: 491
Vorsivoi, Ruler of Bohemia: 459

W

Wagner, Prof. Harald: 241
Wälda Heywat, Ethiopian philosopher: 429, 430, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 441, 442, 446, 448, 449, 450, 451, 453
Wallachia: 235, 418, 461
Walschus, Georg: 314
Washington: 491
Weber, Max: 498
Weigl, E.: 282, 285
Weil, Simone: 527 - 535
Weimar: 170
Weimarer Ausgabe (1883): 170
"Weltanschaung": 449, 450
Wesley: 625, 637
West Germany: 246, 492
West Syrian/s/: 126, 130, 131, 133
Western Europe (-ans): 11, 82, 163, 227, 232, 414, 580, 581, 582
Western Theology: 52
Weston Super Mare (Gt. Britain): 62
Weubourg: 434
Wheeler Robinson, H.: 620

Wiching, Archbishop of Moravia: 457
Wickert, Ulrich: 635
Willebrands, Cardinal J. — : 161, 485, 488, 490, 491, 492
Wilmart, A.: 282
Windsor: 498, 504, 505, 506, 507
Wittenberg: 409, 411
Wollo (Ethiopia): 275, 276, 278, 279
Woodstock College (New York): 494, 495
Worchester College (Oxford): 76, 639
World Council of Churches (W.C.C.): 77, 246, 409, 462, 463, 496, 616
Württemberg: 411
Wyclif, John: 170

Y

Yarnold, Edward: 498, 499
Yaroslav, prince of Kiev: 412
Yejju, Äthiopische Dynastie: 278, 279
Yorkshire (England): 36
Yugoslavia: 491

Z

Zachée: 583
Zagorsk (Russia): 47
Zauditu, Ethiopian empress: 279
Zeno, Byzantine emperor: 126
Zera Yakob, Ethiopian king: 430
Zera Yakob, Ethiopian philosopher: 428, 429, 430, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 442, 443, 446, 448, 449, 451, 453
Zeus: 181
Ziesler, J.A.: 618, 619
Zizioulas, Prof. J.: 491
Zumpt, H.: 394

# TABLE OF CONTENTS — ΠΙΝΑΞ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ

Prologue of the Editor — Πρόλογος τοῦ ἐκδότου ..... 7- 8

MESSAGES — ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΑ

a. Of the Ecumenical Patriarch DEMETRIOS — Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου κ. Δημητρίου ..... 11
b. Of the Archbishop of Canterbury ROBERT RUNCIE — Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καντουαρίας κ. Ρόμπερτ Ράνσυ ..... 13- 14
c. Of the Metropolitan of France MELETIOS — Μητροπολίτου Γαλλίας κ. Μελετίου ..... 15- 16
d. Of the Metropolitan of Attica DOROTHEOS — Μητροπολίτου Ἀττικῆς κ. Δωροθέου ..... 17- 18
e. Of the Metropolitan of Brussels and all Belgium BASIL — Μητροπολίτου Βρυξελλῶν καὶ Βελγίου κ. Βασιλείου ..... 19- 21
f. Of the Metropolitan formerly of Lemnos BASILIOS — Μητροπολίτου πρώην Λήμνου κυρίου Βασιλείου ..... 23

* *
*

— *Protopresbyter Dr George Dion. Dragas,* Archbishop Methodios' Biography — *Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου Γεωργίου Διον. Δράγα,* Εἰσαγωγικὸν βιογραφικὸν σχεδίασμα Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας Μεθοδίου ..... 25-102
— Archbishop Methodios' Publications (in Chronological Order) ..... 103-107
— Editor of Theological Reviews ..... 108
— List of Reviews by Archbishop Methodios (Βιβλιοκρισίαι) ..... 109-114
— List of Reviews on Archbishop Methodios' Publications ..... 115-116

* *
*

1. *Μητροπολίτη Μύρων Χρυσοστόμου,* «Ὁ σταυρωμένος καὶ ἐγκαταλειμμένος Ἰησοῦς» στὴν Ὀρθόδοξη Παράδοση ..... 119-124
2. *Sebastian Brock,* The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the fifth to early seventh Centuries: Preliminary Considerations and Materials ..... 125-142
3. *T.F. Torrance,* The open Texture of "Faith" and "Godliness" in the Church's Confession ..... 143-154
4. *C.K. Barrett,* Εἰδωλόθυτα once more ..... 155-158
5. *Hans Küng,* Orthodoxie und römischer Katholizismus ..... 159-164
6. *Θεοδώρου Ζήση,* Ἡ ἀξιοπιστία τῶν συγγραμμάτων Ἰωάννου Πλουσιαδηνοῦ ἢ Ἰωσὴφ Μεθώνης (1429-1500) ..... 165-168
7. *Gordon Rupp,* Luther and the Eastern Churches ..... 169-171
8. *Πρωτοπρ. Δημ. Κωνσταντέλου,* Ὁ ἱερὸς Φώτιος, Θεολογία καὶ Ποιμαντικὴ Διακονία ..... 173-179
9. *F.F. Bruce,* St. Luke's Portrait of St. Paul ..... 181-191
10. *Bishop R.P.C. Hanson,* St. Patrick: A Saint for all Traditions ..... 193-196
11. *Χρήστου Γιαννούλα,* Ἡ παροῦσα κατάστασις τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μεγάλης Βρεταννίας. Πέντε ἔτη ποιμαντορίας τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου αὐτῆς Μεθοδίου ..... 197-225

12. *Dem. Kotsakis*, Astronomy and Mathematical Sciences in Byzantium ... 227-233
13. *Sir Steven Runciman*, Patriarch Jeremias II and the Patriarchate of Moscow ... 235-240
14. *Harald Wagner*, Unity of the Church: The Roman Catholic Point of View ... 241-248
15. *Μητροπολίτου Σουηδίας Παύλου*, Ἡ ἐν Καρθαγένῃ Σύνοδος τοῦ 419 ... 249-274
16. *Friedrich Heyer*, Das Historiche Wegesystem von Däbrä Tabor und Gaynt ... 275-279
17. *Alasdair Heron*, The Pseudo-Athanasian Works *de Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto* and *de incarnatione et contra Arianos*: a Comparison ... 281-298
18. *Μητροπολίτου Ἑλενουπόλεως Ἀθανασίου*, Ὁ ἁγιογράφος Εἰρήναρχος Κόβας ... 299-362
19. *Richard Pankhurst*, A Cypriot Icon in 19th Century Gondar (Ethiopia) ... 363-365
20. *Π.Γ. Φούγια*, Ὁ ρόλος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Διασπορᾶς στὴν Ἐκπαίδευση τῶν Ἑλληνοπαίδων τοῦ Ἐξωτερικοῦ ... 367-388
21. *(†) Ἰω. Παναγιωτίδου*, Ἐπανασύνδεσις τῶν διακεκομμένων σχέσεων Ὀρθοδόξου καὶ Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ... 389-391
22. *Δέσπως Λιάλιου*, Ὁ χαρακτήρας τῶν σπουδῶν τοῦ Ἁγ. Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου, περὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 4ου μ.Χ. αἰ. ... 393-400
23. *Andreas Tillyrides*, Un tres Important Appel de la Noblesse Française de Chypre a l' Empereur Napoleon III ... 401-407
24. *Charles Graves*, The Ecumenical Significance of the Role of Meletios Pigas in the Erection of the Moscow Patriarchate ... 409-422
25. *James D.G. Dunn*, Some Ecumenical Reflections on Romans 4 ... 423-426
26. *Claude Sumner*, Ethiopian Literature and Philosophy ... 427-453
27. *Vasil J. Istavridis*, The Missionary work of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Europe and Elsewhere Based on the Principles of the Saints Cyril and Methodios ... 455-465
28. *Μητροπολίτου Φιλαδελφείας Βαρθολομαίου*, Ἡ πορεία τοῦ Θεολογικοῦ Διαλόγου μεταξὺ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν Ρωμαιοκαθολικῆς καὶ Ὀρθοδόξου ... 467-473
29. *Otto F.A. Meinardus*, Sitt Rifqah and her five Children ... 475-477
30. *Rev. Mark E. Glasswell*, The Uniqueness of Jesus and the Absoluteness of Christ ... 479-483
31. *Rev. Colin Davey*, Further Steps towards Unity 1972-1984 ... 485-512
32. *John Travis*, The Ontological Argument: a Proof for the Existence of God ... 513-522
33. *Ἐπισκόπου Κυανέων Χρυσοστόμου*, Ἡ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας. Σύντομη Εἰσαγωγὴ στὴν ἱστορία της ... 523-526
34. *Louis Shein*, An Examination of the Spiritual Odyssey of a Modern Mystic ... 527-535
35. *Ἐπισκόπου Μιλητουπόλεως Τιμοθέου*, Τὸ ἐν Λονδίνῳ Ἑλληνικὸν Κοιμητήριον τοῦ Norwood ... 537-556
36. *Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia*, The Jesus Prayer in St. Diadochus of Photice ... 557-568
37. *Nikos A. Nissiotis*, Partikularität und Einheit in der Sicht der Orthodoxie ... 569-578
38. *N. Chitescu*, Saint Jean Cassien a-t-il Été Semi-Pelagien? ... 579-589
39. *Κων/νου Καλλινίκου*, Ἡ Δευτέρα Οἰκουμενικὴ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Σύνοδος (381). Ἡ κορωνὶς καὶ ἡ ἐπιτυχία τῶν ἀκαμάτων ἐνεργειῶν, προσπαθειῶν, ἀγώνων, τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἔργου καὶ τῆς Θεολογίας τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου ... 591-614
40. *John Reumann*, The "Righteousness of God" and the "Economy of God": Two great doctrinal Themes Historically compared ... 615-637
41. *Nicholas Gendle*, Creation and Incarnation in the Iconology of St. John of Damascus ... 639-645
42. *Βασιλείου Ν. Ἀναγνωστοπούλου*, Οἱ Πατέρες καὶ οἱ Θεολογικοὶ Διάλογοι ... 647-661
43. *Ἐπισκόπου Τροπαίου Γρηγορίου*, Τὰ Σχολεῖα τοῦ Συστήματος τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θυατείρων καὶ Μ. Βρεταννίας καὶ τὰ προβλήματά τους ... 663-665

* *
*

— General Index — Γενικὸν Εὑρετήριον ... 667-700