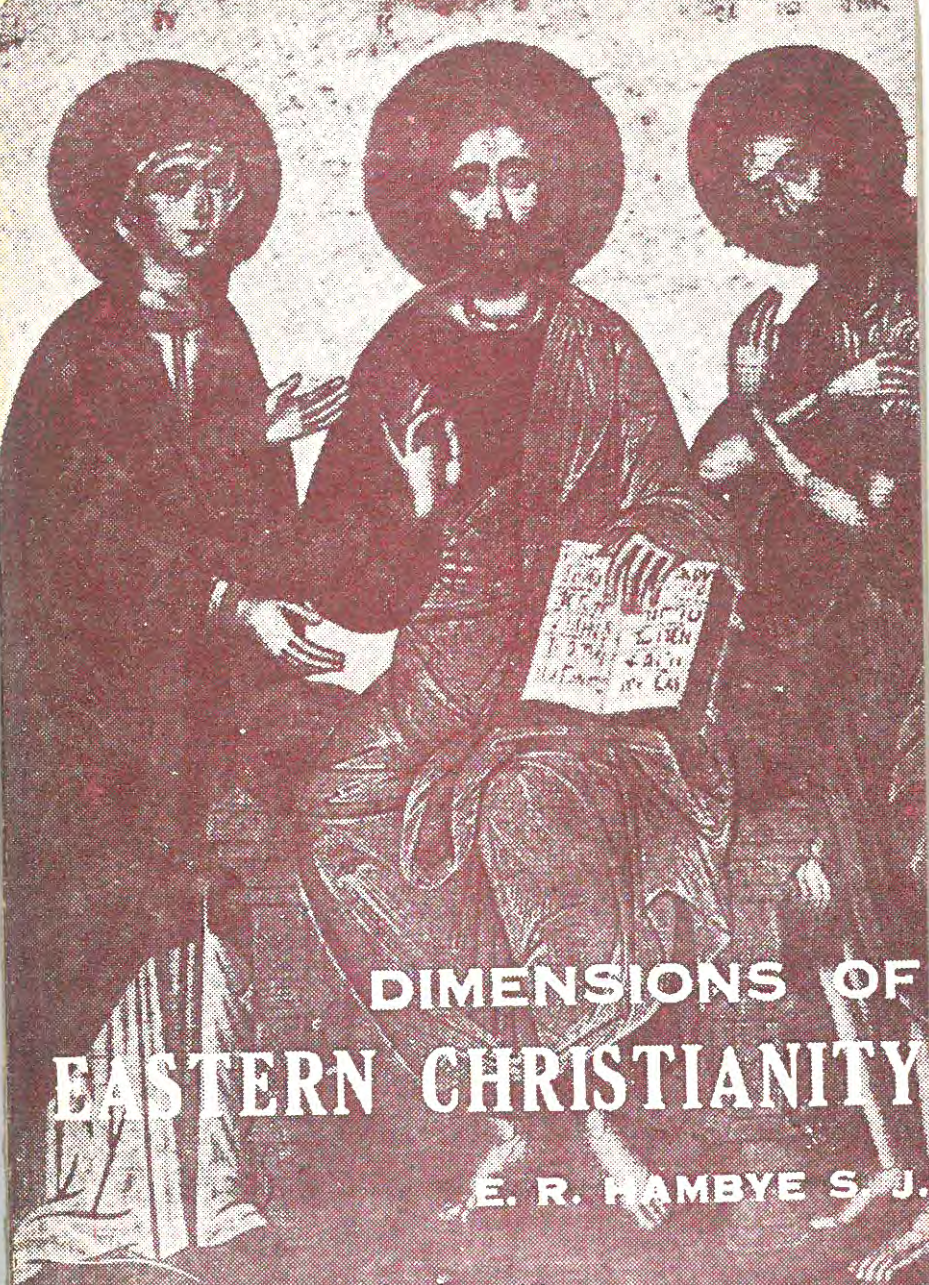




DIMENSIONS OF EASTERN CHRISTIANITY

E. R. HAMBYE S. J.

DIMENSIONS OF EASTERN CHRISTIANITY

E. R. HAMBYE S. J.



No. 62

**Pontifical Oriental Institute for Religious Studies, India
St. Thomas Seminary, Vadavathoor, Kottayam 686 010
Kerala, India.**



MALANKARA
LIBRARY

**DIMENSIONS OF
EASTERN CHRISTIANITY**

E. R. Hambye S. J.

Copy Right :

**Pontifical Oriental Institute for
Religious Studies, India
St. Thomas Seminary, Vadavathoor,
Kottayam 686 010
Kerala, India.**

Printed at :

St. Joseph's Press, Mannanam, 1983.

Imprimatur :

**Mar Joseph Powathil
Bishop of Kanjirapally
July 3, 1983**

INTRODUCTION

These notes were originally written to help the students of St Thomas Apostolic Seminary, Vadavathoor, for their B. Th. course. As the subject presented appeared a little disconnected, I decided to put them into order in harmony with the general title: "Dimensions of Eastern Christianity". The way I approach our topics must be mentioned from the start. I take for granted that Eastern Christianity is a permanent reality wherever it is found and that real unity among Christians demands diversity, and not uniformity. I use both theological and historical methods. I try to understand and appreciate the genuine Eastern Traditions neither as an outsider nor like latinised Orientals, but as Orientals themselves from within. As far as human limitations allow, this is the fairest possible way, I think. I warmly thank my students for all the inspiration which I drew from their active participation. I am obliged to Fr. Geevarghese Chediath for all the encouragement he gave me in preparing these notes, as well as to Fr. Xavier Koodapuzha for having accepted to publish them in the series of Oriental Institute publications, he so ably directs.

The Author.

Feast of Dukrana
July 3, 1983

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Part I. Some Fundamental Aspects of the Christian East	9
Ch. I. Liturgical Vision and Life	10
1. Preliminaries	10
2. Is there any limit to the liturgical reality?	13
3. The Liturgical Mystery	15
Ch. II. Ecclesiological Aspects	
Preliminaries on Theological Method	20
1. Apostolicity	21
2. Communion (Koinonia)	23
3. Regionalism	25
Ch. III A Cosmic Outlook	26
1. Recapitulation in Christ	26
2. The whole world is redeemed	27
3. Eschatological Vision and Sanctification	28
4. Life in the Spirit	29
<i>Bibliography</i>	30
Part II. Christology and Theological Pluralism.	
The Syrian Churches	32
Ch. I. The Main Issues at Stake	32
A. Dyophysitism and Monophysitism	32
1. The School of Alexandria	33
2. The School of Antioch	33
3. Problems of Terminology	34
B. Theological and Historical Developments	35
1. Diphysitism, Nestorius and the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431)	35

2. The Act of Union and Reconciliation	37
3. Diphysitism: An Evaluation	37
4. Eutyches, Monophysitism and the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451)	38

Ch. II. Early Attempts at Compromise and Further Trials. 41

1. Reception of Chalcedon	41
2. Attempts at peace based on compromise	42
Phase I	42
Phase II	44
Phase III	44
Phase IV	47
<i>Bibliography</i>	50

Ch. III. The Syrian Churches from the time of Divisions 50

1. The Church of the East	50
A. General History	51
Under the Sassanian Dynasty	51
Under the Arab and Ottoman Rules	53
2. Monasticism	59
3. Culture	60
4. Expansion	63

Ch. IV. The Syrian Churches from the time of Divisions. The Syrian Church of Antioch 64

A. The Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate	64
1. General History	65
2. Monasticism	69
3. Culture	70
4. Expansion	71
B. The Syro-Maronite Patriarchate	72
<i>Bibliography</i>	77

Part III. The Greek East and the Latin West	78
Ch. I. From Chalcedon (A.D. 451) to the end of Iconoclasm (A.D. 843)	79
1. Constantinople and the Pentarchy	79
2. Rome and the Byzantine East	80
3. Actual Relations between Rome and the Greek East	82
a. Amity and Tensions	82
b. Italy, Byzantium and the Franks	85
c. East and West in the Iconoclasm Crisis	86
Ch. II. Early Mediæval Relations	88
1. Patriarchal Competitions	88
2. The Photius Affair, A.D. 868-886	89
a. General Background	90
b. Personalities	91
c. Main Facts	92
d. Interpretation	96
3. The Mission of SS Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs, A.D. 861-885	97
a. Background	97
b. Phase I	99
c. Phase II	101
d. Phase III	102
e. Phase IV	103
f. Evaluation	104
Ch. III. Estrangement and Breaking away	105
c. 930-1204	105
1. Background	105
2. Positive Aspects	106
3. Less Positive and Negative Aspects	107
4. Separation and the Quest for Unity	110

A. A symbol 1054	110
1. The Main Fact, 16 July 1054	110
2. Interpretation	111
B. Renewed Efforts towards Unity	112
Before and after the ill-famed crusade of 1204	
Florence and After	115
Conclusion	116
<i>Bibliography</i>	119
Part IV. Catholicism and the Eastern Churches	120
Ch. I. Historical Survey of Reunions	121
1. The Maronites	121
2. The Armenians	122
3. The Ukrainians	123
4. The Romanians	126
5. The Greek-Melkites	128
Conclusion	132
Ch. II. Roman Policy and the Eastern Churches	133
First Period : 1215-1439	133
Second Period : 1439-1758	134
Third Period : 1740-1894	136
Fourth Period : 1894 until today	
Ch. III. 'Uniatism' and the Ecumenical Significance of the Catholic Eastern Churches	144
1. Background	144
2. Eastern Catholics : A Problem ?	146
3. Uniatism	148
<i>Bibliography.</i>	155
Index	156

PART I

Some Fundamental Aspects of the Christian East

When speaking of the Christian East we want to indicate those Churches whose origins go back to the Apostolic times, and which were nearly all founded either directly by one of the Apostles or indirectly by some of their disciples.

Though in later centuries the Christian East became divided, e.g., the patriarchate of Antioch, owing to religious, cultural and even national factors, there can be found in it basic characteristics which it holds in common. For instance, its approach to liturgy and liturgical life is the same in spite of diversity and later developments. Truly enough the Church of Byzantium (Constantinople) soon enjoyed a supermacy which left a rich heritage of Christian culture, theology and spirituality. Her developments under their various forms, be Greek, Slavic or Semitic, do represent one of the highest water-marks reached by the Christian East. Yet they should not make us overlook other contributions, for instance, those coming from the Syriac tradition, which in so many ways helped enriching the life shared by all.

Therefore it is not at all artificial to try summing up some fundamental aspects of the Christian East. Even the more abundant and varied expressions found in the Byzantine traditions can be used to throw light on those aspects since it can be said to be based on foundations common to all Eastern Christians.

Incarnate God with their sorrowful and glorious aspects. Actually there is only *one liturgical Mystery*, one Christ-like reality, the *ANAMNESIS* (memorial, in the strong sense of a commemoration that brings back to life what is commemorated), which through the *working of the Holy Spirit* designates the way of living in Christ (the "en christo" of St Paul), the liturgical way of life as complementary to the real presence. Thus it is a *new*, Christ-centred, *creation*, proclaimed by the liturgy until it becomes absolutely fulfilled. The eschatological character is always present and therefore fundamental.

We can ask further in which way the Eastern Liturgy is influenced by this sense of the Mystery.

a) *Firstly*, the liturgy (Public work) is and acts always as a whole, a totality, a pattern (*typos*). Hence it should not be regarded as merely applying the merits of the suffering Saviour, nor as only a means to reach the end. Even, within a legitimate pluralism, i.e., various possible expressions, those approaches to the liturgical life which historically began with the Latin Middle Ages, cannot but substitute to the Mystery aspect juridical and conceptual views. Hence spirituality became cut off from the liturgy, a sorry state of affairs which in recent times led to the attempt in the west to link again liturgy with spirituality and liturgy with theology.

b) *Secondly*, since the liturgy is indeed a totality, i. e., made of a unity of forms and times, its spiritual fullness cannot possibly be expressed by a *mere sacramental consecration* that belongs only to the priest. It needs to prove and complete its authentic character through two essential qualities:

i) A *symbolical structure*, encompassing the mystery

of salvation from Genesis down to the Parousia, that mystery which is daily offered to the sharing of priest and faithful alike. Symbol unites and communicates through objects, gestures, words, energized by the Holy Spirit. Everything becomes alive, and transparent.

ii) *A rhythmic dynamism*, bringing out into all aspects of creation the same liturgical mystery, thus joining together visible and invisible realities by the sacred word (readings), the symbolical gestures, the consecrated matter. Ritual actions tell a story, radiate warmth through communion. Such a dynamic process takes place throughout the liturgical cycle of the year, and in the life-time of each Christian.

c) *Thirdly*, thus we are provided with the basic components that make the liturgical life of Eastern Christianity.

A mystery vision of the sacramental world, rising from the Eucharist through the Holy Spirit

2. The sacrificial presence of the Lord

The *rhythmic dynamism* impregnates in a symbolical way the created cosmos with the Lord's presence through the energy of the Spirit.

The spiritual content and meaning of those components are vigorously expressed by their relation to the reality of the Heavenly Christ. For, this is also the central and fundamental reality of the liturgy, i.e., its mysterious, and therefore all the more authentic, relation to Christ, both glorious and crucified before his Father (Rev 5, 6), who draws all of us, his Body, into his mystical death and resurrection.

Hence the Eastern liturgy a *THEURGY*, i.e., a reality which is at the same time heavenly and earthly,

divine and human, like the Church itself. It takes place at the same time on earth and in heaven, since it actually transcends time by opening up to eternity, since it belongs to a new time, the time of the New Covenant between the two Parousias.

Here also is found the *realism* of the Eastern Church, inspired by the Spirit, in its most intense significance. Such a realism, it must be granted, may not be easily acceptable to an 'aliturghical' mind. At that moment when the liturgy is celebrated there happens the interpenetration between God and man, between Christ and the Christian. There also the Church as the *mystical body* intimately related to the *eucharistic body* is constantly created in that joyful fulfilment that anticipates the final 'recapitulation' in the Lord God. In fact the liturgy is the Church itself, for, there the Church finds her focussing centre through which the whole world is converted to Christ, the crucified, risen, ascended, ever glorious Lord. In as much as the church finds in the liturgy the full meaning of her divine-human character, thus the same happens in each member who finds in the liturgy both his own *foundation* and his model. The mystery of divine life reveals the mystery of human life. For, in the liturgy and its life, the ongoing process of deification is unfolded.

Hence it must be said that the *whole Christian life as a memorial* is liturgy, since the pattern of the life in Christ is the liturgy, and since the latter is the source of everything, i. e. the communion of lives. This is the basic reason why in the Eastern Church any spiritual reality is bestowed as a liturgical reality. For no other human language and expression can render better than the liturgy the constant activity of God in and through

the Church. Even Sacred Scriptures are liturgy inasmuch as they encompass the same ongoing operation of incarnation and deification, and since they cannot be fully understood outside both the yearly cycle and each actual celebration.

We thus discover that basic approach of the Eastern Church according to which the liturgy even in its ritual expressions, is so fundamental, so rich, so co-extensive to spirituality, theology and the authentic life of the Church. It is such a close-knit and dynamic reality that to change the liturgy would almost amount to change the Church. If understood in the right spiritual outlook such a view is really as great as fruitful; yet it could also become bogged down in ritualism, sentimentalism and juridicism, making the Church a mere 'cultic community'.

Conclusion

Can we really set frontiers to the liturgy? This question was our starting point. Without indulging in paradoxical statements, our reply is as follows. The liturgy knows no frontier. In the Eastern Church the liturgical reality moves beyond all limits just because it extends over all of them, i. e. the breadth, the height, the depth of the life of the Church and of every faithful. Within that superior space and that universal time the liturgical spirituality of the Eastern Christian blossoms and flourishes.

3. The Liturgical Mystery

What strikes us at once in the Eastern liturgy is its symbolical fullness and its wealth. This is how the reality of the liturgy among genuine Eastern Christians is revealed.

i) Granted that many would dismiss an Eastern liturgical celebration as pompous and irrelevant, the

very role of a *symbolical order* in Christian life could also be questioned. This is the reaction of many a modern mind. It would be inclined to think that the Eastern liturgy has made things 'complicated', and has somewhat sullied the original purity as Christian worship by many accretions. Hence there is a definite need to explain here the meaning and function of symbolism in the Eastern Church.

ii) For many centuries indeed there was *no basic difference* on this point between the East and the West among Christians. Yet, in the East, liturgy and symbols became in course of time part and parcel of a particular Christian synthesis. This explains why the normally devout Eastern Christian pays great attention to the outward significance of symbols so as to reach a deeper understanding, a better realisation of the liturgical mystery.

iii) Which are the main *characteristics* of this *liturgical mystery*?

1) It is *Christ-centered*, because it arises from the unique event of the Incarnation, i.e. God who is revealed in man, in a new creation. Thus it is radically different from any other kind of mystery. The latter's danger consists nearly always in bypassing God by turning only to what is considered as divine in nature. In this case the symbols used to express such a non-Christian mystery cannot claim any infallibility.

2) It contains a *new ontological and invisible reality*, that of man who shares in the new order brought about by God's grace and continuously quickened by the 'epiclesis' of the H. Spirit. Within this new order is reflected the ongoing life of the Church under all its aspects. It overcomes time and space.

3) It is expressed by a *symbolic approach* like an endless poem, a biblical drama, the authenticity and effect of which is all the more valid that it now belongs to the liturgical dimension. For the latter encompasses, as already mentioned above, the whole 'economy' of the Incarnate Word. In Him all symbols, be natural, scriptural, spiritual, etc., are fulfilled. Though the liturgical symbols are but a way towards a more real, yet unexpected, completion at the end of times, it makes us share in it already now, body and soul, thanks to those signs.

This is how St Maximus the Confessor (d.662) expresses it: "The Mystery of the Incarnate Word hold in itself the key to all the symbols and enigmas of the Scriptures, as well as the hidden meaning of all the sensitive and intelligible creation. Moreover whosoever knows the mystery of the cross and the tomb knows also all the essential reasons of all those things. Finally, whosoever goes further and is initiated into the mystery of the resurrection, knows the goal for which God created all things in the beginning". (*Gnostic Centuries I.* 64)

4) It acts as efficient *symbol of the heavenly liturgy*. If we take the liturgical symbols as a whole, as the mainspring of mystical inspiration and experience, we realise that the Eastern liturgy in its completeness is quite genuinely an anti-type. i.e. a true, though only partially realised figure of the heavenly, transcendental, liturgy. In the Divine Liturgy the real communion between the visible and the invisible, terrestrial and celestial, man and God. is activated and brought to fulfilment by the Incarnate Word. This is the mark of the unique achievement of Christ. The Church is really one, though living in two different and complementary,

worlds, since God did live among us. He is living now today, and reigns for ever in heaven.

Now we are fully at home with the categories of the Ps.-Dionysius (end of the 5th cent. his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*,) i.e. the hierarchical approach which is based on a more metaphysical notion of analogy. Whereas the latter is taken up less philosophically than by St. Thomas Aquinas, it is liturgy-oriented. For it is approached in the perspective of the irradiating dynamism of the unfathomable divine essence. The latter however let itself participate 'analogically' i.e. according to each participant's capacity. Thus 'the creature rises according to its own analogy in order to cooperate with God' (Ps. Dionysius, *Heavenly Hierarchy*). Every created being now shares in the dignity provided by a virtual theophany, the active presence of God in creation. The luminous character so intimately linked with the theophany, of the communion between the created and the uncreated, is signified here on earth at its highest degree by the liturgical archetype. It culminates in the Eucharistic mystery. Then the theophany is achieved beyond all reality in the real presence, when man is mystically assimilated to Christ in his spirit, to the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus who at the same time lives in his glory.

In fact such a spiritual reality, Christian worship and its mysterious character, is often described by the Words "*heaven on earth*". They really express also the splendour of the Eastern liturgy. It precisely defines its 'spatial dimensions', in so far as it is co-extensive to the Church. Moreover its liturgical 'time, is basically eschatological. Though it might appear to a modern Christian as escapism from the 'world', it does not actually. Granted that Eastern Christianity has often

tended to be 'detached' from earthly realities, such an attitude was neither shared by all, nor did it correspond to abiding principles. On to the contrary, its very liturgical outlook supposes the acceptance of the world as good and beautiful, to be completed by man.

When we speak of a '*liturgical time*', we mean this much. The liturgy anticipates the heavenly city where we, as worshippers, serve the Father with the angelic powers, the 'vigilant' of the Syriac texts, i.e. those who never cease worshipping, acting as liturgical creatures *par excellence*'. In the same way it transcends and elevates the usual time through its own. It introduces us into a *new time* which finally ushers us into eternity. This is really 'the time of the Lord' which anticipates in a dynamic way the eschatological reality, since the latter has already begun with Him and through Him. Yet this *liturgical time* does not take us away from this world, does not try to escape from it, but it assumes it in order to transfigure it.

Indeed according to the approach of Eastern Christianity the normal logic of Incarnation is to achieve within this world the ultimate state of man and of the world as far as possible. This is what the Eastern Fathers call '*Theosis*', '*theopoiosis*', i. e. deification. Such a concern is expressed above all by the liturgy celebrated on the *Feast of the Transfiguration*, one of the most significant festivals in the East. That same light which shone out from Jesus' humanity is spreading out in successive waves from the Eucharistic chalice and all liturgical actions so as to make the earth ready for the splendour of the divine glory, the '*doxa*', which is the share of the elect in the world to come. Then only the Kingdom of God is attained.

CHAPTER II

Ecclesiological Aspects Preliminaries on Theological Method

Some remarks must be made here. They apply to theological pluralism which goes back to the Early Church. Among Eastern Christians theology is seen always in its fullness, in its synthetical contents, as a spiritual experience. Hence theological method is *doxological* i.e. meant to express the glory of the revealed Word; is *lyrical* i.e. more poetical than merely logical; is *apophatic* i. e. realising the limitations of the human mind confronted with the divine mysteries; hence it is basically *scriptural and patristic*. At its best it combines the freedom bequeathed by the Spirit with a deep sense of the Church and its authority. More than the Greeks the Syrians mistrust speculations on God and divine realities. The most rigorous thinkers among them repeat obligatorily and out of conviction the refrain learned from St Ephrem: Whoever believes in God does not search "from when" nor "how" ... He knows that bold search comes "from a soul which has not felt God. For whosoever has felt God should acquire the mind of a child and be towards God and his Providence as a child towards his father and mother...; he is a child and like a child he will listen to his teaching and receive it with faith. So speaks that powerful controversialist who was Philoxenos of Mabbug". (I. Hausherr, *Noms du Christ et Voies d'Oraison*, Rome, 1960, p. 105). On the other side especially since the middle ages, western christians

often dealt with theology in a more rational, literal and kataphatic (i. e. human mind endowed to fathom and legitimately expresses the divine mysteries). We should not however overstress the differences. Let us dwell on some significant characteristics of Eastern ecclesiology.

1. Apostolicity

The Eastern Church enjoys keen awareness of its apostolic foundations. This explains also why she regards herself as the Church of the Fathers, or rather the Church of the mind of the Fathers. For the Fathers are but continuing the Apostles, in as much as the post-Apostolic times are in unbroken continuity with the Apostolic times. Thus the Fathers are regarded as all-important witnesses to the Apostolic truth, to the evangelical kerygma. As L. Bouyer wrote, "The Catholic Church of all ages is not merely the child of the church of the Fathers, but she is and remains the church of the Fathers" (*Vie Intellectuelle*, Febr. 1947, p. 18). The central importance given to the Fathers is due to the fact that they were exceptional witness to the whole Apostolic faith. This does not mean at all that they look like a lasting wall beyond which there is nothing to find any more. No, they are standing as milestones on the long way of the Church towards her final fulfilment, they are like beacons which light up. Moreover at the eyes of the Eastern Church the patristic age itself does not stop at a fixed moment of history, but covers also the subsequent ages. In the liturgy the mind of the Fathers is experienced time and again.

Thanks to its apostolic and patristic notes the Church is apostolic in more sense than one. *Firstly*, through its apostolicity its own *diversity* is justified.

Thanks to the various apostles, the Eastern Church obtains its own autonomy, its own pluralistic aspects, which are never antagonistic but complementary to the Church Universal, including the west, more particularly Rome and its role for unity. *Secondly*, through its apostolicity the Church is conformed to Christ, who is the only true head of the Church. We are warned here not to see the Church and its ecclesiology as a kind of mere appendix to Christology. Actually the Church is Christ living in his members and she continues Him in prayer and practice, in worship and action. The Church is Christology in time and space.

Thirdly, the Church is apostolic because she keeps on the *Apostolic Tradition*, the Christian message which was first oral, hence 'tradition', before being written down. By keeping that 'Rule of Faith' (see Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer II. II, 2 etc.*), within a broader ecclesiastical tradition the Church believes that she continues the ministry, the doctrine the mission of the Apostles. It does not mean that the Apostolic Tradition should identify truth and customs (cf. St Cyprian's *Sententiae Episcoporum*, 87, 30), but rather that it ensures the constant assistance of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit of truth abides always in the Church, the whole church, and makes the Apostolic Tradition an ever rejuvenating deposit (St Irenaeus). As St Athanasius of Alexandria wrote, 'there is a primary tradition, teaching and faith of the Catholic church, which the Lord Jesus gave, the Apostles preached and the Fathers preserved; on it the whole church is founded (Ep. *Ad Serapionem*. PG 26:593). Hence the ever-binding duty of the church to keep alive the existential attitude of Christ's disciples and their spiritual orientation, in order to forge ahead in an ever new synthesis, while combining creativity with critical

appraisal. Therefore the acute sense of the tradition as often shown by the Eastern Church does not and cannot as such, lead to fossilisation, since through the energy of the spirit the church is always free and enjoys the power of creating new forms.

2. Communion (Koinonia)

a) Since its ecclesiology stemmed out from, or rather expresses, Christology, *the Church is a communion*. It is built, as it were, on the communion of the three persons in the Trinity and on the communion of Christ with every baptized son of God. Actually one cannot personally encounter Christ and the Father outside the fellowship of the Church. Here again there reappears the Christo-centric character of the Church. Because in the Holy Spirit she is constantly quickened to be in Christ, Christ as our permanent and ever active Saviour is never found alone, but always with his brethren in the Church.

b) Such a communion reaches its climax in the Eucharist, for the Church is a sacramental community of worship. The Church is the mystical body in so far she is that Eucharistic body. This is at least one of the chief reasons why Eastern Christians are passionately attached to their existing ritual. They have always enjoyed in a more objective sense the values enshrined in the liturgical texts and actions.

c) Since the Church is seen above all as a communion, centred on the Eucharist which constantly maintains and develops its ecclesial reality, the body of the Church is also the guardian of the faith (the term 'Catholic' originally meant the universality of the Right Doctrine more than of a mere geographical expansion) and is

infallible. The Ecumenical Councils are the chief means through which the whole Church as a communion expresses itself. Their decisions are valid thanks to the common assent of all the faithful. Indeed the synod practice as concrete expression of collegiality is fundamental to communion.

d) As a communion, the Church is headed by Christ in the Holy Spirit. Within the limits set by the apostolic tradition the Spirit acts freely, stresses the equality and the unity of all members bound by divine charity. Truly obedience remains the true condition of a genuine Christian liberty. Yet the sense of communion in the Eastern Church tends to enhance the role of its laity. Even a Russian lay-theologian like A. S. Khomiakoff (1804-60) went so far as to make the whole Church, therefore the lay element which is its major part, the final criterion of Christian truth. This view was not accepted by the Orthodox Church. It remains true however that the Eastern faithful is generally better integrated in the life of the Church, e. g. no liturgy can normally be celebrated without a congregation, laymen become often trained theologians and professors in theological school, and the administration of the church largely depends on lay people.

e) Within an ecclesiology of communion, unity is seen more existentially than in a juridical and abstract manner: unity is both heavenly and earthly, eternal and universal, sacramental and visible, mystical and sensible. Within such a unity there is place for a sacrament of unity represented by a major apostolic see, i. e. Rome. It is regarded more as a service than as an authority, more as a centre than as a summit, more as a social function than as a personal charism, neither as a universal power nor as a head.

3. Regionalism

a) Since the Church is approached from its apostolic roots and also as a living communion, the emphasis lies more on the Churches than on the Church. Following the New Testament and many Fathers like St Cyprian, the localisation of the Church realized in the local Eucharist is greatly insisted upon. The fulness of the Church is realised in each episcopal liturgy. In course of history the Churches got more identified with cultural and even national realities. The Risen Christ is seen as permeating through the Spirit the historical and cultural wealth of every nation and language.

b) Yet it would not be accurate to state that the Eastern Church as such fosters blind nationalism and sheer federalism. Truly enough, under the valid assumption that Christ is the only Lord of the Church, tendencies have been afoot since the 19th century to identify Church and nation. Such tendencies are not entirely new since the main Eastern Church has been in the past so intimately bound with Byzantium and its Christian State. Today a greater awareness of the local / regional in relation to the universal character of the Church is growing among the Eastern Christians.

c) As far as the structures of the Church are concerned, regional communion on a basis has led to the forming of Patriarchates. This is a way of government which combines in a subtle manner, personal and synodal roles. The blend is not always harmonious. For instance in the Russian Church the patriarch enjoys today strong personal authority, whereas in the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch the Patriarch depends very much on his Synod. However, it cannot be denied that the patriarchal system has been tested by a long practice and that it has proved

its worth. No Eastern Church can reach its full autonomy without assuming the patriarchal structure or its equivalent.

d) Regarding relations between Church and State, the views of Eastern Christians differ according to their respective historical background. During the first millennium of the Christian era, mostly in Byzantium (Constantinople, today Istanbul), the ideal of 'symphony' between State and Church developed. It was handed over in some way or other to Czarist Russia, and even to 19th c. independent Greece. The great politico-religious changes of the last sixty years are fostering a new reflexion on Church and State. On the one hand the Church should not assume any secular responsibility except under duress, on the other hand its cosmic vision should inspire its members with a deep concern for man and his quest for happiness.

CHAPTER III

A Cosmic Outlook

The Eastern Church owes to its scriptural and patristic background a vision of the world which is both realistic and optimistic. The world is redeemed and the on-going process towards its eschatological fulfilment consists in unfolding what God has created, though sullied by sin, into what Christ, the Incarnate Word, has redeemed.

1. Recapitulation in Christ

The passion-resurrection of Christ has not only founded the Church by the pentecostal outpouring of the

Spirit, but has given to the world its real meaning. The Church as the body of Christ is to gather up the world under all its aspects.

In this respect, following on the footsteps of St Paul, for St. Irenaeus, Origen, and the Cappadocian Fathers (Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa), the Resurrection of the Lord stands as the central event through which man and the world are divinised and recapitulated in Christ. Truly enough the Eastern Church tends in the main to emphasize the divinity of the Lord, marvelling as it were at the '*invasion*' of the divine into the human, and at the transforming power it continuously yields. Definitely the *Risen Christ*, as a permanent and all pervading factor in the life of the world, is at the heart of the Eastern Church, above all in its liturgical life.

This does not imply that the Cross is played down. Actually all the history of asceticism in the Christian East witnesses to the equal significance of the Cross. Yet the East being *more synthetical* than analytical tends to see the Cross in the light of the Resurrection, in the dynamics of Christ's glory. For, life is always victorious, and 'it is by the Cross that great joy has come into the world' (Byz. Lit.).

2. The whole world is redeemed

Obviously the world is transformed through man's redemption. Did not St. Irenaeus already say, '*The Glory of God is the living man*'? Here is included the Eastern approach to Christian humanism, based on the already mentioned deification of man, and through man's redemption on the transformation of the whole cosmos. 'God became man so that we become Gods' (St. Athanasius, *De Incarnat.* 54)

3. Eschatological vision and Sanctification

The strongly emphasized eschatological dimension of the Eastern Church is part and parcel of its *cosmic approach*. For, the active presence of the Eschaton, of Christ, as the fulfilment of all in today's life, is the dynamic power through which creation is being transformed.

If the world is in process of being redeemed, then hope is to be lived by and to be expressed in one's own life. A tremendous hope indeed, for it is the only one based on the certainty of true faith.

The Eastern Church does not hide her strong sense of hope, built on the awaiting of the last ends. This is the logical consequence of the faith in the continuous unfolding of *divine energies* in creation.

Thus the world is meaningful and filled with potentialities. The Eastern church believes that her expectation of Christ's return 'to be all in all' does not remove but rather confirm and actualize His active presence here and now. It is possible that in course of her history, the Eastern Church may have often appeared as too unconcerned with the world, as not expressing in practice her concern for man and his development. This is not, however, an accurate picture of her whole history. It is enough to think, for instance, of the great social and cultural progress brought about by the Church in Russia during the Middle Ages, and after, to realise that Eastern Christianity aimed at the wholesome uplifting of man.

Yet, the sense of eschatology at its best gives the Christians a necessary detachment from mere egotistic pursuits. They know that their work on earth can be

meaningful only through the Risen Christ, and that the latter is light of the cosmos and sense of history. Hence just because he is detached, the Christian is opened to all, both most free and most responsible.

As the late Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople said some years back: 'the search for liberty, the co-operation between men for peace, the slow rebuilding of a more human world, etc., everything must be secretly magnetized by the Resurrection, everything must converge towards the final transfiguration (O. Clement, *Dialogues avec le Patriarche Athenagoras*, Paris, 1969, p. 158).

The Eastern Church does not pretend solving all the paradoxes of Christianity: it is eschatological and involved, divine and human, evangelical and patristic, traditional and progressive, doctrinal and mystical, structural and free. It does not want to oppose, but to synthesize everything in the sharing of the Living Christ.

4. Life in the Spirit

The world lives and breathes through the *energy of the Spirit*. Based as it is on the progressive revelation of the divine persons in the N. T. the Church cannot but see in the Spirit, sent by the Father through the Word Incarnate, the power-house through which the world, and man, are constantly renewed.

Hence the central role played by the Spirit in the mysteries, above all in the Eucharist. Christ acts through his Spirit. Through the prayer of the Church ceaselessly seeking the Spirit from the Father, the energy of the Spirit transforms, vivifies, makes whole, perfects and confirms.

The values enshrined in the Gospel and everything else in the Church are always made alive by the Spirit,

whose infinite energy acts beyond the Church itself as a visible body. Through the Spirit the sanctified man becomes a creator of life, justice and beauty, and acquires authentic Christian liberty, that of a man filled with the Spirit, who does not fear either life or death. Like Christ himself he masters them both.

If the Eastern Church today and tomorrow is to contribute to the building of a better world, it will do it by deepening her sense and practice of the Christian liberty, which is neither false liberation nor enslavement to the 'elements of the world'. God adopts us in His Son and make us sharers of His fullness in the Spirit.

Bibliography

General

- ATIYA A. S. History of Eastern Christianity, Notre Dame, 1968
- ATTWATER D., The Christian Churches of the East, 2 vols; Milwaukee, 1947-48, last edition 1961
- KING A., The Rites of Eastern Christendom. 2 vols Rome, 1948
- MEYENDORFF J., The Orthodox Church, London 1960 last edition 1972.
- SCHMEMANN A., The Historical Road of Eastern Orthodoxy, N. Y. 1963.
- WARE TH., The Orthodox Church, Harmondsworth, 1963.
- ZERNOV N., Eastern Christendom, London, 1961.

Liturgy and Spirituality

- NOTES (private) by Archimandrite A. Scrima (now in the Lebanon).
- CABASILAS N., A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy, London, 1950.

- DALMAIS I. N., The Eastern Liturgies, London, 1960.
 SPIDLIK TH., La Spiritualité de l'Orient Chrétien, Rome, 1978.
 VARCHESE P., The Joy of Freedom, London, 1966.

Theology and Spirituality

- BULGAKOV S., The Orthodox Church, London, 1933.
 EVDOKIMOV P., The Struggle with God, Glen-Rock (USA), 1966.
 FEDOTOV G., The Russian Religious Mind, Harvard, 1946.
 LE GUILLOU M. J., The Tradition of Eastern Orthodoxy
 London 1962,
 LOSKY V., The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church,
 London 1957.
 „ The Vision of God, London, 1961.
 GREGERSON J., The Transfigured Cosmos. New York, 1960.
 MALONEY, G. M., The Cosmic Christ, New York, 1968.
 A Monk of the Eastern Church, Orthodox Spirituality,
 London 1968.
 PHILIPPOU S. J. Ed., The Orthodox Ethos, Oxford, 1964.
 ZERNOV N., Orthodox Encounter, London 1961.
 ORTHODOXY, A Faith and Order Dialogue, Geneva, 1960.

PART II

Christology and Theological Pluralism

The past and the future of Eastern Christianity, and more particularly of the Syrian Churches, was strongly shaped off by the Christological controversies of the 5th and 6th centuries. They led to unfortunate divisions which the modern ecumenical movement has just begun to heal. Such divisions can be regarded as the first major ecumenical crisis in the Church, though they affected only its Eastern branches which then were the largest, the most influential, and the most creative.

Hence there needs be a short review of the problems involved and of the main developments they led to.

CHAPTER I

The Main Issues at Stake

A. Dyophysitism and Monophysitism

The main intellectual trends of the Christian East since the 3rd century gathered mostly in Alexandria and in Antioch. Whereas in Alexandria, the representatives of the "Logos-Flesh" theology were privileged to possess a theological school which was a real institution in Antioch there were rather successive groups of scholars and pastoral theologians, often working in monasteries in and around the city. They represented the theology of the "assumed man", 'if not of "the two Sons".

1. The School of Alexandria

Founded at the beginning of the 3rd century it made great strides during the Arian crisis of the 4th century with leaders such as St Athanasius and Didymus the Blind. Its influence remained world-wide. St Basil and his Cappadocian friends drew much from the Alexandrian school for their basic theological method and outlook. Note that the Alexandrian approach suffered sometimes from zealots like Apollinaris of Laodicaea (d. c. 390). His *noûs*, or rational soul, was replaced by the Logos. He taught a kind of incomplete humanity in Christ. Thus he became the scapegoat of an anti-Alexandria reaction in Antioch and elsewhere. Unknowingly St Cyril of Alexandria, the last great Orthodox theologian of this school, borrowed from Apollinarian circles the formula 'One Nature of God the Word Incarnate', which was to become a slogan during the Christological controversies.

In point of fact Cyril's basic theology, though one-sided, still remained sound. Moreover, his grasp of the Christian faith combined with a deep sense of Church unity allowed him to give up in time some of the less palatable aspects of the famous slogan.

2. The School of Antioch

It arose at the end of the 3rd century and flourished from the second-half of the 4th century onwards. Its chief representatives were Diodorus, later bishop of Tarsus (he had among his disciples St Meletius of Antioch (d. 381) and St John Chrysostom, later archbishop of Constantinople (d. 407) and Theodore, later bishop of Mopsuestia (d. 428). Theodore was admittedly the greatest thinker of his times; he counted Nestorius (d. c. 451) among his disciples as well as Theodoret, later bishop of

Cyrrhus (d. c. 458). Theodoret remained, not without difficulty, quite orthodox, and was really the last great Greek representative of the school.

Both these schools are first and foremost exegetical. Hence their theology, especially their respective Christology, is influenced by exegesis and its methods. Alexandria tends to emphasize the theological, allegorical and mystical sides of the sacred texts, whereas Antioch tends to be more historical, literal and realistic. In trying to explain the mystery of the God-Man in Christ, Alexandria proceeds from the divinity to the humanity, according to the LOGOS-FLESH approach (taken from St John's Prologue). Antioch sees first Christ as the man-Jesus, divine indeed, but profoundly a man. Hence it speaks of the man assumed by the divinity.

3. Problems of Terminology

Everything turns around the explanation to be given to the terms *person* and *nature* in Christ, those terms having already been applied successfully to the orthodox interpretation of the Trinitarian doctrine of Nicaea.

The main difficulty in transferring these terms from the Trinitarian question to Christology came from the prevailing concrete and existential approach to the Christian mysteries. Moreover, in Latin, Greek and Syriac, those words do not enjoy always a precise and commonly accepted meaning. Hence on the one hand *person* could be identified with *nature*, and thus we have the monophysite tendency of Alexandria; on the other hand *nature* could be made so much a *substance* a *person* so to lead to admit almost *two persons* in Christ, the so-called dyophysite tendency.

In more sense than one it is above all a problem of showing how the divine reality and the human reality in Christ are united in harmony without diminishing their mutual fullness. Alexandria found it easier than Antioch to explain that unity, but not without somewhat threatening the fullness of Christ's humanity through too close an integration with the divinity. Antioch however had greater difficulty in explaining how Christ was really a well united being, while giving better attention to the mutual completeness of his humanity and his divinity.

B. Theological and Historical Developments

The crisis began with Nestorius and the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431), which provoked a one-sided Alexandrian reaction. It was checked by the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (454). It went on for further two hundred years, even longer if we include the Iconoclastic Controversy (730-843). Note that the Christological controversies involved also the question of theological pluralism. Other factors such as an acute sense of orthodoxy arising from the Arian struggles, competition between and prestige of the major Christian Sees, opposition between Semites and Greeks, imperial interventions for the sake of unity, played a capital role also.

1. Dyophysitism, Nestorius and the Council of Ephesus (431)

a) The first round was played by St Cyril of Alexandria backed up by St Celestine of Rome (d.432) against the dyophysite tendencies upheld by Archbishop Nestorius of Constantinople.

Nestorius was a strong Antiochene and became archbishop of Constantinople in 428. He was a zealous and courageous reformer, but gave the impression of 'dividing Christ' out of fear for Apollinarism, including

a strong reluctance to speak of Mary as the 'Begetter of God' (Theotokos). St Cyril acted as a watch-dog, and after having branded Nestorius as a possible heretic, both he and Nestorius appealed to Rome. The latter condemned Nestorius and entrusted St Cyril with bringing about a settlement. Nestorius had asked for a council. Cyril published as a text of an Egyptian synod (Oct. 430), the famous XII ANATHEMATA, i. e. a series of twelve propositions in which he expressed the usual Alexandrian approach to Christology, including the formula 'One Nature of the Word Incarnate', and the phrase 'physical union' (union according to 'nature'). Such a publication provoked to a sharp reaction from the Antiochene side.

b) The *council*, convoked by Emperor Theodosius II (d. 450) was to be presided by St Cyril acting in close cooperation with the three Roman representatives. It opened at Ephesus on June 22, 431. Its proceedings fall into two successive sessions. First, before the arrival of the Roman delegates and of Bishop John of Antioch and his colleagues, Cyril directed the session: Nestorius was condemned and deposed; the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius was approved.

Second, four days later, John of Antioch and his party arrived. They held a meeting to condemn the previous procedures. Stalemate! Then finally the Roman delegates reached but they approved Cyril's actions. Further sittings of the council were held in July. New measures were taken against Nestorius and his followers, even to the extent of excommunicating the Antiochene representatives. Cyprus was granted ecclesiastical autonomy from Antioch (it still enjoys it within the Greek Orthodox Church). Anyone was forbidden to draw any new Creed.

Stalemate again... The emperor tried to appease the warring parties by sending to prison Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch, while confirming Nestorius' deposition and exiling him. However Cyril and John were soon released and went back to their respective see.

If there was any real definition at all at Ephesus, it was the second letter of Cyril to Nestorius which contained a rather mild type of Alexandrian Christology.

2. The Act of Union and Reconciliation

Until the Act of Union in 433, both sides remained uncompromising. Yet, thanks to the emperor's policy, thanks also to St Cyril's desire for unity and to the Antiochene middle-of-the-way position, a final settlement was reached, signed by both the conflicting parties. The Alexandrians gave up, at least on principle, their most blatant formulae, and the Antiochenes accepted the *Theotokos*, the real union in Christ, and the attribution to the One Christ of both the concrete divine and the human qualities. A strong Antiochene like Theodoret of Cyrrihus (his mother-tongue was Syriac; but he published his works in Greek) though allergic to Alexandrian methods, honestly accepted the Act of Union. St Cyril however went on till his death opposing the Antiochene theologians.

It looked as if everything was settled. The Church, with in the eastern empire at least, could confidently expect a period of unity and peace.

3. Diphysitism — An Evaluation

DIPHYSITISM, did not leave much trace in the Church within the empire, but as we shall see later took refuge among the Christians of the Persian Empire. A

an attempt to explain in a more realistic way the mystery of the Incarnation it possessed much merit. It avoided giving the impression of 'absorbing' the humanity into the divinity, used an exegetical method which was in many ways sounder because more realistic, and which gave a better account of the human aspects in Christ's life. However it failed for lack of theological insight in providing a lasting explanation of Christ as a united being. In spite of this the Antiochene approach did help the Orthodox to drop the most far-fetched aspects of Alexandrian exegesis.

4. Eutyches, Monophysitism and the Council of Chalcedon (451)

a) The antagonists of 428-33 period had died one after another, John of Antioch in 441, St Cyril in 444, as well as the Popes. Theodoret of Cyrrihus and Nestorius (in exile) lived on until after Chalcedon. John of Antioch was succeeded by Domnus and Cyril by Dioscorus. The latter was as ambitious and authoritarian a leader as his predecessor, but he was endowed with less theological insight and with forbearance. He aimed at controlling the whole East from Alexandria.

b) Meanwhile the 'Cyrillian' Christology had gained much ground, even in the patriarchate of Antioch. Anti-Nestorianism was at its height. Eutyches, superior of a great monastery in Constantinople, launched there a bitter campaign against any type of 'dyophysitism'. He was backed up by the imperial court. Dioscorus of Alexandria and the Egyptians supported him fully. Nevertheless, the Orthodox Antiochians woke up, and Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople did not find Eutyches particularly palatable. In November 448 the 'permanent synod'

of Constantinople chaired by Flavian called on Eutyches to explain his position. It was, so it appeared, such a gross type of 'monophysitism' (Christ was NOT consubstantial with us, and there was only one nature after union) that its author was excommunicated, deposed and interdicted.

c) The ball had been set rolling. Leo of Rome (St Leo the Great), to whom Eutyches had appealed, approved the latter's condemnation, but Dioscoros of Alexandria opposed it. In response to Flavian Leo of Rome sent him a dogmatic letter (June 13, 449) through his delegates to the new general council convoked by Theodosius II, the same emperor at the time of Ephesus.

The Papal document called '*Tomos ad Flavium*' was a clear, vigorous and straight forward exposition of the Orthodox Christology, but seen from the Western background. Actually St Leo was none too keen on such a council, but obliged the emperor out of sense of unity.

Dioscoros, like St Cyril previously, presided over about 135 bishops again assembled at Ephesus with due regard shown to the Roman delegates. Unfortunately everybody and everything which was not acceptable there to the narrow type of Alexandrian Christology was condemned. Flavian of Constantinople and Domnus of Antioch were deposed; others like Theodoret met with the same fate. The papal legates refused to connive and wanted to have the Papal letter read before the assembly. They were ignored, if not maltreated. Appeals to St Leo were sent by the wronged people. But in the East the high-handed action of Dioscoros enjoyed wide support.

St Leo now became a prominent actor in the drama. His influence was enhanced by the new empress, Pulcheria and her husband Marcian (450). In spite of Leo's misgivings a new council was convoked, which opened at Chalcedon in Oct. 451. Chalcedon was chosen because it was situated close to Constantinople. Thus the meeting could be better controlled by the emperor and his officers.

CHALCEDON is of course very important, since it spelled out the mystery of Christ in the most complete way ever attempted then by such an assembly. The doctrinal text of Chalcedon is a middle-of-the-way statement though inspired by Leo's doctrinal letter, it is more eastern than western in its Christology. Eutyches with his followers, Dioscoros (not as heretic) and his friends, were excommunicated and deposed, whereas those who had suffered the same fate two years earlier were either re-instated if still alive, or rehabilitated, if already dead. The fathers of the Council also tackled a whole series of Juridical and disciplinary matters, and their decisions were embodied in 28 canons. One of these granted patriarchal rank to the Church of Jerusalem and the 28th canon essentially directed against Alexandria acknowledged a relative primacy for Constantinople based on the status of the city as capital of the Christian empire.

Only in 453 did St Leo officially accepted the doctrinal decisions of Chalcedon. The delay was due to his reluctance to approve the primacy granted to the see of Constantinople. Even at the Council itself his own legates had abstained from the session where that 28th canon had been voted. Leo stood for the apostolic principle, whereas at the time, the East rather acted according to accomodation to administrative realities.

CHAPTER II

Early attempts at Compromise and further Trials

1. Reception of Chalcedon

a) CHALCEDON was the first council to provide a doctrinal statement since Nicaea. It wanted to do away with the exaggerations of both the Alexandrian and Antiochene schools by stating as clearly as possible the faith of the Church in one and only Jesus Christ, the Word Incarnate. The doctrine of the one person in two natures was clearly expressed with some insistence on the proprieties kept by both the natures, and shared by them in the unique person.

At the eyes of the Orthodox Antiochians, like Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Chalcedon looked somewhat as a vindication. Thus thought also Nestorius, still alive for a few years more. At the eyes of many Alexandrians who had become attached to the one-sided expressions of St Cyril, Chalcedon was a betrayal. They really never accepted it. In point of fact neither theologically nor psychologically Chalcedon had paved the way for a lasting peace. Many Eastern bishops regarded, the doctrinal statement only as a legal definition.

b) Schisms in the Church, both in the east and in the west, were not new, but now divisiveness assumed greater momentum. On the one hand the anti-Ephesian trend had been organized in the Persian Empire, on the other hand the anti-Chalcedonian trend was becoming so strong as to split the Eastern Church within the Byzantine empire itself, and later on even outside the empire,

in Armenia, in Persia and in Ethiopia. In the same way as during the years that followed the council of Nicaea, many attempts were now made by the Byzantine emperors to heal the wounds of the Eastern Church by reading some sort of compromise.

2. Attempts at peace based on compromise

Phase I: 451-513.

The anti-Chalcedonian reaction was overwhelming in Egypt, very active in Antioch and parts of Syria, and even in some provinces of Asia Minor. After some time of hesitation, Palestine escaped by and large, above all because the monks, led for instance by St Euthymius, remained on the Chalcedonian side. Also the influence of other ascetics, like St Simeon the Stylite (d. 459), who remained firmly attached to Chalcedon, certainly fostered its cause.

By and large the main policy of the Byzantine emperors was to play down Chalcedon and St Leo's *Tome*. The Encyclical of Basiliskos, the short lived usurper at Constantinople (475-6), went further by condemning the Chalcedon Council and the *Tome*. In 482, Emperor Zeno (476-91) who always favoured a compromise solution published the *Henotikon*, which was written with the help of Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople (d. 489) and aimed at ending the division provoked by Chalcedon. It did not draw unanimous consent. Yet, by 490 bishops opposed to Chalcedon occupied the three Eastern patriarchal sees, including Jerusalem. Armenia was partly siding with the 'monophysite' reaction.

Those imperial attempts at finding unity by compromise solutions did not find the least support from the bishops of Rome, who adhered to Chalcedon, both in

spirit and letter. Hence a state of schism prevailed between Rome and Constantinople in 484-519. Particularly in 512-8 many dioceses in the East became divided into three parties: the Chalcedonians, the anti-Chalcedonians and the supporters of the *Henotikon*. The latter for years was thought to be the only path to reconciliation. In Egypt however the whole Church, or nearly so, stood strongly on St Cyril's formulae and on a militant anti-Chalcedonianism.

It was during those years when the anti-Chalcedonians, or at least those siding with the *Henotikon*, reached their climax, that Severus became patriarch of Antioch in 512. He had the backing of Emperor Anastasius I (491-518), who followed Zeno's policy for a long while. Severus, who had been well trained in Greek philosophy and humanism, was baptized as an adult in 488. Ever since his ideals were monastic and ascetical. It was shown during his seven years as patriarch of Antioch, when he acted as a reformer and tried to correct and suppress many abuses among his clergy. Severus was considerably helped by Bishop Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. c. 522). Under Severus direct influence, who greatly promoted the spread of anti-Chalcedonianism, another document, called *Typos*, was published by the emperor who aimed at reconciling the antagonistic parties. After being forced out from Antioch, Severus lived mostly in Alexandria and remained the chief leader and inspirer of the anti-Chalcedonian movement. He it was who by about 530 accepted the principle of an independent clergy. Not without much reluctance however he allowed the exiled (521) Bishop John of Tella (d. 538) to ordain hundreds of priests and clerics, perhaps mostly monks, in east Syria, though coming from all parts of the empire. Anti-Chalcedonian communities were clamouring for sacraments.

Severus is generally known as the theologian of a moderate type of 'monophysitism', now called 'verbal'. It meant that it differs from Chalcedonian orthodoxy by a strong attachment to Cyrillic Christology and the use of words and expressions which, if well understood, are not substantially different from the Chalcedonian definition. Often Severus' theology was more couched in terms used to oppose what he thought to be the ever present danger of Nestorianism, the 'division in Christ'. Hence it strongly insisted on speaking of Christ's unity made 'from two natures' than 'in two natures'.

Phase II: 513-27.

With the new emperor Justin I, a Chalcedonian reaction was bound to come up. It was not only due to the western origin of Justin, who was a Latin speaker but also to a growing realisation in many Eastern minds (except in Egypt) especially in the European provinces of the empire, that after all Chalcedon was to be upheld.

It was combined with a desire for reconciliation with Rome. Pope Hormisdas (514-23) was a shrewed diplomat and practically obtained such a reconciliation, above all with Constantinople, on a Chalcedonian basis. About 519 more than 2,000 Eastern bishops signed a document authorized by the emperor accepting Chalcedon.

Phase III: 529-66.

Justin was succeeded by his nephew, count Justinian, in 527. The nephew was greater than the uncle as statesman and sagacious leader. He was imbued with the ideal of the Christian emperor as guardian and upholder of the faith. As a statesman he wanted to restore the unity between east and west in the empire. He was successful for some years thanks to the reconquest by outstanding

generals, like Besilarius, of important parts of the west, such as Rome N. E. Africa (=Tunisia), etc....

Justinian was also a committed Christian. To him is attributed the initial hymn of both the Antiochene and Byzantine liturgies, "The Only-Begotten Son". He also wanted by all means to bring back to unity the anti-Chalcedonians, though without necessarily sacrificing Chalcedon.

Justinian's wife, Theodora, went further even, for she was won over to the anti-Chalcedonian side. Why? It was never really explained. At any rate she favoured and fostered the anti-Chalcedonians as much as she could.

Theodosios, deposed anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria, could find shelter under Theodora's protection in the Hormisdas palace as well as his supporters. From Constantinople he continued to lead the anti-Chalcedonians almost as if he were their supreme patriarch. He was even commonly addressed as "ecumenical patriarch" like the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople himself.

There also Jacob Burdono, a moderate but ardent anti-Chalcedonian, could stay as a monk for fifteen years. He was then ordained metropolitan of Edessa (the city had joined the "monophysite" party already before) about 542. From the time on, especially after 553, until his death in 578 he laboured constantly to organize and strengthen the anti-Chalcedonian Church. As a result within twenty years or so 27 metropolitan bishops were ordained and some 100,000 clergy also in the whole area between Constantinople and Jerusalem, even down to Egypt, above all in East Syria. The anti-Chalcedonian Churches owe their name *Jacobite* to Jacob Burdono

It was used officially for the first time in 787 at the second oecumenical council of Nicaea.

Other episcopal leaders, such as John of Ephesus, John of Hephaisotos (the latter particularly in Egypt) and Theodore of the Arabs did also much to spread and consolidate the anti-Chalcedonians. In 543-44 a 'Jacobite' Sergius, began the line of the anti-Chalcedonian patriarchs of Antioch.

Justinian I deemed it necessary to have a new ecumenical council in order to reconcile the anti-Chalcedonians with the rest of the Church. It was preceded by an official condemnation of the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, regarded as the chief 'heretic' of the Antiochene school, and of the writings of Theodoret of Cyrrihus and Ibas of Edessa, those writings in which they were particularly critical of the Alexandrian views on Christology. This condemnation known as that of the 'Three Chapters' was published by an imperial edict in 544.

In 533 the Vth Ecumenical Council was held in Constantinople (II Constantinople). Again the 'Three Chapters' were condemned there with additional anathemas against their authors long dead before. Pope Vigilius of Rome, who had been compelled by Justinian to come to Constantinople already in 548, got quite involved in the many tensions that preceded, entered and followed the Council. He refused to preside over the assembly, but finally consented to the above-mentioned condemnations, since the authority of the Chalcedon Council was not affected. His hesitations and palinodies did not please many Churches in the west and created bad feelings there, so much so that for some time some of those churches kept out of communion with the east.

At any rate this attempt at condemning all traces of Antiochene theology by stressing the Alexandrian viewpoint failed to bring about the much desired reconciliation. After new efforts to fill the see of Antioch with anti-Chalcedonian bishops, it remained in Orthodox hands, with St Anastasios who died in 599. The Arab conquest of the Middle east, crowned by the capture of Antioch in 638, actually helped towards creating a permanent state of division. The new attempts at reconciliation before and after the Arab conquest were no success either.

Meanwhile the city of Antioch had been wrecked by earth-quakes and the sacking by the Persians in 540. At the end of the 6th century it had become but a shadow of its former glory.

Phase IV. 633-81

Religio-Political efforts at reconciliation filled those fifty years. Since the 'monophysite' Churches had become by now more anti-Chalcedonian (i. e. rejecting Chalcedon and Leo's Tome, and all that smacked of Antiochene theology) than positively heretical, some way could have been found perhaps towards unity.

Emperor Heraclius (575-641), who belonged to a family of Armenian origin, launched a new Byzantine dynasty in 611. He saw more than ever need of making peace and unity in the empire, since it was threatened by renewed invasions. His efforts to reach a solution to the 'monophysite' separatism were greatly seconded by Patriarch Sergius of Constantinople (610-38). He hailed from Syria and was of 'monophysite' parentage, though officially a Chalcedonian.

Prepared by twenty years of confrontation and bitter disputes, often marked by violence, the grounds were ready for a Christological view, called *Monoenergism* (one impulse of action). It held that there was 'one single theandric activity' in Christ, one single activity or rather one single mode of activity. From A.D. 624 onwards it was successfully used to reconcile many anti-Chalcedonians, especially in Egypt. Sergius explained it as consonant with St Cyril's views, and even in Rome Pope Honorius I (A.D. 625-638) accepted the compromise, adding even that there was 'one will' in Christ, though he upheld the two natures and forbade to go on discussing on the two energies and the two wills.

Accordingly Heraclius published in A.D. 638 a statement of faith (*Ekthesis tes pisteos*) which forbade discussion on the energies, but imposed the view that there was only one will in Christ. It was accepted by two successive synods at Constantinople but rejected by all Orthodox whose resistance had been organized since A.D. 633 by St. Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem. The West led by the popes also rejected the *Ekthesis*. Ten years later, in A.D. 648, Emperor Constans II issued another official document, the *Typos*, supposed to replace the *Ekthesis*, but which was merely negative, i.e. forbidding all discussions on the wills in Christ.

A Roman synod condemned the *Typos* as well, and the tensions continued more or less unabated until the VIth *Ecumenical Council*, III of *Constantinople*, in A.D. 680. It was prompted by another Roman synod held by Pope Agatho (a Greco-Sicilian, A.D. 678-681), whose delegates this time really conducted the council which had mostly gathered bishops from the patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch. The faith of Chalcedon was

re-asserted, though with the addition of the two wills and two operations in Christ, working however in perfect harmony. The main personalities responsible for both *Monoergism* and *Monothelitism* were also condemned there, even if they were already dead..., including Pope Honorius I.

Conclusion

Truly enough the various successive attempts at compromise solutions on the vexed question of Chalcedonian orthodoxy did not succeed. On the one hand, they were either too politically motivated or too adverse to Chalcedon to attract the Orthodox, especially in the West which was hardly ever directly involved in those controversies. On the other hand, the anti-Chalcedonian Churches, now settled in a mild form of Monophysitism, could not be won over for several reasons: 1) a kind of emotional attachment to St. Cyril of Alexandria and his theology; 2) the anti-Byzantine attitude of the Egyptians and the Syrians; 3) the Arabic invasions which rendered inter-Church relations more difficult; 4) the overwhelming influence of hundreds of monks whose anti-Chalcedonian feelings were spurred on by too often a blind, though sincere, love for a theology of the narrow Alexandrian type.

It may well be that Chalcedon and all its sequels could have been avoided, if the religious leaders of the time followed less one-sided views and were more ready to accept each other's explanations of the Christological mystery.

It must be said however that in some cases and in some countries, like Palestine, Chalcedonian orthodoxy succeeded in getting the upper hand, and even in reconciling a good many anti-Chalcedonian people. This

explains also why even today most of the Christians belonging to the erstwhile united patriarchate of Antioch still adhere to Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. These are the Greek-Orthodox, the Greek-Catholics, the Maronites and the Syrian Catholics.

Bibliography

- FREND W. H. C. *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, Cambridge 1972
- GRILLMEYER A., *Christ in Christian Tradition*, London, 1965.
- CHEDIATH G. *The Christology of Babai the Great Kottayam* 1982
- CREHAN J. 'School of Alexandria', 'School of Antioch', in *Catholic Dictionary of Theology*, vol. 1, London, 1961.
- PRESTIGE G. L., *Fathers and Heretics*, London, 1954
- SELLERS R. V. *Two Ancient Christologies*, London, 1940
- „ *The Council of Chalcedon*, London, 1953
- SAMUEL V. C., *The Council of Chalcedon Re-examined*, Madras, 1977.

CHAPTER III

The Syrian Churches from the time of divisions

1. The Church of the East

We have to review here the later history and doctrine of the two great Syrian or Syriac Churches. It can only be a very general summary.

This is the official name of the Church, which developed and expanded east of Antioch and the

Syrian desert, and which originally belonged in some way or other to the patriarchate of Antioch. It is also called the *Church of Persia*, because its main centres were situated in the Persian empire, both under the Sassanian dynasty and under the Arab Caliphs. It was also given the nick-name of '*Nestorian*' and in recent centuries those of its members who were reconciled with Rome became known as *Chaldaeans*, whereas those who kept adhering to their old traditions assumed the name often of Assyrians. It is likely preferable to call the members of the Church of the East the East Syrians.

A. General History

It can be divided according to the politico-religious system under which the Church was to live, first the Sassanian King of Kings, then the Arab caliphs.

a. Under the Sassanian Dynasty, 224-632

i. The Sassanian emperors were Persian in language and culture, and ruled over a very large area, stretching out from Irak in the west down to the Indian borders in the east, thus covering today's Irak, Iran, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The official religion of this empire was Mazdeism, a late development of the religion of Zoroaster which is partially preserved today by the Parsees (= Persians). Note that those Persian emperors never accepted Christianity in their dominions, and from mid-4th cent. until almost the end 5th cent. persecution by the state of the Christians became nearly a permanent state of affairs. Moreover the Sassanians exercised some control over the affairs of the Church, particularly the election of bishops.

ii) Through the Theological school of Edessa, founded by St. Ephraem, the method and ideas of the school of

Antioch had penetrated these eastern communities. Between 420 and 457, the school of Edessa was subjected to tensions between Antiochene and Alexandrian influences. In 457, under Byzantine pressure, Narsai, the then head of the school, left Edessa with his disciples and set up a new school at Nisibis. Narsai was completely wedded to the theological approach of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Thus it happened that Ephesus could be rejected and Chalcedon bypassed by the Church of the East. (Note that Nisibis was in the Persian territory). Heterodox, i. e. anti-Ephesian, refugees came and strengthened the resistance against Ephesus, especially after the closing-down of the Edessa school in 489.

iii) Now let us go back to the time of Nicaea, and then proceed further ahead (1) During a respite from the persecutions, 399-420, the Church of the East got re-organized with the help of 'western' (i. e. from the Byzantine empire) bishops, and accepted the faith and discipline of Nicaea. The bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (the twin-capital of the Persian empire) became *Great Metropolitan* (today's Great or Major Archbishop). In 424 in order to prove the Church's freedom from any interference of the 'Greeks', the great metropolitan assumed the title and function of a *catholicos*, i. e. a fully autocephalous patriarchate directed by superior bishop entrusted with the *whole* direction of the Church.

2) Under Antiochine influence and also to give further proofs of its total independence from the Greeks, the Church took officially to anti-Ephesian doctrines at the national synod of Seleucia in 486. This was brought about by the wily Bishop Barsuma (c. 420-c. 490) who with the support of the Sassanian emperor had become a keen propagandist of 'Nestorianism'. The same synod allowed

also the marriage of any clergy as a concession to the Mazdaean environment. The Church of the East underwent then a period of moral and religious decadence.

3) Thanks to Catholic Mar Ab (b)a 540-52), the Church got reformed through vigorous measures of lasting consequence. From that time onwards until the Arab invasion its relations with the Sassanians were closer and more fruitful than formerly. Yet the Christians in Irak were getting divided into 'Monophysites' and 'Nestorians', thanks to 'Monophysite' propaganda which had spread since the reign of Sassanian emperor, Chosroes, I (531-58). During the 6th century until the beginning of the 7th it would have been somewhat easier for the Church of East to attempt a rapprochement with Byzantine Orthodoxy and eventually to strike a lasting union with the great Churches of the West. But the difficulty of communications, the struggle in the Persian empire between anti-Ephesians (Nestorians) and anti-Chalcedonian (Jacobites, or Monophysites), and the onesidedness on the Antiochene theology thwarted any effort towards reconciliation, though occasionally some divines of the Church of the East favoured it.

(b) *Under the Arab Rule (637-13th century), the Mongols (13th-15th centuries), and the Ottoman (Turkish) empire, (15th-20th centuries)*

i) Irak, Iran etc. were rapidly conquered by the Arabs in 637-38. Their coming was rather favourably greeted by the Christians there. It appears that the catholicos of the East - now his official title, to which was added the word patriarch - obtained a kind of official recognition within the new Islamic dominions. However cases of early Islamisation among those Eastern Christians, including some bishops, took place on the western shores of the Persian Gulf around 650.

ii) Under the Arabs toleration of Christianity prevailed on the whole, not without occasional vexations however. In spite of such uncertain conditions, many 'Parsees' – followers of the previous state religion – became Christians, particularly in N. Mesopotamia and in N. W. and S. W. Iran. Since the transfer of the caliphate to Baghdad under the Abassids in 760, the Church of the East enjoyed a relative prosperity, both intellectual and religious, which, with ups-and-downs, lasted until the 12th/13th centuries. One of the high water-marks of the period was the pontificate of catholicos Timothy I (780-823). However since about 837 until the middle of the 11th century the Church of the East was often troubled by inner tensions, particularly created by elections of patriarchs and bishops. Since 987 the caliphs often interfered in such elections, especially those of the catholicos.

iii) The Mongols, when they conquered Baghdad in 1258, were on the side of the Christians, particularly owing to the 'Nestorians' living among them. But since 1295, when the Mongol Khans of Persia, whose rule included Irak as well, crossed over to Islam, the situation of Christianity became less and less comfortable. Still the first and only non-Syrian catholicos, the Mongol Yahballaha III (1283-1318), enjoyed quite a prestige, though during his last years he was under a cloud. Owing to various circumstances, mostly politico-religious, the Church of East began declining since the beginning of the 14th century. With the conquests and destructions brought about by Timur-Leng (Tamerlane), who stormed and took Baghdad in 1393, and his successors until past mid-15th century, the Church of the East lost nearly all its wide-spread communities, except in the Middle East and in India. In the Middle East it was found still alive in Irak, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Iran, to the east and in Syria, Palestine and even Cyprus, to the west.

iv) The Ottoman Turks under Sultans Selim I (1512-30) and Suleiman I the Magnificent (1520-66), won the control of the whole Middle East, except Iran, thus setting up an Empire which lasted until the end of world War I. Under Turkish rule the Christians belonging to the Church of the East shared more or less the same situation as that of other Eastern Christians. They formed a *millet*, a *nation* whose supreme head enjoyed both spiritual and temporal authority. Their leader, i. e. the *catholicos*, could not however have those rights recognized without being officially approved by the Turkish government, known then as "The Sublime Porte". Many of those *catholicos*, so sure they were of their independent status, did not care to seek such a *civil confirmation*. (= berat)

v) Many Christians of that Church, if not most of them, were living among the Moslem Kurds, fiercely independent people, strongly attached to their tribes and speaking an Iranian language. Kurds and Eastern Christians lived together with much religious tolerance, except when the Kurds fell prey to Turkish fanaticism, and when the Christians relied too much on western support. During World War I (1914-18) many such Eastern Christians known then as 'Assyrians' (mostly Nestorians) sided with the Russians, the traditional foes of the Turks, and also with the British. They paid a heavy price for their attitude. They had to leave their mountains and to take refuge first in western Iran and then, after much suffering and loss of lives, in Irak, first in the region of Mosul, and then near Baghdad. Following an armed revolt in 1933, which was provoked by fear of discrimination roused by Iraki nationalism (Irak had just then wrested its complete independence from Britain), large numbers of 'Assyrians' went over to Syria and settled down in N. W. Syria, in the Khabur region.

The war-time Assyrian catholicos-patriarch, Shem'un XIX, who had led his people to Iran, was assassinated there in 1918, at the age of 31. His immediate successor did not live long. Finally the community managed to get another relative of the murdered prelate as his second successor, Shem'un XXI, at the age of 12, in 1920. While enjoying Anglican support, he was educated in England. He came back to Irak, but since 1933 he was obliged to live abroad. He finally settled down in the USA in 1940, first in Chicago, later on in California. Shem'un XXI, who had changed his number into XXIII came to India in December 1961 and visited his 'Surai' people in Trichur. In 1970, he came back to Irak and was there officially acknowledged as the head of the Assyrian people.

Such a sudden change was due to the action taken in October 1968, when the former metropolitan of India, Mar Thoma Darmo, had been elected in Baghdad 'legitimate' catholicos-patriarch in opposition to the 'hereditary' succession represented by Shem'un XXIII. Since however Darmo died in August 1969, the 'official' Shem'un did not stay in Irak very long, and returned to the USA. In August 1973, Shem'un, after having resigned, announced his decision to marry. It was all inspired by the desire of getting a successor in the same family. Marry he did indeed, but then he soon reassumed his Patriarchal function. After much squable, he was accepted as such by the majority of the Assyrians. Yet, a small minority elected a successor to Thoma Dharmo, Mar Addai, who had been ordained by his predecessor.

Finally, in 1975, Shem'un XXIII was assassinated by one of his angry followers. After a year or so, a synod of the Assyrian bishops was held near London, and elected a successor to Shem'un XXIII. Thus had ended

the hereditary succession started in the Church of the East in the 15th century.

vi) Already since the 13th century the Church of the East, at least some of its leaders, had had some *relations with Rome*, through contacts with Latin missionaries. Much later, in 1552, a split occurred in the Church of the East, and a monk, called Shem'un *Sulaga*, was elected catholicos in Mosul by a rather small section of those Christians including three bishops. This was done to counter-act the misdeeds attributed to the official patriarch, Shem'un Bar-Mama. Sulaga, who was superior of the rather influential monastery of Rabban-Hormizd, was sent to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop, and duly accepted as patriarch of Mosul. This union to Rome, after having lasted for about one century, ended, it seems under catholicos Shem'un XXIII (1662-1700). In order to escape from all kinds of pressure, he set up his headquarters at Kochanis in a remote corner of N. E. Kurdistan.

vii) One of the centres of the pro-Catholic party was *Diarbekir* (Amid, now in S. E. Turkey). Thanks to renewed contacts with such Latin missionaries, as the Capuchins, and later on the Dominicans, the Romeward movement gathered strength until 1672, when Joseph, Metropolitan of Diarbekir, openly proclaimed himself a catholic. He became the first holder of a rather short-lived patriarchal line, under the title of 'patriarch of the Babylonian Church of the Chaldaean Nation'. The last of those catholic patriarchs, Joseph IV, retired in 1781.

Meanwhile the descendants of the original patriarchal succession all called Elias, continued to rule most of the time from the monastery of Rabban-Hormizd. Much effort was made time and again to gain those

Elias to union with Rome. From 1735 onwards the pro-Catholic movement in Mosul was on the increase. It gathered momentum when the Dominicans set up a house there in 1750. The Rabban Hormizd catholicos came also closer to union with Rome, until 1778 when John Hormes, Metropolitan of Mosul, nephew of Elias XIII (1778-1804), officially embraced Catholicism. Not without encountering many obstacles, including on the Catholic side, John Hormes became the *de facto* Catholic catholicos-patriarch in 1825. With him began the regular succession of Catholic patriarchs. His official title is *Catholicos-Patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldaeans*.

viii) Today the majority of the Christians formerly belonging to the undivided Church of the East are in communion with Rome through the above-mentioned patriarchate. It has about 2,25,000 faithful distributed into 5 metropolitan sees and 10 bishoprics, mostly in Irak, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and a diaspora in France and the USA (especially Chicago with an exarchate since 1982). The Assyrians are divided today into two patriarchates, and have some 1,10,000 faithful in Irak, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and the USA. In Soviet Azerbaijan, there are also several thousands Assyrians as well as a large number of Chaldaean Catholics.

One of the paradoxes of the situation in which the Church of the East finds itself today is that the Catholic catholicos-patriarch directly descended from the official and original catholicos going back to the 4th century. On the other hand the present 'Assyrian patriarchs' actually come from the catholicos line launched in the 16th century by Shem'un Sulaqa after his crossing-over to Catholicism...!

2. Monasticism

(i) Since the time when Mar Aba reformed his Church more or less on the commonly accepted pattern of Eastern Christianity, East-Syrian monasticism gained much in fervour, vitality and expansion. Actually the Church of the East remained for centuries very much a *monastic Church*, a characteristic it shared in common with other Syriac Churches.

(ii) At any rate *ascetical ideals* are very old among the Aramaeic Christians; their earlier forms were quite genuine and fairly independent from the influence of other Christian centres. On the one hand there were small groups of ascetics, called 'sons', and 'daughters of the covenant', living either with or just close to the Christian communities. On the other hand, anchoritism (under various forms of eremetical life) became quite wide-spread later on, though often, like in the case of St. Ephraem, those hermits could keep a rather close connection with the local Church.

(iii) From the time of St. Ephraem onwards theological schools arose and became closely connected with monasticism. The latter underwent in the 6th century a great and lasting reform with *Abraham of Kashkar* (503-567 - died age 95) and *Abraham of Nethpar*. Both fell under the influence of cenobitic monasticism from Egypt and Palestine, and they adapted it to the conditions prevailing in their lands: Abraham of Kashkar had founded the great monastery of Mount-Izla with about 60 monasteries around 650. His successor Dadisho (d+604) only revised the monastic rules of Abraham. This reform had far-fetched consequences not only for the cultural life of the Church, but also for its missionary expansion.

The typical East Syrian monastery combined *cenobitic* and *anchorite* life, very much like the Palestinian Laura. Retreats of seven days, and of seven weeks, were fostered. It was also a rather learned type of monasticism, for most schools were attached to monasteries. The monks lived close to the people and did much apostolate of catechetics and mission work. Those houses were also nurseries of bishops, spiritual writers, and founders of new monastic centres. There must have been monasteries among the Chaldaeo-Malabars since they depended in many ways on the Church of the East. One seems to have existed at Angamali.

3. Culture

From the 4th century onwards, *Syriac* entered the main literary stream of the Christian world. This linguistic instrument, both simple and subtle, remained in use until today among the East Syrians. From the 8th century onwards arabic was increasingly cultivated by them as well.

The great days of Eastern Christian literature both in Syriac and Arabic belonged to the 7th - 14th centuries. The works were varied: ascetical and exegetical, theological and canonical, liturgical and moral; historical and philosophical.

Some of the most important writers should be mentioned here. Henana (d. 610), who ruled the school of Nisibis for 38 years. Babai the Great (d. 553-628), theologian, spiritual writer and hymnographer (*see below*), Catholicos Isho'yahb III (d. 657/8), to whom is attributed not unlikely, the ordering of the East Syrian liturgy, and who wrote letters of pastoral and ascetical character. Actually four authors on ascetical and mystical subjects are particularly relevant: Isaac of Niniveh (7th cent.),

who through his writings obtained a lasting place in Christian spirituality; Sahdona (Martyrios); Joseph Hazzaya, and John de Dalayata (8th cent.). Then comes John Bar-Penkaya (7th cent.), historian and theologian; Catholicos Timothy I the Great (d. 829), with some 200 letters, a disputation with a Mohamedan ruler, etc; Theodor Bar-Koni (end 8th cent.), who wrote "The Book of Scholia" of much theological, grammatical and even philosophical worth; Thomas of Marga (9th cent.), whose work entitled "The Book of Superiors" is important for the knowledge of East Syrian monasticism and expansion. He is matched by Isho'denah of Basrah and his "Book of Chastity". Isho'dad of Merw (9th cent.) may well be regarded as the most prominent commentator on the whole Bible. Equally remarkable is the commentary on the liturgical offices of the East Syrians, attributed wrongly likely, to Bishop George of Arbela and Mosul (10th cent.). In the 12th and 13th cent. 'Abdisho Bar-Berika, bishop of Soba and Armenia stands as the chief representative of the East Syrian tradition, being the author of a Nomocanon, of a collection of synodal canons in 2 vols., of a catalogue of East Syrian writers, of a great poetical summa called the "Book of Paradise of Eden", and of a small theological synthesis called "The Book of the Pearl about the truth of faith".

By the time of Abdisho Bar-Berika the Arabic writers of the East Syrian tradition had reached their climax. These writers handed over to the Arabic-speaking world many treasures of the Greco-Roman culture, especially in philosophy, mathematics and medical sciences. Their centre was mostly the caliph's court in Baghdad. Famous such translators were no less than ten members of the physician Bathishu family (8-11 cc.). Hunain ibn Isaiq

(d. 873/7), Ishaq ibn Hunnain (d. 910-1), etc. Apologists for the Christian faith were for instance Elias al-Gauhari (c. 900), 'Abd al-Masih al-Kindi (10th cent.?). Ibn Butlân (11th cent.). History was represented by Elias Bar-Shinaya (d. after 1049), and the great chronicle of Mari ibn Sulaiman, without forgetting that Abdisho Bar-Berika wrote a chronicle of the Persian Shahs. Among those East Syrian Arabic writers 'Abdallah ibn at-Tayib (d. 1043) is the most universal, being at the same time a philosopher, a physician, a monk, and a priest. He wrote also a great book on Christian law entitled "The Book of the Law of Christendom".

This Church was organised almost at the same time as there were set up schools of theology to start with that founded by St. Ephrem at Edessa. Transferred by Narsai to Nisibis, it flourished there. In 590, under Henana of Adiabene (d. 610), its director who had become an avowed pro-Chalcedonian thinker, the school had some 800 students. Its bye-laws and regulations were inspired by the monastic model.

In spite of such examples as Henana of Adiabene and Sahdona (Martyrios) (7th century) who became bishop of Mahoze d'Arewan, but had to take refuge to Edessa to escape from 'Nestorian' opposition, the official doctrine of the Church of the East remained as it had chosen: the tradition of the Church Universal, including the two first ecumenical councils, and in Christology the views of the Antiochene School especially those of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Babai the Great (6th-7th centuries) Superior of the Mt Izla Monastery, became the chief exponent of that Christology in his book entitled THE BOOK OF UNION. Babai does regard Christ as one being and uses the parsopa of Filiation as the explanation for oneness in Christ.

The basic Christian life and outlook of the people was quite orthodox. The devotion to Our Lady was well developed, though the phrase 'Mother of God' was not acceptable to the East-Syrian tradition. One proof that after all such intellectual divergences did not always affect the ecumenical character of the Church is the success obtained all over the Christian world by the treatise *On Religious Perfection* written by Bishop Isaac of Niniveh, at the end of the 7th century. It was translated first into Greek (not without some corrections) and later on into Latin, and thus became one of the most popular introductions to the spiritual life in the middle ages.

4. Expansion

It is a well-known fact that from the 6th to the 14th centuries the East Syrian people pursued in Asia a missionary endeavour which was unparallel then and there. To a great extent it was the work of apostolic-minded monks, as mentioned by Catholics Timothy the Great (780-823). Turkestan had already been affected by the preaching of East-Syrian monks by the end of the 4th century.

These missionaries reached China at the beginning of the 7th cent. And the Church flourished there until the 9th century having monasteries in almost every provincial capital. A xenophobe reaction took place, and the East-Syrian Church could only come back to China in the 13th century, following the Mongol conquerors. Meanwhile the East-Syrian Church had made considerable inroads all across central Asia, so much so that by the 11th/12th centuries very important groups of Turco-Mongol peoples there had become entirely Christian including their own Khan or King. There is likely found the origin of the well-known legend of 'Prester John'. East Syrian

Christianity entered Tibet at the beginning of the 9th century. We find East-Syrian communities in N. Sumatra in the 13th century.

The connection between the East-Syrian Church and the Church in Indian since the 4th/5th century is well-known. It is quite possible that the zeal of the East-Syrian monastic apostles deeply influenced the Indian flock as well. It is not unlikely that in those days Indian monks also travelled far and wide to spread the Gospel.

CHAPTER IV

The Syrian Churches from the time of divisions The Syrian Church of Antioch

A. The Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate

We already reviewed the origins of the *Separation* of the original patriarchate of Antioch into two Churches, the one which remained Chalcedonian and Orthodox, known now as Greek-Orthodox and Greek-Catholic, and the other which while refusing to accept Chalcedon and rejecting subsequent attempts at compromise, was organised since mid-6th century into its own patriarchate of Antioch, though not in Antioch.

Its history is certainly less striking from the missionary view-point, but its cultural contribution is capital. Mention should also be made here of the Maronite Church, which today is with the Chaldeo-Malabar Church the largest of those Churches that arose from the Syriac background.

1. General History

a) As already mentioned, Metropolitan Jacob Burdono (Barodai) of Edessa (Edessa remained non-Chalcedonian until the end of its Christian times), was the chief organizer of the anti-Chalcedonian patriarchate of Antioch. From 543/4 onwards it had a regular succession of patriarchs. After 874 for some time, since 1293 for good they add the name of Ignatius to their own. The patriarchal see was never in Antioch but the city was occasionally visited by some Syrian patriarch since 721. Otherwise the patriarchs resided in Tur-'Abdin (the vast monastic territory of the upper valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris), or close-by, like at Diarbekir (Amid) or at the Barsauma monastery, near Melitene. Later on, until after World War I, it was attached to the Deir-Zaffaran monastery near Mardin. From there it was transferred to Homs, central Syria in 1932 and since 1958 it is fixed at Damascus, the capital of the modern Republic of Syria.

b) Owing to their expansion in Mesopotamia, a great metropolitan, called *maphrian*, sometimes Called *Catholicos* was established in 629 for the Syrian Jacobites in those territories which belonged to the Persian empire. Its first titular was Marutha of Taghrit (d. 649). Taghrit was then an important city in Mesopotamia and the seat of the maphrianate, for some centuries, until it was transferred to the monastery of Mar-Mattai, about 5 miles north-east of Mosul, where it remained until the 19th century (ab. 1863). The maphrian was sometimes a powerful and influential leader, e. g. Bar-Hebraeus, one of the greatest Christian writers of the middle ages (d. 1286). The maphrian used whenever possible to consecrate the newly elected patriarch.

The long history of the Syrian patriarchate of Antioch was not always smooth sailing. Competitors fought against each other, unity between those living under the patriarch, and those under the maphrian, was often difficult to keep, intervention of politics made havoc of the Church.

One of the greatest men to be such a patriarch was Michael the Great I (Mikhail Rabbo), 1166-99, who fixed the patriarchal see at Deir-Zaffaran, near Mardin.

c) During the Byzantine reconquests of Antioch and its neighbourhood in the 10th-11th centuries the Syrian Jacobites had to suffer much from fresh attempts to convert them to *Chalcedonian orthodoxy*. Later on they enjoyed, on the whole fairly good relations with the crusaders, who had established a vassal state at Edessa.

Unionist tendencies, i. e. Romeward attraction, actually began to be felt during the Crusades. Such tendencies never disappeared entirely from the church particularly under the influence of Latin missionaries. Even the bishop of Edessa accepted the Florence Council in 1444, with its special decree for the Jacobites.

d) *Aleppo* in N. Syria became since 1661 the centre of a movement towards Rome. Already about 1560 patriarch Naamatallah (1557-76) under Muslim pressure had to take refuge from Diarbekir to Rome where he was warmly received. He stayed there for some sixteen years until his death. Owing to his vast culture and keen intelligence he worked on the correction of the calendar under Pope Gregory XIII.

In 1656 Andrew Akidjian, who had embraced Catholicism and had been ordained both priest and bishop by the Maronite patriarch, became the first metropolitan of

Aleppo for the Syrian Catholics. In spite of much opposition, he was enthroned in 1662 as patriarch of Aleppo after the death of the Jacobite patriarch, Ignatius Shukrallah.

This first attempt at establishing a Catholic patriarchate for the Syrians was due to the considerable influence exercised at Aleppo and elsewhere by Latin missionaries, Capuchins, Carmelites and Jesuits, backed by the French consul. Before his death in 1677, patriarch Andrew managed to get the then Jacobite metropolitan of Jerusalem as his successor. He also had become a catholic, and he was enthroned under the name of Ignatius Peter. He was later approved by Rome. Note that in both cases there was hardly *any election* at all, and that one can doubt the lasting value and authenticity of such choices directly promoted by the pro-Roman party in Aleppo and neighbourhood. Until 1690 Ignatius Peter not only survived but propagated unity with Rome among the Jacobites. Between 1690 and his death in 1702, he was submitted to ceaseless persecutions and finally landed with one of his bishops into a Turkish prison at Adana, where he died. It is interesting to know that Ignatius Peter ordained in 1682 the only ever existing *Catholic maphrian*.

c) After a 80-year vacancy the Catholic patriarchate, now fullfledged with the title of Antioch, was reestablished by Michael Djarweh, former metropolitan of Aleppo, and designated successor to the Jacobite patriarch Ignatius George IV (d. 1783). Actually Michael was duly elected at Mardin as the one and only patriarch, but almost immediately an anti-Catholic reaction set in. He had finally to take refuge in the Lebanon, where thanks to Maronite generosity he could settle down at Sharfeh, found a monastery there, and publish some liturgical books. He died at Sharfeh in 1801.

During the 19th century and until 1914, the Syrian Catholics increased considerably. In places like Aleppo and Damascus they became the only representatives of the old Syrian tradition; elsewhere, like in Mosul and its region, they often won over the majority. Some of the ancient monasteries (often emptied of their monks by the time), like that of Mar Musha the Ethiopian in Syria, and of Mar Behnam in Irak, came wholly into their hands.

In spite of repeated efforts to reorganize themselves, it could have been foreseen on the eve of World War I that the Syrian Jacobites would have nearly all become Catholic within a few decades. Among the eight Jacobite *patriarchs* who were elected between 1783 and 1917, three showed positive sympathy for the Catholic cause, and one, Abdel-Massih II (the same who after his resignation came to Kerala and established the catholicate there), after his resignation and his return from India, joined the Catholic Church and was received in Rome by Pius X. His own successor, Abdallah II Saddat or Sattuf, had been a Catholic bishop for ten years, before reverting to Jacobitism in order to become patriarch. During the same period some twelve jacobite bishops became Catholic.

f) Meanwhile the Catholic patriarchate developed fairly well also. It had until the eve of World War I eight successive patriarchs: one of them, Ignatius Antony Samhiri was a former Jacobite bishop, the eighth patriarch was the famed scholar, Ignatius Ephrem Rahmani, who died in 1929. He was succeeded by Ignatius Gabriel Tappuni, who became cardinal in 1935, and died in 1967. The present patriarch is Ignatius Antony Hayek, former metropolitan of Aleppo. During the 19th century, the residence of the Catholic patriarch was successively

at Sharfeh, Aleppo, Mardin, and then Beirut. It is now officially in Beirut.

Much of the progress made by the Syrian Catholics were due to re-unions. It was a progress amidst much difficulty and opposition, though since the end of the 19th century it was more peaceful. During the war years 1914-18, the Syrian Catholics and the Syrian Jacobites suffered much from Turkish and Kurdish persecutions and from ensuing massacres. Subsequently many faithful left Turkey and settled down in the Lebanon and in Syria, if not in the west.

The Syrian Orthodox, with the patriarch residing now at *Damascus*, are about 1, 50, 000 faithful, with a dozen metropolitan and episcopal sees in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Irak and Turkey, and a metropolitan see in the USA. The Syrian Catholics, with their patriarch residing at Beirut, are about 300,000 faithful, with three patriarchal vicars, six metropolitan sees, and one episcopal see, in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Turkey, Egypt, and abroad (mostly France and N. America).

2) Monasticism

Much like the Church of the East, if not more, the Syrian Church was for centuries a monastic church. The patriarch usually resided in a monastery, as well as the maphrian, and many a bishop also.

Syrian monasticism, which owes its origins to the same factors as the East-Syrian monasticism, was however considerably influenced by the Greek and Egyptian models. The Egyptian influence remained strong throughout. Since c. 851 one of the most flourishing monasteries of the Syrian Church was actually Deir es-Suriani, in the

Skete desert, west of Cairo. Yet its greater expansion and concentration was found in the mountainous region of the upper valley of the Euphrates, part of which is called precisely Tur-Abdin, i. e. the mountain of the servants (of God). One of its fountain-heads was the monastery of Bar-Sama, near Malatya (Melitene), but later on we find other important monastic centres such as Deir-Zaffaran, near Mardin, and Deir-Mar-Gabriel, near Medyat, In Mesopotamia, Deir-Mar-Mattai, near Mosul, played also a very influential role. At the hey-days of its success, Syrian monasticism had thousands of followers, and even some monasteries could boast of a thousand members.

Like East-Syrian monasticism, the usual Syrian monastery combined *cenobitic* and *anchoritic* ways of life. Several rules were published in course of time, but the general pattern seems to have been pretty much the same.

Today there is no monk left among the Catholic Syrians, though several attempts were made to restore the monastic ideal. Among the Jacobites there are four or five monasteries inhabited by a few monks, though there are signs of a growing revival in Tur-Abdin. There is also a revived convent for nuns.

3. Culture

Thanks to its proximity to great Christian centres, and also to its constant interplay with Greek culture, the cultural development of the Syrian Church was considerable, especially between the 8th and the 13th centuries. Arabic vied with Syriac from the 8th/9th centuries onwards. The topics treated by Syrian writers were numerous and varied: biblical, philosophical, theological, ascetical, canonical, homiletic, liturgical and historical. Bar-Hebraya published even a book of... jokes.

We can mention here *James of Edessa* (d. 708), a great liturgist, exegete, historian, and canonist; *George, Bishop of the Arabs* (d. 724), philosopher and liturgist; *Moses Bar-Kipho* (9th cent.), exegete and liturgist; *Dionysius Bar-Slibi* (d. 1171), exegete and liturgist; *George Abdul-Farag Bar-Hebraya* (d. 1286), philosopher, theologian, exegete, grammarian, liturgist, moralist, canonist, and historian. Hebraya was the Aquinas of the Middle East in his own rights.

4. Expansion

The original area which fell under the anti-Chalcedonian patriarchate of the Syrians corresponded to what is today Syria, the Lebanon, and N. Mesopotamia. The Arabic kingdom of the tribal Ghassanids, converted to Christianity already since the 3rd-4th centuries, had become anti-Chalcedonian, and its chief the 'Philarxos', helped much for the setting up of the anti-Chalcedonian Church.

Since the second-half of the 6th century anti-Chalcedonianism spread very much in Irak, especially in the north-east region where it won over a considerable following among the so-called 'Nestorians', including several monasteries.

Since the end of the 8th century the Syrian Church did not expand much any more. On the one hand the first happy relations with the Arab rulers (one Syrian Christian was the official poet at the court of the Ommayad Caliph at Damascus) did not always endure. Vexations, if not down-right persecutions, took place now and then. For instance in 779 the Arab tribe of the Beni-Tarnukh, which was Christian and belonged to the

Syrian patriarchate, was forced into Islam while so journeying near Aleppo. It was not unfrequent to see Jacobite Christians becoming Moslem during the first centuries of the Hegira. On the other hand, many anti-Chalcedonian Christians became Chalcedonian, i.e. in those days Orthodox and Catholic (later Greek Orthodox). This was the case of those Palestine, and also of N. Syria. During the renewed presence of Byzantium in these parts (10th-11th centuries) rather many faithful, even some bishops, accepted Chalcedonian Orthodoxy. In the Lebanon, we know that at least some of the Jacobite communities became Maronite, therefore also Orthodox and Catholic.

B. The Syro-Maronite Patriarchate

Today, the largest Christian community of Syriac origin is the Syro-Maronite patriarchate of Antioch. It is also entirely catholic.

The origins of this Syriac Church are not very clear. On the one hand, in the *Lebanon*, where today the Syro-Maronite Church plays a capital role, there were since the time of St John Chrysostom (end of the 4th, beg. of the 5th century) local *Syriac Christian communities*, which later on got strengthened by other such Christians who had migrated from *N. W. Syria*. On the other hand, there existed in the neighbourhood of *Apamea of Syria* a very important *monastery*, (its ruins have been uncovered recently), actually one of the most influential in the patriarchate of Antioch, and it was named after Mar Maro, an anchorite who had died there some time before 423.

The monks of the monastery were quite many, and yielded much influence on the neighbouring population, then Syriac-speaking, though Greek-speaking monks could

also be found there. During the Monophysite crisis the Maronite monks and faithful strongly stood by Chalcedon, but they seemed to have weakened later and accepted the Monothelite compromise, perhaps out of attachment to the Byzantine emperor. Being a patriarchal monastery (directly depending on the patriarch of Antioch), it must have had a bishop early, perhaps already the higumen or head of the monastic community. During the long vacancy of the Chalcedonian see of Antioch (702-742), it seems that the Maronite monks and some bishops of the neighbourhood elected *their own patriarch* with the same title. Thus began a new patriarchate, by the time it was the *third* named after Antioch. Its monastic origins stuck to the Church, which remained very monastic in atmosphere, so much so that its bishops, all monks, were regarded until very late more as auxiliaries of the patriarch than as independent ordinaries. Neither was the episcopal authority limited by any such boundaries as that of an eparchy.

1) Under various circumstances – Islamic pressures, uncertain socio-economic situation – the population with their monastic leaders began *migrating to the Lebanon* by the 9th century. In the 10th century the original monastery of Mar Maron was destroyed, and the last monks with the faithful again took refuge in the Lebanon. There their centre for centuries became a large and deep valley, still today called the ‘*Qadisha*’ just abutting on its eastern end against the foot of the highest summit of the Lebanon range, famed also for its cedars.

Thus we have a Syrian patriarchate, which is on whole Orthodox, but separate from the official patriarchate, Greek Orthodox, and also from the anti-Chalcedonian one, or Jacobite. From the liturgical view point,

it was however closer to the anti-Chalcedonian, the Syrian or Jacobite patriarchate.

By about 1180, partly due to the presence of the crusaders and Latin clergy, the Maronite patriarchs were formally united with Rome. Yet, until the 15th century not all the Maronites favoured union with Rome, and sometimes it happened that strong anti-union party stood in opposition to the patriarchs. Even, during the second half of the 15th century, Maronites in the mountain district of Bsharri fell under the influence of Syrian Jacobites, who had migrated there to escape from the Mamluk persecution, and were active in propagating their own interpretation of the Christian faith. The Franciscans, above all Gabriel Ibn-al-Qilâ'i, a Maronite himself, helped the Maronites to overcome that new crisis. Those Jacobites who did not leave were brought into the Maronite Church. Ibn-al-Qilâ'i used his remarkable poetical gift in vernacular Arabic to instruct his own people and clergy, even in secular sciences.

Since the opening years of the 16th century the Maronites were firmly united with Rome. Relations between the Lebanon and Italy became easier also. Western religious orders, first the Franciscans, then the Jesuits, worked for improving the Christian education and the overall situation among the Maronites. Union with Rome was considerably strengthened by the foundation in 1584 of the Maronite College in Rome by Pope Gregory XIII. The college still exists today. (K. S. Salibi "The Maronite Church in the Middle Ages and its Union with Rome" *Oriens Christianus* 42 (1958) pp. 92-104.)

Almost from the beginning of their relations with the papacy, the Maronites fell under the brunt of latinisation. After the respite of the 14th - 15th centuries it

continued unabated. The popes themselves before Benedict XIV (1740-58) often advised them to take up Latin ways, if not obliged them to do so. The four synods held by them between 1580 and 1644 were all latinizing. The great synod of Mount Lebanon in 1736 confirmed the liturgical and canonical latinizations. They had much contact with western Missionaries, particularly the Jesuits.

Meanwhile the Maronites were migrating out of the Lebanon proper, to Cyprus, Syria, Palestine. They produced several scholars of lasting value, particularly the Assemanis: Joseph Simon (1687-1768) who became the main Orientalist in Rome, with his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 3 vols in 4 (1719-28) *St Ephraemi Opera Omnia, Graece et Latine* 3 vols (1732-45), *Bibliotheca Iuris Orientalis Canonici et Civilis*, 5 vols (1762-8), *Kalendaria Ecclesiae Universae* (1750-5); Joseph Aloysius (1710-82), J.S.'s nephew, with his *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae*, 13 vols (1749-66), *De Catholicis seu Patriarchis Chaldaeorum et Nestorianorum Commentarius Historico-Chronologicus*, 1775; Stephan Evodius, another nephew of Jos. Simon, (1711-82), with the catalogue of Oriental Mss. of Florence, and with his uncle that of the Vatican Library (1756-59), *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium*, 2 vols., 1748, and third vol. of St Ephraem's Syriac with Latin translation, R. 1743. Two other Assemanis, grand nephews of Joseph Simon, were also priests and orientalist in Italy and Rome.

4) During the 19th and 20th centuries the Maronite Church became more and more the *main instrument of Lebanese nationalism*, which after World War I led to the establishment of the Lebanese Republic. The latter became completely independent only during World War

II, and its president is always a Maronite. Many Maronites have migrated to other countries of the Middle East, especially Egypt, to Africa, and above all the N. America, and later on to Australia.

Like the two other Syriac Churches, the Maronite Church remained *very much monastic* until recently. During the 17th-19th centuries its monasteries were generally reorganized along Latin lines, and in the 19th-20th centuries some congregations for men and women were created.

Yet, thanks to the patriarchal system, the Church kept very much its *autonomy*. In recent years it has undergone a 'return to the sources' to foster a liturgical, spiritual, theological and canonical renewal.

However the Maronite monastic tradition has almost been completely given to be replaced by a *more active type of religious life*. Here and there are still found real monks, and of late there if not for the patterns left by the Syrian Fathers. The Maronites are keeping a *married clergy*, particularly for the rural and hilly parishes. Provision is made for their training, which normally is rather liturgical catechetical and pastoral.

It must also be mentioned that owing to their quick progress in modern education, thanks particularly to the institutions founded in the Lebanon by western religious men and women, several Maronite writers of fame were the initiators of *modern Arabic literature*. Such Christian contributions to secular literature are not lacking today either.

The Maronite Church, with its patriarch's seat at B'kerke, north of Beirut, has about 15,00,000 *Christians*, with two patriarchal vicars, five metropolitan sees, seven

episcopal sees, and one apostolic administrator, in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Egypt and Cyprus. It has also for the sake of about *half-a-million emigrants*, one bishopric in *Brazil*, another in the *USA*, and one in *Australia*. Maronites are also found working in the *Persian Gulf*, and in *W. Africa*, and Maronite communities are living in *France, Argentina* and *Mexico*.

Bibliography

For good and reliable surveys, under such entries as *Assyrians, Chaldaeans, Iran, Iraq, Maronites, Nestorians, Syrians*, etc. please consult, the old *Catholic Encyclopaedia* (NY 1912; many of the historical articles are still valuable today), and *The new Catholic Encyclopaedia* (NY 1968).

Besides the more general works on Eastern Churches found in the bibliography appended to part I, a few more items, both general and particular, are added for further reading and information:

- DOWNEY G., A History of Antioch in Syria, NY 1961
 DUCHESNE, The Churches Separated from Rome, London 1907
 FORTSCUE A., The Lesser Eastern Churches, London 1913
 KIDD B. J. The Churches of Eastern Christendom, London 1927
 MACLEAN A. J. & BROWNE W. H. The Catholicos of the East and his people, London 1892
 O'LEARY, De Lacy, The Syriac Churches and the Fathers, London 1909
 SEGAL J., Edessa the Blessed City, London 1969
 STEWART J., Nestorian Missionary Enterprise. The Story of a Church in Fire, Trichur, 1961 (re-print)
 YOUNG W. G. Patriarch, Shah and Caliph, Rawalpindi, 1974.

PART III

The Greek East and the Latin West

In the wake of the Chalcedonian crisis, the Christian East became unavoidably divided, though mostly in the Middle East including Egypt and Libya. Armenia to some extent and Ethiopia got out also of the communion of the then Church Universal. For many reasons Armenia was the most important country in this respect, since it bordered on the north-eastern frontier of the Byzantine world. Yet, we know of several emperors of Armenian origin, like Heraclius himself, who were quite Chalcedonian Orthodox.

Hence the rest of the Eastern Christian World, corresponding roughly to what would be called the Byzantine Empire with its spiritual dependencies, i. e. today's Turkey, Syria and Palestine, Greece, S. Balkans, etc, remained Orthodox, and therefore also Catholic. Yet between the Christian West represented by Rome, and the Christian East increasingly represented by Constantinople, a drifting apart took place during the next 600 years. Slowly, with alternatives of close and remote relations, an estrangement developed between the two halves of the 'Orthodox-Catholic Church' due to various theological, cultural and political reasons. Unity in pluralism, diversity and complementarity ultimately failed to keep in harmony.

CHAPTER I

From Chalcedon (451) to the end of Iconoclasm (843)

1. Constantinople and the Pentarchy

We already reviewed the main attempts at compromise on Christology tried almost exclusively by the Byzantine emperors, in order to keep unity and concord in the empire, which regarded itself heir to the Roman past, but which had already lost the West for all practical purpose.

a. Those efforts yielded little fruit. Yet in the patriarchate of Antioch to a lesser extent, in the patriarchate of Jerusalem to a very great extent, and in Cyprus entirely so, Chalcedonian Orthodox were the majority. They were soon nicknamed 'melkites', i. e. the followers of the 'melek', the emperor of Constantinople. In Egypt it was just the opposite, the Melkites never succeeded in remaining but a small minority.

b. Already at the time of St John Chrysostom (archbishop of Constantinople, 398-404; died in exile in 407), himself a confirmed Antiochene, the importance of the bishop (soon to be known as archbishop, the original title of the holder of the patriarchal see or equivalent) of the imperial city had considerably grown. St John himself fostered this moral and juridical expansion. As already mentioned, in the 28th disciplinary canon of Chalcedon, a kind of eastern primacy was clearly granted to Constantinople, as being the second see of Christianity. Though it was not agreed upon by the Pope of the time, St Leo I, the patriarchal authority of Constantinople was nevertheless accepted in the Byzantine East.

Even later on it was practically acknowledged by Rome, especially since the time when Emperor Justinian I published his famed Code and Digests (c. 533). In these both the universal primacy of Rome, and the relative leadership of Constantinople in the East were officially recognized. Thence, from the 6th century onwards, the well-known ideology of the *pentarchy*, i. e. the Church being ruled by the *five* patriarchates, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem was developed in the East. It uses a theory which kept the universality of the Church and did not correspond any more to a much reduced empire. It also embodied the principle of apostolicity and the presence of the Roman See.

c. Yet, the pentarchy itself could not hold on practically for long. Rome was getting increasingly involved in the affairs of the West, though the popes for a long time felt and acted like members of the Christian world symbolised by Constantinople. After the Arab conquests in the Middle East, the relations between the three patriarchates there, Alexandria (as Catholic, a very diminished unit), Antioch and Jerusalem, became more and more uncertain. Therefore in the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire, and its present and future dependencies, the role of the Byzantine patriarch was more and more unique, and its influence loomed large.

2. Rome and the Byzantine East

As just mentioned, Rome was regarded in the East as the first see, to which recourse could be had in case of very important problems often more doctrinal and personal than disciplinary. Though the idea of a western patriarchate was certainly not commonly held in the West, where papal primacy and the Roman patriarchal

rights coalesced, it can be said however that in the East the distinction between those two forms of supremacy was kept clearer. This would be the case for instance of the 'patriarchal' jurisdiction exercised by Rome over much of what is today known as Yugoslavia and Greece (then called western and eastern Illyricum), with the bishop or metropolitan of Thessalonika (called Salonika today) as the vicar of the pope. This Roman jurisdiction on countries which were situated in the borderlands between East and West lasted from the end of the 4th cent. until about 732.

a. In spite of later controversies and oppositions it cannot be questioned that for centuries the 'archbishop' of Rome was regarded in the East as the principle of unity in charity, i. e. as the centre of communion between the Churches. Since no Christian charity can exist without legitimate freedom, the Roman see was expected to respect that freedom in any particular given area. Owing to the cultural and historical circumstances that affected its development, the Christian East remained more free in elaborating its own discipline. As already indicated, appeals to Rome were made, mostly, though not exclusively, in doctrinal matters, sometimes also in personal ones.

b. Since the council of Chalcedon (451) papal legates usually presided over the universal councils, though these were always convoked and controlled by the emperor who often sought the previous consent of Rome. Even the post-conciliar approval of the pope was sought. All those universal councils took place in the East.

There were also several other signs of communion; such as these four: 1) After his election, it was customary for each patriarch, including some popes to send

to the other such prelates a letter of communion with a profession of faith; 2) the names of the Pope and the Patriarchs were proclaimed in the public prayer at the Eucharist (dyptychs) on certain big feasts, according to the order of precedence. 3) Until the 10th/11th centuries the Popes kept at Constantinople a special representative, called *apocrisiarius*, like the other three patriarchates. 4) Until the middle of the 7th cent. the election of a pope was usually confirmed by the Byzantine emperor.

3. Actual Relations between Rome and the Greek East

This is a topic which has been much studied, but not always dispassionately. Those who have studied those relations often projected in the past certain modern viewpoints, be Catholic, Orthodox or Protestant, which did not help to obtain a fair picture of persons and events.

We shall first review in main facts concerning such relations, be they amicable, less amicable, or even not amicable at all.

a) Amity and Tensions

i. From 483 to 518, the popes refused to keep communion with CP (abbreviation for Constantinople), on account of patriarch *Acacius* (471-89) and his compromise with the attempt of Emperor Zeno to reconcile the Monophysites. Yet in 432-83 relations between Rome and CP had been excellent, despite of the 28th canon of Chalcedon.

ii. Meanwhile the 'Melkite' patriarchates of the Middle East, still under Byzantium, were bearing the brunt of the post-Chalcedonian strifes. The Chalcedonians were

always supported by Rome. In c. 452 Maximos of Antioch complained to Leo I of Rome about the encroachment made by the Jerusalem patriarchate on his own.

iii. As we have already seen Pope Vigilius (548-54) was forced by Justinian I to come to CP in order to attend and confirm the 553 Ecumenical Council on the Three Chapters and Origenism. Vigilius wavered between approval and disapproval, finally ending with approval. The Byzantine ideology centred on the Five Sees (= *Pentarchy*) developed strongly from that time onwards.

iv. After 579 the CP patriarchs were often given the title of 'Ecumenical Patriarch', which according to the then Eastern ecclesiology indicated the supreme religious authority of the Byzantine empire. Also in 678 the Pope was addressed by emperor Constantine IV as 'Ecumenical Pope'. The term therefore as such could not be objected to, but St Gregory the Great (590-604) objected to the use of the title by CP Patriarch John IV (the Faster 582-95) for such reasons as lack of Christian humility. Christ is the only ecumenical, i. e., universal master.

v. During the Monothelite crisis (See Christological problem and aftermath), 624-80, two popes came up for rough treatment from the Easterners. The first was Honorius I (625-38), who thrice gave the impression—partly accepting a pro-monothelite formula. His memory was condemned by two CP councils, the ecumenical one of 680 and the Quini-Sext, the latter (see below) with perhaps a wily insistence. The second was Martin I (649-55), who owing to his strong opposition to any monothelite compromise was arrested by the order of Emperor Constantine II (641-68), dragged to CP, condemned for 'high treason', degraded and exiled to Crimaea where he died soon afterwards. He was canonized by both East and

West, as a martyr of Orthodoxy, but Italy was deeply shocked by the brutal treatment meted out to the pope. vi. In order to complete the work of the two previous ecumenical councils (CP, 553 and 680), a universal, though in fact oriental, synod was held in CP in 692, in a domed hall of the imperial palace, hence its name *In-Trullo*, to prepare and publish a sort of compendium of ecclesiastical discipline. Hence, also its other name *quini-sexst*, i. e. being identified with those 5th and 6th ecumenical councils. It passed 102 canons, which henceforward served as a kind of disciplinary code for the Eastern Church, though by no means completely observed. Though only those papal representatives staying in CP, were present there, a blank was left at the end of the Acts for the signature of the pope, the Antiochene Sergius I (687-701). He bluntly refused to do so, and Emperor Justinian II tried in vain to force him to come to CP. In the context of the relations between CP and the West, this synod deserves the following remarks:

- i) It was meant for the whole Church, but both the membership and the spirit were Eastern.
- ii) It tended to react against latin practices on some points and condemned some liturgical uses, found in the west.
- iii) It re-affirmed the place of the CP patriarchate as second only to Rome.

However Popes John VIII (872-82) and Hadrian I (772-95) did give a measure of approval to the quini-sexst canons, and the ecumenical council of Nicaea (787) approved them all.

Therefore that famous synod *In Trullo*, through which the last manifestal strongly its identity, did not finally turn up as much anti-western as later polemics presented it.

b. Italy, Byzantium and the Franks

i) The ideology of an unified empire, which Justinian I and his successors had time and tried to restore in practice, was receding fast in the West. Truly enough the popes themselfss adhered to it for a longer time, then the rest of the west. Except for the already quoted cases of Popes Vigilius and St Martin I, a few other popes visited CP. John I in 524 crowned again emperor Justin. Agapetus I in 536 deposed CP patriarch Anthimus for his favouring Monophysitism; Constantine I in 710 was received with all due respect and consideration by both Church and State, including the papal mass celebrated at Hagia Sophia Cathedral. Moreover between 606 and 752 there were no less than eleven popes of direct or indirect Eastern (Greek, Syrian) origin, a fact which more often than once facilitated relations between them and the East. Relations between Rome and the patriarchates under Arab rule were generally happy, as proved for instance by the fact that Pope St Martin appointed as his delegate to rule Antioch against Monothelite inroads one of the important bishops of that patriarchate.

ii) The limited attempts of Justinian (d. 567) to re-establish the Byzantine empire in Italy, were followed by the invasion and rule of the Lombards since 568. The Lombards who were still semi-Arian were particularly strong in N. Italy and here and there in S. Italy. Byzantine power in the West was doomed. It was not liked either. Moreover its failure to contain the Lombards increased anti-Byzantine feelings in Italy.

iii) Until the middle of the 8th century an awful situation prevailed in Italy caused by Lombard depredations and pressure, and by the Byzantine incapacity to keep them in check. Then, Pope Stephen I (752-57) sought in

754-756 the politico-military backing of the fast-growing Frankish rulers, A firm alliance between the papacy and the Franks quickly developed and reached its climax at the coronation of Charlemagne in Rome by Pope Leo III (795-816) on Christmas Day 800. Charles was crowned as emperor of the Roman Empire. This could only be resented by the East as illegal, though later on the papacy tried again to keep a balance between both East and West. Moreover relations between the two empires (agreement of 812) were not always as tense as formerly believed.

c. East and West in the Iconoclasm Crisis

i. Yet the new crisis, *Iconoclasm*, which began in the Byzantine empire in 723, did not facilitate understanding and amity between Rome and CP. The strife on the worship of images by the Church was launched, kept up, and ended by Byzantine rulers, who sacked, appointed and dismissed the CP patriarchs according to their political whims. Much discussion still prevails today about the causes for the Iconoclastic enthusiasm of such emperors as Leo III (717-40), and his still more fiery son, Constantine V (Coprnomos), Leo V the Armenian (814-20), Michael II (820-29) and Theophilus (829-842). There was likely a desire among many Eastern Christians to return to an original purity, which was regarded as debased by the cult of images, and among political leaders there was a reaction against the powerful influence of the Greek monks, who were the most active propagators of image-worship. The crisis fell into *two successive periods*: 723-787, ending with the *7th Ecumenical Council*, that of Nicaea in (787), which defined the validity and limits of image-worship; 814-43, which ended by the last and final victory of the Iconophiles, a victory

marked ever since by celebrating the Feast of Orthodoxy in 843 on the first Sunday in Lent.

ii. The *popes* never faltered in *opposing* the Byzantine imperial policy against image-worship, and readily concurred in the efforts made by both the empresses, *Irene* in 787 (Ecumenical council), and *Theodora* in 843 to restore the cult of images. Since the world of Greek monks was directly involved, their leaders found in Rome unwavering support. It is the case of St *Theodore of Studios* (759-826), one of the strongest defenders of image worship, who lived across the two periods of the struggle. *Hundreds of Greek monks* took refuge in Italy and in Rome, where they were warmly received. Moreover the Melkite patriarchates, influenced by the writings of St John Damascene (d. 749), remained faithful to image-worship, and therefore had more positive relations with Rome than even with CP.

iii. Strange but true, the *ecclesiastical circles attached directly to Charlemagne* failed to understand the problem involved in image-worship. By and large it was due to the sheer ignorance of Greek and its terminology by those western divines. Such misunderstanding was typified by the 794 council of Frankfurt, which among other questions condemned the decrees of the Oecum. Council of Nicaea. The pope of the time, Hadrian I, had to explain time and again the meaning of Nicaea, but for a while his intervention was not successful in the west.

CHAPTER II

Early Medieval Relations

We are always living at a time where still there is no disunion between the Latin West and the Greek East. Tensions do develop, like in any normal family; tension does not mean separation, opposition does not necessarily lead to division; and problems do not by themselves preclude solutions.

1. Patriarchal Competitions

a. During the 8th–11th cent. the jurisdiction of the CP patriarchate vied with that of Rome, in this case the latter's patriarchal jurisdiction, first in Sicily and then in *S. Italy*. Sicily had always been a region of mixed languages, Greek and Latin, but especially since the 8th cent. For then Sicily became again increasingly Greek, thanks particularly to the influx of monks who had taken refuge there and elsewhere on the Italian mainland during the Iconoclastic strife. Owing to the Arabic invasions of Sicily since 831, and in spite of a strong local resistance, much of the Greek Catholics left the island and settled down in *S. Italy*, in Calabria. Some went even as far as *S. Greece* proper. Since about 730 the Iconoclastic emperors, who also had separated the Illyricum (*S. W. Balkans*, *N. Greece*) from the Roman jurisdiction, and had submitted it to CP, confiscated the many properties belonging to the Roman see both in Sicily and in *S. Italy*. By the middle of the 8th cent. and still more so since the beginning of the 9th cent. *S. Italy* thus depended on the CP patriarchate. Greek language, liturgy, bishops, monasteries flourished there until the 12th cent. Only with the help of the newly established Norman power, could the jurisdiction of the Roman patriarchate

be re-asserted there by the middle of the 11th cent. By the 13th cent. it had become a biritual country, yet in the 14th and 15th cent. the Greek element was still strong, and was reenforced during the second-half of the 15th century by Byzantine Christians from Albania who took refuge both in Calabria and Sicily. This explained why still today there exist in *S. Italy* and in *Sicily Catholic dioceses* for Italians who belong to the Byzantine Church and tradition.

b. This fact, the extension of CP jurisdiction to S. Italy must also be combined with a new *period of apogee* in the Byzantine empire between 867 and 1110. It all started with Basil II, the Macedonian (867-86), whose firm hand began shaping an era of expansion and prosperity, and whose successors until 1057 but fostered new developments and new endeavours. In the words of R. Jenkins (*Byzantium, The Imperial Centuries A. D. 610-1071*, New York, 1969, p. 183), 'At the close (of the Macedonian dynasty), Byzantine power reached from the Araxes river to the toe of Italy and from Crimea to Tripolis in Syria. Cyprus was retaken, and Crete. Above all, the north-western boundary ran once more along the Danube and the Drava to the Dalmatian coast, for the whole of Bulgaria was reduced to the imperial provinces of Sirmium, Paristrion and Central Bulgaria. The armies of Byzantium were seemingly irresistible, her treasures seemingly endless, her political and spiritual influence paramount in areas far beyond her boundaries'.

2. The Photius Affair (868-886)

Until recently the Catholic side would have likely called it *The Photian Schism*, but there was no schism, rather a *strong opposition* both between the local factions in CP, and between Rome and CP. It ended in an atmosphere of reconciliation. Already in 1934 V. Grumel had

changed much of the common western opinion about Photius. But with the work of Fr. Dvornik entitled *The Photian Schism* which appeared in 1948, the whole appraisal of the man and the events was considerably altered. Within certain limits, it had a deep and lasting ecumenical significance. It is now admitted that the separation between the Greek East and the Latin West did not go back to Photius, and that the latter, though not particularly a 'Romanist', was a Catholic as much as other Greek contemporary figures, like Ignatius the Patriarch himself.

a. *General Background*

Two main points should be clearly understood and taken into account before summarizing whatever is important about the Photius affair.

There were at Constantinople strong parties, especially *following on the Iconoclastic struggle* which had been a protracted strife, and had unavoidably left scars on both the Church and the State. One party tended to be narrowly orthodox, with little inclination towards humanism, the other was rather open and humanistic. Moreover dynastic changes in Byzantium were bound to affect the CP. patriarchate time and again. Second, as far as Rome-CP relations are concerned, one must set much emphasis on the *Bulgarian Question*. It can be summed up as follows:

- 1) About 679 the Bulgars, a people of Turkic origin, settled down in the Balkans, on the western shores of the Black-Sea and further most in the interior. But owing to the already existing predominance of the Slavic settlers (arrived by end-5th century begin of 6th century), the Bulgars became rapidly assimilated to local Slavs.

2) From 802 onwards the Bulgars aimed at creating a sort of Balkanic empire, with alternatives of war with Byzantium in the south, and with the Franks (successors of Charlemagne) in the north-west. Christianity was making some inroads among the Bulgars though kept in check by a strong anti-Christian aristocracy. Would Bulgarian Christianity be Eastern or Western? The 'czar', i. e. emperor of the Bulgars, Boris, finally defeated by Byzantium, was baptized in 864 in the Byzantine Church.

3) Just before this momentous event Pope Nicholas I (858-67), who was to be so prominent during the first part of the Photius Affair, had reminded the new Byzantine emperor, Michael III of the former papal jurisdiction over the Illyricum (see above) withdrawn forcibly from Rome about 732, and had asked him to restore it as before.

4) In 866, two years after Boris' conversion, the latter staged a turn-over to Rome and asked for Latin missionaries with a measure of ecclesiastical autonomy. In response to his request Pope Nicholas I sent him two bishops and some Roman priests to complete there the work of Christianization begun by Byzantine missionaries. By 870, however, the Bulgarians had returned firmly and forever to Byzantine Christianity, but it did not prevent the Bulgars from giving in later years plenty of trouble to the Byzantine state and from having direct relations with Rome.

b. *Personalities*

1) EMPERORS: MICHAEL III (842, as a boy; 856 as actual ruler) murdered in 867 by his successor, Basil I (867-886), the founder of the great Macedonian dynasty,

a great general and statesman. He was succeeded by his son Leo VI the Wise (886-912).

2) PATRIARCHS: IGNATIUS, son of emperor Michael I (811-13), patriarch twice 847-58 and 867-77 (d. 877), regarded as representing the monastic, formerly anti-iconoclastic party. *Photius* son of very orthodox parents, who had suffered during the last stage of the Iconoclastic struggle, a scholar and administrator; still a layman, became patriarch, also twice, 858-67 and 877-86, twice deposed as well, and died in 895, about 85 years of age, in monastic exile, representing a rather liberal and humanistic type among the then Christian trends in CP. Both the patriarchs are closely associated with the imperial court and policy.

3) POPES: NICHOLAS I (858-67), a typical Roman ecclesiastic of the period, very saintly, upholding the supremacy of the Roman see whenever and wherever he felt that it was either encroached or that its intervention was needed - *John VIII* (872-882), also a Roman, who tried to back up the western empire and to secure, in vain however, some measure of political stability there, a rather liberal and open-minded prelate, energetic but more adaptable and understanding. Other popes took part in the Photius Affair, though Nicholas I and John VIII were the main actors from the Roman side.

c. *Main Facts*

1) 847. *Ignatius*, zealous superior of a monastery and promotor of monastic life, was chosen patriarch by anti-Iconoclastic empress, *Theodora*, to succeed Patriarch *Methodius*. Election of a sort, then rather frequent in CP, but *Ignatius* was opposed by a small party of bishops he had antagonized. Rome is alerted, but temporized.

2) 858, *Ignatius* was sacked by Bardas, powerful but rather unscrupulous Prime Minister of emperor Michael III, though an able administrator and a great promoter of learning. A Byzantine renaissance was strengthened through his patronage. Ignatius was dismissed owing to his uncompromising attitude towards Bardas. *Photius*, still a layman was promoted to the patriarchal see under Bardas' influence, but tried not to antagonize the much offended Ignatius and his many partisans.

3) 859, the tension bound to exist between Photius and Ignatius with their partisans deepened. Mutual deposition and excommunication marked it. Photius sent his *synodica* (usual gesture: the official letter prepared in synod to announce the enthronement of a patriarch and to publish his profession of faith) to Pope Nicholas I. The latter hesitated to recognize Photius and sent two papal delegates to CP to investigate.

4) 861, *great CP synod* with the two papal delegates. Ignatius is deposed and even degraded for having been unlawfully elected. Again Rome hesitated all the more as that by the end of 862 Ignatius appealed for the first time to Nicholas I with the support of 25 bishops and many abbots. 863, a *Roman synod stood against Photius* and sided with Ignatius. Against Photius, because his promotion as a layman was illegal (the latter charge was based on a traditional, though enlarged, interpretation of the 2nd disciplinary canon of Nicaea, 325) and because Photius appointment was illegal; for Ignatius, owing to monastic influences active in Rome. A new tension arose between Rome and CP.

5) 866, Nicholas I intervened in the Bulgarian Question (see general background) Photius reacted sharply by sending in 867 an encyclical letter to the other Greek

(Melkite) patriarchs, introducing suddenly the 'famous' question of the *filioque*, regarded by Photius and other, as an illegitimate accretion to the Nicæan creed. A subsequent CP synod, held by Photius in 867 *also, condemned as a person Nicholas I*. Photius wrote even to the then Germanic emperor Louis II, asking him to get rid of Nicholas I. The stalemate that ensued was solved for the time-being by the removal of Photius from the patriarchal see (867).

6) In Sept. 867 a palace revolution brought to the imperial throne Basil I, the Macedonian. Already in 866, as close favourite to the debauched Michael III, he had concurred in the murder of Bardas, and thus had become associated to the empire. A year and a half later, Basil assassinated Michael III, and made himself his successor. *Photius* regarded as creature of Bardas fell also a victim to the change of ruler, and *had to be replaced*. *Ignatius* was called from exile and was back to CP as patriarch again nearly two months after the *coup*.

7) 869-70, the official news of the *second patriarchate of Ignatius* was brought to Rome and to the new pope, Hadrian II (867-72), at the end of 868 or beg. of 869 by a Byzantine embassy. The Ignatian and Photian lobbies were still agitating in Rome. The embassy occasioned another Roman Synod in 869, which condemned Photius again, and sent three papal legates to the council asked for by Basil I and accepted by Hadrian. The latter was of a rather conciliatory nature. At CP, 5 Oct. 869-10 Febr. 870, there took place the *council* wanted by Basil. It mostly dealt with Photius and partisans; Photius was deposed and condemned. This council published also 27 disciplinary canons and a profession of faith. Three days after the end of the conciliar proceedings, the Bulgarian

Question received a solution completely favourable to the Byzantine side, to the great mortification of the papal envoys who could not but protest. This council recognized also the *ecclesial ideology*, called the *pentarchy*. Hence complete victory of Ignatius and his partisans, defeat of Photius, but no great apparent change for the papacy.

8) 876-77. Since the pope had forbidden any exercise of jurisdiction to anyone ordained by Photius, a kind of uncertain peace prevailed in the empire. Things were not as settled as Basil wished for. In 876, *Photius was practically rehabilitated locally*, became tutor to the imperial children, and got reconciled with Ignatius. Now the aims of Basil I were attained. In Oct. 877 the aged and worn-out Ignatius expired. Ignatius' succession by Photius had been planned and preceded by negotiations between Rome and the emperor who sought both a review of Photius' case and a full-fledged reconciliation. A papal commission was sent to CP to bring about peace, correspondence took place between Hadrian's successor, John VIII (872-82), and Byzantium. The new pope showed readiness to recognize Photius, on condition of an apology and of keeping off from Bulgaria. The papal letters were brought to CP by a papal commission.

9) 879, Nov. *Great council of 400 bishops*, presided by Photius. The papal text to be signed by the members esp. by Photius, was read in an amended version lest the original text provokes too sharp a reaction. In fact no apology was sought or delivered, and the Bulgarian Question was left in the vague. Whereas Photius still found fault with the addition of the *filioque* to the creed, the papal legates upheld the Roman primacy over all the Churches, including CP. The council, approved by the papal legates, annulled the decision of the 869-70 council, and somewhat whitewashed Photius. In 880, John VIII,

not without some misgivings, approved the council, and showed in deed that Charity could prevail over Authoritarianism. At any rate, at a time when Byzantine sentiments were already so strongly egotistic, the papal primacy had never been before so clearly recognized.

10) 886, Photius is again sent away, this time by the new emperor, Leo VI, a son of the unfortunate Michael III. Leo I had been educated as the adopted child of Basil I, and even trained by Photius. But Leo, it appears regarded Photius as having intrigued during the last years of Basil I, who had become feeble in mind, in order to prevent him from succeeding. Photius was exiled to Armenia where he died rather forgotten in 891. Between 880 and 886 Photius undoubtedly tried to reconcile the still antagonistic parties; he seems to have promoted the canonization of Ignatius, a gesture of appeasement, though it did not succeed as well as he had hoped. In point of fact only by 899 did the last remnants of the ultra-Ignatian party got reconciled with the CP Church and with Rome.

d. *Interpretation*

1) There is no doubt that Photius died in peace and communion with the Church Universal, including Rome. During the whole affair, the question of the Roman primacy was really never denied in the East, and the encyclical of Photius to the Eastern patriarchates, though not particularly 'ecumenical' in tone, was concerned with the filioque, not with the papal primacy. Therefore it is clear now that there was never really a 'Photian Schism', but rather protracted tensions and partisan strifes in CP, which Rome was repeatedly asked to stop, at least to correct. It does not mean that

the popes could always really understand, nor that they could escape from doubtful information and wrong influences. On the other hand both Ignatius and Photius acted always as true sons of Byzantium. For instance, Ignatius was as keen to assert Byzantine overlordship on the Bulgarians as Photius himself. However Photius went too far in his opposition to Rome, too far likely even in those days. His action tended to embitter relations rather than to smooth them over. Undoubtedly Photius was one of the most brilliant minds in CP of his days, a profound humanist, scholar and educationist, but perhaps he lacked diplomatic tact and certain sense of the Church Universal.

2) From the Roman side, Nicholas I was likely too assertive of his authority, in a way which was neither customary for Eastern Christians nor fully acceptable to them. Moreover, he seems to have often acted more as the patriarch of the west, than as the universal pope. Of course John VIII was more tactful, but the ideas which inspired him were likely the same as those of Nicholas I. A dialogue was made difficult on account of conflicting ecclesiologies on both sides.

3. The Mission of SS Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs (862-885)

a. *Background*

By the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 6th century the renewed invasions of the Balkans were due to Slavic tribes. They even reached the Peloponnesus, the southern most peninsula of Greece. What had been fairly complete Christian territory had again become pagan by 580/90.

Early efforts towards re-christianization were launched from the north and the south. From the north from

the Germanic Empire Latin missionaries penetrated as far as N. Greece, i. e. Epirus. From Rome also the re-christianisation of the western Slavs along the coast of today's Yugoslavia, known then as Dalmatia, had begun by mid-7th century.

By the year 830, a fairly large and powerful Slavic nation existed between the Danube and the Thaya rivers. It was known as Greater Moravia (its centres were found in the middle region of today's Czechoslovakia) and it lasted until about 905/8. One of its princes, Rastislav, became a powerful statesman and conqueror by mid-9th century.

From a strict Roman viewpoint the area more or less covered by the Slavs belonged mostly to the 'Latin' world. At least the south and south-eastern regions came under the Roman patriarchate, in accordance with the ancient Roman jurisdiction on the Illyricum, taken away from Rome since about 732. Hence the tendency in Rome was to assert its rights on those regions.

From the point-of-view of the Germanic Christians, i. e., belonging to the empire governed by Charlemagne's successors, often called Franks, hence the term 'Frankish people', the conversion of the Slavs was taken up for politico-religious reasons, including the protection of the eastern and south-eastern borders of the Germanic empire. Already by the end of the 8th century, Frankish missionaries coming from Passau were working among the Slavs of Moravia and Slovakia. Others directed by the powerful bishop of Salzburg were working in Slovenia.

The Byzantines had also major reasons to protect their northern border in the Balkans not only from the Bulgarians but from other such 'barbarians'. Owing to

the accepted 'symphony' between State and Church, political security meant Christian expansion as well. What better safeguard could exist than the Christianisation under Byzantine shield of all the Balkans.

b. *Phase I*

Rastislav, prince of Greater Moravia, who wanted to offset the threat of a Germano-Bulgarian alliance, writes to Rome to obtain missionaries from there. This means that at least the Moravians want to become Christian, but with safeguards for their independence. The Roman reply being delayed, the prince turned to Constantinople (CP) about 862/63. The patriarch, who was then no other than Photius, replied by sending two missionaries *Constantine* (later Cyril) and his brother *Methodius*.

Constantine (born 816/7) was a deacon, a professor of philosophy at the CP university, and a personal friend of Photius. *Methodius* born in 815 had been a civil servant, but had become a monk and even superior of a monastery. Both were sent to north-west of the Caucasus, the then Khanate of the Khazars (strongly influenced by Jews, with many converts to Judaism since the first half of the 9th cent.), as ambassadors of Byzantium. Both the brothers were born at Thessalonika, and owing to the Slavic invasions, which had reached the neighbourhood of the town, they had become acquainted with the language.

Actually it so happened that before leaving for Greater Moravia, Constantine, who seems to have been particularly gifted in linguistics, invented an alphabet, called *glagolitic*, and a common language for all the Slavs called 'Slavonic'. He translated the Sunday readings and the Byzantine Liturgy. Later on, while in Moravia, he went on with his work of translation, adding

a complete rendering of the Four Gospels, and also of the so-called liturgy of St Peter, a kind of mixed Latino-Byzantine liturgy.

The two brothers were warmly received by Rastislav and the people of Moravia. But in 864 these have been defeated by the Franks allied to the Bulgarians. Since they were working under what appeared to be Roman jurisdiction, they were invited *via* Venice by pope Nicholas I (d. Nov II, 867) to come to Rome. Nicholas I, it will be remembered, had sided with Ignatius and his partisans against Photius, and mutual excommunication had ensued.

When the Byzantine missionaries reached Rome on 14 Dec. 869 they were very cordially received, all the more that Constantine was bringing the (supposed, then believed to be genuine) relics of Pope St Clement, brought from Crimea. It was then pope Hadrian II, Nicholas' successor, who greeted them. In spite of objections, which today look rather ludicrous (esp. the argument of the so-called trilingutists, i. e. those asserting that Christian liturgies could only be performed in the three languages written on the *titulus* of the cross, Latin, Greek and Hebrew), Hadrian II gave full approval to the use of Slavic vernacular in the Bible and the liturgy. Methodius was ordained a priest, and the Moravian candidates presented by the two missionaries also received various orders.

Unfortunately, Constantine, perhaps already a priest before he went to Moravia, died in Rome on 14 February 870, not without having made his monastic profession under the new name of Cyril. He was buried in the church of St. Clement.

c. *Phase II.*

While the Photius Affair was dragging on, another Slav prince, Kocel of Pannonia, asked Hadrian II for Methodius. The pope was too glad to oblige, since in this way Roman influence in the Balkans could be strengthened against the Franks. Methodius did go to Pannonia (corresponding roughly to western Hungary and north Yugoslavia) where he was again received with much manifestation of active sympathy. Then, he returned to Rome to be consecrated Metropolitan-Bishop of Sirmium (870), the old, then practically destroyed, capital of western Illyricum, where Sremska Motrovisa stands today. Not only was the episcopal consecration of Methodius by the Roman bishop an assertion of the latter's 'patriarchal' rights, but the title of Sirmium was equally symbolical of the same. Moreover Methodius became papal legate for all the Slavs.

Methodius went back to Pannonia and Greater Moravia, where the political situation was changing in favour of the Frankish influence. This meant, for sure, opposition to Methodius, be he papal legate or not. Under the order of the bishop of Passau, he was arrested, condemned by a Frankish synod in Nov. 870, and sent to prison in Swabia, where he lingered for two years and a half. In 872, Pope John VIII, the peace-maker in the Photius Affair, strongly protested and suspended all the judges of Methodius until Methodius be released and free to work. When the Moravians revolted against Germanic inroads and won again their independence from the Germanic empire (874), Methodius was back in Moravia. He worked with great success there not without renewed opposition from the Frankish missionaries, quite a number of whom were still operating among the Slavs. Their presence led again

to a confrontation between Methodius and the Franks, especially on the vexed question of the *filioque*.

d. *Phase III*

In spite of their recently won independence, a pro-German party remained active among the Moravians. This was due especially to the hesitations of Rastislav's successor, Prince Svatopluk of Moravia, who rather favoured Frankish influences, including as usual a greater control of religious affairs by the Latin Church.

Owing to accusations levelled against himself Methodius was called to Rome in 879 by Pope John VIII to explain himself. In June 879, Methodius then in Rome was completely vindicated. Not only was the use of Slavonic in the liturgy fully approved, but he was actually commanded to use it, though the Mass in Latin was to be kept for those who wish to have it. Unfortunately Methodius felt the need of having a Frankish missionary consecrated as his suffragan bishop, likely to assuage the feelings of the pro-Germanic party among the Moravians. The new bishop indulged almost at once in intrigues against his metropolitan, so much so that Methodius had to be once more vindicated by the Pope (881).

Meanwhile Constantinople had not forgotten Methodius and kept a lively interest in his apostolate among the Slavs. Photius was then patriarch for the second time, and reconciliation between CP and Rome prevailed. Hence Methodius could not but accept the Byzantine invitation. He came to CP and stayed in 881-82. His ideas and methods were approved there like previously in Rome.

During his last three years in Moravia, Methodius could indulge in peaceful missionary activities, as he always wanted. The Frankish influence was there on the

wane (882). In 884 Methodius could still have an interview with Germanic Emperor Charles III. About the same year Moravian conquests allowed Methodius influence to extend over Bohemia, the land of the Czechs, and even among the southern Poles. Methodius tried also to complete the literary work of his brother by preparing a Slavonic translation of the whole Bible, of the Byzantine canon-law, and other essential religious works. Before his death on April 6, 885, he had appointed a Moravian priest as his successor.

e. *Phase IV*

Wiching, the Frankish suffragan of now defunct Methodius, intrigued again in Rome against his former superior. The German party among the Moravians got the upper-hand. Pope Stephen V, badly informed by Germanic reports, forbade the use of Slavonic in the liturgy. Five leaders, direct disciples of Methodius, were persecuted. After some time spent in prison, they succeeded in escaping to the Bulgarian dominions, now firmly under Byzantine influence.

They, above all Clement, were well received by the Bulgarian prince, Boris-Michael. Clement was chief disciple, and died in 916. They were asked by Boris to work mostly in N. Macedonia, which corresponds today to south-eastern Yugoslavia. Clement became the first Slavic bishop there, a circumstance which led to creating the see of Ochrida, called to become a capital centre of Byzantine Christianity among the Slavs and the chief workshop of the Slavonic methods. Clement went on writing and translating into Slavonic. Actually in Constantinople itself, Slav clerics were working also at translating and adapting Greek Christian classics. To

facilitate their work they developed another script based on the Greek majuscules of the time (Greek uncials), and this became, under the spurious name of Cyrillic, the actual script of all the modern Slavic languages spoken in Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia (part of Yougoslavia).

f. *Evaluation*

Enjoying still the sense of the Church Universal, which was still fairly strong, the monastic circles of Byzantium even after the end of the Monophysite crisis, Constantine-Cyril and Methodius still took for granted that Roman and Byzantine jurisdictional rights could be both respected and bridged by some kind of Catholic outlook.

They had to get along with the politico-religious tensions of the time. Such tensions were likely regarded by them as the normal expressions of Church involvement. However better than many a contemporary, especially the Frankish ecclesiastics, they managed somewhat to overcome such tensions.

Their methods were outstanding for the time, and they knew quite well that they were the right ones. The final disapproval of a pope cannot run counter the support given to such methods by his predecessors, Hadrian II and John VIII. Yet the final disapproval was never completely accepted even among Latin Slavs, since, until the recent vernacularisation of the Latin rite, the Slavonic liturgy was still celebrated in Yougoslavia among Latin Catholics. Stephen V's disapproval showed all the same that the papacy was getting increasingly linked with a one-sided western policy.

In more sense than one, the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius stands out as one the last witnesses to mutual understanding and accomodation between East and West in the Church.

CHAPTER III

Estrangement and Breaking-Away, c. 930-1204

1. Background

We speak here only about the relations between the Byzantine Christianity and the Latin world, whose spiritual leader was admittedly the pope, the bishop of Rome.

a. *Byzantine Christianity* within and without the empire reached a new climax between c. 950 and 1025. It was due to religious, cultural and political factors, above all to a *renaissance* that had begun yielding its fruits already before the accession of Basil II in 976, perhaps as far back as the middle of the 9th century. Under Basil II's reign (976-1025), political success backed by a strong military rule was outstanding. Not only did Basil II become the master of West Asia, but also he humbled the always threatening Bulgarians, forged an alliance with the Southern Russians who since about 987 became Byzantine Christians under Grand Duke Vladimir (956-1015), and offset the forays of the Norman invaders in South Italy and Sicily.

Truly enough, the religious situation in the Byzantine empire remained intimately bound with politics, and most of the patriarchs of the period were in one way or another appointees of the emperor. Yet, monastic life reached new heights, with spiritual leaders as the great mystic of the Studion and St Mamas' monasteries in CP, Simeon the New Theologian (949-1022), and St. Athanasius the Athonite, who founded the first monastery on Mount Athos (S. Macedonia, Greece) in 962.

b. *In the West* the political and religious situation was less prosperous. On the ruins of Charlemagne's empire *feudalism* had developed but about 945 a *new empire* of the Germanic nation begun, with Otto I the Great as its first ruler. He and his successors were somewhat better accepted by Byzantium than Charlemagne's dynasty. Time and again alliance was forged between both the empires, though too often set to naught by the *Italian problems*, especially S. Italy. Meanwhile a new power had appeared on the political horizon of the west, that of the Normans. *First* those Scandinavian raiders had been partly settled in W. France (the duchy of Normandy) and had been converted to Christianity at the beginning of the 10th century. *Then*, a century later, they began looking for new conquests, this time in the central Mediterranean. Between 1040 and 1071 they established a strong power both in Sicily and South Italy, threatening everybody's stability, even that of the papacy, and ending for all practical purposes Byzantine rule there. They were also challenging the might of the new Germanic empire. It was a completely new situation which had unexpected and grave consequences for the relations between East and West in the Church Universal.

For, we should not forget that there had taken place since the middle of the 8th century a new religious Byzantinization of South Italy and Sicily, so much so that by the end of the 9th century there were 21 *Greek bishoprics in South Italy*. Until about mid-11th century that Byzantine presence was strong. Confronted by the Normans, it succeeded in standing one's ground during a century or so. Then it began declining.

2. Positive Aspects

Since the end of the Photius Affair and the final

reconciliation of the die hards of the Ignatian party, about 899, there was *no great question* left to divide the East and the West. The only cloud that came, arose from the permission given by Pope Sergius III (904-11) a rather discussed personality, to Byzantine Emperor Leo VI (the Wise) to marry for the fourth time (907). However between 923 and 974 relation between Rome and CP were normal. Even Byzantium interfered sometimes in papal elections.

In Rome the years 911-1045 were rarely happy ones for the papacy, yet there would be still occasionally a remarkable Pope, like Sylvester II (999-1003). On the other hand in CP the 23 Patriarchs between 901 and 1054 were generally worthy of their office, though in most cases they were appointed or dismissed by the state. There is, however, one exception, the scandalous Theophylactos (931-56).

Even in 955 the papal chancery revived in its documents the mention of the date of the emperor's accession to the Byzantine throne after a lapse of 174 years.

3. Less Positive and Negative Aspects

On the Eastern Christian side the almost complete integration between Church, State and culture tended to make the Eastern Church self-sufficient, as it always tended to be anyhow. Unity with the West was kept as an ideal, but it was not always possible to practise it as a constant reality.

a. We have already mentioned the cloud provoked by the fourth marriage of emperor Leo VI. Actually from 912 to 923 it led both to strong tensions in CP, reminders of those at the time of Photius, and also to a lack of actual communion between CP and Rome.

Irritating still was the case raised time and again by the title of the CP bishop, '*ecumenical patriarch*'. In 1024, Pope John XIX was asked by Patriarch Eustathius (1019-25) to recognize it more publicly. Byzantine ambassadors came to Rome with lavish gifts, perhaps they knew that John XIX had won his election through venality... The pope was willing to grant the request, all the more so that previous popes had done the same. Yet monastic and reformatory circles in Rome (those who were already paving the way towards the Gregorian Reform in the 70's of the same century) raised a hue and cry against such a recognition. The pope did not dare to run counter the wishes of these people, mostly in France and in Italy. This final refusal did not smooth away the already existing tensions between Rome and CP, between the Latin West and the Greek East.

b. Actually, as we already know, one of the most outstanding and practical signs of communion between the patriarchates, including Rome, was the mention of the papal and patriarchal name in the *commemoration prayers* (diptychs) of the patriarchal Churches. Since 1014 under Patriarch Sergius II, the name of the pope was not included any more in the diptychs of CP. It was either due to the filioque found in the profession of faith of Pope sergius IV to the crowning in 1014 of Germanic Emperor, Henry II by his nominee, Pope Benedict VIII (1012-24). Such a sharp reaction was apparently forced upon the CP Church by the all-powerful and evermore successful Byzantine emperor, Basil II. The fact of the crowning by the pope was not new as such since it had already begun in 962 with the first Germanic emperor of the new Saxon dynasty, Otto I the Great. He was crowned on that year in Rome by the rather doubtful character that was Pope John XII

(955-64). According to the Byzantine view on Church and State, the bonds thus forged between the papacy and the new Frankish empire were both illegal and shocking. It actually led to conflicts between Frankish and Byzantine candidates to the papacy.

c. Worst still was the *situation of the papacy* as it run its course since about 900 until 1054. During that period there were no less than 34 popes and 5 anti-popes. Under the weight of that strange mixture of faith and brutality that characterized much of the West during these same period (except for the promising monastic reforms at Cluny and in N. Italy), the papacy had fallen on evil days. *First*, it had too often became the tool of local feudal aristocrats. Later on popes became nominees of the Germanic emperors themselves. As we have already seen not all such papal 'puppets' were necessarily bad, even some of them were if not remarkable, at least quite good and zealous but the *impression* created by some of them was often *lamentable*. *Second*, the indulgence shown by rather unworthy popes of the same period to CP Patriarch Theophylactus (931-56), son of Emperor Romanus II (959-63) already mentioned, must have also deeply offended the clergy and the common people of CP. Such a situation of the papacy could not have helped improving its relations with CP, all the more so that the intimate bonds between the pope and the western emperor were looked down upon by Byzantine clergy and laity. Thirdly on the western side anti-Greek feelings were often expressed, even by otherwise excellent popes. However, in 974, Pope Boniface VII, who had sided with the Byzantine influence still active in Rome, was expelled by Roman aristocrats siding with the Germanic emperors, took refuge in CP. All the same Pope Sergius IV (1009-12) sent to CP the customary

synodical letter on being enthroned. His profession of faith contained the Filioque.

Relations between Rome and the other Byzantine patriarchates, those usually called Melkite (Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem), if not frequent, were good enough. In CP the Patriarch was still dependent on the emperor's will, yet signs were not lacking since about 960 to show that the patriarch tended to assert at least the moral superiority of the Church over the State, showing therefore something like an incipient will to stress the independence of the spiritual leadership from the temporal. Also monastic influence in the Byzantine world had grown very strong; some emperors tried, in vain, to curtail it. That monastic establishment, which had been rather seeking Roman support until about the time of the Photius Affair, and increasingly become of late estrange from Rome. The fact is certain, but its causes are not clear. One of them seems to be the contest between Latin and Greek Catholics in S. Italy since about 969. Actually, very soon, anti-Latin sentiments were commonly formed among the monks. Since the CP patriarch was almost always chosen from among the monks, he generally shared the same sentiments.

4. Separation and the Quest for unity

A. A Symbol - 1054

It is admitted nowadays after much in-depth study of the persons and events of the 11th century that the date of 1054 is more a symbol than a dividing line. It only indicates a situation of actual disunity which existed at least since 1014, already mentioned, but which a new effort failed to correct for any length of time.

1. The main Fact, 16 July 1054

On that fatal summer day Cardinal Humbert of Silva

Candida, legate of Pope Leo IX (dead already by then), put and left on the altar of the Great Church of Constantinople, the Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom) Cathedral, a papal bull excommunicating the then reigning patriarch of CP, Michael Cerularius, and the members of his entourage.

Some days later Michael Cerularius with his synod excommunicated Humbert and the members of his embassy, but not Leo IX.

2. Interpretation

We saw already the general background of union and disunion, political and religious. Particularly we mentioned that the Norman invasion had created problems affecting all the parties concerned, i. e. that two empires and the papacy.

i) Between 1024 and 1059 the popes favoured a kind of three-cornered alliance against the Normans. Then under Norman pressure and with the desire of getting independent from Germanic dominance the popes got closer to the Normans, and collaborated with them. But by 1054 it was not the case as yet, and Humbert's embassy was religious and political in character. If a greater measure of unity between Rome and CP could be achieved, then the Byzantine empire could offset the Norman inroads.

ii) Some exchange of correspondence had preceded the embassy, the CP patriarch, Michael Cerularius (1043-58), a rather narrow minded prelate, haughty and egotistic, bent on raising his see to new heights, even violent at times, did not want to have greater unity with the West than that he was obliged to keep out of tradition. He was certainly responsible for having launched and fostered a controversy about some Latin usages, rather externals of

discipline, and also on the unavoidable *filioque*. The controversy involved also prelates from Bulgaria and South Italy. Only Patriarch Peter III of Antioch (1052-56), a rather conciliatory type of man and an excellent pastor, tried to mediate, all in vain.

The controversy made full use of an old capital of grudges and recriminations. In the East it tended to make Byzantine customs the pattern of Christian usages. In the West it increased the anti-Greek feelings, which were at work for the last three centuries. They were now held by the monastic reformists who defended a lofty, though rather monarchical, conception of the papacy. Humbert, the papal legate, could not have been a worst choice, almost similar to M. Cerularius in character.

Much childishness was displayed from both sides, and the attempt at reconciliation ended in mutual bitterness. However, while Humbert published a papal document (likely prepared by him) which excommunicated the patriarch, the latter reacted only against the legate, NOT against the pope. Moreover the pope was dead by the time, and it made his document invalid. Possibly Cerularius knew this already.

The Byzantine emperors, first Constantine IX, who had appointed M. Cerularius, and then his successors, remained favourable to unity with the West, above all Rome. Hence there developed in Byzantium between the lay and the ecclesiastical elements a different attitude towards unity, which would last down to the 15th century.

B. Renewed efforts and the Quest for Unity-IIth-15th centuries

Yet, that event of July 1054 did not make people believe that the rupture was final.

1. Until the end of the 13th century there was still a kind of general acceptance, based on a deep-seated sentiment, that East and West in the Church were still basically united, though in a kind of permanent state of quarrel. At the end of the 11th century Bishop Theophylact of Ochrida wrote a reply-letter on the accusations levelled by the Greeks against the Latins (PG, 126, col. 222-50). It was remarkably irenical.

2. Also, relations of Rome with the patriarchates of the Near East until even after the crusades despite the brutal and over-bearing attitude of the crusaders, remained positive, with a few exceptions. The same can be said about Georgia organized as a catholicate by the second half of the 11th century; about Bulgaria, esp. since the end of the 12th century in spite of the unfortunate quarrels of the 10th century, and even about Serbia since about the same time.

Yet, as just noticed, the unchristian attitude of most Crusaders towards the Eastern Christians under them, except for such smaller Churches as Armenians, Jacobites and Maronites, was absolutely contrary to what it should have been. The crusaders set up a Latin hierarchy of their own, to which most of the times the Easterners, including their own prelates, were submitted. This was above all resented by the Melkite patriarchates, without however leading to lasting separation with Rome.

3. Above all, the real schism came as a result of the ill-famed crusade of 1204. It was provoked by the greed of the Venitians for gold and money. Instead of going to the Near East, the crusaders fleet sailed towards Constantinople. The western army besieged the 'Holy City', conquered it and plundered it, thus erecting a lasting wall of blood and sorrow between the Latins and the Greeks.

Truly enough Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) excommunicated the so-called crusaders, yet later on he accepted the establishment of a Latin Empire in CP, of a Latin patriarchate of CP, and of a Latin hierarchy for the Greek territories overrun by the western Christians. Undoubtedly such a situation, coming on top of a barbaric conquest, can be regarded as the FINAL BREACH between the Greek East and the Latin West.

4. Before this awful and perverse expedition took place there were no less than seven successive attempts at restoring official communion between Rome and CP. They were mostly prompted by politico-military expediency. In religious matter they did not bear any lasting fruit. Then at the General Council of Lyons in 1274, after the Latin empire in CP had died out, though there were still Latin principalities surviving in Greece, the Greek delegates participated. There unity between both halves of the Church was solemnly proclaimed. But again it was mostly, though not only, inspired by political motives. Moreover from both the sides the tactless behaviour that followed did not permit such unity to last more than seven years.

5. The last serious attempt at uniting the Greek East and the Latin West took place in Florence in 1439. The Universal Council of Florence, had begun at Basle (Switzerland), continued at Ferrara, and after Florence (1439-1442) ended in Rome in 1445. On 6 July (a fatal month, it seems) 1439 in the magnificent cathedral of the Renaissance city the solemn document, beginning with the words 'Let heavens rejoice' which sealed, apparently for good, the unity between East and West, was proclaimed. It had been prepared by months of hard and fairly thorough discussions. Thus the vexed questions such

as the papal primacy, the purgatory, the *filioque*, divergent eucharistic customs, had been debated at length and on the whole settled to the apparent satisfaction of the majority among the Greek delegates. The emperor and the CP patriarch were there, a galaxy of the best Greek prelates and theologians, such as Mark of Ephesus (who never accepted unity), Bessarion (who became one of the great promoters of unity, and died as a cardinal), etc. Once more the see of CP was declared the second after Rome, but Joseph, the patriarch of CP died before the document on unity was solemnly accepted. This death was most unfortunate. For, from the Byzantine viewpoint, unity was not really achieved since the ecumenical patriarch was not there any more to consent to it.

This last attempt at reaching unity at Florence, the more serious for centuries, the best prepared also, failed ultimately. In the west its main decrees, became basic conditions for any further attempt at unity. There were also other conciliar decrees for various Easterners, such as Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Ethiopians. Unfortunately these later documents were written in a very Latin and scholastic way, their theology was terribly one-sided.

Why did Florence Fail?

i) The Byzantine empire, the greatest part of which was already in Turkish hands was unprepared to accept unity. Even the Russians, who were by the time busy setting up a powerful state, regarded Florence as a treasonable deal. Since about 1204, too much antagonism against the 'Franks' and the Latin Church had been nurtured among the Orthodox to be easily overcome in a few years time. Moreover, those members of the Greek delegation, at the Council who had refused to accept its decisions returned, kept up the opposition and finally won

the day. Especially the Byzantine monks who were deeply anti-Latin, backed up the rejection of Florence.

ii) The attempt at unity was based on the conception of the Church and of the papacy which had been developed in the western middle ages. Granted that many Greek delegates accepted it, it was soon discovered to run counter their own traditions. In many ways it was too much a victory of the West over the East.

iii) Once more, strong political motives influenced the will for unity among the Greeks. For, the Byzantine empire was already in the throes of death (died in 1453). The last emperor wanted by all means to obtain the military support of the West, especially of Italian princes. Hardly any substantial help was sent by them to save CP from its downfall. After the final conquest of CP by the Turks (1453), such political motives did not exist any more, and the spiritual leaders of CP threw their lot with the Turks, who at any rate did not want them to have anything to do with the West.

Conclusion

Now we can review most of the factors which led to the final breach between the Greek East and the Latin West.

1. Politico-Religious Factors

Above all from mid-6th century the Church in the Byzantine empire became intimately bound with the Byzantine State, so much so as to often appear as a 'department of the state'. Such a situation corresponded to the ideology called 'symphony'. Since CP was also known as the 'New Rome', an unitarian ideology of the type did not leave much place for any other choice.

Though the popes did not accept fully such an ideology they generally conformed to it until late during the first millenium.

However the growing dependence of the papacy on its western allies, above all on the two successive Germanic empires, tended to emphasise its western character while gradually losing its role as chief leader in the Church Universal. On the other hand from about 1070, the papacy became more and more independent from western states, and assumed a new type of leadership according to the fast developing ideology of Christendom. Therefore the popes became convinced of a type of supremacy, which was as such never known in the East until then.

A clash between two such ideologies and a kind of superiority complex from both the sides did not help keeping and enhancing unity in diversity.

2. Culture-Religious Factors

Linguistic differences can often lead to mutual ignorance, if not to misunderstanding. This is what happened also between the Latin and the Eastern Christians.

Theological vision had become different in the East and in the West. The East was more synthetical, the West more analytical, the East was more traditional and mystical, the West more prone to change and more moralizing. Such differences were accentuated in the West since the 12th century due to rising scholasticism and also to the great development of canon-law. Also centralism affected the west more than the East.

As far as the authority of the bishop of Rome was concerned, it can be doubted whether the Christian East ever conceived as a God-given supremacy. Rome was

accepted as chief leader and as symbol of unity. Within the Byzantine ideology of the pentarchy, this symbol entailed a certain degree of authority, provided freedom and particularism were not interfered with. The steady development of the Roman primacy knew no parallel in the East. With its canonical expressions since the 11th-12th century it became too monarchical, not even synodal, to be acceptable to the East as a whole, and to Constantinople more particularly.

The Lessons of History

a) A basic open, ecclesiology held in common with a careful balance between unity and diversity, is a necessary condition to keep the former without diminishing the latter. It means an organic ecclesiology of the Church Universal.

b) Christian liberty is the basis for diversity and pluralism; it cannot survive if legalism overcomes theology, if theology becomes a mere science and does not remain a contemplation, if sacramental outlook is stifled by observances, if one-sided doctrinal developments are absolutized.

c) Respect for actual practice, for discipline, even for cultural diversity does not suffice. There needs be acceptance of the profound and diverse realities in the Church.

d) Mutual openness, sincere trust, genuine desire of knowing and loving each other are the essential conditions for a psychological change of heart and mind.

Bibliography

- BAYNES N., MOSS H.S. LE. Byzantium, Oxford 1961
- BENZ E., The Eastern Orthodox Church, Chicago, 1963
- CONGAR Y., After Nine Hundred Years, New York, 1959
- DVORNIK F., The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium...
Cambridge (Mass.), 1958
- „ Byzantium and the Roman Primacy, New York,
1966.
- EVERY G., The Byzantine Patriarchate 451-1204, London,
1947
- GILL J., The Council of Florence, Cambridge, 1956
- RUNCIMAN S., The Eastern Schism, Oxford, 1955
- „ Byzantine Civilisation, New York, 1956
- MEYENDORFF J., The Orthodox Church, London, 1960
- SCHNENANN A., The Historical Road of Eastern Ortho-
doxy, New York, 1963
- SHERRARD Ph., The Greek East and the Latin West,
London, 1959
- WARE Th., The Orthodox Church, Hermondsworth, 1963
- ZERNOV N., Eastern Christendom, London, 1961

PART IV

Catholicism and the Eastern Churches

This part will be necessarily short. It deals with such events and persons which express in one way or another the spirit and the motivation of a given time and mentality.

While reviewing the Syrian Churches, we already summarized the later periods, when they came into closer relationship with Rome and the western Christians, leading to the forming of Catholic patriarchates as divided from, if not opposed to, the existing independent patriarchates. We also depicted the main history and characteristics of the Maronite Church, which also belongs to the Syriac tradition.

Here one can only mention those Churches and certain points which illustrate the mentalities that lied behind their relations with the Catholic Church, i.e. with the Latin West.

As for the Churches belonging to the Byzantine tradition the main cases of 'unions' with Rome will also be quickly reviewed.

CHAPTER I

Historical Survey of 'Reunions'

Be before or after Florence, all the following cases of reunion, often resulting from undoubted zeal, took place within a very western approach to relations between Churches. Generally, speaking, it meant joining the 'Roman System', i.e. the type of papacy as developed in the late western middle ages.

1. The Maronites

As just pointed out, we have already summed up their history. Latinizations crept in early, though their patriarchate, therefore their basic autonomy, was acknowledged without questioning from the time they forged permanent links with Rome. The trend towards latinization increased since the 16th century so much so that by the 18th after several 'national' synods, the Maronite Church got very latinized indeed. Yet, it kept many of its customs, its married clergy and, though made conformed to Latin models, its monastic establishment.

To explain such a policy of latinization is not easy. From the side of Rome, above all of the Latin Missionaries (Franciscans, later on Jesuits, Capuchins), it may well be that they thought that the Maronite Church had to become as securely a centre of Catholic presence (i.e. in practice Latin) as possible within the limits of an Eastern tradition. The Maronites, for their part, wanted to be helped by the West in order to remain independent. They also regarded as superior everything that came from Rome, directly or indirectly.

2. The Armenians

a) Since the end of the 11th century with the active presence of the Crusaders, many Armenians increased their emigration to eastern and southern Turkey. A new kingdom was created and the successors of the old catholicos, who had begun their line of succession with St Gregory the Illuminator (d. 332), the founder of the Armenian Church, with the new kings, forged links with Rome. Not all Armenians followed however; since about 1066 until about 1441, latinizations, there were, though not as damaging as those acting on the Maronites. Note that the present see of Etchmiadzin, where resides the Supreme Catholicos of All the Armenians (Orthodox), is not older than 1441.

After the permanent communion between Rome and Armenia was lost, here and there bishops, monks (= vartapets, priest-monks) and laity kept their attachment to Chalcedon, even to the see of Peter, though the Armenian Church was supposed to be officially un-Chalcedonian. This was the case not only in Turkey, now centre of the Ottoman Empire, but in Persia and in Georgia. Moreover many catholicos, including those of Etchmiadzin either were pro-Catholic or even made their Catholic profession of faith. Truly enough relations with western missionaries helped a good deal towards a *rapprochement*, but it also hindered it due to latinizing tendencies and the like.

The fact that there were Armenians still keeping up sympathy for Rome explains why it could happen in 1742 that a group of already Catholic bishops of the Armenian Church elected a patriarch in Aleppo (N.Syria). His see was later on transferred to Lebanon. This Catholic patriarchate could claim to be spiritual heir to the old, unbroken Armenian church and catholicate,

though without historical continuity, but with some theological foundation. In 1830 the Armenian Catholic metropolitan of CP (Istanbul) became Archbishop-Primate, a quasi-patriarch, in order to facilitate relations with the Turkish government. Due to internal tensions, particularly between the primate at CP and the catholicos in the Lebanon, and to what was considered an abuse of power by the lay leaders, the two sees were amalgamated in 1867, the Primate being elected as Catholicos. Pope Pius IX by his bull *Reversurus* intervened with the intention of keeping better unity, but the contrary obtained. This papal document expresses in more than one way a real ignorance of the basic rights of any Eastern Church.

The catholicos continued then to reside in CP, but in 1928 the see was again transferred to Lebanon, in its capital, Beirut. Bzommar, further north in the mountains, is the summer-residence of the catholicos. A group of diocesan clergy following a quasi-monastic rule permanently lives at Bzommar. However it was in 1701 that a monastic order of purely Armenian origin was founded first in Venice; then due to inner tensions a group went to Vienna (Austria). Their founder was abbot Mekhitar, who took over the Benedictine Rule for his foundation.

Thanks to having succeeded in saving many literary treasures, the Mekhitarists have rendered a remarkable and lasting contribution towards maintaining and developing Armenian language and literature. Their services in this field are absolutely outstanding, Armenian Catholics are somewhat latinized in liturgy and spirituality.

3. The Ukrainians

a) The use of the term *Ukrainian* is fairly modern. In the past they were often called *Ruthenians*. Actually

they are those Byzantine Christians who dwell in south and south-west Russia (Ukraine). They go back to the time of the conversion of Grand-Duke Vladimir of Kiev in the 10th century, and his people. Therefore they are the most ancient Christians of Russia.

b) After the Council of Florence; Catholic influence in Kiev and south-western Russia was felt e. g. Gregory, Metropolitan of Kiev (1458-72), can be regarded as Catholic.

During the 16th century the political situation in Poland and Russia was changing. On the one hand, Russia, now centred in Moscow, was getting better united and more powerful, not without setbacks however. In 1549 the first official CZAR, or Emperor, was crowned. Hence forward he regarded himself as the moral successor of the Byzantine emperors, thus as the guardian of Byzantine Orthodoxy. In 1589 the Patriarchate of Moscow was officially created with the forced approval of the Patriarch of Constantinople who personally presided over the enthronement of the first Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia.

On the other hand the Polish State had considerably expanded towards the south-east, even including Kiev and the whole of western Ukraine. After having been nearly taken into the Protestant reform, Poland had been reformed along Catholic lines, and appeared as a bastion of Latin Catholicism in Eastern Europe.

c) The Byzantine Ukrainians were thus caught between Russia as the champion of Orthodoxy, and Poland as the champion of a rather narrow type of Roman Catholicism. They were also directly influenced by Constantinople and other Byzantine Orthodox Churches. From about 1577 the movement towards

formal unity with Rome gathered momentum in Western Ukraine. Conditions asked by Ukrainian bishops were accepted in Rome on Dec. 3, 1595, and it reached a climax at the Synod of Brest (6 Oct. 1596), when six Ukrainian Bishops on eight voted in favour of unity, evidently supported by the Polish state and influenced by Latin missionaries. The union was officially accepted by Rome with all due safeguards for oriental identity.

The movement was quickly opposed by powerful Orthodox lay-leaders, but only by 1620 could the Orthodox hierarchy be completely re-organized. With the conquest by Russia of a good part of Polish Ukraine, by 1702 Ukrainian Catholics could only be found in Polish territory. Since 1795 the Polish State, partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria, ceased to exist depended until 1918. The fate of the Ukrainian Catholics became therefore on the political situation. Those who were found in Russian territory were finally obliged in 1838 to join the Orthodox Church. Only a minority of the Catholic Ukrainians, who lived in the territory occupied by Austria, were left in peace. They rather prospered and developed. Out of that Byzantine Catholic Church thousands migrated to the USA and Canada since 1884 and in the beginning of the 20th c. Many also joined later the older emigrants especially after World War II. Orthodox Ukrainians also migrated to North America.

d) Like elsewhere in similar circumstances, latinisation affected the Ukrainians in many ways, though much less than other Oriental Catholics such as the Armenians. Since the end of World War I, thanks to the energy, vision and purposefulness of their Metropolitan at Lviv (Lvov, or also Lemberg), Andrew Septyckij (d. 1944), a return to the sources slowly took place. Today the Ukrainian Catholics in their original territory do not

exist as an organized Church. Their Church has been destroyed by Soviet Russia in 1946. Only their 8,00,000 emigrants settled in W. Europe and N. and S. America can enjoy religious liberty today.

4. The Romanians

a) Romania today is a Communist Republic with some 21 million inhabitants. More than 2/3 of these belong to the Byzantine Orthodox Church, with a patriarchate of their own in Bucarest, the capital, after World War I.

b) Until the second-half of the 19th century Romania was neither unified nor completely independent. Since the 15th century the eastern regions of the country were ruled by Byzantine princes, very Orthodox and staunch supporters of the CP patriarchate. They were vassals of the Turks. The north-western region, called Transylvania, depended somehow on the Hungarian kingdom. Since the Reformation, its inhabitants, who were also mostly, though not exclusively, Byzantine Orthodox, were submitted to much Calvinistic and Latin Catholic proselytism. Then the Turks, who had tried to keep their presence active in Transylvania, were driven away for good by the Austro-Hungarian forces, belonging to a Catholic power.

c) The Byzantine Orthodox of Transylvania were thus caught up between various religious currents and power politics. For various reasons, e. g. desire of religious protection, opposition to Calvinistic inroads, two successive Metropolitans of Transylvania moved closer to the Catholic side, and finally in 1701 union with Rome was settled. Yet, only as late as in 1858 did those Byzantine Catholics obtain their full-fledged hierarchy and autonomy. The Byzantine Catholic Church does not officially exist

under the communist regime. All its members are supposed to have joined the Orthodox Church in 1948. This 'return' was done by force. If the Byzantine Catholics were to have remained undisturbed, they would have been today about 2 millions with a Metropolitan (almost a quasi-patriarch) and 4 suffragan bishoprics. The present situation from an ecumenical view-point is very delicate. It is well known that thousands among those Byzantine Catholics worship in Latin churches. Others do it in Orthodox ones (often their own former church) but remain Catholic. The only solution is and will be general unity agreed upon by Catholics and Orthodox.

d) Since the 17th century, Romanian (a Latin tongue) has become the liturgical language of those Byzantine Christians, instead of Slavonic or Greek. It was likely the first time in E. Europe that a new vernacular came into use since the 9th century. Prompted by nationalism and a search for one's own identity, the Romanian Catholics spear-headed this change-over. The Orthodox followed suit. Hence, until recently, those Byzantine Catholics appeared in the eye of their people, irrespective of their religious allegiance, as the forerunners of their cultural independence.

Those Romanian Catholics (there are also in Romania about 15,00,000 Latin Catholics partly original inhabitants converted directly to Latin Catholicism, partly made of assimilated German and Hungarian minorities) had on the whole preserved their liturgical customs, but were also latinised in outlook, and many externals. Yet, they were the Oriental Catholics who had kept the largest percentage of married clergy, about 90 per cent. Such latinizations, as may be, affected somewhat the Orthodox also because, whatever be their racial origin, the Romanians belong culturally to the Latin world.

5. The Greek-Melkites

a) When reviewing the consequences of the Christological disputes, it was mentioned that those Christians who stayed faithful to Chalcedonian orthodoxy, became known as *Melkite*, i. e. followers of the king, i. e. the emperor of CP. The name stuck, and today those 'Orthodox' belong to both the Orthodox and the Catholic patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Only the Chalcedonians in Syria and the Lebanon succeeded in keeping a substantial number of clergy and faithful.

b) We saw also that at the time of the 1054 affair the then Melkite patriarch of Antioch, Peter, tried to act as a mediator between the Latin West and the Greek East.

c) After the conquest of CP by the Turks and the strengthening of the Ottoman empire, the position enjoyed by the CP patriarchate was rather reenforced. This does not mean that the CP patriarchs have had always an easy course of action. Between 1600 and 1789 there were 51 patriarchs and 87 patriarchal reign, i. e. more than once one of the patriarchs ruled several times, e. g. Cyril Lukaris, notorious for his calvinist sympathies, had no less than 7 patriarchal reigns.

In spite of these drawbacks, to which there can be added the well-known venality prevailing in the Turkish empire and the competition between ambitious prelates, the CP patriarchs continued to enjoy a very powerful and wide influence, repeatedly recognized by the Turks. Such a kind of actual supremacy had already started in the 14th and 15th centuries, when the CP patriarchate had extended its direct rule over the Balkans, viz. Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania. Its influence over the

Melkite patriarchates (Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria) was considerable also. With their concurrence a synod gathered in CP rejected officially in 1484 the union proclaimed at Florence.

d) Whereas the CP patriarch stood as the chief defender of Byzantine Orthodoxy, particularly against Latin inroads, he was not always adverse to relations with Rome and with the local Latin missionaries. Since 1559 he had also relations with the German Lutherans at Wittenberg, and later on, particularly during the 17th and 18th centuries, with the Anglican Church. Yet relations with the Latins were all the more inevitable, that the Venitian Republic was keeping many possessions in Greece, so much so that there was a Greek Orthodox bishop residing at Venice since 1572.

e) Moreover, since the end of the 16th century, both the French ambassadors at CP, and the French consuls in the Middle East, above all at Aleppo which had become a commercial and political centre of note in N. Syria, increased steadily their influence. Owing to special agreements passed between the French king and the Turkish Sultan, those Catholic diplomats very often acted in favour of all Catholic people, be Latin or Eastern. This does not mean that the meddling of those French officials was always to the good of the Catholics themselves.

Besides, in the wake of the Tridentine reform, new and old Latin missionaries settled in CP, but above all in the Middle East, especially at Aleppo with its fairly large Christian population. They were mostly the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the Carmelites. Especially the Jesuits adopted very broad methods of approach to the question of Christian unity. They sought permission from

the Orthodox prelates in order to hear confessions open schools, etc. Mutual respect and affection was sought and often obtained, real pastoral collaboration was indulged in.

Such apostolic methods, supposed that Eastern Christians were for all practical purposes in communion with Rome. But they were however not entirely devoid of a certain latinizing mentality. It was in course of the 17th century that the word 'rite' started being used to indicate the customs of the Eastern Christians.

f) At any rate, such an attitude of some among Latin missionaries met with response from among the Eastern Christians. Even in CP, the Greek Orthodox patriarchs were sometimes Latin-sympathizers, though by 1755 the anti-Latinism there and elsewhere in Greece and the Balkans became more militant, and definitely more negative than before.

However, the influence of those apostolic methods was felt much stronger in the Middle East. We already saw, while mentioning the Maronite, Syrian and Chaldaean Churches, how much their destiny was influenced by that Latin presence. Moreover the Maronite Church turned to be a kind of bridge-head of 'uniatism' in the eastern Mediterranean.

g) As far as the Greck-Melkites were concerned, the Alexandrian and Jerusalem patriarchates remained rather away to any Rome-ward move. But in that of Antioch quite the contrary happened. Already since about 1614 the Latin missionaries were working, once more at Aleppo, not only among the foreign merchants settled there, and the few local Latin Christians, but mostly among the Orthodox of various kinds. In the Labanon also their work was considerable. This is how since

about 1634 one meets with a growing interest for unity among the Greek-Melkite patriarchs of Antioch, who all the same kept close relations with the Ecumenical Patriarch of CP. From about 1697 onwards the movement towards unity among the Melkites was spreading not only in Syria, including Damascus, the actual see of the patriarch, but above all in S. Lebanon, where the Metropolitan of Tyre-Sidon became openly a Catholic.

All this explained why and how it was possible in 1724 to find a pro-Catholic patriarchal candidate elected by a strong group of unionist partisans who were Damascene Orthodox. He was Cyril VI Thanas. He was officially acknowledged by Pope Benedict XIV in February 1744. Aleppo adhered also to this patriarch though the Orthodox competitor, Sylvester backed by CP, within a week's time vied with Cyril. The patriarchate was divided henceforward into a majority that remained Orthodox, and a strong minority which became united with Rome.

The first century of the Catholic Greek-Melkite patriarchate was filled with tensions, both within the community and also with the Orthodox and the Turkish authorities. Even persecution from the latter sometimes took place. But with Patriarch Maximos III Mazlum (1833-55), the Catholics got not only all the official recognition they badly needed, but also assumed their identity more fully. Since Maximos III's time the patriarchal jurisdiction extended also to the whole Middle East, including Iraq and Iran.

h) Sandwiched, so to speak, between the Orthodox, who in course of the 19th and 20th centuries became stronger and better organized on the one hand, and the often unpalatable zeal of Latin religious, particularly of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, on the other hand, the Melkite

Catholics succeeded better than most of the other Eastern Catholics in keeping their Oriental identity. Westernizations have left furrows in their life, especially among their religious congregations, but as far as the heart and mind are concerned, they have remained more deeply Oriental. In no small measure the White Fathers who run for them the St Ann's Seminary in Jerusalem from 1882 until 1967, have been very much responsible for maintaining and developing a true Eastern spirit among the Melkite clergy and therefore its faithful. Like the Maronites, the Melkites have kept both a celibate and a married clergy, the latter being preferably chosen for country-side parishes.

Like other Eastern Catholics the Melkites find difficult to combine fidelity to Catholic principles and perfect adherence to their Eastern tradition. Yet, they have increasingly shown in recent years, what a genuine Eastern Church should be within Catholic unity. At Vatican II Council, their patriarch, Maximos IV (d. 1967), became the forceful and articulate spokes man and advocate of the Eastern traditions at its best. His voice did not remain unheard, and even many Orthodox leaders such as Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople, acknowledged it publicly.

Conclusion

So far we have reviewed the main developments that led the formation of some of the most important Eastern Catholic communities for the last 900 years or so. Such a review could have also included the Copts, the Ethiopians and some other Byzantine Catholics as they exist today. But the history of these smaller groups do not give us any further and deeper insight into the problems arising from the formation of Eastern Catholic Churches. Their history and present situation rather confirm what we have learned elsewhere.

CHAPTER II

Roman Policy and the Eastern Churches

In dealing with the history of some of the main Eastern Catholic communities we already realised in the concrete how far and in which way Rome dealt with the problems affecting the Christian East.

Actually four periods can be distinguished in the relations between the papacy and the Christian East since the 13th century:

1. The *First Period* is made of about two centuries, from the Lateran Council of 1215 until the Council of Florence in 1439
2. The *Second Period* runs from 1439 until the Pontificate of Benedict XIV (1740-1758)
3. The *Third Period* covers about one century and a half, from 1740 to Leo XIII, especially to 1894
4. The *Fourth Period* deals with the last hundred years or so, from 1894 until our own days.

First Period: 1215-1439

It corresponds to the central and last period of the western middle ages, as well as to the beginning of the Renaissance and Humanism in the West.

The date 1215 is chosen, because it corresponds to the Lateran Council IV. The latter by its canon 5 recognizes the traditional order of the patriarchates, with CP ranking second after Rome though it meant then Latin holders of those Sees. By the canon 9 the unity of jurisdiction in a giving territory or diocese, i. e. one bishop only was enforced, whatever be its 'rite'. Owing to the

mentality of the time. it meant that wherever Latin jurisdiction had extended over territories normally covered by already existing Oriental hierarchy, the latter lost their status and got submitted to Latin bishops. Though its provided for the care of such Orientals by mentioning some kind of auxiliary bishops belonging to the Eastern "Nations", it failed often in making good this prescription. (Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Decreta, Freiburg, i. B. 1962, pp. 212. 215). Whatever be the intentions of the council, including of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) who was responsible for it, that canon led, if not to the principle, at least to make the Christian West superior to the Christian East and therefore the Latin rite superior to any other rite.

Coming in the wake of the 1204 conquest of CP by the Latin 'crusaders', and of the crusades as well, those lateran decisions increased the separation between the Latin West and the Christian East, above all the Greek East. As a matter of fact, the popes who followed Innocent III tried sometimes to avert the worst consequences of such a mentality, all in vain. Owing to the overwhelming influence of canon law itself on the popes of the 13th and 14th centuries, they themselves shared often the same conviction.

Second Period: 1439-1758

Thanks to the protracted discussions between Latins and Greeks during the Council of Florence, something like a change for the better took place. It mostly meant that in theory Orientals and Latins were to be treated on equal footing. Yet in those decrees of the Council, addressed to the Armenians, Jacobites etc., the worst type of western onesidedness was repeatedly expressed.

However, the FOUR POINTS of Florence, contained in the solemn document of union between the Greeks and the Latins, remained for centuries the basic conditions for any union of an Eastern community with Rome, i. e. papal primacy, purgatory, procession of the Holy Spirit, equally valid use of leavened or unleavened bread.

Only after the council of Trent ended in 1563, could the popes be again seized by the Problems of the Christian East. They were inspired both by a genuine desire of unity and by a humanistic vision which saw in various Church traditions a great religious and cultural wealth.

In Rome itself from the time of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) onwards a number of Oriental colleges were opened for the Eastern Clergy particularly the Maronite and the Greek. The foundation of the Greek College of St Athanasius was even warmly welcomed by the then patriarch of Constantinople. Owing to the correction of the church calendar, called the Gregorian Calendar, much correspondence exchanged between the Pope and various Eastern prelates.

As we saw already, while reviewing the origin of the Greek-Melkite patriarchate of the Catholics, the popes both prompted and were helped by the work and the 'adaptation' methods of Latin missionaries in the Middle East. Such methods were indeed of the open type, but did not prevent latinization in a more or less subtle way from penetrating the Eastern Catholic communities which were formed during the 17th and 18th centuries. Truly enough ritual hybridization was repeatedly condemned by the popes, though too often in vain. The deep-seated conviction of the superiority of the West could not be really altered by papal decrees. In 1622, all Eastern

Catholic communities were made to depend on the Roman Congregation of Propaganda.

Third Period 1740-1894

a. It begins with the pontificate of Pope Benedict XIV (1740-58). In many ways since 1742 he tried to favour a greater equality between Orientals and Latins, again forbidding ritual hybridisation, fostering the genuine approach to the Christian East, etc. A canonist by training, Benedict XIV was also a humanist and even a historian. While enjoying a fine sense of diplomacy and cultural relations, he was for the time better suited than many others to foster some kind of Christian Orientalism. Hence his pontificate corresponded to a change of attitude at least in some Roman circles. Yet, being inspired more by juridical than by theological views, the measures taken by Benedict XIV fell short of a more positive and sounder approach to the Christian East.

b. Under *Pius IX* (1846-76). A special section of the Congregation of Propaganda was set up for Oriental Catholics in 1862. But Pius IX who was very much convinced of the papal supermacy, could not but regard the Christian East in a way which was both unpsychological and unpalatable to all Eastern Christians, above all to the Orthodox. Twice he tried to extend the hand of friendship to the latter, in a less public way in 1847 and more official way in 1869, but both attempts were utter failures. It was tragic, since there was good will from both sides. In 1869 it was all the more regrettable since then the Orthodox Churches were invited to come and participate in Vatican Council I. Unfortunately the invitation was sent under the form of a general letter addressed to all the Eastern prelates not in communion

with Rome. Either kindly or not, all the Orthodox patriarchs and other such high-ranking prelates, to whom the invitation was brought personally by one of the papal envoys, rejected it. The refusal was due of course to longstanding prejudices. However, it was all the more justified at the eyes of the Orthodox that the invitation was not addressed personally to each prelate and that it happened to have been published in the press before it was communicated to the leader concerned.

c. As regards the Eastern Catholics and the Council the affair of the bull *Reversurus*, we already mentioned, did not help fostering a healthy understanding between the pope and the patriarchs. Even the Chaldean patriarch had to suffer on this account. As the then Melkite patriarch, Gregory Yussef, declared, it was hardly consonant with the repeated assurances of the Roman see about the preservation of the rights and privileges of the patriarch, at least since the time of the Council of Florence.

The Fourth Period: 1894 until today

a. The thought and actions of Pope *Leo XIII* (1878-1903) concerning the relations between the papacy and the Christian East are well-known. They are a landmark, perhaps also a great change-over.

It all began in 1893 with the *International Eucharistic Congress* in Jerusalem. This event gave to the pope the opportunity of making a kind of survey and examination of conscience about the problem of unity with the Christian East. Catholic patriarchs were invited to conferences in Rome. The outcome of those meetings was the encyclical *Orientalium Dignitas* (30 Nov. 1894), which is rightly regarded as the charter of the Eastern Catholics

for many years to come. It was based on the conviction that in final analysis the Oriental Catholics should be the bridge for the reunion of all Eastern Christianity. It logically follows that their traditions, rights and life had to be preserved and developed at all cost.

This major document was not understood everywhere and by all, not even in Rome, in the same way. In the Middle East, especially in Palestine, the proselytism of Latin missionaries, working under the aegis of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, did not cease. This patriarchate was created by Rome to meet a certain pressure coming from Roman milieux inspired by a kind of 'crusading' mentality re-activated by Catholic romanticism and prompted by certain political circles in the West. Already before the establishment of this Latin patriarchate there had been cases of Orthodox becoming Latin under some pretext or other. Such cases occurred time and again after the encyclical, which forbade such crossings of the floor...

There is little doubt however that in the enlightened circles of the West, particularly in France and in Germany, the action of Leo XIII was followed by a renewed interest in the Christian East, marked among other initiatives by the publication of both learned and popular journals.

Under *Pius X* relations with the Christian East stood at a standstill. Rather some latinizing activities are noticeable here and there.

b. With *Benedict XV* (1914-22), in spite of the many difficulties the pope encountered during World War I, Catholic Orientalism re-assumed some momentum. Thus there were set up in Rome in 1917 a special *Congregation*

for the Eastern Churches, definitely separated from Propaganda, and also a Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, which after a lapse of time was entrusted to the Jesuit Order.

The ideas and vision of Leo XIII re-activated by Benedict were again taken up, in a more forceful way, by his successor, *Pius XI* (1922-39), who was both a scholar and a pastor. Many were his initiatives, such as the encyclical *Rerum Orientalium* in 1928, to speed up the knowledge of the Christian East in the West, the launching of an *Oriental Code of Canon-Law* in 1929, the strengthening of the Oriental Congregation with Cardinal Eugene Tisserant at its head in 1935, etc. Meanwhile here and there centres of Oriental ecumenism were opened, like Istina in France, and the Benedictine monastery of Amay (now at Chevetogne) in Belgium. Also the foundation of Oriental branches of various religious orders was encouraged and fostered. Thus the Benedictines, the Redemptorists, the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Assumptionists, etc. formed such a branch, though mostly in the Byzantine tradition. Some of these had already started it before World War I, like the Belgian Redemptorists in the Ukraine and in Canada. Pius XI took also strong measures against the perpetuation and the condoning of ritual hybridization. He tried really to show and prove that real freedom can be combined with unity.

Though Pius XII was less personally committed to the pro-Oriental policy of his immediate predecessor, he maintained it, as can be shown by several encyclicals, the publication of several parts of the Oriental Canon Law, the ever growing output of excellent liturgical editions in the various Oriental traditions, the founding of

the College of St John Damascene for Eastern priests studying in Rome.

c. During the short but eventful pontificate of John XXIII the problem of relations between the papacy and the Christian East came to be seen in a wider perspective, that of modern Ecumenism. Pope John had a personal experience of such a problem when he was papal delegate in Bulgaria and later in Constantinople. During World War II his work of relief for the Greek people put him in contact with one of the most, if not the most, Orthodox, -anti-Latin also - nations in the world. Those experiences had convinced him of the closeness of the Christian traditions, but also of the enormous obstacles on the way to unity.

One of the chief measures taken by the pope was to set up a special *Secretariat for Promoting Unity among Christians*. It has two sections, one to deal with the Orthodox and one with the Protestant world. Ever since its foundation, this secretariat has done an extraordinary and ever growing work of contacts, mutual visits, official and unofficial meetings, etc. They all went a long way to remove prejudices and foster unity between Catholics and other Christians. Never in recent history Orthodox and Catholics have come so close together as now. As far as the existing Oriental Catholics are concerned, Pope John pursued rather the policy of Pius XI, though Tisserant was removed, - a strange measure indeed - from the Oriental Congregation, and was replaced for a while by a Greek-Melkite, Cardinal Coussa. Pope John performed personally the episcopal ordination of the cardinal in the Byzantine liturgy. The gesture was meant as a sign of deep commitment for the Eastern cause, yet it rather raised the eye-brows of

the Orthodox who did not appreciate it as much as the pope wanted it.

Obviously both from the ecumenical viewpoint at large and from the stand-point of Eastern Christianity the great achievement of Pope John XXIII was the preparation and launching of Vatican II Council. In the first place, no such mistake was done as regards the Orthodox world as in 1869 by Pius IX; in the second place, contacts started and kept up with the utmost tactfulness happily developed between Rome and the great and small Orthodox Churches, including Constantinople and Moscow; in the third place, such contacts brought about the coming of observers to the council, including Orthodox representatives.

d. Under Paul VI, the council went on more vigorously than ever, and it published a Decree on the Eastern Churches, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (21 Nov. 1964). Though it must be regarded as a complement to the Decree on Ecumenism, its preparation and formulation were not easy, to say the least. Genuine Oriental members of the council even questioned the need for such a document, since it looked as if the Catholic Church, as an overwhelming Latin body, took a condescending look at its Eastern-rite members. Moreover, well-known ecumenists objected to such a Decree on the ground that Orthodox would see in it the perpetuation of Uniatism, i. e., the stamp given to proselytism among them. At any rate it came through with a text where much is positive and finally conducive to progress among Oriental Catholics at large.

Ever since Vatican II, especially from the time of its Second Session, thanks above all to the untiring work

of the Secretariat of Unity, relations between Rome and the Orthodox Churches have improved to an extent which was quite unthinkable as late as the 50's. It is not only a question of mutual visits, such as those of Paul VI to Jerusalem and to Istanbul, and those of various Orthodox Patriarchs to Rome, starting with the momentous visit of the late Athenagoras I, patriarch of Constantinople, and proceeding further with those of the Armenian patriarch, the Syrian Orthodox patriarch and the Coptic patriarch, together with frequent visits of and contacts with representatives of the patriarchates of Constantinople, Moscow, Alexandria (Coptic), etc. Also repeated visits to Orthodox centres by representatives of the Secretariat of Unity, organized sessions of dialogue (three times in Moscow already), etc., did permit a good deal of interchanges between Catholic and Orthodox leaders. Nor should we forget the psychological impact of the rescinding of the excommunications of 1054 at the end of the last session of Vatican II, which was held simultaneously in Rome and in Istanbul.

Truly enough we are still far from concerted moves that could open the way to intercommunion. Yet in Russia such intercommunion is allowed now by the Orthodox Church to Catholic people who find themselves in need of sacramental life, otherwise denied to them. Certain Orthodox Churches, such as that of Romania and Greece, did find difficult to overcome the fear of Uniatism and enter into a full-fledged dialogue with Rome, until recently.

Let us not forget that on the occasion of several Orthodox conferences gathered to prepare the future Pan-Orthodox Synod, official Catholic observers were present, and often, unofficially and behind the scene, could help improving relationship between the two Churches.

As far as Oriental Catholic Churches are concerned, two main things are on record: first, the active presence of the Eastern members at Vatican II was quite felt, and well accepted; second, the conciliar Decree on the Eastern Churches has already done some good. For instance, the patriarchal status has been liberalized. Now the newly elected patriarch has only to seek letters of communion from the pope, and no more confirmation of his election. Meanwhile, Rome has multiplied a little everywhere, particularly in both the Americas and in Australia, special dioceses for Oriental faithful, the latest being the Maronite diocese of Canada.

Whatever progress the relations between East and West in the Church Universal have registered since about 1960, much still remains to be done, particularly in the domaine of ecclesiology and also of practical collaboration. As Patriarch Athenagoras often confided to his friends and well-wishers, the Orthodox would likely accept to be in unity with the Latin West according to the pattern of relations that prevailed in the whole Church, East and West, until about A. D. 900. This would mean to scrap off many medieval – admittedly one-sided – developments of the Catholic Church. Thus unity in diversity would be the outcome of reconciliation.

Nevertheless the ‘ecumenical’ problem arising from the existence of Catholic Oriental Churches, which is rightly or wrongly resented by the Orthodox, cannot be dismissed overnight. There are actually signs in some Orthodox Churches, e.g. in Russia, of better understanding of the Oriental Catholics on account of the spread of new ideas about religious liberty, etc. Yet, as we shall see now, Catholic Oriental Churches are only temporary communities, because they will have to be reintegrated into a much broader Christian East united with, but not dominated by, Rome.

CHAPTER III

'Uniatism' and the Ecumenical Significance of the Catholic Eastern Churches

To any sincere member of a Catholic Eastern community and in the eye of genuine ecumenism the position of the Eastern Churches united with Rome appears paradoxical, if not odd. This realization is not new, but with the recent tempo of ecumenical relations, it has become and is becoming deeper and more vocal.

Hence the need to analyse that puzzling phenomenon called *Uniatism*, a term frequently used to characterize the almost contradictory situation in which the Eastern Catholics find themselves, and also to discover which could perhaps be the actual meaning of such Churches within the ecumenical situation of today and tomorrow.

1. Background

Christian unity supposes and is based on diversity. It demands from both leaders and ordinary members in the Church a sense of detachment and a kind of ascetical attitude, which impel the Christians to accept honestly that each Christian tradition does not represent the whole. Mutual complementarity provides the necessary ecumenical outlook. Only a genuine and enlightened love for Christ and his Church can finally overcome any possible tension. It leads to a love based on mutual knowledge and esteem.

Within an authentic theological and historical perspective, the permanent existence of both a Western and an Eastern Christianity is to be accepted. In the parallel

developments of the East and the West within the Church Universal, there was originally no difference of religion, but only there were two different types of Christianity with a good deal of different emphases. Only a certain paternalistic and unopened attitude from the western side mostly increased in course of centuries the sentiment of being divided. How can truth liberate, if it is still truth, when it actually enslaves?

Moreover on both sides spontaneous, almost ingrained, reactions have been formed, not always at the right time and in the right way, so much so that it has become difficult to get rid of them. The West feels superior, even after the end of any form of dominance. The East feels superior in spite of changed situations and new openings.

As such reactions developed, they have become more sensitive and more psychological than theological. Indeed one of the redeeming factors of today's internationalisation is to render religions less depending on historical circumstances, less bound to some regions also. Eastern Christianity is no more confined to the "East". Relations with the West are more direct, and even geographically much closer than ever before.

Since approximately the 8th-9th century the papacy has tended to become increasingly westernized, losing therefore in the eye of the East its chief credentials, i. e. to be the universal arbiter in Christianity. In medieval times the impact of juridicism and scholastic theology led the papacy to emphasize its monarchical character. But Vatican II has brought about many changes. Since 1965 they have already born much fruit, but how slowly, and how painfully...

2. Eastern Catholicism: A Problem

What is this problem? Seen in the background just described, it is made of tension between two authenticities, the Catholic and the Oriental. The tension exists and develops because 'Catholic' means in practice the fairly modern 'Roman system', and because 'Oriental' belongs to a world which has never known that system. In the abstract it is possible to live in such a tension, but actually, in history until today, it has never been very successful, except perhaps in some rare cases, and even that...

As Fr. Joseph Hajjar, a well-known Greek-Melkite Catholic writer, says in his book *Uniat Christians of the Near East* (*Les Chrétiens Uniates du Proche Orient*, Paris, 1962, pp. 343 ff): 'Uniatism results from a rupture from Orthodoxy and endures thanks to Roman fidelity. It was strengthened and renewed through a permanent realisation of a separation, through self-defense and through rigid preservation. Today the former fear of Orthodox promiscuity seems to make place to a reaction against a latent but subtle latinization. Between those two "supposed threats" Uniatism is looking for an autonomous status which would enhance it to the level of the great denominations which claim to belong to an authentic form of Christianity. Aware as it is of its condition as intermediary and as a natural bridge between two ecclesial worlds which share its basic fidelity, Uniatism defends both their own values while trying to find therein an ideal and an incarnation at the same time...'. He adds further (p. 349): "Thus the Uniats are called according to best Orthodox ecumenists, if not to themselves, to disappear definitely as established bodies, for the welfare of a reconciled Orthodoxy, which they did

not succeed, it is clear, to draw in their wake after three centuries of Uniatism. The Uniat experience seems today to end in a failure, at least in case of such Churches, the Orthodox branch of which has not been decimated by historical vicissitudes: massacres, persecutions or social strangling, such as undergone by the Nestorians, the Jacobites and the Armenians. Only the Maronite Church is an exception... Faced with those Orthodox Churches which have remained quite strong, if not stronger now, the Uniats seem to be stopped short in their "unionistic" expansion, which in the past often depended on rather human conflicts or local interests. However without such an ecclesial blossoming the Uniats cannot really hope to truly survive..."

To speak frankly, past experiences and today's situation do hardly guarantee that Eastern Catholics represent, as far as unity in diversity is concerned, a working proposition in the much enlarged and dynamic ecumenical situation. There may be some exceptions however. On the one hand, the best among the Orthodox remain adverse, to say the least, to the Uniat experience. On the other hand, still in many places, e.g. in India, the non-Eastern Christians, including Latin Catholics, either ignore the Eastern Catholics or regard them as oddities.

Moreover the long tradition of western superiority still plays havoc on the relationship between Eastern Christianity and the Latin World, particularly inside the Catholic Church herself. The old paternalistic attitude of the West towards the East still lingers as a remnant of the former pretension of judging everything eastern according to western standards, and also of submitting one way or another the Eastern Christians to western dominance.

It is to be granted however that the Christian East, which rarely wanted to submit the West to its ethos (there are here and there some cases of such an attitude), kept by reaction a kind of aloofness. The latter tends today to fade away. The East also judges everything Christian according to eastern standards. This has been particularly the case for the last 200 hundred years or so of the Byzantine Orthodox, above all the Greeks.

Yet, as far as Eastern Catholics are concerned, their origins and their double fidelity—Oriental and Roman—have brought about both a mentality and a status, which is called *Uniatism*.

3. Uniatism

The word comes from *Unia*, a Polish word adapted from the Latin *Unio*, and which was borrowed by the Russians. It is used by the Russians. It is used by the Orthodox to indicate those Orthodox who have accepted union with Rome. From the start it carries a pejorative meaning, pointing out to an inferior status, and to the latinizing attitude of those '*Uniate*s'. *Unia* means that those Orthodox became Catholic under unwarranted pressure aiming at absorption. It also insists on the fact that those Eastern Catholics are only a minority among the Orthodox.

Seen as a mentality developed along the years among Eastern Catholics, *Uniatism* can be described as a tendency towards complacency and easy-goingness in all matters pertaining to the question of unity between Orthodox and the Catholic Church, a kind of wisdom and prudence, if not opportunism, and a lack of a clear vision of all the problems involved.

Again, as a mentality, it can be described as the *latinized* outlook generally prevailing among most Eastern Catholics. It is a socio-psychological behaviour which by confusing Rome and the Roman System tends to create an inferiority complex towards Oriental ways of life so as to become constantly attracted by Latin ways, often of the secondary, if not debased, type.

Consciously or not, it carries in itself vague ideas such as: things western or Latin stand for civilisation and progress, they enjoy greater influence and prestige, if not better material welfare, they are more wholesome and satisfactory, if not more practical and convenient.

Uniatism includes also the desire, due to various causes which are not always merely religious, of looking different from the Orthodox. If this desire were to be complemented by a genuine return to the Eastern sources, then it could perhaps bring about a genuine Oriental outlook. In most cases however it results in more latinization.

It must be admitted that originally at least Uniatism was caused by outside influences, especially by western education, leading to a growing separation between theology and spirituality, between catechetics and liturgy. At best the Eastern ritual, if kept genuinely Oriental, loses gradually its meaning, and becomes a kind of folkloric play. Also, the 'rite' (a typical western way of speaking) becomes hybridized, neither fish nor flesh. The basic outlook of the Christian East is given up, western devotions, often not of the best type, are adopted, such a 'Low Mass', unleavened bread, kneeling, statues, exaggerated cult of the Blessed Sacrament, novenas, other 'pious exercises', etc. Oriental fine arts

are replaced by the worst copies of western models. Often Catholic oriental clergy are also keen on assuming the trappings of western dignities, monsignori and the like, with plenty of red, purple, etc. Juridicism of the most rigid type is also a well-known feature of *Uniatism*.

Thus the *Uniate*s, i. e., the Oriental Catholics, got more or less westernized, a process that has deeply affected and often altered—in not a few cases completely overthrown — their theological, spiritual, liturgical, cultural, even administrative characteristics. At least since the time of Pope Leo XIII Rome has tried to reverse the process of latinisation, not always in vain, though rarely with complete success. Often the United Catholics kept their ‘rite’ for the sake of a kind of exemption responding to a search for identity, while receiving however nothing else but Latin ideas and practices. In some important instances the *Uniate*s felt obliged to give guarantee that they were “good Catholics”, i. e., sufficiently assimilated to Latin ways. They were in some cases almost morally obliged to do so in order to become acceptable to either an already existing Latinized majority of Oriental Catholics, or to the Latins themselves.

Hence, the majority of Oriental Catholics continued to live more or less faithfully, within an hybridism framework. Some of them however keep a vague, sometimes, unarticulate, sentiment that not all is well with them, a kind of half-conscious uneasiness. Others, either better informed or more inquisitive, ask themselves what do they stand for within ‘Uniatism’. Should they return to full-fledged Orientalism, perhaps even to an enlarged Orthodoxy, which after all is “their historical truth”? Actually it well-known that some Catholic patriarchs have stated that they would resign in case the Orthodox

were to enter into communion with the Catholic Church...

Often such an "Oriental" awareness among Oriental Catholics finds favourable echoes in their own Church, but meets with blind hostility from the "Latinizers". It happens that the worst anti-Oriental are the latinized Orientals themselves, particularly those who have "changed their rite" "Orientalizers" receive friendly acceptance among western ecumenists. They are even appreciated by the best Orthodox, who remain all the same rather puzzled and surprised.

Though Orthodox views, always or nearly always negative on Uniatism, are no absolute standards, yet they provide sometimes the right criterion of value. In the Orthodox eyes those Oriental Catholics are in a false position. Orthodox circles resent the very existence of Oriental Catholicism as it were a kind of betrayal by and of 'prison' for former Orthodox. It must be acknowledged however that the best among the Uniats have helped towards a broadening of the Latin outlook and therefore towards a better understanding of the Christian East by the West. This is even recognized by some Orthodox thinkers today.

Alas!, this is not always the case. Many a Catholic Eastern community, especially those Christians belonging to rather closed Churches, felt the need, rightly or wrongly, to become more open and more universal as well. It actually meant *latinization*. It is to be noted that Latinized communities are among the worst placed for practising today's ecumenism. Even within the Catholic Church itself, they feel much more at ease with Latin Christians, than with other Eastern Christians, their own brothers and sisters, belonging to another

tradition. Such attitude is proved by the fact that many Catholic Oriental priests and laymen who go abroad, e. g. to the USA, for 'higher studies' or, more prosaically, for a job, do ignore almost completely the Eastern Catholics they could easily meet in the new country where they have to stay for some time.

Many would think today, especially among ecumenical-minded Christians and Catholics, that Uniatism as an effort to create Oriental Catholic communities is a spent force. Either the Uniats should cross the floor and become wholly Latin, or ... perhaps Orthodox. Apparently such a radical approach would have the superior advantage of suppressing a situation which is unclear. But, actually, like many such radical solutions, it is no solution at all. The real one lies in their returning to the sources, in their keeping faithful, painfully but sincerely, to their dual allegiance, and in realising that one's own future consists in restoring and keeping the authenticity of Orientalism within the Catholic fold.

Obviously this is not the easiest solution. In many ways the fact of being an Eastern Catholic makes life difficult. It is a crucible, and only the cross can save. Why? Because it is not easy to reconcile two different experiences, all the more so that Eastern Christianity has a view of God, of man, of the Church, of dogma, of Scriptures, of traditions, of Spirituality, which frequently seems very close to Catholicism in its expressions, but which is experienced in an utterly different manner (Attwater, *Christian Churches of the East*, Vol. II, p. 282).

4. Ecumenical Significance

Truly enough the original expressions *Unia*, *Uniat*, *Uniatism*, do not apply to every Oriental Catholic. Yet,

nearly all of them still labour under the 'Uniat Complex', often on account of the dubious origins of that particular 'reunion movement' which brought about their existence.

Yet, today, within the present Catholic Church, still overwhelmingly Latin and even western in mentality, at any rate overwhelmingly Roman, those Eastern Catholics in spite of their weakness witness to the universality of the Church. In some cases they even challenge the exclusive Roman type of administrative and missionary system.

They also help to keep in the Catholic Church the basis of a pluralism, a pluralism that was revived by Vatican II. This means also that the Catholic Oriental Churches with their pluralistic character oblige the Church to open herself to new dimensions, to practise ecumenism at home before preaching it abroad.

Only very few Eastern Catholics can be said to be helpful towards the Orthodox. Do they really, as some pretend, stand as the example of what would be the status and relationship of the Orthodox Churches within the communion of the Catholic Church? One can doubt it very much. On the contrary, in most cases, the very situation of the Eastern Catholics obliges the Orthodox to realise that they could not feel very much at home within the Roman system. For the Orthodox regards spiritual values as the ultimate criteria of authority and unity in the Church. Some of the structures of the Roman system and the latinism of the Eastern Catholics are not very attractive to the Orthodox, to say the least.

Hence, to be realistic, many Eastern Catholics, instead of acting as a bridge, actually rather delay the

ecumenical rapprochement with the Orthodox. Truly enough the Orthodox are not always inspired by mere religious motives, and nationalism if not communalism can also influence them. However the Orthodox are not always wrong. Moreover history proves it in no small measure that the way Eastern Churches which are Catholic developed often negated their very character. Except the Chaldaean patriarchate which today gathers the majority of the former so-called Nestorians, and some Byzantine communities, there is not a single 'reunion movement' which for the last 600 years succeeded in gathering the majority or the whole Orthodox community. The Syro-Malabar and the Maronite Churches are not mentioned here because they form special cases, though labouring also under an uniatic complex.

Be as it may, the Eastern Catholics, if they sincerely want to be what they are, have not only rights, of which they speak constantly, but also duties which can be spelled out as follows:

- a) To remain Catholic and Oriental altogether, this the crux of their status, if they want to fulfil the vocation given them by God;
- b) To stand as proving genuine pluralistic Catholicism confronted with the Latin majority, so that true Catholicity may at last develop on sure grounds;
- c) To accept in all sincerity to take such measures as seem absolutely needed to fulfil a) and b):
 - i. To conform spiritually and theologically to Christ's mystery of death and resurrection, which they have to take into their life-stream with Christian renunciation;
 - ii. To make a conscious and systematic return to the most authentic sources of their Oriental character;

iii. To re-acquire that Eastern sensitiveness, without which there is no genuine Christian East;

iv. To train themselves, clergy and laity, alike in order to recover their ecclesial identity, with its full impact on ecumenical relations and missionary expansion;

v. To eschew proselytism among the Orthodox, though without losing that acute awareness that schism and division are sinful.

Bibliography

Oriente Cattolico, Rome, 1974

On the Vatican II Decree on the Eastern Churches:

HOECK J. M. 'Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches' in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. I, pp. 397-33

POSHPISHIL V. J., *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, The Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches of the Second Council of Vatican, New York, 1965

Other topics:

SCHNEIGEL J., 'Papal Documents on Eastern Churches 1848-1931,' *Periodica*...28 (1939) pp. 209-33.

ZANANIRI G., *Pape et Patriarches*, Paris, 1961

KERAME O., *Notre Vocation and notre Ame de Chretiens d'Orient*, Cairo, 1953

" 'Unionisme, Uniatisme et Arabisme Chretien' *Bulletin d'Orientations Ecumeniques* (Beirut 1957), 74 pp.

MADEY J. and ERAKALS T., Ed., *The Future of the Oriental Catholic Churches*, Tiruvalla, 1979

ZOGNEY E., *Uniatism and Oecumenism*, Cairo, 1963

MAXIMOS IV Sayegh, *The Eastern Churches and Catholic Unity*, New York, 1963.

KOROLEVSKY, C., *Notes on Uniatism* (typed.).

INDEX

- Abassids, 54
 Abdallah II Saddat, 68
 Abdallah Ibn At-Tayib, 62
 Abdelmassih Al-Kindi, 62
 Abdel-Massih II, 68
 Abdisho Bar-Berika, 61, 62
 Abraham of Kashkar, 59
 Abraham of Nepthar, 59
 Acacius, patr. of
 Constantinople, 42, 82
 Act of Union, 37
 Adana, 67
 Addai, Mar, 56
 Africa, 45, 77
 Agapetus, pope of
 Rome, 48
 Agatho, pope of Rome, 48
 Akidjian, Andrew, Syrian
 patr. of Antioch, 66-7
 Albania, 89
 Aleppo (N. Syria), 66-9,
 122, 129-30, 131
 Alexandria, city, church of,
 patriarchate of, 40, 41,
 43, 47, 48, 52, 80, 128,
 142; school of, 32-5, 46
 Amay, monastery of, 139
 America, 69, 125-6, 143
 Amid (= Diarbekir), 57, 65
 Analogy, 18
 Anamnesis, 12
 Anastasios, patr. of
 Antioch, 47
Anathemata, XII, 36
 Ann's Seminary,
 St, Jerusalem, 132
 Anglican, 54, 129
 Anti-Chalcedonian, 42-6,
 71-2, 73
 Antioch, city, church,
 patriarchate of, 1, 25,
 42, 64, 65, 66, 67, 79, 80,
 83, 85, 112, 128-32;
 school of, 32, 33-55,
 41, 47, 51-2, 53
 Apamea of Syria, 72
 Apocrisarius, 82
 Apollinaris of Laodicaea,
 33, 35
 Apostles, apostolicity,
 apostolic origins, 9,
 21-3, 80
 Arab, Arabs, 47, 49, 51, 52-4,
 71-2, 80, 85, 88
 Arabic, 60-1, 70, 74
 Araxes, 89
 Archetype, 18
 Argentina, 77

- Arian, 35, 85
 Armenia, Armenians, 42, 47,
 78, 96, 113, 115, 142, 147
 Armenian Catholics, 122-3
 Asia, 63, 105
 Assemanis, 75
 Assumed Man, 32
 Assumptionists, 139
 Assyrians, 51, 55-7, 58
 Athanasius, St, 22, 27, 33
 Athanasios the Athonite,
 St, 105
 Athenagoras, patr. of
 Constantinople, 29,
 132, 142, 143
 Athos, Mount, 105
 Australia, 77, 142
 Austria, 125
 Azerbaijan, 54, 58

 Babai the Great, 60, 62
 Baghdad, 54, 55, 61
 Balkans, 78, 90-1, 97ff.,
 128, 130
 Baradai, *see* Jacob
 Bardas, 95
 Bar-Hebraya, 71-2
 Bar-Mama, Shem'un,
 catholicos of the East, 57
 Bar-Sauma monastery,
 65, 70
 Barsuma, Bishop, 52-3
 Basil the Great, St, 27
 Basil II, Byzantine
 emperor, 89, 91-2,
 94-6, 105
 Basiliskos, 42
 Batishu, 61
 Behnam, monastery of
 Mar, 68
 Beirut, 68, 122
 Berat, 55
 Benedict VIII, pope of
 Rome, 108
 Benedict XIV, pope of
 Rome, 75, 131,
 133, 136
 Benedict XV, pope of,
 Rome, 138-9
 Benedictines, 139
 Beni-Tarnukh, 7-2
 Belisarius, 45
 Bessarion, patr. of
 Constantinople, cardi-
 nal, 115
 Biritual, 89
 B'Kerke, 76
 Black Sea, 90
 Bohemia, 130
 Boniface VIII, pope of
 Rome 109
 Boris I of Bulgaria,
 91, 103
 Brazil, 77
 Brest, synod of, 125
 British, 65

- Bulgaria, Bulgarians, 89,
 99ff, 103-4, 105, 112,
 113, 128, 140
 Burdono, *see* Jacob
 Byzantium, 9, 25, 26, 107ff
 Byzantine, 9, 52, 53, 72, 78,
 79-80, 82, 85, 89, 90ff,
 104, 105-6, 124ff, 139, 148
 Bzommar, 122

 Cairo, 70
 Calabria, 88-9
 California, 56
 Caliphs, caliphate, 51, 54
 Calvinist, 126
 Canada, 139, 143
 Canon Law, Oriental, 189
 Cappadocian Fathers, 27
 Capucins, 57, 67, 121,
 129, 139
 Carmelites, 67, 129
 Catholic, 23, 68, 72, 78, 82,
 121ff, 142, 154
 Catholicos, 52, 53, 54ff,
 122
 Celestine, pope of Rome,
 St, 35
 Chalcedon, council of, faith
 of, 35, 38, 40-1, 42-4,
 41-50, 52, 73, 79-80,
 81, 82, 122, 128
 Chaldaeans, 51, 57, 130,
 137, 154
 Charlemagne, 86, 87, 106
 Charles III, Germanic
 emperor, 103
 Chevetogne, manastery of
 139
 Chicago, 56, 58
 China, 63
 Chosroes I, Sassanian
 emperor, 53
 Christ, 12, 13-4, 16, 18, 22,
 23, 24, 25, 28, 33, 34-5,
 38, 41, 44, 48, 49, 83
 Christology, 32ff, 49, 79
 Church, 9, 10, 11, 14-5, 16
 17-8, 20, 22ff, 29-30,
 41-2
 Church of the East, 50ff
 Clement, pope of
 Rome, St, 100
 Clement of Ochrida, St, 103
 Cluny, 109
 Communion, 15, 17-8,
 23-4, 81-2
 Constans II, Byzantine
 emperor, 48
 Constantine II, Byzantine
 emperor, 83
 Constantine IV, Byzantine
 emperor, 83
 Constantine V, Byzantine
 emperor, 86
 Constantine IX, Byzantine
 emperor, 112
 Constantine I, pope of
 Rome, 85

- Constantinople, 9, 26, 29,
 33, 35, 38, 40, 42, 43,
 44-5, 48, 78, 83, 85, 90ff,
 102, 103-4, 107ff, 116,
 122, 124, 140, 141; II
 council of, 46-7, 83; III
 council of, 48-9, 83;
 Quini-Sext council of,
 or In-Trullo, 83, 84;
 synods of, 93-5
 Copts, 115, 132, 142
 Councils, 24, 81
 Coussa, Cardinal A., 140
 Covenant, new, 14
 Cosmic, 13, 26-7
 Creation, 12
 Crete, 89
 Crimaea, 83, 89
 Crusades, crusaders 66, 74,
 113-4, 134
 Cyprian, St, 22, 25
 Cyprus, 36, 37, 54, 75, 77, 79, 89
 Cyril of Alexandria, St, 33,
 36, 38, 41, 49
 Cyril Lukaris, patr. of
 Constantinople, 128
 Cyril VI Thanas, patr. of
 Antioch 131
 Cyril and Methodius, SS,
 97-104
 Cyrillic script, 104
 Czechoslovakia, 98
 Dadisho, 59
 Dalmatia, Dalmatian, 89, 98
 Damascus, 65, 68, 71, 131
 Danube, 89, 98ff
 Darmo, Mar Thoma, 56
 Deification, 14, 19
 Deir-Mar-Gabriel, 70
 Deir-Mar-Mattai, 70
 Deir-es-Suriani, 69-70
 Deir-Zaffaran monastery,
 65, 66, 70
 Diarbekir, 57, 65, 66
 Didymus the Blind, 33
 Diodorus of Tarsus, 33, 37-8
 Dionysius Bar-Slibi, 71
 Dioscorus, patr. of
 Alexandria, 38, 39
 Diphysitism, dyophysitism
 32, 38-9
 Djarweh, Michael, Syrian
 patr. of Antioch, 67
 Dominicans, 57-8
 Domnur, patr. of Antioch,
 38, 39
Doxa, 19
 Drava, 89
 Dvornik, Fr., 90ff
 Diptychs, 82, 168
 Eastern Churches, Congre-
 gation for, the 138-9, 140
 Economy, salvific, 11, 17
 Ecumenical, patriarch,
 pope, 83, 108, 144-55
 Ecumenism, 32, 89, 96, 141-3
 Edessa, 45, 65; school of,
 51-2, 62, 66
 Egypt, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48,
 59, 69, 77, 78
 Egyptian, 38, 49, 69
Ekkthesis, 48
 Elias, Catholicos of the
 East, 57-8
 Elias XIII, catholicos of
 the East, 58
 Elias al-Gauhari, 62
 Elias Bar-Shinaya, 62
 Energy, energies, 28, 29
 England, 56

- Ephesus, council of, 35,
 36,52; II council of 39
 Ephrem, St, 20,51,59,62,75
 Epirus, 98
 Eschatology 18-9, 28-9
 Etchmiazdin, 122
 Ethiopia, 41, 78, 115, 132
 Eucharist, 11, 14, 18-9, 23,
 24, 25, 29, 149
 Euphrates, 65, 70
 Eustathios, patr. of Con-
 stantinople, 108
 Eutyches, 38-9, 40
 Euthymius, St, 42
 Excommunications of
 1054, 110-2
 Exegesis, 34

 Faith, 28, 44
 Fathers, 21, 27
 Federalism, 25
 Feudalism, 106
Filioque, 93-4, 95, 96, 102,
 108, 110, 112, 115
 Flavian, St, patr. of
 Constantinople, 38-9
 Florence, council of, 66,
 114-6,124,133,134-5
 France, 58,69,77,106,108,
 138,139
 Franciscans, 74
 Frankfurt, council of 77
 Franks, Frankish, 86, 91,
 98, 101-4, 109
 French, 67, 129-30

 Gabriel Ibn-al-Qila'i,
 OFM, 74
 Genesis, 13,
 George of the Arabs, 71
 George of Arbela, 61

 George IV, Ignatius, Syrian
 patr. of Antioch, 67
 Georgia, 43, 122
 Germanic empire, 106
 Germany, 138
 Ghassanids, 71
 Glagolithic, script, 99
 Greece, 26, 78, 81, 88, 97-8,
 105, 130, 142
 Greek, 9,20,25,34,35,36,37,
 52,72,75,86,87,88,103-4,
 106,109,113-5,127,140;
 college of St Athana-
 sius, 135
 Greek-Catholics, 50, 64,
 88, 131
 Greek-Melkites, *see* Melkites
 Greek-Orthodox, 25, 50,
 64, 72, 115, 148
 Gregorian calendar, 135
 Gregorian Reform, 108
 Gregory I the Great, pope
 of Rome, 83
 Gregory XIII, pope of
 Rome, 66, 74
 Gregory the Illuminator,
 St, 122
 Gregory of Kiev, 124
 Gregory of Nazianzus, St, 27
 Gregory of Nyssa, St, 27
 Gregory Youssef, Greek-
 Melkite patr. of
 Antioch, 137

 Hadrian I, pope of Rome,
 84, 87
 Hadrian II, pope of Rome,
 94, 100, 101, 114
 'Heaven on Earth', 18
 Hegira, 72

- Henana of Adiabene, 60, 62
Henotikon, 42
 Henry II, emperor of Germany, 108
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 47, 78
 Homs, 65
 Honorius I, pope of Rome, 48, 49, 83
 Hope, 28
 Hormisdas, pope of Rome, 44
 Humanism, 27
 Humbert of Silva Candida, cardinal, 110-2
 Hunain Ibn-Isaiq, 61
 Hungary, 101, 126, 7

 Ibas of Edessa, 46
 Ibn Butlan, 62
 Iconoclasm, Iconoclastic, 35, 79, 86-7, 88, 90, 92
 Ignatius, patr. of Constantinople, 90, 92
 Ignatius Peter, Syrian patr. of Antioch, 67
 Illyricum, 81, 88, 98
 India, 54, 56, 64, 68
 Innocent III, pope of Rome, 114, 134
 International Eucharistic Congress, Jerusalem, 137
 Irak, 53, 54, 55, 68, 69, 131
 Iran, 53, 54, 55, 58, 131
 Irenaeus, St, 22, 27
 Irene, Byzantine empress, 87
 Isaac of Niniveh, 60-1, 63
 Ishaq Ibn-Hunain, 62
 Islam, 83-5
 Islamisation, 53, 72
 Isho'denah of Merw, 61
 Isho'yahb III, catholicos of the East, 60
 Istanbul, 26, 122, 142 *see* Constantinople
 Istina centre, 139
 Italy, 74, 84, 85-6, 87, 88, 89, 105, 106, 108, 109, 112

 Jacob Baradai (Burdono), 45, 65
 Jacobite, 45, 53, 66-7, 74, 113, 115, 147
 James of Edessa, 7
 Jerusalem, 40, 42, 45, 48, 79, 80, 83, 128, 132, 137, 138 142
 Jesuits, 67, 74, 75, 121, 129-30, 139
 Jews, 99
 John, patr. of Antioch, 36, 38
 John Bar-Penkaya, 57
 John IV, patr. of Constantinople, 83
 John Chrysostom, St, 33, 72, 79
 John de Dalayata, 61
 John Damascene, St, 87; college of, 139-40
 John of Ephesus, 46
 John of Hephaitos, 46
 John Hormes, 58
 John I, pope of Rome, 85
 John VIII, pope of Rome, 84, 92, 101, 102, 104
 John XII, pope of Rome, 108-9
 John XIX, pope of Rome, 107

- John XXIII pope of Rome, 140-1
 John of Tella, 43
 Joseph, patr. of Constantinople, 115
 Joseph, patr. of Diarbekir, 57
 Joseph IV, patr. of Diarbekir, 57
 Joseph Hazzaya, 61
 Judaism, 99
 Justin I, Byzantine emperor, 44, 85
 Justinian I, Byzantine emperor, 44-7, 80, 83, 85
 Justinian II, Byzantine emperor, 84

 Khabur, 55
 Khazars, 99
 Khomiakoff, A. S., 24
 Kiev, 124
 Kocel, prince of Pannonia, 101
 Kochanis, 57
 Kurdistan Kurds, 54, 55, 57, 69

 Lateran, IV, council, 133-4
 Latin, 12, 34, 44, 88, 98, 102, 104, 105, 110, 111-2, 113-6, 124, 127, 138, 141, 147, 152
 Latin missionaries, 57, 66-7, 74, 91, 98ff, 125, 129-30, 138
 Latinisations, 74-5, 121, 122, 135, 151-2
 Lebanon, 58, 67, 69, 71, 72-7, 122, 128, 131

 Legates, papal, 81
 Leo I the Great, St, pope of Rome, 39-40, 42, 79, 83
 Leo III, pope of Rome, 86
 Leo IX, St, pope of Rome, 111
 Leo XIII, pope of Rome, 137-8, 150
 Leo III, Byzantine emperor, 86
 Leo V, Byzantine emperor, 86
 Leo VI, Byzantine emperor, 92, 96, 107
 Liberty, 29, 30, 143
 Libya, 78
 Life, Christian, 9, 10, 14
 Liturgy, 10ff, 17,
 Logos-Flesh, 32, 34
 Lombards, 85-6
 Louis II, Germanic emperor, 94
 Lutherans, 129
 Lviv, 125
 Lyons, council of, 114

 Macedonia, 103, 105
 Macedonian dynasty, 89
 Mahoze d'Arewan, 62
 Malataya *see* Melitene
 Mamas, monastery of St, 105
 Mamluk, 74
 Maphrian, 40, 57
 Mardin, 65, 66, 67, 69
 Mari Ibn-Suleiman, 62
 Mark, metropolitan of Ephesus, 115
 Maro, Mar, 82; monastery of, 72-3

- Maronite, 50,66,72,113,121,
 122,130,143,147,154;
 patriarchate, 72-7,120:
 college, 74,135
 Martin I, St, pope of
 Rome, 83-4, 85
 Martyrios (Sahdona), 62
 Maximos I, patr. of
 Antioch, 83
 Maximos III Mazloum, patr.
 of Antioch, 131
 Maximos IV, patr. of
 Antioch, 132
 Mazdeism, 51
 Medyat, 70
 Mekhitar, Mekhitarists, 122
 Meletius of Antioch, St, 33
 Melitene, 65, 70
 Melkite, 79,87,94,110,113,
 128-32,140
 Memorial, 12, 14
 Mesopotamia, 54, 71
 Methodius, patr. of
 Constantinople, 92
 Mexico, 77
 Michael I, Byzantine
 emperor, 92
 Michael II, Byzantine
 emperor, 86
 Michael III, Byzantine
 emperor, 91-2, 93
 Michael Cerularius, patr. of
 Constantinople, 111-2
 Michael the Great, Syrian
 patr. of Antioch, 66
 Middle Ages, 12
 Middle East, 54,78,130,131
 Millet, 55,
 Monasticism, East-Syrian,
 59, 60
 Monasticism, West-Syrian,
 69-70, 72-3, 76
 Mongols, 53, 54
 Monoenergism, 48, 49
 Monophysitism, mono-
 physite, 38-40, 42, 44,
 47,49,53,73,82,85,104
 Monothelitism, 49,73,83,85
 Moravia, 98ff
 Moscow, 124,141,142
 Moses Bar-Kipho, 71
 Mosul, 55,57,58,68,70
 Mount-Izla, 59, 62
 Mount-Lebanon, synod of,
 75
 Musha the Ethiopian,
 monastery of Mar, 68
 Mystery, 11-4, 15
 Naamatallah, Syrian patr.
 of Antioch, 66
 Narsai, 52, 62
 Nationalism, 25
 Nature, 34, 41
 Nestorian, 51,53,54,71,147,
 154
 Nestorianism, 44
 Nestorius, 33, 35-6, 38, 41
 Nicaea, I council of, 34,41,
 42,52,93,94
 II council of 46
 III council of, 84,86
 Nicholas I, pope of Rome,
 91,92ff, 100
 Nisibis, 52,60,62
 Norman, 88, 105, 111
 Normandy, 106
 Ochrida, 103, 113
 Ommayads, 71

- Oriental Catholics, 143
 Oriental Congregation, *see*
 Eastern Churches,
 Congregation for the
Orientalium Dignitas, 137-8
Orientalium Ecclesiarum, 141
 Origen, 27
 Orthodoxy, orthodox, 24,
 25, 66, 72, 78, 82, 84, 87,
 125-6, 127, 136, 140, 141,
 142-3, 147, 150, 153, 154,
 155
 Otto I the Great, Germanic
 emperor, 106, 108
 Ottoman, 53, 55, 122

 Palestine, 42, 49, 54, 59, 69,
 75, 77, 78, 138
 Pan-Orthodox Synod, 142
 Papacy, 109-10, 112, 133-43
 Paristrion, 89
 Parousia, 13, 14
 Parsees, 51, 54
 Passau, 98, 101
 Patriarch, patriarchate,
 25-6, 40, 42, 15, 46, 48, 52,
 58, 64, 66-7, 79-80, 82-3,
 85, 88, 90ff, 105, 124,
 128-32, 137, 142, 143;
 Latin, 114, 138
 Paul St, 12,
 Paul VI, pope of Rome,
 141-3
 Peloponnesus, 97
 Pentarchy, 79-80, 83, 95
 Persia, Persian empire, 37,
 41, 42, 47, 51, 52, 122
 Persia, Church of, 51, *see*
 Church of the East
 Persian Gulf, 53, 79
 Person, 34, 41

 Peter III, patr. of Antioch,
 112, 128
 Philoxenos of Mabbug, 20, 43
 Photius, patr. of Constanti-
 nople, 89-97, 102, 106,
 110
 Pius IX, pope of Rome,
 122, 136-7, 141
 Pius X, St., pope of Rome,
 68, 138
 Pius XI, pope of Rome,
 139
 Pius XII, pope of Rome,
 139-40
 Pluralism, 20, 153
Prestor John, 63
 Primacy, papal 80, 135
 Propaganda, congregation
 of, 135 6
 Protestant, 82, 124
 Prussia, 125, 140
 Pseudo-Dionysius, 18
 Pulcheria, Byzantine
 empress, 40
 Purgatory, 135

 Rabban-Hormizd,
 monastery of, 57
 Rahmani, Ignatius Ephrem,
 Syrian patr. of
 Antioch, 68
 Ratislav, prince of
 Moravia, 98ff
 Recapitulation, 14
 Redemptorists, 139
Rerum Orientalium, 139
Reversurus, 123, 137
 Ritualism, 15
 Roman System, 121, 149,
 153
 Romania, 126ff, 128, 142

- Romanian Catholics, 126-7
 Rome, church of, bishop/
 pope of, 24,42-3,44,45,
 57-8,66,67,68,74-7,78,
 79,79ff,86-7,91,104,
 107ff, 113ff, 122,133-43
 Russia, Russian, 25,26,28,
 55,104,105,114,124,125,
 142,143,148
 Ruthenians *see* Ukrainians
 Sahodna, 61,62
 Salzburg, 98
 Samhiri, Ignatius Antony,
 Syrian patr. of
 Antioch, 68
 Sassanian, 51-3
 Schism, 41-2
 Scriptures, 15
 Secretariat for Promoting
 Unity among Chri-
 stians, 140
 Seleucia-Ctesiphon, 52
 Selim I, Istanbul sultan,
 55
 Semites, semitic, 35
 Sentimentalism, 15
 Septyckij, Andrew,
 Ukrainian metro-
 politan of Lviv, 125
 Serbia, 104,113,128
 Sergius, patr. of
 Antioch, 46
 Sergius I, patr. of
 Constantinople, 47
 Sergius II, patr. of
 Constantinople, 108
 Sergius, I, pope of
 Rome, 84
 Sergius III, pope of
 Rome, 107
 Sergius IV, pope of
 Rome, 108
 Sharfeh, 67, 69
 Shem'un XIII, catholicos
 of the East, 57
 Shem'un XX, catholicos
 of the East, 56
 Shem'un XXIII, catholicos
 of the East, 56
 Shukrallah, Ignatius,
 Syrian patr. of
 Antioch, 57
 Sicily, 88, 105
 Simeon the New
 Theologian, St, 105
 Sirmium, 89, 101
 Skete, desert, 70
 Slav, Slavic, 9, 90-1, 97ff,
 103-4
 Slavonic, language, 99-100,
 103-4
 Slovakia, 98
 Slovenia, 98
 Sophronius, St, patr. of
 Jerusalem, 48
 Space, 15, 18
 Spirit, Holy, 13,14,16,20,
 24,25,29,135
 Spirituality, 10,12,15,149,
 152
 State and Church, 26, 105,
 109,110,116-7
 Stephen IV, pope of Rome,
 103, 104
 Studios, Studion,
 monastery, 87, 105
 Stephen I, pope of
 Rome, 85-6
Sublime Porte, 55
 Substance, 34

- Sulaca, Shem'un, catholicos of the East, 57, 58
 Suleiman I, Istanbul sultan, 54
 Sumatra, 64
Surai, 55
 Svatopluk, prince of Moravia, 102
 Swabia, 101
 Sylvester II, pope of Rome, 107
 Sylvester, Greek-Orthodox patr. of Antioch, 131
 Symbolism, 13-4, 15
 Synod, synodal, 25
 Syria, 42,43,45,47,54,55,58, 65,66,68,69,71,75,77,78, 89,128
 Syriac, 9,19,34,37
 Syrian, 20,32,49,85,120;
 Catholics: 50, 66-9,130;
 East, Church 56-8, expansion, 63-4, literature, 60-3, monasticism, 59-60; *West*: Church, 64-9, 142, expansion, 71-2, literature, 70-1, monasticism, 69-70
 Syro-Malabar, 154
 Tamerlane *see* Timur-Leng
 Tappuni, Ignatius Gabriel, Syrian patr. of Antioch, cardinal, 68
 Thaya, 98
 Theodora, Byzantine empress, Justinian's wife, 45
 Theodora, Byzantine empress, 87, 92
 Theodore, bishop of the Arabs, 46
 Theodore-Bar-Koni, 61
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 33,46,52,62
 Theodore of Studios, St, 87
 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, 33-4, 37,38,39,41,46
 Theodosius II, Byzantine emperor, 39
 Theodosios, Coptic patr. of Alexandria, 45
 Theology, 10, 12, 15, 20-1
 Theophany, 18
 Theophilus, Byzantine emperor, 86
 Theophylacto, metropolitan of Ochrida, 113
 Theophylactos, patr. of Constantinople, 107, 109
 Theotokos, 36,37
 Thessalonika, 81,99
 Theurgy, 13-4
 Thomas Aquinas, St, 18, 71
 Thomas of Marga, 61
 Three Chapters, 46,83
 Tigris, 65
 Time, 18-9
 Timothy I the Great, catholicos of the East, 54,61,63
 Timur-Leng, 54
 Tisserant, Cardinal Eugene, 139,140
 Transfiguration, Feast of the, 19
 Transylvania, 126-7
 Trichur, 56
 Tripoli (Lebanon), 89
 Tur-Abdin, 65,70

- Turkestan, 63
 Turkey, 58, 69, 78, 122-3
 Turkic, languages, 90
 Turks, Turkish, 53, 55, 67, 69, 128
Typos of Anastasios I, 43
Typos of Constans, II, 48
 Tyre-Sidon, 131
 Ukraine, 139
 Ukrainian, 123-6
 Uniatism, 130, 142, 144-55
 U. S. A., 56, 58, 77
 Vatican I, council of, 136-7
 Vatican II, council of, 132, 141-3, 145
 Venice, 122, 129
 Vienna, 122
 Vigilants, 19
 Vigilius, pope of Rome, 46, 83, 85
 Vladimir, grand-duke of Kiev, St, 105, 124
 White Fathers, 132
 Wiching, auxiliary bishop of St Methodius, 103
 Yahballaha III, Mongol catholicos of the East, 51
 Yougoslavia, 81, 98, 101, 103-4
 Zeno, Byzantine emperor, 42, 43, 82
 Zoroaster, 51

ERRATA

Pp.

- 11, 4th line from top: living *instead of* passing
 33, 8th line from top: Laodicaea *instead of* Laodicaen
 45, 1 line: Belisarius *instead of* Besilarius
 46, 19th line from top: 544 *instead of* 344
 20th line from top: 553 *instead of* 533
 55, last line N. E. Syria *instead of* N. W. Svria
 57, 16th line from top: XIII *instead of* XXIII
 82, 14th line from bottom: review *the instead of* review in
 91, last line but one: Basil II *instead of* Basil I
 94, 11th line from top: Basil II *instead of* Basil I
 96, 8th line from top: Leo VI *instead of* Leo I
 108, 10th line from bottom: insert *or* between 'Sergius IV' and 'the crowning!
 125, 17th line from top: insert *dependent* between 'therefore' and 'on the political'



MALANKARA
LIBRARY