

Logos

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Revue des études de l'Orient chrétien
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Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies
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**The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute
of Eastern Christian Studies**

Resources, Books

Dedication



Dr. Adam A.J. DeVille

This is the last issue of *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* that will be edited by Dr. Adam DeVille. It is a singular honour to be able to dedicate this issue to him. For more than a decade, Dr. DeVille has worked tirelessly to produce a quality journal. He became editor at a crucial time in the history of *Logos*, and ensured that it was published according to schedule.

Adam is moving on, but not out. We hope to see him involved with our journal in other ways. In any case, if there is anyone who deserves to be editing his own publications, rather than others', it is the prolific Dr. DeVille. Thus, our sadness at seeing him rotate out of this position is matched by our joy that someone with so much to say – and who knows how to say it so effectively – will be able to devote himself more to sharing his own God-given wisdom.

Thank you, Adam! And as we sing at the Sheptytsky Institute in our own unique Slavono-Latin blend: *Mnohaia libri!*

The Editorial Board

Milestones or Stumbling Blocks: Ecumenical Triumphs and Failures of 2016

2016 will surely be remembered for its unusual American presidential election unless, of course, the nightmare turns into a trend and the practice of presenting completely unsavory candidates is taken up by major parties in the United States and elsewhere as the ordinary procedure. For us at *Logos* and the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies (MASI), 2016 will also be memorable as the thirtieth anniversary of the Institute's founding at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, as well as the year of its re-founding as an autonomous academic unit of the Faculty of Theology of the University of St. Michael's College (USMC) in the University of Toronto. This issue carries a report on the festivities surrounding the signing of the agreement between the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute and USMC on September 28, 2016, as well as the text of several important speeches delivered that day. That agreement was preceded by months of intense negotiations, a large part of the reason that we are publishing only one larger issue (nos.1–4) for this year rather than our usual two double issues. MASI is forever functioning on a shoestring, with a skeleton crew, and yet the Institute continues to do important work, always hoping for and working towards more solid financial resources for the future.

2016 is also an important year for Orthodox-Catholic relations. Early on in 2016, a surprise meeting occurred at the Havana Airport between Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill of Moscow. This was followed by a conference that could have been pivotal for the relationship between the Orthodox Church of Moscow and the Greco-Catholic Church of Kyiv. 2016 was also the year of the long-awaited Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church. The English translation of the Catechism of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church finally saw the

light of day this year. And finally, the year produced a new document by the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church meeting at Chieti, Italy. It behooves us to offer some brief reflections on these developments, if only to offer coming generations a glimpse into our reception of them as they were occurring. As time passes, assessments mature and sometimes change. This editorial is simply a snapshot.

The Havana Encounter

The meeting between the pope and the patriarch of Moscow in Havana, Cuba, garnered a lot of attention, and occasioned so much inadequate and downright ignorant reportage, both beforehand and afterwards, that it served as a high water mark of bad religious journalism. Breathless reports of “the first encounter between pope and patriarch in a thousand years” were insulting both to the Ecumenical Patriarchs and to all the other Orthodox patriarchs who have met with popes of Rome since the 1960’s. They also demonstrated how little Western commentators knew of the Moscow Patriarchate, founded in 1589. Those who knew both history and the contemporary situation tended to be less enthusiastic about the meeting, asking questions about the real intentions of the Moscow Patriarchate and the government of Vladimir Putin that sorely needed a little positive spin in light of Russia’s aggression in Ukraine and its adventurism in Syria.¹ A document was produced, which contained twenty-seven beautiful paragraphs that anyone except rabid ecumenoclasts could subscribe to.

¹ See the statement issued by Fr. Peter Galadza, on behalf of the Sheptytsky Institute in anticipation of the February 12, 2016 meeting: <http://www.sheptytskyinstitute.ca/statement-regarding-meeting-of-pope-francis-and-patriarch-kirill-in-cuba/>. Also see my own analysis on the eve of the encounter, <http://www.cruxnow.com/church/2016/02/11/as-pope-and-russian-patriarch-meet-ukraine-fears-shaky-vatican/>. George Weigel, “Pope Francis and the Russian Patriarch Will Meet, as Ukrainian Catholics Watch and Wait” <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/430858/pope-francis-russia-orthodox-church-visit>. Borys Gudziak, “Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill,” <https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2016/02/pope-francis-and-patriarch-kirill>.

However, paragraphs 25–27, referring to issues surrounding the invasion of Ukraine and Ukrainian ecclesiastical questions, composed without even the slightest effort of consulting anyone in the Ukrainian Churches, proved to be disastrously flawed.² When His Beatitude Sviatoslav Shevchuk, the head of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church (UGCC) offered his own comments and relayed the negative responses he had received from countless bishops, clergy, laypeople, both members of his Church and outsiders,³ the MP seized the opportunity to attack his fidelity to the pope.⁴ Francis responded with warm support for Sviatoslav and reminded everyone that the document was not a dogmatic statement and that assent to it was not obligatory, everyone having the right to an opinion about it. It must have been painful for Moscow to realize that the papacy is not nearly as dictatorial as the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). But even the internal discipline of the MP was shattered by several bishops who ceased commemorating Patriarch Kirill for having too cozy a relationship with a Catholic pope. One of the Rome-Moscow team that put together the flawed document, Fr. Hyacinthe Destivelle, OP, of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, later admitted to several scholars that no one from the Ukrainian Church was ever consulted, even though His Beatitude Sviatoslav is a member of said Council. The whole affair seems to have been a great opportunity that

² For an analysis of these paragraphs see Andriy Chirovsky, “Called to Unity,” <https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2016/02/called-to-unity>.

³ See “‘Two Parallel Worlds’ – An Interview with His Beatitude Sviatoslav,” <http://www.royaldoors.net/2016/02/two-parallel-worlds-interview-beatitude-sviatoslav/>. See also Matteo Matuzzi, “La Terza Roma,” *Il Foglio Quotidiano*, Vol.21, no. 43, 20–21 Febbraio, 2016, p.11. Myroslav Marynovych, “An Epochal Meeting with Epochal Consequences,” *Ukrayinska Pravda*, <http://euromaidanpress.com/2016/02/15/an-epochal-meeting-with-epochal-consequences/>.

⁴ See Aleksei Sosiedov’s interview with Metr. Hilarion Alfeyev, “Православные и католики должны учиться действовать не как соперники, а как братья,” <http://www.interfax-religion.ru/?act=interview&div=430>. See also Andriy Chirovsky, “Pope Francis Calls Havana Joint Declaration Debatable, Understands Ukrainians Might Feel Betrayed,” *Catholic World Report*, February 18, 2016, http://www.catholicworldreport.com/Item/4591/pope_francis_calls_havana_joint_declaration_debatable_understands_ukrainians_might_feel_betrayed.aspx.

did not live up to its potential. No real progress in Orthodox-Catholic relations was achieved beyond a gesture, even if gestures are often more important to Pope Francis than words. The fact that the two Church leaders met in an airport rather than an ecclesiastical environment and that they did not pray or even make the sign of the cross together other gave the impression of a Cold-War summit rather than an ecumenical milestone. To think that the patriarchs of Moscow held out so long, refusing to meet with the predecessors of Francis, only to settle for this minor political moment is simply astounding.

The Pseudo-Council of L'viv

Seventy years ago, the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church (UGCC) was suppressed in Ukraine through the cooperation of Stalin's secret police and the Patriarchate of Moscow (MP), which benefited from the clearly un-canonical Pseudo-Synod of L'viv (March 8–10, 1946), a council that was not attended by a single bishop of the UGCC, all of its hierarchy having been imprisoned by the Soviet authorities. Vienna's Pro Oriente Foundation endeavoured to create a forum for reconciliation between the UGCC and the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) by inviting both sides to a closed (invitation-only) scholarly conference, co-sponsored by MASI. Alas, the Moscow Patriarchate was not willing to engage in good faith. The UGCC was represented by Bishop Borys Gudziak, the hierarch in charge of external relations, in the hope that the ROC's ever-pugnacious Metropolitan Hilarion Alfeyev would also attend and some progress could be made by both hierarchs and scholars toward agreeing on the actual historical facts, if not their interpretation. The MP chose instead to delegate two laymen, who submitted papers but did not attend.

The conference, titled "The 'Lviv Sobor' of 1946 and its Aftermath to the Present: Arriving at a Common Narrative," was held at the University of Vienna June 2–4, 2016. The conference focused on historical questions, including the context of twentieth-century Eastern Europe, Uniatism, and Catholic-Orthodox relations, in order to facilitate sincere discussion of sensitive issues and lead to the "healing of memories" through

anamnesis – not amnesia.⁵ But the conference also examined the fallout from the “Lviv Sobor” from 1946 until the present, and looked at the place of Eastern Catholic Churches within the ecumenical movement made possible by the Second Vatican Council. The final day of the conference was to focus on arriving at a common narrative of the events and fallout of the “Lviv Sobor” and propose ways forward in dialogue, keeping a place open at the table for Eastern Catholic Churches.

The ultimate goal of the conference was to arrive at a common narrative that takes all sides into consideration. Unfortunately, this was not achieved, because the Moscow Patriarchate did not choose to engage. Where the conference was successful was in bringing together scholars and representatives of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in order to facilitate sincere and open dialogue. Ukrainian Greco-Catholics rose to the occasion, offering insights of a critical (and sometimes self-critical) nature. The several Orthodox scholars present, both historians and theologians, approached the issues at hand in the same manner.

The testiest moments of the conference appeared to have arisen in discussions between Ukrainian Greco-Catholics and the representative of the Pontifical Council for Christian Unity. The low point of the conference was the reading of the paper by Vladislav Petrushko, a lay representative of the Moscow Patriarchate, at an evening session that was open to the public. Originally envisaged as a chance for Bp. Borys Gudziak and his counterpart Metropolitan Hilarion Alfeyev to seek some common vision, the evening was instead composed of a lecture by Bp. Borys Gudziak that genuinely sought a way forward and a paper, by Vladislav Petrushko, that attempted to portray the 1946 “L’viv Sobor” as legitimate payback for the 1596 Union of Brest.

The unfortunate truth is that in 1987, on the eve of the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus’, the head of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky, issued a plea for mutual forgiveness to the Moscow Patriar-

⁵ See Robert F. Taft, “The Problem of ‘Uniatism’ and the ‘Healing of Memories’: Anamnesis, not Amnesia,” *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 41–42 (2000–2001), pp. 155–196.

chate. When he was asked by certain angry nationalists why Ukrainians could possibly require forgiveness from Moscow, he answered: “Because we have hated them.” This sincere plea was met with icy silence on the part of the Russian Orthodox Church. Lubachivsky’s two successors have repeated the request and both have been ignored.

Perhaps the most positive thing to happen in Orthodox-Catholic relations was the “Appeal to recognize the 1946 Lviv ‘Synod’ as a Sham”⁶ signed by a significant number of renowned Orthodox thinkers and scholars from across the globe, including some from Moscow. Among the significant statements made in that text, we read: “All serious historians and theologians have no doubts that the 8–10 March 1946 synod of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church at Lviv was only a sham.” Even more importantly, the text concludes with the following edifying words: “Thus, on this commemorative day of March 10, 1946 and on the eve of Sunday, March 13, 2016, Sunday of the Great Pardon in the Orthodox liturgical calendar, we assure the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of our solidarity, of our prayers for all the innocent victims of this Church who were imprisoned, tortured, deported and assassinated by the Soviet government with the complicity of the Patriarchate of Moscow. We humbly ask their pardon for all the injustices they have suffered under the cover of the Orthodox Church and we bow down before the martyrs of this Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.” That is truly helpful. A significant number of Ukrainian Greco-Catholics responded in kind. As is so often the case, it is easier for ecumenism to move forward when people speak in their own name rather than in the name of an ecclesiastical institution.

The Holy and Great Council

Post-Florentine Orthodox ecclesiology seems to require that a rather hard-to-pin-down adequate period of time must pass before one can pronounce on the significance of a council, and that it must be received by the Church at large. That

⁶ <https://incommunion.org/2016/03/06/appeal-for-recognition-of-the-1946-lviv-synod-as-a-sham-2/>.

probably would be news to St. Athanasius, who was rather unambiguous on the binding nature of the Council of Nicaea, even though public opinion often ran against him. Nevertheless, this wait-and-see approach may prove the best way to come to grips with the much anticipated Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church that took place in Crete in June, 2016. After a long and arduous preparation, one would not be far off the mark in claiming that the greatest accomplishment of the council was that it actually happened, despite the fact that several autocephalous churches withdrew at the last moment and called into question its authority. The most significant of these is, to no one's surprise, the Moscow Patriarchate, which has been repeatedly challenging the primacy of the Ecumenical Patriarch in Orthodoxy and undermining the Phanar's efforts at cobbling together a pan-Orthodox consensus on whatever issue.

Lest one think that this Greco-Catholic finds the least bit of glee in this predicament, let me remind the reader that the patriarch of the UGCC sent a letter to His All-Holiness Bartholomew assuring him of prayers for the success of the Council.⁷ Even though most Eastern Catholics are quite pleased with the fact that things can actually get done much more efficiently in the Catholic communion, and that the official stance of the Catholic communion on any of a range of issues is much easier to discern, this in no way means that we are not cheering for our Orthodox Sister-Churches as they struggle to overcome the legacy of Ottoman and Soviet domination as well as destructive tendencies toward ethno-phyletism. We know these evils well and do not cease to struggle with them ourselves. When we Eastern Catholics raise eyebrows in Rome and beyond by insisting on a more de-centralized, conciliar model of governance in the Catholic Church, we are acutely aware of the desperate need to demonstrate that it can actually work, despite appearances to the contrary. We Ukrainian Greco-Catholics know that we need to show how it works through the very governance of our own Church, and to be able to point with

⁷ "Patriarch Bartholomew Thanks the UGCC Primate for His Support of Pan-Orthodox Council," http://risu.org.ua/en/index/all_news/confessional/interchurch_relations/64117/.

admiration to our Orthodox brothers and sisters. We have not yet arrived at that point in either category, but we are moving in that direction. Let us rejoice at both a well-functioning synod in our own Church and the fact that the Holy and Great Council was able to pass from the idea stage to practical reality. The next test will be to see how this can be sustained, despite the centrifugal forces that have always plagued the Church.

Eastern Catholics who identify themselves as “Orthodox Christians in full and visible communion with Rome” would do well to introduce the documents issued by the Holy and Great Synod into their seminary curricula and their pastoral life. Some of the material is clearly confessional, and would require commentary. But many other things approach contemporary issues from the point of view of Orthodox theological anthropology and spirituality and could be used quite easily in catechetical and homiletic contexts. It remains to be seen how willing Eastern Catholics will be to do so.

The Catechism of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church

It took several years, but *Christ – our Pascha*, the official Catechism of the UGCC, was published in English in 2016.⁸ It is not earth-shaking in its explication of the faith, but it is an extremely important text, being the first official catechism to be published by an Eastern Catholic Church. It is thus an ecclesiological significant event. The English translation (in which several Sheptytsky Institute staff members were deeply engaged) allows for the Catechism, until now available only in Ukrainian, to be examined by an international audience. While the content of this catechism does not contradict the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (CCC) promulgated by Pope John Paul II in 1992, the structure of the UGCC’s catechism is entirely different. Its doctrinal portion is built on the anaphora of the Liturgy of St. Basil, an interesting starting point that consciously positions it quite differently from the CCC, which, quite frankly, should have been titled *The Catechism of the*

⁸ *Catechism of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: Christ – Our Pascha* (Kyiv, Edmonton: Synod of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, 2016).

Roman Catholic Church, since it takes its structure from the Apostle's Creed, never used by the Eastern Churches. Even though it contains numerous insights from an Eastern Christian perspective in an effort to achieve a more universal appeal, the CCC is still a rather Latin catechism. *Christ Our Pascha* is being translated into Spanish and Portuguese for the UGCC in South America. Also foreseen are translations into French and German as well as other languages.

The Chieti Document

The Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church met in Chieti, Italy in September, 2016, and issued a document entitled, "Synodality and Primacy during the First Millennium: Towards a Common Understanding in Service to the Unity of the Church." While the very fact that the Joint Commission met and issued a document is a cause for rejoicing ever since the crises caused by Orthodox resentment of the very existence of the Eastern Catholic Churches, it was the fall of the Soviet bloc that allowed for these Churches to re-emerge after decades of suppression. The Orthodox response was largely an interpretation of the re-emergence of these Churches as some sort of Catholic aggression. Even though the 1993 Balamand Statement rejected "uniatism" as a method for achieving Church unity, while acknowledging the right of Eastern Catholic Churches to exist, tensions have run high, and the issue of uniatism seems to be lurking at every corner, especially for Moscow. That is understandable, since the ROC thought that the problem of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church had been successfully resolved by Stalin in 1946. Moscow has had an incredibly difficult time reconciling itself to the fact that, starting in 1989, not thousands but millions of its presumed faithful in Ukraine chose to leave the ROC and reassert their Greco-Catholic identity. Metropolitan Hilarion Alfeyev seems to look for any opportunity to attack Ukrainian Greco-Catholics and to blame them for all manner of difficulties between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

The Chieti document returns to the subject matter already treated much more successfully in the 2007 Ravenna document, “Ecclesiological and Canonical Consequences of the Sacramental Nature of the Church: Ecclesial Communion, Conciliarity and Authority.”

That document seemed to signal the ability of the Joint Commission to move beyond the question of uniatism and to begin to creatively approach the fundamental issue of primacy. The Ravenna document re-injected hope into the Orthodox-Catholic Dialogue, which had been unable to produce an agreed text since the 1993 Balamand document. But the Ravenna document was ultimately rejected by Moscow, and there is no reference to it in the Chieti text. The question of how papal primacy can be reconciled with Orthodox ecclesiology cannot be resolved until the Orthodox themselves resolve the question of primacy.

The tensions between Moscow and the Ecumenical Patriarchate are acute, and it is no secret that Moscow wants to undercut the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch. The question of Ukraine is never far from this issue. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Kyivan Patriarchate) holds the allegiance of the majority of the Orthodox faithful in Ukraine, even as those same faithful often attend parishes of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate), which has a greater number of parishes and other institutions. The Kyivan Patriarchate is not currently recognized as canonical by world Orthodoxy (an unfortunate status the Moscow Church enjoyed from 1448, when it separated itself from Constantinople, until 1589). It is clear that the Ecumenical Patriarch has the canonical ability to resolve the issues of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. That is a very existential reason why Moscow needs to undercut the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in any way possible. Of course, general pretensions to leadership in the Orthodox world have been in Moscow’s sights since the development of the “third Rome” theory.

Thus, the anti-uniatic, anti-Ukrainian and anti-Constantinopolitan threads of Moscow’s strategy weave together. And so, Metropolitan Hilarion demands that in the next document from the Joint Commission attention be returned to an examination

of uniatism again.⁹ That, of course, is a non-starter, since everything helpful about the existence of the Eastern Catholic Churches has already been dealt with leading up to Balamand. One wonders whether the Moscow Patriarchate would be willing to reconsider its own great act of uniatism, the swallowing up of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church at the Pseudo-Council of L'viv in 1946. Is the insistence on re-visiting the history of uniatism rather than seeking a path forward simply a stall tactic of some kind? Moscow has yet to offer a cogent reason for this demand.

Conclusion

In the end, it is possible that 2016 will be remembered for a series of ambivalent events, some constituting clear milestones for the Eastern Churches, but others highlighting the challenges that lie ahead, for the internal dynamism of the Eastern Churches, both Catholic and Orthodox, and for their rapprochement with the Church of Rome.

Andriy Chirovsky
Editor-in-Chief

⁹ “Metropolitan Hilarion: Unia Remains the Major Stumbling Block to Orthodox-Catholic Dialogue” <https://mospat.ru/en/2016/09/17/news135787/>.

Hryhorii Skovoroda's Use of Folk Proverbs

Stephen P. Scherer

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 37)

In 1817 Gustav Gess de Kal've noted Skovoroda's use of "odd expressions." Of the eight he mentioned, at least three were proverbs attested in published collections of proverbs. Despite this recognition of Skovoroda's use of proverbs at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that several Soviet authors produced scholarly studies of this phenomenon. While these pioneering efforts are of great value, they are not consistent in locating the proverbs in Skovoroda's particular works, linking them directly to his philosophical ideas and demonstrating attested versions of the proverbs in recognized proverb collections. This essay will respond to these deficiencies by discussing all of the proverbs used by Skovoroda in his cycle of poems, "Sad Bozhestvennykh Pesnei" (the Garden of Divine Songs) and in his cycle of fables, "Basni Khar'kovskija" (Kharkiv Fables). On the basis of this discussion, it is clear that Skovoroda used more proverbs than is usually observed, that he integrated them into his work to clarify his philosophical ideas, that nearly all of these proverbs are in recognized proverb collections and that, altogether, his use of proverbs demonstrates his ties to the people and popular culture.



Introduction

In one of the earliest published accounts dedicated to the eighteenth-century Ukrainian philosopher, Hryhorii Skovoroda, Gustav Gess de Kal've remarked on Skovoroda's use of "odd expressions."¹ Gess de Kal've gave a list of eight such expressions, at least three of which can be attested, in one variant or another, in collections of proverbs; "Starajsja manit' sobaku, no palki iz ruk ne vypuskaj'"² [Try calling a dog, but don't drop your stick]; "Kuritsa kudakhchet na odnom meste, a jajtsy kladet no drugom"³ [A hen cackles in one place, but lays eggs in another]; "Ryba ot golovy nachinaet portit'sja"⁴ [A fish begins to rot from the head].

Despite this early recognition of Skovoroda's familiarity with proverbs, there has not been a great deal of effort to study this phenomenon. The most important of the few essays devoted to this topic appeared in the Soviet Union during the last several decades of the Soviet era. P.M. Popov, the dean of Skovoroda scholars in the Soviet period, made a beginning statement on this question when he asserted that Skovoroda

¹ G. Gess de Kal've and I. Vernet, "Skovoroda, Ukrainskij Filosof," *Ukrainskij Vestnik* (part 6, 1817): 118–19. While two of Skovoroda's own works had been published in 1798 and 1806 respectively, the only earlier secondary reference to Skovoroda was the very short statement of V. Maslovich in 1816: V. Maslovich, *O basne i basnopistsakh raznykh narodov* (Khar'kov: Tipografija Universiteta, 1816), 118–19. M.I. Kovalinskij's famous biography of Skovoroda, although written in 1794, did not appear in published form until 1886: M.F. Sumtsov (ed.), "Zhitie Skovorody, opisannoe drugom ego M.I. Kovalinskim," *Kievskaja Starina* (September 1886): 103–50.

² Matvii Nomys, ed., *Ukrains'ki Prykazky, Prysliv'ia i Take Inshe* (South Bound Brook, NJ: Publishing Fund of Metropolitan Mstyslav, 1985), #5900. Nomys's original version was published in 1864 in St. Petersburg. Nomys gave this saying as follows: "Mani sobaku a z ruk ne puskej kiiaku;" V.M. Mокienko et alia (eds.), *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits* (Moscow: Olma Media, 2010), 844. Mокienko's iteration was: "Sobaku mani, a palku derzhi."

³ Nomys, *Ukrains'ki Prykazky*, #5899. "Kurka kudakhche v odnim mistsi, a yaitsia klade v druhim." Mокienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 465. "Kuritsa kudakhehet na odnom meste, a jajtsa kladet na drugom."

⁴ Nomys, *Ukrains'ki Prykazky*, #6046. "Ryba smerdyt' vid holovy." Mокienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 776. "Ryba s golovy gniet"; "Ryba tukhnet s golovy."

was the first Ukrainian writer to consciously consider the role and significance of proverbs in literature. In particular, Popov found this attitude expressed by Skovoroda in the introduction to this cycle of fables, "Basni Khar'kovskija."⁵ I.V. Ivan'ov, another important Soviet contributor to the study of Skovoroda, generally agreed with Popov. He added to Popov's analysis the view that Skovoroda regarded proverbs very highly as a condensed form of folk wisdom, one which he used, along with sources such as the Bible and mythology, to understand the concrete problems of life.⁶ In another essay on this theme Ivan'ov argued for the importance of proverbs in the formation of Skovoroda's ethical teachings and, in this regard, he even cited particular examples, for instance, "Dobroe bratstvo luchshe bohatstva" [Good brotherhood is better than wealth] and "Gde byl? – U Druga. – Shchto pil? – Vodu, luchshe neprijatel'skago miodu" [Where were you? With a friend. What did you drink? Water, which is better than an enemy's honey].⁷

M.E. Syvachenko and O.V. Myshanych were two more Soviet authors who commented on Skovoroda's use of proverbs. Syvachenko made note of Gess de Kal've's list of "odd expressions," but also used his two-part article to identify some proverbs in Skovoroda's work and to find attested versions or variants of some of them in various collections – e.g., in the collections of Vladimir Dal', the eminent nineteenth-century Russian lexicographer, and Matvii Nomys. Beyond this, Syvachenko emphasized the degree to which Skovoroda "derived his philosophy directly from the mouths of the people, from living, oral everyday life."⁸ In the second part of his essay Syvachenko pointed out, with some details, though without much analysis, that Skovoroda used proverbs to support his social attitudes, his view of innate ability or "srod-

⁵ P.M. Popov, "Prysliv'i prykazky v khudozhnii literatury," in *Ukrains'ka narodna poetychna tvorchist'* (Kyiv: Radians'ka Shkola, 1958), 349.

⁶ I.V. Ivan'ov, "Zhyttevyi Shliakh I Formuvannia Svitohliadu," in *Filosofia Hryhoriia Skovorody* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1972), 53.

⁷ I.V. Ivan'ov "Prysliv'ia ta prykazky u tvorakh H.S. Skovorody," *Ukrains'ka mova ta literatura v shkoli* (#8, 1964): 32.

⁸ M.E. Syvachenko, "Do Istorii Ukrains'koi Paremiohrafii: H.S. Skovoroda," *Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafia* (#5, 1972): 26–27, 36.

nost” and his dualistic outlook concerning form and content.⁹ In the conclusion of this work Syvachenko called for further study of Skovoroda’s use of proverbs, in particular, and proverbs, in general, because they represented a “small folklore genre of the world view of the laboring masses.”¹⁰ O.V. Myshanych, the last and best of the Soviet authors to be considered here, wrote frequently on Skovoroda and Ukrainian literature, generally. He argued that Skovoroda’s thought and language were positively influenced by oral, popular culture which included proverbs.¹¹ Myshanych pointed out various examples of Skovoroda’s use of proverbs, for instance, “Voda bez Ryb, Vozdusich bez Ptits a Vremja bez Ljudej byt’ ne mozhet” [There cannot be water without fish, air without birds or time without people].¹² He gave another example of how Skovoroda included proverbs in his work with this proverb: “Iz voza, po poslovitse, ubilsja” [Falling from the wagon, as the folk saying goes, he was killed].¹³ Myshanych demonstrated beyond doubt the importance of popular expressions, including proverbs, in Skovoroda’s philosophy. His work, however, would have been better with more detailed discussion of the fashion in which these proverbs clarified Skovoroda’s philosophy. Myshanych also might have made a greater

⁹ M.E. Syvachenko, “Do Istorii Ukrain’skoi Paremiografii: H.S. Skovoroda,” *Narodna tvorichist’ ta etnografii*, (#1, 1973): 39–40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹¹ O.V. Myshanych, *Hryhorii Skovoroda i Usna Navodna Tvorchist*, (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1976), 150.

¹² *Ibid.* 98. This passage occurs in Skovoroda’s work “Dialog ili Razglagol o Drevnem mire” in Leonid Ushkalov, ed. Hryhorii Skovoroda: *Povna Akademichna Zbirka Tvoriv* (Kyiv: Mайдan, 2011), 477. Ushkalov’s edition of Skovoroda’s works is especially valuable for the identification of the proverbs in the collections of proverbs of Vladimir Dal’ and Matvii Nomys. Though Ushkalov did not identify this particular phrase as a proverb, a variant of it was cited in the proverb collection of Aleksei Yermolov: “Rybam voda, ptitsam vozdukh, a cheloveku vsja zemlja” [Water is for the fish, air for the birds and the whole earth for man”]. Aleksei Yermolov (ed.), *Narodnaja Sel’skokhozjaistvennaja Mudrost’ v Poslovitsakh, Pogovorkakh i Primetakh* (Moscow: Institut russkoj tsivilizatsii, 2013), 127. This is a reprint of the original which was published in 1905 in St. Petersburg.

¹³ *Ibid.* 75. This folk saying was in Skovoroda’s work, “Potop Zmiin,” in Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 955.

effort to identify Skovoroda's proverbs in one or another of the collections available to him.

The pioneering work of these Soviet authors contributed a great deal to the understanding of both Skovoroda's use of proverbs and, by virtue of this, his connection to the people and popular culture. Nonetheless, these Soviet scholars were inconsistent with regard to three issues: 1) they did not always identify the location of the folk sayings in Skovoroda's own work; 2) therefore they did not sufficiently demonstrate the links between the particular proverbs Skovoroda used and the philosophic points he was using in order to clarify and confirm; and 3) they did not often point out attested versions or variants of Skovoroda's proverbs in the collections of, e.g., V. Dal', V. Mokienko, M. Nomys or others to which they had access.

This essay, by focusing on Skovoroda's use of proverbs in two of his works, "Sad Bozhestvennykh Pesnej" (Garden of Divine Songs) and "Basni Khar'kovskiiia," (Kharkiv Fables), will deal with the shortcomings pointed out in the Soviet works discussed above. All of the proverbs in these two pieces will be addressed by locating them precisely in the respective works, by showing how Skovoroda employed the folk wisdom contained in these proverbs to enhance and clarify his philosophic meanings, and by identifying attested versions of the proverbs in various proverb collections.

Garden of Divine Songs

Skovoroda wrote the "Garden of Divine Songs," a cycle of thirty poems, between 1753 and 1785. The first of these poems to contain proverbial usage was song #9, which Skovoroda dedicated to the Holy Spirit using this verse from the Book of Psalms: "May your good Spirit set me on the right ground." (Psalm 143: 10).¹⁴ The poem had a generally ironic tone, comparing the variety and inconstancy of material life to the steadfastness and eternity of God, while asking for God's support. The poem's first line, "Golova vsjaka svoj imeet smysl" [Each

¹⁴ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 59.

head has its own sense] suggests the variability of human life. While it is not possible to find this exact proverb in any proverb collection, there are several attested variants: “Vsjak svoim umom zhivet’ [Each lives by his own thought];¹⁵ “Kozhda holova svii rozum mae” [Each head has its own reason].¹⁶ Skovoroda’s proverb, as well as the variants, communicated the idea of the variety and mutability of human life, exactly the notion that Skovoroda wanted to convey. He emphasized this point in his work as a way to demonstrate his dualistic outlook. Human life, changeable and visible, was only a shadow of divine life, eternal and invisible, and unless humans recognized this and lived in accord with this understanding, they were doomed.

Later in this poem Skovoroda used yet another proverb to convey this idea. In this case, Skovoroda used the proverbial phrase “A sej ‘u voza pjat’ kol’ golosit” [And this one cries out “a wagon has five wheels”].¹⁷ Skovoroda employed this proverbial fragment, the opinion of one of the actors in the poem, to suggest, yet again, that human, visible and mortal life was full of conflict, variety and inconsistency, as against the unity, constancy and eternity of the divine.

Song #10, which Skovoroda introduced with the Biblical epigram, “Blessed is the man who dies in wisdom and who studies in his mind sacred things” (Son of Sirach 14:21), focused once more on the mutability and confusion of the visible world as opposed to the unity and perfection of the Divine. The opening line in the poem was a proverbial expression as follows: “Vsjakomu gorodu nrav i prava” [Every city has its own custom and law].¹⁸ This was similar in meaning to the

¹⁵ V. Dal, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel’stvo Khudozhestvennoj Literatury, 1957), 627. This work was first published in 1862 in St. Petersburg and has been republished many times since.

¹⁶ Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, #7939.

¹⁷ There are several iterations of the proverb cited in: 1) Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, “Pjatoe Koleso v telege” [The fifth wheel on a cart] 455, 634; 2) Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, “Treba, yak p’iatoho koleasa” [Necessary, like a fifth wheel], #9811.

¹⁸ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 60. Variants of Skovoroda’s proverb include the following: 1) Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, “Chto gorod, to

first line of song #9 insofar as it articulated Skovoroda's idea concerning the variability and the imperfection of the world. In the remainder of the poem Skovoroda represented various contending human viewpoints to underline the confusions and conflicts of the world in contrast to God's consistency. Skovoroda, however, contended that, ultimately, death would consume, and thus judge, everything equally. But he argued, using another proverbial fragment, that no one needed to fear death if his conscience was clear, "kak chistyj khrustal'" [like pure crystal].¹⁹ Skovoroda's message, as conveyed by this proverbial fragment, was that those who had not been deceived by the passing allure of the world and had recognized the power and eternity of God could face death with hope.

The next poem in this cycle which contained a proverb was song #18. Skovoroda introduced this poem with the following Biblical verse: "The Lord opposes the proud and blesses the humble" (James 4:6; 1 Peter 5:5). This verse, in slightly altered form, is attested in the proverb collection of Dal'. He gives it as "Gordym Bog protivitsja, a smirennym daet blagodat'" [God opposes the proud and blesses the humble].²⁰ This proverb perfectly captured the meaning of the poem, which admonished people to live humbly. The first lines of the poem made this case symbolically by counseling the yellow bird to build his nest on the green grass rather than high in the trees where the hawks hovered overhead waiting to seize him. This view of humility was a common theme in Skovoroda's philosophy and he closed the poem on this note by stating his intention to live quietly and happily as "all evil passes by."²¹

norov" [Whichever city, its own customs], 628; 2) Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, "Chto gorod, to norov" [Whichever city, its own customs], 206; Nomys, *Ukrains'ki Prykazky*, "Shehto gorod, to norov" [Whichever city, its own customs], #7949.

¹⁹ Ibid. 61. While no precise match for this proverb can be found, Mokienko gave a proverb which, at least, linked crystals and purity: Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, "Khrustal' liubit chistotu" [A crystal loves purity], 969.

²⁰ Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 728.

²¹ Ushkalov, *Hyrhorii Skovorda*, 69.

In song #19 Skovoroda dealt with the issues of boredom and anguish, the unsettling emotions which can undermine even the strongest human spirits. He suggested the importance of this impediment to spiritual health in the biblical epigram to this work: “Our struggle is not against flesh and blood” (Eph. 6:12).²² His more direct assault on the problem came in the beginning lines of the poem. Concerning boredom he wrote that it gnawed at him like a moth gnaws cloth, like rust gnaws steel. It is these last two phrases which bring to mind proverbial expressions. Nomys provides the proverb, “Kozhdy mae svoho molia, shcho eho hryse” [Each has his own moth which gnaws at him],²³ while in the collectin of Dal’ one finds the following: “Est, kak rzha zhelezo” [He eats, like rust eats iron].²⁴ Mokienko attests a proverb which cites the destructive power of both moths and rust, “Mol’ odezhdu, rzha rhelezo, a khudoe bratstvo nrapy tlyt” [Moths destroy garments, rust destroys iron and bad brotherhood destroys morals].²⁵ Skovoroda also recognized the difficulty of escaping the perils of anguish and even admitted that it stayed with him “like a fish with water,” another phrase with rich proverbial connections.²⁶ Finally, however, Skovoroda, with Christ’s help, banished the boredom and anguish from his life and he used a proverb to express this: “Proch’ ty skuka! Proch’ ty muka! S dymom, s chadom” [Be gone boredom! Be gone anguish! With the smoke, with the fumes]. In these words are found the final proverbial usage in the “Garden of Divine Songs.”²⁷

In the several poems of this cycle in which Skovoroda employed proverbs or proverbial fragments, he always did so in

²² Ibid.

²³ Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, #1996.

²⁴ Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 627.

²⁵ Mokienko, *Bol’shoj Slovar’ Russkikh Poslovits*, 551.

²⁶ Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, “My s toboj kak ryba s vodoj” [We are with you like a fish with water], 775; Mokienko, *Bol’shoj Slovar’ Russkikh Poslovits*, “My s toboj kak ryba s vodoj” [We are with you like a fish with water], 776.

²⁷ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 70. Mokienko, in his collection, attests a proverb as follows: “Dym s chadom sosholsja” [The smoke went out with the fumes], 322. Another variant is: “Z dymom i shchadom z nashei khaty” [Out of our hut with the smoke and the fumes]. Klymentii Zinoviiv, *Virshi* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1971), 226.

an orderly way. He accomplished this by integrating the proverbial content into the poems as he simultaneously used the meaning of the proverb to convey a message consonant with his philosophy. For instance, in songs #9 and #10 he used proverbs suggesting the variety and disparity of human opinions to demonstrate how changeable and fleeting human life was as compared with the immutability and eternity of the divine. In song #18, he counseled a humble, lowly and ethical life-style by appealing to the wisdom of a biblical passage turned into a popular saying. Lastly, in song #19, Skovoroda faced the problem of the boredom and anguish which ate away at the human spirit, contending that they could be defeated by calling on Christ and one's own spiritual power to banish them like smoke and fumes.

Kharkiv Fables

Skovoroda composed his cycle of fables, "Kharkiv Fables," between 1759 and 1774. This work, like the "Garden of Divine Songs," contained thirty selections. It is unlikely that the number thirty was coincidental, for Skovoroda used it several other times in his longer works, e.g., in "A Conversation between Five Travelers on True Happiness in Life" and in "A Conversation Called Alphabet or ABC's of the World."²⁸ However significant the number of fables, what is important for this essay is Skovoroda's use of proverbs.

The first of these proverbs appear in Skovoroda's introduction to the fable collection. In this introduction Skovoroda explained that an important feature of fables was the contrast between the literal features of the fable and its true meaning. Skovoroda dealt with the larger issue of appearance and es-

²⁸ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 529, 674. In the first of those works, one of the characters remarks that "he began to read the Bible at age thirty," by which he meant that he began to read the Bible in the allegorical way recommended by Skovoroda. In the second reference, Skovoroda wrote that, "the morning of Truth begins to shine in the thirtieth year," which he quickly made clear was the age at which Christ began his public ministry. For a fuller discussion of the significance of the number thirty, for Skovoroda, see: Richard Michael Hantula, *Skovoroda's "Garden of Divine Songs": A Description and Analysis*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 1976), 66-67.

sence throughout his work, but here he applied this analysis to the genre of fables. He highlighted this idea about the deceptiveness of appearances with the use of three proverbs. The first was: “Krasna khata ne uglami, no pirogami” [A hut is not beautiful for its size, but for its pies].²⁹ This proverb is found in several proverb collections. Both Dal’ and Mokienko rendered it, “Ne krasna izba uglami, krasna pirogami” [A hut is not beautiful for its size, but for its pies].³⁰ The meaning of the proverb is contained in the contrast between the appearance or dimensions of the hut and the essence of the hut, the pies produced there. This same contrast exists in fables, the literal narrative of the tale as opposed to its essence or moral.

A second example presented by Skovoroda to convey the deceptiveness of appearances was one which he described as a “Little Russian” proverb: “Stuchit, shumit, gremit... (A chto tam?) Kobyl’ja mertva golova bezhit” [It knocks, sounds and thunders... (And then what?) A dead mare’s head goes by].³¹ A variant of this appears in Nomys, “Stukotyť, hrukotyť ... ‘A shcho tam?’ – Kobyliacha lize!” [It knocks, it rumbles ... ‘And then what?’ – A mare clambers by!].³² The deceptive quality of appearances is presented in a different fashion here. The deception inheres in the difference between the imposing sounds produced by the dead mare’s head, sounds which inspire awe, and the dead mare’s head itself, pathetic to the utmost.

In the third case Skovoroda employed a proverb which he described as “Great Russian,” “Letala vysoko, a sela ne dalioko” [She flew high, but landed nearby].³³ Dal’ provides several variants of this proverb: “Letala vysoko, a sela nedaleko” [She flew high, but landed nearby]; “Letaet khorosho, a sest’ ne umeet” [He flies well, but does not know how to land]; “Khorosho letaesh, da de-to sjadesh” [You fly well, but land wherever]; “Vysoko letaesh, da nizko sadishsja” [You fly high,

²⁹ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 154.

³⁰ Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 589, 700. Mokienko, *Bol’shoj Slovar’ Russkikh Poslovits*, 387.

³¹ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 154.

³² Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, #11, 824.

³³ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 154.

but land poorly].³⁴ Nomys also notes several iterations: “Vysoko litae, ta nyz’ko sidae” [He flies high, but lands badly]; “Khto vysoko litae, toi nyz’ko sidae” [Who flies high, he lands badly].³⁵ With this proverb, as with the one immediately preceding, Skovoroda stressed how a first appearance or impression could deceive and, therefore, disappoint an observer who had seen something perform very well, apparently, only to fail in the end.

The first of the fables to contain a proverb was #3, “Zavoronki” (The Larks). This fable told a tale from long ago when eagles taught turtles to fly. When one of these turtles landed with a lot of noise, a young lark told his father that an eagle had landed with an enormous commotion. His father answered him with the following proverb, “Ne to Orel, chto letaet, no to, chto legko sedaet” [The eagle is not the one who flies, but the one who lands lightly].³⁶ This proverb brings to mind the ones just cited, which made the distinction between flying and landing. But Skovoroda used this form of the proverb to convey more than just the difficulty of dealing with appearances. He made this clear when he gave as the moral to the fable that, “Many people without natural ability begin a task well, but finish badly.”³⁷ Skovoroda used the proverb, in the context of the fable, to argue that in order to be successful and happy one had to work in accord with one’s own innate abilities. A turtle could not fly successfully because turtles were not made to fly and no amount of expert advice from eagles could change that. This idea, summed up in Skovoroda’s concept of “srodnost” or natural affinity, was one of the cornerstones of his ethical teaching.

Skovoroda used a proverb in a different fashion in fable #5, “Chizh i Shchiglik” (The Siskin and the Goldfinch). This fable revolved around the action of a Turkish noble who, out of sympathy for a large number of caged birds in the market place, paid twenty-five rubles to free them all. One of the freed birds, the siskin, was asked by his friend, the goldfinch, why

³⁴ Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 733.

³⁵ Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, #2553, #2554.

³⁶ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 157.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

he had forfeited his freedom to live in a cage in the first place. The siskin answered that it was the food and the beautiful cage. But he continued that he would thank God until the day he died with the following song: “Luchshe mne sukhar s vodoju, nezheli sakhar s bedoju” [Better for me bread crusts and water, than sugar and trouble].³⁸ Variants of this proverb are not hard to find. Nomys, for example, cites the following version: “Luchshe isty khlib z vodoiu, nenuzh bukhanets’ z bidoiu” [Better to eat a piece of bread with water than a loaf of bread with trouble].³⁹ Dal’, in his famous collection, has a slightly different iteration, “Luchshe khleb s vodoju, chem pirog s bedoju” [Better bread and water, than pies with trouble].⁴⁰ In accord with Skovoroda’s own simple and free life style, this fable summed up his view that wealth was, in the long run, a confining and worrisome thing, something that focused on the fleeting and material features of life to the exclusion of the spiritual matters which were essential for happiness.

In the introduction to “Kharkiv Fables,” Skovoroda wrote that he had written fifteen of the thirty fables by 1774, but that he wrote another fifteen in 1774 itself.⁴¹ It is in the last fifteen fables that one finds the large majority of the proverbs contained in this work. As an example of this consider fable #17, “Dva Tsennyi Kamushki: Almaz i Smaragd” [Two precious stones: a diamond and an emerald] which has two proverbs. This fable revolved around an exchange of correspondence between the jewels in which the emerald, who was brilliantly displayed in a royal palace, chided the diamond for being hidden away in provincial obscurity. The diamond responded by arguing that value was not determined by either one’s opulent or poverty-stricken surroundings, but only by one’s intrinsic worth. In order to clarify this argument Skovoroda used a passage which he described as popular without calling it a proverb directly. This passage read as follows: “Zdelali Abrama chest-

³⁸ Ibid. 158.

³⁹ Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, #7288.

⁴⁰ Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Navoda*, 96.

⁴¹ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 154.

nym chelovekom” [They made Abraham an honest man].⁴² While one cannot find a close approximation of this proverb attested in any published proverb collection, there is no doubt that Skovoroda used it in order to disagree with it. Given the fable's contention that one's worth was intrinsic rather than environmentally dependent, Skovoroda rejected the proverb about Abraham because it implied that Abraham's honesty was dependent on the people around him, i.e., on his surroundings. In the final lines of the moral to fable #17, Skovoroda cited a proverb more to his liking on this theme. This proverb was “Glupoj ishchet mesta, a razumnago i v uglu vidno” [A fool seeks a place, but a wise man is visible even in a corner].⁴³ Dal' provided a nearly exact version of this: “Glupyj ishchet mesta, a razumnogo i v uglu vidno” [A fool seeks a place, but a wise man is visible even in a corner].⁴⁴ For Skovoroda the fool was like the emerald who considered his worth as a function of his beautiful surroundings, while the wise man was like the diamond who had confidence in his intrinsic value regardless of his surroundings.

In Fable #18, “Sobaka i Kobyla” [The dog and the mare], Skovoroda used two more proverbs to elucidate and confirm his philosophy of life. The heart of this fable was a conversation between the principals in which the arrogant mare took offense at the dog for laughing at her overdone trappings and took pride in her refined education. The dog modestly defended this behavior by arguing that he laughed even at good things if they “were done contrary to nature.”⁴⁵ In the moral to this discussion, Skovoroda contended that nature or natural ability was the eternal source of the will to learn. He supported his position by citing this proverb: “cija volja...est' pushche

⁴² Ibid., 163. There are various proverbs about Abraham, but none discoverable which has exactly the sense of the one cited by Skovoroda. One which, at least, suggests that Abraham's worth could be determined by his surroundings is the following: “Sam Abram dalsja v obman” (Abraham himself was fooled). Both Dal' and Mokienko cite this proverb: Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 483; Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 15.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 445.

⁴⁵ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 164.

vsjakoj nevoli” [This liberty is worse than any slavery].⁴⁶ Iterations of this proverb can be found in several collections. For instance, both Dal’ and Mokienko provide the form, “Okhota pushche nevoli” [Desire is worse than slavery],⁴⁷ while in Nomys one finds, “Okhota hirshe nevoli” [Desire is worse than slavery].⁴⁸ Because Skovoroda believed that natural abilities stemmed from the beneficent creator, and should not, therefore, be dismissed, he confirmed his argument with yet another proverb, in this case a Ukrainian one: “Bez Boha ni do poroha, a z nym khot’ za more” [You cannot reach the door without God, but with Him you can cross the sea].⁴⁹ Versions of this proverb are found in Dal’, Mokienko and Nomys.⁵⁰ It must be stressed that while Skovoroda used proverbs such as these to bolster and clarify his arguments, he used them in the context of his larger philosophy. One could utter these proverbs conventionally or casually without realizing their deep meaning. But for Skovoroda these proverbs were a way to underline his teaching that God’s energy and economy were authentically within everyone and that people could consciously connect with this power in their everyday lives. Having done so, they would, whatever their station or role in life, live happily.

In the next two fables in which Skovoroda employed proverbs – #21, “Kukushka i Kosik” [The Cuckoo and the Black Thrush] and #22, “Navoz i Almaz” [The Dung and the Diamond] – he once more confronted the issue of the divine plan in the world and how to cooperate with it most fully. In the first of these a cuckoo, hearing the song of a black thrush,

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 822; Mokienko, *Bol’shoj Slovar’ Russkikh Poslovits*, 646.

⁴⁸ Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, #4956

⁴⁹ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 164.

⁵⁰ Dal’, *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, “S Bogom khot’ za more, a bez boga ni do poroga” [With God you can cross the sea, but without God you cannot reach the door], 36; Mokienko, *Bol’shoj Slovar’ Russkikh Poslovits*, “Bez Boga ni do poroga, a s Bogom khot’ za more” [Without God you cannot reach the door, but with God – you can cross the sea], 70; Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, “Bez Boha ni do poroha” [Without God you cannot reach even the door], #7.

complained that she was bored and wondered why the thrush was not. The thrush, in the midst of song, responded that the cuckoo's boredom stemmed from the fact that, while she also sang, she had no meaningful work. The difference between them was that though they both sang, the thrush sang as a way to complement the natural work which was her principal activity while the cuckoo sang to distract herself because she was not engaged in the work for which she was best suited by nature. Here, Skovoroda once more invoked the concept of "srodnost" or natural affinity. He illuminated this scenario with the following proverb: "Dobromu cheloveku vsjakoj den' prazdnik" [For a good man every day is a holiday].⁵¹ In Mokienko there is an exact rendition of Skovoroda's proverb, while in Dal' one finds the following iteration; "Dobromu cheloveku – chto den', to i prazdnik" [For a good man – whatever the day, it is a holiday].⁵² However one renders it, Skovoroda intended to demonstrate with this proverb that when one acted in agreement with the Divine economy or worked with one's innate abilities, then all of one's efforts, even less essential ones, such as singing, would be satisfying and joyful.

Just as Skovoroda amplified his argument about natural work in Fable #21 to include secondary activities such as singing, so he expanded his discussion of working in accord with God's economy in Fable #22, "The Dung and the Diamond." In this work, a conversation between them revealed the disappointment of the dung that it was, despite its contributions to the productions of field and garden, far less valued than the diamond. The diamond answered that it did not know exactly why this was so, but added that he had the redeeming feature of reflecting in a special way the light of the very sun whose strength made possible the dung's fertility. As a way to shed light on this situation Skovoroda cited the following proverb in the fable itself: "V Pole pshenitsa godom roditsja, ne nivoju, ni navozom" [In the field the wheat is given birth by the year not by the field or the manure].⁵³ Dal' provided two

⁵¹ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 167.

⁵² Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 986; Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 126.

⁵³ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 167–68.

iterations of Skovoroda's proverb; "Ne zemlja rodit, a god" [It is not the land that bears fruit, but the year]; "Leto rodit, a ne pole" [The year bears the fruit, not the field]. Nomys cited a Ukrainian variation: "Ne zemlia rodyt', a lito" [It is not the land that bears fruit, but the summer]. Finally, Mokienko had this variant: "Pshenitsa godom roditsja, a dobro vseгда prigo-ditsja" [Wheat is born by the year, but the good always comes in handy].⁵⁴ In the context of this fable and its moral, Skovoroda used the proverb to do two things. In the first place, he wanted to show that when one worked in accord with nature, the outcome of that effort depended on more than one's work as conventionally or narrowly defined. Even though the dung contributed to producing the fruit of the land, this contribution was only possible within a vast and interlocking set of factors, involved in the agricultural cycle. Secondly, and relevant to the great honor showered on the diamond, Skovoroda suggested that various things could be valued differently given their respective roles, but that what counted, ultimately, was that each did what was in its nature to do regardless of any acclaim.

In Fable #26, "Shchuka i Rak" [The Pike and the Crab], Skovoroda returned to a more straightforward use of proverbs than he had employed in Fables #21 and #22 where he had employed a more nuanced and multi-faceted approach. This fable recorded an exchange between the pike and the crab focused on the pike's distress over having swallowed some sweet food on a fish hook. The pike in his unhappiness wanted to go elsewhere to find enjoyment, but the crab told him that no change of place would be of any help. In the moral to this fable Skovoroda articulated two different but related proverbs: "Mudromu cheloveku ves' mir est' otechestvom" [To a wise man the whole world is his fatherland]; "Ne ego mesto, no on posvja-

⁵⁴ Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 904–05; Nomys, *Ukrains'ki Prykazky*, #7269; Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 736. Yermolov also cited several variations of this proverb in his collection: "Ne zemlja rodit, a god" [It is not the land that produces, but the year]; "Leto rodit, a ne pole" [The year produces, not the field]; "Ne zemlja rodit, a leto" [It is not the land that produces, but the year]. Yermolov, *Narodnaja Sel'skokhozjaistvennaja mudrost*, 133.

shchaet mesto" [A man blesses the place, not the place him].⁵⁵ Mokienko cited a variant of the first of these: "Dobromu cheloveku ves' mir – svoj dom" [To a good man the whole world is his home]. Dal' and Nomys furnished versions, respectively, of the second: "Ne mesto cheloveka krasit, chelovek – mesto" [The place does not beautify the man, but the man – the place]; "Ne mistse cholovika krasyt', a cholovik mistse" [The place does not beautify the man, but the man the place].⁵⁶ The larger argument of these proverbs for Skovoroda was that a person's essential worth issued from living and working in agreement with God's economy, that is, with one's innate talents and inclinations. Having done this, anyone would feel at home no matter where he lived and, further, he would serve to improve and beautify that place. These ideas were at the center of Skovoroda's ethical teachings which focused on the internal and spiritual rather than on the external and material.

Skovoroda returned to a familiar theme, being one's true self rather than putting on airs, in Fable #28, "Olenitsa i Kaban" [The deer and the boar]. The essence of this fable was the arrogance of the boar, who, upon being addressed as a boar by the deer, angrily insisted that he was a ram with the documents and the elegant clothing to attest to his new and elevated status. The deer apologized, but added that simple creatures like himself judged by deeds rather than by words or appearances. Skovoroda cited two proverbs by way of demonstrating the falsity of the boar's behavior. He identified the first as an ancient Greek proverb, though he gave it in a Russian version: "Obez'jana obez'janoju i v zolotom kharaktere" [A monkey is a monkey even in golden array].⁵⁷ While it is impossible to find a precise equivalent for this proverb in any of the collections available, Mokienko provides one that is similar: "Svin'ja v zolotom oshejnikе – vse svin'ja" [A pig in a gold collar is still a pig].⁵⁸ Skovoroda furnished a Ukrainian proverb with a similar meaning: "Daleko svin'ja ot konja" [A pig is a

⁵⁵ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 171.

⁵⁶ Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 986; Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 720; Nomys, *Ukrains'ki Prykazky*, #955.

⁵⁷ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 174.

⁵⁸ Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 794.

long way from a horse].⁵⁹ Once again exact versions of this cannot be found, but several interesting proverbs citing the gulf between pigs and horses do exist: “Kudy rivniats’tsia svinia do konia, koly sherst’ ne taka!” [How can one compare a pig to a horse, when the hair is not the same!]; “Ne chetaetsja svin’ja s konem” [A pig does not pair with a horse].⁶⁰ Skovoroda persistently stressed the importance of recognizing one’s true, “natural,” or divinely created self and acting and working in accord with this self. In Fable #28 the boar tried to deny or mask this self and to put in its place a false one based on elegant clothing and fabricated documents. Skovoroda contended in one of his longer works that his own happiness depended on the recognition of this self: “I trust that I would be a hundred times happier and more successful shaping clay pans in accord with God than writing in opposition to nature.”⁶¹ It is evident that Skovoroda did not elaborate all of these issues in the fable or in the proverbs he used to support its principal teaching. Still, the proverbs were in complete agreement with the idea that one must recognize one’s true self and act accordingly. A monkey is a monkey, a pig is a pig and a horse is a horse. To act in opposition to nature or the divine economy, which established such differences, led inevitably to failure.

The penultimate fable in this work, 29, “Starukha i Gorschechnik” [The old woman and the potter], furnished several more examples of Skovoroda’s penchant for using proverbs to communicate his philosophical ideas. The fable itself concerned a discussion between the old woman and the potter in which the woman was surprised by the fact that a worse looking pot was more expensive than a better looking pot. The potter responded to the woman’s bewilderment by explaining that the pots were valued not by appearances alone, but also by how they rang or sounded when gently tapped. In his statement about the moral to this fable Skovoroda appealed to various sources to demonstrate the meaning of the tale. The most im-

⁵⁹ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 174.

⁶⁰ Nomys, *Ukrains’ki Prykazky*, #7931; Mokienko, *Bol’shoj Slovar’ Russkikh Poslovits*, 794.

⁶¹ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 654. In this passage Skovoroda introduced a pun on his own surname which means pan.

portant was the following proverb, a variant of which he had used in the introduction to the "Kharkiv Fables": "Ne krasna izba uglami, krasna pirogami" [A hut is not beautiful for its size, but for its pies].⁶² He also cited the Roman words of wisdom, "Sub lucis lues" which he translated as, "Beneath the brilliance, an ulcer." Finally, Skovoroda provided what he termed a proverb taken from the Bible, "Groby povaplenny" [Whitewashed sepulchers].⁶³ Neither the Roman nor the Biblical expressions can be found in collections of Russian and Ukrainian proverbs, but the Russian proverb, in various forms, appears in several places.⁶⁴ The meaning of the Russian proverb, which agreed with that of both the Roman and Biblical passages, was that external, material appearances were unimportant and even deceptive in contrast to something's internal and essential nature. This dualistic teaching was at the heart of Skovoroda's thought and appeared in one way or another throughout his works.

When Skovoroda came to Fable #30, "Solovej, Zhavoronok i Drozd" [The Nightingale, the Lark and the Thrush], he knew he was at the end of the cycle because of the significance of the number thirty.⁶⁵ As a result he poured great effort into this piece, by far the longest of all the fables, about three-and-a-half printed pages, and the one containing the most proverbs: six. The fable related a conversation between the nightingale and the lark during which they decided, after a bit of verbal fencing, that they would have a difficult time being friends because the nightingale preferred to live in an orchard and the lark wanted to live on the plains. At this point the thrush intervened to say that the contending parties were born for friendship, but that they could not see this because they were too focused on their own needs and not enough on the needs of the other. The thrush concluded that if they could change their

⁶² Ibid, 175. The variant in the introduction read as follows: "Krasna khata ne uglami, no pirogami."

⁶³ Ibid. The Biblical phrase here, from Matthew 23:27, is translated variously as "Whited sepulchers" and "Whitewashed tombs." However rendered, it refers to the false teachers who look beautiful on the outside, but who are dead and unclean on the inside.

⁶⁴ See footnote 30.

⁶⁵ See footnote 28.

outlooks in this fashion they could be friends and that he could join them in friendship.

The first of the proverbs adduced by Skovoroda to illustrate the meaning of the fable was an ancient one which he gave in Russian translation as “Podobnago do podobnago vedet Bog” [God leads like to like].⁶⁶ By this Skovoroda meant to emphasize that friendship revolved around the natural inclinations in people, inclinations which reflected the Divine order or economy. In the same manner, he had counseled work in accord with nature as evidenced in many of the “Kharkiv Fables.” Skovoroda did hold that people should love their enemies, but this generosity towards those who were not one’s friends was not the same as the friendship between those who were born for it, as in the fable, or naturally predisposed for it in the same manner that people were naturally inclined to a certain kind of work.

In a further effort to demonstrate the great value of friendship, Skovoroda used a second proverb: “V pole pshenitsa godom roditsja, a dobroj chelovek vseгда prigoditsja” [Wheat in the field is grown by the year, but a good man will always come in handy].⁶⁷ He had used the first part of this proverb in Fable #22, “The Dung and the Diamond,” but for a different purpose. Here, Skovoroda meant to show that while the agricultural cycle could change from year to year and depended on a variety of forces, a good friend had a constancy and reliability which was forever a blessing. Skovoroda immediately added two more proverbs to confirm the worth of friendship. The first of these read as a short conversation: “Gde byl? – U druga. Chto pil? – Vodu. Luchshe neprijatelskago miodu” [Where were you? At my friend’s. What did you drink there?

⁶⁶ Ushkalov, *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, 176. No precise version of this proverb can be identified elsewhere, but two variants suggest, at least, some of this meaning. The first of these is: “Podobnyi podobnago ishchet” [Like seeks like], Mokienko, *Bol’shoj Slovar’ Russkikh Poslovits*, 676. The second reads: “Chelovek khodit, Bog vodit” (Man walks, God leads), Dal’, *Poslovi-tsy Russkago Naroda*, 36.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 177. See footnote 53 to find iterations of this proverb in Dal’, Nomys and Mokienko.

Water. It is better than my enemy's honey].⁶⁸ The second, which Skovoroda identified as Ukrainian, though he rendered it in Russian, stated the following: "Ne imej sta rublej, kak odnogo druga" [One friend is better than one hundred rubles].⁶⁹ As a way to explain these proverbs and the value of friendship, Skovoroda contended that a person who valued other things more highly than friendship for instance, honey or money, was not worthy of friendship, which was the very basis of social strength and cohesion.

In the latter passages of the moral to this fable, Skovoroda broadened his discussion of friendship and provided two proverbs to reflect this broader view. With regard to the first Skovoroda contended that society needed those knowledgeable in theology to help people find God. The more such people that society had, the happier it would be. To clarify this Skovoroda provided the following proverb: "Dobroe bratstvo luchshe bogatstva" [Good brotherhood is better than riches].⁷⁰ For Skovoroda brotherhood had a broader meaning than the personal friendship which was the principal topic of Fable #30 and the earlier part of his discussion of the moral to the fable. People who were not personal friends could be members of a

⁶⁸ Ibid. Several variants of this are found in the collections frequently cited in this essay: "U druga pit' vodu luchshe neprijatel'skogo medu" [It is better to drink a friend's water than an enemy's honey]; Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 774; "U druga voda luchshe, chem mjod u vraga" [A friend's water is better than an enemy's honey]. Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 303. The Soviet scholar, I.V. Ivano, cited this proverb as an example of how Skovoroda's ethical teachings were influenced by popular speech. See note #7 in this regard.

⁶⁹ Ibid. It is possible to identify a few iterations of this, as well. "Ne derzhi sto rublej, derzhi sto druzej" [Better to keep one hundred friends than one hundred rubles], Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 776; "Ne imej sto rublej, a imej sto druzej" [Better to have one hundred friends than one hundred rubles], Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 767; "Ne mai y sto rubliv, yak odnogo druha" [One friend is better than one hundred rubles], Nomys, *Ukrains'ki Prykazky*, #9512.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 177. Several collections contain this proverb in exact or nearly exact versions. "Dobroe bratstvo milee bogatstva" [Good brotherhood is dearer than riches], Dal', *Poslovitsy Russkago Naroda*, 776; "Dobroe bratstvo luchshe bogatstva" [Good brotherhood is better than riches], Mokienko, *Bol'shoj Slovar' Russkikh Poslovits*, 93; "Dobre Bratstvo krashche bahatstva" [Good brotherhood is better than riches], Nomys, *Ukrains'ki Prykazky*, #9502.

larger brotherhood by sharing important ideas about God. They were better off than those who had riches, but were not members of this community of belief. When it came to the second of these two proverbs, the last one in the entire work, Skovoroda again took an unusually broad view of friendship. In this case he argued that the Bible itself was the image of a friend who led one to God, like those theologically astute members of the brotherhood just discussed. He further taught that one who understood the Bible and recognized God's plan for himself would be happy and, therefore, able to avoid evil temptations. One ignorant of the Bible and God's plan would fall prey to these temptations and would be enslaved by them. Whether Skovoroda described friendship as a personal relationship, as the basis for a brotherhood or faith community, or as the ground for understanding the Bible and living ethically, it is evident that he found in friendship an essential element for a happy life.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion can serve as the basis for several concluding remarks. In the first place, the Soviet students of Skovoroda were correct in recognizing the importance of proverbs in his work and the manner in which they demonstrated his ties to the people. They might have been more methodical in noting the locations of the proverbs in Skovoroda's works, in demonstrating the ties between the proverbs Skovoroda used and the philosophic meaning he used them to clarify, and in identifying attested versions of his proverbs in various proverb collections. Still, their pioneering studies on his use of proverbs are of great value. Second, Skovoroda made more use of proverbs than is ordinarily observed. In the sixty or so printed pages which constitute the "Garden of Divine Songs" and the "Kharkiv Fables" in the Ushkalov edition, Skovoroda employed twenty-eight proverbs. Granted, he used several of them more than once, but the volume and variety of the proverbs in these pieces suggest that Skovoroda was substantially informed by popular, oral culture. Third, Skovoroda employed these proverbs in an integral way in every instance. He did not

use them simply to decorate or embellish his work, but rather to clarify and confirm the ideas most important to him. These included the dualism of being, “natural” work and friendship, the transience of the material world and the spiritual danger of becoming too attached to it, the deceptive nature of appearances, and the unity, constancy and economy of God. Fourth, virtually every proverb he used can be attested in proverb collections such as those of V. Dal', V. Mokienko and M. Nomys. This suggests that the proverbs used by Skovoroda had great currency and durability in the popular mind. Finally, and connected to the second, third and fourth points above, it is clear that Skovoroda's connection to the lower classes, as witnessed by his familiarity with and use of their speech in his work, was genuine, continuing and deep.



Резюме

У 1817 році Густав Гесс де Кальве помітив, що Сковорода використовує „дивні висловлювання”. Щонайменше три з восьми згаданих ним випадків, були приказками, знайденими в опублікованих збірках прислів'їв. Незважаючи на те, що присутність приказок у творчості Сковорода була виявлена ще на початку дев'ятнадцятого століття, наукові дослідження цього явища написали окремі радянські автори щойно в другій половині двадцятого століття. Попри те, що ці перші спроби мають велике значення, їм бракує послідовності у виявленні приказок в конкретних працях Сковорода та їх зв'язку безпосередньо з його філософськими ідеями і представленні зафіксованих версій приказок у зібраних колекціях цього виду народної творчості. Ця стаття є спробою виправити ці недоліки, зосередивши на обговоренні всіх приказок, які вжив Сковорода у збірці віршів „Сад божественних пісень” та збірці „Байки харківські”. На основі цієї дискусії стає зрозумілим, що Сковорода використовує більше приказок, ніж вважалось, оскільки він вплітав їх у праці, щоб прояснити свої філософські ідеї. Практично всі вжиті в його творах прислів'я можна знайти у виданих збірках народної творчості. На підставі цього можна сказати, що таким чином Сковорода демонстрував свій зв'язок з простими людьми і народною творчістю.

On the Uses of John Damascene’s *Dialectica* for Orthodox Christian Discourse

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Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 72)

The present article is a discussion of the philosophical-theological mode in which Christian orthodoxy could critically engage with non-Christian modes of thought in a manner intentionally consistent with native metaphysical and epistemological presuppositions and commitments. Hermeneutics will be more or less the platform on which the notion of “Tradition,” informed by Gadamer and Florovsky, is raised so as to articulate how Christian tradition (for the present study largely derived from the philosophical work of John of Damascus) informs a hermeneutic mode of discourse, analysis, and worldview, what elsewhere has been called a hermeneutic of tradition. In short, this hermeneutic of tradition relative to historic orthodoxy refers in the first place to the intentional act of understanding according to the Scriptural, Apostolic, Patristic, and Conciliar norms as embodied and expressed by the particular Fathers and Ecumenical Councils of the historic, undivided Church, and the application of these norms, the *regula fidei*, or, perhaps yet more boldly, the “hermeneutic canons,” to contemporary problematics. The argument, then, seeks to show in light of Ricoeur’s theory of interpretation how John Damascene’s *Dialectica* fittingly provides a foundational conceptual apparatus integrating Christian epistemology and metaphysics into a coherent system of thought which provides tools for engaging contemporary philosophical discourse from within a consistently orthodox perspective.



John Damascene and a Living Tradition of Christian Philosophy

In engaging with non-Christian thought, whether it touches on such areas as metaphysics, epistemology, hermeneutics, literary theory, semiotics, rhetoric, etc., there can be a difficult time bringing Orthodox Christian thought to bear critically so as to engage meaningfully and “within a consistent Orthodox perspective.”¹ In this situation it becomes difficult to discern objectively what is consistent with Christian thought from what is not. Basil of Caesarea and John of Damascus both utilized the analogy of the bee to provide an image for the Christian engagement with non-Christian thought,² and so it is worth observing that bees do not take pollen from all flowers, and moreover, when they do take pollen they convert it for a use specific to the bees’ life and worldview. The analogy implies that there is discernment, a critical engagement, and then a deep chemical conversion turning that which is raw into something useful according to the Orthodox canon. This issue of discernment, then, is vital for the intellectually rigorous articulation of the gospel in coherent terms consonant with Orthodox doctrine.³

To set the stage for an answer to this, the notion of Tradition as providing “hermeneutic guidance” for a critical engagement with non-Orthodox thought needs to be raised. In doing so, we provide a more general framework by which Orthodox thought can be viewed in hermeneutic terms, and into which

¹ Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1973), 117.

² John of Damascus, *Fount of Knowledge*, in *Saint John of Damascus: Writings*, tr. Frederic H. Chase, Jr. (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1958), preface. See also Basil the Great, *Address to Young Men on the Right Use of Greek Literature*, tr. Frederick Morgan Padelford, in *Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1902), 4.

³ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, Pref. I.1. John states much the same of those who “by mixing evil with divine words through unjust lips and a crafty tongue, and trying to cover up its dark and shapeless form and shake the hearts of the unstable from the true customs, handed down from the fathers”: Id., *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, tr. Andrew Louth, (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), II.4.

John Damascene's work can be incorporated specifically.⁴ Hans-Georg Gadamer's discussion of tradition and authority as constituting an integral part of an interpretive community is useful for this, and can be set in conversation with Georges Florovsky's notion of Tradition.⁵ What will be identified below as a hermeneutic of tradition – Gadamer's attempt at restoring to the act of understanding, which is to say to hermeneutics, an anti-irrational notion of authority and tradition – provides solid contemporary groundwork for an "Eastern Orthodox" notion of a hermeneutic of tradition, which is to say the workings out of a particularly Orthodox hermeneutic of Tradition.⁶ As Gadamer states, distinct from a coercive tyranny, "acknowledging authority is always connected with the

⁴ More generally see Tad W. Guzie, "Patristic Hermeneutics and the Meaning of Tradition," *Theological Studies* 32 (1971): 647–58; Anthony Meredith, *The Theology of Tradition* (Notre Dame, IN: Fides Publishers, 1971); and John McGuckin, "Recent Biblical Hermeneutics in Patristic Perspective: The Tradition of Orthodoxy," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 47 (2002): 295–326.

⁵ For a recent assessment of Florovsky's notion of Tradition in terms of his Neopatristic synthesis, see Paul Gavriluk's article, "Florovsky's Neopatristic Synthesis and the Future Ways of Orthodox Theology," in *Orthodox Constructions of the West* (New York: Fordham, 2013), 102–124. Hopefully the present study will respond in some measure to Gavriluk's statement concerning Florovsky that, "Though neopatristic synthesis was the guiding vision connecting all aspects of his scholarship, from Russian studies to ecumenical work, Florovsky never developed this vision into a comprehensive theological system" (102).

For a more critical view of Florovsky's Neopatristic synthesis, see Pantelis Kalaitzidis' article: "From the 'Return to the Fathers' to the Need for a Modern Orthodox Theology," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 54 (2010): 5–3. Additionally see Matthew Baker, "The Correspondence between T.F. Torrance and Georges Florovsky (1950–1973)," *Participatio: The Journal of the T.F. Torrance Theological Fellowship* 4 (2013): 287–323.

A balanced and nuanced assessment demonstrating the flexibility of the Neopatristic synthesis can be found in Paul Ladouceur's article: "Treasures New and Old: Landmarks of Orthodox Neopatristic Theology," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 56 (2012): 191–227.

⁶ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 2nd rev. ed., (New York: Crossroad, 1992), 277–307. There is a growing body of literature discussing the notion of both a hermeneutic of tradition and a hermeneutic of continuity. See, e.g., *The Hermeneutics of Tradition: Explorations and Examinations*, eds. Craig Hovey and Cyrus P. Olsen (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2014).

idea that what the authority says is not irrational and arbitrary but can, in principle, be discovered to be true.”⁷ This accords with the assertion of Florovsky, where rather than being an irrational appeal to mere antiquity, “the appeal to Tradition was actually an appeal to the mind of the Church.”⁸

In light of the foregoing, as will be argued in greater detail below, a hermeneutic of tradition relative to Eastern Orthodoxy refers in the first place to the intentional act of interpreting according to the scriptural, apostolic, patristic, liturgical, and conciliar norms as embodied and expressed by the particular Fathers and Ecumenical Councils of the Church, and the application of these norms, the *regula fidei*, or, perhaps yet more boldly, the “hermeneutic canons,” to present problematics.⁹ Not merely a set of prescriptions, then, a “fixed core or complex of binding propositions,” or “inherited doctrines,” according to Florovsky, these canons of interpretation are instead that which emerges dynamically from the “*sensus catholicus* ... the (*φρόνημα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν* [ecclesiastical mind]),” which is also to say the mind of the Church.¹⁰

On this point Florovsky is forthright: “Tradition was in the Early Church, first of all, an hermeneutical principle and method.”¹¹ Gadamer, however, clarifies this by noting that authentic understanding cannot be reduced to a purely abstract method, nor to the mere retrieval of dust-laden archives, for tradition is not abstract, but has a primary lived component, a sense not just of that which is handed down, or past, but also inclusive of the living and relational act of handing down: “Understanding is to be thought of less as a subjective act than as participating in an event of tradition, a process of trans-

⁷ Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 280.

⁸ George Florovsky, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing, 1972), 83.

⁹ As Florovsky stated (*ibid.*, 73): “The famous dictum of St. Vincent of Lerins was characteristic of the attitude of the Ancient Church in the matters of faith: ‘We must hold what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all’ [*Commonitorium*, 2]. This was at once the criterion and the norm. The crucial emphasis was here on the permanence of Christian teaching.”

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 80, 89; cf. 103.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

mission in which past and present are constantly mediated.”¹² Without totally removing the notion of method, however, the key point here is to distinguish a hermeneutic of tradition from mere mechanistic formulae. In this light, time, or temporal distance, can be recognized “as a positive and productive condition enabling understanding ... filled with the continuity of custom and tradition.”¹³ In fact, via this continuity Gadamer asserts that temporal distance “lets the true meaning of the [interpreted] object emerge fully.”¹⁴

In restoring the notion of authority and tradition from being relegated to an exercise in authoritarian irrationality, Gadamer also asserts that “there is no unconditional antithesis between tradition and reason.”¹⁵ Gadamer’s insight, then, can be directly tied into an Orthodox framework. As Florovsky states, “it was assumed that the Church had the knowledge and the understanding of the truth, of the truth and the ‘meaning’ of the Revelation. Accordingly, the Church had both the competence and the authority to proclaim the Gospel and to interpret it.”¹⁶ The Church, embodying a deep commensurability between knowledge, understanding, and tradition, is therefore a repository of insight into the truth, and its authority in this sense acts also as a preservative of a living knowledge.¹⁷

If one is going to follow the logical consequence of Gadamer and, as will be shown below, Ricoeur, then the next logical place to look is at an instance of actual tradition, together with its conceptual apparatus. The Damascene explicitly supplies this apparatus, this set of conceptual tools with which one can actually “do” what Gadamer and Florovsky advocate. This, then, is why Florovsky’s notion of a neopatristic synthesis is relevant, for in his return to the fathers he is doing what Gadamer advocates from within a living Orthodox *phronēma*. The Damascene will then emerge within this neopatristic

¹² Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 290.

¹³ *Ibid*, 297.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 298.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 281.

¹⁶ Florovsky, *Bible, Church*, 83.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 84.

synthesis as a provider of the conceptual tools with which to integrate what might otherwise appear disparate.

In the above sense, then, Florovsky is understandable as one who is manifesting the principles Gadamer is arguing for, and whose project is, in a manner of speaking, justified by Gadamer. Gadamer's own arguments, therefore, enable Florovsky's project to speak to contemporary philosophical discourse. Florovsky, for his part, is within an Orthodox idiom working out an application of Gadamer's argument for tradition, supplying through native Orthodox concepts an Orthodox equivalent of Gadamer's arguments. In this sense it can also be shown that bringing these two authors together is not an arbitrary juxtaposition, for Gadamer's work is highly useful for explaining and clarifying in philosophical and hermeneutic terms what Florovsky is also doing intentionally within an Orthodox philosophical and theological framework, breaking Florovsky's project out of closed sectarian circles.

The foregoing is *contra* Kalaitzidis who was quoted above (see footnote 5) as saying that Florovsky's approach ultimately leaves "Orthodox theology mute and uneasy in the face of the challenges of the modern world,"¹⁸ because a proper understanding of the nature of tradition according to Florovsky and Gadamer makes the reduction of it to a look to the past impossible. Not needing yet another "paradigm shift," this then renders the neopatristic synthesis an answer rather than an obstacle, for the principles implicated in the neopatristic synthesis itself are flexible enough to be able to "bring it [Orthodoxy] into dialogue with the difficult and provocative questions posed by modernity and late modernity."¹⁹

From Florovsky's corpus can be shown such a critical engagement with modern thought; one particularly powerful example may suffice from the opening of his critical assessment of "the metaphysical premises of Utopianism":

The thoughts and evaluations of each and every one of us are interconnected by a kind of mutual responsibility, and thus the components of human world views are

¹⁸ Kalaitzidis, "From the Return," 9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

not simply placed next to one another “from without” in a mosaic, “accidental,” disjointed manner. Man’s “creedal world view” is always integral. Everything in it stems from a single source, everything gravitates toward a single focal point. Everything is organically connected and “interconditional” – each element is defined by the whole of which it is a part and, inversely, somehow reflectively coexists everywhere and in all other elements. It is for this reason that the method of ideally reconstructing a whole by its parts is entirely applicable to world views. Every individual element contains a compressed reflection of the organic whole which contains it, and the character of each element is determined by the particular qualities and structure of the unified system which envelops and forms it, and within which it occupies its own innerly substantiated place. The entire man is revealed in each individual judgment and opinion – his general world view, his own particular vision of the world. “And just as in a scarcely noticeable dewdrop you can see the entire face of the sun, in the hidden depths you will find a whole cohesive world view.” Inversely, it is namely because of the inner cohesiveness and organization of world views that the image of the whole must be anticipated, the unifying principle divined and grasped, in order for each individual judgment to be mastered, each individual thought in its undamaged completeness, in its concrete uniqueness.²⁰

In this light it can be seen that the neoplatonic synthesis is an example of a “creedal world view,” and so lends itself well to a critical engagement with modern thought and concerns.

Noble states, however, that in splitting tradition and innovation, “Florovsky reifies one form of tradition at the expense

²⁰ Georges Florovsky, “The Metaphysical Premises of Utopianism,” in *Philosophy: Philosophical Problems and Movements*, vol. 12 of *The Collected Works* (Belmont, 1989), 75.

of limiting its plurality and further creative development.”²¹ Noble’s critique, however, is shown to emerge from an incomplete assessment of the dynamism of the neopatristic synthesis, for Florovsky did not merely deride Utopianism for not being patristic enough. The notions of pluralism and innovation are themselves loaded terms, and though there is not space to examine them in more depth here, it can be said briefly that innovation and pluralism are not identical with responsiveness and coherence. The question then remains for his critics as to what element of Florovsky’s thought *necessarily* engenders an impasse as regards Orthodox interaction with modern thought. It does not seem, beyond the mere assertion, that there is anything substantial to validate this claim.²² Thus we may need to identify key elements of patristic thought which can be used in a creative engagement with modern philosophy.²³

Moving forward, though the foregoing answers in a more general way to the issue of locating Tradition as a living guide to present understanding, a more particular answer as to what may constitute the substantive details of this *ressourcement* is still needed. As Matthew Baker well articulates: “Dogmatic definitions are not merely anti-heresiological, ‘but aim also to resolve certain aporiae and philosophical problems.’ Patristic dogmas established ‘the concepts and even the new categories which could constitute the conceptual framework proper to the presentation of unadulterated Christian truth.’”²⁴

Returning to John of Damascus, we can ask to what extent his *Fount of Knowledge*, especially his *Dialectica*, speaks to us

²¹ Ivana Noble, “Tradition and Innovation: Introduction to the Theme,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 59 (2015): 7–15, 15.

²² For an insightful demonstration of Florovsky’s engagement with modern thought, see also Matthew Baker, “‘Theology Reasons’ – in History: Neopatristic Synthesis and the Renewal of Theological Rationality,” *ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 4/2010, 81–118.

²³ Ladouceur expresses a similar difficulty identifying the means of connecting the neopatristic synthesis to present problematics: “One of the weaknesses of neopatristic theology has been its difficulty in coming to grips with modern issues that were unknown in classical patristic times or to which the classical Fathers paid scant attention”: “Landmarks of Orthodox Neopatristic Theology,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 56 (2012): 191–227, 221.

²⁴ Baker, “Theology Reasons,” 89–90.

and assists us in forming a consistently “Orthodox” meta-structure for philosophical and theological discourse, one which can provide Orthodoxy a framework for beginning to speak to issues raised by contemporary philosophical disciplines?²⁵ Concerning John’s relevance to this, and tying him into the argument as it has developed thus far, Zhyrkova asserts:

Within the core of that tradition [i.e., Orthodoxy], John himself is an essential element. The sacred tradition of the Church, being in its essence the “tradition of truth” (*traditio veritatis* or, in the formula of St. Irenaeus, *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*) does not amount to just historical memory and loyalty to a preserved legacy. Tradition, as has been splendidly put by George Florovsky, “is the inner, mystical memory of the Church.” Tradition, in other words, is the unity and continuity of the spiritual experience and of the life of grace itself.²⁶

In other words, the framework undergirding John’s thought, being integrally woven into the Orthodox “tradition of truth,” is thus given more substantive weight precisely because the nature of tradition is not merely to parrot what has been said, but to enter into the living mind of the Church. This, however,

²⁵ Adrahtas sought to respond to this question to some degree in his essay on John of Damascus, “Theology as Dialectics,” yet little if any substantive reference is made to the *Dialectica* itself (which is admittedly strange given the title of his essay), but is rather focused on the later and expressly theological chapters. Though his analysis is often excellent and fruitful, it can be contended that his study has to some degree put the cart before the horse, for the philosophical chapters which open the book lay the fundamental intellectual and terminological groundwork for his section on theology, and so, without this section’s substance and significance integrated into the understanding of John’s theology, the overall force of John’s system of thought will suffer attenuation. This lacuna in the study of Damascene will hopefully be addressed to some degree in the present essay: Vassilis Adrahtas, “Theology as Dialectics and the Limits of Patristic Thought in the Post-Modern World: A Reading into St John of Damascus,” *Phronema* 18 (2003): 109–27.

²⁶ Anna Zhyrkova, “The Philosophical Originality of a Theologian: The Case of a Patristic Author Forgotten and Overlooked by History,” *Forum Philosophicum* 17 (2012): 225–243, 239.

is not an invitation to arbitrary methodological invention, for Fathers such as the Damascene have provided substance and guidance for this very process. John himself states: “if anyone proclaims to you anything other than [what] the catholic Church has received from the holy Apostles and Fathers and synods and preserved up to now, do not listen to him nor accept the counsel of the serpent, as Eve accepted it and reaped death.”²⁷

Tradition as understood within the Damascene’s thought is not something that “changes with the seasons,” for it is only by critical comparison with that which is received in the Church that a baseline for evaluation of truth claims is had. His example of Eve is appropriate for the reason that God’s revealed will concerning the tree was the only means or standard by which to evaluate the veracity of the serpent’s specious counsel in the first place, a standard she did not avail herself of and so fell victim to the serpent’s deathly deceit. Rather than seeing this as necessitating a retreat from philosophical acumen, however, this study seeks to assert that the *Dialectica*, as the foundation for the articulation of the Damascene’s theological thought,²⁸ constitutes more broadly a semantic template for a coherent interconceptual system useful for discourse, and thus enables a specifically “Orthodox” mode of discourse to dialogue with contemporary fields.

If, as Gadamer argues, tradition plays a key role in articulating *present* coherent thought, then it might also be noted that any particular tradition that is received is not received void of particular content, but precisely with particular content. It is one thing to argue for tradition abstractly and in principle, and

²⁷ John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, tr. Andrew Louth, (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), III.3. John’s vision of consequence on this issue is marked: “We do not remove the Ancient boundaries, set in place by our fathers, but we hold fast to the traditions, as we have received them. For if we begin to remove even a tiny part of the structure of the Church, in a short time the whole edifice will be destroyed” (II.12).

²⁸ For a discussion of how John’s philosophical thought informed his theological thought, see Christophe Erismann, *A World of Hypostases: John of Damascus’ Rethinking of Aristotle’s Categorical Ontology* (Studia Patristica L: Peeters Publishers, 269–287, 2011), 271–2, and 279.

still another to instantiate the argument with the content of an actual tradition. In John of Damascus, then, we are supplied with such vital content for the present intellectual tradition of Eastern Christian thought, a specific content which is present and living. John's text amounts to an Orthodox tradition of Christian epistemological vocabulary, one that moreover provides the means for critical engagement with non-Christian thought.²⁹

That said, an exegetical argument can be made that the title, "Fount of Knowledge," emerging as it does in chapter 2 of the *Dialectica*, does not apply to the trilogy as a whole and is specifically attached to the *Dialectica* itself, indicating that these "Philosophical Chapters" are themselves the "Fount of Knowledge." In order to better understand what the Damascene sees as the foundation of all types of knowledge, the question concerning the title of the philosophical chapters is worth examining. Though it may be scholarly convention to apply the title of *Fount* to the whole work,³⁰ there is reason to suggest that this practice is insufficient and misleading. Given that John has already given a preface to the work as a whole, describing therein the work's threefold structure, it is significant that he introduces the concept of a *fount* of knowledge only later, two chapters into the *Dialectica*: "Our purpose (*σκοπός*), then, is to make a beginning (*ἀπαρχασθαι*) of philosophy and to set down concisely in the present writing [i.e., what is generally known as the *Dialectica*], so far as is possible, every sort of knowledge. For this reason let it [i.e., this beginning of philosophy] be entitled (*ὀνομαζέσθω*) a Fount of Knowledge

²⁹ Christophe Erismann, *A World of Hypostases*, 287.

³⁰ Louth, however, seems to accept that the title refers to the whole work, following Allatius, though he seems to also indicate that the *Dialectica* may itself be the *Fount*, without, however, commenting on the significance of why this might matter. See Andrew Louth, *St. John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 31–32, 34f16. Tatakis also accepts the title *Fount* as referring to the whole work: *Byzantine Philosophy*, tr. Nicholas Moutafakis, (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2003), 83, 86. Zunjic also applies the title, *Fount*, to the whole work: "John Damascene's 'Dialectic' as a Bond Between Philosophical Tradition and Theology," in *The Ways of Byzantine Philosophy*, 227–270, ed. Miconja Knezevic, (Alhambra, CA: Sebastian Press, 2015), 227–8.

(πηγή γνώσεως)” (*Dialectica*, 2). There is an apparent conceptual connection between “a *beginning* of philosophy”³¹ and “a *fount* (or source) of knowledge.”³² Moreover, in the preface to the work as a whole he relates that the first portion of his work will be dedicated to philosophy and knowledge, whereas he characterizes the third portion as being devoted to truth, stating: “Then, with God’s help and by His grace I shall expose the truth” (preface).

It seems quite possible, even likely, that John has a distinction in mind between the nature of the subjects dealt with in these different sections, where the first is associated prominently with a beginning in philosophy and knowledge, and the third with the theological truth of the Church’s faith as revealed and maintained by “the divinely inspired prophets, the divinely taught fisherman [i.e., apostles], and the God-bearing shepherds and teachers (θεοπνεύστων προφητῶν, καί θεοδιδάκτων ἀλιέων, καί θεοφόρων ποιμένων τε καί διδασκάλων)” (ibid). Given the repetition of the notion of theological truth as coming through *God*-inspired, *God*-taught, and *God*-bearing persons, and holding this together with John’s affirmation in the opening two chapters of the *Exposition of the Faith* that knowledge of God *Himself*, rather than knowledge merely of His *existence* (a distinction maintained by John in this context), comes from God Himself via revelation, makes the rendering of *Fount* as the title to the philosophical chapters seem all the more justified: “Indeed, He has given us knowledge of Himself in accordance with our capacity, at first through the Law and the Prophets and then afterwards through His only-begotten Son, our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ” (*Expositio*, 1.1).

Concerning the epistemological necessity of revelation concerning theological truth, at the end of *Expositio* 1.2 John states: “It is impossible either to say or fully to understand anything about God beyond what has been divinely proclaimed to us, whether told or revealed, by the sacred declarations of

³¹ <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=A%29PA%2FRCASQAI-%2F&la=greek&can=a%29pa%2Frcasqai%2F0&prior=XA/RITOS#lexicon>.

³² <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=phgh%5C&la=greek&prior=e%29/oike#Perseus:text:1999.04.0058:entry=phgh/-contents>.

the Old and New Testaments.” It thus seems further corroborated that the theological third part of the whole work is conceptually distinct from the first, the “beginning of philosophy/fount of knowledge” (and its apparent connections to “natural theology,” which is an association affirmed in chapters 1 and 3 of the first book of the *Expositio*). As such, if this holds true, the title, *Fount of Knowledge*, is best understood as the specific and proper title of the *Dialectica*, and not of the section on the exposition of the faith. Though this could seem more or less obvious, scholars have generally identified the title of the *Fount* with the entire work.³³ The divisions of philosophy recounted by John in *Dialectica* 3, however, would seem to bear this proposed distinction out, for philosophy is conceived there as a much broader discipline than theology, theology being a specialization of philosophy, the logical reflection on divine revelation as received and maintained in the Church.

If the foregoing is correct, then it would be natural to identify the *Dialectica* as the *Fount of Knowledge*, for it is the broader subject providing the foundational tools for all knowledge and therefore *a fortiori* any subsequent theological specialization, a theological specialization which is, as noted, dependent on revelation. The tools provided in the *Fount* are thus for knowledge in general, and foundational for treating with theology properly. The importance of identifying the *Fount* specifically as the opening philosophical section is therefore found in that it shows more clearly what the *skopos* of John's conception of knowledge and philosophy are, for he is committing himself to a certain view of the *nature* of knowledge, and thus the boundary of its beginning is significant for

³³ E.g., Vassilis Adrahtas, “Theology as Dialectics and the Limits of Patristic Thought in the Post-Modern World: A Reading into St John of Damascus,” *Phronema* 18 (2003): 109–127, 116. Cf. Anna Zhyrkova, “Hypostasis – The Principle of Individual Existence in John of Damascus,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 61 (1–2), 101–130, 101f. Cf. Anna Zhyrkova, “The Philosophical Originality of a Theologian: The Case of a Patristic Author Forgotten and Overlooked by History,” *Forum Philosophicum* 17 (2012): 225–243, 234. Cf. Michael Frede, “John of Damascus on Human Action, the Will, and Human Freedom,” *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, ed. Katerina Ierodiakonou (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 63–95, 63. Cf. Andrew Louth, *St. John Damascene*, ix, 13, 23f.18, 31, etc.

Eastern Christian thought. John is actually endeavoring to articulate the foundations of knowledge in general together with its conceptual-terminological tools, for according to John's notion of philosophy it applies to all true knowledge, and not merely to philosophy as a sub-discipline of scholarly endeavors.³⁴

Philosophy is thus treated as comprehensive of all knowledge, and as such integrates all knowledge into a single inter-conceptual framework or system, envisioning it as a whole, and consequently his *Dialectica* functions as the grammar of an entire worldview. According to John, theology is a distinct class and discipline of knowledge, comprised essentially of revelation, whereas the largely "natural theology" of the philosophical chapters comprises the foundation for coming to articulate and understand said revelation and also for discourse on all manner of knowledge. It is precisely the *Fount's* developing an epistemological vocabulary and speaking to such issues as epistemology and metaphysics that renders it such an important voice in coming to terms with non-theological discourse which is yet consistent with Christian philosophical principles. In light of the foregoing, then, the reason for choosing this specific work of the Damascene is due precisely to this comprehensive scope.

Moreover, this text is significant in that the Damascene stands in continuity with a long line of thinkers before him, both from within his own Christian tradition as well as from non-Christian thinkers such as Porphyry and Aristotle. For example, his use of Platonic and Aristotelian sources is in this sense an icon of the Orthodox dialectic of continuity and discontinuity with Hellenism, taking as he does much from Porphyry's *Introduction* to Aristotle's *Categories* as well as from the Aristotelian commentator Ammonius of Alexandria, in a more or less happy marriage of their thought.³⁵ On the other

³⁴ *Dialectica*, 3.

³⁵ For literature examining the Damascene's relationship to Hellenistic philosophy, see: Joseph Koterski, "On the Aristotelian Heritage of John of Damascus," in *The Failure of Modernism: The Cartesian Legacy and Contemporary Pluralism*, ed. Brendan Sweetman, (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 58–71. See also: Anna Zhyrkova, "The

hand, the “holy Fathers” which the Damascene consistently draws on are Athanasius, the Cappadocian Fathers, John Chrysostom, Nemesius of Emesa, Cyril of Alexandria, Leontius of Byzantium, and Maximus the Confessor. These Fathers thus form a sort of centuries-long philosophical *cum* theological continuity. In other words, the Damascene and his text are comprehensive both in terms of the text's *skopos* and in terms of his historic position in living Christian tradition.

Concerning the necessary, which is to say non-arbitrary, relation between theology and philosophy as conceived by the Damascene, Zhyrkova states:

This work [the *Fount of Knowledge*] is of significance for the history of thought by being the first in which a well-defined methodology is applied to a theological treatise. What is more, for the first time a theologian offers a methodological justification of the structure of his own treatise and defines the role of philosophy in theological discourse.³⁶

In short, this integral structure provides a means for framing coherent thought which is not only authentic to Orthodoxy and theologically sound, but is also useful for articulating philosophical thought on a variety of issues. As Erismann argues, “His ultimate aim is a rational, structured and correct exposition of the Christian dogma. But in order to achieve it, he must first analyze language and reality.”³⁷ Tying the study of knowledge (epistemology) and reality (metaphysics), together even with language itself, John argues:

Since it is our purpose to discuss every simple philosophical term, we must first of all know with what sort

Philosophical Originality,” 225–243; and Scott Fennema, “Patristic Metaphysics: Is the Divine Essence for John Damascene and Augustine of Hippo an Ontological Universal?” *Glossolalia* 6 (2013): 1–21.

³⁶ Anna Zhyrkova, “The Philosophical Originality,” 231–232.

³⁷ Christophe Erismann, *A World of Hypostases: John of Damascus' Re-thinking of Aristotle's Categorical Ontology* (Studia Patristica L: Peeters Publishers, 269–287, 2011), 272.

of terms it is that philosophy is concerned. So, we begin our discussion with sound itself. A sound is either meaningless (*ἄσημός*) or it has meaning (*σημαντική*). If it is meaningless, then it signifies nothing; but if it has a meaning, then it signifies (*σημαίνουσα*) something. Then, again, a meaningless sound is either articulate or inarticulate. Now, that sound which cannot be written is inarticulate, whereas that which can be written is articulate. ... Now, philosophy is not concerned with the meaningless sound, whether it be inarticulate or articulate. Again, the sound which has meaning is either articulate or inarticulate. ... Now, the articulate sound which has meaning is either universal or particular. It is not with the particular term that philosophy is concerned; rather, philosophy is concerned with that sound which has meaning, is articulate, and is universal, or, in other words, common and predicated of several things.³⁸

In short, his conception of philosophy is embedded in the nature of reality, integral with and emerging in relation to intelligible, articulate sound. Thus, in addition to articulating the rudiments of a philosophy of language, John's thought also articulates an intentionally Orthodox framework revealing the interconnectivity of subjects as apparently distinct as logic, language, epistemology, and metaphysics, integrating them all together within an authentically Christian philosophy suited to a specifically Christian worldview. Concerning his epistemological use of logic and how it is intrinsically related to his conception of language, he states:

However one should understand that we are beginning with that division of philosophy which concerns the reason (*λογισμῶ*) and which is a tool (*ὄργανόν*) of philosophy rather than one of its divisions, because it is used for every demonstration (*ἀπόδειξις*). So, for the present, we shall discuss simple terms which through

³⁸ *Dialectica*, 5.

simple concepts signify simple things. Then, after we have explained the meanings of the words, we shall investigate dialectic.³⁹

In other words, every act of demonstration utilizes reason or logic (*λογικῶς*) as a tool in order to make said demonstration, and so John is framing his work as a primer in the epistemological framework together with the conceptual tools, i.e., terms, necessary for the rational method essential to his Christian notion of knowledge.⁴⁰ John's definition of philosophy, then, needs to be brought more fully into consideration for the understanding of the scope of his epistemology and its range of applicability. He states:

Philosophy is knowledge (*γνώσις*) of things which are (*ὄντων*) in so far as they are (*ὄντα*), that is, a knowledge of the nature of things which have being (*ὄντων*). And again, philosophy is knowledge of both divine and human things, that is to say, of things both visible and invisible. Philosophy, again, is a study of death... Still again, philosophy is the making of one's self like God. Philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences. This is because philosophy is the principle of every art, since through it every art and science has been invented. ... Philosophy, again, is a love of wisdom. But, true wisdom is God (*Σοφία δὲ ἀληθής, ὁ Θεός ἐστιν*). Therefore, the love of God (*ἀγάπη πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*), this is the true philosophy (*ἀληθής φιλοσοφία*).⁴¹

John's manifest conception of the exhaustive scope of philosophy is further extended into its primary divisions:

Philosophy is divided into speculative (*θεωρητικόν*) and practical (*πρακτικόν*). The speculative is divided

³⁹ *Dialectica*, 3. See also *Dialectica*, 64.

⁴⁰ For the use of *λογικός* as reason or logic, see: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=logikos&la=greek#lexicon>.

⁴¹ *Dialectica*, 3.

into theology, physiology, and mathematics. The practical is divided into ethics, domestic economy, and politics. Now, the speculative is the orderly disposition of knowledge (*γνώσιν κοσμοῦν*).... Practical philosophy ... is concerned with the virtues (*ἀρετάς*).⁴²

This notion of knowledge, therefore, is holistic in the sense that it is not dis-integrated, but integrated within a common reality, both physical and metaphysical.

Widening this observation to include Greek philosophical discourse that the Damascene critically sifted, Zhyrkova states: “Partaking in the established tradition, John not only recognizes that Greek philosophy has some true elements and is useful for theology, but also turns it into one of the bases for theological discourse.”⁴³ This manner of patristic philosophical and theological thought, then, is not arbitrary, neither is it merely culturally utilitarian, and therefore it cannot be divorced from the Fathers’ diachronic lexicon nor casually excised from Orthodox discourse.⁴⁴ Theological discourse must be inclusive of “the way in which they did theology, rather than simply appropriating for our own purposes the formulas they produced as a result.”⁴⁵ In other words, getting to the inner workings of Patristic thought, not just patristic conclusions, is necessary to actually understanding what is at work in their discoursing on Christ, never “forgetting the basic principle that conclusions without the arguments that lead to them are at best ambiguous.”⁴⁶ This, however, is not a matter of idle historiographic curiosity, is not merely a concern with past Orthodox thought, but is also vitally constitutive of what animates present Orthodox thinking and discourse. What then is the grammar of this premodern discourse?

⁴² *Dialectica*, 3.

⁴³ Zhyrkova, “The Philosophical Originality,” 230.

⁴⁴ In this light, any idea that suggests the Church Fathers were simply cultural relativists adopting “culturally relevant” language merely “to suit the times” ought to be discarded.

⁴⁵ John Behr, *The Mystery of Christ: Life in Death* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2006), 176.

⁴⁶ Behr, *The Mystery of Christ*, 173.

***John Damascene's Dialectica as Providing a
Meta-structure for Discourse***

Plato and Aristotle agreed: one does not begin a search for knowledge with either a question or set of questions, but first and foremost with wonder.⁴⁷ According to Plato (via Socrates), this wonderment is the beginning of philosophy, of a knowledge which transcends the tangible.⁴⁸ According to Aristotle, this wonderment likewise leads to a desire for a knowledge which transcends mere utility.⁴⁹ Following upon the heels of a sense of wonder, then, is a quest for metaphysical knowledge. Yet, since human knowledge is bound up with words, as implied by John in the fifth chapter of the *Fount*, in order to ask a question or discourse on knowledge, one must have words with which to frame the question and proceed with any relevant inquiry. Words, however, must communicate meaning, for without meaning there is no sense. Thus philosophy must be clear in the use of its semantic instruments, the tools of its terminological trade.

In order to discourse on language-as-discourse, then, as trivial an observation as it may seem, one must use language. The question of language is fundamental to the present inquiry. Language, however, as was noted above, is a type of tradition, which is to say it exists within a community, both synchronically shared and diachronically handed down. But language as a term is very abstract, for language is only instantiated in particular words. Particular words, then, being the building blocks of language, are among the first issues needing to be dealt with in order to use them to erect coherent thoughts for the sake of an integrated discourse. Using undefined words necessarily renders discourse ambiguous, even incoherent, and so it is perhaps not surprising, then, to observe that John of Damascus, following a long tradition of philosophers, of "wise and godly men," lays the foundation of his *Fount* via the clarifying of terms, for it is these root terms which will enable his

⁴⁷ Plato, *Theaetetus*, 155d; and Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 982b12.

⁴⁸ Plato, *Theaetetus*, 155d-e.

⁴⁹ *Metaphysics*, 982b21. Cf. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises*, III.29, where he lists wonder and desire as a form of veneration and worship.

language to function as reasoned discourse, which is to say that the Damascene's opening efforts function as a hermeneutic key, a grammar, so to speak, for knowledge.⁵⁰ Erismann states of John's continuity with that which preceded him:

One of the features of his method is that he combines with Aristotelian theses what he calls "the opinion of the fathers," i.e., generally the Cappadocians, but more often Maximus the Confessor, and summaries of logic such as that of Anastasius Sinaiticus, or the *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi*, a seventh-century *florilegium* dealing with Christology.⁵¹

It is via this integrated system of linguistically codified concepts *cum* worldview where one can argue that understanding is made possible, where coherent thought-structures, i.e., philosophy, can be made possible, and consequently a "Christian metaphysics."⁵² As Ables argues, "philosophy and theology in late antiquity were closely related enterprises."⁵³

John's notion of language, however, is not an isolated system of signs, a closed world of meaning "within which each item only refers to other items in the same system."⁵⁴ In a move echoed over a millennium later by Ricoeur, who states that the "intentional pointing toward the extra-linguistic" relies upon a "previous and more originary move starting from the experience of being in the world and proceeding from this ontological condition towards its expression in language,"⁵⁵ Damascene likewise founds his philosophical discourse on

⁵⁰ *Dialectica*, 2.

⁵¹ Erismann, "A World of Hypostases," 272. Ables also observes that John's philosophic works "greatly exceed extant lists of terms to which he may have had access." Scott Ables, "John of Damascus on Genus and Species," *The Ways of Byzantine Philosophy*, ed. Mikonja Knevevic, (Alhambra, CA: Sebastian Press, 2015), 271–287, 271–2.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Ables, "John of Damascus on Genus," 273.

⁵⁴ Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University University Press, 1976), 6.

⁵⁵ Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 21.

being, for after deconstructing a position which attempts to undermine philosophy, a position which militates against knowledge of real being, the Damascene immediately establishes the starting point of his philosophical thought: "Since, then, there is such a thing as philosophy and since there is knowledge of things that are, let us talk about being (*ὄντος*)."⁵⁶ In other words, being, which is to say ontology, is the starting point. Being, which John defines in the fourth chapter as "the common name for all things which are," is the first item of knowledge, the foundation of philosophical endeavors, and is thus the principle from which a specifically Orthodox philosophical discourse naturally begins.⁵⁷ The terms he builds on are thus not merely a semiotically closed system, but are rooted "extra-linguistically" in the ontologically prior experience of being itself, thereby proceeding "from this ontological condition towards ... expression in language." In short, word and being are deeply implicated in each other.

In other words, philosophy involves understanding by means of first principles. It is a knowing, self-aware, or critical application of ontologically prior first principles expressed semantically to the effect of understanding "all things," or in John's language, "all things which are." In discoursing about language and its role in philosophical knowledge, then, a distinction must be made between discourse as purely local and contextual, on the one hand, and discourse as reasoned inquiry or examination proceeding according to first principles, on the other. In other words, theological discourse can never be reduced to or founded upon the ephemeral and the accidental, what might otherwise be called "local" or "contextual" theologies. The problem with contextual theology according to Damascene's thought would be the replacing of the substantial with the accidental, exchanging substance for accident.⁵⁸ In essentializing the accidental, contextualism misses the meta-

⁵⁶ *Dialectica*, 3.

⁵⁷ *Dialectica*, 4.

⁵⁸ "Being is the common name for all things which are. It is divided into substance and accident. Substance is the principal of these two, because it had existence in itself and not in another. Accident, on the other hand, is that which cannot exist in itself but is found in the substance" (*Dialectica*, 4).

physical mark of knowledge's proper object, which according to Damascene is being.⁵⁹

Picking up then on this together with the importance of ontology for Damascene's work, Erismann further argues: "The result is an ontology – a theory of the basic items of reality – which is of Aristotelian inspiration, and demonstrates an immanence realism (as opposed to a Platonic realism which postulates separated universals) and an essentialist position."⁶⁰ In short, reducing neither to Platonism nor Aristotelianism, John's work is "part of a process to canonize a logic" that was in its deepest structures commensurate with the biblical, patristic, and ultimately Orthodox *phronēma*.⁶¹

In this light, the Damascene's approach suggests that it is not enough merely to define one's terms as if each term exists independently, as if knowledge is a loose collection of insights, but that knowledge, and therefore its discourse, including the very language used to enact this discourse, requires an integrated system of interrelating terms that, moreover, correspond with Christian metaphysics and epistemology. Since John is dealing with the most basic or fundamental terms, his chapters on philosophy might be likened unto an Orthodox Christian *Isagoge* or *Categories*, an introductory Christian logic, for it is rooted in the establishing of an interconceptual system of basic terms with which to think and reason responsibly about truth. What is hermeneutically key, however, is that John does not take for granted a mass of confused terms. Nor is it a basket of juxtaposed, disintegrated neologisms that he is establishing, but finds his discourse on knowledge with an explicit starting point within an established interconceptual system.⁶² One discourses via particular languages, and so the Damascene's *Fount* functions to both reveal and establish the structure in which a particular Orthodox language and world-view can unfold in an integral fashion: "Following other theo-

⁵⁹ "Philosophy is knowledge of things which are in so far as they are, that is, a knowledge of the nature of things which have being" (*Dialectica*, 3).

⁶⁰ Erismann, "A World of Hypostases," 270.

⁶¹ Ables, "John of Damascus," 284.

⁶² Damascene repeats on more than one occasion that he will say nothing of his own. For example, see *Dialectica*, preface. Cf. *ibid.*, 2.

logians, mainly Maximus the Confessor, John endorses an interpretation of the extension of logic that allows its use in a theological context."⁶³ Building on this in a further comment on the Damascene's use of Aristotelian logic, Erismann corroborates this view of the *Fount*'s structure:

This high valuation of logic is noticeable in the arrangement of his works. First comes a *Dialectica*, which gathers the philosophical tools which a Christian theologian needs to master; these are mainly concepts which stem from the *Categories* and the *Isagoge*. John believed that an adequate understanding of these notions allows us both to disprove heresies and to state doctrine correctly.⁶⁴

It is therefore, according to the text of the *Fount*, precisely the integral structure of this language system which makes a meta-structure for non-disintegrated knowledge possible, what John calls philosophy.

The pivotal issue, then, is the establishing of a hermeneutic key or legend by which this process can be undertaken. Given that John of Damascus is functioning within what can be called a hermeneutic of Tradition, a species of the hermeneutic of continuity, and that he is also engaged in the dialectic of continuity and discontinuity with the broader Hellenistic philosophical milieu, it is reasonable to take his *Dialectica* as providing for the philosophically informed hermeneutic task. It is important, however, to note that this not a mere capitulation to Hellenism *qua* Hellenism. As Erismann states:

Not only did John of Damascus accept that logic of pagan origin may be used by a Christian, he also considered dogmatic orthodoxy to be essentially determined by a clear understanding of logic and an adequate definition of terms. According to John, heresy is generated by the lack of precision of notions such as *essen-*

⁶³ Erismann, "A World of Hypostases," 271.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

*ce, nature, and hypostasis, and not by the use of Aristotelian logic.*⁶⁵

One key element of this methodological use of reason (*λογικῶς*), which according to John is the “first division” (*ἀρχόμεθα*) of philosophy, is that it is “a tool (*ὄργανόν*) of philosophy ... used for every demonstration (*πᾶσαν ἀπόδειξιν*).”⁶⁶ Therefore, John Damascene’s *Dialectica* can be framed as providing the core elements of an entire epistemological and hermeneutical system, and by extension be regarded as fruitful for articulating a method of rationally coherent epistemological acts, which is to say the interpretation and understanding of “things that are” knowable (*γνώσις τῶν ὄντων*).⁶⁷

In the context of his *Fount*, John begins by establishing the situation to which he is speaking, what could be called his *problematique*: “Nothing is more estimable than knowledge (*γνώσεώς*), for knowledge (*γνώσις*) is the light of the rational (*λογικῆς*) soul.”⁶⁸ This is the ground on which he argues for the ontological relationship between knower (*ψυχῆς λογικῆς*) and knowledge. Like eyes for seeing sights, and ears for hearing sounds, it is precisely in acts of knowledge that this rational soul, this knower, finds the full expression and exercise of its ontology. Ignorance, on the other hand, is the denial of the rational being: “Ignorance is proper to irrational beings, while knowledge is proper to those who are rational.”⁶⁹ It is the nature of a rational soul to come to knowledge, whereas ignorance in a rational soul is opposed to its very nature: “Consequently, one who by nature (*φύσιν*) has the faculty of knowing (*γνωστικῶς*) and understanding (*ἐπιστημονικῶς*), yet does not have knowledge, such a one, although by nature (*φύσιν*) rational (*λογικός*), is by neglect and indifference inferior to rational beings.”⁷⁰ By not coming to knowledge, the rational soul denies its own nature and fails to be fully human.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ *Dialectica*, 3.

⁶⁷ *Dialectica*, 3.

⁶⁸ *Dialectica*, 1.

⁶⁹ ἀλόγον μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀγνοια ἰδίου, λογικῶν δέ, ἢ γνώσις.

⁷⁰ *Dialectica*, 1.

The analogy he gives for this is primal: "Just as the absence of light is darkness, so is the absence of knowledge a darkness of the reason." Knowledge and understanding are, therefore, essential to the very nature and being of the rational human soul, and so by framing his knowledge and philosophy in this manner, he has placed the *problematique* of knowledge squarely within his metaphysics of human ontology, with implications for the field of anthropology as well.

Concerning the ethical dimension of his anthropology, and putting into clearer relief the manner in which his system is integrated, the notion of ignorance is not metaphysically neutral, but is precisely associated with non-existence and false knowledge, where false knowledge is knowledge of that which does not have being: "False knowledge, in so far as it is a knowledge of that which is not, is ignorance rather than knowledge. For falsehood is nothing else but that which is not."⁷¹ Thus the issue of coming to knowledge and understanding is elevated beyond mere curiosity, but is instead linked ethically to the very nature and act of human existence, and so the *problematique* of knowledge as presented by the Damascene inextricably links an Orthodox Christian metaphysics together with epistemology and ethics, and thereby gives an ethical imperative to his hermeneutics together with an epistemological and ontological realism.

It might be noted again here that, in identifying what John of Damascus contributes to the structure (and structuring) of Christian thought, it is not necessary to argue that he is unique in all respects from non-Christian thinkers. Recalling the opening discussion of the bee, we note that one of his avowed principles is precisely to take the best from non-Christian thought and put it to Christian use within the Christian system, for Christianity is not an isolated (or even isolating) system of thought. Thus to show that what the Damascene's thought is on a subject is not to distinguish it from all others, per se, but to show what the content of his view of Christian knowledge is, what is specifically appropriate to a Christian view of knowledge. In that he is utilizing the thought of philosophers

⁷¹ *Dialectica*, 1.

such as Aristotle and Porphyry in addition to the “holy Fathers,” this holistic integration of knowledge moreover does not need to render the Damascene’s system, insofar as it can be classified as systematic, “unique” among all great philosophies, but shows how this phenomenon is internalized within specifically Christian discourse. Moreover, since this phenomenon is shared with other systematic philosophies, it reveals one of the ways in which Christianity as a whole system can dialogue with other whole systems.

Consider here a brief word about his hermeneutic theory. In approaching the “true knowledge of all things that are,” he states that one must endeavor to “proceed without letting the spiritual eye of [the] soul be dulled by passions (*πάθεισι*).”⁷² In other words, the ethically charged movements within the soul can affect the clarity by which the mind would attempt to discover or appropriate knowledge, and so in a manner of speaking he is ethically linking hermeneutics (and also philosophy) with asceticism.⁷³ That said, the “purpose” or *skopos* (*σκοπός*) that the Damascene assigns concerning the “blessed end” (*μακάριον τέλος*) of knowledge is not knowledge for mere knowledge’s sake, as if knowledge was not intrinsically ethical, but that the mind (*νοῦν*) of those who happen upon his work “be guided by their sense perceptions (*αἰσθήσεων*) up to that which is beyond all sense perception (*αἰσθήσιν*) and comprehension (*κατάληψιν*), which is He who is the Author and Maker and Creator of all.”⁷⁴ In fact, he censures the notion of operating aimlessly, comparing it with “fumbling in the dark,” and as such the hermeneutic task as envisioned by his philosophy presupposes that real knowledge is not only possible, but that its possibility is requisite to the *skopos* of being itself.⁷⁵

With the foregoing in mind, it is possible to more fully appreciate the hermeneutic dimension of what the Damascene

⁷² *Dialectica*, 1.

⁷³ It is in this sense that the Damascene can say at the end of chapter one: “Thus, if we apply ourselves in a meek and humble spirit to the attainment of knowledge, we shall arrive at the desired end.”

⁷⁴ *Dialectica*, 1.

⁷⁵ *Dialectica*, 2.

calls the *Fount of Knowledge*.⁷⁶ One of the clearest proofs of the possibility of the usefulness of the *Fount* is not only its place in the structure of the trilogy itself, functioning as its beginning (*ἀρχόμεθα*), but also in the integrated nature of this structure, for the theology section presupposes and relies upon the intellectual foundation laid in the *Fount*. They thus also reinforce each other's normative status, and so render the *Fount* a ground or means by which "Orthodoxy," as inclusive of a native mode of discourse, can critically interact with disciplines that are not explicitly or directly "Orthodox." More than a structure, since it can contain multiple modes of discourse rooted in a shared set of diachronic presuppositions, Orthodoxy itself can be understood as a global meta-structure for discourse, which is also to say a comprehensive worldview useful for several types of immanently, transcendently, and ultimately (i.e., teleologically) integrated webs of discourse.

Building on Ricoeur's analysis of the structural model, and demonstrating its manifestation in what appears to be an intentionally systematic philosophy native to classical Christianity, the Damascene's philosophical thought could be said to constitute an authentic Ricoeurian interconceptual system, for "in such a system no entity belonging to the structure of the system has a meaning of its own; the meaning of a word, for example, results from its opposition to the other lexical units of the same system."⁷⁷ Ricoeur has thus justified to a large extent the Damascene's philosophical project considered insofar as it is systematic and interconceptual. Though many organized bodies of thought may seek to manifest this principle to greater or lesser degrees, the global nature of the Damascene's articulation of this system is firmly grounded in *Christian* metaphysical and epistemological commitments, and unites such things as physics, mathematics, economics, and theology. This supports the thesis that John's thought articulates an authentic and stable Orthodox meta-structure for discourse capable of engaging meaningfully with non-Christian modes of thought. What Ricoeur is advocating is found precisely in John's

⁷⁶ *Dialectica*, 2. He supplies the title of his work in chapter 2: "ΠΗΓΗ ΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ."

⁷⁷ Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 5.

thought, which as observed above was situated within a patristic theological continuum; the language used to articulate philosophy and theology is in this way an integral network of meanings. Moreover, this network of lexical meanings implicates the entire world in a Christian metaphysics, one which speaks to issues of being, knowledge, reality, language, ethics, etc. In short, John of Damascus articulates an interconceptual framework for a Christian worldview.

Applying the foregoing to John of Damascus, it is his lexical interconceptual code or system which can emerge in relation to a present discourse such that the Orthodox canon of truth as maintained in the Orthodox theological continuum, and as mediated via his philosophical system, can be brought to bear from outside of successive time upon present problematics. It is this act which constitutes a critical Orthodox Christian analysis of various incoming messages. Without this “propositional content,” however, an Orthodox form of discourse is made impossible and therefore unable to be held in tension with non-Christian thought. Without use of and access to the underlying code, it would actually be impossible to relate Orthodox Christianity in any meaningful way to any discourse, or even to itself, for the vanishing element of language events will swallow any stable meaning – what Ricoeur calls a discourse’s propositional content: “It is not the event insofar as it is transient that we want to understand, but its meaning.”⁷⁸ Consequently, any discourse analysis must be aimed at this meaning, which is to say the implicate virtual system actualized in any meaningful language event. An Orthodox Christian “linguistics of discourse,” then, must be informed by its own system, its own canon.⁷⁹

Consequently, without the underlying principles, code, or canon, Christian discourse disintegrates. Heresy understood as representing a conceptual-canonical boundary is in a hermeneutic sense the inexorable result of being insufficiently informed by canonical propositional content. In brief, it is a charge of logical inconsistency relative to first principles. The problem of relating this propositional content to present dis-

⁷⁸ Ibid, 12.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 12.

course is thus vital for Orthodoxy, which is why John Damascene's work can be so useful, for it builds and develops expressly on a grand synthesis of philosophical and theological thought. Concerning the Damascene's intentional continuity, Fennema argues:

Damascene relies upon the philosophical categories of primary/secondary substance to articulate theology. This is no mere accidental occurrence or arbitrary decision on Damascene's part, for he is chiefly indebted to the Eastern fathers of Origen of Alexandria, Athanasius the Great, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Theologian, and Maximus the Confessor for having established patristic precedent in using them.⁸⁰

In other words, this continuity of philosophical *cum* theological thought serves as a grammar for Orthodox Christian discourse, and to justify it historically "we can note that Damascene has roughly five hundred years of Eastern patristic precedent for strictly using the categories of the philosophers to articulate theology."⁸¹ Zhyrkova addresses this same issue: "Partaking in the established tradition, John not only recognizes that Greek philosophy has some true elements and is useful for theology, but also turns it into one of the bases for theological discourse."⁸² What this means is that, via the Damascene, Orthodox theology can be said to contain within itself a "linguistics of discourse," a semantic field where discourse on vital subjects of knowledge can be enacted. What is more, "For the Damascene, philosophy provides theology with notions and conceptions that enable the elucidation and accurate formulation of theological issues."⁸³ In other words, the philosophical grammar the Damascene articulates also has a universal scope which touches on all issues of knowledge. Since philosophy is, in John's system, comprehensive of theo-

⁸⁰ Scott Fennema, "Patristic Metaphysics," 15–16.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 16–17.

⁸² Zhyrkova, "The Philosophical Originality," 230.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

logy, which is to say theology has a narrower focus and exists as a discipline within philosophy, it thus cannot be understood as restricted to theological issues, but functions within a broader inter-conceptual whole.

It is this trans-temporal code, canon, or system whose propositional content gets disclosed in discourse. Of this Ricoeur states: “What can be communicated is first of all the propositional content of discourse.”⁸⁴ In other words, there is a trans-temporal meaning which informs any temporal locutionary act, for “discourse [is] event plus sense.”⁸⁵ It is thus via the trans-temporal code that an intersubjective communication of meaning or knowledge is enabled and enacted, for “the self-transcendence of the event in its meaning - *opens* discourse to the other.”⁸⁶ In order to escape private worlds of meaning, then, which is to say solipsism, propositional content is required to jump the intersubjective gap, which is precisely what tradition supplies, as per Gadamer above, and what the Damascene articulates in terms which integrate a philosophical discourse constituting the inter-conceptual elements of a cosmic Christian worldview. As Ricoeur states, “The message has the ground of its communicability in the structure of its meaning.”⁸⁷ In other words, the trans-temporal inter-conceptual structure is what grounds a message’s communicability.⁸⁸ It is thus on this ground that an Orthodox Christian might engage *incoming* messages with the elements of a specifically Orthodox hermeneutic of Tradition.

It is in this context, that of the structure of meaning, where meaning can be transmitted across the intersubjective gap, in “the dialectic of *self* and the *other than self*.”⁸⁹ Without a framework of meaning, however, it is not possible to impart meaning to any locutionary act, and not only impartation, but

⁸⁴ Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 16.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ This would make deconstructionism difficult to sustain on its own ground, for in disallowing a stability of meaning structures, the medium by which communication of its principles is rendered impossible in very principle.

⁸⁹ Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, tr. Kathleen Blamey (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 3.

also reception for communication includes not only these other-directed acts, but also other-receptive acts, which is to say listening. One not only communicates according to a framework of meaning, one also listens according to or from within a framework of meaning. Concerning the communicative act, Ricoeur states, "As long as one remains within the circle of sameness-identity, the otherness of the other than self offers nothing original."⁹⁰ In other words, where a structure of meaning is required for meaning in a locutionary act, intersubjectivity is required for authentic communication. If this is true, and the locutionary act of a discourse event requires a transtemporal propositional content, the converse follows that listening implies a subjective space and meaning structure which, constituting self, then receives the communication of other than self. This is another way of articulating the notion that worldview actively structures information into a conceptually viewable world, where meaning is generated from the inter-conceptual structure involved in receiving information, discourse, and dialogue.

There is no uninterpreted meaning, and all meaning requires a framework of interpretation. Hence arises the problem of just what options are available for frameworks of interpretive acts that contain the possibility of obtaining meaning. In other words, there is no metaphysically, epistemologically, hermeneutically, or ethically neutral interpretive act; each act of interpretation implicates some framework of meaning. Just as it is impossible to communicate to other than self without propositional content, there is an equal impossibility of listening to other than self without a framework in which to assess for potential meaning. It is thus in a self-consciously maintained framework of meaning where the meta-analysis of other than self's frameworks of meaning is made possible. Rather than feigning no system in order to listen "neutrally," which is to say the impossible position of an act of listening which is also not employing some framework of meaning, the illusion of neutrality is dispensed with and is replaced instead with "hermeneutic hospitality," which is to say that reception

⁹⁰ Ibid., 3.

of other than self is obtained precisely in the context of self's native propositional content in an intersubjective event. Where "the solitude of life is for a moment ... illuminated by the common light of discourse," it becomes clear that the structures of meaning enabling this discourse actually involve entire worldviews.⁹¹

It might be said, however, in light of Gadamer's articulation of tradition discussed above, as well as Ricoeur's own notion of the dialectic of self and other, the very idea of "the solitude of life" is somewhat impossible, for the experience of self implies an interpreted world, an interpretation which implicates a framework of meaning which is traditioned across time via linguistic and conceptual communities. By conceptual community is meant a community of shared meaning which is not restricted merely to linguistic, socio-cultural, or political phenomena. Transcultural, translinguistic, and transtemporal "communities of belief" manifest this. For example, a Spanish Catholic and an African Catholic may speak different languages and have different cultural forms and norms, but there is in the context of their Catholic faith a communal property not accounted for in purely linguistic or socio-cultural terms.

In this sense, Ricoeur is closer to the truth when he states that "the selfhood of oneself implies otherness to such an intimate degree that one cannot be thought of without the other," and more than other-than-self, entire systems of meaning embedded and transmitted in conceptual communities with their concomitant worldviews are all contained virtually within the self and the other than self. These are brought into dialectical tension in events of discourse, both in acts of transmission of meaning as well as reception of meaning, each mode structured according to an implicate and global system of meaning.⁹²

To conclude, though only the surface has been scratched via Gadamer, Florovsky, Ricoeur, and John of Damascus himself, it has been shown that John Damascene's *Fount of Knowledge* functions to integrate Christian epistemology and metaphysics into an interconceptual system which provides tools

⁹¹ Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory*, 19.

⁹² Ricoeur, *Oneself as Another*, 3.

for engaging contemporary philosophical discourse from “within a consistent Orthodox perspective.” By laying a broad and comprehensive conceptual *cum* philosophical foundation which implicates Christian knowledge and theology in an integral worldview, the Damascene opens a space for engaging disciplines such as hermeneutics, semiotics, and, in principle, any area of human knowledge and inquiry. Though much more can be and needs to be said, the Damascene’s metastructure for discourse has in key ways been shown to function within a continuity of Orthodox thought, providing the necessary rudiments to Christian knowledge, and like the skillful bee takes the best pollen from the choicest flowers of non-Christian thought, “bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.”⁹³ Moreover, maintaining the integrity of the Christian faith, the dialogue with non-Christian disciplines can, via the Damascene, not only engage but moreover listen from within a Christian framework. In this sense it provides the tools for a powerful hermeneutic of continuity, one which can navigate the dialectical tension of continuity and discontinuity, ensuring that the wheat of truth be sifted from the chaff of error, justifying a confidence in Christian inquiry. To close with an enduring exhortation from John of Damascus:

Christ is the subsistent wisdom and truth and in Him are all the hidden treasures of knowledge. ... Let us knock hard, let us read once, twice, many times. By thus digging through we shall find the treasure of knowledge and take delight in the wealth of it. Let us seek, let us search, let us examine, let us inquire. ... Thus, if we apply ourselves in a meek and humble spirit to the attainment of knowledge, we shall arrive at the desired end.⁹⁴



⁹³ 2 Cor. 10:5.

⁹⁴ *Dialectica*, 1.

Резюме

Ця стаття є дискусією про філософсько-богословські можливості, серед яких християнське православ'я могло б вести критичний діалог із нехристиянськими видами мислення, у спосіб, який відповідав би своїм внутрішнім метафізичним та гносеологічним передумовам і зобов'язанням. Герменевтика буде свого роду площиною, на якій поняття „Передання – Традиції”, розвинуте Гадамером і Флоровським, щоб роз'яснити, як християнська традиція (для даного дослідження головню виходячи з філософських праць Йоана Дамаскина) формує герменевтичний вид дискурсу, аналізу та світобачення, яку дехто називає герменевтикою традиції. Іншими словами, ця герменевтика традиції, пов'язана з історичним православ'ям, стосується в першу чергу трактування відповідно до біблійних, апостольських, патристичних і соборових норм, що виразили окремі Отці та Вселенські Собори історичної неподіленої Церкви, і застосування цих норм, *regula fidei*, або, може більш сміливо „герменевтичних канонів”, до сучасної проблематики. Автор прагне показати в світлі теорії інтерпретації Рікера, як „Діалектика” Йоана Дамаскина слушно надає основні концептуальні знаряддя інтеграції християнської гносеології і метафізики в цілісну систему мислення, яка надає інструменти для залучення сучасного філософського дискурсу із послідовної православної точки зору.

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Part II

Social Engagement as Part of the Call to Deification in Orthodox Theologies

Athanasios N. Papathanasiou

*The spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has
anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has
sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and
recovery of sight for the blind; to release the
oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor.*

It is this text (Luke 4:18–19) which, since the 1970s, has been the common starting point in contemporary liberation theology.¹ And it is especially important that we consider the text in its scriptural and historical context.

Though Luke presents Christ's words as one solid excerpt from the prophet Isaiah (61:1–2), in reality they consist of two excerpts: the phrase "to release the oppressed" has been taken from a different point in Isaiah, where it serves to define the fasting which pleases God. This authentic fasting does not consist in observing ritual, "bowing one's head like a reed, [...] lying on sackcloth and ashes"; the fasting that pleases God is "to loosen the chains of injustice and untie the cords of the yoke, to set the oppressed free and break every yoke" (58:5–6).

The effect of this Lukan combination is therefore greater insistence on the fact that Jesus inaugurated an epoch of liberation, an epoch like the Jewish jubilee year, which meant the

¹ See, e.g., Gustavo Gutierrez, *The God of Life*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1991), 6–9. See also Athanasios N. Papathanasiou, "Liberation Perspectives in Patristic Thought: An Orthodox Approach," *Studies in Orthodox Theology* 2 (2011): 420–421.

cancellation of debts and the liberation of slaves (Lev. 25:8–13). Moschos Goutzioudis has strongly argued in favour of the social content of the extract, pointing out, in particular, that Luke has omitted Isaiah’s verse “to bind up the brokenhearted” (Isa. 61:1), most likely because he wanted to avoid any inward-looking or individualistic (and not social) understanding of the verse.² Goutzioudis, with his use of modern scholarship, is representative of Greek Orthodox biblical scholars who are trying to bring to the fore the special social and political dynamics of the gospel.³

Other approaches, however, refute this social orientation and define human beings’ theosis (deification), solely as personal union with God, after the individual passions have been overcome through ascesis, including fasting.

Gregory Palamas (1296–1359) tries to clarify what kind of fasting is approved by God. Gregory quotes the above excerpt from Isaiah (“to loosen the chains of injustice...”) and continues:

The voracious and the unjust will not be resurrected to meet Christ face to face and be judged, but will be condemned directly because in this present life they never really came face to face with Christ. Enormous possessions are in reality communal, since they derive from the common fund of wealth provided by nature, which God has created. How then is he who appropriates the common wealth not actually greedy, even if he is not like the one who steals other’s goods? Thus, the former – alas – will suffer a terrible penalty as a

² Moschos Goutzioudis, “E Hrese tou Iovilaiou Etous sto Lk 4:18–19, se Syndyasmo me to Heirografo tou Koumran 11Q13” [“The Use of the Jubilee Year in Luke 4:18–19, in Relation to the Qumran Manuscript 11Q13”], in *To kata Loukan Evaggelion: Themata eisagogika, filologika, ermeneftika kai theologika* [The Gospel according to Luke: Introductory, literary, interpretative and theological issues] (Volos, Greece 2003), 93–106 [in Greek].

³ E.g., Petros Vasiliades, *Haris, Koinonia, Diakonia* [Grace, Communion, Service] (Thessalonike: Pournaras, 1985) [in Greek]; Miltiades Konstantinou, *O Profetes tes Dikaiosynes: Ermeneftike analyse perikopon apo to vivlio tou Amos* [The Prophet of Justice: an interpretative analysis of excerpts from the book of Amos] (Thessalonike: Parateretes, 1999) [in Greek].

bad servant, and the latter will endure worse and more horrible punishments. Neither of these can escape the sentence if he does not accept the poor in his life. At the Last Judgment, the righteous will say: “That attitude expressed in the phrase ‘this is mine and this is yours’ has long been expelled from here, since we in our earthly life hated it. For this reason we inherited the Kingdom of Heaven.” The Church Fathers call the phrase ‘this is mine, or this is yours’ cold, and wherever it prevailed the bond of love was absent and Christ was pushed far away.⁴

According to Palamas, wealth, even that which is acquired legally, constitutes a problem in itself. The problem in essence is obsession with possession (ownership). This view constitutes the backbone which traverses biblical and patristic theology, something which Palamas himself knows and mentions. That the phrase “mine and yours” is indeed “cold” is something which John Chrysostom highlighted ten centuries earlier.⁵

I view as very important the phrase of Palamas: “if he does not accept the poor in his life.” In accordance with a long tradition which already began from the Old Testament and has been incorporated in Church life, the widows, the poor and the weak are the friends of God, entitled to any form of solidarity.⁶ This perspective may constitute, in my opinion, a meeting point of traditional theology with modern liberation theology. Remember the key concept “preferential option for the poor,” coined by Gustavo Gutierrez in 1967 and highlighted by the Medellin conference of Catholic bishops in 1968.⁷ However, what remains vague among Orthodox theologians is whether solidarity calls only for personal charity or, more than that, for

⁴ Gregory Palamas, “On the Fifth Lenten Sunday, Sermon 13,” *PG* 151, 161C–165B]. For what follows, see Papathanasiou, “Liberation Perspectives,” 421–425.

⁵ John Chrysostom, “On the Acts, Sermon 7,” *PG* 60, 66.

⁶ See Papathanasiou, “Liberation Perspectives,” 422–423.

⁷ John O’Brien, *Theology and the Option for the Poor* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992).

structural socio-economic changes (my conviction is that both are necessary and visions for structural changes do not negate the preciousness of personhood and interpersonal relations).

Palamas' text links the eschaton with history, and salvation with action. In his theology, salvation is impossible without solidarity with the weak. The connection between history and eschaton means that the action of Christians in history should be prophetic; in other words an activity which reveals to the world the nature of the Kingdom which Christians hope for.

Very often, however, the doctrine of theosis has been welcome as a kind of mysticism, as inner withdrawal of the human being within himself, without any organic connection with action and sometimes even without a connection with the eschatological renewal of the whole world. Preoccupation with issues of solidarity is often considered spiritually harmful, because (according to this line of thought) it distracts the believer from his primary devotion to aim at personal catharsis.

If we turn, however, to another giant of Byzantine theology, we may find a solution to this tendency to reduce theosis to inner mysticism. St Maximus the Confessor (c. 580–662) has attracted immense interest during the last several decades as seen in numerous studies published on his thought. Many of these studies give the impression that Maximus elaborated a technique for union between the human subject and Christ, a union where love for fellow humans has a place, but a secondary one. Nevertheless Dimitru Staniloae had called attention to the fact that Maximus concludes his commentary on the Divine Liturgy (“Mystagogia”) with an emphasis on solidarity. The resurrected Lord remains crucified in history, suffering together with all who suffer.⁸

This emphasis moved Thanasis Vlētis, Orthodox professor of dogmatics at München University, to aptly comment

⁸ D. Staniloae, *Mystagogia tou Agiou Maximou tou Omologetou* [St Maximus the Confessor's Mystagogy], trans. Ignatios Sakales (Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 1973), 48 [in Greek]. For what follows I largely depend on my paper “Hamenoi sten Ethike: Staseis tes syghrones Orthodoxes Theologias” in *E Epistrophe tes Ethikes. Palaia kai Nea Erotemata* [Lost in Ethics: Stances of modern Orthodox theology], ed. Stavros Zoumboulakis (Athens: Artos Zoes, 2013), 281–318 [in Greek].

that what Maximus worked out is not only an “ecclesialization” of ethics (as usually happens in modern theological discourse), but an “ethicization” of ecclesiology.⁹ Staniloae understood human action, and especially solidarity, as an important factor in the process of the human being moving toward self-realization in responding to the divine call. Liturgical spirituality and social action are really intertwined. It is not by chance that Staniloae converged at some points with Jürgen Moltmann’s theology of hope, a special trend within the liberation theology movement.¹⁰

The severing of the connection between liturgical life and solidarity was characteristically pointed out as a distortion of Church life by two important churchmen on the eve of Greek modernity, Cosmas of Aitolia (1714–1779), and Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain (1749–1809), both saints of the Orthodox Church. Cosmas maintained that, even if all the confessors, priests, bishops and patriarchs absolve the exploiter, the perpetrator remains unforgivable if he is not forgiven by the person wronged – whether he be Christian or Jew.¹¹ In the same spirit Nicodemus dared to say that whoever has acquired property by voracity and injustice is not forgiven merely by repenting, even if he is baptized after the completion of the injustice. He must restore justice and return to the wronged parties all that he took from them.¹² These references are important especially because they reveal that sacramentalism and ritualism (meaning a conviction that the unconditioned performance of rites and cults automatically produces salvific results) jeopardizes the Christian way of living.

In the twentieth century, mainstream Orthodox theological trends have greatly underlined the liturgical and sacramental

⁹ Thanasis Vletsis, *Anataraxeis sten Metapolemike Theologia: E “Theologia tou ‘60”* [Turbulences in post-war theology: ‘1960s theology’], ed. P. Kalaitzides et al (Athens: Indiktos 2009), 347.

¹⁰ Eugen Matei, *The Practice of Community in Social Trinitarianism. A Theological Evaluation with Reference to Dumitru Stăniloae and Jürgen Moltmann* (Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary, 2004).

¹¹ John Menounos, *Kosma tou Aitolou Didaxes* [The teaching of Kosmas of Aitolia] (Athens: Tenos, 1979), 45 [in Greek].

¹² Agapius and Nicodemus, *The Rudder*, trans. D. Cummings (Chicago: The Orthodox Christian Educational Society, 1957), 731.

character of the Church. Theologians such as John Zizioulas have especially contributed to the identification of the church event with the Eucharist, the sign of the Kingdom.¹³ However, this valuable approach, if absolutized, runs the risk of lapsing into a sacramentalism, which overlooks the fact that, not only the Eucharist, but also solidarity constitutes in history a sign of the Kingdom, as St Nicolas Cabasilas has pointed out.¹⁴

Since the beginning of the 1970s, there has been what we might call turbulence within Greek theology, with ripples in the wider Orthodox world. It has to do with the tug-of-war between a sort of personalism with distaste for social engagement on the one hand and a biblically and eschatologically inspired social engagement on the other hand. In 1970 Christos Yannaras published his *Freedom of Morality*, which signaled a depreciation of social ethics in the name of freedom of personhood.¹⁵ Yannaras has been great in crushing formalistic, pharisaic and self-righteous moralism and underlining the importance of personal responsibility. However, several contradictions appear in his prolific work,¹⁶ sometimes in a natural way (as a development of his earlier views), sometimes as real antitheses.

A major issue is Yannaras' understanding of praxis. It is characteristic that he stigmatizes solidarity with the stranger, the naked, the hungry (which the Bible presents as the main criterion for salvation) as a manifestation of an unsavory, formalistic moralism, forged by European Romanticism, together

¹³ See, e.g., John D. Zizioulas, *Eucharistic Communion and the World* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 68.

¹⁴ See my "Oi Eikones tes Vasileias: Kapoia Atheata tou Cavasila kai Kapoioi Peirasmoi tes Efharistiakes mas Theologias" ["The Signs of the Kingdom. some invisible aspects of Cabasilas and some temptations of our eucharistic theology"], *Synaxis* 114 (2010): 13–21 [in Greek].

¹⁵ Christos Yannaras, *E Eleftheria tou Ethous* [The freedom of morality] (Athens: Athena, 1970) [in Greek]. The work was almost re-written later, as the author himself has clarified. Due to several differences between the two editions, I refer the reader to both, the first and the more recent revised third. The English translation corresponds to the second, also revised edition: *The Freedom of Morality* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984).

¹⁶ See my "E Genia tou '60 kai e Ierapostole" ("The 1960s Generation and the Mission") [in Greek].

with the picture “of the senselessly casuist Jesus..., who preached altruism and love for one another”¹⁷ (only once does he commend solidarity in a positive manner, but briefly and in reality focusing on other issues¹⁸).

Yannaras claims that evangelical love, as a reflection of Trinitarian love, is to be realized in the celebration of the Eucharist.¹⁹ He identifies the Eucharist with Christian ethics²⁰ and expects the Eucharist to be the pivot for social transformation of church communities.²¹ No doubt, this is important; however he cannot see the church event as a catalyst for further issues in society (e.g., Christian responsibility in the face of a dictatorship, economic exploitation, or circumvention of human rights, etc.). He has rejected political theology wholesale, as a psychological effort of disoriented western Christianity to prove Christianity useful to secularized western societies.²²

Yannaras misses the fact that political theology is not monolithic, but consists of many trends, not all of them problematic. To be sure, some trends are surely trapped in a messianism which lapses into an authoritarian design for the future. But other trends are well aware of this danger and affirm political action as a witness to Christ’s Lordship. For example, the late professor and great Orthodox ecumenist Nicos Nissiotis agreed with Jürgen Moltmann’s disavowal of any “theology of success,” which replaces the crucified revolutionary God with idols of power.²³ Nissiotis, as a matter of fact, was positively disposed toward liberation theologies and made very useful

¹⁷ Ibid., 403.

¹⁸ Christos Yannaras, *To Reto kai to Arreto* [The effable and the Ineffable] (Athens: Ikaros 1999), 222 [in Greek].

¹⁹ Yannaras, *E eleftheria tou Ethous* (2002), 81–82.

²⁰ Yannaras, *E eleftheria tou Ethous* (1970), 78, 82; Id., *E eleftheria tou Ethous* (2002), 129, 135.

²¹ Yannaras, *E eleftheria tou Ethous* (2002), 308–309.

²² Christos Yannaras, *Kefalaia Politikes Theologias* [Chapters of political theology], 10 [in Greek].

²³ Nikos A. Nissiotis, “Ecclesial Theology in Context,” in *Doing Theology Today*, ed. Choan-Seng Song (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1976), 122.

remarks criticizing some absolutizations, while other Orthodox theologians, like Schmemmann, offered only vitriolic rejection.²⁴

Serious blows to formalistic and legalistic ethics have also been struck by Zizioulas. His excellent work on the importance of hospitably welcoming otherness as well as his theological deciphering of the ecological crisis can greatly inspire meaningful social stances.²⁵ Central to Zizioulas' thought is ethics as a prolongation or consequence of Eucharist, which he exalts as the source of all the particular dimensions of Christian life.²⁶

The understanding of social ethics as an offspring of the Eucharist was brought to the fore by Orthodox theologians such as Paul Evdokimov,²⁷ and especially Anastasios Yannoulatos, now archbishop of Albania. In 1975, Anastasios coined the term "liturgy after the Liturgy," meaning the diffusion of what has been achieved in the worshipping community to the entire society and everyday life, in the form of service and struggle for liberation from all demonic structures.²⁸ So both Anastasios and Zizioulas conceive the Eucharist as the springboard for ethics. There is, however, a serious difference between them. For Anastasios, the praxis after the liturgy is a substantial dimension of the liturgy itself. For Zizioulas, it isn't. In his view, the eucharistic celebration stands by itself; it is the source while everything else is the offspring. This difference marks further divergences inside Orthodox theology and life.

²⁴ See my "The Church as Mission. Fr Alexander Schmemmann's Liturgical Theology Revisited," *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 60 (2010): 36–41.

²⁵ Zizioulas, *Communion and Otherness: Further Studies in Personhood and the Church* (London & New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 1–12.

²⁶ Zizioulas, *Eucharistic Communion*, 129.

²⁷ See Paul Evdokimov, *La Prière de l'Église d'Orient: La Liturgie Byzantine de Saint Jean Chrysostome* (Mulhouse: Salvator, 1966).

²⁸ Anastasios, Archbishop of Tirana and all Albania, *Ierapostole sta Ihne tou Hristou* [Mission in Christ's way] (Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 2007), 129–32. See also my "Journey to the Center of Gravity: Christian Mission One Century after Edinborough 1910," in *The Changing Contours of World Mission and Christianity*, eds. T.M. Johnson et al (Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 67–83, where I also propose the use of the formula "the liturgy before the Liturgy," meaning the reconciliation with the fellow human, that is the sacrament of the brother.

Already in 1985, Stanley Harakas, a prominent Orthodox ethicist in the USA, remarked that

in our day, in Orthodox theology we are presently under the powerful influence of liturgy and mystical experience in theology which tend to weaken the role of ethical concerns and interest in ethical living within the larger concept of what it means to be an Orthodox Christian. For Orthodoxy this is erroneous, just as it would be erroneous to define Orthodox Christianity in exclusively ethical terms.²⁹

Likewise, the Orthodox ethicist Vigen Guroian stresses the connection between liturgical life and acts of solidarity. Contrary to the widespread formula that the *lex orandi* defines the *lex credendi*, in reality all the *leges* (that is the *lex orandi*, the *lex credendi* as well as the *lex bene operandi*) exist and function in osmosis.³⁰

I believe that a serious problem is lurking in the very understanding of the whole life of the Church as the fruition of the Eucharist. As I have argued on another occasion, if everything is the “fruition” of the Eucharist, might one not draw the conclusion that the Eucharist itself is not the “fruition” of anything – love and faith included? In that case, what distinguishes the Eucharist from magic and ritualism? What I am proposing is a different model, based on the notion of covenant as a fundamental element. The Eucharist does not spring up on its own, but is made by those who have been empowered for that purpose; by those who respond to God’s calling (to God’s mission), and offer human life up to him so that they may be transformed into a sign of the Kingdom. The Eucharist does indeed raise them up to become what they are invited to become; but its backbone is the covenant. The covenant (that is, the agreement between God and the human being, which presupposes human being’s conversion) is a foundational element,

²⁹ Stanley Harakas, *Toward Transfigured Life* (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1985), 4.

³⁰ Vigen Guroian, “Seeing Worship as Ethics: An Orthodox Perspective,” *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 13 (1985): 333.

but not in the sense of a precondition that disappears once the main event has come about. It is an element that has to exist ceaselessly, to be renewed and endorsed at every moment. That is why participation in the Eucharist is accompanied (not followed) by faith, confession of faith and reconciliation. It is certainly no accident that in the liturgy all of them precede the anaphora. The sacrament of the brother haunts the liturgy, according to Christ's words (Matt. 5: 23–24); it is not simply its outcome.³¹

By way of conclusion, I would say that all this diversity to which I referred, as well as the struggle with every monism, may prove a blessing, in the sense that theological discussion and debate will make clear the major criteria of Christian identity. What is needed is our own willingness to keep our minds open to the clear winds of God, and our hearts open to his ever-surprising love, which we must manifest to all God's children.

³¹ Papathanasiou, "The Church as Mission," 6–41.

Social Engagement as an Expression of What the Church Is

Parush R. Parushev

In recent years my colleagues and I, in the framework of a research project¹ funded by the Czech Government, have been exploring the history and theology, particularly of Russian and European Orthodox communities in their native context and abroad.² A specific focus of our research has been the exploration of the tracks and traces of the development of Russian Orthodox theology in the previous two centuries: some still alive today, others latent or unduly forgotten.³ It is widely agreed that Russian intellectual and religious life in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was exceptionally vibrant and vital.⁴ As a result Orthodox theology in the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century was largely shaped and dominated by the developments within Russian Orthodoxy.

In this paper I will reflect briefly on the Church's social engagement as an indicator of who the church really is. The critical question that animates this task can be formulated in

¹ "Symbolic Mediation of Wholeness in Western Orthodoxy," GAČR P401/11/1688, January 2011. This article is a part of the research project.

² The first results of this study have been published in Ivana Noble et al, *Cesty pravoslavné teologie ve 20. století na Západ* [The ways of Orthodox theology in the West in the twentieth century] (Prague: CDK, 2012, in Czech). An English translation is to be published by St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.

³ Some results of these investigations are published by St. Vladimir's Seminary Press as Ivana Noble, et al, *Wrestling with the Mind of the Fathers in (Post-)Modern Orthodox Theology* (Crestwood, NY: 2015).

⁴ Rowan Williams, "Eastern Orthodox Theology," in *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology in the Twentieth Century*, vol. II, ed. David F. Ford (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1995), 152–70.

the following way: What was lost and what was gained in the move from *sobornost'* ecclesiology to Eucharistic ecclesiology? And if there is a loss, what needs to be rediscovered?

Sobornost' Ecclesiology and Eucharistic Ecclesiology

Recently Andrew Louth reflected on the move from *sobornost'* to eucharistic ecclesiology and suggested looking carefully at the effect of the experience of the Russian émigré theologians in shifting this ecclesiological vision from one to the other. *Sobornost'* was coined as a key term in describing ecclesial realities. The idea of *sobornost'* in some ways is an attempt to recast ancient Greek and the late eighteenth-century Kantian notion of “the one and the many” of German idealism. Much of Khomyakov’s thought was stimulated by a decade (1844–1854) of exchange of letters with William Palmer (an Anglican deacon and fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford), particularly Khomyakov’s pamphlet *The Church is One*. It is evident that Khomyakov’s notion of *sobornost'* has philosophical, sociological, political, and anthropological roots as much as ecclesial ones. It was derived, according to Louth, from the Russian *sobirat'* = bringing together, but also from the *sobor* as a *veche* or village council. In emigration much of the *sobor* experience in this sense has been lost and this prompted the emigrants to redefine the notion of the Orthodox Church and Orthodox identity in exile.

Nicholas Afanasiev, Louth insists, turned to the New Testament and early Christian writing and specifically to St. Ignatius of Antioch to define the essence of the (Orthodox) church. For him: 1) the whole people of God are the church; 2) the local church is a manifestation of the whole church gathered to celebrate the Eucharist; here are the roots of his Eucharistic ecclesiology. The unity among the local churches is manifested every time they celebrate the Eucharist. Importantly, Afanasiev re-considered the notion of *sobornost'* in strictly ecclesiological terms rather than sociological terms of the early Slavophiles. One must take into account that Afanasiev’s notion is a later (post-Second World War) development of the understanding of *sobornost'*. The danger of Eucharistic

ecclesiology, according to Louth, is in smuggling into the notion of community of faith the understanding of ecclesiastical hierarchy. Afanasiev has picked up the notion of *sobornost'* from the desk of the philosophers and transposed it to the ecclesial realities of the church in exile.

One may think of picturing the difference and complementarities of Khomyakov and Afanasiev's views by referring to two different images evoked by the root meaning of the word *sobornost'*. Khomyakov's notion of *sobornost'* refers to the dynamics of gathering and embracing the holistic interrelation of sociological, political, and anthropological realities of the Russian Orthodox people. For Afanasiev, this notion has spatial and sacral meaning: it is rooted in *sobor* the Russian word for a cathedral. This is a narrower and an inward looking interpretation of *sobornost'* and it refers exclusively to the Church. Eucharistic ecclesiology assumes a hierarchical structure of the church and gives little incentive for social engagement with the cultures outside of the Orthodox parish.

In my view, what was lost in the transition was the ecumenical vision put forward by thinkers like Vladimir Solovyov and Sergey Bulgakov, as well as the awareness and even desire to reach to the wider and sometimes hostile world outside the church with the message of the gospel. What was gained with the development of the concept of eucharistic community is the affirmation that the faith community is "the community assembled by divine initiative and divine love before everything else."⁵

At the Turns of History

The emergence of notions of *sobornost'* and of eucharistic ecclesiology define like two book covers a period of about a century. Any complex religious phenomenon is inevitably contextual and shaped diachronically by a field-force of historic, socio-political, and cultural circumstances. The Church's so-

⁵ Rowan Williams, "Foreword," in Nikolas Afanasiev, *The Church of the Holy Spirit*, trans. V. Permiakov, ed. M. Plekon (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), vii.

cial engagement specifically cannot be considered seriously outside the historic realities of her context.

The two major events of nineteenth-century Russian history – the Patriotic War and the emancipation of the serfs – led to a pendulum-like swing between the two camps of the Russian intelligentsia: the Slavophiles and the Westernizers. These unresolved social tensions laid the groundwork for the revolutionary upheavals in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁶ In Lenin’s famous phrase, the emancipation in “1861 brought forth [the revolution in] 1905”⁷ and to continue in this vain, 1905 brought forth the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. Even if we do not subscribe to Lenin’s interpretation of history, we cannot overlook the fact that among the unforeseen consequences of the emancipation there is one of particular relevance to us. This is the radical effect that it had on the Church’s place in society and its relationship to the imperial powers. In a rapidly changing society the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) had to reconsider its role, not as a submissive ideological tool of the state,⁸ but as the care-giver of the nation, responding to the needs of both the disillusioned radicalized intelligentsia and the suffering population. At the end of the nineteenth century a new vision of the Church’s mission and witness to society was embraced by the theological academies, particularly that of Kazan and of the capital, St Petersburg.⁹

⁶ See Steven Nafziger, “Serfdom, Emancipation, and Off-Farm Labor Mobility in Tsarist Russia,” *Economic History of Developing Regions* 27 (2012): 1–37.

⁷ E.g. P.A. Zajonchkovskij, *Otmena krepostnogo prava v Rossii* (Third Edition) (Moscow: Prosveshchenije, 1968), 200.

⁸ For a review of Orthodox political theology, see Aristotle Papanikolaou, *The Mystical as Political: Democracy and Non-Radical Orthodoxy* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 13–54.

⁹ Jennifer Hedda, *His Kingdom Come: Orthodox Pastorship and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2011), 31–51. Cf. Henri Destivelle, *Les Sciences Théologiques en Russie: Réforme et Renouveau des Académies Ecclésiastiques au début du XX^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2010) and Ivana Noble et al., *Wrestling with the Mind of the Fathers*, chapter 5.

While the Orthodox Church's hierarchy was involved in the drafting of the bill for the reforms,¹⁰ the emancipation of the Serfs initially took the file-and-rank clergy and theologians of the Russian Orthodox Church by surprise; they were largely unprepared to face the challenges posed by the scale of the transformation of Russian society. As in the time of the Slavophile renewal, educated Russian society looked at the Church as backing unpopular social policies and more as an obstacle than offering solutions to the social problems in Russian. The Church was left with very few options. She could seek ways of rejuvenation of the Russian Orthodox faith by engaging social problems anew. Or she could take sides with the socialist programs. Furthermore, she could try to justify and to work towards supporting the existing social order while engaging in large mission work within the Empire. Being a nation-formative force, the ROC looked first and foremost to solidifying national identity against perceived or real treats of descent and subversion. The church could also follow in the hesychast tradition by taking an inward look for strengthening its spiritual witness. As it happened all these positions were taken at one time or another by the ROC or parts of it.

Social Engagement and the Mission of the Church

Considering that the situation in the Russian Empire did not differ much from the situation in post-communist Eastern Europe today, it is instructive to reflect on how the need for social engagement was linked to the mission of the Church as spelled out in the All-Russian Missiological Congresses (1887–1917).¹¹ It may not be an overstatement to say that these

¹⁰ Metropolitan Filaret (Drozdov) of Moscow tried to identify the church with the tsar's social reforms. As Steve Runciman remarks: "He had little success under Nicholas I; but his proud moment came when he was asked by Alexander II in 1861 to draft the imperial law freeing the serfs." Due to the ambiguous reception of the Reforms, this did not add much to the credibility of the clerical authorities of the Russian Orthodox Church.

¹¹ For a succinct summary and bibliography of the activities of missionary congresses till 2002, see the review of the information centre of the Mission Department of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy "Istoricheskaya spravka: Vserossijskie missionerskie syezdy" ["Историческая справка: Всероссий-

congresses have served as an inspiration for contemporary reflections on mission and social engagement that the ROC has issued in the past decade. In doing this, the social engagement that was rejected by many in exile because of its supposed link to the Bolshevik collectivist terror, but which continued in the actions of at least some of the émigrés, has finally returned home.

There were all together five All-Russian Missionary Congresses before the Bolshevik revolution. The first in 1887 and the second in 1891 were held in Moscow, followed by a third highly significant one in Kazan in 1897. The fourth congress took place in Kiev in 1908 and the fifth and last one before the October Revolution was called in the Kherson region in the summer of 1917. Largely initiated and stimulated by the missionary school in Kazan, the congresses lasted for about two weeks, focusing almost exclusively on internal mission and on apologetic strategies to counter the divisions within the Orthodox Church, the spread of sectarian – particularly evangelical and Baptist – missionary activity, and the conversion of Orthodox believers to Catholicism and Islam.¹² The third congress took a close look at the reasons leading to the success of sectarian activities. It concluded that the two major reasons were the difficult life circumstances of the peasants and working classes and lack of spiritual care for them. Social work and catechization (*dukhovnoe prosvjeschenije*) were to become an integral part of the holistic internal mission of the ROC, and were to be revived at the end of the twentieth century. The fourth congress discussed measures not only to face up to the challenges posed by non-Orthodox confessions but also by the growing threat of materialism and atheism engulfing the society during the last decades of the imperial order in Russia. Considering the latter, the congress recommended introducing a special subject in all ecclesiastical academies on the “Study and Refutation of Socialism.”

ские миссионерские съезды” = Historical review: All-Russian Mission Congresses],” <<http://www.bogoslov.ru/text/1245176/index.html>>.

¹² Conversions rapidly increased after the passing of the imperial laws on freedom of conscience and religious toleration in April 1905.

The fifth congress was called a couple of weeks before the official opening of the All-Russian Church Council in 1917–18, that would lead to the restoration of the patriarchate almost two centuries after it had been abolished by the tsar in 1721. Significantly and in the spirit of the time, the fifth missionary congress came to the conclusion that there are three main forces to carry on the mission activity of the Orthodox Church: lay Orthodox believers, the parish priests, and people with special training for mission work. The main concern of the congress was to find a strategy for counteracting sectarian activities, including atheist and socialist movements of all sorts. Understandably the recommendations and regulations of missionary work passed by the fifth congress were not implemented under the Bolshevik regime. This re-invigorated mission vision was notably related to, and inspired by, the patristic revival carried on by the ecclesiastical academies in nineteenth century. Importantly, as well, the example of the congresses formed the grounds for the re-envisioning of the missionary strategy of the ROC, a process that began in 1995 and is still ongoing.

In concluding, I would like to point to fascinating complementarities and to the pendulum-like switch in the responses of the Russian Orthodox community to the sharp turns in the turbulent history of the last two centuries. Why am I presenting this extended narrative? It is to make the point that very much like the Churches under Communist domination, the Church in post-Petrine Imperial Russia was tamed by the state's heavy-handed overseeing. Then and now in the post-communist or aggressively secularized cultural contexts the Orthodox Churches have to find ways of engaging society at every significant turn if they want to convey the good news of Christ – otherwise the Church risks oblivion.

Beyond Dualism and Monism: Saint Maximus the Confessor's Mediation of Wholeness

Nevena Dimitrova

Wisdom and Logos open doors for human beings to become or to be-in-God. The relation between the two has been of interest to sophiologists like Sergey Bulgakov, Vladimir Solovyev, and Pavel Florensky who describe Wisdom as the connection between God and the world, between created and uncreated, between divine and non-divine beings. We also have the God-Logos or Christ as the paradigm for fulfilling the task to unify the divided universal hypostasis according to St. Maximus the Confessor's text, his *41st Ambigua*.

Bridging the gap between creation and Creator in Wisdom and Logos means crossing the limits of certain categories of practice and thought. In this respect dualism and monism will be looked upon and reflected from the view point of Maximus's anthropology. This will give possible answers to contemporary tensions in Orthodox anthropology and even ecology.

The Logos is the second hypostasis of the Trinity and the paradigm for human beings to unite the divided hypostasis of this world in the same way that in Christ created and uncreated natures are united. In *Ambigua 41* we read that all beings can be divided into uncreated (consisting only of the blessed Trinity) and created beings. Created beings belong to intelligible and sensible realms. Each of these classes can be further subdivided: intelligible beings into celestial ones (that is, angels), and terrestrial beings (that is, humans); and sensible beings into living and lifeless ones. Living beings are divided into

sentient and non-sentient ones; sentient beings into rational (humans) and irrational ones (animals). In this human being embraces all divisions in created reality.

Created human nature is to grow in virtues that represent the hypostasized virtue, Christ the Logos. The tradition before Maximus (e.g., Evagrius) differs between the levels of purification of body and that of mind. In Maximus, the insistence on actualization of virtues or disciplining the passions is not because of the separation of the body from soul/mind, but because of their perichoretic union and interdependence in the Logos. This unifying tendency and holistic worldview is a key motive in all of Maximus's thought. The ultimate task before humans is to mediate between God and creation and to re-create the world after the paradigm of Christ, to correct the fallen state of human being into a human being-in-Christ.

The perichoresis of the soul-body composite of the human being results in unification of all the soul's faculties in knowledge of God. This phenomenal unity of the human being (something that he describes in *Amb.Io 41*: the overcoming of the divided universal hypostasis in the hypostasis of Christ) requires a unity of the various faculties, motions, and acts on an ontological basis: divine-human communion is the bridge that overcomes the ontological gap between Creator and creation. One of the main contributions of St. Maximus in re-writing the Dionysian ontological scheme is the subordination of both ontological and epistemological categories in the hierarchy of being. Instead of the gradual rejection of the lower by superior ones, in Maximus they are integrated in a compositum: the whole human being becomes a perichoresis of capacities, a dialogue of differences that constitute the human part (-icipation) in the divine-human dialogue. In this the superior faculty holds the acts of the inferior one as its own.

Sensory things activate the process of ascent only when perception is rightly oriented toward the nature of things (or to their logos). This means that the decisive part of perception is its "rationalization" or its dependence on human inclination and disposition towards being in wisdom and truth (the two divine names representing the final achievements of human practice and contemplation, respectively). In this, Maximus

succeeds in overcoming the dualistic Platonic division between sensible and intelligible. Likewise he “rewrites” the Evagrian and Origenist separation where the soul is freed from the body. In the first case, he does this by emphasising that through perception of the visible, sensory things, their inner, intelligible, perceptive logos is revealed, and in the second – by a unification of psychological acts of knowledge by subordinating all activities to the one path of union with/in divine energies.¹

The patristic view of the human being is based on the revealed Truth that God is Person and man is created in his image and even if created, he is also a person. The fathers speak about the created man as a Godcentric, Christocentric being that lives naturally and normally, i.e. in a healthy way in relation and communion with God. The human being is not a completed static given thing, but a person that needs to be accomplished in a dynamic way in a personal relation with God. For the realization of the telos of being, man is given self-determination which is not the usual moral choice between good and bad, but a choice of the way of existence between life and death.

The path of ascent and of the growing presence of the Logos in human life repairs the postlapsarian existence of human nature. The paradigm of this return is given by God in His descent and Incarnation. The final cause of Logos embodiment is not only the salvation of human being, but also the accomplishment of the existential mission of human creation.

For Maximus, not merely the mind or the soul but the whole composite human being is the image of God. Its task is to acquire similarity to God, not least through self-determination, which Maximus identifies with the natural will: “Then by the same reasoning, the self-determinative motion [is one of the principles] in the rational [nature].”² Hence the relation between operations of the mind/reason along with the actuali-

¹ See Amb.Io.10 PG 91 1113C in Andrew Louth, *Maximus the Confessor* (London: Routledge, 1996,) 101.

² Joseph P. Farrell, trans., *The Disputation with Pyrrhus of Our Father Among the Saints Maximus the Confessor* (St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1990), 22.

zation of the virtues, are both considered to lead man to deification and knowledge of God.

While image is part of the natural constitution of man and is given by the Creator without any efforts from human beings, the likeness is linked to personal participation for its accomplishment and in this sense is connected with the disposition for willing and with choice (γνώμη and προαίρεσις). As the image reveals the logos of nature, the likeness reveals the mode of living or existing (τρόπος) for which, in its fullest form, wisdom is key.

Here let us briefly turn to three of the great sophiologists to clarify the distinction between Wisdom and the Logos. They are not identical, and Sophia is not a person of the Trinity. Sergei Bulgakov says, “As divinity, Sophia is nonhypostatic (is not a ‘fourth hypostasis’) ... [but] she belongs to the divine trihypostatic Person as this Person’s life and self-revelation.”³ Wisdom is neither a hypostasis of the Trinity, nor a goddess on her own, nor an autonomous creature. “The Divine Sophia contains the entire fullness of divine being, but she does not exist in isolation from the divine trihypostatic Person.”⁴

Wisdom is the creative act of the Holy Trinity, the Trinity turned outward in divine creativity. God’s own life is self-revealed by creating something that is not-God, by creating non-divine beings. The life of the Trinity becomes an eternal act and “this act is the Divine Sophia, the self-positing and self-revelation of the Holy Trinity.... She is the creative act of the divine trihypostatic person.”

Vladimir Solovyev agrees: “To speak about Sophia as an essential element of Divinity does not mean, from the Christian point of view, to introduce new gods.”⁵ Sophia is not a deity; she is a connection between God and the world, between the uncreated and the created, between the divine One and non-divine beings. As such, she solves two philosophical dilemmas. If the gap between God and the world is too large, we

³ Sergius Bulgakov, *The Bride of the Lamb* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 38–39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵ Vladimir Solovyev, *Lectures on Godmanhood* (New York: International University Press, 1944,) 154–55.

find ourselves left with a dualism; if the gap between God and the world is too small, we find ourselves left with monism. Sophia allows us to say that creation is connected to God (it doesn't have its own source of being) and yet that creation is other than God. Thus, Solovyev concludes that Sophia "occupies the mediating position between the multiplicity of living beings, which comprised the real content of her life, and the unconditional unity of Divinity, which is the ideal beginning and the norm of that life."⁶ Pavel Florensky writes in a similar vein: "Sophia is the Great Root by which creation goes into the intra-Trinitarian life and through which it receives Life Eternal from the One Source of Life. Sophia is the original nature of creation ... the Guardian Angel of creation, the Ideal person of the world."⁷ Wisdom names how the glory of God's inner life is "realized in the life of the world in its general process of entheosis."

Bulgakov establishes his own sort of tensive distance within the way God acts for creation between what he distinguishes as divine and created Wisdom. Bulgakov sees that "the world's being must be included in God's own life, must be correlated with this life, must be understood not only in its own being for itself, but also in its being for God." At the same time theology must resist cosmic monism, preserving the integrity of that mystery from the wash of pantheism. Wisdom, shared in the divine life, given to creaturely life, and creatively dynamic in both, presents the biblical figure of this unconfused union. Anticipated by *ousia*, Sophia functions as a narrative guarantee, permitting the Church its story of the divinely-loved world, as surely different from God as it is destined for divine union. In Wisdom, Bulgakov can unconfusedly unite divine and created natures, connecting this present earth with the new earth of the glorified Jerusalem (cf. Revelation 21:9–11).

Whereas cosmology often seems pushed toward either monism or dualism (toward cosmic Apollinarianism or Nestorianism, one might say) the Christian solution comes in the terms

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Pavel Florensky Pavel, *The Pillar and Ground of the Truth: An Essay in Orthodox Theodicy in Twelve Letters* (Princeton University Press, 2004), 237.

of Chalcedon, expressed in a Maximian distinction: “The world’s existence is a special modality of being.” God unites with the transfigured world in the same way as the di-unity of the Divine and the created Wisdom.” In the person of Christ we see creation’s aptitude for deification through God’s manner of deifying.⁸

The logoi that are in every created thing are seen from the perspective of unity in the one Logos. Those claims would certainly be violent within modernist assumptions that humanity and nature are separate and competitive. But here, personal activity meets and lifts up creation’s own essence. “Creation is defined not according to the mode of repetition but according to the mode of creativity.”⁹ If we see Wisdom as the “where” of Logos, then the way to going “beyond” monism and dualism is open.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Willis Jenkins, *Ecologies of Grace: Environmental Ethics and Christian Theology* (Oxford University Press, 2008,) 197.

The Temptation Toward Dualisms and Monisms in Orthodox Theology: Ontological and Political Implications

Aristotle Papanikolaou

This essay will first discuss how despite their best intentions, contemporary Orthodox theologians were susceptible to ontological dualisms and monisms. This temptation to ontological dualisms and monisms is due, in large part, in failing to see how *theologia* – the speculative theology of the inner life of God as Trinity – developed as a response to ontological dualisms and monisms. I will then discuss the recent manifestation of political dualism in the post-communist situation in the countries where Orthodoxy is a majority with attention on Russia. I will conclude with the suggestion that there is a possible link between ontological and political dualisms, and with the claim that a Trinitarian theology that attempts to overcome ontological dualisms can in no way support political dualisms.

Dualisms, Monisms, and the Trinity

Let me begin with the thesis that there are no helpful dualisms or monisms in theology: in fact, the Christian affirmation of the Incarnation and the doctrine of the Trinity is anti-dualist at its heart. The early Christological debates, which come to a climax in the fourth century with Athanasius against the so-called Arians or non-Nicenes, were, in part, a debate about dualisms and monisms. What Athanasius saw more clearly than anyone prior to him was that if one is to think God as love revealed in the person of Jesus, and if to think God as love means imagining a communion across an ontological abyss – a

divine-human communion – one must affirm Jesus of Nazareth as embodying the full divinity. In doing this, Athanasius was contending against a dualism that would reify an unbridgeable gap between the uncreated and the created with no hope for communion.¹ He was contending against a monotheism that was in essence a dualism in order, to use Karl Rahner's language, to radicalize monotheism² so as to imagine God's being as free to be that which is not God, to become history,³ as John Zizioulas states it, without absorbing that which is not God. Insofar as Athanasius's insight laid the ground for the Christian affirmation of the Trinity, my contention is that the development of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is the Christian response against dualistic and monistic conceptions of the God-world relation.

This fight against a dualistic or monistic understanding of the God-world relation brings to mind Vladimir Lossky's emphasis on theology as antinomy. Although Lossky himself presents antinomy as emerging from the Dionysian apophatic tradition, he, in fact, borrows the concept from Bulgakov and apophaticizes it against Bulgakov.⁴ For Lossky, antinomy is the best theological approach toward avoiding dualism and monism. In an antinomic approach to theology; seemingly contradictory statements must be affirmed as true. The goal of

¹ I more fully develop this position in "Trinity, Violence and Virtue," in *God: Theological Accounts and Ethical Possibilities*, eds. Myriam Renaud and Joshua Daniel (forthcoming).

² "Our basic thesis, put forward here, is meant to show that the doctrine of the Trinity can and must be understood not as a supplement or an attenuation of Christian monotheism, but as its radicalization." Karl Rahner, "Oneness and Threefoldness of God in Discussion with Islam," in *Theological Investigations*, vol. 18 (New York: Crossroad, 1983), 109.

³ John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985), 130.

⁴ For Lossky on antinomy, "Theology of Light in Gregory Palamas," in *Image and Likeness of God*, eds. John H. Erickson and Thomas E. Bird (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), 45–70. See also Papanikolaou, *Being with God: Trinity, Apophaticism and Divine-Human Communion* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 27–30. For more on Lossky's indebtedness to Bulgakov, see my "Eastern Orthodox Theology," in *The Routledge Companion to Modern Christian Thought*, eds. Chad Meister and James Beilby (New York: Routledge, 2013), 538–548.

theology is to find the concepts that best express the antinomy that Christ is two natures in one person, or that God is one and three, because theology's task is to express a truth in doctrinal form in the hope that such an expression can lead one ascetically to a lived experience of the dogma. As Lossky states, "the goal of this antinomic theology is not to forge a system of concepts, but to serve as a support for the human spirit in contemplation of divine mysteries."⁵ It is only in this lived experience of the dogma, in a mystical experience, that dualisms and monisms are in the end overcome. In the realm of language, any move beyond antinomy either collapses into dualism or monism. There is perhaps a very important insight in Lossky's theology here: language itself inevitably leads to dualisms and monisms. The overcoming of dualisms and monisms for Lossky is only in the lived experience of the living God, made possible in and through ascetical and liturgical practices. In light of this, theological language must be, for Lossky, strictly antinomical.

And yet, Lossky himself could not escape monistic tendencies. Lossky replaced Thomistic *esse* with the Dionysian understanding of God as non-being or *hyper-essence*. And because of this, he (over)emphasized, in my opinion, the essence-energies distinction, leading to a conception of the God-world relation that is itself monistic, notwithstanding his affirmation that the energies themselves are God.⁶ In relegating the doctrine of the Trinity simply to a "fact" of the incarnation (another expression he borrowed from Bulgakov), Lossky himself overlooked Athanasius's great insight that dualistic and monistic understandings of the God-world relation are overcome only if we affirm that God has, indeed, become history in the singular, unique life of Jesus of Nazareth; and such an affirmation requires thinking the God of love in terms of distinctions that are permanent and factual. In other words, the Christian answer to a non-dualistic, non-competitive understanding of the God-world relation is not the essence-energies distinction that is grounded in a Dionysian understanding of God as non-

⁵ Lossky, "Theology of Light in Gregory Palamas," 52.

⁶ For more on Lossky's monistic tendencies, see my *Being with God*, 123–25.

being, but in the speculative understanding of God as a second and third, something that Lossky thought should be avoided at all costs.

If Lossky's problem is crypto-monism in his replacing Thomistic *esse* with Dionysian hyper-essence, then Zizioulas's problem has been the nagging accusation of dualism. For Zizioulas, this nagging accusation of dualism can be traced to his distinction between person and nature, and his identification of person with freedom and nature with necessity (a distinction and identification he gets from Lossky, who, again, borrows it from Bulgakov). According to Zizioulas's early work, created nature is itself surrounded by nothing. Left to itself, it is destined for nothingness and annihilation. The great tragedy of created existence is what Zizioulas refers to as the necessity of nature; created existence is subject to the necessity of its own finitude. Because of this, the human longing for otherness and irreplaceability are thwarted by death, which reduces all to sameness.⁷

For Zizioulas, salvation lies in the realization of personhood, which is an *ekstasis* in relation to nature in the sense of being a freedom from the necessity of nature. Zizioulas does argue that there is no nature without hypostasis and vice-versa, but it is difficult to discern what positive role nature plays in his theology. In the end, personhood is a relational reality of realized irreducibility that is simultaneously an *ekstasis* in relation to the necessity of nature. This dualism between the necessity of nature and the freedom of personhood has been criticized forcefully by Nicholas Loudovikos, who notes that quite ironically rather than being free, personhood becomes an extrinsic reality imposed from outside of nature.⁸ Put in the language of nature and grace, Loudovikos's critique implies that Zizioulas's logic ultimately leads to a competitive relationship between the two, which is in the end a dualism between nature and grace, the created and the uncreated.

⁷ Zizioulas, *Communion and Otherness* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 235.

⁸ Nicholas Loudovikos, "Person Instead of Grace and Dictated Otherness: John Zizioulas' Final Theological Position," *The Heythrop Journal* 52 (2011): 684–699.

The *ekstasis* from the necessity of nature that Zizioulas speaks of in relation to created existence is also constitutive of the very being of God as Trinity. As Zizioulas himself states: “The manner in which God exercises His ontological freedom, that which makes him ontologically free, is the way in which He transcends and abolishes the ontological necessity of the substance by being God as *Father*, that is, as He who ‘begets’ the Son and ‘brings forth’ the Spirit.”⁹ Zizioulas has since nuanced both this position of the importance of asserting the monarchy of the Father as the principle ‘cause’ of the Trinitarian being of God, i.e., of the Son and the Spirit, and his understanding of human personhood as freedom from the necessity of nature. Regarding the latter, freedom from the necessity of nature cannot be understood as a transcending or abolishing of created nature, but as a freedom from the necessity created by the effects of sin on created nature. Human personhood then is not a transcendence of created nature per se, but a personal realization of all that created nature was created to be.¹⁰ Similarly, on the question of the monarchy of the Father, he argues that this freedom within the divine being cannot be understood as a freedom *from* the necessity of nature, in the same way that human personhood is understood as freedom from the necessity of sinful created nature. In the divine being, there is no “given” as there is in created existence, and, thus, nature and person are not antinomical but coincide.¹¹ This freedom for the other is not primarily for creation, the not-God, but within the very being of God.¹² This freedom is personal and grounded in the person of the Father, and not in the essence of God, and it is this freedom within the being of God that is the condition for

⁹ Zizioulas, *Being as Communion*, 44. See also *Communion and Otherness*, 101–08.

¹⁰ Cf. Zizioulas’ important essay, “Person and Nature in the Theology of St. Maximus the Confessor,” in *Knowing the Purpose of Creation Through the Resurrection: Proceedings of the Symposium on St. Maximus the Confessor*, ed. Bishop Maxim Vasiljević (Alhambra, CA: Sebastian Press & The Faculty of Orthodox Theology – University of Belgrade, 2013), 85–113.

¹¹ “Trinitarian Freedom: is God Free in Trinitarian Life?” in *Rethinking Trinitarian Theology: Disputed Questions and Contemporary Issues in Trinitarian Theology* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 197.

¹² *Ibid.*

the possibility of God's freedom for creation and, thus, creation's freedom for God.¹³

Zizioulas's insight – one missed by Lossky – is that thinking the Trinity, and by Trinity I mean *theologia* or the immanent Trinity, is the Christian response to the challenge of dualisms and monisms. His other insight is that the conditions of created existence are such that true otherness is impossible, and as a result, the problem of finitude is one that inexorably leads to dualisms and monisms. In this sense, he could be seen as amplifying Lossky's insight on the limits of language. These particular insights also intersect with post-modern discussions of subjectivity in which loss is constitutive of subjectivity and identity, and as such challenges the idea of whether there can be a relationality that is not in some way always a projection onto the other; that challenges whether love is genuinely possible within the limits of finite existence. Even, however, with these insights and clarifications, it is still not clear what positive role, if any, nature plays in the realization of personhood. It is always a marker of necessity over-and-against the freedom of personhood, and something to be transcended, even if not negated outright. In spite of his best efforts, there is still the nagging question of whether Zizioulas's theology has overcome the dualism between nature and person.

The one theologian who saw very clearly the Athanasian insight that the doctrine of the Trinity is the Christian response to dualisms and monisms is Sergius Bulgakov. Bulgakov has too often and easily been dismissed as simply being influenced by Hegel, as well as Fichte and Schelling, but it has gone unnoticed that all the major categories and expressions that seem commonplace in contemporary Orthodox theology, and which are attributed to the fathers, are actually from Bulgakov, having been passed on by Lossky in an apophaticized form. These include such concepts and expressions as: antinomy, nature identified with necessity and person with freedom, and the kenosis of the Son and the Spirit – to name just a few. And though the broad outlines of the German idealist phenome-

¹³ Ibid.

nology of absolute spirit is discernible in Bulgakov, I am absolutely convinced that rather than uncritically appropriating German idealist thought, Bulgakov was intent on correcting it; more strongly, I think Bulgakov saw in the German idealist thinking of the antinomy between freedom and necessity, spirit and nature a natural development of the hypostasis/physis distinction forged by Christian debates on the Trinity; a welcomed development, but one that he thought had gone wrong especially in its inability to maintain the integrity of that which is finite, and in the end resulted in monism.

Bulgakov did argue that the only way to understand God as Trinity was to understand God as the self-revelation of absolute spirit.¹⁴ The categories of essence or nature and person or hypostasis were indeed important achievements of making sense of the self-revealing God, but Bulgakov would argue that a third category or distinction is needed – and that category is Sophia. For Bulgakov, the category of Sophia is the only way to make sense of the God-world relation in terms of communion, of the infinite ground for the finite that overcomes the distinction without annihilating the finite. The problem for Trinitarian thought, according to Bulgakov, has always been the question, why the Holy Spirit? Understanding God as absolute Spirit as a self-revelation of God to Godself is to understand that God knows Godself in the Other who is all that God is by necessity, but this all-that-God-is is not actualized until it is returned in freedom and love. This self-reflexive movement of the trinitarian being of God is neither just Father, Son and Spirit, but it is the actualization of the self-revelation of God to Godself, and, as such, is God's very being. As such, it is not the empty absolute, but is the actualization in love and freedom (the Spirit) of the content of all that God revealed in the Other (the Son). As self-revelation it is then the essence of God hypostatized. As self-revelation it includes all that God is to creation from eternity without positing a creation in time and space. This trinitarian being of God is Sophia, and Sophia then becomes the connecting link to finite creation, since all that God is to Godself includes God's relation to creation. The

¹⁴ For what follows on Bulgakov, see especially, *The Comforter*, trans. Boris Jakim (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 53–73 and 177–218.

mediation to the not-God cannot simply be the Logos, since whatever the Logos and the Spirit are to creation *it must be through Sophia*. Creation is the self-repetition of the trinitarian being in time and space – the created Sophia realizing all that is possible for creation in the self-revelation of God to God-self, or God-as-Trinity-as-Sophia. Bulgakov himself has been accused of a monistic understanding of God, especially in the form of positing an eternal creation. But I think this is a misreading of him. For Bulgakov, it is impossible to think all that God is, to think God as self-revealing all that God is to God-self without thinking creation. But this does not mean creation exists from all eternity; it simply means that the communion with God to which creation in space/time was destined from all eternity, is possible because of who God is from all eternity.

In mentioning Bulgakov at length, my aim is not to defend Sophia as the solution to the problem of dualism and monisms, but to highlight the fact that he saw more clearly than any contemporary Orthodox theology that dualisms and monisms are indeed the problem and that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is and always has been the Christian response to this problem. Also, Bulgakov also saw clearly, more than I think patristic scholars are willing to admit, that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity is inevitably a speculative understanding not simply of God, but of God as God relates to the world in communion. To put it another way, what is needed to avoid dualisms and monisms is a more robust theology of the immanent Trinity; Christian theology must dare to do *theologia* that is itself grounded in *oikonomia*.

Political Dualisms

In addition to the ontological realm, contemporary Orthodoxy has also witnessed temptations to dualisms and monisms in the moral realm. Although contemporary Orthodox theology has developed a beautiful theology of personhood in which otherness signifies irreducible uniqueness constituted in a communion of love and freedom, the history of the Orthodox tradition gives witness to another use of the Other that is more negative. This other use of the Other is not necessarily restric-

ted to the Orthodox but is a temptation to which most humans succumb for the sake of identity construction. More specifically, this negative use of the other is in the form of a self-identification over-and-against the proximate other; the Other becomes the one against whom I self-identify, and is thus a necessary presence that is infinitely negated. I say infinite, because if the one against whom I self-identify is annihilated, then this annihilation would create a crisis of identity. That is the paradox of the self-identification vis-à-vis the proximate Other. It is clear that in contemporary Orthodox identity construction, “the West” is one of the primary “others” against whom the Orthodox self-identify. Who or what exactly “the West” is never entirely clear, but it has something to do with the Catholic and Protestant history of Western Europe. The Orthodox have almost taken it for granted that all that has emerged in the West is simply opposite of what is Orthodox and, thus, to be rejected.¹⁵

This anti-westernism is no more evident than in the political realm in which the East-West dualism is itself grounded in a monism of nation, culture, politics, and ecclesia.¹⁶ It is in the contemporary discourse of human rights that we witness an example of the clash of the negative othering of the West in contemporary Orthodoxy. In the one sense, the discourse of human rights has occasioned the construction of the “new West.” This new West is the West of godless liberalism with its decadent and hedonistic individualism, whose roots are in the anti-religious secular philosophy of the Enlightenment. This new West was constructed primarily after the fall of communism and is an important identity marker for the Russian

¹⁵ For more on this Orthodox anti-Westernism, see *Orthodox Constructions of the West*, eds. George Demacopoulos and Aristotle Papanikolaou (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013).

¹⁶ For helpful discussions of nationalism in Orthodoxy, see the special issue, “Ecclesiology and Nationalism,” in *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 57 (2013); see also, *Orthodox Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Southeastern Europe*, ed. Lucian N. Leustean (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

Orthodox Church, although it is evident globally throughout the Orthodox world.¹⁷

The Russian Orthodox Church has issued a statement on human rights, expressing ambivalence toward the concept.¹⁸ In an anti-Western move, the ROC links human rights language to morality, affirming that the dignity of the person is realized in and through adhering to certain moral principles, and that human rights language does not mean the freedom to transgress the moral canopy of a particular culture. It is clear that what the ROC means by morality is the Orthodox Christian morality that it feels should be part of the political and civil canopy of Russian society and over which it sees itself as guardian. So the ROC issues a yes to rights, but combined with Orthodox Christian morality. In doing so, it is coopting the western notion of human rights in order to be a player in a broader discussion about human rights and to use the western concept of human rights against the West.

There is something correct about the Orthodox resistance to human rights language. To say that a human being is entitled to natural rights does not indicate all that the human is created to be; in this sense, there is something inherently lacking in human rights language. An Orthodox theology of personhood as Otherness always points to the more that humans can be.

Insofar, however, that Orthodox theology points to a goal for human beings that is itself a relationality in and through which Otherness as uniqueness is realized, then this understanding of the human being must guide how Orthodox see the political space. In this sense, although the political is not the ecclesial, the mystical is the political in the sense that Christians must engage in the practices that would foster the structuring of a political space that would enable a relationality affir-

¹⁷ For a review of recent Orthodox understandings of human rights, as well as an attempt at a constructive move forward, see Aristotle Papanikolaou, *The Mystical as Political: Democracy and Non-Radical Orthodoxy* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), esp. chapter 3.

¹⁸ For a thorough and excellent analysis of the ROC on human rights, see Kristina Stoeckl, *The Orthodox Church and Human Rights* (Routledge, 2014).

ming the irreducible uniqueness of all human beings – as much as it is possible within a political space. It must also support language and concepts that work toward structuring such a space.

Human rights language is currently and globally the best available political language that would structure a political space so as to foster a relationality that realizes the irreducible uniqueness as Otherness of all human beings (and even non-human living beings). It secures a difference that does not necessarily overcome division, but provides the conditions for the possibility of overcoming division. It may fall short of the ideal, but it nonetheless moves the political space closer to the ideal. Finally, those who warn that human rights language is simply a tool for another form of Western oppression should not be dismissed, as, indeed, such language can be used for justification of violence against the Other. But the hypocrisy of democratic regimes in the West does not invalidate the political discourse of human rights just as the manifest hypocrisy of the Church does not invalidate its saving message.

In short, the Orthodox in the political sphere need to avoid a politics that is dualistic and monistic. There is no way to separate the two, since the mystical is indeed always the political. There is simply no justification for demonizing the other – for political dualisms – for the sake of securing one's own self-identity.

I want to end with a suggestion of the relation between ontological and moral dualisms. As I have argued, Lossky and Zizioulas's theologies struggle against the tendencies toward dualisms and monisms. These theologies are both forms of a kind of neo-patristic synthesis and have been the most influential forms of contemporary Orthodox theology. As I have suggested, even if it is debatable whether or not he escaped the temptations of monism, Bulgakov was more aware than any other Orthodox theologian of the challenge of dualisms and monisms. His political theology is arguably in stark contrast to the kind of political theology being played out by the ROC today.¹⁹ I say all this only to end with the question of the

¹⁹ See Papanikolaou, *The Mystical as Political*, 36–43.

relation between ontological dualisms and monisms and moral dualisms and monisms. Can a trinitarian theology that itself strives to transcend dualisms and monisms ever support a political theology that reifies an East-West dualism in the hope of creating a monism between nation, culture, politics, and ecclesia?

Monism, Dualism, Pluralism? From Orthodox Cosmology to Political Theology

Davor Džalto

Orthodox Christian Political Theology: An Old or New Discipline?

Orthodox political theology is not a new phenomenon, although the very term “political theology” as a discipline is a recent invention. If we define political theology (and Orthodox political theology in particular), as a theological reflection upon the social and political reality, we realize that this discipline has a long history, which has been practiced since the advent of Christianity. In spite of its length, however, the history of theological articulations of socio-political phenomena has not been very glorious. Over the past 1700 years most theological approaches to social structures and political institutions have been “conservative” in nature, in the sense that the role of these discourses has been to rationalize and justify the dominant order of power. In practice that meant justification of a hierarchically organized society, defense of the “symphony” model, and autocracy as *the* Christian mode of government.¹

¹ This can be seen across the spectrum, from fourth century authors such as Eusebius or John Chrysostom onwards, as discussed by Pantelis Kalaitzidis in his *Orthodoxy and Political Theology* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2012), 27.

***Church and State, Theology and Politics:
An Unholy Alliance***

The unholy alliance between the ecclesial and political structures that characterizes most of the so-called Christian societies over the last 1700 years had a double impact; one on the way the society and the state think and use Christianity and the Church, and the other on the way the Church and her theology think their own position *vis-à-vis* social and political entities. The result was that the ecclesial (priestly) roles conformed to the feudal socio-political organization, obscuring that way the eschatological meaning of these offices.

Only recently, following important social and political changes that came as a result of modern secular processes, have we come to the situation in which Christian theologians in general, and Orthodox Christian theologians in particular, began to think seriously about democracy, pluralism, and secularization as social and political phenomena that deserve a careful theological analysis and articulation.

One must, however, be careful here. Modern and contemporary social and political changes that are in many of their aspects positive and more advanced compared to previous political systems should not be either automatically rejected or uncritically embraced and glorified. A closer examination of what the basic Christian response to the social and political challenges of the day should look like can prevent contemporary theologians from making the same kind of mistakes that many earlier Christian thinkers made. What I have in mind here is a remarkable faculty of obedience to the dominant order of power that many Christian thinkers (and, for that matter, intellectuals in general) have demonstrated in the course of history. We can even recognize a pretty consistent pattern according to which theologians first rationalize and justify the dominant socio-political system unless that system is openly hostile to Christianity. Once the system collapses or becomes obviously illegitimate and dysfunctional, the immediate reaction is to try to reject and condemn the “innovations” that are,

naturally, “demonic” by their origin.² The next step, once it becomes impossible to continue with the rejection of the new socio-political system, is normally to develop new conceptual tools that provide a rationale and justification for the new power structures.

The problem here, of course, is not only that many theological reflections have failed the test of time; the problem is that they have, in my view, betrayed an *authentically* Christian approach to the world. As a result of this inglorious history, I think that there is a need for a more articulate Orthodox political theology, which should not be envisioned either as a justification of the current socio-political order, or as a prescription for establishing an ideal society on earth. Orthodox political theology, as I see it, should be a critical discourse, with the primary aim to challenge the power structures and social processes, based on some of the basic elements of the Christian faith. Its legitimacy relies upon our responsibility for this world, both as Christians and citizens of concrete societies.

The Kingdom of “Caesar” and the Kingdom of God

There is an inherent tension between Christianity and Christian theology on the one side, and the socio-political reality and the “world,” on the other. This tension has to do with the very structure of the biblically revealed Christian faith, and the “practical philosophy” (a certain *way of life*) that Christianity affirms. The tension consists in the paradoxical status of “this world” in its relation to the Kingdom of God.

On the one hand already in the New Testament we find a plentitude of references that clearly distinguish and even contrast the Kingdom of God to “this world.” In the gospel of John for instance, we find the contrast between the coming

² Compare to Kalaitzidis’s comment that “For all these figures (Joseph de Maistre, Loius Boland, Donoso Cortés – *note by D. Dž.*), the Enlightenment, as well as modernity and the whole notion of human rights, represent an absolute evil and humanity’s fall, indeed the ‘original sin’ of modern democracy. It is from these intellectuals that Carl Schmidt borrows the identification of ‘royalism’ with ‘theism’ and Christianity, as well as his overall opposition to democracy and political liberalism.” Kalaitzidis, *Orthodoxy and Political Theology*, 21.

Kingdom of God and the “prince of this world” who will be driven out.³ In the same gospel, Christ makes a clear distinction between “this world” and his disciples (one could also say the Church), by proclaiming that they “do not belong to the world.”⁴ An even stronger contrast is found in the First Epistle of John, in formulations such as: “Do not love the world or anything in the world. If anyone loves the world, love for the Father is not in them,” or “the whole world is under the control of the evil one.”⁵

The problem, however, is that it is not possible to simply dismiss “this world” as “evil” per se, first of all because of God’s intention to redeem it rather than to destroy it, and, secondly, because of the Incarnation and the future resurrection and the life of the age to come. This paradoxical tension between “this world” and the Kingdom of God finds its most famous expression in the famous distinction made by Christ between God and Caesar. Asked to give His opinion as to paying the imperial tax, Jesus asks for a coin used to pay the imperial tax, and since all agree it is a coin that shows the Emperor’s face and his inscription, He replies “So give back to Caesar what is Caesar’s, and to God what is God’s.”⁶

There are also many other lines in the New Testament that show a sharp distinction, if not a strong contrast, between the political powers and Christ’s Kingdom. These passages are well known and often quoted in the Christian anarchist literature. They include Christ’s words that His Kingdom is not “of

³ “Now is the time for judgment on this world; now the prince of this world will be driven out.” John 12:31.

⁴ “If the world hates you, keep in mind that it hated me first. If you belonged to the world, it would love you as its own. As it is, you do not belong to the world, but I have chosen you out of the world. That is why the world hates you.” John 15:18–19.

⁵ “Do not love the world or anything in the world. If anyone loves the world, love for the Father is not in them. For everything in the world – the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life – comes not from the Father but from the world. The world and its desires pass away, but whoever does the will of God lives forever. 1 John 2:15–17; “We know that we are children of God, and that the whole world is under the control of the evil one.” 1 John 5:19.

⁶ Matthew 22:21.

this world,”⁷ as well as the image of the “great harlot” from the Book of Revelation,⁸ which can be interpreted as referring to the Roman Empire.

If we relate, by equivalency, the concept of “this world” to the political powers of this world, we come across a difficulty in trying to articulate the place of “this (political) world” within Christian cosmology and anthropology. It may seem that we are faced here with a dualism, in other words with an irreconcilable difference between “this world” and its powers, and the Kingdom of God, which can only be resolved through an essentially monistic creation of the “new heaven and new earth.”⁹ However, this leaves us with little or nothing that could help us in dealing with more practical social and political issues.

The liturgical “solution” successfully avoids irreconcilable dualism between “this world” and the Kingdom of God, without falling into a simple monism, by calling for “transformation” of this world to make it capable of entering the Kingdom of God. The “place” and “time” for this transformation is the liturgy, as the icon of the Kingdom of God. The “world,” as a state of separation from God, thus enters into a relationship with God, which gives it a new being, and provides it an eschatological perspective.

Things are, however, more complex when we start thinking about “this world” as the sphere of the political, that which belongs to the “Caesar.” The kingdom of Caesar is a part of “this world” but it belongs to those aspects of “this

⁷ “Jesus said, ‘My kingdom is not of this world. If it were, my servants would fight to prevent my arrest by the Jewish leaders. But now my kingdom is from another place.’” John 18:36.

⁸ “Then one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls came and spoke with me, saying, ‘Come here, I will show you the judgment of the great harlot who sits on many waters, with whom the kings of the earth committed *acts of immorality*, and those who dwell on the earth were made drunk with the wine of her immorality.’” Rev 17:1–2.

⁹ “See, I will create new heavens and a new earth. The former things will not be remembered, nor will they come to mind.” Isaiah 65:17. Compare to: “Then I saw ‘a new heaven and a new earth,’ for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and there was no longer any sea.” Rev. 21:1.

world” that “cannot inherit the kingdom of God.”¹⁰ The reason for this is that the sphere of the political – if we think of the political in a narrower sense, as something related to the functioning of the state and its institutions – is necessarily based on violence, whether legitimate or illegitimate. Let us look at this issue more closely.

***“In the World, but not of the World”:
The Roots of Orthodox Christian Anarchism***

Jeaques Ellul analyzes the meaning of Christ’s words “give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s” in his account on *Anarchy and Christianity*. Ellul asks *but what really belongs to Caesar?*,¹¹ and continues:

The excellent example used by Jesus makes this plain: Whatever bears his mark! Here is the basis and limit of his power. But where is this mark? On coins, on public monuments, and on certain altars. That is all. Render to Caesar. You can pay the tax. (...) Paying or not paying taxes is not a basic question; it is not even a true political question. On the other hand, whatever does not bear Caesar’s mark does not belong to him. It all belongs to God. ... Caesar has no right whatever to the rest. First we have life. Caesar has no right of life and death. Caesar has no right to plunge people into war. Caesar has no right to devastate and ruin a country. Caesar’s domain is very limited.”¹²

Ellul thus affirms the duality, and points to the sphere of the political as a sphere, which differs from the basic concerns of the Christian faith. This seems obvious if we look at the

¹⁰ “I declare to you, brothers and sisters, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor does the perishable inherit the imperishable.” 1 Cor 15:50.

¹¹ One could here expand the concept of “Caesar” to encompass all political authorities.

¹² Jacques Ellul, *Anarchy and Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1991), 60–61.

examples such as the Roman Empire or other empires that have official ideologies that are very different, sometimes even opposed to the Christian worldview, or where the Church is persecuted and Christianity forbidden for ideological reasons. Things get more complex, however, and more interesting when we come to the example of the so-called “Christian states” and “Christian societies.” What happens with this tension if “Caesar” tries to create a Christian state and a Christian society as historical realities? What happens if political authorities start thinking carefully about Christian faith and its practical implementation in the sphere of the political, desiring (sometimes even honestly), to act in such a way as to affirm a Christian worldview in the political sphere? In other words, can a certain form of “Christian politics” resolve the tension between political authorities and their power and the Kingdom of God?

My preliminary answer would be that the tension between the Kingdom of God and Kingdom of Caesar remains, and it must remain during the entire course of history. Why is this?

In contrast to the eschatological community, the political communities of “this world” are governed by authorities that exercise their power over those they govern, either legally and legitimately or, which is more often the case, illegally and illegitimately. This is quite a different type of dealing with other human beings compared to the Christian idea of authority and subordination, expressed in Christ’s words “You know that the rulers of the nations lord it over them, and those in high positions enslave them. It shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be the servant.”¹³ Service and love thus replace the power of “this world” that belongs to the kingdom of Cesar. But to achieve the fullness of existence, which is based on love, we need to be born again. Therefore, the tension remains, and it helps us not to *deescha-*tologize the eschaton by confusing the two realities.

To get to the bottom of this tension I want to re-affirm the dualism between “this world” and the Kingdom of God, between that which will not “inherit the Kingdom of God” and that which will acquire a new existence and everlasting life.

¹³ Matthew 20:25–26.

This “dualism” has its origin in the tension between existence as freedom and existence as necessity. An eschatological vision of existence implies such existence is identified with freedom and love. In contrast to that, existence within the boundaries of “this world” is faced with manifold necessities, including natural laws, social and political boundaries and, ultimately, death.

This imperfect existence requires laws and institutions that protect members of the social community from other subjects of the social sphere (here, I do not have in mind primarily social conflicts in the form of class struggle, but rather particular occurrences of violence in which individuals or groups pose a threat to the safety and freedom of other members of the society). This is the origin of the *legitimate* violence of the socio-political institutions. The problem is, therefore, not only that some societies are not free enough, but that they have to be in a certain way oppressive in the world we live in. Political authorities thus belong to this sphere of necessity, which has no potential for participating in the eschaton. However, socio-political communities still do reflect the communitarian dimension of the human being. The problem is that all of them fail to satisfy this basic human need to exist as a being in a communion of freedom and love. Here also lies the reason why the liturgical solution that is acceptable in the case of the “world” in general, is not, in my view, acceptable in the case of political structures; political structures can be justified on pragmatic grounds, but they are not justifiable ontologically. They represent pseudo-ecclesial constructs that should be overcome in the eschaton, and many of these political phenomena should actually be overcome in the course of history as well.

Here, we come across some obvious and more practical questions that need to be addressed, such as: What should be a specifically Christian position *vis-à-vis* the society and the state, once it becomes clear that there are no valid theological arguments for affirmation of “Orthodox monarchy,” or the “symphony” model? How to deal with plurality and pluralism that characterize modern societies? How to respond to official

ideologies that shape the public sphere to a significant extent, even in those societies that are formally “democratic”?

The Church and the Democratic, Pluralistic and Secular Society: Advantages and Obstacles

Since political structures are governed by many often conflicting interests and forces, one meaningful and justifiable way to organize them would be to provide mechanisms that maximize freedom and opportunities of all members of the society. This means that starting from some basic presuppositions of Christian anthropology, such as freedom and dignity of each human person, Christians can, in principle, support secular, pluralistic, and democratic society. The social sphere should provide a common public space that virtually all citizens of a society can share. Although there is nothing specifically Christian in this claim, such a vision of society can be related to the Christian faith in personal freedom, in human capacity to say “no” to all particular religious perspectives and institutions, including the Christian ones. This is the foundation, in my view, for a *Christian secularism* in the social and public sphere.

There is also another reason why secular society can be beneficial for Christians and the Church. This has to do with the very functioning of religious institutions, including ecclesial structures, as social and political subjects. The institutional church, which is something different although not necessarily something completely separated from the “mystical” or “eschatological” Church, suffers from all weaknesses that other social and political institutions have. With a more prominent position and a bigger influence within society, religious institutions tend to aspire to more power in the socio-political sphere and an access to more significant financial resources. In this sense, a dialogue with modern society, and with secular and democratic values, can be beneficial for the Church herself.

Secularizing the social and political sphere can prevent secularization of the Church herself by limiting a dangerous alliance between the Church and state. The Church and other

religious communities should have freedom to do their missionary work, but they should not be instruments of oppression. The state should not be behind them giving its political, financial or military support. Democratic institutions and procedures of modern society (at least in theory if not that much in practice) can actually remind Christians that many of the modern secular ideas and values have Christian roots, and that some of the distinctly modern (also postmodern) phenomena, such as political pluralism, can help the Church to become more communitarian and, ultimately, more Christian.

However, as I pointed out at the beginning of this paper, Christian thinkers should be careful not to repeat mistakes from the past by constructing theological narratives that would glorify and justify any social order as ideal or “Christian” *per se*. The perfect society from the Christian point of view can only be the Kingdom of God, since there the inter-human relations, and the very existence of each human being, will be based on freedom and love. In such a “society” external and authoritative exercise of power is neither possible nor needed.

The tension between the kingdom of necessity, domination and power, and the Kingdom of God, can help Christians and the Church to understand political institutions as functional and sometimes necessary categories that, however, do not have any metaphysical significance and do not require such justification. With such awareness, the Church and Christians can play a very constructive role, being always an opposition to all orders of power, to all oppressive mechanisms and official ideologies. Their criticism and corrective role can be grounded not only in secular affirmations of human freedoms and rights, but in the Christian anthropology, which affirms human dignity, freedom, and love as metaphysical categories that will “inherit the Kingdom of God.”

Vatican II's Call to Renewal: Re-visiting Sheptytsky's 1942 Initiative for Re-union¹

Myroslaw Tataryn

In his 2012 reflection on interpreting the Second Vatican council, Ormond Rush argued that an “appropriate hermeneutics for interpreting the council and its texts”² must avoid focussing on one element of the council to the detriment of others. In other words, to interpret the council and its documents one needs to appreciate the interplay of the various elements and documents. Gerald O’Collins notes that the very first document promulgated by the council establishes the council as one that combines two seemingly paradoxical directions: both continuity and discontinuity. He notes how within this document the authors frame their presentation around the notions of “fostering and renewing.”³ Although the language of the council moves to the words “renewal” or “reform” as well as “retrieval,” O’Collins convincingly argues that the agenda represented by all these words was the same: preserving “an unbroken continuity with the past” and yet “widespread external adaptations and inner changes.”⁴

¹ This paper was first delivered at the “*Orientalium ecclesiarum – Fifty Years Later*” conference at the University of Toronto in October 2014, organized by the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies.

² Ormond Rush, “Toward a Comprehensive Interpretation of the Council and its Documents.” *Theological Studies* 73 (2012): 547.

³ Gerard O’Collins, “Does Vatican II Represent Continuity or Discontinuity?” *Theological Studies* 73 (2012): 771.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 775.

Similarly, as the emeritus bishop of Rome Benedict XVI stated in his Christmas address to the Curia⁵ in 2005: “It is precisely in this combination of continuity and discontinuity at different levels that the very nature of true reform consists.” In other words, to truly understand the council, its declarations, and its results, we cannot isolate one factor or utilize a simplistic hermeneutic. Rather we need to contextualize single documents within the frame of the whole and recognize that again, in Pope Benedict’s words, neither a solitary hermeneutic of continuity or discontinuity is adequate.

Clearly, much work has been done over the past fifty years on implementing the document that is the focus of this conference, *The Decree on the Eastern Churches*.⁶ Its effects are very evident in the life and liturgy of the Eastern Churches. Although not simply resulting in a preservation of “legitimate liturgical rites” and their “established way of life,” these are the areas where reflection has focussed. The implementation of these areas of the document has resulted in significant changes in the practice and life of the Eastern Churches, showing continuity with an earlier period which is relatively discontinuous with more recent Latinizing tendencies. The document reminds everyone that the norms and practices laid out are only relevant until “such time as the Catholic Church and the separated Eastern Churches come together into complete unity” (30).

The focus of this paper will be on this latter part of *Orientalium ecclesiarum*, offering a suggestion that in order for this vision of Catholic-Orthodox unity to come to fruition we need to integrate within the life of our Eastern Catholic churches the larger visions of *Orientalium ecclesiarum* and *Unitatis redintegratio*. Specifically, the unifying mission of the Eastern Churches does not simply lie in being liturgically or structurally indistinguishable from the Orthodox Sister Church, but rather in living a humble (I would call it ascetic-kenotic) ecclesiology. The very ethos of our Eastern Churches needs to be rooted in the appeal made in *Unitatis redintegratio*: “There can be no

⁵ http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia_en.html

⁶ http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_orientalium-ecclesiarum_en.html

ecumenism worthy of the name without a change of heart. For it is from renewal of the inner life of our minds, from self-denial and unstinted love that desires of unity take their rise and develop in a mature way" (7). I will pursue this vision in relation to my own Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church (UGCC).

I would suggest that an important characteristic of God's work in the historical experience of the UGCC is the manifestation of *kenosis*. The centrality of this practice of self-denial in our ecclesial tradition is evident in the canonization of the first saints of Kyivan-Rus': the *strastoterptsy*/passion-bearers Borys and Hlib (canonized ca. 1068). According to custom they calmly accepted death in the name of unity and in so doing established a model of sainthood unique to the Slavic world. It is a model that would be emulated many times over and presents an important challenge in our search for fulfilling the agenda of the council in the life of the UGCC and of the Church *in toto*.

The council's call for a change of heart, for self-denial and the strong tradition of *kenosis*, draws our attention to the person of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky who in the midst of the years of the Second World War initiated an unexpected campaign aimed at building unity between Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox.⁷ He wrote to members of the Orthodox intelligentsia in May, 1942: "We, Greco-Catholics not only do not wish to claim seniority or lord over our brothers, but rather we are willing (to our own detriment) to submit to them. Thus a complete union of our two confessions would, one would have to say, represent the complete submission of Greco-Catholics to the authority of the Kyivan patriarch."⁸ This willingness to "submit" or engage in self-denial is not a gambit, a tactical maneuver, but rather an expression of Christ-likeness. In 1941, he wrote to Orthodox bishops in Ukraine:

⁷ Sheptytsky insisted that the Orthodox accept the "Universal Faith, that is the orthodoxy of the first seven Ecumenical councils completed by the decisions of the Ecumenical councils from the 10th c to the present times." (*Письма-послання Митрополита Андрія Шептицького, ЧСВВ з часів німецької окупації. Друга частина* [Йорктон: Логос, 1969], 350.)

⁸ *Церква і церковна єдність. Документи і Матеріали 1899–1944. Том 1* (Львів: Свічадо, 1995), 420.

“We must, from both sides, be ready to make necessary concessions. When the Gospel obligates us to deny our very selves to the extent that we are willing to give up our very soul, so much the more we must be willing to make concessions as far as our conscience allows” (401).

In his March 3rd, 1942 letter to the Orthodox intelligentsia he made clear that he personally made no claim upon primacy in a united Church. He wrote, “It is clear that a Greco-Catholic cannot become the metropolitan of Kyiv, and I have no desire for this honour, nor do I have the physical capacity to be in Kyiv.... The Kyivan Metropolitan must be chosen from the Orthodox, either Autocephalous bishops or priests. If he were united to the Universal Church, then we Greco-Catholics would submit to him and I would be the first to gladly submit to his primatial authority” (413).

For the sake of unity Sheptytsky emulates the self-denial of Borys and Hlib, but more importantly the self-denial of Christ Himself. Christian unity is not built on negotiations or compromises, but rather on a willingness to deny one’s power and authority for the sake of the love that is the essence of unity. Here we have a central, albeit uncomfortable insight: the *kenosis* of the Cross must be embraced in order for there to be the possibility of resurrection in a new, unified Church. Self-denial must be, I suggest, a fundamental and necessary characteristic of the life of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church if it is to serve the unity of the entire Church. It has the marks of a “new dynamic approach to the relations between Churches”⁹ that Mykhajlo Dymyd regards as required given the apparent current stalemate. Sheptytsky’s initiative transgresses established canonical norms, and presents a way forward even in the contemporary mix of multiple Ukrainian Orthodox Churches; it is an expression of humility and respect among Christian communities, challenging historic hierarchical ways of thinking that do not necessarily serve the cause of unity. It does not, however, resolve the problem which has arisen over

⁹ “Еклезіологічне бачення УГКЦ. Погляд на майбутнє.” In Simon Marincak, ed., *Selected Questions and Perspectives on the Theology in the Eastern Churches United with Rome [=Orientalia et Occidentalia 14* Kosice: 2014], 97–106; at 105–06.

the past forty years and unforeseen by Sheptytsky and that is the question of multiple patriarchates. But more on this later.

It is important to recognize that Sheptytsky's example was not an isolated gesture. Although his efforts of 1941–42 are the most remarkable examples of this kenotic characteristic, I suggest subsequent primates of this Church have to lesser degrees followed this example. In November of 1987, then-primate Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky made a startling and unexpected declaration: "In keeping with Christ's spirit, we extend our hand of forgiveness, reconciliation and love to the Russian nation and to the Moscow Patriarchate. We repeat, as we said in our reconciliation with the Polish nation, the words of Christ: 'forgive us, as we forgive you' (Matthew 6:12)."¹⁰ Speaking at a Kirche in Not congress in Rome, Lubachivsky shocked many with his offer of forgiveness. The *Ukrainian Weekly* reported:

The statement took most in the Ukrainian community – Catholics and non-Catholics – by surprise. Some observers explained that the offer of mutual forgiveness was given in a purely Christian spirit and in the same vein as the earlier reconciliation with the Polish nation. Others, however, asked: For what are we seeking forgiveness from the Moscow Patriarchate? How can we extend a hand to the Moscow Patriarchate without addressing the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches? Or, perhaps most pointedly, as one observer said, you cannot make a gesture to the Russian Orthodox Church while ignoring the issues of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Lubachivsky's courageous offer fell on deaf ears: the Moscow Patriarchate did not reply. Metropolitan Mstyslav of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA called Lubachivsky's statement regrettable and one which was akin to "sharp stones and nails" on the road to a common celebration of the Millennium of Ukraine's Baptism. Nonetheless, once more a head of the UGCC made a significant gesture of humility and self-denial

¹⁰ <http://www.ukrweekly.com/old/archive/1987/528711.shtml>

in an attempt to move the ecumenical agenda forward not just with Ukrainian Orthodox, but with Russian Orthodox as well.

Notwithstanding the controversial nature of Lubachivsky's declaration, his successors continued in the same vein. Thus in 2001, the UGCC primate, Lubomyr Husar, greeted the pope on the occasion of the latter's June visit to Lviv with the following words:

Perhaps it seems strange, incomprehensible and contrary at such a glorious moment ... to also mention that in the history of our Church over the past century it has known dark and spiritually tragic moments. They lie in the fact that some sons and daughters of the UGCC, to our great shame, whether knowingly or unknowingly, did inflict injustice upon their neighbours both from their own people and from other nations. On their behalf, in your presence, Holy Father, and in the name of our UGCC I ask the Lord's ... forgiveness, as also of those whom we, sons and daughters of this Church, have in any way offended. Lest this horrible past weigh upon us and poison our lives, we happily forgive those who in any way offended us.¹¹

This act of forgiveness and repentance is then placed within the context of the new responsibilities of the Church in the new century, the "essence of which can be expressed in these words: the holiness of people united in a pilgrimage on the road to ecclesial intercommunion, in order to fulfill the will of Christ the Saviour."

On the occasion of the transference of his see to Kyiv in 2004, Husar made further admissions. He decried the "trauma" caused by theological polemics and "proselytizing forms of pastoral work," as well as post-Brest' rivalries which have made it impossible to come to a resolution of the fate of the Church of Kyiv. He also adds, "Today none of the Ukrainian Churches can claim to be free of responsibility for this spiritual toll" and so he repeats the words that he spoke on the occasion

¹¹ <http://www.papalvisit.org.ua/ukr/news.php?ac=a&id=281>

of the papal visit.¹² In a January 2004 interview, Husar is quite open in his controversial comments on the Union of Brest' itself. Referring to the notion of "uniatism" he says:

We were tricked into it. It was not the intention of our bishops at the end of the 16th century, but this was the political situation within the Polish kingdom of that time. And it was also the theological understanding of the Latin Church after the council of Trent. But that is the past. We would not like to have Uniatism used any more as a way of establishing unity.... If I were today faced with the situation of 400 years ago, I would certainly not choose the way that was chosen at that time. Metropolitan Sheptytsky, my predecessor in 1942, said very explicitly in letters to the Orthodox: This is not the way that we would like to conduct ourselves today. So he has in this sense condemned this way; again we would not use it today.¹³

The model Husar offers is one of intercommunion and sisterhood as opposed to jurisdiction and subordination. "Each Church [he says, referring to all the churches in Ukraine] is responsible for those aspects of the common inheritance which they have sustained and to make them the common inheritance of the Ukrainian people."¹⁴ He continues, "to think about the unity of the Kyivan Church means not to renounce the gift of communion with various Christian centers, but rather to enhance this intercommunion with the spiritual gifts of the Kyivan Church." Husar concludes his address with the following significant words: "In our view, the road to the renewal of our faith lies especially in the renewal of one Kyivan Church in one Patriarchate. Inspired by the example of the holy passion-bearers Borys and Hlib, she will cleanse her memory of the pain of historic wrongs and the deep wounds of

¹² Антуан Аржаковський, *Бесіди з Блаженнішим Любомиром Гузаром: до постконфесійного християнства* (Львів:УКУ, 2007), 145.

¹³ <http://www.catholicculture.org/news/features/index.cfm?recnum=28771>

¹⁴ *Бесіди* 140–41.

disunity will be healed.”¹⁵ This renewal and healing that Husar speaks of involves nothing less than a sober admission of his own Church’s failures. In reflecting upon the heritage of Sheptytsky, he wrote in 2000:

If the Eastern Catholic Churches were that which they were meant to be, then they would be the example *par excellence* of the true universality of Christ’s Church. Rather they became *petra comparationis*, that is the chief impediment for the East on the road to the unification of all Christians, ... The Catholic Churches of the Eastern rite are an immense and indispensable ecumenical achievement not because of their participation in dialogues or discussions, but by their being such as they are meant to be. Given that, then the main obstacle and many secondary matters will of themselves disappear.

In Sheptytsky’s mind, the Union of Brest’ did not achieve its aim ... because it was unable to fulfil an essential condition: to be truly eastern and truly catholic. We won’t focus here on the external factors.... We will note only that the internal factors were even more insidious: their influence continued even when the external factors became favourable or at least neutral [regarding union].¹⁶

Although, Husar asserts, Sheptytsky regarded this failure as everyone’s responsibility there is no doubt in either prelate’s mind that their Church must undergo a process of self-examination and honest assessment of culpability. Only the “uniates” can renounce “uniatism,” and again, not as a gesture or tactic, but as a profound recognition that the very truth of the Church demands the flourishing of unity in diversity.¹⁷

Patriarch Lubomyr’s resignation in February 2011 surprised many – although his profound humility lived so con-

¹⁵ Ibid., 146.

¹⁶ Ibid., 133–34.

¹⁷ Ibid., 141.

sistently should have lead observers to expect the event. However, this moment simply opened the door for an even more surprising event: the synod of bishops elected from their midst the youngest (40 years old) bishop to lead them – Sviatoslav Shevchuk, then apostolic administrator of Buenos Aires for Ukrainians. Shevchuk's approach to questions of relations with Orthodox and Church unity has not swayed from the well-established path delineated above. During his enthronement on March 27th in the new Ukrainian Greco-Catholic cathedral in Kyiv, a very powerful symbol of this path was not only the presence of bishops from all the Orthodox jurisdictions in Ukraine, but that during the kiss of peace Shevchuk shared the kiss with all of them. Within a month of his election he was making clear that this exchange was not a solitary moment. In a well-publicised interview he expressed his desire for a face to face meeting with Patriarch Kirill of Moscow. "I am convinced that in peacefully and openly communicating with each other, we can relieve any tension," he said. Then he went on to express his own agreement with the offer of forgiveness made by both his immediate predecessors. Finally he added: "I think that today, we should heal the wounds rather than irritate and deepen them. One can heal the wounds of our memory only with mutual forgiveness ... the best way to communicate is to be open in a brotherly dialogue, be open to the purification of our memory, to ask for forgiveness and to forgive."¹⁸

Although Shevchuk's desire for a meeting with Patriarch Kirill has not come to fruition he did meet the former head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (MP), Metropolitan Volodymyr, on a number of occasions. Shevchuk has also followed his predecessor's warm relations with all of Ukraine's Orthodox Churches and their primates. Of course, the events in Ukraine over the past year have truly placed a strain upon relations with the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, whereas relations with the Kyivan Patriarchate have solidified. Nonetheless, on another front it is valuable to note Shevchuk's request for forgiveness of the Polish people on the seventieth

¹⁸ http://risu.org.ua/en/index/all_news/confessional/interchurch_relations/41567/

anniversary of the Volyn' tragedy.¹⁹ Shevchuk has developed another aspect of this ecclesial *koinonia* and that is the aspect of healing. Although present in the statements of his immediate predecessor, Shevchuk often speaks of Ukrainian society as a community in need of healing and his statements concerning forgiveness and calling for unity are often accompanied by references to the need to heal. This provides another aspect to the self-denial that builds unity: it also heals the wounds of the Church, the Body of Christ!

For those familiar with the history of the UGCC over the past fifty years, one may wonder why there has been no significant mention of the figure who stands tallest during that period: Patriarch Josyf Slipyj (the ordaining hierarch of many of the clerics here today, including me). There is no doubt that Slipyj's commitment from the 1930's was clearly prophetically ecumenical. Jaroslav Pelikan's exhaustive portrait of Slipyj's career and personality documents both his personal passion for following in Sheptytsky's footsteps and his desire for unity. In fact he regarded his years of imprisonment (sustaining his union with Rome but not abandoning his Church) as "a suffering for the cause of the unity of the church."²⁰ However, it is interesting that there are no outstanding gestures of forgiveness or reconciliation towards Orthodox Christians.

Nonetheless there are some events that need to be noted. Slipyj endeavoured to maintain a level of contact and relationship with the Soviet authorities, even in spite of strong opposition from some of his bishops. In Metropolitan Hermaniuk's diary we read of the suspicions that were created by Slipyj's attendance in 1963 at the Soviet Embassy's commemoration of the October Revolution.²¹ Slipyj's ability to attempt to continue a relationship with the regime that had imprisoned him for so many years is indicative of his recognition that the needs

¹⁹ http://risu.org.ua/ua/index/all_news/ukraine_and_world/international_relations/52767/

²⁰ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Confessor Between East and West: A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), 53.

²¹ Entry of Nov. 20, 1963 in *The Second Vatican Council Diaries of Met. Maxim Hermaniuk, C.S.S.R. (1960–1965)*, trans. Jaroslav Z. Skira (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 153.

of his Church required of him a degree of humility and self-denial – an attitude clearly honed by his years in the Soviet camps and his experience of what has been termed an “ecumenism of suffering.”²² One of the people who came to know him in the camps was Avraham Shifrin who wrote of him as “a great and powerful personality, a man with a grand spirit.”²³

If we are to speak of Slipyj's self-denial after arriving in the West, we must recognize that in many ways it was most profoundly expressed in his faithfulness to the see of Rome. Pelikan summarizes this experience:

Here in exile, here in the Rome for which he and his church had sacrificed so much, the Ukrainian metropolitan felt increasingly hemmed in by what he called, the “negative attitude” he continued to encounter from “the sacred congregations of the Roman curia.” Sometimes, in his exasperation at that attitude, he would even resort to the hyperbole of declaring that he had never experienced such mistreatment from the atheists in the Soviet Union as he was experiencing now from fellow Catholics and fellow clergy in Rome.²⁴

One must recognize, however, that Slipyj's context was unique among the four primates discussed. None of the other leaders of the UGCC was in the position of what Pelikan has termed “metropolitan-in-exile.” The two-fold focus of Slipyj's leadership became clear within days of his arrival in Rome and soon the two would give fruit to what he regarded as the vehicle by which his goals could be secured. On March 3, 1963 he called upon Ukrainians everywhere to “preserve ‘unity’ at all costs.”²⁵ He quickly assumed responsibility for the large, and predominantly Catholic, Ukrainian diaspora. But this was not done by disregarding the mother Church (his second focus). On October 11, 1963 in addressing the council, Slipyj

²² Pelikan, *Confessor Between East and West*, 168.

²³ *Ibid.*, 167.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 175.

spoke of his Church of silence, surviving on the blood of martyrs, and in its name (and for its survival) he requested that this Church be elevated to patriarchal status. The struggle for the recognition of patriarchal status consumed the balance of Slipyj's efforts because in his eyes this was the tool by which could be secured the survival of both his Church and the unity of the Ukrainian people worldwide. Slipyj, faced with leading a section of the Church divorced from its roots and another section of the Church denied the right to exist, resurrects the dream of a single Kyivan patriarchate. Alas, his dream was not realized and with the fall of the Soviet Union the ecclesial landscape changed radically. Ukrainian Greco-Catholics continued to hold onto the patriarchal vision for their Church, but the Orthodox scene has changed immensely.

In this new situation, some of the initiatives of the Greco-Catholics have been construed as misguided or even aggressively proselytizing. With the creation of an Orthodox Kyivan patriarchate, does a Greco-Catholic patriarchate serve the cause of unity or further disunity? The decision to move the primatial see from Lviv to Kyiv for the Church was not initially well received, and yet given the demographic situation can one argue that the Greco-Catholic territory is limited to Western Ukraine? In this new environment does the appeal for recognition of a Greco-Catholic Patriarch of Kyiv serve the cause of unity as it was initially intended?

Husar reviewed some of these concerns in his 2004 pastoral letter, "Concerning the Recognition of the Patriarchal Structure of the UGCC." In this document he asserts that the question of a Greco-Catholic patriarchate is one which, as we have seen, arises from the very desire of this Church to express itself as an autonomous Eastern Church in union with Rome: it is a tool for the achievement "of one Patriarch in the cathedral sobor of St. Sophia in Kyiv."²⁶ Such assurances, however, could be viewed as empty, had he not closed his letter thus: "We continue to establish in the life of our Church a patriarchal structure and a patriarchal consciousness. However without the blessing of the Holy Father and *without our appro-*

²⁶ Бесіда, 155.

*priate humility our Patriarchate could become a wound on the body of the Universal Church, and this forces us to be prudent.*²⁷

Thus we return to the theme of humility – the *kenotic* mission of the UGCC, the weighty example and “offer” of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. To speak of an ascetic-kenotic ecclesiology is not to outline a church structure, but rather to describe a fundamental stance enunciated by the leaders of the UGCC in the past century. In order to be true to the Church’s mission as they have outlined it, in order to bring to fruition not only the program of *Orientalium ecclesiarum* but of Vatican II as a whole, and to witness the gospel in this historic moment, all members of the UGCC are called to reflect upon this ascetic-kenotic vision. It is a vision that demands an understanding that the life of their Church cannot be solely defined by their own interests. The UGCC is a Church in-between destined to dissolve into a new and larger unity in diversity. Unity will then be a gift of the Holy Spirit, a gift which we must humbly pray for and receive, renouncing our human logic of negotiation and living a life of *kenosis* which recognizes that we must pass through the humiliation of the Cross in order to attain the glory of Resurrection.

²⁷ 160; emphasis added.

Orientalium Ecclesiarum as Proof and Itinerary of the Hermeneutic of Reform: *Theoria* and a Little *Praxis*

Andrew Summerson

Introduction: Reading Problems

In the second century, St. Irenaeus accused the Valentians of “weaving ropes of sand” with the Scriptures. They were said to patch together “old wives’ fables, and then endeavor, by violently drawing away from their proper connection, words, expressions, and parables whenever found, to adapt the oracles of God to their baseless fictions.”¹ There is something instructive about ancient debates in Christian scriptural hermeneutics. They were not fought on the level of pure ideas, but on the level of the text, that is, who read the text correctly or not.

This principally textual emphasis of the early Church comes to bear on current debates surrounding the interpretation of the Second Vatican Council in just over fifty years after the historic event. The first notable push toward the textual that we see is the final report of the 1985 extraordinary synod of bishops devoted to the interpretation of the council. It called for “a deeper reception” of the council that included not just a partial, but a full reading of texts.²

Emeritus bishop of Rome Benedict XVI, in a now-famous 2005 address to the Roman Curia, identified two hermeneutics at play in post-conciliar years – the hermeneutic of rupture and

¹ *Adversus Haereses* 1.8.1.

² See especially paragraphs 4 and 5.

the hermeneutic of reform. For Benedict, the difference between the two is primarily textual. The principle fault of the hermeneutic of rupture is a certain suspicion towards the actual text of the conciliar documents.³ Viewed as compromised texts that had to accommodate various viewpoints of the council fathers, the conciliar documents are to be minimized. Hence, for the hermeneutic of rupture, “it would be necessary not to follow the texts of the Council but its spirit.”⁴ Benedict’s alternative, the “hermeneutic of reform,” can only be grasped with the exacting task of reading, particularly the conciliar texts, where Benedict argues the council’s bold new thinking “is roughly traced.”⁵ It is these documents that determine the essential post-conciliar direction. Whether one agrees with Benedict’s binomy or not,⁶ it seems obvious that the *texts* are at the heart of the matter and any attempt to determine the “spirit of Vatican II” will need to make recourse to them.

To this end, I offer a reading exercise. I propose that *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (henceforth *OE*) offers a lesson in hermeneutics for the interpretation of the council as well as an itinerary for the council’s implementation. There is some audacity to this claim, and to this end, I would like to anticipate some objections. First, what does a small and forgotten decree have to offer that the more authoritative dogmatic constitutions do not?⁷ Second, what does a document primarily directed at

³ “[The hermeneutic of rupture] it claims that they are a result of the compromises, in which, to reach unanimity, it was found necessary to keep and reconfirm many old things that are now pointless. However, the true spirit of the Council is not to be found in these compromises, but instead the impulses toward the new that are contained in the texts.” See next footnote for reference.

⁴ “Address of his Holiness Benedict XVI to the Roman Curia Offering them His Christmas Greetings. Thursday 22 December 2005,” available at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia_en.html.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ For a plea for nuance regarding this binomy, see J. Komonchak, “Benedict XVI and the Interpretation of Vatican II,” *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 28 (2007): 323–337.

⁷ In 1985 at the extraordinary synod, it was upheld that the dogmatic constitutions are to be the interpretive guideposts for the council documents.

less than five percent of Catholics have to say to the entire Catholic Church?

Let us attend to the first objection. *OE*'s size and stature work in its favor. Even in its economy of words, *OE* establishes the major points that run through the rest of the council documents, and the former's brevity is useful in working through the latter's prolixity. Furthermore, given that *OE* moved through the nave of St. Peter's with little difficulty in the revision and voting process,⁸ *OE* represents *in grosso modo* what the council fathers agreed upon. Hence, we can handle *OE*'s cool presentation of key conciliar themes more easily than a document such as *Lumen Gentium*, still hot both from the welding of different perspectives in conflict at the council, as well as from continued debates about its interpretation.

With regard to the second objection, what does *OE* have to say to the entire Catholic Church? *OE* makes explicit overtures to assert the equality of Eastern Catholics in respect to the rest of the Catholic communion. This equality extends to the obligation to "preach the gospel to the whole world" (*OE* 3; cf. Mk 16:15). If the scope of the council is to provide "the broad new thinking ... to present to our world the requirement of the Gospel in its full greatness and purity,"⁹ then the itinerary for effectively doing so should have similarities between the Eastern and Western Catholic Churches. Hence, Eastern Catholics, few though we may be, can provide in a microcosmic way what one hopes to see on a macro level in the wider Catholic communion.

I will divide my work into two sections: *theoria* and *praxis*. I will first look at *OE* and highlight the elements featured in the document that typify Vatican II's main concerns. They are: 1) a commitment to *ressourcement*; 2) an ecumenical sensibility; and 3) a critical engagement with the world. For reasons of time, I will focus principally on the first, as it is the most prevalent and it is the ground upon which the latter two are based. I want to specify the "content" that is to be retrieved is a specifically theological content and not just a

⁸ As evidenced in J. O'Malley, *What Really Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2008), 232.

⁹ "Address of his Holiness..."

liturgical tradition. With this theoretical element in place, I wish to look at an example of this more robust theological retrieval, particularly in the work of Sviatoslav Shevchuk in his introduction to *La vita trasfigurata in Cristo*. Shevchuk's merit is his engagement with patristic sources, the particular heritage of the Eastern Catholic Churches, which allows him to actually correct shortcomings in the writings of Orthodox theologian Paul Evdokimov as well as attempting an "eastern apologia" in the contemporary moral debates.

1. Some Theoria: Ressourcement: Thin vs. Thick Retrieval

As has been noted elsewhere, *OE* expresses the council's deep commitment to *ressourcement*.¹⁰ Right from the beginning of the document, *OE* makes bold claims about the Eastern Churches' particular relationship to the ancient tradition:

For in them [the Eastern Churches], as renowned for their venerable antiquity, shines forth a tradition which exists through the fathers from the apostles and which constitutes part of the divinely revealed and undivided heritage of the whole church (*OE* 1).¹¹

The council identifies a quality hitherto unspoken regarding the Eastern Churches, namely a share in divine revelation that is particularly its own.¹² It hands the task to the Eastern Churches to cultivate this relationship:

They should indeed, from day to day, acquire greater knowledge of these matters and more perfect practice of them and if for reasons of circumstances, times or

¹⁰ Khaled Anatolios, "The Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*" in *Vatican II: Renewal within Tradition*, eds. M. Levering and M. Lamb, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 343–349.

¹¹ Citations taken from *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol 2, ed. N. Tanner (Washington: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990).

¹² Anatolios, "Decree," 348–349.

persons they have fallen unduly short of this, they should have recourse to their age-old traditions (*OE* 5).

With this in mind, one needs to avoid here a “thin reading” of Tradition. On the one hand, the tone and content of the decree suggests that the restoration of the tradition is restricted to matters liturgical and canonical.¹³ Read in light of pertinent conciliar texts about the Eastern Churches, however, this “tradition” includes theology.¹⁴ This emphasis on the liturgical is due in part to the post-conciliar *Zeitgeist* of liturgical reform, where *Sacrosanctum Concilium* formed part of the so-called “hermeneutical axis of Vatican II.”¹⁵ In this respect, any theological interest in the Eastern Catholic Churches followed the liturgical movement toe-to-heel.

On the other hand, liturgy is not a bad place to start. For Eastern Catholics, worship not only expresses the faith: it *is* the faith.¹⁶ Also, liturgical reform comprises some of the more immediate practical concerns of *OE*.¹⁷ With respect to the former, while liturgy is for Eastern Catholics a *locus theologicus par excellence*, our ability to engage successfully the liturgy theologically will depend on one’s knowledge of the particular theological grammar that undergirds it.

This “theological grammar” of the Eastern Catholic Churches is profoundly patristic. We see this extrapolated else-

¹³ I take this to be the view of V. Pospishil, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum: The Decree on the Eastern Catholic Church of the II Vatican Council, Canonical – Pastoral Commentary*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965), 22–23.

¹⁴ See *Lumen Gentium* 23 and *Unitatis Redintegratio* 17. Cf. P. Galadza, “What is Eastern Catholic Theology? Some Ecclesial and Programmatic Dimensions,” in *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 39 (1998): 63–64.

¹⁵ M. Faggioli, *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2012), 126. Faggioli presents this as the view of Giuseppe Dossetti, but he gives neither a footnote nor a bibliographical entry for it.

¹⁶ P. Galadza, “Restoring the Icon: Reflections on the Reform of Byzantine Worship,” *Worship* 65 (1991): 240. However, Galadza does explain that this approach is not the ideal, but simply the operative attitude of many Eastern Christians, especially Orthodox.

¹⁷ About one-fourth of *OE* deals with it explicitly (paragraphs 12–23).

where in the *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*:

For historical and cultural reasons, they have maintained a more direct continuity with the spiritual atmosphere of Christian origins, a prerogative that is ever more frequently considered even by the Occident not as a sign of stagnancy and backwardness but of precious fidelity to the sources of salvation (no. 9).

While the Eastern Churches, both Catholic and Orthodox, certainly do not have a monopoly on the Fathers, they enjoy a particular closeness to them. Hence, recourse to the Fathers as a privileged source for theology is in some ways more “natural” for Eastern Catholics than Latins.¹⁸ This gift is not simply for the Eastern Churches themselves, but rather for the *whole* Church to achieve “a more integral reception of divine revelation.”¹⁹ In short, *OE* gives the Eastern Catholic Churches an active job to do: the cultivation and promotion of its share in divine revelation.²⁰ The implications of this “thick reading” are to be taken seriously lest the document be nothing more than a series of talking points for those who want “ecclesiastical affirmative action.”

2. A Little Praxis: Eastern Catholic Ressourcement Theology – Practitioners Wanted.

I observed earlier that *OE* affirms the obligation of churches East and West to preach the gospel to the whole world. If these churches share an equal scope, it follows that the itinerary to reach that scope should be, broadly speaking, the same. While it would not be the first time that the Roman Catholic Church holds double standards vis-à-vis the Eastern Catholic

¹⁸ A very stimulating recent assessment can be found in A. Casiday, *Remember the Days of Old: Orthodox Thinking on the Patristic Heritage* (Crestwood: SVS Press, 2013).

¹⁹ Anatolios, “Decree,” 349.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 345–348.

Churches, I do not think this is the case here.²¹ With this in mind, I want to turn from *theoria* to *praxis* to show how Eastern Catholics can embody and exemplify the recovery and cultivation of one's own theological tradition.

For this purpose, I want to examine the work of Sviatoslav Shevchuk, now primate of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church (UGCC), which appears as the introduction to a book of Italian translations of several articles of Paul Evdokimov, *La vita trasfigurata in Cristo*.²² To call Shevchuk's work an "introduction" is misleading, as it takes up three-fourths of the volume.

Shevchuk engages the three principle themes in *OE*. In dealing with Evdokimov's work, as well as contemporary moral questions, it hits on both the ecumenical and evangelical thrust of *OE*. What is notable, however, is Shevchuk's particularly patristic bent. He does the hard work of reading Evdokimov's patristic sources, particularly Maximus the Confessor and Leontius of Byzantium. In fact, one almost forgets that Shevchuk set out to write about Evdokimov and not these post-Chalcedonian Fathers. At the heart of Shevchuk's exposition is Evdokimov's understanding of the term *hypostasis*. Unfortunately, Evdokimov's use of the term is fraught with difficulties, not least his muddling of the term's inter-Trinitarian and Christological meanings.²³ Sensing Evdokimov's ambiguity,

²¹ For example, the prohibition of Eastern Catholics to engage in missionary activity qua Eastern Catholics.

²² P.N. Evdokimov, *La vita trasfigurata in Cristo: Prospettive di morale ortodossa – cinque articoli di P.N. Evdokimov* (Roma: Lipa, 2001). The introduction by Shevchuk runs from pp. 1–188 of the work.

²³ Evdokimov's analysis of *hypostasis* is summarized in "Le mystère de la personne humaine," *Contacts* 21 (1969): 272–289, the Italian translation of which is included in *La vita trasfigurata in Cristo*, 191–202. Evdokimov's account of "Patristic personalism" in this chapter is specious on several accounts. First, he makes the claim that the Fathers in talking about the divine persons "abandon the philosophical manner of conceptualizing." Second, he flattens the patristic age to make it sound as if it were one monolithic voice. This allows Evdokimov to avoid linguistic subtleties and the problems posed in appropriating the term into Christian discourse. His preference for *hypostasis* is due to two factors; the relational component of its inter-Trinitarian definition and its unitive-ontological component in its Christological definition. Evdokimov fails to realize that *hypostasis* is not an univocal term in

Shevchuk dives deep into the patristic sources to ground this *hypostasis* as a possible model for his anthropological project.

Shevchuk's argument is as follows: Eastern Christian theology is inherently dogmatic.²⁴ Hence, any theological venture, even the moral one, needs to maintain its relationship with orthodox dogma. He then proposes the *hypostatic union* of the human and divine natures in Christ as an appropriate model for Christian anthropology and as a framework for moral life. Shevchuk builds on Evdokimov's notion of "hypostasis" as a corrective to what the latter perceives to be partial and inadequate accounts of the human person, either too individualistic or too rational. The hypostatic union is not a privileged relationship only for Christ. Rather, it is the vocation to which every human is called – to unite human nature to the divine in what the East describes as divinization. Every moral act leads to or away from this divine vocation.

The positive results of Shevchuk's research are twofold. First, he presents a moral vision that is thoroughly "theocentric." This "maximalist moral vision"²⁵ places God and the divine vocation of man at the heart of the matter. In this sense, the stakes are high for the moral act, insofar as every step moves either towards or away from the divine likeness. This "maximalist moral vision" offers a helpful corrective for contemporary accounts that turn moral theology into "Christian ethics." The latter approach risks truncating Christian moral norms from the only ontological base that can justify them – a transcendent God. Second, Shevchuk's work is a double "recovery" – both of Evdokimov's linguistic and conceptual fumble of his understanding of *hypostasis* as well as a recovery

Trinitarian theology and Christology, yet uses it in a univocal way to combine these two distinct characteristics – relation and divine union – in order to "overcome" what he perceives to be lacking in the contemporary understanding of the human person. (I leave aside here his bizarre assertion that the patristic tradition is identical to the thought of Carl Jung.).

²⁴ "In the East, every theological reflection not based on Trinitarian orthodoxy is considered without foundation and without an end." *La vita trasfigurata in Cristo*, 29.

²⁵ "If that old law is called the natural law, this new law, the one that is the maximum rule of the Christian life, we can call, according to the same logic, the hypostatic law." *La vita trasfigurata in Cristo*, 79.

of the Eastern patristic heritage. Shevchuk looks past Evdokimov to engage his main influence – Maximus the Confessor. Shevchuk explains the “Chalcedonian logic” presented by Maximus and the ramifications of the hypostatic union for the moral life. Shevchuk’s examination of the philosophical and theological background and development of the terms “person,” “nature,” and “*hypostasis*” provides a more solid footing for Evdokimov’s notion of “hypostatic personalism.” Hence, to accept this type of personalism as a starting point for moral theology, one would have to accept Shevchuk’s revised version of it, not Evdokimov’s.

Evdokimov is at once the source for Shevchuk’s endeavor into the patristic heritage, as well as his limitation. Evdokimov’s understanding of Maximus the Confessor is primarily due to the twentieth-century recovery of the saint’s writings. And even if we admit that the hypostatic union can serve as analogically *descriptive* of man’s end, it does little to *prescribe* how man, in his fallen nature, can arrive at his end. In this sense, Shevchuk looks through Evdokimov’s narrow window into the patristic age and is therefore limited by it. A fuller recovery might include recourse to the ascetic tradition, which dedicated much time to how to turn fallen humanity mired in vice into a well-calibrated instrument united to God.

Concluding Remarks

Shevchuk’s work is instructive as an itinerary for Eastern Catholic theological research. It needs to be engaged in a three-fold dialectic: 1) with the theological sources, 2) with the rest of Eastern Christendom; 3) and with the contemporary world. The first move in this dialectic, that is, the recovery of our theological sources, is prior to the latter two. If we are not filled with the fullness of the content of our own theological culture, we will have nothing to say – neither to the rest of the Catholic Church, nor to the sister Orthodox Churches, nor to the rest of a world ignorant of Christ. *OE*’s emphasis on preservation, conservation, and ultimately the cultivation of this Tradition can only render us more faithful, effective, and arti-

culate, as we try to relate and preach to the world as Eastern Catholics.

(Re-)Writing Icons: Picturing Icon Theology Anew

Roberto J. De La Noval

It is a commonplace among English speaking Eastern Christians that icons – those religious images particular to the Eastern Christian tradition, rich with their own history, devotions, and theology – should be spoken of as being not drawn or painted, but rather *written*. “We write icons; we don’t paint them.” This peculiarity of language purports to highlight the significance these images hold for the faith and, indeed, the difference between these images and others. Unlike secular images and religious images employed merely for decoration or delight, icons instruct the faithful in the truths of the Gospel, and in this they function as equivalents to the written Word. For this reason Eastern Christians venerate in their liturgies both the Gospel book and the icons, two equal means of proclaiming the center of Christian faith: the incarnation of God in the person of Jesus Christ. Icons, like the written Word, “speak” the faith; thus the focus on proper terminology when speaking about these holy images.

I propose that we ought to retire this manner of speaking of icons. I am by no means the first to suggest a correction of this verbal tic (for example, Prof. John Yoannis spoke on this issue at the Orthodox Theological Society annual meeting some years back). But the persistence of such language – I heard it just last week from a parish priest explaining icons to a group of visiting students – invites further reflection on why the faithful and those who teach them find this expression so attractive, as well as why this way of thinking about icons remains, in the final analysis, theologically misleading. In what

follows I will seek to show that instead of illuminating our understanding of the relationship between icons, the written Word, and the incarnation, speaking of icons as “written” unintentionally shackles the theological potential of the icon with the constraints of textuality.

I do not wish to suggest, however, that the equation of text and image implicit in the notion of “writing icons” is entirely misguided; rather, from the beginnings of icon theology we find evidence of such an equation. Iconophile theologian and saint, John of Damascus, regularly identified the icon’s powers with those of the book: quoting church father Basil of Caesarea, John noted that “memory comes about through word *and* images.”¹ Furthermore, he echoed earlier fathers in affirming that images are “books for the illiterate.”² John’s theological successor in the fight against iconoclasm (and arguably the most creative of all iconophile thinkers), St. Theodore of Studium, makes a similar statement: “[Icons] are holy books set out to be seen in all the churches of God, for the eyes of all men, just as the words of the books are set forth for the hearing.”³ The earliest generation of iconophile theologians clearly understood the icon in terms of the book; indeed, to defend the creation and veneration of images against their iconoclast opponents they often justified images *in terms of* the book. Moreover, they regularly exploited the polyvalence of the Greek verb *graphein* (which means “to engrave,” and thus either to write or to depict) for their apologetic purposes. From this theology and from this Greek polysemy (and its Slavonic parallel) derives the modern insistence in some circles for speaking of “writing icons.”

It is clear from this brief survey that there exists a significant degree of conceptual overlap between text and image in early iconophile theology. But this emphasis on the equation of icons with books represents only a half-way point in the iconophile apologetic of the 8th and 9th centuries, for the iconophile

¹ St. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. Andrew Louth (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), 44.

² *Ibid.*, 46.

³ St. Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, trans. Catherine Roth (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1981), 38.

theologians equated text and image in the service of a more fundamental theological project: to elevate the icon as a unique expression of the Gospel of the incarnation. “He [Christ] was seen so that he could be painted, and so that those who worshiped the idols may worship Christ visually represented in human form,”⁴ writes Theodore in another apology for icons. Here Theodore does not – in contrast to earlier arguments in defense of icons – simply invoke the incarnation as a justification for the Christian practice of iconography; rather, he states that the very *purpose* of the Incarnation was the Christian practice of iconography and its concomitant liturgical veneration. So much does Theodore understand icons as integral to the Christian faith that he imagines the Church as a community of iconographers: “the community of the Christian faithful, by whom Christ was seen in human form ... continues to paint Christ and to worship him until the present.”⁵

Christ came to be seen, Theodore claims, and for this books are insufficient precisely because in them we cannot physically see the human form of God’s salvific condescension. The incarnation proclaimed by the Scriptures in our liturgy requires images if it is to be fully comprehended in its lived reality. This is not to denigrate the place of the written and proclaimed word in the Church’s life – far from it! But such a theology does teach that images do something *different* than texts do; they are not merely repetitions of the written word. To see the enfleshed God and His saints communicates to us their reality and presence with us in a direct manner unattainable by the powers of the book.

This way of thinking about Christian images invites us to consider a *triangulation of revelation* in the liturgy: the proclaimed Word, the sanctified bread and wine of the Lord’s body, and the holy images painted throughout the church in which that Word is proclaimed and consumed. The icons of Christ and the saints that greet us immediately upon our entering the church remind us proleptically that the word we will hear proclaimed is one which treats not of myths and fables,

⁴ Theodore the Studite, *Writings on Iconoclasm*, ed. and trans. Thomas Cattoi (New York: Newman Press, 2015), 147.

⁵ *Ibid.*

but rather of flesh-and-blood humans who once lived – and now continue to live – with God. The proclamation of the Scriptures (and the lives of the saints), in turn, “fleshes out” the images everywhere surrounding us, granting narrative coherence to these icons that would otherwise shine like stars unknown in their constellations. Finally, the celebration of the Mystical Supper happens beneath the watchful eyes of the iconically depicted Christ. This is the Christ whose story we know from the Gospel and from His life lived through the saints of the Old and New Testaments and the Church. And, most importantly, this is the Christ who desires not only to be seen and so to be worshiped, but also to be consumed: only in this way can His gracious condescension to flesh find completion in bodies and souls united to His own spiritual sacrifice. The Eucharist prevents the depicted Christ from becoming a lifeless image; the proclaimed and painted Christ prevents the consumed Christ from becoming a magical talisman disconnected from His incarnation in history and His holy pattern of life.

Icons, then, are not texts, and to continue to refer to their creation as a form of writing betrays a sort of conceptual paralysis, a mode of speech stuck in theological controversies long past. The icon serves its own function in the economy of salvation. So the best iconophile theologians taught, and so ought we to believe. Let us, therefore, stop coloring our Christian discourse about images with the distorting lens of textuality, and let us instead allow the holy icons to speak with their highest eloquence: the silence of paint and color – the silence of flesh.

The Contributions of Georges Florovsky, Alexander Schmemmann and John Meyendorff to the Development of Orthodoxy in America¹

Paul Ladouceur

The contributions of Fathers Georges Florovsky (1893–1979), Alexander Schmemmann (1921–1983) and John Meyendorff (1926–1992), three eminent theologians, educators, and churchmen, to the development of Orthodoxy in America are enormous, spanning a number of different but interrelated areas. Following a brief biographical overview, this article presents an overview, necessarily somewhat schematic, of their contributions to Orthodoxy in America in terms of five broad themes, concluding with some remarks on their impact on Christian theology in general.

¹ This is a revised and expanded version of a paper delivered at the “Pilgrims and Pioneers Symposium” held September 30 and October 1st, 2011, in Princeton NJ, under the sponsorship of the Society for Orthodox Christian History in the Americas, the School of Christian Vocation and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary, and the Fr. Georges Florovsky Orthodox Christian Theological Society at Princeton University. I am grateful to Dr. Paul Meyendorff and to the Rev. Dr. Oliver Herbel for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this article.

A. *Biographical Overview*

A brief outline of their biographies is useful to situate their work in the context of their lives. Biographical material for the three is limited, but there are two extensive biographical essays on Georges Florovsky.² There are no formal biographies of either Alexander Schmemmann or John Meyendorff – only short biographies and scattered remarks here and there. There are also several studies of the theology of Alexander Schmemmann which include biographical material,³ and the personal diaries of Alexander Schmemmann covering the last ten years of his life.⁴ These diaries contain considerable material concerning his earlier life, especially his childhood and adolescence in Paris. There is an urgent necessity for full-length biographies of all three.

As a general remark concerning our three subjects, note that they share several important characteristics:

- (1) They were of Russian culture by their family origin and upbringing.
- (2) All were part of the great Russian emigration that followed on the Russian Revolutions of 1917 and more particularly the triumph of the Bolsheviks in the civil war of 1918–1920.

² Cf. Andrew Blane, “A Sketch of the Life of Georges Florovsky” in Andrew Blane, ed., *Georges Florovsky: Russian Intellectual and Orthodox Churchman* (Crestwood NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1997); and George Williams, “Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career (1948–1965),” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 11 (1965).

³ Cf. my “Bibliography of Father Alexander Schmemmann” in Paul Ladouceur, ed., *The Wedding Feast, Proceedings of the Orthodox Colloquia 2007, 2008 and 2009* (Montreal: Montreal Institute of Orthodox Theology and Alexander Press, 2010), 151–62. Michael Plekon’s *Living Icons: Persons of Faith in the Eastern Church* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002) contains chapters on Schmemmann and Meyendorff. See also Juliana Schmemmann, *My Journey with Father Alexander* (Montreal: Alexander Press, 2006).

⁴ Alexander Schmemmann’s *Journal* is written mostly in Russian, with some English and French. The English version is a selection of about forty percent of the original; the Russian and French editions are almost complete.

- (3) All spent an important part of their lives in Russian émigré circles in Paris, the intellectual and religious centre of the Russians in exile.
- (4) Each had an intimate association with the Saint Sergius Orthodox Theological Institute, founded in Paris in 1925 as a centre of theological higher education and for many years the only school of Orthodox theological education situated outside countries of Orthodox tradition.
- (5) All three emigrated from France to the United States, where they spent the latter part of their lives.
- (6) They were also intimately involved with St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in New York, where each taught and each served as dean.
- (7) All were committed to Orthodox participation in the broad ecumenical movement of the mid-twentieth century and were personally involved in ecumenical undertakings at different levels.

But these common characteristics must be tempered by major differences among the three theologians in terms of ancestry, personalities and interests, and also in their ages. Both Georges Florovsky's father and mother were descended from clerical families, whereas Alexander Schmemmann and John Meyendorff were descended from minor nobility, who often frowned on clerical vocations. The three do not belong to the same generation. Florovsky was born in 1893, educated in pre-revolutionary Russia, and went into exile as an adult. Schmemmann and Meyendorff were both born in exile, Schmemmann in Estonia in 1921 and Meyendorff in France in 1926. They were thus "second-generation" exiles. Although Schmemmann and Meyendorff were unquestionably of Russian culture, they never lived in Russia, in contrast with Florovsky, who left Russia in 1920 when he was 26. Both Schmemmann and Meyendorff received their secondary education in the demanding French collegial system and were as much at ease in French culture as in Russian culture, and, later in their lives, in American culture.

Georges Florovsky

From its foundation until 1945, the Saint Sergius Institute was dominated by the great personality of Sergius Bulgakov, and it was through Bulgakov's initiative that in 1926 Georges Florovsky was invited to teach patristics at the Institute – even though Florovsky's own academic background was history and philosophy. It was Bulgakov who initially suggested that he study and teach patristics. Although Bulgakov and Florovsky respected each other, they were theological opponents, especially over Bulgakov's commitment to the controversial doctrine of sophiology.⁵

Florovsky taught patristics at St Sergius until 1939 and he spent the war years in Yugoslavia. In December 1945 he found his way back to Paris, but the situation had changed dramatically: the patristics chair was now occupied by Cyprian Kern and Bulgakov had died in July 1944. Florovsky began teaching dogmatic and moral theology at St Sergius, but many of the older professors still resented what they considered to be Florovsky's unwarranted criticism of Russian thought in general, especially in his monumental, if opinionated, *The Ways of Russian Theology* (1937), and of the much-beloved Bulgakov in particular.⁶ Uncomfortable in this situation, Florovsky readily accepted an invitation to teach dogmatic theology and patristics at the fledgling Saint Vladimir's Theological Seminary in New York in 1948, where he became dean in 1949.

⁵ For an overview of relations between Florovsky and Bulgakov, see Alexis Klimoff, "Georges Florovsky and the Sophiological Controversy," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 49 (2005); and Paul Ladouceur, "'Aimons-nous les uns les autres': Serge Boulgakov et Georges Florovsky," *Contacts: Revue française d'orthodoxie* 64 (2011).

⁶ Georges Florovsky, *Puti russkogo bogosloviya*, [The Ways of Russian Theology] (Paris-Belgrade, 1937); English version (revised) in *The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, Vols. V and VI (Vaduz: Buchervertriebsanstalt, 1972). In his introduction to the 1980 reprint of *Puti russkogo bogosloviya*, John Meyendorff, who studied under Florovsky in the late 1940s, writes that the psychological impulse and inspiration which underlay Florovsky's writings was the rejection of sophiology. Cf. "Predislovie" [Preface], Georges Florovsky, *Puti russhogo bogosloviia* (Paris: YMCA-Press, 1980), 2.

In 1955, after only six years as dean, he was asked to leave Saint Vladimir's, following conflicts with ecclesiastical authorities, among them Schmemmann. After his departure, Florovsky returned to the omophorion of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, under the Greek Orthodox archbishop of America. Although he severed his canonical attachment to the Russian Orthodox diocese in North America (known as the "Metropolia"), he continued to frequent churches of the Metropolia. In early 1956 Florovsky was offered a position at the Harvard Divinity School, where he taught patristics and Russian culture and history. He also taught at the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary in Brookline, Mass. In the autumn of 1964 he retired to Princeton, New Jersey, as visiting professor of Slavic studies and religion at Princeton University. He died in 1979 at the age of 86.

Alexander Schmemmann

Alexander Schmemmann was educated in the Russian Cadet School in Paris, and then in the French *lycée* system. He studied theology at Saint Sergius from 1940 to 1945, initially while Sergius Bulgakov was still dean.⁷ Schmemmann then taught Church history at the Institute from 1945 until 1951, being ordained a priest in November 1946. It is likely that Schmemmann never actually studied under Florovsky, but was rather the latter's junior colleague on the teaching staff for about three years. He may have attended lectures given by Florovsky during this period, since Schmemmann was still a graduate student at the time.

But Schmemmann became unhappy with the atmosphere at the Institute and in 1951 he accepted an invitation from Florovsky to teach history and liturgical theology at St Vladimir's Seminary. Schmemmann received his doctorate in 1959

⁷ Schmemmann held Bulgakov in high personal regard, although he had no interest in Bulgakov's sophiology. Bulgakov nonetheless influenced Schmemmann's thought in subtle ways that have yet to be fully explored. See Schmemmann's "Tri Obrazi," *Vestnik RSKHD*, 101/102 (1971), 9–24; trans. 'Trois Portraits' [Father Serge Bulgakov 1871–1944], *Le Messager orthodoxe* (1972).

from St Sergius, for his thesis on the evolution and significance of the typicon.⁸ He was professor of liturgical theology from 1951 to 1983 and served as dean from 1962 until his untimely death in December 1983 at the age of 62.

John Meyendorff

In the late 1940s, John Meyendorff, five years younger than Alexander Schmemmann, studied simultaneously at the St Sergius Institute and at the Sorbonne, the prestigious principal humanities school of the University of Paris. Meyendorff received a *Licence-ès-lettres* at the Sorbonne, and a *Diplôme d'études supérieures* (equivalent of an M.A.) in 1949, the same year that he completed his theological education at St Sergius, where he had studied under Florovsky. He completed his doctorate at the Sorbonne in 1958.

Meyendorff taught Church history at St Sergius until 1959, when he moved to New York, where his principal post was professor of Church history and patristics at St Vladimir's Seminary. After Schmemmann's death, Meyendorff became dean in March 1984. He resigned in June 1992, and died on July 22, 1992.

B. Contributions to the Development of Orthodoxy in America

Let us consider the contributions of Florovsky, Schmemmann, and Meyendorff under five broad headings:

- 1) The development of St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary.
- 2) The advancement of Orthodox theology.
- 3) The development of the Orthodox Church in America.
- 4) Liturgical reform.
- 5) Ecumenism.

⁸ Published in English under the title *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (London: Faith Press, 1966; SVS Press, 1975).

Despite certain similarities of social and cultural background among our three subjects, we are considering three very different personalities, each with his unique gifts and interests. Thus it should not be surprising that their individual contributions to the development of Orthodoxy were stronger in some spheres than in others.

1) Development of St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary

The involvement of Florovsky, Schmemmann, and Meyendorff in the development of Saint Vladimir's Seminary stretches over some forty-four years, beginning with Florovsky's arrival in 1948 and ending with Meyendorff's death in 1992. Their contributions to the seminary were crucial in determining what it is today.

Archbishop Tikhon (Belavin), later patriarch of Moscow (†1925), founded the first Orthodox seminary in North America in 1905, initially located in Minneapolis and transferred in 1913 to New Jersey. The seminary was forced to close in 1923 for lack of financial support from the Russian Metropolia, isolated from the Church of Russia after the revolution of 1917. The question of theological education came up again in the late 1930s, when Saint Vladimir's was founded in 1938. However, it remained a fragile, struggling institution for the first decade of its existence, with no permanent home, minimal funding, and a lack of high-level academic staff. Nonetheless, from the start the Seminary received support from non-Orthodox circles, especially Columbia College, the General Theological Seminary, and the Union Theological Seminary.

The re-vitalization of "St Vlad's" began after World War II, with the recruitment of several leading Russian intellectuals and scholars to the teaching staff, including the historian George Fedotov (1886–1951), former professor at St Sergius in Paris, in 1945. Two other noted scholars joined the teaching staff in 1948: Nicholas Arseniev (1888–1977), who had taught at Königsberg and the Orthodox theological faculty in Warsaw; and the philosopher Nicholas Lossky (1870–1965), formerly of the University of St Petersburg, the father of

Vladimir Lossky. On June 18, 1948, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York granted the Seminary a Provisional Charter, officially establishing it as “an institution of higher learning.”

Florovsky

Florovsky’s appointment as dean in 1949 initiated the transformation of the fledgling seminary into a respected institution of theological higher education. Florovsky’s personal prestige unquestionably helped to enhance the seminary’s status. When he arrived in New York in 1948, Florovsky was a well-known theologian, active and respected in the ecumenical movement, with extensive contacts in Anglican, Catholic, and Protestant circles. Florovsky taught dogmatic theology and patristics at St Vladimir’s from 1948 to 1955.

Among Florovsky’s principal achievements during his six years as dean are:

- The establishment of a sound theological curriculum – inspired by those of the former Russian theological academies, the Russian faculty in Prague (where Florovsky had taught before 1925) and the St Sergius Institute – and the raising of academic standards.
- The recruitment of several younger theologians who shaped the seminary’s academic thrust in the succeeding decades, notably of course Schmemmann (1951; 1921–1983), and also Serge Verhovskoy (1952, †1986), and New Testament scholar Veselin Kesich. Kesich taught from 1953 until 1991.
- The establishment of the first Orthodox theological journal in North America, *St Vladimir’s Seminary Quarterly*, in 1952, subsequently renamed *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly*. The journal became one of the leading Orthodox theological periodicals in the world.
- From the Seminary’s initial base in the Russian Metropolia, Florovsky initiated its transformation into a pan-

Orthodox institution, serving the needs of many of the Orthodox jurisdictions present in North America.

- The establishment of the daily liturgical cycle at the seminary.

Acknowledging the seminary's progress, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York granted Saint Vladimir's an Absolute Charter in April 1953.

But administration and ecclesiastical politics were not among Florovsky's skills or interests; this, together with his extensive academic and ecumenical involvement outside St Vladimir's, led to a neglect of the development of sound fraternal relationships with faculty and students and also with the seminary's ecclesiastical constituency. In addition, his rigorous standards – which included the learning of Greek for all seminarians, an excessive requirement in the eyes of some – alienated staff and students. In the mid-1950s he also was in conflict with Schmemann, whom Florovsky himself had recruited from Paris.

Such is the background that led to the conflict of 1955 and to Florovsky's departure from the seminary.⁹ One of his biographers writes:

Because of his insistence on the emergence of a truly American pan-Orthodox community, and because of severe stress on "duty to learn," and because of attendant administrative complications and rivalries, Florovsky was asked by the ... synod of the Russian Orthodox Church [the "Metropolia"] to lay down the deanship.¹⁰

Nonetheless, after Florovsky's departure, the fundamentals of his reforms at the seminary remained intact.

⁹ Cf. Andrew Blane, "A Sketch of the Life of Georges Florovsky," 110–14.

¹⁰ George Williams, "Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career," 50.

Schmemann

Schmemann was professor at St Vladimir's from 1951 to 1983, and dean from 1962 to 1983. More than anyone else, Schmemann marked the seminary with his congenial personality, his learning, his leadership skills, his enthusiasm, his fine liturgical sense, and his commitment to the Church, including his vision of an Orthodoxy native to America.

Schmemann's main contributions included the acquisition and development of a permanent campus in Crestwood-Tuckahoe, New York. From 1948 until 1962, the seminary rented quarters from Union Theological Seminary, a collection of apartments on West 123rd Street. The search for a more suitable permanent home began shortly after Florovsky's departure, and finally in 1962 the seminary acquired a beautiful property in Crestwood, New York. Within a few years, after a successful financial drive, new buildings were erected on the property, including housing for faculty, staff and students, and in 1983 a new chapel and an administrative facility containing the bookstore, classrooms, and office space.

Following the lead that Florovsky had set, under Schmemann's direction Saint Vladimir's reinforced high-level academic standards and developed into a graduate theological school, with a bachelor's degree required for entrance. Undergraduate students were admitted beginning in the 1970s. Under Schmemann's leadership, there was a considerable expansion of the student body and the diversity of programs, both "academic" and "pastoral." In less than five years after its move to Crestwood, the student body more than doubled. Although it remained a "seminary," with a prime vocation devoted to the training of clergy for the Orthodox Church in North America, its programs and the calibre of the teaching staff school attracted not only candidates for the priesthood, but also young men and women, including "late vocations" and married students, who sought to serve the Church in a variety of lay ministries.

Schmemann placed considerable emphasis on the pursuit of an extensive publications program. In the 1950s, very little "Orthodox" material was available in English. The Seminary

first responded to a demand for publications in English by the distribution of lecture notes of the professors for student use and by the publication of a series of small pamphlets. Following the move to Crestwood in 1962, actual books were published under the imprint of St Vladimir's Seminary Press, which for many years was the most active publisher of Orthodox Christian books in English. The expansion of SVS Press was certainly helped by the publication of most of Schmemmann's own books, as well as many of those of John Meyendorff.

In March 1967, the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York granted the seminary the power to award the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (later termed "Master of Divinity"), followed in 1970 by the degree of Master of Theology, in 1985 by the degree of Master of Arts, and in 1988 by the degree of Doctor of Ministry. In June 1966, the seminary was accepted as an Associate Member in the American Association of Theological Schools (ATS), with full accreditation in 1973.

Schmemmann actively supported a number of initiatives intended to enhance the Seminary's contributions to the development of Orthodoxy in America by such activities as the creation of the St Vladimir's Seminary Octet. Beginning in the summer of 1962 and until the 1990s, seminary choral groups toured Orthodox parishes throughout the United States. These tours provided local publicity for the seminary, which assisted both student recruitment and fund raising, and also promoted the development of high standards of liturgical music in English. The seminary also instituted, beginning in the summer of 1978, an Institute of Liturgical Music and Pastoral Practice (commonly called the "Summer Institute") with the goal of relating Orthodox liturgical theology with Orthodox practice, and directed to both pastors and choir directors and singers, as well as lay persons interested in theology.

To place seminary finances on a firmer footing, in 1968 Schmemmann supported the establishment of St Vladimir's Theological Foundation, a useful instrument in raising support for the school over several decades – though, as needs expanded, especially for capital development, it eventually gave way

to direct fund-raising by an Office of Development set up in 1986 (later the Office of Advancement). One of the foundation's activities was the sponsorship of an "Orthodox Education Day" on the first Saturday in October, which brought together Orthodox and non-Orthodox visitors to the campus for a day of spiritual, educational, and social fellowship. Although Schmemmann was not the originator of all these initiatives, he gave them his enthusiastic support and contributed actively to their success.

Meyendorff

Meyendorff contributed to the development of SVS first as professor of church history and patristics from 1959 onwards, then as dean from 1984 to 1992. He also served as librarian, director of studies, and long-time editor of *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, which achieved high academic standards under his editorship. Many of his books were published by SVS Press.

While dean, he created a professional Office of Advancement, which initiated a capital campaign that allowed the seminary to build the new library and raise its endowment. Under Meyendorff's leadership, the seminary expanded and strengthened its programs of study, notably by the establishment of Master of Arts and Doctor of Ministry programs. This completed the transformation of SVS into a graduate school of theological education with a full range of programs.

2) The Advancement of Orthodox Theology

All three of our subjects were noted international scholars in their right, independent of their involvement at St Sergius and St Vladimir's.

Florovsky

Florovsky was and is known mostly for his forceful advocacy of a new direction in Orthodox theology, a radical shift away from both a formal – and often sterile – "academic"

theology heavily influenced by Western theology, especially scholasticism, and from speculative theology (also referred to as “religious philosophy”), influenced by Western philosophy, which tended to stray from the Orthodox tradition.¹¹ Beginning in 1949, Florovsky referred to this new thrust as a “neopatristic synthesis,”¹² he envisaged the new thrust in Orthodox theology as a return to the fundamental basis of Orthodox theology in the teachings of the Greek/Byzantine Fathers of the Church. Although Florovsky was not the sole initiator of neopatristic theology, he was its most articulate and persevering advocate, beginning with his participation in the first meeting of Orthodox theologians in Athens in 1936. After World War II, neopatristic theology, largely as Florovsky envisaged it, rapidly became the predominate approach in Orthodox theology.

Schmemmann

Schmemmann’s major theological contribution is his role in the establishment and popularization of liturgical theology as a branch of Orthodox theology; that is, the study of the liturgy both as a source of theology, and as the essential underpinning for Orthodox religious life. His writings on the sacraments, especially on baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist, and his book on Great Lent, stand as some of the best popularizing Orthodox writing of the twentieth century.¹³

In a broad historical perspective, Schmemmann can be seen as a successor to the catechetical tradition of the early Church, when the education of catechumens was completed by instruc-

¹¹ For Florovsky’s early critiques of Russian theology, see “Western Influences in Russian Theology” (1936), English translation in *Aspects of Church History, The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, Vol. IV (Belmont MA: Nordland, 1975); and *The Ways of Russian Theology*, especially the concluding chapter “Breaks and Links.”

¹² Florovsky’s first major public use of the term “neopatristic synthesis” was in an address at the formal opening of St Vladimir’s on November 4, 1948; it was published as “The Legacy and the Task of Orthodox Theology,” *Anglican Theological Review* 31 (1949): 65–71.

¹³ Alexander Schmemmann: *Great Lent: Journey to Pascha* (SVS Press, 1969); *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (SVS Press, 1970); *Of Water and the Spirit: A Liturgical Study of Baptism* (SVS Press, 1974); *The Eucharist: Sacrament of the Kingdom* (SVS Press, 1988).

tion in the theological and spiritual significance of the “mysteries,” that is the sacraments, as well as to one of the last great Byzantine theologians, Nicholas Cabasilas.

Meyendorff

Meyendorff is known primarily as a historian, more specifically a theological historian, exemplified in his work *Byzantine Theology*.¹⁴ His most enduring achievement is likely his work and publications concerning Gregory Palamas, both his studies of Palamas and his translations of Palamas’ key writings in French and in English.¹⁵ Palamas’ teaching was largely lost in the centuries after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The twentieth-century “revival” of Palamite theology began in the 1930s, prior to Meyendorff’s work, but it was in his doctoral thesis and subsequent publications that this revival reached full maturity.

3) Development of the Orthodox Church in America

Schmemmann and Meyendorff were members of the Orthodox Church in America (OCA) and its predecessor throughout their careers in America. Both made major contributions to the development of the OCA and especially to the achievement of autocephaly from the Patriarchate of Moscow, obtained in 1970.

The autocephaly question thus arose in the context of the ambiguous canonical status of the former diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America after the Russian Revolution. One of the first contacts which led to discussions and negotiations on autocephaly took place at the meeting of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi in 1961. The Rus-

¹⁴ John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (NY: Fordham UP, 1974). See a full bibliography of the works of John Meyendorff at <http://old.svots.edu/Faculty/John-Meyendorff/index.html>.

¹⁵ Meyendorff’s works were initially published in French in 1959. In English: *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London: Faith Press, 1964); *St Gregory Palamas and Orthodox Spirituality* (SVS Press, 1974); *Gregory Palamas: The Triads* (Mahwah NJ: Paulist Press, 1983).

sian Orthodox Church entered the WCC at that meeting and John Meyendorff, representing the Metropolia, met with bishops of the Russian Church (notably Metropolitan Nikodim Rotov of Leningrad), an initial meeting which eventually led to the intensive negotiations between the metropolia and the Russian patriarchate in the late 1960s.

In 1968, following a meeting in Uppsala, Sweden, the Metropolia decided to initiate official negotiations on autocephaly with the Moscow patriarchate. In 1969 autocephaly meetings took place in New York (January and February), Geneva (August) and Tokyo (November); the final meeting was held in Syosset (New York) in March 1970. These negotiations resulted in an agreement on the terms of autocephaly, which was confirmed by the patriarch and synod of the Church of Russia on April 10, 1970. The Orthodox Church in America was proclaimed an autocephalous Church on October 19, 1970.

Both Schmemmann and Meyendorff were deeply involved in the move towards autocephaly. Schmemmann's involvement included two aspects in particular: first, his vision and firm advocacy of a non-ethnic, universal Orthodox Church in North America served to provide a firm theological and canonical basis for the move towards autocephaly; and secondly, his participation in the negotiations in 1969 and 1970 were crucial for bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

One of Schmemmann's key contributions was the drafting of a set of principles of autocephaly, which was unanimously approved at the Geneva meeting and formed the basis of the final achievement of autocephaly of the Orthodox Church *in* America (OCA). The event was not without its share of controversy and ambiguity, with Schmemmann bearing a good part of the criticism from those opposed to autocephaly. Some were critical of the process itself, claiming that the parishes of the Metropolia were not adequately consulted or heard, or that other jurisdictions in the United States had not been consulted.

The hopes of Schmemmann, Meyendorff and others that the establishment of the OCA would lead to an indigenous and unified Orthodox Church *of* America (which would unite all Orthodox of America in a single jurisdiction) have never been

realized. For the past four decades, the OCA has been in the anomalous position of being considered canonically Orthodox and in communion with all canonical Orthodox Churches, while not being recognized as an autocephalous Church by a majority of Orthodox Churches.

In addition to his active involvement in the move to autocephaly, *John Meyendorff's* service to the OCA included positions as chairman of the Department of External Affairs, as advisor to the Holy Synod, and as editor of the monthly newspaper *The Orthodox Church*. He was rector of Christ the Savior Church in Manhattan from 1977 to 1984. After the initial contact with the Moscow Patriarchate in New Delhi in 1961, Meyendorff was also involved in the negotiations with the Patriarchate on autocephaly, participating in the meetings in Geneva, Tokyo and New York.

4) Liturgical Reform

Both Schmemmann and Meyendorff, through their preaching and writings, were firm supporters of liturgical reform in the Orthodox Church. Important facets of this liturgical reform were the promotion of frequent communion by the faithful; the use of the vernacular – English in the United States – as the liturgical language, in place of the traditional liturgical languages of the countries of origin of the various immigrant communities; and the encouragement of manageable *ordines* for parochial liturgy and services.

These measures were intended to make the Church a meaningful part of the lives of the faithful, rather than an expression of ethnic or social adherence: “Through the reforms encouraged by liturgical theology, participation in Orthodox worship became less an expression of ethnic solidarity than a means of entering into a cohesive and all-embracing context that could shape individual and communal lives.”¹⁶ Schmemmann developed the theological basis of these liturgical re-

¹⁶ Mark Stokoe and Leonid Kishkovsky, *Orthodox Christians in North America 1794–1994*; online at: <<http://oca.org/MVorthchristiansamericaTOC.asp?SID=1>>.

forms in his major books, especially *For the Life of the World*, and those on baptism, the Eucharist and Great Lent.

5) Ecumenism

All three of our subjects were active participants in the ecumenical movement, stretching over a period of some seven decades. *Florovsky* first became involved in ecumenical activities in the late 1920s in Paris. Together with other Orthodox intellectuals, he was connected with the ecumenical groups – initially Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants, and subsequently only Catholics and Orthodox – convened by Nicholas Berdiaev to discuss philosophical and theological questions of common interest. These meetings were more academic and personal than “institutional.”

Florovsky also participated in the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, founded in 1926 to promote unity between Anglicans and Orthodox. The Fellowship was very active prior to World War II and the Orthodox side was well represented by professors from St Sergius, especially Sergius Bulgakov and Georges Florovsky, and by others, such Father Lev Gillet (“A Monk of the Eastern Church”) and Father Sergius Chetverikov. Florovsky shone in this group because of his learning, his patristic orientation, his excellent command of English, and his congenial personality.

In the mid-1930s Florovsky clashed with Sergius Bulgakov over the latter’s proposal for “limited intercommunion” among members of Fellowship with the approval of their ecclesiastical authorities, during the meetings of the Fellowship.¹⁷ This conflict brought to light the keystone of Florovsky’s “ecumenical theology”: intercommunion could only be

¹⁷ On the intercommunion issue, see S. Nikolaev, “Spiritual Unity: The Role of Religious Authority in the Disputes between Sergii Bulgakov and Georges Florovsky Concerning Intercommunion,” *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 49 (2005); Barbara Hallensleben, “Intercommunion spirituelle entre Orient et Occident. Le théologien russe Serge Boulgakov (1871–1944)” in *Le Christianisme, nuée de témoins* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1998); and Paul Ladouceur, “‘Aimons-nous les uns les autres’: Serge Boulgakov et Georges Florovsky,” *Contacts*, 64, 237 (2012).

the result of the restoration of doctrinal unity.¹⁸ In Florovsky's view, in the absence of unity of doctrine, the main purpose of Orthodox participation in ecumenical endeavours is primarily to bear witness to the fullness of the truth of Christianity as present only in the Orthodox Church. This vision has largely dominated Orthodox involvement in ecumenical undertakings, especially multilateral enterprises, notably the World Council of Churches.

In addition to participation in meetings of the Fellowship, during the summers of the 1930s Florovsky was invited to lecture and to preach throughout Great Britain, mostly in Anglican circles. He was also involved in the large multilateral Church meetings of the period, notably the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order in 1937 and also in the series of meetings which led to the establishment of the WCC in 1948. Florovsky was one of the founding members of the WCC.

Florovsky continued his active participation in ecumenical activities after his arrival in the United States in 1949. But when the orientation of the WCC began to change, away from theological and dogmatic questions to social concerns, Florovsky's interest in the WCC flagged.

Schmemmann was less directly involved in "institutional" ecumenism than either Georges Florovsky or John Meyendorff. In the late 1940s, he was an active participant in the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius and in the mid-1960s he was an Orthodox observer at the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church. In many ways, his involvement with non-Orthodox Christians was more academic and personal, especially after the publication of books such as *For the Life of the World* and *Of Water and the Spirit*, which attracted considerable attention among non-Orthodox. Schmemmann's ecumenical activities included teaching in non-Orthodox institutions, notably the Union Theological Seminary and the General Theological Seminary, as well as at Columbia Univer-

¹⁸ Florovsky expounded his views on ecumenical theology in a large number of articles over several decades. See notably "Confessional Loyalty in the Ecumenical Movement," *The Student World* 43 (1950); reprinted in Donald Baillie and John Marsh, eds., *Intercommunion* (London, SCM and New York: Harper, 1952).

sity and New York University. He was also frequently invited to lecture in many Catholic and Protestant seminaries and universities.

Meyendorff's interest in ecumenical activities was both institutional and academic. He participated as a representative of the Orthodox Church in the activities of the World Council of Churches, including attendance at several WCC Assemblies, and serving as Chairman of the important Commission on Faith and Order (the WCC's "theological" commission) from 1967 to 1976, and as a member of the WCC Central Committee. He was an internationally-recognized Byzantine scholar who also held appointments at various times at Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks, Fordham University, Columbia University, and Union Theological Seminary. Committed particularly to inter-Orthodox unity and cooperation, Meyendorff was one of the founders and the first general secretary of *Syndesmos*, the World Fellowship of Orthodox Youth Organizations, and served later as its president.

C. Influence on Christian Theology

It is not too soon to advance some thoughts about the overall impact of our three subjects on Orthodox theology in general and indeed on Christian theology as a whole – although detailed studies would be required to make more definitive pronouncements. Of the three, *Georges Florovsky* had the most influence on Orthodox theology. Although Florovsky never fully clarified what he meant by his popular catch-phrase "neopatristic synthesis," nor was he the only leading theologian promoting a return to patristic-based theology – one can name Vladimir Lossky, who worked largely independently of Florovsky – Florovsky was only its most articulate and active spokesman and his vision of neopatristic theology was instrumental in shaping a great deal of Orthodox theology since World War II.

The Orthodox neopatristic movement developed in parallel with a similar movement in the Roman Catholic Church ("resourcement") and the two movements mutually inspired each other in Paris in the late 1920s and the 1930s. In recent de-

ades there has been a growing interest in the Fathers well beyond the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, with many Protestant circles paying increased attention to the Fathers.

Unquestionably, *Schmemmann's* main theological contribution has been the establishment of "liturgical theology" as a legitimate academic discipline and as source for liturgical renewal. Some of his books have certainly had an impact in a broad Christian community, especially those with a strong sacramental tradition. Schmemmann's book *For the Life of the World* is very likely the most well-known book by a modern Orthodox author among non-Orthodox.

John Meyendorff's most important contribution to Orthodox and Christian theology as a whole is his role in the revival of the Palamite theology of the divine energies. His solid scholarship and writings are the best and fullest modern expression of the significance of St Gregory Palamas and the essence-energies theology. After having been largely "forgotten" for several centuries, the theology of the divine energies is now firmly re-established in its rightful place in Orthodox theology and has considerable influence among non-Orthodox theologians, including many Roman Catholics.

The general theological contributions of all three of our subjects were recognized by the award of honorary doctorates:

Florovsky: St Andrews University, Boston University, University of Salonika, Yale University, Princeton University, University of Notre Dame, St Vladimir's Seminary.

Schmemmann: General Theological Seminary, Butler University, Lafayette College, Iona College, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary.

Meyendorff: University of Notre Dame, General Theological Seminary.

The citation for the award of an honorary doctorate to Alexander Schmemmann from the General Theological Seminary – and similar remarks can be made of the contributions of Georges Florovsky and John Meyendorff – includes this statement:

An eminent scholar ... who made his research available to the ecumenical community as a whole and who, by his profound knowledge of sacramental and liturgical theology, enabled all Churches to understand more fully Christian practice and its place in our common life.¹⁹

D. Orthodoxy in America

As we suggested at the outset, Florovsky, Schmemmann, and Meyendorff have had a significant impact on the development of Orthodoxy in America in several ways, including, first, their combined leadership of Saint Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, which is now a leading institution of higher theological education with a world-wide reputation. The other major Orthodox institution which has been considerably influenced by the commitment and energies of Schmemmann and Meyendorff is the Orthodox Church in America, in two areas especially, autocephaly and liturgical reform.

Moreover, Florovsky, Schmemmann, and Meyendorff bequeathed to Orthodoxy in America a high level of theological learning and scholarship, reflected not only in their own teaching and writing activities, but also in their contributions to the development of Orthodox theology and indeed to Christian theology in a broad sense, as we have seen.

Finally, the commitment of all three to intra-Christian dialogue manifested in their personal engagement in various ecumenical endeavours reflected a recognition of the presence of the Holy Spirit throughout the broad Christian community. Despite their commitment to ecumenism, they remained faithful to what they considered to be the basis of Orthodox involvement in ecumenical activities: that only the Orthodox Church has preserved the fullness of Christian doctrine over the centuries.

The history of Orthodoxy in America is complex and many grey areas remain. This article has sketched out only some aspects of the contributions of three major personalities

¹⁹ Cited in the biographical chronology of Alexander Schmemmann in the French version of his *Journal (1973–1983)*, 866.

to the development of Orthodoxy in America in the second half of the twentieth century. Their lives and contributions to Orthodoxy will no doubt be further defined in more detailed studies in the years to come.

A Brief Historical Survey of Some Russian Orthodox Historians and Theologians in the American Academy over the Last 125 Years

D. Oliver Herbel

Introduction

There has not been, to the best of my knowledge, an attempt to write a comprehensive history of Orthodox Christians in the American academy.¹ Nor am I aware of a general historical survey or summary. This remains the case even if we concentrate purely on scholarship done by Orthodox scholars relating to topics directly affecting church history and theology such as religion, history, and sociology. Only recently have Orthodox engagements with the larger academy have received any attention,² but the history of Orthodox engagement with the American academy remains in need of better articulation. The reason for this certainly is not a lack of archival

¹ It should be noted that for the purposes of this essay, by “American academy,” I mean the extensive system of accredited (provisionally or fully) universities and colleges throughout the United States as well as scholarly societies and associations but not Orthodox seminaries, though I am also unaware of any systematic history of Orthodox seminaries. The seminaries have been discussed in various jurisdictional histories, however, and occasional essays such as the one by John Meyendorff in *A Legacy of Excellence: St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Theological Seminary, 1938–1988* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1988).

² See, e.g., James S. Cutsinger, “The Once and Future College: Rose Hill in Theory and Practice,” delivered at an Orthodox Theological Society of America (OTSA) conference and available at http://www.cutsinger.net/pdf/once_and_future_college.pdf.

information. Each Orthodox jurisdiction in America contains archival holdings.³ Moreover, there are archives related to Orthodoxy and the American academy in places such as the New York State Library and the Bakhmeteff Archive at Columbia University, not to mention individual holdings at various institutions and foreign archives shedding light on members of the émigré communities.⁴ Nor would the reason for this situation be due to a lack of perceptible framework. If one takes just the Russian end of things, for example, a discernible historical pattern according to the two world wars certainly presents itself.⁵ Omitting this leaves out a significant piece of Orthodoxy and higher education within the United States.

Addressing this aspect of Orthodoxy and higher education is precisely what I shall begin to explore here. Because a full treatment of this topic would be a larger project than what is

³ It should be noted, however, that their organization and the access to them may both leave much to be desired. Despite these limitations, the archivists do the best they can. Alex Liberovsky at the OCA archives has been very helpful to me at various points in my own research. Hopefully the future will bring a heightened awareness within the Orthodox Churches in America of the importance of such historical archives.

⁴ The New York State Library holds court records and legal documents that can be relevant to Orthodox history in America while the Bakhmeteff Archive contains many files of personal papers and is the second largest repository of Russian émigré materials. In addition to the two archives just mentioned, I make use of some archives containing personal papers as well, including the Mikhail Karpovich Papers, Harvard University Manuscript Collections and Florovsky's papers at Princeton. An inventory of important archives relating to Orthodox history and theology in North America is badly needed, but well beyond the scope of the present paper.

⁵ In addition to this basic historical framework, one could also note a possible thematic framework including categories such as early converts, émigrés and various "hyphenated" American Orthodox (be it Greek-American, Russian-American, etc.) who either came to America at an early age or were part of the second generation, following their parents' emigration. I have, admittedly, omitted such figures, including Fr. Michael Gelsinger, Fr. Demetrios Constantelos, Peter Charanis, and John E. Rexine, the latter of whom I cite below. A fuller treatment of this topic would allow for such categories to be utilized and a broader and more thorough assessment of Orthodoxy's engagement of the American academy. For example, Gelsinger was instrumental in establishing the Byzantine (OrthCathA) collection at the University of Buffalo.

feasible here, I shall utilize the historical pattern of Russian Orthodox in the American academy. As we shall see, there are enough significant figures in this history to allow for a discernible historical narrative. As I shall demonstrate, the trajectory of Russian Orthodox engagement with American academia has shifted from a parochial concern with Russian liberalism to being subsumed under area studies in the humanities because of concerns with Russia's role in history and politics to a free and honest engagement of the West from a self-consciously Orthodox Christian perspective. This shift occurred over approximately one hundred twenty-five years. It demonstrates a change in Orthodox self-identity within the West as well, for "Russia" came to dominate less as the reality of the Western, American context took hold. With this shift, however, came a tension between standing firm upon Orthodox ecclesiastical claims on the one hand, and a refusal to be reduced to mere sectarianism or parochialism on the other.

Pre-World War I

The Russian Orthodox Church had been on the North American continent since 1794. Initially, that presence was in Alaska, but by 1870, and officially by 1872, the center of the Russian mission had shifted to San Francisco. In 1904, it would shift to New York (expanding the missionary diocese so that it covered the entire continent). The first serious, extended engagement between a Russian Orthodox scholar and the American academy occurred in the case of Vasili Bouroff. Bouroff had graduated from the St. Petersburg Theological Academy and served as the choir director at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Church (later Holy Trinity Cathedral) in Chicago.⁶ In 1895, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, he was removed from his position because Bishop Nicholas (bishop of the Russian Mission in North America from 1891–1898) disapproved of Bouroff studying at the University of Chicago, although some in the parish were supportive of Bouroff's decision and

⁶ "New Russian Church," *Chicago Tribune*, September 2, 1895.

critical of Bishop Nicholas.⁷ Bouroff had been following a career path many others had followed before – serving as a cantor in America before returning to Russia to become a priest. As we shall see, he was also heavily involved in Russian liberalism at the time, which may have been a factor in choosing to study at the University of Chicago.

The University of Chicago was a natural place for someone like Bouroff to study in large part because of the efforts of Charles R. Crane. Crane was a wealthy Chicago philanthropist who would later be sent to Russia on a diplomatic mission by President Wilson. He had developed an affinity for Russia and learned of Russian liberal economic concerns, beginning with his first trip to Russia in 1887.⁸ Crane personally sought to integrate what he knew of Russian intellectualism and liberalism with the American academy by establishing a lecture series at the University of Chicago, which would help introduce America to Russian liberal intellectuals.⁹

Bouroff represented a kind of Russian liberalism, as evidenced by his article on freedom of the press in Russia and his book concerning the economic situation in America.¹⁰ Bouroff's liberalism was political, in keeping with the shift

⁷ "Mass at Greek Church," *Chicago Tribune*, November 25, 1895. This article mistakenly gives the impression that Bouroff was an assistant priest: he was likely a tonsured reader. Assigning a seminary graduate as a chanter was typical of the Russian mission at the time. Bouroff's removal was part of a larger turnover at the parish. At the same time, Fr. John Kochurov replaced Fr. Ambrose Vretta. Fr. John Kochurov later became the first hieromartyr of the Russian Revolution and has been canonized as a saint. During his time in America, he worked tirelessly across the country to help establish parishes.

⁸ On Crane, see Albert Perry, "Charles R. Crane, Friend of Russia," *Russian Review* 6 (1947): 20–36 and Yuriy Holowinsky, "Promoting Russian Liberalism in America," *Russian Review* 49 (1990): 167–74.

⁹ Crane based his knowledge of Russia and potential Russian speakers on his own personal encounters. For instance, on his first trip to Russia in 1887, Crane had befriended Petr Semyonov, the former secretary for the Committee for the Emancipation of Russian Serfs. In 1900 he established the Charles Richard Crane Slavic Lecture Series at the University of Chicago, which would run for several years.

¹⁰ Basil A. Bouroff, "Freedom of the Press in Russia," *The World Today* (July 1905): 768–771 and *The Impending Crisis; Conditions Resulting from the Concentration of Wealth in the United States* (Chicago: The Midway Press Committee, 1900).

within Russian concerns at the time, wherein the political aspects of liberalism increased in the early twentieth century, especially after 1905.¹¹ He was a supporter of a constitutional monarchy and reforms toward that endeavor.¹² To that end, Bouroff represented an example of this increasingly politicized perspective within the Russian Orthodox Church.¹³ Bouroff was not the first intellectual to advocate for a type of Russian liberalism but he was the first to do so within the American academy. The convert-priest Nicholas Bjerring had already done so in the 1870s and early 1880s, but did not engage the American academy itself directly.¹⁴ Bouroff proceeded with his studies and remained in residence at the University of Chicago from 1894–1898. He returned in 1900 with a study he subsequently published as a book and received his degree.¹⁵

Inter-war Period

The interwar period saw the arrival of scholars such as George Vernadsky (1887–1973) and Mikhail Karpovich (1888–1959), who were important for the development of

¹¹ See Paul Valliere, “The Liberal Tradition in Russian Orthodox Theology,” in *The Legacy of St. Vladimir*, John Breck, John Meyendorff, and Elena Silk, eds. (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990), 93–108 and Paul Valliere, *Modern Russian Theology: Bukharev, Solov’ev, Bul’gakov, Orthodox Theology in a New Key* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 2000).

¹² See “Freedom of the Press in Russia,” 770 and “Pen’s Czar’s Edicts Here?” *Chicago Tribune* March 31, 1906.

¹³ For an overview of this later interaction between the Church and politics with regard to liberal concerns, see Jennifer Hedda, *His Kingdom Come: Orthodox Pastorship and Social Activism in Revolutionary Russia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008), 160–75.

¹⁴ Concerning Bjerring, see my article, “A Catholic, Presbyterian, and Orthodox Journey: The Changing Church Affiliation and Enduring Social Vision of Nicholas Bjerring,” *Zeitschrift für Neuere Theologiegeschichte/Journal for the History of Modern Theology* 14 (2007): 49–80.

¹⁵ I have not yet been able to determine what became of Bouroff. He is listed in the 1910 alumni directory as living in St. Petersburg but is not mentioned in the 1919 directory. Concerning his studies, Bouroff completed a Bachelor of Arts degree. Although I am currently unsure of his major, it must have included politics and economics, based on his publications.

Russian and East European Studies here in America.¹⁶ Vernadsky taught Russian history at Yale from 1927 until 1956 and had been an honorary president of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. Karpovich journeyed to America to serve Ambassador Boris Bakhmeteff (ambassador of the provisional government) in 1917. Karpovich helped oversee the establishment of the short-lived, embassy-funded Russian People's University in Chicago (1918–1920), a night school that met in public school classrooms with the twofold purpose of Americanizing Russian immigrants and teaching Russian to Americans for business purposes.¹⁷ In 1927, he began teaching in the history department at Harvard and in 1941, he assisted with the establishment of two journals, *Novyi Zhurnal*, a Russian language literary journal, and the *Russian Review*, a journal dedicated to Russian and Soviet history and culture. Karpovich also assisted in various social assistance enterprises, such as the Russian Student Fund.¹⁸ Both Karpovich and Vernadsky struggled to understand the history and development of Russian historiography.¹⁹

¹⁶ For a brief summary of Vernadsky's life, see "Prof. George Vernadsky is Dead; An Authority on Russian History," *New York Times* June 14, 1973. Concerning Karpovich, see "Prof. Karpovich, Educator, Dead," *New York Times* Nov. 8, 1959; Philip E. Mosely, et. al., "Michael Karpovich, 1888–1959," *Russian Review*, 19 (1960): 56–76 and Serge A. Zenkovsky, "A Russian Historian at Harvard," *Russian Review* 17 (1958): 292–300. Archival sources for both men may be found in the Bakhmeteff Archive at Columbia University. Both men were trained as historians. As such, they studied Orthodoxy within the context of history and political science during the Cold War in the American university system.

¹⁷ R.E. Bowers, "Origin of the Russian Student Fund," *Russian Review* 16 (1957), 48. Stanislaus J. Novakovsky was appointed to the teaching staff and the financial operations were directly overseen by the local Russian consul, Antoine Volkoff. See "University Here to Americanize Russ Immigrant," *Chicago Tribune* October 4, 1918.

¹⁸ Concerning the Russian Student Fund, see Bowers, "Origin of the Russian Student Fund" and Alex R. Wiren, "Russian Student Fund, 1920–1945," *Russian Review* 5 (1945): 104–13.

¹⁹ See Michael Karpovich, "Klyuchevski and Recent Trends in Russian Historiography," *Slavonic and East European Review* 2 (1943): 31–39; *Imperial Russia, 1801–1917* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932); and

One example of this struggle may be found in Karpovich's response to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, the grandson of the famous poet. H.W.L. Dana had challenged Karpovich's veracity and ability to understand Russia since Karpovich had not been there since 1917. Dana, however, had visited the Soviet Union. The first letter was a handwritten note asking for time to respond not only to concerns over the illiteracy rate in the Russian Empire but also to the relationship between social justice and revolution and to Karpovich's reliability as an interpreter of Russian history. As Karpovich would write in the second letter:

I do not believe that social justice can be obtained otherwise than on the basis of individual freedom and practical democracy, and I do not believe either the one or the other exist in Russia under the Stalin regime. ... It is true that through no fault of my own I have not been able to live in my native land since 1917, while you could visit it on several occasions. But after all, I was born and raised there, I lived there until I was almost thirty years old, and I have studied and taught Russian history, and as a historian I know that no revolutionary change, no matter how radical, can so obliterate the past that an absence of even twenty-five years from the country would make a native unable to understand the course of events there, in many cases better than it would be possible for foreign observers.²⁰

Interpreting Russia's history and the implications of the Revolution and Civil War were heightened issues for Karpovich and Vernadsky and the interwar émigrés. The shadow of such

George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930).

²⁰ Letter to H.W.L. Dana, April 12, 1943, Harvard University Manuscript Collections, Mikhail Karpovich Papers, Harvard University Manuscript Collections, HUG 4474.5. This was the second letter. Karpovich had initially sent a hand written note asking for time to respond. See Michael Karpovich to H.W.L. Dana, March 28, 1943, Mikhail Karpovich Papers.

nineteenth and twentieth century debates concerning Russia's historical significance remained present.

Perhaps the most important aspect of this legacy (for the purposes of my investigation here) was that the secular intelligentsia that fled Russia held to the belief that the Church had been subservient to the state throughout Russian history and completely subordinated after the reforms of Peter the Great. This may be seen in Pavel Miliukov (an acquaintance of Charles R. Crane).²¹ Miliukov considered Karpovich a friend²² and Karpovich had edited a publication of his work. Karpovich himself argued that the Russian Orthodox Church's subservience to the state could be located in the Josephites (in opposition to the non-possessors with St. Nil Sorsky), who, he claimed, already argued, around the turn of the sixteenth century, for such an assimilation to state power.²³ Vernadsky adopted a similar approach, highlighting what he saw as an exception (Patriarch Philaret, who flourished from 1619 to 1633) but believing such only proved the rule.²⁴ This approach generally dismissed the church as a mere "handmaid to the state" and unworthy of further study. It would continue to dominate Russian studies in America until the dismantling of the caricature in the 1980s.²⁵

World War II and Beyond

A second influx of Orthodox scholars occurred during and immediately following the Second World War. This group

²¹ Paul Miliukov, *Outlines of Russian Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942).

²² *Ibid.*, viii.

²³ Michael Karpovich, "Church and State in Russian History," *Russian Review* 3 (1944): 10–20. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Nil Sorsky represented a group of monks opposed to the wealth of large monastic communities while Joseph Volotsky represented those who believed large land holdings and wealth enabled the church to remain independent and strong. Both men were subsequently canonized as saints by the Russian Orthodox Church.

²⁴ George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, 6th ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 130.

²⁵ See Gregory L. Freeze, "Handmaiden of the State? The Church in Imperial Russia Reconsidered," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985): 82–102.

included scholars such as George Fedotov (1886–1951) and Georges Florovsky (1893–1979). They were soon followed by others such as Alexander Schmemmann (1921–1983) and John Meyendorff (1926–1992).

Fedotov came to America in 1941, in the midst of the Second World War, rather than after, because he had criticized Germany in Russian periodicals.²⁶ Despite having established a reputation and having helped found the journal *Novii grad*, with the fall of France in 1940, Paris no longer remained a safe haven for him. He would end his career serving as a professor of church history at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, even helping to get it reorganized as an actual graduate school through the All-American Sobor of 1946. His first three years in America were spent as a visiting fellow at the divinity school at Yale University and it was while he was in America that he published *The Russian Religious Mind* (with Meyendorff completing the project following Fedotov's death).²⁷ As with Russian liberals and others within the Russian émigré community, Fedotov concerned himself with historical questions, especially as they pertained to the rise of the communist regime in Russia and its possible future.²⁸

Florovsky journeyed to the United States in 1948 in order to teach patristics at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary.²⁹ While teaching at the seminary, he was an adjunct

²⁶ Two surveys of Fedotov's life and significance may be found in K. Naumov, "Georgy Petrovich Fedotov, 1886–1951," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 31 (1952): 254–256 and George Ivask, "George Fedotov, 1886–1951," *Russian Review* 12 (1953): 79–82. Additionally, for Fedotov and other Russian émigrés from Paris, one might wish to consult Robert H. Johnston, *New Mecca, New Babylon: Paris and the Russian Exiles, 1920–1945* (Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). For an assessment of Fedotov's position while still in France, see Danièle Beaune, "Les idées de G.P. Fedotov dans les années 1930," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 26 (1985): 353–373.

²⁷ George Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966).

²⁸ See George Fedotov, "The Fate of Empires," *Russian Review* 12 (1953): 83–94.

²⁹ For Florovsky's time in America see George Huntston Williams, "Georges Vasilievich Florovsky: His American Career (1948–1965)," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 11 (1965): 7–107.

professor of religion at Columbia University.³⁰ After serving as dean from 1950–1955 and having established the *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*³¹ in 1952, he taught at Harvard University until retirement in 1964, at which point he then taught at Princeton as a visiting professor. Florovsky's historical perspective, life, and experience within the academy also resulted in an ongoing belief in a "neo-patristic" approach to church history as necessary for Orthodoxy:

A prayerful entry into the Church, an apocalyptic fidelity, a return to the fathers, a free encounter with the West, and other similar themes and elements make up the creative postulate of Russian theology in the contemporary circumstances. They also represent a testament of the past – our responsibility for the past and our obligation before it. ... A harsh historical verdict [of Russian Orthodoxy] must be transformed into a creative call to complete what remains unfinished. ... And genuine historical synthesis lies not in interpreting the past, but in creatively fulfilling the future.³²

Florovsky advocated for a new historicism that would pick up the task of historical synthesis, specifically neo-patristic synthesis. His neo-patristic synthesis was to be a creative return to and reworking of the Church fathers of the fourth through eighth centuries, though he also discussed later Byzantine thought. Returning to those fathers was necessary because academic thought (including Orthodox academic thought) had been separated from the fathers and had become rootless. By returning to the earlier Eastern fathers, one also created independence from the West. Drawing upon Russian Orthodox thinkers before him, Florovsky was keen to point out how Western theological trends and categories had influenced and affected Russian Orthodox theology and he was critical of

³⁰ In 1952, he was noted as one of four guest professors, along with Paul Tillich: "To Teach Religion at Columbia," *New York Times* July 14, 1952.

³¹ It has since been retitled as *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*.

³² Georges Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology, Part 2*, Vol. 6 *Collected Works* (Belmont, MA: Nordland, 1987), 308.

that development, considering it a series of pseudomorphoses and a corruption of true Byzantine/Hellenic Christianity.³³ To put it bluntly, “Patristic inspiration was strong and vigorous up to the final collapse of the Byzantine Empire. ... And then came the break in Orthodox theology itself.”³⁴ In order to engage the West anew, one first had to disengage from the later pseudomorphoses caused by Latin-Greek integration.³⁵

This return to the earlier Eastern fathers was to be creative, to follow the fathers in spirit and not in letter. It was not simply to be an enterprise of proof-texting from the fathers. Instead, it was to be the “saints’ creative spiritual vision of faith or catholic witness to the Christian gospel of Christ crucified and risen for us according to the scriptures, rather than a form of what might be called ‘patristicism’ or ‘Byzanti-

³³ On this point and Florovsky’s anti-Westernism in general, see Paul Gavrilyuk, “Florovsky’s Neopatristic Synthesis and the Future Ways of Orthodox Theology,” in *The Constructions of the ‘West’ in Eastern Orthodox Theology*, eds. George Demacopoulos and Aristotle Papanikolaou (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 102–24. See also, Brandon Gallaher, “‘Waiting for the Barbarians’: Identity and Polemicism in the Neo-Patristic Synthesis of Georges Florovsky,” *Modern Theology* 27 (2011): 659–691. For an alternative, more “ecumenical,” assessment of Florovsky’s thought, see Matthew Baker, “Neopatristic Synthesis and Ecumenism: Toward the ‘Reintegration’ of Christian Tradition,” in *Eastern Orthodox Encounters of Identity and Otherness: Values, Self-Reflection, Dialogue*, eds. Andrii Krawchuk and Thomas Bremer (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 235–60. Although I have found myself aligning more with Gallaher and Gavrilyuk on this question, Baker’s arguments are not to be dismissed. We lost a most excellent scholar and an even better person in Baker’s recent passing. May his memory be eternal!

³⁴ Georges Florovsky, “The Legacy and Task of Orthodox Theology,” *Anglican Theological Review* 31 (1949), 67.

³⁵ This is an important point for Florovsky, because he was not claiming that Orthodox had ceased to read the fathers, but that they had ceased to read them creatively and had become dominated by a Western, “text-book” approach to the fathers. Nor was Florovsky simply intending to restate a “return to the sources,” for many contemporaries and people before him had said that as well. Rather, Florovsky sought to get at the patristic spirit, to reclaim that creative reading of the fathers and engagement with theological questions and so develop an Orthodox identity that was not so dependent upon Western categories and Western influences.

nism.”³⁶ Tradition, for Florovsky, was the fruition of the Orthodox Church down through history but in a way that was creative, not deterministically conditioned. Therefore, returning to the fathers would allow the Orthodox to shape the future creatively and freely. Although Florovsky was, like Vernadsky and Karpovich, wrestling with historical problems that directly affected Russian thought,³⁷ he was also advocating an independent and free engagement with the West and articulating an approach to history that was not merely a linear development but a continuity of creativity, if only one would enter into what the Church offers intellectually through the fathers.³⁸

In fact, Florovsky even wrote to the dean of the Harvard Divinity School, proposing and outlining a course of study that would promote precisely that.³⁹ Florovsky’s letter followed a conversation with two of the school’s professors in which they had discussed “enlarging the field of the Eastern Orthodox tradition” at the divinity school.⁴⁰ In this letter, he outlined a program of study, for which “the starting date must be at least 451.”⁴¹ He broke down his recommended curriculum into points:

³⁶ Brandon Gallaher, “Georges Florovsky on Reading the Life of St. Seraphim,” *Sobornost* 27 (2005), 60. And here, one should note that the “catholicity” of the enterprise is reliant upon Aleksei Khomiakov (1804–1860), who emphasized Orthodoxy as *sobornost*, as catholicity in the fullest sense of conciliar unity. This enabled Khomiakov to speak of a “living tradition,” something Florovsky borrowed as well.

³⁷ See, for example, Georges Florovsky, *Ways of Russian Theology, Part 1*, Vol. 5 Collected Works (Belmont, MA: Norland, 1979) and *Ways of Russian Theology, Part 2*, Vol. 6 Collected Works (Belmont, MA: Nordland, 1987). See Marc Raeff, “Enticements and Rifts: Georges Florovsky as Russian Intellectual Historian,” in Blaine, *Georges Florovsky*, 219–286.

³⁸ Here, one may hear the echo of Ivan Kireevsky (1806–1856), who spoke about the need to return to the philosophy of the fathers. See Gallaher, “Waiting for the Barbarians,” 674.

³⁹ Georges Florovsky to Douglas Horton, December 2, 1955, Georges Florovsky Papers (CO586), Box 12, Folder 1, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

1. A *survey* course – no less than two semesters – for orientation.
2. A course in the History of Byzantine Theology, since 451: two semesters.
3. Church and State in the East – in the first semester – and Byzantium and Rome – in the second.
4. ‘Oriental Churches’ – of Nestorian and Monophysite persuasion – including their missions in Asia – tentatively may be compressed in one semester.
5. History of the Slavic Churches – in the Middle Ages especially (the period of flowering) – at least one semester, and History of the Christian Near East in the Turkish period (since XVth century), including the theological trends of this time.
6. History of the Russian Church – two semesters.
7. History of Russian Theology and (religious) Philosophy – two semesters – with an additional seminar.
8. The problems of the contemporary Christian East, including the Russian situation.⁴²

Here, Florovsky outlined an approach to Christianity consistent with the vision articulated concerning the need for a return to the fathers. In this same letter he even stated, “my approach is primarily historical – for me it is the normal way to enter into ‘tradition.’”⁴³ What Florovsky was articulating is what we might call historical theology today, for he was advocating not simply history, but historical inquiry geared toward better understanding and articulating theology and theological philosophy. Florovsky realized his approach would be seen as “an ambitious and heavy scheme,”⁴⁴ but he believed it was important. As already noted above, Florovsky would soon be hired by Harvard Divinity School and there he was able to teach historically based classes. His publications and teachings have continued to influence non-Orthodox thinkers and writers.⁴⁵

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ For a short discussion on this, see Blane, *Georges Florovsky*, 147–155. In addition to the people Blane has listed, one must include Metropolitan John

If Florovsky broke the ice in many ways, Schmemmann and Meyendorff sailed through. Both Schmemmann and Meyendorff remain known for their efforts to engage non-Orthodox Western culture on its own terms rather than primarily as a means to understand the development of Russian history and thought.⁴⁶ Although Schmemmann and Meyendorff are well known for their commitment to Orthodox seminary education through St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, both men also directly engaged the academy beyond their publications.⁴⁷ Schmemmann served as an adjunct instructor at Union Theological Seminary, General Theological Seminary, New York University, and Columbia University.⁴⁸ Meyendorff's engagement with the American academy proved extensive and included significant work with Harvard University's Dumbarton Oaks as well as teaching at Fordham.

As one proceeds, historically, into the works of Florovsky, Schmemmann, and Meyendorff, one encounters a lessening of a need to understand Russian history and an increasing attempt to engage the American academy on a different footing.⁴⁹

Zizioulas, an eminent Greek Orthodox theologian, Fr. John Romanides (1928–2001), and Fr. John Meyendorff.

⁴⁶ See Timothy L. Smith, "Refugee Orthodox Congregations in Western Europe, 1945–1948," *Church History* 38 (1969), 316. Martin E. Marty recommended their work to non-Orthodox as "safe and sane": "Signposts in the Midst of Change: Religion Today and Tomorrow," *American Libraries* 5 (1974), 72. Recently, Fr. John Behr, dean of St. Vladimir's Seminary, offered a homily in which he summarized Schmemmann's work precisely along the lines of engaging the West (available <http://www.svots.edu/headlines/memorial-father-alexander-schmemmann-1921-1983>).

⁴⁷ For helpful biographies on both Schmemmann and Meyendorff, see Michael Plekon, *Living Icons: Persons of Faith in the Eastern Church* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2002), 178–233.

⁴⁸ A helpful obituary may be found in the *New York Times* December 14, 1983. Schmemmann's work at Columbia proved influential on Paul Valliere: *Modern Russian Theology*, 373.

⁴⁹ It is important to remember here the history of the "Metropolia," concerning which see (among others): John E. Rexine, "Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 19 (1975): 57–64. Rexine was, in part, responding to Panagiotos N. Trempelas, *The Autocephaly of the Metropolia in America* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Theological School Press, 1973). For a more positive assessment than Trempelas's see Alexander Bogolepov, *Toward an American Orthodox Church: The Establishment of an Autocephalous Orthodox Church* (Crest-

Meyendorff cast his concerns widely, as evident in *Catholicity and the Church*, though he included a chapter concerning the 1905 Reforms in Russia.⁵⁰ Meyendorff paralleled Florovsky in several important ways. Meyendorff engaged in institutional ecumenism, serving as a representative of the Orthodox Church to the World Council of Churches (WCC). In that capacity, he participated in several WCC Assemblies, chaired the Commission on Faith and Order from 1967 to 1976, and served on the WCC Central Committee. For Meyendorff, a proper ecumenical vision was a matter of great importance. Meyendorff relied on an earlier patristic period and believed the Orthodox understanding of the “catholic church” required “new theologies, new formulations of doctrine,” rather than mere repetition of past statements.⁵¹ Also, like Florovsky, he saw Orthodoxy’s (especially Russian Orthodoxy’s) problems as stemming from the West:

The real challenge for the Church came not from such liturgical changes [e.g. Nikonian Reforms], but from the West: with Western Latin-oriented scholarship introduced through the mediations of the Kiev Academy; with the principles of the Enlightenment imposed upon society by Peter I and Catherine II; with Russia acquiring, in the nineteenth century great influence in European literature and culture; and financially, with the Marxist revolution of the twentieth century.⁵²

Relatedly, the concern for how to relate to that West was important to him and he saw Orthodoxy’s mission as one of en-

wood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001). A brief history of the Metropolia may be found in Mark Stokoe and Leonid Kishkovsky, *Orthodox Christians in America, 1794–1994* (Syosset, NY: Orthodox Christian Publications Center, 1995), though this ought to be read together with John H. Erickson, *Orthodox Christians in America: A Short History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵⁰ John Meyendorff, *Catholicity and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1983).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 55, 80.

⁵² John Meyendorff, “Introduction,” *The Legacy of St. Vladimir* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990), 13.

gaged evangelism, wherein one ought to distinguish between “good” and “wrong” ecumenism.⁵³ That is to say, there is something wrong with the West, and Orthodoxy must remain true to what she is vis-à-vis Western Christianity.

He later articulated this as the second part of a three point platform for authentic witness. In this tripartite approach to engaging the world, Meyendorff noted the need for emulating the fathers of the church and so be: traditional (but not merely conservative), ecumenical (in a “good” way), and the Church (rather than a denomination or a sect).⁵⁴ Meyendorff saw these as key components to the acculturation of Orthodoxy, or the Christianization of a culture, which he believed “remains our task as teachers, as preachers, as scholars, as theologians.”⁵⁵

Admittedly, Meyendorff was primarily involved at St. Vladimir’s Seminary but he did not see that as a sectarian enterprise, as evidenced by the various symposia and events held at the seminary and his own work at Harvard, Dumbarton Oaks, and Fordham. Although he believed there was a “danger in accepting relativism, superficiality, and secularism (conservative or radical) as a valid principle of our ecumenical movement,” he also believed that Orthodoxy must avoid the danger of becoming nothing more than an “introverted sect.”⁵⁶ None of this should be surprising, however, given his background, for he had studied not only at the St. Sergius Institute but also at La Sorbonne, the arts, languages, and humanities faculties of the University of Paris. He received a *Licence-ès-lettres* from the Sorbonne as well as a *Diplôme d’études supérieures* (equivalent of an M.A.) in 1949. He completed his theological training in 1949 at St. Sergius as well but also continued on to earn the prestigious *Doctorat-ès-Lettres* from the Sorbonne in 1958. Meyendorff’s very academic background had been forged in the context of engaging the West and it is this balance between Orthodox claims and concern for the other

⁵³ John Meyendorff, *Witness to the World* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1987), 42–44.

⁵⁴ Meyendorff, “Introduction,” 15–17.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁶ Meyendorff, *Witness to the World*, 43–44.

that he brought with him from France to his academic career in the United States.

Schmemann, too, brought with him an ecumenical academic background from France. He studied at St. Sergius Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris from 1940–1945, was ordained in 1946, and lectured there from 1946–1951. During this time, Schmemann studied under Sergius Bulgakov, a renowned theologian, though Kyprian Kern (1899–1960) had the most theological influence upon Schmemann. During his time in Paris, Schmemann was exposed to an ecumenical liturgical movement that was part of the *ressourcement* movement, a movement committed to a return to earlier patristic and liturgical sources. Kyprian Kern and Nicholas Afanasiev (1893–1966) helped organize ecumenical liturgical gatherings. Through these week-long gatherings, Schmemann became familiar with the liturgical and historical work of the likes of Dom Botte, Louis Bouyer, Jean Daniélou, Yves Congar, Dom Gregory Dix, and Henri deLubac. This meant Schmemann’s theological vision itself was an ecumenical enterprise, even while he retained his strong commitment to the Orthodox Church. This vision concentrated upon a church living out her baptism by being gathered around the Eucharist, the sacrament that overcomes the divisions of the world and offers all to God, infusing all of creation with the gift of redemption. In this way, humanity serves as the priest of creation, not because certain men are “separated” from the rest as “ordained priests,” but because the Orthodox Church as a whole exists to serve in this priestly life.

Schmemann, like Meyendorff, did participate in institutional ecumenism, such as the 1954 World Council of Churches general assembly in Evanston, Illinois; the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius; and the Second Vatican Council. It was not, however, to the same degree as Meyendorff for Schmemann was primarily concerned with secularism as a larger, Western cultural concern.⁵⁷ In *For the Life of the World*, one encounters an extended reflection on the relationship between the “sacred” and the “profane,” one that dis-

⁵⁷ See David Rodney Fox, “Beyond Secularism: The Theological Vision of Alexander Schmemann,” Ph.D. diss. (Drew University, 2006).

misses that false dichotomy.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the book itself was written for Christian college students, and was intended as a study guide for the (primarily non-Orthodox) students attending the 1963 Conference of the National Student Christian Federation in Athens, Ohio. The purpose of the conferences was to provide students with full resources while simultaneously encouraging the students to become their own leaders.⁵⁹ Schmemmann's *For the Life of the World* was one such resource guide, albeit one that became much more wildly popular. It was a work that resonated with a perspective on the university that he continued to hold, believing such an institution existed "to bring new generations into a live inheritance of culture, and also, of course, into real freedom, into a critical search for truth."⁶⁰

With this view of what the university should be, Schmemmann combined a strong reaction against Western theology, which he often labeled "scientific theology." For Schmemmann, this was an errant entity that had even affected seminary life, including St. Vladimir's Seminary itself. "The very idea and principle of a seminary (*as inherited from the West*), is ambiguous. It is precisely in seminaries that developed, on the one hand, the clericalization of theology, and, on the other, the religious fixation of Christianity."⁶¹ In fact, Schmemmann could be quite dismissive of Western theology, reducing it to "false dilemmas and dichotomies."⁶² The very notion of a false dilemma, however, is a standard category of Western philosophy itself and one that is not restricted only to Western Christians, as Schmemmann himself unfortunately demonstrated when he dichotomized and created a false dilemma between

⁵⁸ Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973).

⁵⁹ Douglas Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 79.

⁶⁰ Julianna Schmemmann, trans., *The Journals of Father Alexander Schmemmann, 1973–1983* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000), 194.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 174–5, emphasis in the original.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 150.

“scientific theology” and the “experience” of the church.⁶³ There is, in other words, a tension within Schmemmann’s thought not so different from that of Florovsky or Meyendorff. The West should not be simplistically rejected but must be actively engaged and yet it is the source of Orthodox theological problems. It is this very tension that enabled Schmemmann to write *For the Life of the World* for, as he noted near the beginning of that work, “nowhere in the Bible do we find the dichotomies which for us are the self-evident framework of all approaches to religion.”⁶⁴ This beginning point became his concluding point, when he turned to discuss the Orthodox approach, which was “either obscured or simply ignored during the long dependence of Orthodox theology on Western, mainly Latin, systems and thought forms.”⁶⁵ The West was to be engaged and the university had a Christian telos, but Orthodoxy herself was also corrupted by Western theology. The solution to the tension was the liturgical life of the Orthodox Church.⁶⁶

Conclusion

This has been but a brief historical survey of several key figures within the Russian Orthodox émigré community. As such, this survey cannot claim to represent all of the various Orthodox historical trajectories in America. Nonetheless, the Russian Orthodox presence in America has been significant for Orthodoxy in America. The extent of Russian Orthodox participation in the American academy in areas pertaining directly to Orthodox Christianity has been important and covers the entire range of Orthodoxy’s presence in the New World.

Indeed, an obvious point to make is that it has taken the Russian Orthodox trajectory in America over one hundred years to journey to a point where Russia’s place in history does not loom large over every theological and church historical discussion. Although recent ecclesiological events, such as the rapprochement between the Russian Orthodox Church Outside

⁶³ Ibid., 209.

⁶⁴ Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, 14.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 145.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 150.

of Russia (ROCOR) and Moscow or Metropolitan Hilarion's pastoral visit to the Orthodox Church in America (OCA), demonstrate that concerns with Russia and Russian history will always be part of American Orthodoxy, the terms of the discussion in the academy have changed. What began with Russian liberalism has now moved to a point where Orthodox desire to engage the American academy in a way independent of strictly Russian historical theological concerns but also independent of any alleged Western captivity of Orthodox theology.

This shift suggests a change in how some Orthodox self-identify in the academy. Initially, Russian historical and political thought dominated the discussions as seen in, e.g., Bouroff and Karpovich. Even for later thinkers like Florovsky and Meyendorff, "Russia" could still loom large. With Schmemmann, Meyendorff, and Florovsky, however, one encounters a more self-consciously Orthodox perspective from which to engage the American academy. This shift of the Russian Orthodox trajectory here in America is one that was not limited to Orthodox seminaries but involved non-Orthodox institutions. Together with this change in Orthodox identity (from subsumed under Russian politics and/or history to standing on its own religious terms) came the need to balance a tension between Orthodox truth-claims and ecumenism. Florovsky, Meyendorff, and Schmemmann each sought this balance (however imperfectly) in their own work.

It remains to be seen whether this trajectory of engaging the academy will continue with the same self-consciously Orthodox "good ecumenism," exemplified in these later thinkers. This is a vitally important issue for Orthodox Christians in America (and the West generally) to address. Bouroff was somewhat parochial in using his Russian political concerns as his interpretive lens and the means by which he engaged the American academy, and the later Russian émigrés mentioned here each worked within larger fields at non-Orthodox institutions, subsuming Orthodoxy under area studies devoted to Russia. With Florovsky, Meyendorff, and Schmemmann, the good ecumenism came to a fuller fruition. With efforts currently in progress at Holy Cross Hellenic College

near Boston, St. Katherine's College in San Diego, and the Orthodox Christian Studies Center at Fordham University, not to mention the various Orthodox historians, sociologists, and theologians teaching at other institutions, Orthodox now have the opportunity to make decisions that will either further this trajectory of self-consciously Orthodox engagement of the other or, perhaps, revert back to what has gone before.

Theology in the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church: The Past, Present and Future in the “Diaspora” Context¹

Peter Galadza

The Mandate of Vatican II and the Burdens of History

The Second Vatican Council (*Lumen gentium* 23, *Unitatis redintegratio* 17, and – less explicitly – *Orientalium ecclesiarum* 5) declared that Particular Churches are to be distinguished by distinctive theologies (in addition to liturgies, spiritualities and canonical traditions). This, then, is not an optional aspect of Church life. The supreme teaching authority of the Catholic Church has mandated that a “*Pomisna Tserkva*” have its own theologians and theological institutions – *both within and without its ancestral territory*. The Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church (UGCC) outside Ukraine (as also in Ukraine) has begun to see the fruits of its commitment to theological distinctiveness. Our new Catechism is a good example of this. However, much remains to be done. Certainly as long as many of our faithful in the West continue to imagine that our Church’s distinctive identity lies in ethnicity and Rite alone, interest in developing theological programs will remain low.

Some envision that “Ukraine will take care of these needs.” One might ask, though, whether this is not an attitude reflecting greater commitment to the Church of one’s grandparents than the Church of one’s grandchildren. (This may

¹ The following is a memorandum prepared for the Synod of Hierarchs of the UGCC in August, 2013.

sound harsh, but it does seem to explain certain phenomena. Besides, all of us are prone to seek surrogates when reality is so difficult. The work of re-evangelizing our own third and fourth generation faithful *in the West* can be much more demanding than helping others engaged in evangelization work in Ukraine. It also enables one to retain the notion that the UGCC is primarily an ethnic institution.)

The lack of attention to theology within the UGCC, however, should not be surprising. It reflects the burdens of a tortuous past. The long periods when the Ukrainian people were bereft of the kinds of social elites that create intellectual institutions have left their mark. (Even the famed Kyiv-Mohyla Academy was not allowed to offer accredited theology, and the struggles faced by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky when he tried to create a university remained insurmountable.) When one couples this with the fact that until Vatican II Eastern Catholics were frequently censured for venturing beyond Tridentine Latin manualism or Thomistic scholasticism, it is not surprising that only limited progress has been made in implementing Vatican II's insistence that Churches *sui iuris* have their own theology.

These, of course, are the burdens of history. And one must always acknowledge them. But there is a difference between recounting history in order to evoke appropriate compassion, and recounting it to excuse inaction today. The Lord has given us the most unique opportunity in the long history of our Church. We now have the chance to bring Christ's light worldwide and to do so by brilliantly combining the best of Roman Catholicism with the best of Eastern Orthodoxy. (It is true that the UGCC already combines the two, but it is not always the *best* of the two that it combines.) Among the tasks of our own theology is to forge this synthesis in the most constructive way.

Where and How in the Diaspora is Vatican II's Mandate Being Implemented?

It would be much easier to answer the question about the state of theology in the UGCC if information could be ga-

thered in a systematic way. Almost three years ago, two UGCC academic institutions in North America planned a conference on the topic: “The State of Theology in the UGCC Worldwide.” The conference would have heard papers on theology in the UGCC as it exists everywhere – from Brazil to Edmonton, and in between. However, our North American Church leadership informed the organizers that the time was not opportune for such a conference. Unfortunately, there has been no subsequent communication from the North American hierarchy regarding a possible date. It did not propose an alternate. Of course, academic institutions dealing with non-controversial topics like this are not required to seek episcopal approval to organize such conferences. But it is indicative of the organizers’ desire to *sentire cum ecclesia* that they deferred to episcopal authority.

The following, very unsystematic, list of institutions in the West indicates where

- a) Ukrainian Greco-Catholics offer theological programs – of any kind, even non-accredited enrichment programs; and/or
 - b) Ukrainian Greco-Catholics of any appreciable number (more than two or three) follow programs of study.
- 1) Most of the Roman academic institutions, and the Pontifical Oriental Institute (PIO) in particular;
 - 2) The University of Leuven, Belgium;
 - 3) The International Theological Institute (ITI) in Trumau, Austria (and its Centre of Eastern Christian Studies);
 - 4) The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies (MASI), Saint Paul University, Ottawa (presently involved in negotiations to relocate to the University of St. Michael’s College in the University of Toronto);
 - 5) St. Josaphat’s Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, Washington DC – and the theological institutions located on the campus of the Catholic University of America;
 - 6) St. Basil’s College, Stamford, Connecticut;
 - 7) The Basilian House of Studies, Edmonton, Alberta;

- 8) The Collegium Orientale at Eichstätt University in Germany.

Presumably there are other institutions that should be listed here. Should the above-mentioned conference take place, more information will become available.

At the present time, there is one theological institution operating under Ukrainian Catholic sponsorship that is involved in preparing students at the doctoral (PhD) level. This is the Sheptytsky Institute, presently in Ottawa. Naturally, it is able to function at the doctoral level only because it is an academic unit of a university theological faculty.

To date, the following students have defended PhD dissertations at the Sheptytsky Institute. The titles are also listed.

2003 – Robert Hutcheon (OCA archpriest, former Rhodes Scholar and Professor of Medicine, McGill University): “From Lamentation to ‘Alleluia’: An Interpretation of the Theology of the Present-day Byzantine-rite Funeral Service Analyzed through Its Practical Relationship to Bereaved Persons”

2005 – Michael Petrowycz (UGCC lay professor at UCU): “Bringing Back the Saints: The Contribution of the Roman Edition of the Ruthenian Liturgical Books (‘Recensio Ruthena,’ 1940–1952) to the Commemoration of Slavic Saints in the Ukrainian Catholic Church”

2008 – Adam DeVille (UGCC subdeacon, head of theology department, St. Francis University, Ft. Wayne, Indiana): “Orthodoxy and the Roman Papacy: Responding to *Ut Unum Sint* with a Recovery of the Patriarchal Model for the Exercise of Roman Primacy”

2008 – Suzette Phillips (RC laywoman, assistant professor, University of Alberta): “Re-reading *The Way of a Pilgrim*: A Research Project Utilizing Contemplative Psychology”

2009 – Danylo Kuc (UGCC priest, office of liturgy, Edmonton Eparchy): “Translating Psalm 50 for Byzantine Christian Worship: A Case Study in Biblical and Patristic Exegesis and the Application of Contemporary Translation Theory”

2010 – Brian Butcher (UGCC subdeacon, instructor, Sheptytsky Institute): “Figuring Liturgically: A Ricoeurian Analysis of the Byzantine Rite ‘Great Blessing of Water’”

2011 – Yuriy Sakvuk (UGCC priest, professor at the Ukrainian Catholic University): “The Search for an Ecclesial Identity in the Kyivan Catholic Church in Light of the Documents of the Second Vatican Council and the Consultations of the Kyivan Church Study Group”

2012 – Roman Rytsar (UGCC priest, hospital chaplain): “The Kenotic Theology of Anthony Bloom, Metropolitan of Sourozh (1914–2003) in Anthropological Perspective”

Two more students, one Ukrainian Catholic, the other Russian Orthodox, are presently enrolled in the Sheptytsky Institute’s PhD program and should complete their dissertations within two and five years respectively.

Incidentally, this list does not include scholars such as Fr. Gregory Zubacz (Ukrainian Catholic), and Fr. Francois Beyrouti (Melkite), whose undergraduate theological formation was gained at the Sheptytsky Institute, but whose doctorates from Saint Paul University were in canon law and scripture respectively. However, Sheptytsky Institute professors were members of the doctoral committees for both of these priests – not to mention the committees of more than 10 other PhD candidates.

Also, the list does not include MA and STL students, which number almost 40. With a masters or licentiate degree,

these graduates are able to teach individual courses at the undergraduate level in many Western universities.

The Sheptytsky Institute's task of preparing future professors and instructors is vital to the mission of the UGCC in the West. And certainly having Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox students receive their doctorates through the Sheptytsky Institute is important. In addition to everything else, these individuals become "ambassadors" of the UGCC. They also demonstrate that the UGCC is committed to contributing to the life of other Churches in the West, rather than only benefiting from them.

Beyond "Identity" and Distinctive Ecclesial "Gilding"

Having stressed the importance of an "indigenous" theology for the UGCC, it is crucial to note that such "particularity" is of no consequence – in fact, becomes a *skandalon* – if the distinctiveness does not serve the Church's most basic task: bringing nations and individuals to Christ, the only Savior. ("We do not preach ourselves..." [II Cor. 4:5] – or our "identities.") The challenge, then, is to thoroughly meld appropriate distinctiveness on the one hand, and sacrificial, pastoral wisdom and zeal on the other. Sometimes the two remain separate. In fact, there is a tendency to see the "Eastern Christian identity" as "romantic," "impractical," "historical" etc., and the "pastoral orientation" as requiring a Roman Catholic approach. As long as this remains the case, one might ask why Eastern Catholics should even imagine that they can survive in Western countries. Certainly many Roman Catholics presume that it is only a matter of time before "immigrant Churches" like the UGCC will disappear. If, in fact, distinctive "Easternness" cannot be thoroughly melded with the "comprehensively pastoral," then this will indeed happen regardless of our hopes.

Eastern Christian theology has a great deal to say about same-sex unions, drug addiction, consumerism, the free market, "just wars," hospital visitations, marriage counseling, "children's liturgies," liturgical adaptation, self-affirmation, the ecological crisis, obsessive compulsive disorders, generational sin, inter-faith dialogue, post-modernity, alienation,

translation theory etc., etc. But as long as UGCC students discuss such issues primarily with Roman Catholic and Protestant professors in environments far from a Ukrainian Catholic pastoral context, they will rarely understand what and how their own Church can contribute to such discussions. This will especially be the case if the “Eastern Christian Studies” program remains focused on the past, or rather, if the professor is incapable or unwilling to make the connections between the past and present.

Among the proofs that such connections can be made effectively are the highly successful Sheptytsky Institute Study Days. Since 2008 almost 2,000 individuals, most of them Ukrainian Catholics, have participated in the annual three-day conference that brings the best of “the East” to much of “the West.” Such outreach is expanding through distance education, video programming, and new media.

Note also that the only regularly published academic theological journal issued under Ukrainian Catholic auspices is the Sheptytsky Institute’s *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*. It appears thanks to the vision of the late Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, CSsR and the Yorkton Province of the Redemptorists. The value of such a journal cannot be underestimated. The journal concretely witnesses to an intellectual vitality.

The relocation of an Eastern Christian Studies program to a metropolis like Toronto, where students can immerse themselves in Eastern theology at a world-class university while dynamically working with a sizeable Ukrainian community, should be a great blessing for the diaspora UGCC. With God’s grace, solid Eastern theology within a large pastoral context will bear wondrous fruit. And it will demonstrate why the Second Vatican Council insisted that Eastern Catholics develop distinctive theologies.

A Critical Analysis of the *Orthodox Study Bible*'s Treatment of the Gospel of John

Cyril Kennedy

Introduction

This paper is one of the first to critically engage the *Orthodox Study Bible* (henceforth: OSB), focusing in particular on the introduction and annotations for John 1–2. The purpose here is to attempt to identify any evidence of interaction with modern biblical criticism.¹ It briefly reviews the evangelical Protestant background to the OSB before engaging a more self-consciously Orthodox approach to Scripture as grounded in the life of the Church. The complementarity between patristic and modern exegesis will then be examined, along with some of the pitfalls of modern exegesis from the Orthodox perspective, in order to establish that loyalty to patristic interpretations of Scripture does not preclude the use of modern scholarship in regards to the Bible in Orthodox exegesis.

History of the Orthodox Study Bible

Various evangelical groups that eventually, after the 1960s, became Orthodox, did so in part because of a professed desire to recover the faith, life, and concrete practices of the

¹ By modern biblical criticism I mean the scientific study of the origin, transmission, and interpretation of the Bible and related texts over roughly the last 200 years; often, but not always, this has been influenced by Enlightenment attitudes regarding divine intervention and history.

New Testament Church.² By 1987 the majority of those in the self-styled Evangelical Orthodox Church entered the Antiochian Orthodox Church.³ Renamed the *Antiochian Evangelical Orthodox Mission*, they were encouraged by their new mother Church to maintain an evangelical and missionary attitude, and immediately began work on a study Bible whose annotations would reflect Orthodox theology.⁴ In 1993, *The Orthodox Study Bible: New Testament and Psalms* was published by the St. Athanasius Orthodox Academy in cooperation with Thomas Nelson, using the New King James Version (NKJV). This was republished in 1997 by Conciliar Press with thirty-three pages of new material entitled “The Bible and the Orthodox Church” and “A Guide to the Spiritual life.”⁵

In 2008, a new version of *The Orthodox Study Bible*⁶ was published with an English translation of the LXX prepared by the St. Athanasius Academy; the New Testament continued to use the NKJV, although the annotations were revised. Some supplementary material had been revised, and (unfortunately) most of the cross-references in the New Testament had been omitted. The project director (Peter Gillquist), the managing editor (Alan Wallerstedt), and the general editors (Joseph Allen, Jack Norman Sparks, Michel Najim, and Theodore Stylianopoulos) remained the same for both editions, as did the majority of the members of the overview committee.

The OSB is intended to be understood by a high-school graduate, and the annotations focus on four major themes: the

² Timothy P. Weber, “Looking for Home: Evangelical Orthodoxy and the Search for the Original Church,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff*, ed. Bradley Nassif (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 104–105.

³ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁴ Matthew Francis, “*The Orthodox Study Bible* and Orthodox Identity in North America,” in *Canadian Journal of Orthodox Christianity* II, no. 2 (2007): 38.

⁵ *The Orthodox Study Bible: New Testament and Psalms* (Nashville, Tennessee: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1993 [Special Helps, 1997]).

⁶ *The Orthodox Study Bible* (Nashville, Tennessee: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2008). All subsequent references to *The Orthodox Study Bible* will refer to the 2008 edition, unless otherwise noted.

Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Church, and the Christian virtues. “To attain these goals, specific attention was given to the biblical interpretations of the Fathers of the ancient and undivided Church, and to the consensus of the Seven Ecumenical or Church-wide Councils of Christendom.”⁷ This is part of the OSB’s missionary purpose: the introduction to the OSB states clearly that its goal is not only to encourage Bible study among Orthodox Christians, but to help “non-Orthodox readers interested in learning more about the faith of the historic Orthodox Church;”⁸ in other words, to demonstrate to non-Orthodox that Orthodoxy is rooted in biblical teaching.⁹

Such opinions have been echoed in reviews by non-Orthodox authors, one of whom wrote that the OSB “does a marvelous job of presenting Orthodox perspectives on Scripture.”¹⁰ The OSB also engages a Western audience by criticizing various Western Christian (particularly evangelical) teachings, such as the evangelical approach to salvation as a strictly unmerited gift (leaving no room for asceticism), or the terminology of being “born again.” In fact, the OSB often uses Western Christian doctrinal disputes as a foil for Orthodox teaching.¹¹

Yet the OSB has also attracted serious criticism from both Orthodox and non-Orthodox alike. Its missionary approach sometimes borders on the polemical, and one reviewer noted that the article “Introducing the Orthodox Church” used the

⁷ Ibid., XII.

⁸ Ibid., XII. Note the absence of a reference to Roman Catholics, though a certain number of the latter have also become Orthodox in the last several decades.

⁹ Weber, “Looking for Home,” 113; Francis, “Orthodox Identity,” 53.

¹⁰ James R. Payton Jr., review of *The Orthodox Study Bible : New Testament and Psalms*, ed. Peter Gilguist, et al., *Calvin Theological Journal* 31, no. 1 (1996), 218; see also Peter Toon, “A Treasure from Scribes Old, not New,” review of *The Orthodox Study Bible : New Testament and Psalms*, ed. Peter Gilguist, et al., *Touchstone Magazine*, Summer 1994, <http://www.touchstonemag.com/archives/article.php?id=07-03-031-b>.

¹¹ Weber, “Looking for Home,” 116. See also the study article on “Justification by Faith” in *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 1529.

words “of course” at points where the argument has the weakest historical and theological support and lacked substantive evidence (e.g. the claim that the apostles were bishops and the claim that the filioque has led to a diminished role for the Holy Spirit in Western theology): “Pound the pulpit here, because the point is weak!”¹² The same article has been described “as a polemical screed laced with historical inaccuracies, not to say caricatures.”¹³

Some of the anti-Protestant apologetics are simply unsupported, such as claiming chrismation was “there from the start.” Thus Ephrem Lash, an archimandrite of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, concludes that “[t]his whole chapter has absolutely no place in a biblical study guide for the Orthodox; it is simply a piece of not very effective propaganda aimed at those outside the Church.”¹⁴ In his review of the first edition of the OSB, he comments that it feels “far too much like a piece of evangelical propaganda decked out in the trappings of Orthodoxy, like an eighteenth-century New England chapel or meeting house with a golden onion dome stuck over the pediment of the porch.”¹⁵

Lash continues in this critical vein, noting that most of the notes are dull “and many of them jejune in the extreme ... Critical questions are avoided by simply not being discussed at all. This is unsatisfactory, since many readers will be seeking help on just these questions.”¹⁶ These criticisms are for the most part repeated in his review of the 2008 edition.¹⁷

¹² Payton, review of *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 219.

¹³ Brian Butcher, “A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the *Orthodox Study Bible*: A Case Study in Prospective Reception,” in *Translation is Required*, ed. Robert J.W. Hiebert (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 218.

¹⁴ Archimandrite Ephrem, review of *The Orthodox Study Bible: New Testament and Psalms*, in *Sourozh*, 54 (1993): 46.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁷ Archimandrite Ephrem, “Orthodox Reflections on The ‘Orthodox’ Study Bible,” in *Sobornost* 31 (2009): 87–96. In this review of the 2008 edition of the OSB, Archimandrite Ephrem focused on the translation and commentary on the LXX.

In some Orthodox eyes, then, the OSB is not the way to handle biblical, hermeneutical, and historical issues. Can we state positively what Orthodoxy *does* think of biblical methods and studies today? Indeed we can, and we begin with a widely respected Orthodox biblical scholar, Theodore Stylianopoulos, who expresses the conviction of many Orthodox theologians that the relationship between the Church and Scripture does not lead to contradictory interpretations, since the Church, as the source from which the Scripture (and Tradition) emerged, is able to form them into a coherent source of revelation.¹⁸ The mutual interdependence of Scripture, Tradition, and Church means the Bible does not exist apart from and above the Church, nor can the Church use and misuse the Bible as it sees fit even in the service of apologetics.

To isolate the Bible from its vital ecclesial setting, and to analyse it purely as a thing-in-itself as if its meaning were contained sealed within its covers as a self-enclosed and self-exhaustive phenomenon capable of being fully understood and appreciated directly by anyone in a strictly “worldly” context, would be to violate the book and to make its full significance incapable of being properly and correctly discovered.¹⁹

The Ecclesial and Patristic Interpretations in Orthodox Exegesis

Patristic interpretation is regarded by almost all Orthodox theologians as foundational to the ecclesial nature of Orthodox exegesis.²⁰ In his interview with *Again* magazine, Fr. Chad Hatfield’s only criticism of the OSB was that it did not rely

¹⁸ Theodore G. Stylianopoulos, “Scripture and Tradition in the Church,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Orthodox Christian Theology*, ed. Mary Cunningham, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 21.

¹⁹ Hopko, “The Bible in the Orthodox Church,” 67.

²⁰ Butcher, “A New English Translation,” 214; Archimandrite Ephrem, review of *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 44; Stylianopoulos, “Biblical Studies in Orthodox Theology: A Response,” 75; Karavidopoulos, “Interpretation,” 254; McGuckin, “Recent Biblical Hermeneutics,” 310–11.

enough on patristic exegesis. “Orthodox people need to understand that all Bible study begins with the teachings of the Holy Fathers.”²¹

Patristic interpretation of Scripture is not monolithic. The ante-Nicene Fathers tended towards a literal and mechanistic idea of revelation, while the post-Nicene Fathers detected a more dynamic relation between the human and divine elements in Scripture.²² The Antiochian school emphasized the spiritual meaning in the historical events, while the Alexandrian school favoured discerning the spiritual meaning through allegory.²³ Eventually Orthodox hermeneutics combined these different approaches, attempting to avoid the extremes of any of them.

In several ways, patristic interpretation set a precedent for modern biblical studies. The dynamic view of inspiration adopted by fourth-century fathers such as Athanasius, Chrysostom, and the Cappadocians means that every word need not be understood as a verbatim quote from God.²⁴ This allows the incarnation to serve as a metaphor for the relation of divine inspiration and human effort in the formation of the Bible. As Stylianopoulos explains, “[b]y analogy, though not to be pressed too far, the Bible is an incarnation of God’s saving will embodied in human categories of language and expressions which are not necessarily inerrant in every detail but only in the underlying saving message.”²⁵ Thus, the message of the Bible regarding God, salvation history, and the Christian life is affirmed without requiring absolute faith in details of historical and geographic data.

Orthodox theologians have also recognized that the Fathers also engaged in biblical criticism. The Fathers, such as Irenaeus, were deeply involved in the formation of the canon, criticizing gnostics and other heretics for ignoring the internal

²¹ “Three Perspectives on the New Orthodox Study Bible,” *Again* 30, no. 2, republished with permission at http://orthodoxstudybible.com/articles/three_perspectives/.

²² Stylianopoulos, “Scripture and Tradition,” 22.

²³ Guy Freeland, “Hermeneutics and the Orthodox Renaissance of Biblical Studies,” in *Phronema* 2 (1987): 80.

²⁴ Stylianopoulos, “Scripture and Tradition,” 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

structure and harmony of the books that became the New Testament.²⁶ The willingness of later Fathers to use the scientific and geographic knowledge of their day gleaned from secular sources showed that Christians can find a use for secular knowledge.²⁷

Yet some Orthodox scholars are suspicious of modern Biblical studies. In his emphasis on *theoria* (spiritual vision) John Breck dismisses modern historical methodology, but finds allegory, typology and chiasmus valuable. Rather than looking to modern biblical scholarship, according to Breck, the true meaning and saving significance of the Bible can be apprehended “only within the ‘closed hermeneutical circle’ of Scripture and tradition in the life of the Church.”²⁸

However, it seems that the majority of Orthodox theologians regret that loyalty to the patristic heritage sometimes stifles contemporary understanding of the Bible. It must be understood that “the exegete fathers did not exhaust the content of the Scriptures, which they saw and interpreted in a superb way from certain viewpoints only, which the needs of their time necessitated.”²⁹ While the Fathers set a standard for subsequent generations of Christian exegetes, particularly in their defense of Scripture and Tradition against heretical attacks, they did not have the same knowledge of philology, history, and critical analysis that is available today. Likewise, their preaching and writing was directed to the problems of their age.³⁰ This position is expressed well by Veselin Kesich, who remarks that “the Fathers did not exhaust the meaning of Scripture and yet they are our guides.”³¹

In what sense, therefore, should contemporary Orthodox interpretation show its faithfulness to the patristic legacy? Orthodox exegetes can continue to derive from the Fathers se-

²⁶ Kesich, “The Orthodox Church and Biblical Interpretation,” 344.

²⁷ Karavidopoulos, “Interpretation,” 255.

²⁸ Stylianopoulos, “Scripture and Tradition,” 31.

²⁹ Agourides “Biblical Studies,” 56.

³⁰ Kesich, “The Orthodox Church and Biblical Interpretation,” 345.

³¹ Veselin Kesich, “Biblical Studies in Orthodox Theology: A Response,” in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 17, no. 1 (1972): 63.

veral basic principles: that God speaks through Scripture to the Church in every time and place, that Scripture gives guidance on how to live the Christian life, that personal reading of Scripture is to be encouraged (the private reading of Scripture was a tradition inherited from Judaism, an experience of “concentrated prayerfulness”³²), and that the diversity of patristic opinions on any particular aspect of the Bible was broad enough that even if a consensus can be discerned, it cannot be seen as exhaustive of the meaning of any particular passage. Thus, it is possible to conclude that “[t]he work of the Orthodox biblical scholar is to combine the analytical method of contemporary science with the synthetic and organic ‘method’ of the Fathers.”³³

Biblical Criticism in Contemporary Orthodoxy

In modern times, there has been a small but significant renaissance of Orthodox interest in Scripture. While the faithful remain largely ignorant of biblical criticism, many Orthodox theologians have reacted to it negatively, accusing it of “dismantling the Scriptures, undermining the authority of their witness, and providing few commensurate benefits to either Church or society.”³⁴

At the same time, most Orthodox theologians admit the value of contemporary biblical studies, which have produced innumerable tools and methodologies, thereby adding tremendously to the knowledge of Scripture. Stylianopoulos defends modern scholarship, saying that

despite the radicals and revisionists in modern biblical studies, there are many more biblical scholars, committed believers, and people of the Church who take very seriously the authority of scripture and the classic Christian tradition, and strive mightily to speak a word

³² Stylianopoulos, “Scripture and Tradition,” 27.

³³ Agourides, “Biblical Studies,” 57.

³⁴ Theodore G. Stylianopoulos, “Perspectives in Orthodox Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 47, no.1–4 (2002): 334.

from God to the Church and the world today. In the face of secularism and pluralism, scholars from diverse backgrounds who share such commitments have every reason and responsibility to work together and learn from each other in obedience and witness to Christ.³⁵

With this in mind, some theologians have called for a distinctly Orthodox biblical criticism, without the spirit of scepticism so typical of current biblical criticism, in order to show “that the proper function of criticism is not to destroy but to purify and illumine.”³⁶ Such an Orthodox biblical criticism would be faithful to “earnest, discerning, critical study through the use of reason as a gift of God, yet operative within the horizon of active faith adequate to the apprehension of the transcendent realities testified by the biblical texts.”³⁷ Other scholars, noting the neglect of the critical study of Byzantine lectionaries and manuscripts of the Scriptures, have called on Orthodox scholars to produce a new critical edition of the Byzantine text for the New Testament.³⁸ What these theologians suggest is that “[t]he Church should encourage biblical criticism and also fight any tendency to transform the image of Christ as it is given in the New Testament into something else.”³⁹ These theologians see biblical literalism, anti-intellectualism, and patristic fundamentalism as threats to authentic Orthodox interpretation of the Bible.⁴⁰ While liberal interpretations focus solely on the human aspect in Scripture, fundamentalist interpretations are equally flawed, giving attention only to the divine element in Scripture and turning revelation into a mechanistic process.⁴¹ Such an approach undermines the

³⁵ Stylianopoulos, “Scripture and Tradition,” 32–33.

³⁶ Kesich, “Response,” 66.

³⁷ Stylianopoulos, “Perspective,” 327.

³⁸ Karavidopoulos, “Textual Criticism,” 393.

³⁹ Kesich, “Response,” 68.

⁴⁰ Kesich, “Response,” 66; Freeland, 79.

⁴¹ Kesich, “The Orthodox Church and Biblical Interpretation,” 344.

Orthodox principle of the double-nature of Scripture as both divinely inspired and humanly transcribed.⁴²

On the other hand, Orthodox Tradition can be used to justify the use of biblical criticism:

What we call Tradition ... is nothing else but the life experience of the Holy Scriptures by the Church within its age-long history. Since Tradition is life, namely the act of receiving and handing down the treasure of faith, it is not in any way a static and emaciated affair but has the essential features of a living organism: movement, progress, assimilation of the environment, its transformation and, finally, elimination or rejection of particular elements which have lost their organic relation to the living body of Christ.⁴³

Orthodox biblical interpretation is traditional precisely because it “takes into serious consideration the historical, social, cultural and related circumstances of the times of the interpreter.”⁴⁴

Tradition thus becomes a source of stability for the interpreter, rather than a hindrance. One manifestation of such an approach is John McGuckin’s “hermeneutic of familial trust,” in which Orthodox scholars take seriously insights derived from a hermeneutic of suspicion, such as feminist or liberation theology, while resisting the ideology behind that hermeneutic in favour of communion with the Church.⁴⁵ This allows Orthodox interpreters “to make use of a large range of biblical readings, methods, and styles that have not been produced by those within the same communion, and perhaps not written with much regard for what one might call the ‘inspired’ character of the sacred text.”⁴⁶

Theodore Stylianopoulos goes even further, arguing that biblical studies should constitute a matter of such high priority

⁴² Stylianopoulos “Perspectives,” 329; Karavidopoulos, “Interpretation,” 250.

⁴³ Karavidopoulos, “Interpretation,” 250.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 262.

⁴⁵ McGuckin, “Recent Biblical Hermeneutics,” 310.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 313.

for Orthodox theology that it should not be bound to patristic interpretation. “[T]he study of the Bible within Orthodox theology [should] be more clearly seen as a field in its own right, with its own methodological, historical and theological issues and problems, apart from and relatively independent of the study of the Church Fathers.”⁴⁷ He makes strong arguments for the priority of the Scriptures themselves over the Fathers as an introduction to the Bible: if the patristic approach is one of prayer and humility in the presence of the word of God, are the Scriptures any less clear as a guide to prayerful and humble reading of the word of God? “Why should the works of the Fathers be considered the primary school of initiation for the Orthodox biblical scholar and not Holy Scripture itself, the main source of Revelation according to the Fathers?”⁴⁸ Indeed, if the example that the Fathers set is to be concerned primarily with Scripture, then what justifies the widespread Orthodox view of the Fathers as essential arbiters of the meaning of the Bible? Even if the Fathers “are guides to exegesis distant from heresy and teachers of the unity of Scripture and Tradition, i.e., of the integral relationship of Scripture to the faith and life of the Church,” is not Scripture the same?⁴⁹

Stylianopoulos concludes that patristic interpretation is binding on Orthodox biblical studies only “to the extent that binding dogmatic pronouncements on specific scriptural texts exist.”⁵⁰

This means not only that the Orthodox biblical scholar may engage himself fully with the whole range of textual, literary and historical criticism of both the Old and New Testaments against their historical backgrounds, but also that the field itself of biblical studies must finally be seen as a field in its own right, a field in which scholars of other Faiths have also long worked and worked well.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Stylianopoulos, “Response,” 70–71.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

Doctrinal differences between Christians should not affect the examination of historical issues (although many live by the unfortunate maxim of not letting the facts get in the way of the truth).

In the final analysis, we should be able to study the Bible by being less “Protestant,” less “Roman Catholic,” and less “Orthodox,” and being simply *biblical*. If that is the case, and I think it mostly is or should be, then these qualifying adjectives, Protestant, Catholic or Orthodox, can in the final analysis designate only the Church of the biblical student, not his task as a student of the Bible.⁵²

The OSB and Contemporary Orthodox Exegesis

The question must now be raised: how does the OSB compare to these endorsements of biblical criticism from contemporary Orthodox theologians? Surveying the whole of the OSB would be far beyond the scope of this paper. In order to limit this study to a reasonable length, I have chosen the first two chapters of the gospel of John for the purpose of analyzing the annotations in this section of the OSB.

Why John 1–2? The fourth gospel has a special status. John is the only evangelist given the title “theologian,” which in the Orthodox Tradition is shared with only two Church Fathers, St Gregory of Nazianzus and St Symeon the New Theologian.⁵³ Since many of the earliest manuscripts of the Byzantine lectionary have readings from John for the weekdays between Easter and Pentecost, but not weekday readings for the rest of the year, it is likely that John forms one of the oldest parts of the lectionary.⁵⁴

⁵² *Ibid.*, 84.

⁵³ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion: the Lives of the Saints of the Orthodox Church*, Vol. 4, trans. Mother Maria Rule and Mother Joanna Burton (Ormylia, Greece: Holy Convent of The Annunciation of Our Lady, 2003), 115–116.

⁵⁴ Harry Merwyn Buck, Jr., “The Johannine Lessons in the Greek Gospel Lectionary,” in *Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament, Volume II, Number 4* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 1; Allen Wikgren, “Chicago Studies in the

The Orthodox Church continues to read John primarily during the Paschal season and at certain other feasts; the use of pericopes from John 1–2 at well-attended liturgies such as Pascha, Bright Monday, the first Sunday of Lent, the Order of Crowning, and the feasts of the Apostles Philip and Andrew all recommend these chapters for closer study, since Orthodox faithful are all the more likely to search the OSB for insights into passages they hear proclaimed during the liturgy.

The Introduction to the Gospel of John

The brief introduction to the gospel of John in the OSB, covering two pages, gives some sense of the interpretation that will follow in the annotations.⁵⁵ It deals with authorship, date, and major themes, together with an outline of the gospel. Authorship is attributed, “according to tradition,” to the Apostle John, the beloved disciple. This is consistent with the majority of patristic witnesses, though some modern scholars are sceptical.⁵⁶ The gospel is dated to about AD 96, consistent with the witness of Irenaeus and Jerome and later patristic consensus.⁵⁷ In these brief comments, the OSB follows a middle path, affirming Orthodox Tradition without dogmatising it.

The themes identified in the introduction to John are more difficult to understand. The editors of the OSB have established the major theme to be faith that “the eternal Son of God has come in the flesh” and that belief in Him will lead to eternal life (20:31).⁵⁸ However, no preliminary explanation of how the gospel expresses this is offered.⁵⁹ The OSB introduc-

Greek Lectionary of the New Testament,” in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, ed. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomas (Freiburg: Herder, 1963), 108.

⁵⁵ *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 1418–19.

⁵⁶ *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: Volume IVA, John 1–10*, ed. Joel C. Elowsky (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2006), xxvi.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, xxv.

⁵⁸ Unless otherwise stated, a chapter and verse reference will be to the gospel of John.

⁵⁹ *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 1418.

tion also treats other themes, such as the Trinity, “the spiritual dimension” (an ambiguous term, seemingly a reference to the mystical theology of John described in terms of the “world” and the kingdom of God), the sacraments, and the Church. There is no doubt that these themes are found in John’s gospel, but more detailed explanation is necessary if the reader is to understand their importance in the gospel. Unfortunately, no mention is made of the volatile relations of Jesus with the Jews, of the Jewish feasts and other rituals that Jesus constantly reinterprets in light of himself, of the status of the disciples (especially the Beloved Disciple), the unique aspects of Johannine pneumatology, or of the miraculous signs and lengthy (and difficult to understand) discourses.

The lack of explanation about the themes in the introduction does not do justice to their mystical presentation within the gospel. They seem to be chosen for the sake of later “proof-texting” of Orthodox doctrine and ecclesiology. For example, under the heading for the theme “The Church,” the reader finds that

The gospel of John testifies to a strong sense of community among the disciples, expressed through the plural “we” (1:14, 16). True disciples are those who believe in Jesus as the incarnate Son of the Father, who are united with Him, and who here and now express the life of divine love given by Christ.⁶⁰

This note seems to contradict itself: while the use of the plural “we” in 1:14 and 1:16 is read as a sign of respect for communal apostolic witness, the note goes on to speak about discipleship in purely individual terms; it is unreasonable to expect any reader to be satisfied that these two verses constitute an overarching theme of ecclesiology throughout the gospel.

How do these observations of the OSB compare with contemporary academic introductions to John? While the OSB approaches John with a single author in mind, most contem-

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1418.

porary scholars draw attention to the community out of which the fourth gospel emerged. The apparent divisions between the Johannine community with both the synagogue and, more controversially, other first-century Christians, receive little attention in the OSB. Even Raymond Brown, who undermines the notion that the Johannine community was especially isolated from and hostile to other Christians – by pointing out that *every* early Christian Church would have appeared sectarian to outsiders, rejecting ‘the world’ and calling on its members to voluntary and total commitment⁶¹ – does not ignore that John’s community held to “a challengingly different and volatile Christianity.”⁶² The Johannine Church’s experience of Christianity was different enough that real tensions with other Christians are evident in the gospel, as for example in the unique role of the Beloved Disciple, who is regularly contrasted with Peter, the leader and spokesman of the twelve (13:23–26; 18:15–16; implicitly in 19:26–27; 20:2–10; 21:7; 21:20–23).

While no study Bible can give more than a cursory introduction to any book of Scripture, the OSB introduction suffers most by failing to take seriously the gospel as written to a *particular community*. It fails to mention any *background* to the gospel of John, whether of sources or of the community that produced the gospel.⁶³ While modern scholars can become preoccupied with such questions, ignoring the fact that the gospel speaks not only to its original community but to the Church throughout history, Orthodox need not accept theories of conflict between churches claiming different apostolic founders to appreciate that the various books of the New Testament were written for quite different contexts. In fact, knowledge of their specific contexts often makes their message clearer for the Church today. An introduction to the concerns of John’s initial audience, to the extent that they can be faithfully

⁶¹ Raymond Edward Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 14–15.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶³ Although the editors of *The Orthodox Study Bible* do point out that many scholars believe Luke used Mark as a source: *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 1359.

discerned from John's gospel, would be invaluable in helping readers appreciate the main themes of his gospel. Failure to do so leaves the reader with the erroneous impression that the gospel was written as a kind of tract for distribution on the street corners of the Roman Empire, without regard (conscious or otherwise) for the reception and living out of the good news of Jesus Christ in a particular Church. In this context, the statement in the introduction that John was written to supplement the other three gospels is unclear. Do the editors mean it was originally intended as a supplement, or simply that Christians should read it as such?

The academic focus on the uniqueness of the fourth gospel, both regarding terms and events left unmentioned in John (such as "apostle" or the last supper) and Johannine differences with the synoptic gospels, seems to give more credit to the uniqueness of the fourth gospel and its theology.⁶⁴ Orthodox Christians need not accept the theory of a conflict between the Johannine Church and Christians who were loyal to "the twelve" in order to gain an appreciation from modern studies for the special place that themes such as discipleship, the world and the kingdom, the role of women and Samaritans, and John's "exalted" Christology have in the fourth gospel.⁶⁵ They can agree with Brown, who concludes that the Johannine Church never broke communion with other churches, and that the prayer "that they all may be one" (17:21) was read with these other Christians in mind.⁶⁶

The Prologue: John 1:1–18

Other than the mention that 1:1–18 forms a "prologue" that "reveals the new creation in Christ," the OSB offers no explanation of overarching themes, important words, or an identifiable structure for this passage. Without this, the annotations appear disconnected, like comments on a series of isolated propositions rather than on a coherent work of poetry or

⁶⁴ Brown, *Community*, 21.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 90.

prose. Many modern scholars believe that the prologue is based on an early Christian hymn.⁶⁷ John Breck compares it to other New Testament hymns (Col 1:15–20, Heb 1:2–4; 1 Cor 13),⁶⁸ several of which speak of Christ’s relationship with the Father, his incarnation, his exaltation and glory, and his role in creation.⁶⁹ Contemporary commentators also connect the prologue to the rest of the gospel: Kysar draws out common themes, such as the rejection of Jesus and the superiority of Christian revelation over Judaism,⁷⁰ while Brown sees in 1:11–12 a condensed version of the Book of Signs (John 1–12) and the Book of Glory (John 13–21): in place of the Jewish people who had been his own (1:11), Jesus has now formed around himself a new people as “his own” (1:12).⁷¹ The OSB’s commentary would have benefited from a brief outline of the structure of the prologue and its relation to the gospel as a whole.

There is also a tendency in the notes to simply rephrase the scriptural texts: for example, the notes for 1:9–11 restate the verses, only expanding to suggest that the light of Christ is received through the gospel and Holy Communion. The note for 1:12 is even less helpful: “To believe in His name means *to believe and trust* in Him who in His humanity took the name Jesus.”⁷² Rather than restating the word under question, or offering a synonym, would it not have been more constructive to offer some explanation of the importance of names in the biblical world?

⁶⁷ Francis J. Moloney, *The Gospel of John* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), 43; Robert Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel, Revised Edition* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 29; Raymond E. Brown, *The Anchor Bible: The Gospel According to John (i–xii)* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1966), 20–21.

⁶⁸ John Breck, *Spirit of Truth: The Origins of Johannine Pneumatology* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1991), 79.

⁶⁹ Brown, *John*, 20–21.

⁷⁰ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 29.

⁷¹ Brown, *John*, 29.

⁷² *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 1421, (my own emphasis).

Several passages are also passed over. For example, there is little mention of John the Baptist in the notes, which is unfortunate considering the clear contrast made between him and Jesus. It would have been helpful, for example, to note that while the Logos is described in divine terms (1:1), John is called a man (1:6); the Logos is with God (1:1), while John is *sent* by God (1:6); the Logos was “in the beginning” (1:1) but John “came” (1:7); John *bears witness* that all may believe *in the Light* (1:8).⁷³ Later, in 1:27 and 3:22ff., when Jesus may seem to be John’s disciple, the prologue makes it clear that he, the Word, is prior and of a different order entirely.⁷⁴

To be sure, the OSB notes have their strengths. Various meanings of the word *λόγος* (word, wisdom, reason, action) are related to the Son of God. The OSB’s distinction between the three “modes of existence,” expressed by the three uses of the word “was” in 1:1, is consistent with modern scholarship. The first refers to the Word’s existence: “There can be no speculation about how the Word came to be, for the Word simply was.”⁷⁵ The second states the relationship between the Word and God the Father, implicitly distinguishing them.⁷⁶ And the third statement, “the Word was God,” indicates that the Word has the same divinity as the Father. Connections are also drawn between the prologue and Genesis 1, between Christ’s glory and his crucifixion, between the phrase “dwelt among us” (1:14) and the tabernacle and temple; and different possible meanings of the aorist *κατέλαβεν* (1:5: comprehend, overcome) are applied: “darkness can never overpower the light of Christ, nor can it understand the way of love.”⁷⁷

Unfortunately, very little of this is expanded upon. For example, the rich connotations of the verb *σκηνόω* (to dwell, live) are only briefly dealt with. This word is reminiscent of Ex 25:8–9, where God dwells in a tabernacle made by the people. In essence, as Brown has written, “we are being told that the

⁷³ Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968), 87–88.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁷⁵ Brown, *John*, 4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁷ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1421.

flesh of Jesus Christ is the new localization of God's presence on earth, and that Jesus is the replacement of the ancient Tabernacle."⁷⁸ Seen in this light, the OSB might have benefited from relating this to Jesus' words in the Temple in 2:19–22 as a sign that he is the true place of meeting with God. Similarly, Moses and Isaiah's visions of God are mentioned in the note for 1:18; but are these visions of God's energies? Or are they examples of the inadequate vision of God under the law, compared to the Son who not only has seen the Father, but is ever with Him (1:18; cf. 5:37, 6:46)?⁷⁹ The reader is left to discern this for himself.

Another difficulty is the tendency of the notes to leap from the first century text to articulations of Trinitarian theology from subsequent periods. For example, where the prologue mentions the Word, the Light, or the Son, the commentary includes mention of the Spirit. The note for 1:3 ("All things were made through Him, and without Him nothing was made that was made.") reads: "Will, operation, and power are one in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." It is a stretch to say that this follows directly from the affirmation (scripturally sound) that the Son and the Spirit are co-creators. Similarly, the note for 1:4 concludes that God the Word is the source of life, together with the Father *and the Holy Spirit*. While this is clearly consistent with Orthodox theology, it may not be what the author of the prologue originally had in mind.

This enthusiasm for a Nicene understanding of the Trinity is also reflected in the negative reaction to other translations of 1:1: "Some twist and mistranslate this phrase 'the Word was a god' in order to propagate their heresy that the Son of God is a created being, a creature not fully divine. Such a translation is unsupportable, false, dishonest, and deceptive."⁸⁰ Yet several scholars note the absence of the definite article *ὁ* before *θεός*, which makes a distinction between the Logos and God the

⁷⁸ Brown, *John*, 33.

⁷⁹ According to Brown, "it is the failure of Moses to have seen God that the author wishes to contrast with the intimate contact between Son and Father." *Ibid.*, 36.

⁸⁰ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1419.

Father without implying that the Logos is not God.⁸¹ Archimandrite Ephrem writes that “[t]he note on John 1:1 fails to notice, though Origen discusses the point at some length, that there is a difference in Greek between *ho theos*, ‘[the] God’, that is the Father, and *theos*, ‘God’, without the article, that is ‘God’, but not the Father.”⁸² Thus, “by omitting the article [John 1:1] avoids any suggestion of personal identification of the Word with the Father. And for Gentile readers the line also avoids any suggestion that the Word was a second God in any Hellenistic sense.”⁸³ It is true that the absence of the article does not justify a translation such as “the Word was divine,” especially since, “for a modern Christian reader whose Trinitarian background has accustomed him to thinking of ‘God’ as a larger concept than ‘God the Father,’ the translation ‘The Word was God’ is quite correct, especially since 1.1 is probably an inclusion with 20:28.”⁸⁴ But the OSB’s strong stance on this point (most likely a response to the *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*, the Jehovah’s Witnesses’ translation of the Bible)⁸⁵ does not seem to have the appropriate nuance.

The Testimony of John: 1:19–28

The next pericope in John, 1:18–28, describes the witness of John the Baptist. This passage has relatively brief annotations when compared to the prologue. Its events are identified as taking place on the first day in the seven day period ending with Jesus’ rest in Capernaum (2:12); these seven days correspond to the seven days of creation in Gen 1, and John’s witness to Christ the Light is seen as a parallel with the creation of light in Gen 1:3–5.⁸⁶ There are only two other notes; the first explains that John is not *the* prophet of Dt

⁸¹ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 32; Brown, *John*, 24.

⁸² Archimandrite Ephrem, review of *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 47.

⁸³ Brown, *John*, 24.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁵ *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures* (New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc., 1970), 1151.

⁸⁶ *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 1422.

18:15–19, a prophecy interpreted as referring to Christ (this expectation is echoed in 1 Macc 4:41–50, 14:41, and in Qumran literature⁸⁷); and the second directs the reader to notes on Luke’s gospel explaining John’s baptism as a call to repentance which, like the law, could neither remit sins nor give the gift of the Holy Spirit, but which pointed to Christ who could.⁸⁸

However, it might have been helpful if the OSB had paid more attention to the unique role and witness of John the Baptist. His claim *not* to be Elijah is left unexplained, which could confuse a reader familiar with the seemingly contradictory passages in Mk 9:18 or Mt 11:14. The fact that John the Baptist may have been the Christ *or* Elijah *or* the Prophet also goes without explanation. Does this line of questioning reflect the variety of different eschatological expectations in Israel at the time, of which the Jewish authorities were well aware?⁸⁹ Or is it intended to point to Christ, who is the fulfillment of all these expectations? John’s quote from the LXX of Isaiah 40:3, which draws on the image of preparing a royal or religious procession, is also left unexplained.⁹⁰ No explanation of 1:26 (“one you do not recognize”) is given; it might have been helpful to make some connection of this passage with later questions of Jesus’ origins and identity (6:42; 7:27, 42; 9:29) and perhaps with the notion of the “hidden Messiah,” the “apocalyptic strain of messianic expectation where the Messiah’s presence on earth would be hidden until suddenly he would be shown to his people.”⁹¹ The location of the scene is also passed over. Again, the OSB might have profited from pointing out that Bethabara may mean “place of crossing over,” an allusion to Joshua leading Israel across the Jordan into the Promised Land. “Just as Joshua led the people *across* the Jordan into the promised land, so Jesus will cross over into the promised land at the head of a new people. Pilgrim tradition identifies the

⁸⁷ Brown, *John*, 49.

⁸⁸ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1369.

⁸⁹ Brown, *John*, 46.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

same site on the Jordan for both Joshua's crossing and Jesus' baptism."⁹²

On the other hand, a wealth of materials can be found in the modern commentaries. Much is made of the contrast between John the Baptist and Jesus, and John's main role in the fourth gospel as witness rather than Baptist highlights his subordinate relation to Jesus ("He must increase, but I must decrease." 3:30).⁹³ He functions as "the perfect prototype of the true evangelist, whose one goal is self-effacement before Christ."⁹⁴ Since only Jesus can say ἐγὼ εἰμὶ, (cf. 8:58), John emphatically denies that he is the Messiah, Ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός, (1:20).⁹⁵ Thus, John also immediately recognizes Jesus as "preferred before me;" in fact, John the Baptist is the *only* character in John 1 who understands who Jesus is by Johannine standards, since he does not use the traditional titles for the Messiah taken up by the disciples, but proclaims Jesus' pre-existence, recognizing him as the Lamb of God who baptizes with the Holy Spirit.⁹⁶

The theme of purification is also significant in this passage, as it is through much of John's gospel. The OSB's notes at Luke 3:3 and 3:16, 17 (which the annotations in John mention) hint at this, but it would have been helpful for the editors to make the connection more explicit, especially since John is questioned about his baptism (a purification rite) by priests, Levites, and Pharisees, specialists in ritual purity. Brown makes the interesting connection, perhaps following Origen, that in Luke's gospel, John the Baptist is the son of a priest, involved in purification.⁹⁷ In this light, John's testimony is not a denial of water baptism, as it may at first appear, but an affirmation that genuine purity can come only through Jesus, through water and the Spirit (cf. 3:5).⁹⁸

⁹² Ibid., 44.

⁹³ Wink, *John the Baptist*, 89; Brown, *John*, 45.

⁹⁴ Wink, *John the Baptist*, 105.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 89.

⁹⁶ Brown, *Community*, 29.

⁹⁷ Brown, *John*, 43; *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*, 58.

⁹⁸ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 38; Wink, *John the Baptist*, 90.

Excursus: The Jews and the Trial Motif

Another important aspect of 1:19–28 noted in modern commentaries is that it is the first instance of the trial motif that characterizes much of the gospel of John; the reader sees the first examples of the legal vocabulary (confession, judge, testimony, witness, condemn) that characterizes the fourth gospel, showing how the trial of Jesus by the Sanhedrin at the end of the gospel expressed a reality that coloured Jesus' whole ministry.⁹⁹ Seen in this light, John the Baptist's witness is a prelude to the long "trial" of Jesus that begins in Chapter 2 and continues throughout.

1:19–28 also opens up the tension between "the Jews" and Jesus (initially represented by his "witness" John the Baptist).¹⁰⁰ The term "Jews" occurs seventy times in John (compared to five or six times each in the synoptics) and has various shades of meaning, sometimes being merely an ethnic or geographic distinction. However, much of the time the fourth gospel uses "the Jews" to refer to the religious authorities who are hostile to Jesus.¹⁰¹ It does not refer to the Jewish people at large but to those who have made their minds up that Jesus is not the Messiah and who are willing to cast out of the synagogues any who do believe in him (9:22, 34; 12:42; 16:2).¹⁰² They are "types of unbelief,"¹⁰³ criticized not for their hypocrisy or unethical behaviour (as in the synoptic gospels) but for their failure to recognize and believe in Jesus.¹⁰⁴ While John 1–2 does not reveal "the Jews" as the opponents they will become in subsequent chapters, there are hints of the open conflict that is to come,¹⁰⁵ when the Jews will persecute (5:16), misunderstand (8:22), attempt to stone, arrest and crucify (8:59), and refuse to believe in Jesus (10:31–39).

⁹⁹ Brown, *John*, 45.

¹⁰⁰ Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, 52.

¹⁰¹ Brown, *John*, LXXI; italics in the original.

¹⁰² Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, 10.

¹⁰³ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 68.

¹⁰⁴ Brown, *John*, LXXII.

¹⁰⁵ Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, 9.

Many scholars believe that the fourth gospel's harsh portrayal of "the Jews" arises in part from the expulsion of Christians from the synagogues.¹⁰⁶ In the wake of the destruction of the Temple, Jewish Christians became increasingly suspect, and by the 80's there were concerted efforts to drive Christian-Jews out of the synagogue, and the Eighteen Benedictions (*Shemoneh Esreh*), publicly recited in the synagogue, were revised to include a curse on heretics, primarily Jewish-Christians, thus forcing Christians (possibly with violence) out of the synagogue or into hiding.¹⁰⁷ Whether this conflict was locally isolated or more widespread is difficult to tell, but the anger and pain felt towards those who had driven Christians out of the synagogue is palpable in the fourth gospel.¹⁰⁸

While it would be very difficult for the OSB to express so many details about "the Jews" in a brief commentary, it is unfortunate that the only brief comment on "the Jews" is in the note for 2:18–21, since their introduction in 1:19 is the very beginning of their conflict with Jesus.¹⁰⁹ Considering that both 2:6 and 2:13–22 are loaded with pregnant symbolism regarding the fulfillment of Jewish worship in Jesus, a theme continued through the rest of the gospel, it may have been beneficial to introduce the conflict with the Jews at its initial appearance. Similarly, some commentary on the trial motif would have been helpful.

John 1:29–51: the Titles of Jesus

The first note in the OSB for 1:29–51 regards John the Baptist's testimony that Jesus is "the Lamb of God" (1:29, 36), and it relates this title to the suffering servant of Isaiah 53:4–12 and to Christ as the fulfillment of the Passover Lamb, an image echoed in 1Pt 1:18–19. It is appropriate that the OSB recognizes that this title, like many in the New Testament, has several meanings; likely no single Old Testament parallel can

¹⁰⁶ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 68; Brown, *Community*, 41.

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *John*, LXXIV–LXXV; Brown, *Community*, 42–43.

¹⁰⁸ Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, 11.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

fully explain it.¹¹⁰ However, it might have been advantageous for the OSB note to connect the lamb of Exodus 12 with the Passover references in John's account of the passion: Jesus' death on Passover at the moment when the Passover lambs were slaughtered in the temple, and the connection between John 19:36 and Ex 12:46 (cf. Num 9:12).¹¹¹ It is possible to read the fourth gospel as a re-enactment of God's redemption of Israel out of captivity in Egypt, (John 1:23/Isaiah 40:3 is an announcement of a new exodus and redemption for Israel)¹¹² where Israel is replaced by humanity, Egypt is replaced by human sinfulness and darkness, and the Redeemer and the instrument of redemption are mutually "identified with the person of Jesus Christ slain and risen."¹¹³ Connecting the lamb of 1:29 with broader Exodus themes in John's gospel might have helped the editors of the OSB to draw their readers' attention to one of the wider themes of the gospel.

The connection the OSB makes between 1:29 and the suffering servant of Isaiah 53 is also widely accepted.¹¹⁴ This passage bears some similarity to the stories of Isaac and the sparing of Israel's firstborn in the Exodus, but emphasizes the lamb/servant himself as the voluntary agent of salvation.¹¹⁵ Again, clearer connections with the rest of the gospel, such as Jesus' eventual silence at his trial (John 19:9), might have enriched the commentary at this point.

While the OSB does not offer more Old Testament parallels of 1:29, other biblical scholars have noticed that the quali-

¹¹⁰ C.K. Barrett, "The Lamb of God," in *New Testament Studies* 1 (1954–1955): 210; Kysar, *John: The Maverick gospel*, 37.

¹¹¹ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 36; Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary, Vol 1* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), 452; Raymond E. Brown, *The Anchor Bible: The Gospel According to John (xiii–xxi)* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970), 883.

¹¹² Keener, *gospel of John: A Commentary*, 454.

¹¹³ *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Lamb."

¹¹⁴ *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Lamb.,"; Barrett, "The Lamb of God," 217–218.; Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 36; Keener, *Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 452.

¹¹⁵ *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. "Lamb."

fication of Lamb of God as “he who takes away the sin of the world” (1:29) also suggests the sacrificial lamb of temple worship (Exodus 29, Numbers 28–29) or the Passover lamb sacrificially understood, as in 1 Cor 5:17.¹¹⁶ In some cases, early Judaism attached the nuances of a sacrifice to the Passover (for example, Josephus refers to the Passover as a sacrifice in the *Antiquities*).¹¹⁷ Another possible reference is to the lamb of Jewish apocalyptic literature (1 Enoch, Testament of Joseph, Testament of Benjamin) and of Revelation 5, who figures in the drama of the end times.¹¹⁸ The vision of a lamb, truly triumphant but truly slain, helps solve the question, so pressing in apocalyptic literature, of how Israel can trust God who has promised help through his prophets, but seems to have abandoned them.¹¹⁹ Had the OSB’s commentary briefly noted these two possible meanings for “the lamb of God,” a considerably richer image of Jesus as lamb would have been developed.

Perhaps the OSB’s main shortcoming in its notes for 1:19–51 is that it largely ignores the gradual progression of messianic titles that climax in “Son of Man,” the title Jesus uses for himself.¹²⁰ The theme of the disciples’ gradual growth in perception of Jesus’ true identity is expressed by the disciples’ attributing exalted titles to Jesus which he does not affirm, probably because they are filled with Jewish expectation of an ideal king who will bring economic justice, correct religious falsehood and bring to judgement the evil forces that rule the world.¹²¹ Yet these titles *do* make clear that Jesus is the Messiah; it is noteworthy that the three titles made by the new disciples in 1:35–51 (that Jesus is the Messiah, the one foretold by Moses and the law, and the Son of God and King of Israel) are roles explicitly denied by John the Baptist and attributed to

¹¹⁶ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 36.

¹¹⁷ Keener, *Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 454 (footnote 244).

¹¹⁸ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 36; Barrett, “The Lamb of God,” 215 (footnote 2); CH Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1955), 236.

¹¹⁹ *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. “Lamb.”

¹²⁰ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 39.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

Jesus by John's former disciples, suggesting a transition in messianic expectation.¹²² Philip's description of Jesus (1:45) indicates that the whole Old Testament is fulfilled in Jesus;¹²³ here, the OSB might have made a connection with Luke 24:44, which also parallels the theme of gradual growth in faith.¹²⁴

Yet the disciples are still to see greater things; eventually, they will see that in Jesus, heaven and earth meet (1:50–51).¹²⁵ The OSB's final annotation for John 1, on the *Son of Man* in 1:51, evokes both Daniel's vision (Dan 7:13–14) and Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:12–15), on which the angels ascend and descend. The OSB concludes that "Jesus is this 'ladder' who unites earth to heaven, and therefore is this Son of Man."¹²⁶ Here again the OSB might have used the opportunity to identify the climax of another motif, one of *seeing* (variations on the word [βλέπω, θεάομαι, ὁράω, etc.] appear 12 times in 1:29–51), since the disciples' faith will be incomplete until they see the signs that show his glory.¹²⁷ The editors might have also mentioned that "Son of Man" is the only term that Jesus uses of himself,¹²⁸ and that many of the Johannine "Son of Man" references concern Jesus' future glory through his crucifixion (3:14, 6:62, 8:28, 12:23–24, 12:34, 13:31).¹²⁹ While he does not reject the other titles, Jesus describes himself to his disciples by the term "Son of Man," both a prototype of humanity and the restorer of mankind, destined to enter history.¹³⁰

John 2:1–11: The Wedding at Cana

In comparison to previous passages, the Wedding at Cana is the most thoroughly annotated passage in the OSB examined

¹²² Wink, *John the Baptist*, 92.

¹²³ Brown, *John*, 86.

¹²⁴ Brown, *John*, 82.

¹²⁵ Brown, *Community*, 26.

¹²⁶ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1424.

¹²⁷ Brown, *John*, 88.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 39.

so far; 2:1–11 has a very full and insightful commentary. The OSB notes that this miracle is the first of seven signs, “miraculous actions [which] point beyond themselves to the truth that the Kingdom of God has come among us in the Person of Jesus Christ.”¹³¹ Galilee, with its large Gentile population, is interpreted as a sign of the spread of the gospel throughout the world.¹³²

The annotations for 2:1–11 also spend considerable time on the theme of marriage, identifying it as an Old Testament image of the union of God with Israel (although no citations are given). Similarly, the third day is read as a sign of the resurrection, “showing that the marriage of God and His church will be fulfilled in Christ’s Resurrection.”¹³³ The annotations also draw a parallel with 20:1–18, where a woman named Mary makes an appeal, and the disciples bear witness to the event; 20:11–18 also has “a striking similarity to Song of Songs 3:1–5, again showing the unity between marriage and our Lord’s Resurrection.”¹³⁴ Thus John 2:1–11, read at Orthodox weddings, is seen as an endorsement of the holiness and honour of marriage, echoed in Hebrews 13:4. Indeed, one of the possible meanings of the observation, “they have no wine,” is that a marriage is incomplete without the presence of Christ.¹³⁵

The annotations for 2:3–5 interpret this passage as an example of the intercession of Mary.¹³⁶ The address of Jesus’ mother as *woman* (γύναι) is not seen as negative, but as indicating deep respect and distinction, considering its frequent use in John (4:21, 8:10; 19:26; 20:13; cf. Gen 2:23) (that the title *woman* indicates such respect and distinction for the Samaritan woman of 4:21 and the adulteress of 8:10 seems a stretch,

¹³¹ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1424.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 1424.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 1424.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1424.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1424.

¹³⁶ John 2:1–11 is also read on the second Monday after Easter; at one time, a feast of the Theotokos was celebrated on that day in the Church of Chalkoprateia in Constantinople. Petras, “The Gospel Lectionary,” 131.

unless the term indicates their original dignity, to which Christ is calling them back). Likewise, Jesus' answer to Mary's request is not a refusal but a statement that his time for revelation has not yet come. The whole passage is seen as an example of Mary's continued intercession with Christ, expressed in the words of the *theotokion* of the Sixth Hour: "The intercessions of a mother have great effect to win the favor of the Master."¹³⁷ Jesus' eventual acquiescence to her request confirms her intercessory power, teaching that perseverance in petitions is necessary (Mt 15:21–28), and that the intercession of the righteous has great power (Jas 5:16), a sentiment echoed by several modern commentators.¹³⁸

Jesus fulfills his mother's request, and the OSB's annotations suggest other lessons from this: Jesus is Lord of time rather than subject to it, and those gathered at the wedding needed to first be aware of the lack of wine in order for it to become clear that Christ fulfills all needs.¹³⁹ This lack of wine (wine is symbolic of life) indicates that the old covenant was incomplete, "unable to bestow life even on the most faithful people."¹⁴⁰ Thus, the six water pots used for purification purposes are inadequate, despite being made of stone (which cannot contract ritual impurity). The number six, one less than the perfect seven, is a sign of imperfection, illustrating that the law is imperfect, incomplete, and unable to give life. And the change of water into wine signifies the old covenant being fulfilled in the new, through overabundant grace signified by the large quantity of wine.¹⁴¹

The OSB's note for 2:9 connects this miracle of transformation to the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.¹⁴² However, the note might have been supported by mentioning that this interpretation is not far-fetched when one considers the theory that John takes for granted the institution of the sacraments, focusing

¹³⁷ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1424.

¹³⁸ Moloney, *The Gospel of John*, 67; Brown, *John*, 100, 103.

¹³⁹ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1424.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1424.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1425.

instead on their inner meaning.¹⁴³ “[T]here is a fundamental sacramentality about Johannine theology ... a sensory theology. The suggestion that faith grows out of immediate, everyday physical experiences is precisely what the sacraments in Christian thought are all about.”¹⁴⁴ The combined portrayal of the Cana miracle and the multiplication of loaves (John 6:1–15) in ancient art adds weight to this argument.¹⁴⁵ The fact that the “hour” is mentioned, and that this miracle, the multiplication of loaves, and the Last Supper all happen before Passover time suggests that the first two events may be an anticipation of the third.

The final note explains the reference in 2:11 to glory by directing the reader to the note for 1:14, which says that Christ’s glory refers to both his power and his service, ultimately revealed in his cross, showing that he is sent by the Father.¹⁴⁶ Of course, it will only truly be revealed at “the hour” (12:23, 17:24, 7:39), so this must be a partial manifestation, “or as being part of the capsulizing of the training of the disciples where the whole career, including their sight of the glory of the resurrected Jesus, is foreshadowed.”¹⁴⁷ Jesus’ mention of the hour indicates that he is faithful to the divine timing of his Father, but also responds to his mother’s faith.¹⁴⁸ In fact, Mary’s presence at the first mention of Jesus’ hour is not coincidental. Symbolic of the new Eve and the Church, reminiscent of “the woman” of Gen 3:15,

her role is in the struggle against the satanic serpent, and that struggle comes to its climax in Jesus’ hour. Then she will appear at the foot of the cross to be entrusted with offspring whom she must protect in the continuing struggle between Satan and the followers of the Messiah. Mary is the New Eve, the symbol of the Church; the Church has no role during the ministry of

¹⁴³ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 123; Brown, *John*, CXIV.

¹⁴⁴ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 126.

¹⁴⁵ Brown, *John*, 110.

¹⁴⁶ *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, 1421.

¹⁴⁷ Brown, *John*, 101.

¹⁴⁸ Keener, *Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 505.

Jesus but only after the hour of his resurrection and ascension.¹⁴⁹

One area where the notes for 2:1–11 in the OSB might be improved would be to pay greater attention to the *meaning* behind the signs. While these produce widespread belief in Jesus in 2:23, and are recorded so that one may believe in him (20:30–31), Jesus does not trust himself to those who believe because of signs (2:24), lamenting that the people will not believe unless they see signs (4:48), and criticizing those who seek him not because of signs but because of material satisfaction (6:26).¹⁵⁰ The signs are meant to point away from themselves, and unless one moves from the sign to the reality it represents, true faith in Jesus is still lacking.¹⁵¹

Jesus in the Temple: John 2:12–25

After the thorough annotations for John 2:1–11, in 2:12–25 the quality of the commentary in the OSB once again becomes somewhat sparse. Jesus' sojourn in Capernaum (2:12) is left without comment, and there are only three notes for the rest of John 2. At 2:13–27 the reader is directed to the note on Mt 21:12, 13, informed that the synoptic gospels place the episode of the cleansing of the Temple at the end of Jesus' life, and told that "[c]ertain Fathers teach Christ performed this act twice," albeit without any rationale being offered for why he would do so.¹⁵² The note from Matthew explains why the merchants and money changers were in the temple, but offers no explanation for why Jesus drove them out other than to suggest the cleansing of the temple as a reminder of the need to keep the Church, and each Christian, cleansed of "earthly matters."¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Brown, *John*, 109.

¹⁵⁰ Kysar, *John: The Maverick Gospel*, 81.

¹⁵¹ A.B. Caneday, "Sign," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. David Noel Freedman (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2000), 1220.

¹⁵² *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 1425.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1309.

The note on 2:18–21 is significant, identifying “the Jews” as a special term in John, often referring “specifically to the leaders, in this case to the chief priests and elders.”¹⁵⁴ A reference to Mt 21:23 suggests that confrontations with “the Jews” were a theme in Jesus’ life; the annotations for both passages explain that Jesus answers their question about his authority to cleanse the temple (since he is not a Levitical priest) in an ambiguous way so as not to reveal himself to scoffers; in John, he answers their request for a sign by promising the destruction and rebuilding of “this temple,” showing that the ultimate sign of his authority will be his death and Resurrection.¹⁵⁵ The final note on 2:23 connects the three Passovers of John’s gospel to the tradition that Jesus’ public ministry was three years long.¹⁵⁶

While these notes provide some insights into Jesus’ actions in the temple, the OSB does not connect the episode in the temple with the wedding at Cana, missing an opportunity to direct the reader to the overarching themes of John. The two pericopes have in common that they begin to show Jesus’ disciples that the true meaning of Jewish religion is found in him. At Cana, Jesus disrupts a purity ritual “of the Jews,” replacing the water of purification with “the good wine,” and in Jerusalem, he disrupts a public festival “of the Jews,” revealing himself as the true temple, the place of meeting with God. The passages are also connected by the theme of Jesus’ “hour,” first mentioned at Cana; in the temple, Jesus first encounters those who will eventually bring him to his hour. Other connections between the two pericopes are the “third day” and Jesus “showing” a sign (2:18–19) that “manifests” his glory (2:11).¹⁵⁷ Thus, in a certain sense, John has begun the Passion narrative in the second chapter of his gospel: this would provide an explanation of John’s motivations, if indeed he placed the cleansing of the temple and Jesus’ prophesy of its destruction (a singular event) earlier in his gospel, as some scholars suggest.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 1425.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 1310, 1425.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 1425.

¹⁵⁷ Keener, *Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 519.

¹⁵⁸ Brown, *John*, 118.

The annotations of the OSB may have also benefited from some insight into Jesus' motivations for cleansing the temple. While many assume that Jesus was reacting to corruption and extortion in the temple economy, some scholars are sceptical, since there is little evidence in other first century literature, often critical of the temple elites, that the temple economy was particularly unscrupulous.¹⁵⁹ Another possibility is that the court of the Gentiles, intended as a place of prayer (cf. Mark 11:17), had been debased.¹⁶⁰ Whatever its catalyst, the incident in the temple begins Jesus' challenge to the Jerusalem aristocracy, which in turn begins his journey to the cross.¹⁶¹ This is evident in the quote of Ps. 119:9; changed from a past to a future tense, it becomes a prophecy that Jesus' actions will lead to his destruction.¹⁶² Jesus' own words, which show more concern for the temple's destruction than its purification, foreshadow his coming death and resurrection at the hands of those who regulate the purity of Israel.¹⁶³ Jesus, the new temple and the source of true forgiveness, had to be put to death; his actions in the temple, where atonement and true worship exist only as shadow and type, prophetically anticipate this.¹⁶⁴ The disciples' subsequent remembrance of Jesus' words guides the reader to a deeper meaning and faith, more reliable than the superficial faith of 2:23–25.¹⁶⁵ Had the OSB commented on this transitional passage, it would have made clear the connection of inadequate faith based on signs with the request of the Jews for a sign (2:18), and Jesus' knowledge of "what was in man" (2:25) with the upcoming conversation of Jesus with the "man" Nicodemus (3:1).

¹⁵⁹ Keener, *Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 522–523.

¹⁶⁰ Kevin Quast, *Reading the Gospel of John: An Introduction* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1991), 24.

¹⁶¹ Keener, *Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 524.

¹⁶² Francis J Moloney, "The Gospel of John: The 'End' of Scripture," in *Interpretation* 63/4 (2009): 363; Keener, *Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 525; Brown, *John*, 124.

¹⁶³ Brown, *John*, 120.

¹⁶⁴ Quast, *Reading the Gospel of John*, 24.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the introduction and annotations of the *Orthodox Study Bible* for John 1–2 in an attempt to understand how the OSB explains the meaning of Scripture. It began with an overview of the background of the OSB, arising out of evangelical Protestant attitudes towards the Bible and missionary work transplanted into the Orthodox context in which the Church is the privileged interpreter of Scripture. The tension and complementarity between patristic and modern exegesis was then examined. Finally, the OSB's introduction to John and the annotations of the first two chapters of this gospel were studied in detail, in an attempt to understand the overall approach to Scripture in the OSB.

It may be argued that this paper has asked too much of the OSB; that no single study Bible could possibly attain such breadth and cover so much material without becoming cumbersome and unwieldy, a liability rather than an asset in the pious layman's search for understanding. A cursory glance at other study Bibles will reveal that such is the case: no study Bible this author has encountered has dealt with half of the material presented in this paper. Each study Bible has its disadvantages: some seem overly preoccupied with sources behind the text, or too concerned with the gospel as a window into the life of the community that produced it, rather than as the word of God speaking to Christians yesterday and today; others spend too much effort justifying John's authorship and early dating, giving the reader the impression that authorship and date are the fundamental factors in the gospel's value as Scripture. Some Catholic and Protestant Bibles display a clear confessional orientation, while others do not. All overlook certain aspects one might consider essential, and all are forced to include some information and leave other information out.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ See, for example: *The Harper Collins Study Bible* (Harper Collins Publishers, New York, NY: 1993); *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: Third Edition*, ed. Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); *The NIV Study Bible*, ed. Kenneth Barker (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995); *Ignatius Catholic*

Certainly, the editors of the OSB deserve to be commended for their efforts. While some may argue that a study Bible is foreign to the scriptural ethos of Orthodoxy, mediated as it is by the liturgy, iconography, hymnography, and (sometimes infrequent) preaching, this would be to idealize a “post-Patristic” scriptural ethos, one which ignores the repeated encouragement that the Church Fathers gave to personal reading of Scripture.¹⁶⁷ By publishing a Bible marketed to an Orthodox audience, St. Athanasius Orthodox Academy and Thomas Nelson have almost certainly increased the frequency of Scripture reading among Orthodox Christians in America.¹⁶⁸ Likewise, the annotations of the OSB are often useful, especially for easily identifiable narratives such as the wedding at Cana (2:1–11). Individual verses are also commented on and the insights offered are often helpful in understanding the context of a particular verse, word, or theme in the broader context of the Old and New Testament Canons. References to patristic interpretations, when they occur, are equally welcome, as these are not easily accessible to the faithful.

While the OSB has increased the reading of Scripture among many Anglophone Orthodox, its outreach to Protestant readers is undoubtedly a legacy of the influx of so many evangelicals into the Orthodox churches in North America, eager to bring more Protestants into the Orthodox Church with them. Thus, Francis’ comment that the OSB may “demonstrate the capability of the [Orthodox] faith to graft into its midst people and concepts from the Evangelical Protestant community”¹⁶⁹ appears to be accurate, most clearly in that the OSB has inherited the Protestant use of Scripture as a polemical tool. Such an attitude is not limited to the publishers of the OSB: in his interview with *Again* magazine, Fr. Hatfield praised the annotations of the OSB: “[i]t was the footnotes of the first OSB that

Study Bible: New Testament, Introduction, Commentary and Notes, Scott Hahn and Curtis Mitch (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2010).

¹⁶⁷ See, for example, the list of patristic quotations from the 1997 edition of *The Orthodoxy Study Bible*, in “Section I: The Bible and the Orthodox Church,” i–iii.

¹⁶⁸ Francis, “Orthodox Identity,” 39.

¹⁶⁹ Francis, “Orthodox Identity,” 55.

attracted many non-Orthodox readers to explore Orthodoxy further ... the Bible has the potential to be a great tool for evangelism.”¹⁷⁰ Yet many Orthodox would object to this statement, considering it questionable that the Bible should be used as a tool for evangelism, let alone as a “tool” at all. Rather than existing for apologetic reasons, the Bible exists to bear witness to Jesus as the Christ; he who is the eternally begotten Word of the Father. While the OSB is a “valuable way-marker in the maturation of Orthodox identity in North America,” and “demonstrates the capability of the faith to graft into its midst people and concepts from the Evangelical Protestant community,”¹⁷¹ it is unfortunate that it sometimes seems to be preaching Orthodoxy rather than Christ. While the two should be linked, unfortunately it is possible to comment on Scripture in such a way that the commentary displaces one with the other. Such an approach fails to do real credit to the unique way in which any of the books of Scripture bear witness to the crucified and risen Lord, a Lord who not only transcends the confines of a Church but also calls all Christians to unity.

Thus, paradoxically, the confessional approach of the OSB may not increase the level of genuine biblical literacy among its readers, at least not as much as desired. The very reason that many Orthodox are attracted to the OSB, its apparent “orthodoxy,” arises in part from a suspicion of non-Orthodox sources of theology, a suspicion that seems to extend to non-Orthodox commentary on Scripture.¹⁷² Thus the OSB shows reluctance to put Kesich’s observation that the “modern method of interpretation corresponds to our historical interest, to our urge to interpret spiritual matters in historical terms,” into action.¹⁷³ Instead, it frequently approaches Scripture as a

¹⁷⁰ “Three Perspectives on the New Orthodox Study Bible,” *Again* 30, no. 2, republished with permission at http://orthodoxstudybible.com/articles/three_perspectives/.

¹⁷¹ Francis, “Orthodox Identity,” 54–55.

¹⁷² See, for example, the consistent identification of non-Orthodox commentators in *The Bible and the Holy Fathers for Orthodox*, ed. Johanna Manley (Crestwood, NY: Monastery Books & St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1984), 219, 614.

¹⁷³ Kesich, “The Orthodox Church and Biblical Interpretation,” 345.

source of proofs for Trinitarian and Christological teaching defined by the Orthodox Church in subsequent centuries. It also displays a deference to the Fathers that is at times unhelpful to the contemporary reader who may be concerned about new questions and issues. Hatfield argued that the interpretation of the OSB is Orthodox *because* it is patristic: it is only a small step from this to arguing that an interpretation is *not* Orthodox because it is *not* patristic.

To what extent does the OSB adopt the affirmations (albeit qualified) of contemporary Orthodox theologians regarding modern biblical scholarship? If God really does speak through Scripture to the Church in *every time and place*, and if the diversity of patristic opinions on the Scriptures allows for continued searching into their meaning, does the OSB reflect this? The OSB makes no claim to read the Scriptures as a discipline largely independent of patristics, as Stylianopoulos suggests, nor does it show evidence of using the “large range of biblical readings, methods, and styles” developed by non-Orthodox exegetes, as McGuckin allows, using these tools and findings in submission to the Church’s authority and with a desire to edify the faithful. In fact, the OSB indicates little if any knowledge of modern exegesis, nor does it recommend any additional resources for Scripture study, whether other (non-Orthodox) study Bibles, reliable bible dictionaries or trustworthy authors. God willing, Orthodox exegetes will begin a process of discovery of the hidden treasures of modern biblical criticism so that they may be like “every scribe instructed concerning the kingdom of heaven [who] is like a householder who brings out of his treasure things new and old” (Mt 13:52).

Address at the Launch of the English
Translation of the Catechism of the
Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church,
Christ Our Pascha,¹
Edmonton, October 18, 2016

Peter Galadza

Introduction

It is a joy and privilege to be able to speak here in Edmonton at the launch of the English translation of our Catechism.

Bishop David [Motiuk] and several of his collaborators – in particular Fr. Stephen Wojcichowsky here in Edmonton and Fr. Michael Winn in Ottawa – have been key in shepherding the translation of the Catechism to completion. I will leave it to history to disclose the many boulders and pits that they have had to navigate to bring the project to this joyous day.

My remarks this evening will be divided into two sections. The first will be a reflection on the ways in which our new Catechism symbolizes a host of wonderful things in the life of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church. At least four such symbolic aspects come to mind. Then, in the second part, I want to briefly share with you some of the magnificent insights that you will find in this new publication. Naturally, these will have to be brief: we want you to buy the book – so I'm not going to read it to you.

¹ *Catechism of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: Christ Our Pascha* (Kyiv and Edmonton: Synod of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Commission for the Catechism of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, 2016).

I.

Let me begin with the question of symbolism. Books can be important not only for what they say, but for what they signify. The Catechism of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church and its English translation symbolize several significant facts.

First, this Catechism symbolizes that our Church worldwide – and paradoxically starting in Ukraine – knows that its mission is not simply to “serve the religious needs of an ethnic community.” Rather, that mission is to bring the truth of Christ to entire societies. Why do I say this? Because a Church with a narrow “identity” focus would never embark on a project of this kind. This project required members of our Church to wrestle for years with ideas and concepts of *universal* significance in order to be able to say something significant *today* about *life-changing realities*. A Church that conceives of herself primarily as a repository of ancestral customs and community cohesion will never produce such a book. And this is where the connection with our Church in Ukraine is so vital – and symbolic. Has it occurred to anyone that the production of this Catechism – that is, the original text – was realized not in any Western country, where our Church has access to scores of libraries and specialists who could have helped produce a catechism, but rather in a post-Soviet country, where theology had been abolished and theologians imprisoned? How can one explain this? Undoubtedly this is because our Church in Ukraine understands that its task is to transform all of society – not just its own members and not just superficially. And it understands that it, the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, has to do it. Unlike parts of the “diaspora,” our Church in Ukraine does not presume that other Christians will undertake this charge, that other Churches will bring the light of Christ to society as a whole. Moreover, because our Church in Ukraine has seen the devil up close, it understands that dancing with him is not an option. Our Patriarch, along with all those who know what it means to confess Christ at the cost of one’s comfort, have seen what happens to a society that loses its mooring in Christ. It is their sense of mission that compelled Patriarch Sviatoslav and his associates to embark on the production of the original

Ukrainian version, and how blessed we in the West are to have been led by such a Patriarch and the confessors of the faith that have surrounded him.

Second, this Catechism symbolizes a commitment to theologizing. For those of you who might think that theology is a rather irrelevant discipline (let's face it, theology faculties are hardly growing in most universities today), it remains a fact that ideas have consequences. Even the market forces that drive so many of our contemporary choices and values – even these market forces have a grounding in ideas. So who is forming the ideas in our communities; what are those ideas; and what are their consequences and effects?

The ability to gather people to thrash out nuanced ideas is no mean task for the Ukrainian Church. Since the thirteenth century – the time of the Mongol invasions – our people have experienced repeated, numerous brain drains. The brain drains have generally not been our fault, but we have been the victims. In other words, during recurring periods for almost 800 years, Ukraine has suffered the elimination, flight, or assimilation of its elites – including its intellectual elites – and the consequences are evident to all. Of course, when a people – and Church – have to worry about basic survival, “metaphysical” questions of necessity get sidelined. And yet, without intellectual reflection, any group will usually become the victim of those who *are* doing the thinking.

This Catechism treats questions such as the nature of labour, the meaning of suffering, the contours of freedom... And the fact that the Catechism exhibits real intellection is at least partially demonstrated by the fact that while I have a PhD in theology – along with three other degrees in the area of religion – there are sections of the Catechism where even I learned refreshingly new and insightful concepts. (I am not suggesting that people with doctorates in theology have nothing to learn – quite the contrary – but one does not usually think of a catechism as a source for such learning.)

The commitment to theologizing signified by the Catechism brings us to a third symbolic dimension of its appearance. This relates to the very identity of an Eastern Catholic Church. If someone were to ask why there is an entity

called the Ukrainian Catholic Church, I suspect that some of us would say that it is because in Eastern Christianity each national group “has its own Church.” So, “Ukrainian Catholic Church” means “Catholic Church for Ukrainians.” Now while we of Ukrainian background should rejoice that we belong to a Church of martyrs and confessors who in myriad ways have demonstrated a unique – nay salvific – passion for the plight of Ukraine, the fact is that any *pomisna Tserkva* (Particular Church, or Church *sui iuris*) actually exists because it has its own theology, liturgy, spirituality and canonical discipline. *These* are the four realms that define the identity of a particular Church – including the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic. In other words, the ethnic dimension of any *pomisna Tserkva* can be – and has been – as fluid as the very name it has borne throughout the centuries.

Incidentally, you should not be entirely surprised if you haven’t heard much about these four domains. It was only at Vatican II that the highest teaching authority of the Church finally proclaimed that the Eastern Catholic Churches, until then called “Rites,” actually have their own theologies and spiritualities. Vatican II declared in three different documents (*Lumen gentium*, *Unitatis redintegratio* and *Orientalium ecclesiarum*) that a Church like the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic is distinguished by its own theology – and thus obliged to have one. Of course, this is sometimes taken to be a kind of feather in the cap of those consumed with distinctive identities – whether ethnic or ecclesial. But it is actually an appeal to Particular Churches to use their minds to speak to their own faithful in ways that resonate with their circumstances as well as with the unique gifts that the Holy Spirit has bestowed upon their communities.

So more than 50 years after Vatican II, we have an exceptional symbol of our own Church’s theology. (I should note, however, for those who may not be aware of the difference between theology and dogma, that a distinctive theology is not a different set of beliefs but rather a distinctive way of interpreting and explaining those beliefs. It is a particular way of presenting the dogmas and doctrines common to the whole Catholic Church. An analogy would be the use of different lan-

guages: the message is ultimately the same, but the mode of expression, the accents, the cadences, are different. And they are different precisely so that they can reach diverse audiences.)

A fourth symbolic dimension of this publication is its triumph over our completion anxiety. When one generation of Ukrainians after another has been punished for showing initiative, the collective memory gets infected. Bringing any project to completion, then, becomes fraught with fear. I have in my filing cabinets scores of drafts and proposals for all sorts of projects in our Church that have never been realized in part because of a latent fear factor – “Someone at the top may not want this.” And when for centuries those at the top have not always even been familiar with – or truly solicitous for – those “at the bottom,” it is not surprising that they have squelched initiative.

Allow me to share a personal experience related to how this Catechism symbolizes our Church’s triumph over her completion anxiety. Almost a decade ago, when the Ukrainian original was still being drafted and I frequently spent weeks or months at a time working in Ukraine, I would sometimes be called to meetings of the drafting committee. I was able to attend only several of those meetings, but what I will never forget is how the group was almost paralyzed by disagreements between those from the West and those from Ukraine. Possibly by coincidence, we had three or four drafters representing each side, as it were (“Ukraine” and “the West”), and a recurring issue dividing us was “how much should the Catechism explain?” All of us from the West insisted that among the chief aims of any catechism (as stressed by the General Directory for Catechesis) is to explain. However, not surprisingly for those who know the history of developments in the former USSR, the drafters from Ukraine were concerned that too much explanation could smack of “rationalism.” Now, my point is not to debate this issue here – though as we proceed it will become apparent where I stand. My point is to note, rather, that for centuries, this kind of division would have caused a committee to continue spinning its wheels until it was either slain by inertia, disbanded by its own leaders, or replaced by a

committee based elsewhere. In the past, the “elsewhere” was usually either the Vatican, the imperial headquarters in Vienna, or a nunciature in Warsaw or St. Petersburg.

So what happened this time? This time the wheels were not allowed to spin and our Church’s leadership insisted on persevering. And to continue with my personal experience: for me what was noteworthy was that as “Ukraine” (on the one hand) and “the diaspora” (on the other) differed, a singularly brilliant voice mediated between the two perspectives and pushed each paragraph to completion. That brilliant – and wise – voice, was the then rector of the Lviv Seminary, Fr. Sviatoslav Shevchuk. Thus, it is not surprising that at the presentation of the original Ukrainian version in Lviv five years ago, (now) Patriarch Sviatoslav said the following: “Just like the fruits of any human endeavour, this Catechism may not be perfect, because perfection, of course, is found in Our Lord God alone. And so, any perfection of those who worked on this Catechism does not derive from their working out the text down to the last detail. Rather, the perfection of this Catechism derives from the fact that in it we were able to express the faith of our Church *together*.”²

Anyone who knows the history of the UGCC realizes how significant are the words “able,” “express,” and “together.” God blessed us with the capacity – the “boldness” (*parrēsia* – in Greek) – to overcome the fear of speaking, and the ability to do so *together*.

To quote Patriarch Sviatoslav again: This is “the first time in our history, that with the cooperation of the entire Church body, a Catechism of the Particular [*pomisna*] Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church that reflects its identity is being offered for catechesis. It hasn’t been written by someone else *for* our Church, nor has it been written by *only one* of its representatives. It is the fruit of the labours and prayers of the entire Church ... a Church which has its own theological, liturgical,

² *Презентація Катехизму УГКЦ, Христос Наша Пасха: Матеріали всецерковної науково-практичної катехитичної конференції 24–25 червня, 2011 р.Б.* (Львів: Патріарша катехитична комісія УГКЦ, 2012), 7. My translation.

and ascetic spiritual tradition, a tradition which, unfortunately, has very often been forgotten, or never learned.”³

II.

I’ve spent the last fifteen minutes telling you how wonderful our Church’s new Catechism is. I suspect, however, that at least some of you might be thinking: “Sounds like the preacher who keeps on telling you how great something is, but doesn’t tell you why – with specific examples.” So in the remaining fifteen minutes let me share at least some gems from the actual text. As you may know, the entire Catechism is divided into three large sections. The first is entitled “The Faith of the Church”; the second is “The Prayer of the Church”; and the third – “The Life of the Church.”

Several striking quotations from Part I, that is, the “doctrinal section,” read as follows:

Conceived by God as Paradise, the world is God’s gift to humankind and [it is] the sphere of our relationship with God, with others, and with nature. For this reason, human beings cannot take a consumerist attitude towards the world, a world that is filled with the love and attention of the Giver. The Christian attitude towards the world is to see it as a gift of God. Growing in faith, Christians ascend in their understanding from the gifts to the Person of the Giver. Regarding the world as God’s gift allows one to avoid two extremes: the reduction of its value (since the world is God’s creation), or turning it into an absolute (since the world is not God) (par. 110).

Four paragraphs earlier we read: ... “[C]reation is a sign and expression of God’s creative love. Through human beings, creation is called to respond to love with love, and to long for God as God longs for them: ‘God desires that he might be de-

³ *Ibid.*, 9. My translation.

sired and he loves that he might be loved” [Maximus the Confessor] (par. 106).

Finally, in a passage that refers to the central doctrine of the Trinity, we read: “The image of the Most Holy Trinity in human community is the natural unity of human community that exists within the communion of the love between Adam and Eve. Complementing one another physically, psychologically, and spiritually, Adam and Eve are different, but at the same time, equal persons” (par. 133).

I mentioned earlier that the Catechism is not strong when it comes to explanation. We don’t get as much as we might like regarding the “whys” and “wherefores” of the faith. Certainly this will have to be made up for with supplemental resources. Below I will even mention some possible tools that might be developed in the future to bring the text to life. But I hope you will agree that the three paragraphs just cited are powerful as evocations. They are strong in their ability to evoke a sentiment – and thus to inspire. The Catechism, then, is very much a proclamatory, or to use theological language, “kerygmatic,” text. It engages our imagination, and it thus helps the mind descend into the heart in order to evoke the response of faith.

This is probably an appropriate point at which to mention how this Catechism might be used most effectively. As you will quickly realize once you begin to read this book, it is not a page-turner. Few catechisms ever are. Consequently, Part I in particular – on the Church’s faith – is best read in small snippets. This allows for slow and reflective meditation. A kind of calm, spiritual rumination occurs, leading the mind and heart beyond the superficial or cerebral.

Returning to the text of the Catechism and moving on to Part II, “The Prayer of the Church,” we find a presentation on the Church’s worship and sacraments that also shies away from explanation. Nonetheless, it is different from Part I in that the focus is informational. So if Part I, used properly, has the potential to inspire, Part II provides a wealth of facts. It’s almost a kind of dictionary for worship in our Church. It also brings clarity to some of the liturgical questions that have daunted our Church for centuries. One of these has been the

question of full Liturgies on weekdays of Lent. The Catechism reads:

[...] From Monday to Friday during Great Lent, as a sign of the anticipation of Christ's Pascha and glorious second coming, the Church does not offer the Eucharistic oblation, that is, the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom or Saint Basil the Great (par. 393).

In order to sustain the faithful in the spiritual effort of fasting during Lent, the Church celebrates the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. At this Liturgy, the faithful partake of the Holy Gifts that were consecrated the previous Sunday...

It is customary to celebrate the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts on the Wednesdays and Fridays of Great Lent, which is why we call all the Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays of Lent non-liturgical. The Church maintains the practice of non-liturgical days in order to remind us that we are only approaching the fullness of the kingdom of God, and in order that the Eucharist not become for us just a habit, but that it may always be a dynamic event (par. 394).

Now, while I would have preferred a lot more analysis, that is, more clarification of the authentic practice outlined here, it remains significant that our Church has an official statement about a contested practice that enables us to move on to far more important questions. Clergy and laity may decide to continue arguing, but they are obliged to reckon with this authoritative pronouncement that accurately summarize our Church's authentic, historic tradition.

Turning to the third part of the Catechism, on Christian morality, I should immediately note that this third section is worth the price of the book. It is the jewel in the crown. The style is much more engaging and it tends to include explanations far more often than the two previous parts. One wonders whether it was authored using a process different from the

committee-style approach that characterizes Parts I and II. The hunch would be correct. Part III reads so well because it was the work of essentially one author – Patriarch Sviatoslav himself. But it is not only the style and contents that are so appealing. The Patriarch has decided to present the Church’s teaching on morality – including sexual morality – in typically Eastern Christian fashion. Before even approaching the question of sexuality, the Patriarch (as the author of this section) presents a total of 152 paragraphs explaining Christian spirituality and asceticism. Today that kind of preparatory material is the only reasonable way to begin discussing behaviors that demand the high standards of Christian morality.

Patriarch Sviatoslav has written the following about the approach that the Catechism takes: “The basis, or starting point for discussion of the moral life, is the person as a new creation in Christ”⁴ [...]

[In the third part of the catechism that treats morality] we begin with an explanation of what the spiritual life actually is: the life of the *entire* human person with a soul *and body* in the action of the Holy Spirit. And this is a kind of prologue and introduction to all that follows. From there, we talk about the person as a new creation. This is a very significant foundation for the moral theology of an Eastern Church, because it is here that the ascetic-spiritual teachings of the Church join together with the foundations of moral theology. Once this foundation has been laid everything falls into place.⁵

Finally, the Patriarch says: “One cannot talk about the concept of sin, moral law, and conscience without showing the person as a spiritual being who became a new creation in the Divine Liturgy.”⁶ The Patriarch is thus saying that corporate worship forms a moral person. Liturgical enactments teach us

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51. My translation.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 50. My translation.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 50. My translation.

how to approach our bodies, how to remain pure. They teach us how sacred God's handiwork is.

Along the same line, but returning to the actual text of the Catechism, this is how par. 706 reads:

The first dimension of being and acting in Christ relates to the personal, interior life of a Christian. This interior life of a person who is born of water and the spirit is built on fundamental principles of the spiritual and *ascetic* life. The foundation of Christian morality and of the rules and principles of Christian conduct is the activity that transfigures a person *from within*. It is the foundation of the "unseen warfare" with one's own sins, and of growth in the virtues.

However, lest anyone think that Christian morality is only about the struggle with passions, and that the Catechism ignores the broad sweep of moral theology with all of the attendant social issues, allow me to quote at least one paragraph that is so typical of other sections of the Catechism. Those other sections discuss everything from just war theory, to bribes and corruption, to authentic Christian patriotism.

The following paragraph is about globalization:

The contemporary phenomenon of globalization is primarily characterized by the creation of a global culture, which leads to the formation of a global civil society. It can be positive if it succeeds in combining the diversity of existing cultures in such a way that one culture enriches other cultures while preserving its own identity. At the same time, the creation of a global culture carries the risk of reducing all cultures to one mass culture geared toward a consumer society (par. 980).

I mentioned earlier that this Catechism will arrive closer to its goal when we are able to create a whole series of supplemental tools to bring the substance of the Catechism to diverse groups using diverse means. Some of this work has already be-

gun, and we must keep praying that it continues under the able leadership of Fr. Stephen Wojcichowsky and our National Catechetical Commission.

However, as promised above, here is a telegraphic swing through a series of slides showing the kinds of resources that – God willing – will be produced. [Here the PowerPoint included a series of photos of published catechetical aids – from other Churches – for different age groups and with different foci, from biblical to liturgical, to social and ethical.]

Conclusion

Let me finish with words that are far more important than any words I could speak. On the occasion of the launch of the Ukrainian original of the Catechism five years ago, Patriarch Sviatoslav said: “How I wish that a renewal and reinvigoration of our Church’s catechetical ministry *in different languages* really could take place and will take place!”⁷

The wish of our Patriarch is becoming fulfilled. How blessed he is to have good collaborators.

Многая літа [Many years!] to this beautiful “new-born” publication and those who conceived it and brought it to term.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 11. My translation.

“Full, Conscious and Active Participation”: *Sacrosanctum Concilium*’s Influence on an Eastern Catholic Worship Aid

Peter Galadza

July 2013 saw the third printing of *The Divine Liturgy: An Anthology for Worship*.¹ First issued in 2004, the predominantly English-language “pew book” now has a combined print-run of almost 10,000 copies. This does not include the vast number of pirated photocopies of (sometimes large) sections of the book, nor the digital pages (legally) displayed on several websites.

The eve of the tenth anniversary of the *Anthology*’s first printing and the fiftieth anniversary of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*’s promulgation seems an appropriate time to reflect on a pivotal decree’s significant influence on this worship aid.² Sooner or later, as editor-in-chief of the *Anthology*, I was bound to reflect in print on this influence, but I thank the organizers of this Symposium for compelling me to do so now.

¹ Peter Galadza, Joseph Roll, J. Michael Thompson, eds., *The Divine Liturgy: An Anthology for Worship* (Ottawa: Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, 2004).

² An earlier version of this lecture was delivered in 2013 at the Catholic University of America in Washington during a symposium, “Tradition and Progress,” honoring the fiftieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Second Vatican Council’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. A modified version was then delivered the following year at the University of St. Michael’s College during the conference, “The Vatican II Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Fifty Years Later” organized by the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies.

Having referred to my role as editor-in-chief, I should note that in spite of this position I am hardly a blind apologist for everything found between the two covers of this 1,166-page volume. Worship is a corporate reality, and a large book codifying such a collective endeavor will inevitably include items that not even worshipper – not even the book’s editor – is enthusiastic about. However, in sum, I am convinced that the *Anthology* makes a marked contribution to facilitating full, conscious and active participation in worship. And while there are scores of other aspects of the book that I would eventually like to analyze, today I will center my attention on this aspect alone.

Before proceeding, however, several caveats. First, I do not, of course, believe that worship is a book. Thus I do not believe that worshippers should be encouraged to bury their heads in a text. Second, in spite of the *Anthology*’s preference for congregational chant, the ancillary participation of choirs – or the use of more demanding choral pieces – should never be discouraged. Third, the codification of the chants found in the *Anthology* hopefully will not deter the development of a more contemporary North-American musical idiom. I shall return to all of these points – in one way or another – later in my paper.

Full, Conscious, Active Participation

The three key adjectives of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*’s paragraph 14 will each serve – separately – to guide my discussion. I will leave the Latinists to discuss why the English section of the Vatican’s website actually translates our phrase as “fully conscious and active,”³ while the French⁴ and German⁵ renderings on the very same website retain the now standard “full, conscious, and active.” My preference for the latter not only derives from the fact that I began work on my paper be-

³ http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html

⁴ http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_fr.html

⁵ http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_ge.html

fore I noticed the Vatican's distinctive rendering, but also from the fact that, like most Eastern Christians, I tend to see "scripture" as part of "tradition." And certainly in the case of par. 14 of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the triple adjectival phrase has become quite "traditional."

Full Participation

Among the features of an already weighty tome that might strike one as an odd embellishment is the *Anthology's* catechetical and preparatory material (pp. 9–94). Does one really need an examination of conscience, and prescriptions for fasting – not to mention the text of the Sunday Matins gospels and Minor Hours in a book intended for the Eucharist? To begin with the most pedestrian (or should I say "posterior") answer, it seemed that with most Ukrainian Greco-Catholic churches having pews, it might be wise to include material that can be read or perused by worshippers as they sit in anticipation of the service's beginning. Considering what sometimes passes for reading material in church,⁶ this decision does not seem unreasonable. Besides, there was the nudge of tradition. Since at least the Habsburg take-over of Western Ukrainian territories in the late eighteenth century, the Viennese sovereigns' commitment to popular enlightenment has resulted in the regular inclusion of catechetical, and more generally educational, material in Greco-Catholic prayer books.⁷

Turning to a more elevated rationale, certainly Scripture and tradition require that worship be existentially integrated. The bane of liturgy – especially among certain Eastern Chris-

⁶ I remember once entering a church where I was serving several minutes before the Liturgy, and seeing an active parishioner sitting in full view of everyone and ostensibly reading the *Chicago Tribune*.

⁷ Just one example from the Habsburg period would be *Корм Души: Молитвословъ для Мірянъ* (Львовъ: Изданіе Ставропігійського Інститута, 1907), 14–23. An indication of the staying power of such material is the fact that while Orthodox prayer books usually do not contain such catechetical material, one of the few prayer books published by the Moscow Patriarchate in Ukraine during the Soviet period includes just such material. See *Православний Молитвослов* (Київ: Видання Екзарха України, Митрополита Київського і Галицького, 1968), 216–23.

tians – has been its divorce from life. I take the phrase “full participation” to presume a vital fusion of the quotidian and the ritualized. For this to happen, the Liturgy must begin not only when worshippers leave their homes for church (à la Schmemmann),⁸ but – to adapt the *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos (†1379) – from the night before. As the fourteenth-century text proclaims: “The priest [and ideally God’s priestly people] who would celebrate the Divine Mystery ... from the evening before shall hold himself sober and vigilant in mind and body until the hour of the Sacred Office.”⁹ This spirit of vigilance dominates Orthodox liturgical spirituality. And while the demands of ascetical preparation have come to inhibit some Orthodox from a more regular reception of the Eucharist, the principle of preparation remains a *sine qua non* for *logikē latreia* (Rom. 12: 1).

The inclusion of the eleven Matins resurrectional gospels is particularly significant (pp. 45–53). In all of North America not more than a handful of Ukrainian Greco-Catholic parishes celebrate Sunday Matins, even though the contours of Byzantine-Rite orthros are already discernable in Egeria’s “Diary.”¹⁰ The absence of this part of the Liturgy of the Hours should not, however, accelerate the loss of Byzantine Eucharistic theology’s resurrectional accents. As the Anthology puts it: “Prayerful reflection on these passages [the Resurrection narratives] is among the best ways to prepare for the Sunday Eucharist, for they proclaim that the One whose Body and Blood we shall be receiving is indeed alive” (p.45). Thus, “fullness” here refers also to an amplitude of theological vision and inspiration.

Along similar lines, the *Anthology* makes an attempt to restore generally ignored Eucharistic vigil services. In the Byzantine ordo, Pascha, Christmas, and Theophany eve retain their primitive significance as the time for the feast’s first Eucharist. Naturally, the lections and hymnography of these

⁸ Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1973), 27.

⁹ The Constantinopolitan Patriarch’s prescription is reproduced in most Orthodox and Byzantine Catholic liturgicons. See, for example, *The Orthodox Liturgy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 17.

¹⁰ John Wilkinson, *Egeria’s Travels* (London: SPCK, 1971), 124–25.

vesperal Liturgies carry a great deal of the festal weight. However, for most communities of the Byzantine tradition – whether Orthodox or Catholic – these services at best are shunted to the morning hours of the eve (just like the pre-1952 Latin Easter vigil) with little impact on the parish’s life. The *Anthology* proposes a series of abbreviations that sacrifice the ordinary parts of vespers – and then some – in favor of the festal readings and most of the distinctive hymnography. Of course, one should have no illusions about restoring these services. In today’s social climate, even a ninety-minute as opposed to two-and-a-half-hour service on the eve of Christmas (pp. 747–754) or Theophany (pp. 781–788) stands little chance of being introduced. However, for those willing to make the counter-cultural leap, presumably any help will be welcome.

Incidentally, the *Anthology* also contains a proposal for restoring Initiation to the Paschal vigil (pp. 658–670). Eastern liturgists have been discussing this for decades – with negligible results. But even where it has been attempted, it frequently occurs on Holy Saturday morning – a rather odd time for vespers – not to mention the first proclamation of the paschal gospel.

Another aspect of “fullness” as it relates to the *Anthology*’s contents is the inclusion of chorales (pp. 947–1025). This is a unique feature of “Uniate” worship. Orthodox Churches have tended to forbid the use of Western-style metrical hymnody. But if I may be allowed some sarcasm, I suspect that if Constantinople’s Fall had occurred in 1853 or 1953 as opposed to 1453, this Western musical genre would also be found today in Orthodox worship. This is not to suggest that these “Uniate” chorales always constitute an enrichment of Eastern worship. In fact, a fair number of those composed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be downright banal (and the handful of banal ones that have entered the *Anthology*¹¹ belong

¹¹ For example, “As We Leave This Place of Worship” (p.974); “Who is on the Road to Bethlehem” (p.981); “Bride and Virgin Mary” (pp. 1022–1023). My colleagues and I did the best we could to salvage these translations, but not always successfully. Besides, the actual melodies were hardly great mu-

to those parts of the book that I do not endorse). But others are gems. And they provide a participatory fullness otherwise difficult to achieve. This is because they enable worshippers whose musical ability is limited to join in the singing. If all the members of Christ's Body are to participate in praising the Father according to their abilities, then certainly a genre that facilitates singing among "musically challenged" members should not be spurned. Besides, there is also the possibility of a "thematic fullness" that otherwise might never emerge. I have in mind the fact that it is rare to see anyone in the Byzantine Churches introducing new troparia, canons, stichera etc into canonical worship.¹² Chorales, on the other hand, are sung at liturgical "soft points" (before the service, during communion and after the service). Thus, they are easily introduced. And the attractiveness of the chorale's metric structure is demonstrated by the fact that while theoretically one could also compose new troparia, canons etc. for use during such "soft points," this almost never happens in North America. However, new chorales do continue to be written – and sung – in Greco-Catholic communities. When they are scripturally or theologically grounded, and poetically felicitous, they constitute a vibrant enfleshment of living tradition, the tradition that should be able to overcome a by-product of the Ottoman takeover of Constantinople.

Finally, I should mention the most obvious aspect of participatory fullness found in the *Anthology*. This is its inclusion of essentially everything that a worshipper needs to participate in all of the Eucharistic services of the Byzantine tradition, as well as services or blessings frequently appended to the latter. This makes it the equivalent of a cantor's service book. To those who would argue that the average worshipper does not

sic to begin with. They were included nonetheless because of their "popularity."

¹² The Church of Greece, however, seems to be a welcome exception. Stefanos Alexopoulos has informed me that so many alternate compositions are being written – for saints in particular – that a synodal commission of the Church of Greece has been established to attempt a vetting of this production. Of course, in any Church there is the case of compositions being commissioned and published officially for newly canonized saints and newly established commemorations.

need such a book, my response is: what is “an average worshipper,” and why not? This anticipates in part our next section on conscious participation, but let me say that theoretically there is no reason why the majority of people in church cannot become as proficient in their knowledge of the service as the cantor. And the proof of this – which takes it beyond theory – is the Carpatho-Rusyn Church of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These “Uniates” were actually extolled by the famed Russian Orthodox musicologist, Johann von Gardner, who witnessed how the average villager not only owned the Slavonic equivalent of a *liber usualis* (minus the musical notation),¹³ but actually sang the ordinary and *propers* (!) of Byzantine offices as complicated as vespers and matins. Of course, as I have noted above, congregations need not – and should not – sing everything. But erring on the side of “maximalism” is certainly a pardonable error.

Conscious Participation

Let me begin this section of my paper with two quotations from Byzantine worship. The *ektenē*, a litany sung after the gospel at Eucharistic and some other services, begins: Εἴπωμεν πάντες ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἴπωμεν.¹⁴ The kontakion of Theophany, a proper hymn of the

¹³ “In Subcarpathian Rus’ in all the villages, both among the Uniates and also among the Orthodox, there was always practiced only congregational singing of the complete services.... The numerous chants ... were known by everyone, even the children of school age. The leader of song – the most experienced singer from the parish – standing at the *kliros* sang the chant. As soon as the worshippers heard the beginning, they would join in the chant and the entire church sang; they sang all the *stikhery*, all the troparia, all the *irmosy* – in a word, everyone sang properly.” Quoted in Šimon Marinčák, “Notes on Congregational Participation in the Eparchy of Mukačevo,” *Unity and Variety in Orthodox Music: Theory and Practice – Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music* (Joensuu, Finland: The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2013), 71. Marinčák quotes a translation of Gardner’s article from the internet, but I have seen the original Russian publication, though I am not able to locate it presently.

¹⁴ The Greek with an English translation can be found in The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, *The Divine Liturgy of Our*

feast, reads: Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον τῆ οἰκουμένη, καὶ τὸ φῶς σου Κύριε, ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἐν ἐπιγνώσει ὑμνοῦντας σε...¹⁵ Note the words διάνοια and ἐπίγνωσις. The former denotes one's thinking faculty, or understanding, while the latter, of course is "knowledge." The Byzantine deacon exhorts the assembly to pronounce the "Kyrie eleison" *with all of* (ἐξ ὅλης) their thinking faculty, while the kontakion speaks of the assembly hymning the Lord "with knowledge."

Without, of course, any desire to promote an overly cerebral approach to knowledge and understanding, I would nonetheless insist that the tendency within certain Eastern Christian circles to downplay the intellectual and cognitive in worship has far more to do with a mystification derived from centuries of theological decline than with any desire to "safeguard the mystery." Consequently, while it would be wrong to ask worshippers to stand for ninety minutes following texts in a book, depriving them, on the other hand, of the opportunity to do so – or to at least regularly "consult" such a book – can only bolster such mystification, not to mention downright ignorance. I will spare this audience the accounts of regular Byzantine-Rite church goers – and even prospective cantors – who are unaware of basic themes or dimensions of chants that they have heard since childhood only because they have either never used a book or text during services, or used versions of the latter that only minimally foster "thinking," "understanding," and "knowledge." Whether anyone likes it or not, in the post-Gutenberg age people frequently rely on a visual appropriation of the message.

Having stressed this, however, note that the *Anthology* does not include any lections. This is not only because the Byzantine Churches do not have an English lectionary worth codifying, but especially – and primarily – because the Word should be appropriated by attending to the full-bodied proclamation enfolded in the lector's very muscles and breath.

Speaking of Scripture, the *Anthology* fosters conscious participation by including the biblical sources of the scriptural

Father Among the Saints John Chrysostom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

chants. The book also attempts to heighten “understanding” by providing what might be considered mystagogical signposts in the text of the Eucharist’s Ordinary. Via short headings, the worshipper is informed, for example, that the Eucharist’s goal is God’s kingdom (pp. 97 and 179). He/she learns that the “entrance” with the gospel should foster reverence for the Word in anticipation of its proclamation (pp. 108 and 190). He/she realizes that the kiss of peace was historically exchanged by the laity – and not just the clergy – and that its function is to reconcile all as they prepare to offer sacrifice (pp. 138 and 226). Naturally, each of these “mystagogical notes” will have its limitations. But even this might generate insight if the limitations stimulate discussion.

Turning to an element of Eastern Christian worship that deadens all consciousness, note how the *Anthology* attempts to overcome “routinization.” Those of us born and raised in this tradition know well that if essentially the same chants are used on a regular basis, the task of remaining attentive becomes difficult indeed. Consequently, the *Anthology* includes not only a different set of ordinary chants for weekdays (pp. 177–266), as opposed to Sundays and feasts (pp. 95–176), but even within these categories at least two options are always provided. Of course, the East-Slavic repertory includes infinitely more options, but a congregation (unlike a choir) cannot be expected to master such diversity – which is why choirs should certainly be retained for parts of the service. (Incidentally, such choral participation equally counters deadening routine.) Note that the above-mentioned chorales – with their diversity of themes, meters, intervals and chords – also serve to overcome monotony.

Active Participation

Throughout its pages the *Anthology* includes directives, suggestions, indications etc. for particular actions to be undertaken by the assembly. These go beyond standard references to actions such as the communion procession. Some, in fact, reflect Greco-Catholic practices that, much like the chorales, have not been received in most Orthodox communities, even though

they reflect an organic development of tradition. For example, at the so-called “Little Entrance,” the *Anthology* reads: “Where children or others approach the gospel to venerate it during the ‘Little Entrance,’ they begin moving to the front of the church now” (pp. 107, 189).

The practice of having at least some worshippers kiss the gospel as it is brought into the nave during this “Entrance” is a West Ukrainian and Carpathian particularity imitative, no doubt, of the kissing of the Torah Scroll in Jewish synagogues. As is well known, for centuries Jews and Ukrainians lived side-by-side in the shtetels of this region, and in the absence of “liturgical police” (ecclesiastical commissions regulating such practice)¹⁶ West Ukrainian and Ruthenian burghers and peasants spontaneously began performing the most natural of actions during one of the more illogical rites of the Byzantine Liturgy. Seeing the gospel being brought out, they came forth to reverence it.

Practices such as this, as well as the custom of having members of the assembly – especially youth – encircle the ambo holding candles during the proclamation of the gospel (pp. 123 and 209), have revived in some parishes as a result of the *Anthology*’s “directives.” Unfortunately, for some this raises the neuralgic question of worship and alleged “busyness” or “gimmickry.” I certainly belong to those who would insist that any attempt to bifurcate or juxtapose “inner” and “outer” liturgical activity reflects a Platonizing anthropology far removed from authentic Christian soteriology. Of course, gimmickry has at times been foisted on worshippers – even Eastern Christians – but the congregational “activity” revived or proposed in the *Anthology* is well within the bounds of an ecclesial *phronēma*.

The two practices referenced above highlight the participation of young people. The focus on their liturgical activity and formation extends to reading in church. However, the trend to include young people in such activity by having them read the

¹⁶ On the other side of the border, in the Russian Empire, where the Orthodox Church enjoyed official status, Orthodox dioceses were able to afford the staffing of commissions that regulated liturgical usage. As much as this helped order worship, it also stifled organic, spontaneous development.

epistle or other lections has generally been an ineffective exercise in paternalism. The epistle is far too important a text to be used as a tool for “youth affirmation.” However, another possibility for liturgical formation suggests itself and has been codified in the *Anthology*. The introduction to the Hours reads: “[...] the Hours are an ideal way to prepare adolescents for roles as lectors and cantors. It is precisely these younger parishioners who can easily perform the task of reading these offices” [before the start of the Eucharistic Liturgy] (p.54). A tradition that relies so heavily on singing requires that worshippers be introduced as early in their lives as possible to all the dynamics involved in that hallowed action.

Much more could be said about “active participation” and how the *Anthology* promotes it, but obvious features such as the inclusion of a harmony and bass part for the chants; rubrical notes for the entire assembly regarding the order of Propers (p.509 *et passim*); indications as to how the prokeimenon (a responsorial) can be announced so that the entire assembly actually “responds” (pp. 120 and 204) – all of these and many more are geared toward helping Eastern Catholics immerse themselves in the “primary and indispensable source from which [they] [the faithful] are to derive the true Christian spirit” (par. 14, *SC*).

Conclusion

For centuries discussions of Eastern Catholic (“Uniate”) worship have been mired in polemics over “latinization” vs. “easternization.” Hopefully this brief reflection has helped us expand the discourse. As a fair amount of recent reflection by Eastern Orthodox liturgists also demonstrates,¹⁷ besides illegitimate latinization, there is legitimate occidentalization. Certainly the latter’s legitimacy derives from a grounding in sound biblical and patristic theology not to mention historical precedent. Hopefully the *Anthology* can become an instrument in the

¹⁷ See, for example, Vladimir Vukašinović, *Liturgical Renewal in the 20th Century* (Fairfax, Virginia: Eastern Christian Publications, 2001); and Nicholas Denysenko, *Liturgical Reform After Vatican II: The Impact on Eastern Orthodoxy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015).

process of legitimate occidentalization – and, of course, a more general ressourcement and renewal.

Whatever the case, hopefully my presentation has also helped demonstrate that Vatican II was a Catholic event – and not just a Latin one.

The Easter Sunday Ukrainian Divine Liturgy Composed by Father John Sembrat, OSBM: A Review

Mstyslav Yurchenko

Father John Sembrat's Divine Liturgy, recorded this year by a combined male chorus in Edmonton,¹ continues the better traditions of composed Liturgies in the Ukrainian Church that harken back to Dyletsky in the 17th century. On the other hand, this is also a contemporary sacred musical work, marked with its composer's own creative specificity. Furthermore, upon careful consideration, one is fascinated to discover traditional folk elements in the Liturgy, as well as the characteristic musical flow of Alexander Koshetz (1875–1944), the colourful harmonies of Kyrylo Stetsenko (1882–1922), the nobility of Stanislav Liudkevych (1879–1979), and the musical elegance of Sembrat's contemporaries Myroslav Skoryk (1938–), Oleksander Kozarenko (1963–), and Hanna Havrylets (1958–).

The first impression on listening to the Liturgy and reading the "score" is that of the *integrity* of the music, its logical movement from one piece to another, and of the stylistic fluency of the musical language. It would seem that the composer wrote the work at one sitting – such is the unity of the spiritual picture portrayed.

There is an atmosphere of joy and solemnity which is quite fitting for a Paschal Liturgy, an elevated spirituality, in which religious inspiration is pronounced from the first to the last.

¹ The CD is available as "Resurrectional Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom," Fr. John Sembrat OSBM, Composer; Michael Zaugg, Conductor.

Every piece, every *ektenia*, every *tropar* is imbued with this pure religious feeling, a feeling of great spiritual obedience and chaste adoration of the Divine. The composer has created a stately musical fresco that breathes with sincere religious emotion, pouring forth as Faith from the human heart filled with awe. Consequently, it is not surprising that this liturgical oeuvre took many years to complete; and the author's labours have left nothing superficial, only that which is essential.

Among the most distinctive characteristics of Father Sembrat's compositional style is its *musical flow*. This is what allows the liturgical work, which contains such a variety of individual pieces, to coalesce into a unified whole. The music flows softly, like a broad river, calmly and assuredly moving from piece to piece towards the end, encompassing the various larger "island" elements within its current. This flow is obviously important to the composer, who variously emphasizes the intention of maintaining momentum, including, for example, elements of *recitative*, or the practice of holding the last chord between the *ektenia* petitions so that the priest starts the next petition "on its heels," so to speak.

The Liturgy's music itself evokes a feeling of peace, refuge, protection. Nothing irritates, no excesses distract one's attention. The emotions evoked by the music are natural and balanced, although at the same time they can be potent, with a wide dynamic range. Also, one might get the impression that the music is familiar – that one has heard it before. This is because Sembrat utilizes the themes of many traditional church melodies. But these melodies are never left in their primary form; they are slightly altered, and this gives familiar tunes a polished refinement. An impression of familiarity is also felt in the composer's original melodies, because Father Sembrat uses the technique of "hiding" complexity by "simple" chord resolution, by a conscious consonance, by a deliberately "correct" voice distribution, etc., which indicates his great professionalism and skill.

The stately character of this Liturgy, more than simply highlighting the majesty of the paschal theme, establishes a stylistic *concert quality* in the composer's musical language. This concert-like character is present in virtually every piece,

with the lesser as well as greater forms in this Liturgy having clear musical peaks. They “breathe” in broad dynamic waves, changing texture and directing the musical momentum towards an emphasis of the key textual elements, thus lauding this most important Christian celebration. It is a distinctive feature of Father Sembrat’s individual style, and clearly connects his Resurrectional Liturgy with Ukrainian composed liturgies as far back as the 17th century with their rich and dignified concert forms.

I would like to mention yet another quality evident in this work – its *ecclesiality*, or *churchly* quality. Throughout all the pieces, we are aware of a deeply pious person, who not only opens his heart in prayer to the Almighty, but also knows how to make this experience understandable and felt by the attendant faithful. There is no part of Father Sembrat’s Liturgy that is unsingable in a church. Every intonation, motif and phrase; every small and large form, is composed in a manner that feels “right” in church. In this specifically Sembrat’s Liturgy differs from most modern Ukrainian choral religious works, which unfortunately do not sound like church compositions. Thus, in practice most of them do not find a home in our churches; they exist more like secular choral works, albeit with religious content. In contrast, this Liturgy has every chance of becoming part of the standard repertoire of choirs in all the Ukrainian church denominations.

This work, as already mentioned, contains some traditional and some original compositional elements. In the *ektenias* the composer often turns to known motifs, but in contrast to the well-known classical Liturgies, say, by Leontovych, Stetsenko, or Koshetz, each response in Sembrat’s Liturgy is altered slightly. The melody is similar but not quite the same, which lends variety to every *ektenia* and adapts each response to the particular words of the text sung by the presiding priest. Thus, even a simple *ektenia* is transformed into a “micropoem,” with its own characteristic content and musical development. This and other techniques, taken together, result in a type of religious musical drama, a complete harmonization of the choir with the petitions of the priest and deacons.

The paschal *tropar* (“Christ is risen...”) can be said to amplify the aforementioned techniques. These “lesser chant renderings” book-end the entire Liturgy with their festive “embrace,” providing an Easter flavour to the work. Every *tropar* is worked out in detail, leaving certain traces or “hints” of the melodic source, although each composition is an independent creation. Thus, the paschal *tropars* put a definitive mark on the whole work, forming a triumphant garland with those beloved and immortal words, *Khrystos voskres*.

The larger choral compositions, in contrast to the *ektenias*, are complex and rich pieces with varied techniques of musical writing (see below). In them Father Sembrat is obviously attempting to “marry” the liturgical text, according to its meaning, with the music, adopting the form, tonal plane, and dynamic quality to attain a culminating point (as does Stetsenko, although without the latter’s dissonances).

Other “greater” parts of the Liturgy are similarly treated in this way, and differ from the “lesser” *ektenias*, one might say, in the same way that a cathedral differs from a village church. It is evident that the composer consciously distinguishes these pieces and makes each one unique in its musical and textual content. In addition, every more significant hymn is individually different in itself. For instance, in the “Cherubic Hymn” the beginning is particularly mystical, with the melody developing unhurriedly in a polyphonic “coverlet,” reminiscent of one of Stetsenko’s analogous hymns. The more lively middle section, with accentuations and an accelerated joyful finale, reminds us of a *Cherubicon* composed by Mykola Lysenko.

In his Nicene Creed (“I believe...”), Father Sembrat chooses a fairly traditional form: soloists enunciate the tenets of faith, with the choir providing a background. This method was used originally in the mid-18th century by Maxym Bere-zovsky, and in the 20th century by many composers, including Leontovych, Stetsenko, and Fiala. Sembrat uses two alternating voices, employing musical contrasts and crescendos/decrescendos to depict various actions: “He suffered,” “He rose again.” Then other voices gradually join in until the concluding victorious “I believe” is achieved.

The hymns of the Anaphora are sequential independent “episodes,” each with its own dramaturgy, in which the relatively brief responses to the priest’s evocations are sung in a prayerfully exalting way, while other, longer ones (“The heavens are full of Your glory,” “We sing to You”) have fugal elements. The Easter Hymn to the Blessed Virgin (“The Angel Greeted the One Full of Grace”) is written as a sacred concerto. The musical movement vibrates with religious energy, and presents a variety of forms from an interplay of voices and imitative movements, culminating in an emotionally stirring ending.

Sembrat has chosen to follow an old concert tradition in composing the Lord’s Prayer (“Our Father”). The choir sings this poem-like work “as if with one voice,” the melody rising and falling in a wavelike fashion. The emotional tone of the hymn is built with tonal juxtapositions that constantly re-illuminate the musical tapestry, imbuing the religious feeling of this universal prayer with freshness and energy.

Another specifically “Sembratic” characteristic of this Liturgy is its *texture*. At first glance, the music appears simple, not requiring a great effort to execute. But the more one listens, the more one finds complex chords, masterfully executed polyphonic elements, an interplay of juxtaposed forms, dynamic waves, etc. This complexity is only seen upon detailed analysis, while the sound itself is perceived easily and simply, and is fully enriched and exalted in performance by the male voices for whom it was composed.

As already mentioned, the music of the entire oeuvre is wonderfully unified. The composer establishes a soft, gentle atmosphere, reminiscent of a dimly lit village church, underlined by the warm sound of the male choir, with its handsome, enchanting timbre expressing the essence of Ukrainian nationhood, its goodness and strength.

Father John Sembrat is to be congratulated on his composition of a paschal Liturgy, so important in the Ukrainian sacred music repertoire. The Ukrainian musical oeuvre has a need for such works, which continue the longstanding tradition of large-form compositions, with gravitas in their content, attractive forms, and contemporary sound. Doubtless, this signi-

ficant musical work will occupy a leading place in church music performance, will receive well-deserved accolades from the scholarly musical community, and will delight singers and listeners alike.

Equally, praise is due for the incredibly beautiful recording by the combined male choir, under the direction of the outstanding choirmaster Michael Zaugg. They have presented the author's musical imagery and experience with profound feeling and mastery.



*A Musical Poem that Illustrates Each Nuance
of the Canonical Text*

Within a Liturgy, the larger choral pieces, in contrast to the *ektenias*, are complex and musically varied composed works. Like the outstanding 20th-century Ukrainian composer Father Kyrylo Stetsenko, Father John Sembrat creates music in his Resurrectional Liturgy that “reads” the church texts appropriately to their meaning, making corresponding changes in musical texture and tone on the way to the dynamic culmination. The central piece of the Liturgy of the Word, the Hymn of the Incarnation (“Only-begotten Son”), is a perfect example of this compositional style.

The hymn starts with a bell-like Lesser Doxology (“Gloria Patri”), reminiscent of similar tolling in works by the contemporary composer Myroslav Skoryk. With the main text (“Only-begotten Son”) is presented a dogmatic recounting of Christ’s life, using a lightly polyphonic musical fabric. In the next part there is a complete change in the music, with the imitational entries of the voices mimicking the groans of different groups of people, gradually increasing tonally until the cry “And He was crucified,” and then diminishing in dynamics, representing the people’s despair. The following episode, “He conquered death by death,” sounds in sudden joyous contrast. Like a harbinger of good news, the basses begin, followed by the whole

choir at *fortissimo*! The jubilant concluding episode's joyous and hope-filled "Save us!" is echoed by the choir in an expanding range and a final soaring B flat. Thus, the piece is transformed into a musical poem, with bright episodes illustrating every nuance of the canonical text.

Documents Related to the
Announcement of the Relocation of the
Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky
Institute of Eastern Christian Studies to
the University of St. Michael's College
in the University of Toronto

*St. Michael's College Announces Agreement with
Sheptytsky Institute to Bring Eastern Christian Studies
to the Toronto School of Theology*

The University of St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto (USMC) has come to an agreement with the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation (MASIF) about the relocation of the Sheptytsky Institute from Ottawa to Toronto, as an autonomous academic unit within the Faculty of Theology. The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies (MASI) was founded by Fr. Andriy Chirovsky in 1986 at Catholic Theological Union, a graduate school of ministry in Chicago. In 1990, at the request of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops of Canada, this institute relocated to Ottawa's Saint Paul University, where it developed programs in Eastern Christian Studies from the undergraduate certificate, through the bachelor's, master's, licentiate and doctorate. The Institute also publishes a peer-reviewed journal, *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, as well as books and audio-visual materials. It is supported by the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation and operates under the moral and financial aegis of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy of Canada.

Conversations about relocation to Toronto began in January, 2011, and accelerated after the arrival of St. Michael's new president, David Mulroney (former Canadian Am-

bassador to China) in July 2015, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology, Dr. James Ginther, in August 2015. A negotiating team was struck, composed of Institute Founder, Fr. Andriy Chirovsky (Peter and Doris Kule Chair of Eastern Christian Theology and Spirituality), Acting Director, Fr. Peter Galadza (Kule Family Chair of Eastern Christian Liturgy) and Mr. Paul Grod, member of the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation. This negotiation team worked feverishly on the myriad of details involved in relocating the Institute from one university to another. The *Memo-randum of Agreement between the MASIF and USMC* was approved by MASIF's Board on September 19, 2016, and by the Collegium (Board of Directors) of USMC on September 21, 2016. The signing itself took place during a banquet held at USMC's Canada Room on Wednesday, September 28, 2016.

The over 200 assembled guests greeted the entrance of His Beatitude Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk, head of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church and His Eminence Thomas Cardinal Collins, Archbishop of Toronto and Chancellor of USMC as a Polychronion (*Mnohaya lita*) was sung by members of the Sheptytsky Institute Choir under the direction of Uwe Lieflander. After a welcome by the mistress of ceremonies, MASIF Board Member and Toronto tele-journalist Faith Goldy, the opening prayer and blessing was offered by Cardinal Collins. A toast was then offered by Paul Grod of MASIF, who is also president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. The head-table guests were introduced by MASI Acting Director and chair of the Banquet Committee, Fr. Peter Galadza. Among the honored guests was Ukraine's Deputy Prime Minister for Humanitarian Affairs, Vyacheslav Kyrylenko.

The Sheptytsky Institute Choir sang two pieces, "Прийдіте воспоем, людіє" – [Come, People, Let us Hymn the Saviour's Resurrection], Concert No. 15, by Dmytro Bortniansky (†1825) conducted by Uwe Lieflander, and the *Megalynarion* for the Feast of the Holy Cross, Lviv 1904 *Irmolohion*, arranged by and conducted by guest conductor Roman Hurko.

MASI Founder, Fr. Andriy Chirovsky, introduced the President and Vice-Chancellor of USMC, David Mulroney, and gave a bit of the history of how the relationship developed. "In

welcoming the Sheptytsky Institute we benefit as a University,” said David Mulrone, USMC President and Vice-Chancellor. “We are allowed to share in a rich history, we gain privileged access to the Institute’s library, its publication tradition; and we welcome new scholars and excellent teachers into our midst. But more than that, we are enriched as a community.”

The agreement was then signed by David Mulrone on behalf of USMC and Andrew Hladyshevsky on behalf of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation. They were flanked by VIPs from the head table, including Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk, Cardinal Thomas Collins, the Most Rev. Bryan Bayda, CSSR, Eparch of Saskatoon and liaison bishop of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic hierarchy of Canada to the MASI Foundation; and the Most Rev. Stephen Chmilar, Eparch of Toronto, as well as Bishop Andriy Peshko of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, Bishop Ioan-Casian Tunaru of the Romanian Orthodox Church, MASI Founder Fr. Andriy Chirovsky and MASI Acting Director Fr. Peter Galadza, MASIF Board member and negotiating team member Paul Grod, Dean James Ginther of the USMC Faculty of Theology, its former Dean Fr. Mario D’Souza, and USMC Chief Administrative Officer Effie Slapnicar.

Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk offered remarks and expressed his gratitude to all those who had made this momentous event happen. He emphasized that the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, as the largest of the Eastern Catholic Churches, has a responsibility to help other Eastern Christian Churches, both Orthodox and Catholic, to be able to tell their stories and develop their intellectual traditions within the University of Toronto community and beyond through the Sheptytsky Institute.

Mnohaya lita (“God grant you many years – *Ad multos annos!*”), composed by Dmytro Bortniansky (†1825) was then sung by Members of the Sheptytsky Institute Choir under the Direction of Uwe Lieflander. The Most Rev. Stephen Chmilar, Eparch of Toronto, offered the concluding prayer.

The Sheptytsky Institute will relocate to St. Michael’s on July 1, 2017, and its course offerings will begin that Septem-

ber. It is foreseen that Eastern Christian Studies streams will be offered at the professional degree level, with Master of Divinity (M.Div.) and Master of Theological Studies (M.T.S.) degrees, as well as the advanced research degree level, with the Master of Arts in Theology (M.A.) and Ph.D.

MASI will officially be referenced as “The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies in the Faculty of Theology, University of St. Michael’s College in the University of Toronto.”

The Faculty of Theology of USMC is a member of the Toronto School of Theology (TST), a consortium of seven Anglican, Presbyterian, United Church and Catholic theological schools, which offer a rich variety of course offerings, as well as faculty and library resources, all on the St. George (downtown Toronto) campus of the University of Toronto. TST is federated with the University of Toronto. USMC is also a federated college of that University, which is one of the more complex institutions in the academic world, and also quite renowned, consistently ranking in the top 20 universities of the world. St. Michael’s is also a university in its own right, possessing a charter to grant degrees. That is why it is named the University of St. Michael’s College. Founded in 1852, it has been federated with the University of Toronto since 1910.

“This third re-founding of the Sheptytsky Institute is not just some lateral move. It is rather a quantum leap up and forward for us,” explains Institute founder, Fr. Andriy Chirovsky. “An incredibly diverse city, Toronto is home to communities of virtually all of the Eastern Christian Churches: Orthodox, Pre-Chalcedonian and Eastern Catholic. In addition to serving the needs of the Church of Kyiv, both Catholic and Orthodox, the Institute is committed to bringing the voices of all Eastern Christian Churches to bear on the intellectual life of the University of Toronto and far beyond. As the largest of the Eastern Catholic Churches, we need to exercise leadership in this regard.”

Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk has repeatedly remarked: “In Ukraine we have the Ukrainian Catholic University, but in North America, we have the Sheptytsky Institute. Support this Institute. I look forward to sending students from Ukraine to

the Institute, now moving to Toronto, to earn advanced degrees in theology and return to Ukraine to offer leadership to our Church there and throughout the world.” Those sentiments were repeated during the banquet.

At USMC, the Sheptytsky Institute will have exclusive use of Windle House, an impressive 1897 Victorian mansion at the very heart of the campus, as well as a permanent properly furnished Byzantine chapel, to be established in nearby Elmsley Hall. USMC President David Mulroney has said that he welcomes the Sheptytsky Institute as an addition to the founding communities of USMC: the Basilian Fathers (C.S.B.), the Sisters of St. Joseph and the Loretto Sisters. Of all of the colleges of the University of Toronto, Ukrainian students have traditionally favored St. Mike’s as their matriculation point.

Theology Dean James Ginther is excited about the possibilities that the arrival of the Sheptytsky Institute will offer students of USMC as well as other theological schools of the TST. Theology courses that are team-taught and include both Eastern and Western perspectives are being planned. There will be no “two solitudes” here. This gives students a real opportunity to understand the fullness of apostolic Christianity. The Sheptytsky Institute will have ample autonomy, but will at the same time be fully integrated into the Faculty of Theology and will have an impact on the kind of theologizing that happens here. “Our students will now be formed in both the Western and Eastern forms of Catholic theological thought in a way that cannot be matched in any university or seminary in North America,” said President Mulroney, echoing the thoughts of Professor James Ginther, Dean of the USMC Faculty of Theology.

The Acting Director of MASI, Fr. Peter Galadza, has a realistic view of the challenges ahead. “After all of the extensive negotiations, now begins the task of the physical move and the working out of hirings, course schedules, and a steep learning curve regarding the intricacies of TST structures and policies. It is all very refreshing, but there is also a great deal of work ahead of us. Most importantly, we have been welcomed by St. Mike’s in an extremely positive way. That bodes well for the future.”

MASIF President Andrew Hladyshevsky opines that while everything is more expensive in Toronto, he believes the community will see the immense value of the work of the Sheptytsky Institute in further developing the intellectual life of the Ukrainian and other Eastern Christian Churches, since an increasingly secularized environment requires incisive insights from the faith community that offer compelling answers to the questions of our day. “I believe the community will see the need for well-prepared clergy and lay leaders and respond with strong support.” The website of the Institute can be found at www.sheptytskyinstitute.ca.



History is made: the signing of the historic agreement marking the relocation of the Sheptytsky Institute to Toronto. MASIF President Andrew Hladyshevsky and USMC President David Mulroney sign the Memorandum of Agreement. Looking on: Paul Grod, Fr. Andriy Chirovsky, Fr. Peter Galadza, Bishop Bryan Bayda, Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk, Cardinal Thomas Collins, Bishop Stephen Chmilar, USMC Faculty of Theology Dean James Ginther, USMC Chief Administrative Officer Effie Slapnicar, Former Dean of Theology Fr. Mario D'Souza.



MASI Founder, Fr. Andriy Chirovsky, and MASI Acting Director, Fr. Peter Galadza, present a plaque with the image of Metr. Andrey Sheptytsky to USMC President David Mulroney.



Windle House, an 1897 Victorian mansion will be the new home of the Sheptytsky Institute on the University of Toronto Campus.

Introduction by Sheptytsky Institute Founder, Fr. Andriy Chirovsky, of Mr. David Mulrone, President & Vice-Chancellor, University of St. Michael's College, during the Sheptytsky Institute Banquet at St. Michael's College, September 28, 2016.

Your Beatitude, Your Eminence, Most Reverend Bishops, Honoured Guests!

40 years ago, in 1976, like many others here today, I had the opportunity to be present for the third arch-pastoral visit of Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj to Toronto. During that visit I was impressed by the Ukrainian Catholic community of Toronto and, in fact, asked for Patriarch Josyf's blessing to apply to St. Michael's College for graduate studies in theology at this university's Institute of Christian Thought. The director of my MA thesis (on the mystical thought of Metr. Andrey Sheptytsky) was the late professor Petro Bilaniuk. Thirty years ago, in 1986, I had the privilege of founding the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago. About twenty years ago a young priest by the name of Fr. Sviatoslav Shevchuk attended our Institute's summer program at Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Mount Tabor) in California. Also about that time Fr. Peter Galadza defended his doctoral dissertation on Metr. Andrey Sheptytsky at this university. Ten years ago, I'm sure something important happened, but I can't remember what. Six years ago, in January 2011, The Sheptytsky Institute held its first conversations with St. Mike's about the possibility of relocating here. Two years ago, that young priest, Sviatoslav Shevchuk, now Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and all Rus'-Ukraine, in this very Canada Hall said that he would like to see that relocation happen. A little over one year ago, on July 1st, 2015, David Mulrone took over as the seventh president and vice-Chancellor of the University of St. Michael's College, and that appointment has had immense ramifications for the Catholic identity of this college as well as for the future of the Sheptytsky Institute.

Mr. Mulroney is a man of Catholic vision, in both senses of the word: holistic and universal. A true citizen of the world, he came to St. Michael's after more than 30 years in Canada's public service. A career foreign service officer, Mr. Mulroney was Canada's ambassador to the People's Republic of China from 2009 to 2012.

Prior to his appointment to Beijing, Mr. Mulroney was assigned to the Privy Council Office in Ottawa as the deputy minister responsible for the Afghanistan Task Force, overseeing coordination of all aspects of Canada's engagement in Afghanistan. He also served as secretary to the Independent Panel on Canada's Future Role in Afghanistan ("the Manley Panel"). Mr. Mulroney's other assignments included serving as associate deputy minister of Foreign Affairs and, concurrently, as the Prime Minister's personal representative to the G8 Summit.

Mr. Mulroney grew up in St. Basil's Parish in Toronto and was educated at St. Michael's College School and the University of Saint Michael's College. He is married to Janet Wakely, and they have three grown children.

David Mulroney is a Distinguished Senior Fellow at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs, a Distinguished Fellow of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, and an Honorary Fellow of the University of St. Michael's College. He lives in Toronto and is a member of Corpus Christi parish. His book, *Middle Power, Middle Kingdom: What Canadians Need to Know about China in the 21st Century*, was published by Penguin Canada in 2015.

Let me explain to you just one of the reasons why Fr. Peter and I are really excited at the prospect of coming back to our alma mater. At our first meeting with him, not two weeks into his term as St. Mike's president, Fr. Peter Galadza, Paul Grod and I heard David Mulroney emphasize that under his presidency, St. Michael's College would again very clearly be the intellectual voice of the Catholic Church speaking into the University of Toronto, the greater Toronto area, and the country and the world beyond. In the fifteen months that followed, he has reinforced this vision through very concrete actions that will have long-lasting repercussions, as he and his team work

to reverse the trend toward secularization that has plagued and weakened Catholic higher education for decades. Honoured guests, I am grateful for the opportunity to introduce to you our main speaker, President David Mulroney.



Remarks of President David Mulroney on the visit to the University of St. Michael's College by His Beatitude Sviatoslav Shevchuk, Wednesday, September 28, 2016.

Your Beatitude, Your Eminence and Chancellor, Deputy Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Dear Friends!

It is wonderful to welcome you to the Canada Room, in the very heart of the University of St. Michael's College, on the eve of the feast of our patron, St. Michael, and on the occasion of the visit to our campus of His Beatitude, of Deputy Prime Minister Kyrilenko, and of such a distinguished company of friends old and new. And although we have all tried to be very discreet, most of you are aware that in a few minutes we will have the great pleasure of making an announcement that sets His Beatitude's visit in an even deeper and richer context. It is an announcement that is somewhat unusual in the life of a university. It isn't simply about a new academic partnership, program or exchange.

What we will be talking about is a far more transformative event. We will be opening our doors to distinguished scholars, to a distinguished institution, indeed to a distinguished tradition. We are not welcoming visitors or guests but new members of our community, a community that is itself being transformed, enriched and distinguished by this very happy union.

Many people have worked together to make this possible. But I should start where this process started for me, which means several months before I took up my position as President last year. I by then was already coming to appreciate the opportunity to serve our Chancellor, Cardinal Collins.

That I might turn to the cardinal for spiritual advice is natural and obvious, but I also realized that I had the opportunity to seek practical day-to-day advice from someone who presides over one of the largest and busiest dioceses in North America. What I also came to appreciate is the cardinal's deep respect for our autonomy as an academic community. Indeed, while he has provided me with considerable support and assistance, he has only once given me a suggestion. He told me that when I took up my work as president, I would almost certainly have the opportunity to meet with Fr. Andriy and Fr. Peter. He recommended that I do this, saying, "they're good men, and I think you'll find they can help you." How wonderfully prophetic that advice has proved to be!

Let me try to illustrate this via a few words of background for guests who might not appreciate our good fortune, or the full significance of what we are about to announce.

The Sheptytsky Institute was created by the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church – but for all the Eastern Churches. The goal was to bring their theological riches to the Western world. It thus continues the vision of its patron, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, whose passion for rapprochement between East and West is legendary. Sheptytsky's example is noble and inspiring. Consequently, last year Pope Francis brought Sheptytsky one step closer to beatification by declaring that during his life he demonstrated heroic virtue. He is thus now referred to as "Venerable." However, Sheptytsky's vision and compassion were not exclusively reserved for Christians. In 2012 the Canadian House of Commons passed a unanimous resolution honouring him for his bravery in sheltering more than 150 Jews during the Holocaust. Thus we are particularly pleased that in spite of their own inability to join us tonight owing to events in Kyiv marking the 75th tragic anniversary of the massacre in Babyn Yar, the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter is with us in spirit. They have sponsored a table of Jewish and Ukrainian friends who represent them here this evening. My sincere thanks to Mr. James Temerty, chair of the UJE, for this thoughtful gesture.

Let me pause, in acknowledging benefactors, to also offer particular thanks to Peter and Doris Kule of Edmonton for con-

tributing so generously to the endowment of the Foundation that supports the Institute. And in doing this, let me also acknowledge everything that the Foundation has done, and thank, among many others, its first President Eugene Cherwick.

But the event tonight is hardly about the past alone. As our new Dean of Theology, Dr. James Ginther, often reminds us, no credible Catholic theologian today can hope to answer important questions about meaning and Christian life without tapping the rich resources of Eastern Christianity. The re-location of the Sheptytsky Institute to USMC is an attempt to make sure that these resources will always be available here.

We want the insights of the Greek and Syriac patristic traditions to enrich our theology more fully. We want the witness of the martyred Ukrainian, Coptic and Romanian Churches emblazoned in the hearts of our students. We want the beauty of the Armenian and Byzantine liturgical traditions to become a staple of campus life. Our students will now be formed in both the Western and Eastern forms of Catholic theological thought, in a way that cannot be matched in any university or seminary in North America.

In several ways, the Sheptytsky Institute's re-location is a kind of homecoming. All of the members of the Institute's relocation negotiating team are USMC graduates. Paul Grod, the counsel for the team (who did an outstanding job, especially considering his many obligations as president of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress during this difficult time in Ukraine) graduated from St. Mike's in the 1990s. Fr. Andriy Chirovsky graduated from the then Institute of Christian Thought. And Fr. Peter Galadza is a double graduate of our College. (I should here thank our own negotiators, people like Dean Jim Ginther, Bursar Effie Slapnicar, Chief Librarian Sheril Hook, and former Dean of Theology Fr. Mario D'Souza.)

We recall with gratitude the late Fr. Petro Bilaniuk, who for years carried the torch of Eastern Christian theology here at St. Mike's – and in one sense laid part of the groundwork for what we are celebrating today. We are especially grateful to the Basilian Fathers for their commitment to Eastern Christian Studies throughout the decades. No one studying Russian theology today can do so without reading the seminal works of Fr.

T. Allen Smith, the superior of the Basilians here on campus and the registrar of PIMS. Fr. Martin Dimnik, another Basilian, is also legendary for his work in East-Slavic church history.

So what we're going to announce has about it a sense of return, of restoration. We are restoring a hugely important competency that once distinguished us. But what is truly important for me is a larger sense of renewal. Welcoming MASI into our family is a key step in the natural evolution of the University of St. Michael's College, something that will enable us to play our role and live our mission today and into the future, in times that are as challenging as they are exciting.

Two advantages flowing from our new association are obvious immediately. First, in welcoming the Sheptytsky Institute into our midst we are opening our doors to many Eastern Christian communities. In this, we are updating a tradition that St. Michael's has carried on for more than 150 years, namely providing a route to higher education to the Catholics of this city and this province. We are especially called to welcome those in the community who are newly arrived and are otherwise struggling to claim their place in Canadian society.

I need to make a brief confession here. I didn't come to this realization without a struggle. It involved my finally acknowledging that we are long past the time, no, past that golden age, when to be Catholic in Toronto almost inevitably involved some personal, family connection to the saints and scholars of Ireland. Fr. Andriy and Fr. Peter are patiently reeducating me.

A second wonderfully welcome advantage is that our partnership with Sheptytsky also opens an international door for us and for our students. This is something that is a priority for us at St. Michael's, for the University of Toronto, and for the higher education sector in Canada in general.

You broaden our horizons, deepen our shared experience, and challenge our students to think about art and literature, faith and culture, social justice and human rights in a global context.

There is a third advantage, and one that is even more central to our mission, more existential if you like. In welcoming Sheptytsky into our midst, we are reinforcing our identity as an

institution in which faith and reason are seen as complementary, and where the cultivation of both is seen as central to our becoming the men and women we are meant to be.

This has always been part of our experience at St. Michael's.

In 1930, the great French philosopher Etienne Gilson had a decision to make. He had a job offer from Harvard, and one from St. Michael's. He came here because he was attracted by the opportunity to work in a dynamic centre of Catholic intellectual life on the grounds of a great North American research university. It was a unique opportunity, and an advantage that we still enjoy.

But that advantage requires a constant commitment on our part. We need to continue to find and attract the great scholars, the great teachers, the great leaders who inspire us and enable us to live our mission to the fullest. That doing this, living our mission to the fullest, is more challenging in a steadily more secular society only makes the effort more important, and the opportunity more precious.

We're in the midst of a great project of renewal. We're enriching our undergraduate programs, reinvesting in our library, and deepening our commitment to a student experience that is happy, healthy and intellectually stimulating. We are encouraging our young people to think of themselves as part of a confident and dynamic Catholic intellectual community. We want our campus to provide a platform to discuss, fearlessly, the most important issues of the day. In embarking on this project of renewal, we are confident that the best days of this institution are ahead of us.

In welcoming the Sheptytsky Institute we benefit as a university. We are allowed to share in a rich history, we have privileged access to a wonderful library and a lively publishing tradition, and we welcome impressive scholars and excellent teachers into our midst.

But more than that, we are also enriched as a community, by the presence on our campus of those good men the cardinal introduced to me, and through them, to others who share our commitment to the life of faith and the life of the mind.

As Dean Jim Ginther, speaking of his new colleagues, put it so wonderfully: “We look forward not only to teaching with them in the classroom and engaging in scholarly conversations, but also praying and worshipping together as fellow Catholics.”

I am very confident that what is true for St. Michael’s is also true for this great institution that we welcome into our family this evening. Our best days lie ahead!



Remarks of Patriarch Sviatoslav Shevchuk during the Sheptytsky Institute Banquet at the University of St. Michael’s College in the University of Toronto, September 28, 2016.

Your Eminence, Your Excellencies, President Mulroney,
Honored Guests!

A little over two years ago we were gathered here in this very Canada Room to support the Sheptytsky Institute, while reflecting together on the still fresh events of the Revolution of Dignity in which the various faith communities of Ukraine worked together to support a nation in its struggle for effective justice and true freedom. Ukrainian Greco-Catholics stood together with Roman Catholics, Protestants, the various Orthodox Churches of Ukraine, as well as Jews and Muslims. Together we prayed. This prayer was accompanied by spontaneous acts of incredible love and generosity. What was the Church’s role in those amazing moments? Precisely to focus attention on the dignity of the children of God, to support them in their struggle, to keep them hopeful in the face of daunting odds, to encourage the noblest efforts and to restrain impassioned impulses. The Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church was proud to stand with the people in their legitimate aspirations. And thus we have stood, through the ravages of foreign occu-

pation by an aggressive neighbor that wages hybrid war and cynically “manages” information for brutal gain.

For standing with the people of Ukraine – people of various religions and various ethnicities – our Church has been singled out by the Kremlin’s propaganda machine as some sort of ultranationalist force bent on sowing hatred towards the Orthodox culture of Russia, and the single greatest impediment to worldwide Orthodox-Catholic reconciliation.

That is why I find it important to be able to stand before you today at this great university and state the following in the most unequivocal terms. The Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, the largest of the Eastern Catholic Churches, is not in any way opposed to the Orthodox Churches. We are an Orthodox Church, with Orthodox theology, liturgy, spirituality and canonical tradition that chooses to manifest this Orthodoxy in the spirit of the first Christian millennium, in communion with Rome. We are witnesses to the fact that Christian East and West not only have an obligation to seek some vague rapprochement, but are called by our Savior Himself to actually live the unity of one Body of Christ, not in the subjugation of one to another, but in the loving union of the Three Divine Persons who live not three lives parallel to each other, but one life: a life of self-emptying love, that gives life rather than taking it. It is our mission, as a Church that experienced great persecution and martyrdom in the twentieth century, to stand up for those who experience such persecution today: our brothers and sisters, the Copts of Egypt, the Melkites, Chaldeans, Syrian Orthodox, Assyrians, and others in the Middle East. It is our duty to help them tell their stories in this, one of the most respected forums of the world.

That is why I wish to express my own thanks and the profound gratitude of my Church to President David Mulroney and Dean James Ginther of Saint Michael’s College and the Collegium for making it possible for the Sheptytsky Institute to find a home within St. Michael’s College, the Toronto School of Theology, and the broader University of Toronto community. We can and tonight we are breathing together like two lungs of one body, in the beloved phrase of St. John Paul II, and thinking together in the metaphor of the Sheptytsky

Institute's founder, Fr. Andriy Chirovsky, like two hemispheres of one brain. This is possible because the University of St. Michael's College has made a home for the Sheptytsky Institute, and through it, for the whole Christian East, so that we can think and breathe and live and struggle together for the truth.

To all supporters of the Sheptytsky Institute, I say "Thank you" especially the Officers and the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute Foundation, To the professors and staff of the Sheptytsky Institute, who have given the better part of their adult lives so that we could be here to celebrate this day, I say "God bless you!" To St. Michael's College I say: "Brothers and Sisters, with you here today we are home!" At this third founding of the Sheptytsky Institute, I wait with impatience for the day when students from Ukraine, among many others, can earn their doctorates here. As I have said before, and I will never tire of saying: in Ukraine we have the Ukrainian Catholic University, but in the diaspora we have the Sheptytsky Institute. Support it, please! Для всіх нас бережіть і розвивайте цей дуже важливий інститут! Інвестуйте в нього. [For all of us, protect and develop this institute! Invest in it.] St. Paul used to say: I would have all of you be imitators of me (1 Cor. 4:16). But I tell you: "I support the Sheptytsky Institute, and I would have all of you be imitators of me in this."

Thank you to Fr. Peter Galadza and the other organizers of this celebration, to the Sheptytsky Institute Choir for bringing beauty to bear on it, to the negotiating teams that worked so long and so hard to make the agreement between St. Michael's and the Sheptytsky Institute possible. Thank you to Catholic Theological Union in Chicago and Saint Paul University in Ottawa for giving a home to the Sheptytsky Institute until now. Thank you to all of you present and to all the benefactors for your support.

Благословення Господнє на Вас! [The blessing of the Lord be upon you!] Thank you! Слава Ісусу Христу! Glory to Jesus Christ!

The Discovery of the Initiating Document of the Union of Uzhorod (1646)

In November 2016, Prof. Paul Robert Magocsi, Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, informed the managing editor of our journal that a document that some had come to believe did not actually exist had finally been found. On May 4, 2016, the Rev. Dr. Juraj Gradoš, a Slovak Greco-Catholic researcher, discovered the initiating document of the Union of Uzhorod. The find is so significant that we decided to delay publication of our journal so that this text might be published here without delay. Prof. Magocsi has provided other materials in various languages related to this find, and we hope in due course to distil and present their contents in *Logos*.

Subsequently, Fr. Gradoš himself forwarded an introduction and analysis of the document to our journal. What follows is the first part of his introduction, edited by Profs. Magocsi and Peter Galadza, along with an English translation of the document prepared by the classics scholar, Dr. Michael Klaassen of Saint Paul University, Ottawa.

The second part of Fr. Gradoš's introduction will be published in the next issue of *Logos*. We thank him, along with Prof. Magocsi and Dr. Klaassen, for their contributions to making this historic document known to the English-speaking world.

Juraj Gradoš

Introduction to the Initiating Document of the Union of Uzhhorod – Part I

The Union of Uzhhorod (1646) came about, in part, as a response to the Union of Brest (1596). This occurred on the northeastern territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, namely, in the area of the Eparchy of Mukachevo. Although the Union of Uzhhorod eventually included Eastern Christians living in present-day Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary and Romania, the document itself was signed by priests in parishes located near the present-day border of Slovakia and Ukraine. Thus, they were from the landed manorial estates of Humenné and Uzhhorod. In the nineteenth and especially first half of the twentieth century, emigrants from these areas formed the core of Ruthenian parishes, and subsequently eparchies, of the USA.

Until now there were doubts as to whether any document had actually been signed at the time of the Union of Uzhhorod. Some historians and theologians even questioned the act of Union itself. However, the discovery of the initiating document, dated April 24, 1646 and signed by sixty-three priests, refutes all previous speculations. (Note that the signatures will be studied by an expert, as it seems that some signatures are repeated. This is why we find approximately eighty signatures).

The signing of the document by sixty-three priests on April 24, 1646 was part of the process of the Mukachevo Eparchy's entrance into union with Rome, which was completed in the mid-eighteenth century. It was not, however, the first expression of this trend. Because many parishes in what is present-day Slovakia recognized the jurisdiction of the bishop of Przemyśl (Peremyshl') on the northern slopes of the Carpathians (in what was then Polish-ruled Galicia), once this bishop recognized the Union of Brest, the latter also affected the Eastern-Rite faithful of the Hungarian Kingdom. Thus, as early as 1610, the "Uniate" Bishop of Przemyśl, Athanasius Kru-

pecki, brought reports of the Union of Brest to Hungary.¹ Later on he was involved for some time in administering united parishes in northeastern Hungary.² He was among the promoters of the abortive Union in Krásny Brod in 1614.³ This is indirectly confirmed by a letter of Athanasius Krupecki dated April 27, 1614 to the landlord of the Humenné and Uzhhorod estates, Count George Drugeth. In the letter, Bishop Krupecki even suggests that, as in Krásny Brod, where Count Esterházy had provided assistance, several Eastern-Rite clergy declared a union in Mukachevo as well.⁴ According to historians, this actually happened the following day, April 28, 1614.

As regards the actual Union of Uzhhorod of 1646, Bishop Basil Tarasovics was a key protagonist. He accepted union “ad personam” in May, 1642 in the chapel of the Habsburg imperial summer palace in Laxenburg, near Vienna. The act took place in the presence of Emperor Ferdinand II and Hungarian Bishop George Lippay. It was subsequently ratified by Pope Urban VIII.⁵

One must note that the situation in the Mukachevo Eparchy was complex. While the western part of the Eparchy, largely an area of “mixed faiths,” wanted to be united and thus attain equal footing with Roman Catholics, the eastern part of the Eparchy – which was also the seat of the bishop but ruled

¹ J. Coranič, *Z dejín Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi na Slovensku* (České Budějovice: Sdružení sv. Jana Nepomuckého při Biskupství českobudějovickém, Centrum církevních dějin a dějin teologie Teologické fakulty Jihočeské univerzity v Českých Budějovicích, 2014), 42.

² W. Bugel, *Ekleziologie Užhorodské únie a jejich dědiců na pozadí doby* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2003), 45.

³ J. Juvencius, *Historiae Societatis Jesu*, Pars Quinta – Tomus Posterior, ab anno Christi MDXCI ad MDCXVI (Romae: Ex Typographia Georgii Plachi, Caelaturam & Characterum Fusoriam Profitentis, apud p. Marcum, 1710), 399. Bazilovics incorrectly states the year as being 1612. J. Bazilovič, *Dejiny Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi v Uhorsku*, M. Bizoňová and J. Coranič, eds. (Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Prešovskej univerzity, 2013), 157. Most historians, however, prefer the year 1614, relying on A. Hodinka, *A Munkácsi görög-katolikus püspökség története* (Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1909), 302.

⁴ SAPO, fond Drugeth from Humenné, inv. n. 828, 16/1614, box 331.

⁵ A. Hodinka, *A munkácsi görög szertartású püspökség okmánytára I. 1458 – 1715* (Ungvár, 1911), 90–93; M. Lacko, *The Union of Užhorod* (Cleveland – Rome: Slovak Institute, 1976), 81–84.

by Protestant princes of the Transylvanian Principality – was less open to the Union. Basil Tarasovics nevertheless decided to go to Mukachevo and announce a union in an effort to prevent the Calvinization of his Eparchy. No formal proclamation of a union took place, however, as Peter Parthenius Rotošinsky, Tarasovics's proposed successor, remained on the Drugeth estate in Habsburg-ruled territory further to the west. Following the death of George Drugeth, his wife, Anna Jakusics, who was also the sister of Hungary's Catholic Bishop of Eger, invited her brother to Uzhhorod for the funeral of John IX Drugeth in December, 1645. There he met with Peter Parthenius Rotošinsky and Gabriel Kosovicky, another major proponent of unification. After consultations, they sent a letter to all of the priests of the region inviting them to a meeting where the Union would be proclaimed. At that time Katarina Drugeth donated a "missionary house" in Uzhhorod to the two monks.⁶

On April 24, 1646, the Feast of St. George (according to the Latin reckoning), which was also the patronal feast of Bishop Jakusics, 63 of approximately 650 priests of the Greco-Slavic rite signed the document to adopt the Union. The event took place in the chapel of the Uzhhorod Castle belonging to the Drugeth family. The Union was signed mainly by priests from the Drugeth landed estates in Uh, Zemplín and Šariš Counties.⁷ The document, presumably prepared in advance, was read on-site and signed by the priests in attendance.



⁶ P. Borza, *Kapitoly z dejín kresťanstva: Od reformácie po 20. storočie* (Prešov: Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, Gréckokatolícka teologická fakulta, 2011), 33.

⁷ J. György, "Az ezeréves egri egyházmegye és a görög katolikusok," in *Athanasiana 19. Szent Atanáz Gör. Kat. Hittudományi Főiskola. Institutum Sancto Athanasio Nominatum* (Nyíregyháza, 2004), 150.

English Translation of the Latin Text

We, the undersigned, declare in our names and those of our successors, that, recognizing the most illustrious and reverend master [bishop], Master [Bishop] George Jakusith [Jakusics] etc., Bishop of Eger, and his legitimate successors in the [Catholic] See of Eger, for our true and legitimate bishops – ordinary, prelate, and diocesan – promise and pledge to him and to them every deserved distinction and obedience – insofar as his or their spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction requires – with our faithfulness and oath mediating, having no one as our ordinary bishop apart from him named or those named as most illustrious or reverend bishop or bishops as long as we abide in his or their diocese.

Moreover, we will attempt by no agreement without his or their consent, to undertake any sacred ordination for those dismissed, to change parishes, or to do anything which would contravene his jurisdiction.

We pledge that we will have those (bishops) as our superiors, subordinates or⁸ suffragans, vicars or archdeacons, whom the aforementioned most illustrious and most reverend bishop or his successors will put forward, as our true and legitimate superiors, with our Christian faithfulness intervening.

With a view to the greater steadfastness and force of this matter we have written this letter, confirmed by the signature of our hands and by a seal. Ungvar [Uzhhorod], April 24, 1646.

[Signatures of priests]

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⁸ The text reads “sine,” but this is no doubt a mistake for “siue.” “Sine,” would make no sense, and it is always followed by an ablative.

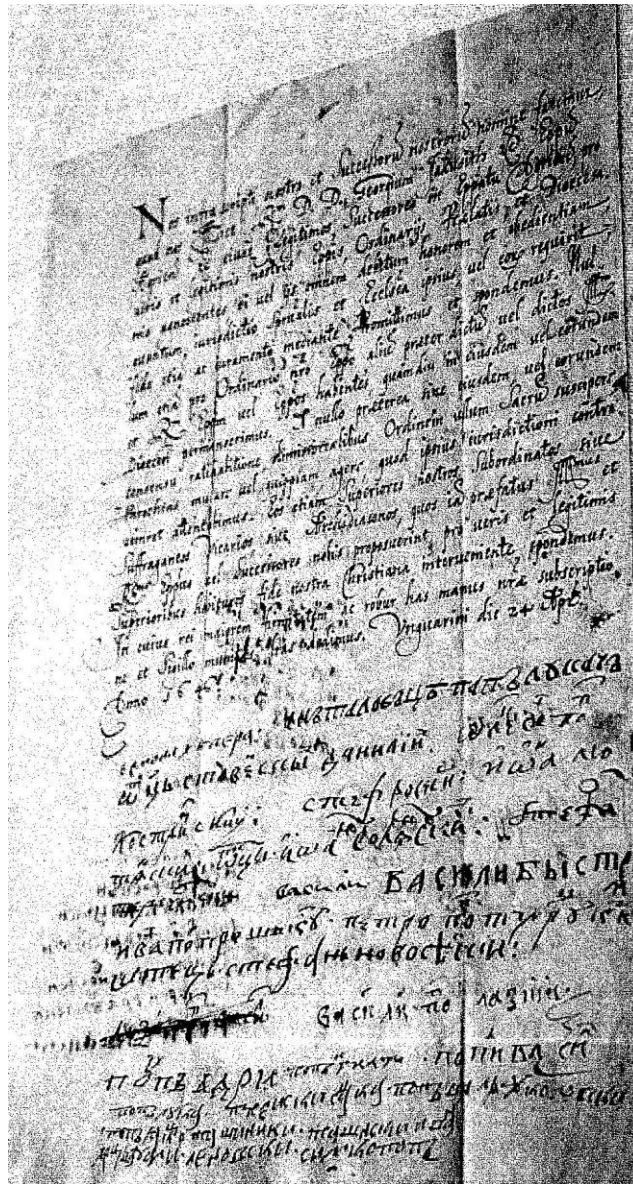
Latin Text

Nos infra scripti, nostro et Successoru nostroru nomine fatemur, quod nos III^m et R^m D. D. Georgium Jakusith etc Eppu Agrien etc eiusq Legitimos Successores in Eppatu Agrien, pro ueris et legitimis nostris Eppis, Ordinarijs, Praelatis, et Dioecesanis agnoscentes, ei uel ijs omnem debitum honorem et obedientiam, quantum iurisdictio Sprualis et Ecclsca ipsius, uel eor requirit, fide etia ac iuramento mediante Promittimus et spondemus. Nullum etia pro Ordinario nro Eppo aliu praeter dictu, uel dictos III^m et R^m Eppm uel Eppos habentes, quam diu in eiusdem uel eorundem Dioecesi permanserimus. A nullo praeterea sine eiusdem, uel eorundem consensu, ratihabitione, dimissorialibus Ordinem ullum Sacru suscipers Parochias mutars, uel quippiam agers, quod ipsius iurisditioni contraueniret attentabimus. Eos etiam Superiores nostros Subordinatos sine Suffraganeos, Vicarios, siue Archidiaconos, quos id praefatus III^{mus} et R^{ms} Eppus uel Successores nobis proposuerint, pro ueris et legitimis Superioribus habituros fide nostra Christiana interueniente spondemus. In cuius rei maiorem firmitatem ac robur has manus nrae subscriptione et Sigillo munitas Iras dedimus. Vnguarini die 24 Apr. Anno 1646.⁹

[Signatures of priests]



⁹ SAPO, fond Drugeth from Humenné, inv. n. 652, 8/1646, box 267. The document was identified May 4, 2016.



The newly discovered document initiating the Union of Uzhhorod (1646)

Courtesy of Paul R. Magocsi

Reflections of Sheptytsky Institute Associates Prepared for the Participants of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church, Crete, 2016

The following two texts were commissioned by the Orthodox Theological Society of America (OTSA) and Fordham University's Orthodox Christian Studies Center during the Spring of 2016 for inclusion in a book that was distributed to all of the participants of the Holy and Great Council of the Orthodox Church in Crete, June 19–26, 2016. They were first presented at a gathering of OTSA in May, 2016, and subsequently published in *Toward the Holy and Great Council: Theological Reflections*, edited by Archimandrite Nathanael Symeonides. The handsome publication appeared as part of a three-volume collection in the "Faith Matters" Series of the Department of Inter-Orthodox, Ecumenical & Interfaith Relations of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America.

The 151-page book contains reflections by Orthodox and non-Orthodox scholars on the following topics: "Diaspora," "Ecumenical Relations," "Fasting," "Marriage," "Mission of the Church in the World," and "Procedures and Rules." These were the main themes for which conciliar decisions and texts were produced by the hierarchs of the Council.

Seventy-three scholars, either individually or as part of a team, contributed to the collection of reflections on those themes. As Fr. Symeonides writes: "Although nearly all of the 73 participating scholars are Orthodox, important areas of discussion and debate are also highlighted by perspectives drawn from Byzantine Catholic, Oriental Orthodox, and Episcopal contributors, whose affiliations are indicated where they appear, their names marked with an asterisk" (p. vii).

The Sheptytsky Institute associates, Fr. Peter Galadza and Dr. Adam DeVille, sincerely thank the Orthodox Theological Society of America's fine officers, Profs. Gayle Woloschak, Will Cohen, Edith Humphrey and Teva Regale, as well as Fordham University's outstanding Orthodox Christian Studies Center, headed by Profs. Aristotle Papanikolaou and George Demacopoulos, for the invitation to present these reflections. Sincere thanks also to the Department of Inter-Orthodox, Ecumenical & Interfaith Relations of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America for publishing these texts and permission to reproduce them here.

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TOWARD *the*
HOLY *and* GREAT
COUNCIL
Theological Reflections

Archimandrite
Nathanael Symeonides
Editor



Department of Inter-Orthodox,
Ecumenical & Interfaith Relations

FAITH MATTERS SERIES

Ecumenical Relations

2.10.

RELATIONS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH WITH "UNIATES":
A PLEA FOR REMOVING ONE MORE SKANDALON
IN AN INCREASINGLY SCANDALIZED WORLD

by V. Rev. Peter Galadza*

Allow me to begin by suggesting that today's "new circumstances and challenges" referenced in the Draft Document "Relations of the Orthodox Church with the Rest of the Christian World" (par. 24) require a radical *kenosis* among Christians. The rapid rejection of Christ's truth in the West, and the equally widespread secularization of the educated classes in the East, demand a new commitment to "modeling the new man in Christ" (cf. par. 23). This "new man in Christ" blesses those who curse him and does good to those who hate him (cf. Mathew 5:44). This kind of love shatters secularism's self-assuredness.

In 1987, the Primate of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, Cardinal Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, publicly asked forgiveness of the Russian Orthodox Church in the following words: "Following the Spirit of Christ, we extend our hand of forgiveness, reconciliation and love to the Russian nation and the Moscow Patriarchate. We repeat the words of Christ that we spoke during our act of reconciliation with the Polish nation: 'Forgive us, as we forgive' (Matthew 6:12)"¹⁵. Unfortunately, this gesture has remained unanswered to the present day. Can Orthodox and "Uniates" not begin a new era of relations by having their Protophierarchs send – and respond to – such letters on a regular basis?

The present Primate of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, Major Archbishop Sviatoslav Shevchuk, has continued his predecessor's legacy. Contrary to some perceptions, he welcomed the recent

TOWARD THE HOLY AND GREAT COUNCIL

meeting of Patriarch Kirill and Pope Francis.¹⁶ The concerns he expressed related only to the phrasing of three paragraphs of the otherwise superb Havana Statement (pars. 25, 26 and 27). These presented a distorted interpretation of the situation in Ukraine, and belittled the ecclesial status of the Eastern Catholic Churches. The Statement referred to them as “ecclesial communities,” a term in Catholic parlance reserved for Protestants. Moreover, the fact that Greco-Catholics were informed of their “right to exist” (par. 25) was viewed as a patronizing concession to what is actually a Church of true martyrs. In any case, the Balamand Agreed Statement had already asserted this right almost 25 years ago. Notwithstanding this, Ukrainian Greco-Catholic hierarchs sincerely hope to see encounters like the Havana Meeting occur more often – and at different levels – so that each successive gathering might bring the participants closer to the Truth.

Recent history provides striking examples of Orthodox-Eastern Catholic rapprochement. In the mid-1960s Patriarch Athenagoras declared to Melkite Patriarch Maximos IV, that the latter had “spoken for the Orthodox” at Vatican II. In the USA, Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School welcomed Melkite Greek Catholic seminarians for years – with wonderful results evident to all. In Canada, the Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies has hired not only a long list of Orthodox scholars as adjunct faculty, but was blessed to have the current chancellor of the Orthodox Church in America as a full-time, tenured professor. Finally, the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv frequently hosts presentations by scholars of the Moscow Patriarchate, and hires lecturers of various Orthodox Churches.

Eastern Catholics understand the sense of vulnerability that prevents many Orthodox from reciprocating such gestures. However, in the meantime, we hope for at least a change in attitude among those Orthodox who continue to view Eastern Catholics as either “traitors

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to Orthodoxy,” or “heretics.” The question of “treason” is too broad to be discussed here. However, as regards “heresy,” it is odd that while Eastern Catholics accept the same teachings as Roman Catholics, they are frequently treated with far greater disdain.

In any case, more Orthodox need to understand the reasons that so many Eastern Catholics remain Catholic. In part, at least, it relates to some of the unresolved issues that continue to generate division *within* Orthodoxy. Eastern Catholics have found them resolved as a result of union with Rome – imperfect as that union has been. Jurisdictional strife, for example, is essentially absent from Eastern Catholicism. Also, the ethno-phyletism that plagues parts of Orthodoxy is challenged by communion with a universal primate. Of course, Eastern Catholics can be just as guilty of the same ethno-phyletism (though, ironically, its proponents within Eastern Catholicism insist that they simply want a “national Church” – “just like the Orthodox”). However, as culpable as Eastern Catholics may be of this ecclesiological heresy, they nonetheless recognize the right of the Bishop of Rome to reprove and/or discipline Catholic leaders who would foment or tolerate nationalist hatred. And while the Pope’s admonitions may not always be heard, no one in the Catholic Church questions his right to exercise universal primacy in this way. These problems are not adduced here to point to “Orthodox failings.” They are only mentioned to illustrate why even those Eastern Catholics who passionately love Orthodoxy remain Catholic.

In conclusion, two concrete initiatives for strengthening the bond of peace (Ephesians 4:3) – and thus removing hindrances to the gospel – seem quite feasible:

1. The creation of an international theological dialogue involving official representatives of the Byzantine Catholic (or, Greek Catholic)

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Churches on the one hand, and the Eastern Orthodox Churches on the other. Presently, the Eastern Catholics who participate in the International Orthodox-Catholic Dialogue do so as delegates of the Vatican – not their own Synods. In any case, theological meetings of Eastern Orthodox and Catholics of the Byzantine tradition would facilitate focused discussions of issues particularly germane to these Churches. Such a dialogue could develop, for example, a common historiography of the 1946 Pseudo-Synod of Lviv. Some of the same Orthodox who appropriately decry proselytism continue to champion the Synod as a legitimate “return to Orthodoxy.”

2. The publication by the Holy and Great Council – or a subsequent Conciliar commission – of theological and practical principles for Orthodox relations with Eastern Catholics. Naturally, different regions will adapt these principles according to diverse sensibilities. But certain uncharitable attitudes and behaviors, witnessed occasionally even in North America, would hopefully be declared unacceptable.

Finally, to end where we began: The concluding paragraph of the Draft Document reads: “The Orthodox Church is aware of the fact that the movement for the restoration of Christian unity takes new forms in response to new circumstances and new challenges” (par. 24). In the present circumstances of global strife and antipathy towards our Churches, truly committed Christians within Eastern Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy will “cleanse out the old leaven... the leaven of malice” and become new dough heated by the Holy Spirit so that we might again celebrate together “in sincerity and truth” (I Cor. 5:8).

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3.4.

THE IMPORTANCE OF FASTING FROM MORE THAN JUST FOOD

*by Adam A.J. DeVille**

It is good to see that the upcoming Great and Holy Council is giving as much serious consideration to fasting as it is. Almost alone today among Christians, the Orthodox Church has attempted to maintain this practice, which “is as old as humanity itself” as St. Basil reminds us in the opening paragraph. In an era in which we are finding more people more conflicted than ever over food — with some overweight and in poor health and others making little less than an idol out of food — the simple act of fasting becomes a radical one indeed.

As the document succinctly puts it, with welcome and refreshing bluntness, the “spiritual life is unattainable without the endeavor of fasting.” Let those who chatter vacuously today about being “spiritual but not religious” note this point well! I have attempted, for more than a decade, to remind non-Orthodox Christians of how venerable fasting is, and how vital today for one’s individual spiritual health — as well as the wider health of the Church.

The practice of fasting was increasingly abandoned in most Western Christian traditions by the 20th century, and was largely destroyed in the Latin Church following Vatican II. I have written numerous essays trying to reacquaint Western Christians with this practice, pointing to traditional Byzantine Orthodox practice as a model to guide the West in re-acquainting itself with a tradition it had foolishly jettisoned. I was an unapologetic apologist for a strict, “traditional” fast, especially during Great Lent. This, I assumed, should be immediately adopted

Fasting

by everyone and the spiritual fruits would start to blossom aplenty in Western Christianity. Moreover, adoption of an “Orthodox” practice would bear ecumenical fruits as well.

I now realize — if I may intrude some tedious autobiography — that I wrote all these *apologias* not only as an unseasoned academic snugly high atop my ivory *stylos*, but worse: as a single man. Since then, my wife and I have been given four splendid children, and been confronted with the trinitarian challenge facing all parents: how to feed them something healthy, affordable, and delicious. That is tricky enough to do when meat and dairy are permitted, but vastly more difficult during fasting periods.

Since then, too, I have been confronted by my students in two ways that have forced me to re-think my previously unreflective zeal for a maximalist fast. My students, overwhelmingly very respectful Roman Catholics with a genuine interest in Orthodoxy and a sincere desire to learn from Orthodox theology, have listened to me wax fanatical about fasting, but politely greeted it with a constant and difficult question: what *theological* justification (to say nothing of financial or practical) can there be for eating expensive seafood but not eating less expensive meat or poultry?

I gave considerable thought to these questions, and the resulting article “Can We Talk About Fasting”²⁰ was my attempt to come up with a better “logic” for fasting in both East and West. It attempted to preserve the spirit while avoiding the common pitfalls many people encounter when fasting. I will not repeat a word of that here.

I will, however, add a further thought here in the two years since I wrote that article. It concerns something that is not directly treated in the Chambésy document (apart from a vague reference in paragraph 3: “Fasting shall not be reduced to simple and formal abstinence from certain foods”) but will, I hope, receive

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some attention from the conciliar fathers in Crete in June: the importance of considering other forms of fasting *in addition to food*. I think in particular of a strong encouragement of *fasting from communications technology*. This document would be strengthened by challenging Orthodox faithful (and the rest of us!) to use the traditional fasting periods in a new way: to practice a regular fasting from Facebook, Twitter, smartphones, laptops, YouTube, TV, and so on. My family and I have adopted this on Sundays throughout the year, and the spiritual and emotional benefits have been immediate, obvious, and significant.

I also challenge my students every semester to observe a 24-hour fast from technology: don't update your Twitter feed; don't check Facebook or e-mail or blogs; put your cellphone in a drawer and don't touch it. The results are worth reporting: about 1/3 of my students quickly realize how much more time they have in their lives, and feel much freer to pursue other hobbies or get other work done, or simply be more attentive to the people and world around them; about a 1/3 struggle with anxiety and other "withdrawal" symptoms, but persevere and see those same benefits; and about 1/3 can't hack it after more than a few hours, and break the fast, wishing they could do better, and feeling guilty and discouraged at their lack of will-power.

The first group, in reporting their "success" to the class, quickly become "evangelists" for fasting from technology, and their "martyrdom," their witness to the benefits, are powerfully persuasive to many of the other students to try fasting more from technology. Let the fathers of the Great and Holy Council similarly become evangelists for fasting from what is arguably far more destructive of Christian faith today: the inability to know that "Christ has trampled down death by death"

Fasting

because you're too busy watching a cat video on YouTube that you linked to from your friend's Facebook page.

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Patrick Demetrius Viscuso,
*Guide for a Church under Islām:
The Sixty-Six Canonical Questions
Attributed to Theodōros Balsamōn*

Sam Noble

A Review Essay Discussing: Patrick Demetrius Viscuso, *Guide for a Church under Islām: The Sixty-Six Canonical Questions Attributed to Theodōros Balsamōn* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2014), 155pp.

In 1195, the people of Constantinople were witness to a singularly rare event. Patriarch Mark III of Alexandria (r. 1080–1209), visiting from Muslim-controlled Egypt, celebrated the liturgy at Hagia Sophia with the Patriarch of Constantinople, George II Xiphilinos (r. 1191–1198), and the Patriarch of Antioch, Theodore Balsamon (r. 1193 – after 1195). Much to the shock of his fellow patriarchs, he attempted to serve the traditional liturgy of his see, the Liturgy of Saint Mark, but they prevented him from doing so. It seems that this incident brought to the attention of everyone involved that practices in the Churches of Constantinople and Alexandria diverged on a wide variety of points and so Mark submitted to the patriarch and synod of Constantinople a list of sixty-six questions for clarification. The end result of this was a series of questions and responses prepared by Balsamon (a native of Constantinople who, though officially the absentee patriarch of Antioch, seems to have never left the city) on the synod's behalf. These have now been made available to us thanks to Patrick Demetrius Viscuso's translation of Balsamon's *Sixty-*

Six Canonical Questions under the title *Guide for a Church under Islam*. Viscuso's translation is a welcome contribution to the history of how the Byzantine Church understood Orthodox Christians living outside the boundaries of the empire.

Throughout the volume, Viscuso demonstrates his expertise in Byzantine canon law by thoroughly cross-referencing passages from the *Questions* to the entire corpus of Balsamon's works as well as to other pertinent Byzantine legal texts. He also provides extensive notes explaining the reasoning behind some of the more difficult-to-understand rulings, such as the Galenic theory lying behind the prohibition against communing on the same day as having bathed (78–80), as well as several of the rulings related to marriage, sexuality, and gender in a manner that is clear and accessible for non-specialists. However, the reader might have appreciated further explanation of two of Balsamon's more disturbing rulings, permitting a man to sell off a female slave with whom he has fornicated (118) and declaring betrothal to a girl of seven to be valid on the grounds that girls of that age are subject to concupiscence (119).

Nevertheless, even as he expertly explains the peculiarities of the *Questions* in relation to the broader corpus of Byzantine canon law, Viscuso neglects to situate the text within its Middle Eastern dimension. In particular, he does not even so much as cite any of the substantial literature on Melkite canonical collections and the history of the reception of Byzantine legal texts among Middle Eastern Christians.¹ This leads to a

¹ The bibliography on this material is thoroughly and conveniently summarized in Hubert Kaufhold, "Sources of Canon Law in the Eastern Churches" in *History of Medieval Canon Law: History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500*, edited by Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 2012), 215–342; and Johannes Pahlitzsch, "The Translation of the Byzantine *Procheiros Nomos* into Arabic: Techniques and Cultural Context," *Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines* 65 (2007): 19–29. Of particular note in this regard are Jean-Baptiste Darblade, *La collection canonique arabe des Melkites (XIIIe–XVII siècles)* (Harissa, Lebanon: Imprimerie de St Paul, 1946) and Elias Jarawan, *La collection canonique arabe des Melkites et sa physiologie propre : d'après documents et textes en comparaison avec le droit byzantin*. (Rome: Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1969) as well as the sections of Joseph Nasrallah's *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église*

reading of the text that, while grounded in the history of Byzantine law, makes very little effort to understand it in terms beyond Balsamon's own limited horizons. In choosing to give his translation the title *Guide for a Church under Islam*, Viscuso highlights precisely the dimension of the text that he least examines. This is made even clearer when he states that

The *Canonical Questions* represented an attempt by the Alexandrian patriarchate to resolve a number of canonical and liturgical problems arising in a church under Islamic rule, and to harmonize its practices with those of the Great Church of Constantinople. In this context, the usages of the Great Church were regarded as the custom of the New Rome, free from heresy as well as from the effects of Muslim or crusader domination, and thus a guide or model for another patriarchate under Islam.

This assertion effectively adopts what may very well have been Balsamon's understanding of the text without placing it in the context of the reception of Byzantine canon law by Middle Eastern Christians or of the lived realities of Middle Eastern Christian communities at that time. This problem is exacerbated by a lack of attention to the textual history of the *Questions*. Throughout the text, Viscuso treats Balsamon's version of the questions as being identical to those that Mark himself submitted, but we know that this is not the case. Although Viscuso notes that there exists a published version of the questions that precedes that of Balsamon, probably attributable to the bishop of Chalcedon, John Kastamonites (44–45), he makes no mention of the fact that both the questions themselves and the responses differ significantly between the two versions. Thus, the questions as presented in Balsamon's version were not submitted to the synod by the Patriarch

melchite 3 vols. in 6 parts (Louvain: Peeters, 1979–1989), 2(2).188–210; 3(1).340–57; 3(2).172–74 cataloguing the extant manuscripts of Melkite canonical and legal texts in Greek and Arabic and the treatment of Arabic canonical literature in Georg Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur* vol. I, (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 556–620.

Mark in a naïve way, but are rather the product of both Balsamon's editorial hand and discussions Mark held with him and other Constantinopolitan officials. That is, the *Questions* should be read as a synthesis of Mark's own questions and the questions his interlocutors thought he should be asking. In what follows, I will attempt to situate the *Questions* within the history of Melkite and Egyptian Christian reception of Byzantine law and then assess in what way the *Questions* might reflect local Egyptian Melkite concerns of the time.

Although the history of canon law in the Melkite patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem is largely the history of the reception (and non-reception) of Byzantine canonical collections, reception is never a passive affair and so Melkite canon law must be understood on its own terms. The reception of Byzantine legal material among the Melkites can be divided into three distinct phases. The first phase involved the compilation and translation from Greek into Arabic of the canons of local and ecumenical councils – though the canons of the Council in Trullo and Nicaea II are conspicuously absent – and appears to coincide with the start of the first major wave of translations from Greek into Arabic made in Palestinian monasteries from the late eighth to the tenth centuries. While Johannes Pahlitzsch dates these translations to the period before 787 (the earliest dated manuscript is from 917) on the grounds that the translators would not have ignored so important an event as the Seventh Ecumenical Council, such an early dating seems improbable. More likely, their absence reflects a general lack of contact between the Melkite patriarchates and Christians outside the Caliphate starting in the late eighth century, exacerbated by Constantinople's relapse into Iconoclasm in the first half of the ninth century. As Sidney Griffith has demonstrated on numerous occasions,² long after 787, Melkite dogmatic identity was still

² Sidney H. Griffith, "Byzantium and the Christians in the World of Islam: Constantinople and the Church in the Holy Land in the Ninth Century," *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997): 231–65; Id., "What Has Constantinople to Do with Jerusalem? Palestine in the Ninth Century; Byzantine Orthodoxy in the World of Islam," in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* ed. Leslie Brubaker (Aldershot: Variorum, 1998), 181–94; Id., "Melkites",

based on the “Orthodoxy of the Six Councils,” even as it did not lack in defenses of icon veneration in the face of Islamic iconoclasm.

During this period, canonical disputes seem to have often been resolved through consultation between the three Melkite patriarchates, but detailed evidence for the ways in which canonical decisions were made is sparse and sorely in need of further research.³ It is striking that although we find the gradual adoption of Byzantine liturgical texts starting in the ninth century primarily in Greek and, increasingly, in Syriac translation, the reception of Byzantine canonical texts during this time took place entirely in Arabic, by then the working language in the administration of all three patriarchates.⁴

The second period of reception took place during the period of renewed Byzantine rule over Antioch from 969 to 1084. The most prominent author of canonical texts during this period was Nikon of the Black Mountain, supervisor of the monasteries around Antioch under the patriarch Theodosius III (r.1057–1059) who had a long monastic career in and around the city, apparently living to see the arrival of the Crusaders in 1098. In addition to his collection of writings about monastic discipline entitled the *Taktikon*, early in his career Nikon compiled a florilegium of useful biblical, patristic and canonical texts under the title *Pandektes* or, as he himself refers to it in the *Taktikon*, the *Interpretations of the Commands of the*

‘Jacobites’ and the Christological Controversies in Arabic in Third/Ninth-Century Syria,” in *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 9–55; Id., “The Church of Jerusalem and the ‘Melkites’: The Making of an ‘Arab Orthodox’ Christian Identity in the World of Islam (750–1050)” in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 175–204.

³ Particularly valuable in this regard is a text from shortly after 884 discovered by John Lamoreaux detailing the correspondence between the metropolitan of Damascus, David, and the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem in which the metropolitan complains about the intervention of Patriarch Simeon of Antioch in the affairs of his see. John Lamoreaux, q.v. “David of Damascus” in *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History* vol. 2, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 79–82.

⁴ On this, see Darblade, *La collection canonique*, 154–59.

Lord.⁵ This text was translated into Arabic most likely during Nikon's own lifetime and in this version it was widely copied and read both among Melkites and Copts. On the basis of this translation, an Ethiopic version was produced in 1582.

The third period of reception, to which *Questions* belong, reflects the realities of the late Crusader period and seems to have reached its culmination in the early thirteenth century. It is primarily characterized by Arabic translations of such Byzantine secular legal collections as the *Ecloga*⁶ and the *Procheiros Nomos*, as well as the first appearance in Arabic of the canons of Trullo and Nicaea II. Pahlitzsch proposes that these translations were made in Palestine, but this is not certain⁷ and, in any case, it is not the translation of these texts but rather their Egyptian reception, discussed below, that provides a possible context for the *Questions*. The heightened concern among Middle Eastern Christians for Byzantine civil law that characterized this period may be reflected in the Patriarch Mark asking whether ignorance of the *Basilica* brings one under condemnation (72). However, this interest in the *Basilica* in

⁵ Editions of Nikon's works remain a major desideratum. Partial editions of the Greek version of the *Pandectes* can be found in Carlo de Clercq, "Les Pandectes de Nikon de la Montagne Noire," *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 4 (1949): 187–203; and Carlo de Clercq, *Les textes juridiques dans les Pandectes de Nikon de la Montagne Noire* (Venice: Tip. dei Padri Mechitaristi, 1942). Five chapters of the *Taktikon* have been translated in Vladimir Benešević, *Taktikon Nikona Chernogortsa: Grecheskij tekst po Rukopisi no. 441 Sinajskogo Monastyria sv. Ekateriny* (Petrograd: Tip. V.F. Kirshbauma, 1917). The Slavonic version of the *Taktikon*, however, has been edited in its entirety: Rumjana Pavlova and Šabka Bogdanova, *Pandekty Nikona Chernogortsa: Die Pandekten des Nikon vom Schwarzen Berge (Nikon Černogorec) in der ältesten slavischen Übersetzung* (Frankfurt: Paul Lang, 2000).

⁶ The Arabic translation of the *Ecloga* has been edited by Stefan Leder, *Die arabische Ecloga: Das vierte Buch der Kanones der Könige aus der Sammlung des Makarios* (Frankfurt am Main: Löwenklau, 1985).

⁷ Alexander Treiger proposes Antioch as the site of the Arabic translation of the *Procheiros Nomos*, though this would mean that they would have been translated under very different political circumstances than the translations made there in tenth and eleventh centuries. See Alexander Treiger, "Christian Greco-Arabica: Prolegomena to a History of the Arabic Translations of the Greek Church Fathers" in *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3 (2015): 188–227 here 194n24. Pahlitzsch's edition the Arabic version of this text, entitled *Der arabische Procheiros Nomos: Untersuchung und Edition der Übersetzung eines byzantinischen Rechtstextes*, is forthcoming.

particular might reflect contemporary legal concerns in Byzantium. Balsamon himself played a key role in establishing the authority of the *Basilica* when he ruled in a case regarding succession in the episcopal see of Amisossos that earlier Justinianic legislation not incorporated into the *Basilica* was not enforceable, an issue that further led him to write his commentary on the *Nomocanon XIV Titulorum*.⁸

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries also witnessed in the Coptic Church the compilation of canonical compendia in Arabic, most notably the *Nomocanones* of the Patriarch Gabriel ibn Turayk (d. 1145), Michael of Damietta (d. after 1208), and al-Safi ibn al-'Assal (completed in 1238 or 1239). The compilers of these collections did not hesitate to incorporate Melkite translations of Byzantine legal texts, albeit sometimes with the names of pro-Chalcedonian emperors and the city of Constantinople removed. In fact, the Arabic version of the *Ecloga*, while almost certainly translated in a Melkite milieu, is now only known through its Coptic reception.⁹ Through their adoption by the Coptic Church these texts would go on to have remarkable longevity and geographical reach. They passed to Ethiopia as the *Fetha Nagast*¹⁰ and al-Safi's *Nomocanon* remains the chief basis of personal status law for Egyptian Copts even to the present day.¹¹

The widespread appeal of Byzantine legal texts well beyond the bounds of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy complicates Vis-

⁸ Bernard Stolte, "Balsamon and the Basilica" in *Subseciva Groningana* 3 (1989): 115–125; idem, "The Social Function of the Law" in *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. John Haldon (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009), 76–91, here 86; J.H.A. Lokin, "Law and Legislation in the Law Books" in *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, ed. Angeliki Laiou and Dieter Simon (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1994), 71–91, here 86–89.

⁹ Leder, *Die arabische Ecloga*, 6.

¹⁰ In fact, the Coptic Patriarch Cyril ibn Laqlaq (d. 1243) explicitly urged the king of Ethiopia to enforce a legal code along the lines of Coptic canon law, which in practice would have meant al-Salih's *Nomocanon*. Kurt Werthmüller, *Coptic Identity and Ayyubid Politics in Egypt, 1218–1250* (Cairo and New York: American University of Cairo Press, 2010), 70, 144.

¹¹ Ryan Rowberry and John Khalil, "A Brief History of Coptic Personal Status Law," *Berkeley Journal of Middle East & Islamic Law* 3.1 (2010): 81–139.

cusos' claim that the Melkites of Alexandria looked to Constantinople specifically because it was "free from heresy as well as the effects of Muslim or crusader domination," as one would be hard-pressed to imagine that the Coptic prelates and Ethiopian monarchs who were no less interested in Byzantine law than the Melkites regarded the Church of Constantinople or the Byzantine civil administration in such terms. Moreover, the fact that this interest reached its peak during the Crusader occupation of Constantinople demonstrates that this general interest was also unconnected to the city's contemporary political power, prestige or independence.

It is more plausible to situate any hypothetical motivation for the *Questions* on Mark's part within the context of the vogue for Byzantine law among Middle Eastern Christians at the turn of the twelfth-thirteenth century. Since this period corresponds almost exactly to that of Ayyubid rule in Egypt (1171–1250), an explanation for the felt need to import Byzantine law should be located in the general situation of Egyptian Christians, both Coptic and Melkite, during that time. This period is often characterized as the "Sunni Revival," when the Ayyubid state sought to promote and revive Sunni legal institutions in Egypt and Syria following their overthrow of the Isma'ili Shi'ite Fatimid Dynasty, who for the most part did not make serious attempts to impose their beliefs on their Sunni and Christian subjects and moreover, at least in the Ayyubid imagination, had favored Christians over Sunnis.¹² With a renewed emphasis on the importance of Sunni legal orthodoxy in Egyptian life, it would only make sense that both the Coptic and Melkite churches would look to Byzantine law as the only readily-available source for a Christian legal tradition more comprehensive than what could be found in the previously available canonical texts. Evidence for Muslim pressure on Christians to elaborate their canon law can be found in the anti-Christian polemical work of the Cairene Maliki jurist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 1285), *Splendid Rep-*

¹² For a discussion of the Ayyubid use of Muslim legal institutions as part of a program of Islamization see Gary Leiser, "The Madrasa and the Islamization of the Middle East: The Case of Egypt," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 29–47.

lies to *Insolent Questions* (*al-ajwiba al-fākhira raddan ‘an al-as’ila al-fājira*), where he criticizes Christian canon law for at most containing five hundred laws, while the smallest Muslim legal collection contains more than fifteen hundred.¹³ Moreover, the inclusion of elements of Byzantine law that could not possibly be applied under Islamic rule – laws governing conduct in war, for example – in the Coptic canonical collections is further proof that interest in Byzantine law was often motivated by a desire to be able to point to a body of Christian law that fulfills Muslim expectations for a religious law encompassing all aspects of human life. Earlier, an analogous process had taken place among Syriac Christian communities in Iraq at the height of the Abbasid era, when proximity to Muslim legal institutions seems to have stimulated the compilation of much more elaborate canonical collections than they had previously possessed.¹⁴

The newfound interest in Byzantine law among Egyptian Christians was matched by an ideological shift in Byzantium where greater emphasis was placed on imperial authority as a point of reference for all Christians. Such an insistence on symbolic power and prerogatives during periods of political weakness is a familiar pattern throughout ecclesiastical history. For Balsamon, Orthodox Christian identity was intimately tied to the acceptance of imperial civil law and the traditions of Constantinople. According to Gilbert Dagron, Balsamon insisted

that the ultimate definition of the Romaioi who had become politically dependent [i.e., who were under Muslim authority] was to live according to “Roman” law.

¹³ Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Qarāfī, *al-Ajwiba al-fākhira ‘an al-as’ila al-fājira*, ed. Bakr Zakī ‘Awaḍ, 2nd ed. (Cairo: Maktabat Wahba, 1987), 342–343. For a detailed study of this work see Diego Cucarella, *Muslim-Christian Polemics across the Mediterranean: The Splendid Replies of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī* (d. 684/1285) (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

¹⁴Richard B. Rose, “Islam and the Development of Personal Status Laws among Christian Dhimmis: Motives, Sources, Consequences,” *The Muslim World* 72 (1982): 159–79; and, more recently, David M. Freidenreich, “Muslims in Eastern Christian Law, 1000–1500,” *CMR* 4, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 45–57.

Balsamon was not a centralizer from narrow authoritarianism; he saw reference to Constantinople, to its Church, its emperor and its tradition as the only way to preserve a semblance of unity in a Christendom that was falling apart. It was a little like the western reform but in reverse; here the unity of Christianity was assured by the recognition of imperial power, there by the supremacy of pontifical power.¹⁵

Alongside his insistence on the centrality of Byzantine law as a mark of Orthodox identity, Balsamon also insists on conformity with the liturgical practices of Constantinople, which was pointedly expressed in his most infamous ruling, abolishing the liturgies of Saint Mark and Saint James. Balsamon's final logic in abolishing the two ancient rites is indicative both of his legal methodology and of his lack of familiarity with the world outside of Constantinople. On the basis that neither Scripture nor the canons mention a liturgy by Saint Mark and only canon 32 of the Council in Trullo mentions one by Saint James, Balsamon reasons that neither liturgy is acceptable and that even if they had existed at some point in the past, they are now "completely in disuse," on an analogy to the treatment of the Epistles and Constitutions of Clement in Apostolic Canon 85, which rules that these texts should not be published, and Canon Two of the Council in Trullo, which rules that they should not be recognized on account of heretics' having contaminated the texts. It is difficult to ignore the irony of a notional patriarch of Antioch claiming ignorance of his own see's traditional liturgy.¹⁶ After stating his ignorance of

¹⁵Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), 257. In this sense Balsamon's position could be legitimately be described as caesaro-papism – not that he ascribed primacy in the Church to the person of the emperor, but that he invested the institutions of the empire, particularly its law, with the role of maintaining catholic unity.

¹⁶The absurdity of this ruling is perhaps best described by Dom Gregory Dix: "The interesting thing is that Balsamon was at this time Greek patriarch of Antioch, and had yet never even troubled to discover whether there did or did not exist a liturgy of S. James, the traditional rite of his own see! He knew of it only by hearsay from the Trullan canons. Along with S. Mark

the existence of the two liturgies in question, Balsamon concludes by quoting the *Basilica* to the effect that “Concerning cases where there is no written law, one ought to observe the custom that Rome has used.” However, as Viscuso points out (68n13), this synopsis of *Basilica* 2.1.41 willfully misrepresents the actual intent of the passage, which reads (in Viscuso’s translation):

Concerning cases where a written law does not apply, one must observe custom and usage. And if this is deficient, one must follow what is proximate and similar to what is required. If also neither things are found, then one must observe the custom that Rome has used. Old usage is observed in place of the law.

Thus Balsamon completely elides the portion of the original passage that allows for the application of longstanding local custom in cases where there is no written law, instead imposing the custom of Rome, which he equates with New Rome, Constantinople. Twice when discussing this ruling, Viscuso appears to offer up a somewhat odd defense of Balsamon (identical word-for-word in 14n32 and 71n13), stating that

Patriarch Markos III’s attempted use of a liturgy (whether that of St. Iakōvos or St. Markos) different from that being used by other celebrants took place in the cathedral church of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The patriarch of Constantinople would be fully within his prerogatives to enforce consistency of usage during a celebration in the Church of St. Sophia, especially in the basic question of which liturgical text should be used.

While this may be true from a strictly lawyerly perspective with regard to the question of liturgical practice within the Great Church, it has very little bearing on the question of

(centuries older than the Byzantine rite) it is swept into limbo on the strength of a misapplied sentence from Justinian”: *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 546n1.

liturgical practice in Egypt, where the choice of liturgical text would have been the prerogative of the patriarch of Alexandria, not that of Constantinople or Antioch. In any event, it is unlikely that it was Balsamon's ruling that sounded the final death-knell for the liturgies of James and Mark among the Melkites. Their long, slow decline into disuse was part of a larger historical process that had begun centuries earlier and which, at least in Egypt and Sinai, would not reach its culmination for some time.¹⁷

As evidenced by this concern for liturgical distinctiveness, the *Questions* are much more a document dealing with the status of Orthodox Christians living among a larger body of non-Orthodox Christians than an actual "guide for a church under Islam." In fact, very few of the questions deal directly with Islam or Muslims. Only three do so explicitly: the question of whether Orthodox women married to Muslims can commune (110), whether men who fornicate with Muslim or Jewish women should be rebaptized (118), and the question of an Orthodox prisoner of war who converted to Islam and wishes to return to the faith (130). Certain other questions clearly reflect doubt over situations that were unusual in Byzantium but common among Christians under Muslim rule. In particular, questions about whether clergy could engage in moneychanging, tax collection, medicine, or astrology (95–95), or be engaged in matters of governance (99–100) reflects the fact that during all periods of Muslim rule, bishops and even patriarchs were frequently chosen from the ranks of physicians and secretaries (*kuttāb*) in the civil administration.¹⁸

Nevertheless, significantly more attention is given to questions establishing the boundaries between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Christians in terms of participation in church life. Thus matters such as joint prayer (82), the rebaptism (84)

¹⁷ For manuscripts of the liturgies of St. Mark and St. James copied for liturgical use after Balsamon's ruling, see Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire*, 154–55.

¹⁸ Thus, for example, the patriarchs of Alexandria Politianus (r. 767–801) and Eutychius (Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq, r. 934–940) were physicians and the patriarchs of Antioch Elias I (905–932/4), Theodosius II (935–942), and Christopher (960–967) were secretaries.

and ordination of converts (98 and 107), and the permissibility of communing Latin prisoners (84–85) and of heterodox serving as godparents (109) are addressed in addition to numerous questions of the permissibility of non-Constantinopolitan liturgical practices, all with an eye to establish the customs of the Byzantine capital as the norm for all Orthodox.

Concern for denominational boundaries was not unique to Byzantine authorities during this period. Coptic bishops of this time were equally concerned with fixing a firm boundary between Coptic and Melkite communities. In the late twelfth century, these boundaries were blurred by a charismatic blind monk from Damietta, Marqus ibn Qunbar (d. 1208), who gained an immense following by preaching in Arabic and advocating such Melkite-seeming practices as auricular confession to a priest, the eschewing of circumcision, and only allowing certain substances to be used as incense. Ibn Qunbar's conflict with the Coptic hierarchy would eventually lead him and his followers to convert to the Melkite church, where he once more came into conflict with his bishop and was sent to live in the monastery of al-Qusayr in Cairo. The entire affair seems to have deeply shaken the Coptic hierarchy and ibn Qunbar's chief antagonist, Michael of Damietta, mentioned above as the compiler of a nomocanon, composed a work entitled *Usages that Distinguish the Copts (al-Sunan allati infaradat bihā al-Qibt)* enumerating the customs distinguishing Copts from Melkites,¹⁹ in which he defends such practices as making confession to God alone, circumcision, marriage between first cousins, and making the sign of the cross left-to-right with one finger.

In contrast to Michael of Damietta's text, born of direct contact and conflict with Melkites and thus concerned with locating identity-markers among the minutiae of everyday practice, the *Questions* are as a whole noticeably removed from the specifics of Egyptian practice. It seems that most if not all questions of liturgy are generic to what Balsamon terms "the eastern and southern lands" (71). In fact, only two

¹⁹ Translated into German in Georg Graf, *Ein Reformversuch innerhalb der Koptischen Kirche im zwölften Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1923), 147–80.

questions explicitly mention an Egyptian context. One is about the acceptability of the “ancient custom [prevailing] in the land of Alexandria” that deceased clergy and hierarchs be anointed with chrism before burial (93) which, unsurprisingly, Balsamon rules should incur “a great punishment.” This custom, however, is common to the Alexandrian, West Syriac and Armenian liturgical traditions. The other question mentioning Alexandria does so in the context of asking whether the very small Melkite population in the region would justify permitting marriage between first cousins (117). While this does indeed address a prohibition that was an important marker of Melkite identity in 12th century Egypt, the wider cultural preference for cousin marriage among Arab Muslims and its permissibility in the Coptic and Syriac Orthodox Churches means that this issue remained significant for Orthodox Melkites at least into the early modern period.²⁰ Similarly, the question of whether cold water may be used in the Eucharist instead of the *zeon* used in Constantinople (89) imposes a liturgical peculiarity of Constantinople unknown to other rites that Balsamon once again makes into an absolute marker of Orthodoxy, declaring that “those who do not prepare the holy chalice with hot water shall be excluded as heretics from the portion of the Orthodox.”²¹

Curiously, while only a few of the *Questions* can be identified as addressing a specifically Egyptian concern, some questions do seem to betray an interest in Syrian realities, to the point that if it were not for the text’s association with Mark

²⁰ In Ottoman Syria, e.g., the possibility of licit marriage to first cousins was a significant factor in the conversion of Orthodox Melkite laypeople to the Catholic Church. See Robert Haddad, “Conversion of Eastern Orthodox Christians to the Unia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries” in *Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies, 1990), 449–459.

²¹ Viscuso treats this and other differences from Constantinopolitan practice as “the Melkite adoption of usages from other Christian communities” (35) where in fact they are often local customs maintained across confessional lines or, as in this case, the absence of a new custom developed in Constantinople. For an exhaustive discussion of the history of the *zeon*, consult Robert Taft, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* vol. V: *The Precommunion Rites* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 2000), 441–502.

III and the two passing mentions of Alexandria, a careful reader could well take its intended audience to be Syrian or Palestinian. This is most noticeable in Question Six (74), which asks whether Orthodox (i.e. Chalcedonian) Syrians and Armenians “but indeed also faithful from other lands” may celebrate the liturgy in their native languages or if they must use Greek. While it is true that during the Mamluk period the pace of the transition from Greek into Arabic in the liturgy significantly accelerated in the patriarchate of Alexandria,²² mention of Syriac and Armenian, which were commonly used as liturgical languages among Chalcedonian communities in Syria, Cilicia and Eastern Anatolia, would seem to place the frame of reference in that region. Balsamon’s ruling that they may do so, albeit “with precise copies of the customary holy prayers translated from liturgical books with well-copied Greek letters” once more evinces his ignorance of immemorial practice in his own putative patriarchate of Antioch, where Syriac (naturally, in the Melkite variant of Syriac script and not in Greek letters, well-copied or otherwise) was often the predominant liturgical language.²³ Viscuso is apparently equally unaware of this fact since in his comments on this question he refers only to Sidney Griffith’s having mentioned “the activity of [...] the Syriac Maronite community.”

²² Thus, e.g., the *Typikon of Mar Saba* was translated into Arabic in Cairo in 1335 by one Abū al-Faṭḥ Qusṭanṭīn ibn Abī al-Ma‘ālī ibn Abī l-Faṭḥ. Nasrallah 3(2), 148–150; Samir Khalil Samir, “Qusṭanṭīn ibn Abī al-Ma‘ālī ibn Abī l-Faṭḥ Abū l-Faṭḥ,” in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 2046–2047.

²³ For an overview of the extent of the use of Syriac among Melkites, see Sebastian Brock, “Syriac Manuscripts Copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch,” in *Lingua Restituta Orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, ed. Regine Schulz and Manfred Görg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990), 59–67; Heinrich Husmann, “Die Syrische Handschriften des Sinai-Klosters, Herkunft und Schreiber” in *Ostkirchliche Studien* 24 (1975): 281–308; K.A. Panchenko, “Mel’kitskoe Knigopisanie v Pozdnee Srednevekov’e” in *Vestnik PSTGU* III:5(40): *Filologija* (Nov.-Dec. 2014), 68–77. For bibliography on the even less-studied Armenian Chalcedonian community, see V.A. Artunova-Fidanian, q.v. “Armiane-Khalkidonity” in *Pravoslavnaia Entsiklopediia* vol. 3, 326–329 and Id., “Armiane-Khalkidonity. Terminologiya” in *Vestnik PSTGU* III:5(35): *Filologiya* (2013), 9–20.

The list of heresies mentioned in the *Questions* would also seem to betray a focus on Syria. While Viscuso states that, “The major Christian communities under Muslim rule in Egypt included Jacobites, Copts, Armenians, Nestorians, Melkites and Monotheletes” (21), this is apparently an amalgam of the heresies mentioned in the *Questions* and his reading of Sidney Griffith’s *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*, a valuable work that is nevertheless not meant to be a guide to the Christian communities of Egypt at the turn of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Naturally, Balsamon never mentions “Copts” or “Melkites.” In his terminology, Melkites of course are “Orthodox” or “Catholic” and the Copts are “Jacobites” (incidentally, it is not unusual for medieval Coptic writers to refer to themselves in Arabic as *ya’āqiba*). While there was a small Armenian presence in Egypt during this period,²⁴ Nestorians, that is, members of the Church of the East (again, authors from this community often referred to themselves as *naṣāṭira* in Arabic, whether or not it was a “lamentable misnomer”), were virtually non-existent in Egypt in the twelfth century.²⁵ Nor does there ever seem to have been any significant presence of “Monotheletes” (i.e., Maronites) in Egypt. Balsamon’s lists of heresies are the typical boilerplate of “Jacobites and Nestorians” (82), “Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites and other heretics” (102), or “Latins, Armenians, Monotheletes, Nestorians and other such ones” (109), without any care for the sectarian situation in Egypt. All in all, these lists ultimately derive from the demographic situation in Crusader-era Syria and Eastern Anatolia, regions that would have been at least somewhat more on Constantinople’s heresiographical radar than was Egypt. The case of a “Monothelete” priest converting to Orthodoxy, returning to his previous confession, and then once more converting to Orthodoxy and seeking to maintain his priesthood (98) stands out in particular as a Syrian rather than an Egyptian or even Palestinian scenario.

²⁴ For the rapid rise and fall of Armenian political power in Egypt during the collapse of the Fatimid dynasty, see Seta Dadoyan. *The Fatimid Armenians: Cultural and Political Interaction in the Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

²⁵ Werthmuller, *Coptic Identity*, 114.

It may be that this is the result of the text's evolution from Mark's initial questions to Balsamon's final text. While Manouel Gedeon's 1915 edition of the version of the *Questions* prepared by John of Chalcedon is rare and difficult to obtain, in 1939 Venance Grumel made a detailed comparison²⁶ between it and Balsamon's version, hypothesizing that the former version preserved the original form of Mark's questions while the latter was the result of both Balsamon's editorial hand and clarifications made during Mark's discussions with the synod. Not only does Balsamon give the originally terse questions a more elaborate, literary form, but in several instances he either gives an opposing ruling or provides a different rationale for his ruling. Thus, for example, where Balsamon has Mark asking about the appropriateness of using Syriac and Armenian in the liturgy, the earlier version of the question is simply, "Can we celebrate the liturgy in our language?"²⁷ which in the context of Egypt at that time would have been Arabic rather than Syriac or Armenian. In the case of the question about the acceptability of the liturgies of Saint Mark and Saint James, it is interesting to note that John of Chalcedon, unlike Balsamon, does accept their authenticity, although he also rules that their use should be discontinued, in this case on the grounds that they have already been abandoned either because of their excessive length or because of interpolations introduced into them.²⁸

The substantial distance between the responses given (in either version of the text) and the real needs of Christians in the Melkite patriarchates is sufficient to explain the apparent lack of reception of the *Questions* by its notional audience. Despite the widespread interest in Byzantine law in Egypt and the Middle East during the early thirteenth century, the *Questions* were never translated into Arabic and seem not to have left any discernable textual traces in the Melkite patriarchates. Further evidence that Balsamon's rulings garnered little

²⁶ Venance Grumel, "Les réponses canoniques à Marc d'Alexandrie. Leur caractère officiel. Leur double rédaction," *Echos d'Orient* 38 (1939): 321–333.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 327.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 326.

interest in Alexandria can be deduced from the attitude toward Rome of Mark's successor, Nicholas I (r. 1210–1243). Where Balsamon regarded Rome as “separated from the spiritual communion of the other four holy patriarchs” and required Latins to promise “to refrain from Latin dogmas and customs” and be “instructed in the canons” (85), Nicholas maintained correspondences with Popes Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) and Honorius III (r. 1216–1270), ordained a Latin priest, and sent a representative to the Lateran Council of 1215.²⁹

Interest in Byzantine law died out among Middle Eastern Christians by the late thirteenth century, when Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria led to frequent persecutions and sharp institutional decline among all Christian communities, particularly the Melkites. In fact, there is no trace in Arabic of any works of Byzantine law posterior to the *Prochoros Nomos* until the appearance of a translation of Matthew Blastares' *Syntagma Canonum* in the eighteenth century. Even in Byzantium, the *Questions* only held a marginal status. While the *Questions* were mined by later Greek canonists for opinions about communing Latins, Grumel points out that “Nulle part en effet ce document n'est rangé parmi les sources officielles et direct du droit.”³⁰ Ironically, Balsamon's vision of an Orthodox world bound together by the law and liturgy of Constantinople would only be fully achieved when the capital city was itself brought “under Islam” by the Ottomans.

The *Questions* are doubtless an important source for the history of Byzantine canon law – especially as regards important contemporary issues such as the question of deaconesses, the reception of converts, and relations with the non-Orthodox – and Viscuso has performed a great service in producing this clear, accessible English translation. Nevertheless, as is very often the case in studies of both Byzantium and the Christian Middle East, we are in need of further basic philological work in order to be able to have a proper understanding of this text. Without a critical edition of both versions

²⁹ Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 99. Nevertheless, in 1310 Rome established a titular Latin patriarchate of Alexandria and ceased recognizing the Melkite patriarch.

³⁰ Grumel, “Les réponses canoniques à Marc d'Alexandrie,” 322.

of the *Questions* and a comprehensive comparison between them, it is difficult to tease out what belongs to Mark and his Melkite Alexandrian context and what belongs to Balsamon. One can indeed discern some echoes of the daily life and problems of medieval Melkites from the text presented in this volume, but by and large these echoes are drowned out by Balsamon's wholly Constantinopolitan frame of reference. Rather than an authentic "guide for a church under Islam," what we have here is a foundational text in the Byzantine imaginary of Orthodoxy outside the bounds of empire.

Book Reviews

Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practices in Social, Historical, and Theological Perspective. By Andrew B. McGowan. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic 2014. Pages, 298. Cloth, \$34.⁹⁹. ISBN: 978-0-8010-3152-6.

In the 1960's and 1970's several Western Christian denominations (both Catholic and Protestant) enacted liturgical reforms inspired in part by scholarly research into the first centuries of Christian worship. Over the past three decades, however, the liturgical ecumenism of the Vatican II era has largely broken down and liturgical scholars have steadily deflated previous narratives about early Christian worship. Whereas liturgists of earlier generations saw threads of continuity between rites of various regions from one century to the next, today's liturgists are decidedly more cautious with the scant amount of available data. If "lumping" evidence was the, admittedly attractive, order of the day in the Vatican II era, "splitting" takes precedence today. Unfortunately, such incisive, critical readings of texts do not often provoke worldwide ecclesial movements, and liturgists have acquired a reputation as peddlers of the arcane. Is it possible any longer to offer a compelling account of early Christian liturgy that carefully considers the paucity of evidence and the historical diversity of worship practices?

Andrew McGowan demonstrates that it is. *Ancient Christian Worship* is a history of early Christian worship from the ground up in which the author argues that the bodily acts, rituals, and communal prayers of early Christians, orthodox or otherwise, enacted and represented a "wider reality" (3) of worship: worship as obedience and service broadly conceived. For example, in Justin Martyr, *eucharistia*, "thanksgiving," was understood both as the meal of bread and wine and as the whole of Christian life. McGowan contends in the introductory first chapter and throughout the book that there is a "real story" in the worship practices of early Christians, to "seek, serve, and praise the Maker of all things as revealed in Jesus Christ" (17) in delightfully various ways. By contextualizing these practices, McGowan's book offers a portrait of that "wider reality" from the time of Jesus up to around 400 AD.

In Chapter Two, McGowan sets Christian meal practices in their wider Mediterranean (both Jewish and Greco-Roman) milieu. In the ancient world, including Christian communities, communal meals celebrated “shared values and common commitments,” (22) and yet Christians were also “countercultural” and unique by gathering to remember a crucified victim of imperial rule. Early Christian sacramental “realism” is also set in social context. McGowan shows that Ignatius of Antioch’s view of the eucharistic food as inherently powerful was typical from a second-century perspective: food and medicine, and drugs and magic, were not radically different things to his readers. Likewise, Chapter Three, “Word,” concerns “practices of speech” (66) in early Christian assemblies, which drew from both Jewish and Greco-Roman traditions. McGowan examines a variety of forms including interjection, prophecy, performative reading of scripture, and communal discourse, and argues that “situational adaptation” (78) was typical until a more textual, scholastic approach (likely influenced by synagogal practice) took hold in most places by the second century.

The innovative fourth chapter explores the role of music and dance in early Christian assemblies. McGowan examines cantillation of scriptural texts, the possibility of instruments, and the evidence for a kind of liturgical dancing at burial sites and processions. The chapter reveals a tension between the symbolic language of instruments and dance used by early Christians to describe worship and the lack of evidence that such practices were common in most places, if they happened at all.

In Chapter Five, “Initiation,” McGowan continues to straddle the boundary between religious ritual and everyday life. Oil, for example, was used for therapeutic and cosmetic purposes in the ancient Mediterranean, and may have been included in baptismal rites without much theological elaboration at first. Less well-known activities such as vicarious baptisms of the living for the unbaptized dead, repeated ritual washings, and washing the feet of future martyrs in prison, offer a sense of the diverse “ritual world” (138) of initiatory practices of early Christians.

Chapter Six treats early Christian prayer. McGowan argues that the Lord's Prayer was an anchor for early Christian praying and a conduit for the Christian reinterpretation of Jewish patterns of prayer. Yet he shows that there was no single *ordo* of daily prayer; rather, diverse rhythms of prayer were ways "to offer divine structure to the lived reality of daily time." (214) In the seventh and final chapter McGowan traces the emergence of Sunday worship and the liturgical year, noting especially the importance of feasting the martyrs, saints, and the Virgin as important expressions of local identity and devotion.

With his strong emphasis on practices, the author invokes but often leaves open the difficult question of early Christian perceptions and symbolic descriptions of liturgy. McGowan often offers theological context for the practices he examines, but rarely explores how theological positions were received and expressed in the concrete social settings he is interested in. To take an important example, in several places (e.g., 33, 54, 114, 219, 228), McGowan notes the ways in which Christians described their worship using images from Jewish Temple liturgy: incense, altar, angels, sacrifice, and priesthood. But he does not address how these descriptions might have interacted with the minimalistic, domestic setting of early Christian liturgy. A robust examination of these themes as indicative of popular perceptions of liturgy would help to fill out his presentation of the "wider reality" of early Christian worship.

McGowan relies on ritual theory and social history more than previous surveys. This allows him to offer a cohesive account of early Christian worship without sacrificing complexity and ignoring practices that defy the expectations of modern readers. While theology *per se* is a secondary concern in the book, McGowan's approach makes for a *lex orandi, lex credendi* with a physical, earthy twist: bodily, ritual practices and prayers enacted and participated in a wider sacramental reality which served as the ground for acts of obedience and service to God and people. Indeed, according to McGowan, worship is about *the body*, and vividly so in the first Christian centuries. Thus, though the title of his book intentionally features the word "worship," a word that today often refers to a

genre of devotional music, McGowan makes a strong case for the priority of *liturgy* in early Christianity and Christianity more generally, understood as a matrix of intentional, ritualized bodily practices and words in fluid relationship with Christian actions more generally.

McGowan's book is a careful, erudite work of synthesis of the best scholarship on early Christian worship. It is a boon to liturgists. New students of early Christian worship will appreciate its breadth and readability, and students of religion in late antiquity will find endless insights into the relationship between ritual and everyday life in the first four centuries. *Ancient Christian Worship* is sure to become the standard textbook on early Christian liturgy for years to come.

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Jaroslav Coranič, *Z dejín Gréckokatolíckej cirkvi na Slovensku* (On the History of the Greek Catholic Church in Slovakia) (Česke Budějovice: Sdružení sv. Jana Nepomuckého při Biskupství českobudějovickém, 2014), 528 p.

The subject of this outstanding volume, the Greek Catholic Church of Slovakia, is the successor to the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Prešov, which is about to mark two centuries of existence. In 1818, the eparchy was carved out of territory in the western part of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Mukachevo, which is based in today's Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine. The existing literature on Slovakia's Greek Catholic Eparchy of Prešov is quite extensive, with studies dating from the second half of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries by priests and cultural activists, including Aleksander Dukhnovych, Julius Kubinyi, Michael Lacko, and Sevastiiian Sabol. Many of these authors were writing at a time when the region was ruled by Communist authorities. Consequently, not only

were archives closed to these and other researchers, but the very subject of Greek Catholicism was considered taboo.

Since the collapse of Communist rule in Czechoslovakia in late 1989 and the birth of independent Slovakia at the outset of 1993, an entirely new cohort of Church historians, mostly connected with the Eparchy of Prešov and the associated Greek Catholic Theological Faculty at the University of Prešov, have produced a wide variety of research and publications on a broad range of topics connected with the Greek Catholics of Slovakia.

Among the most prolific and talented of these historians, himself a layman, is Jaroslav Coranič. The *History of the Greek Catholic Church in Slovakia*, the result of Coranič's many years of research on the topic, is perhaps the best historical survey of the Greek Catholics living within the borders of present-day Slovakia. The volume, based on a wide range of archival and published secondary sources, consists of ten chapters that follow a chronological sequence from earliest times to the present. These include an opening chapter on the earliest Christian presence in the region connected with the ninth-century mission of the "Apostles to the Slavs," the Byzantine brothers Constantine/Cyril and Methodius. The second chapter traces in some detail the period when eastern Slovakia was still within the "mother eparchy" of Mukachevo. The remaining eight chapters deal with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in particular the era of Hungarian rule until the end of World War I; the interwar decades of democratic Czechoslovakia; the World War II-era Slovak state; Communist Czechoslovak rule from 1945 to 1989, both before and after the liquidation (1950) and restoration (1968) of the eparchy; and the full reconstitution and flowering of the Church since the fall of Communism and birth of independent democratic Slovakia.

In each chapter Coranič does an excellent job of providing the larger political context in which the Church has had to operate as well as a description of the internal evolution of the church as an institution. Particularly noteworthy is the author's impartiality in dealing with controversial issues. These include, on the one hand, the policies of individual bishops and their reaction to the nationality differences among their pari-

shioners and, on the other, the demands of the various ruling regimes, each of which has had its own views on how the Greek Catholic Church should function (or not function) within the larger society.

Coranič's text is clearly written and particularly engaging when describing the difficulties faced by ruling bishops, in particular during late nineteenth-century Hungarian rule and the persecutions meted out by Communist rulers in the years immediately following World War II. Included in the book are several invaluable statistical charts on Church membership, maps of jurisdictional subdivisions, an extensive bibliography of archival and secondary sources, and a personal name index. Church historians and scholars of central Europe, especially those with an interest in Slovakia and the nationality question involving Carpatho-Rusyns, Slovaks, and Magyars, will all be grateful to Jaroslav Coranič for enlightening us about this fascinatingly complex topic – the Greek Catholics of Slovakia.

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Briefly Noted

Vladimir Solovyov, *Sophia, God & A Short Tale About the Antichrist*, trans. and ed. Boris Jakim (Kettering, OH: Semantron Press, 2014), 150 pp.

This latest collection of revised translations by Boris Jakim highlights four of Solovyov's last visionary writings. Two of them are well-known and have received numerous translations in the past. The first of these, of course, is "A Short Tale About the Antichrist" (*Kratkaia povest' ob antikhriste*) written over 1899 – 1900 in which Solovyov details his apocalyptic vision of the ultimate defeat of the Antichrist, a secular humanist ruler at the end of the present aeon that also brings about a definitive Christian reunification through, oddly enough, the agency of worldwide Jewry, thus putting engrained prejudicial imagery finally to rest. The second of these is his poetic revisioning of his prior encounters with Sophia in Moscow as a youth of nine (1862), in the British Museum in London (1875), and finally in the Egyptian desert (1876) with the plain title "Three Meetings" (*Tri svidaniia*) written over 26–29 September 1898.

The other offerings in this collection are no less pivotal for coming to terms with Solovyov's thought, but they are far less known and therefore have not been subject to the intensive commentary they deserve. The first of these is the semi-autobiographical short story "At the Dawn of Mist-Shrouded Youth" (*Na zare tumannoi iunosti*) first published in 1892. Here the author, a young "nineteen-year-old philosopher," reminisces about the encounter on a train he had with a young married woman named Julie who certainly would seem to stand in for his younger cousin Ekaterina Romanova whom he calls Olga in the story and whom he intended to visit in Kharkov. To Jakim's mind, the vision of "Sophia," as Solovyov's imagery definitely seems to relate, entertained by the nineteen-year old, qualifies as a fourth encounter with Sophia in addition to the three explicit encounters he writes about in his 1898 poem on the subject. But it could also be argued that

the idealization of Julie is markedly more sensual and erotic than the more mystical visions recounted in his poem. This is a good point for scholars to debate.

Jakim deftly brings out the riches of this short story by appending selective letters by Solovyov written over 1871 – 1973 to his younger cousin Ekaterina Romanova. Here we find another infatuated Solovyov, but one who is no less protective, even seemingly condescending at times, to a first cousin he obviously admires. Throughout these letters Solovyov’s dedication to the pursuit of truth comes to the fore.

The last work in this collection is Solovyov’s 1897 article entitled “The Concept of God (In Defense of Spinoza’s Philosophy)” (*Poniatie o Boge [V zashchitu filosofii Spinozy]*) (see *Collected Works*, vol. 9:3–29) that was written in reaction to an article written by Professor Aleksandr Ivanovich Vvedensky critically entitled “The Atheism of Spinoza’s Philosophy.” To this reviewer’s mind, it would have been good to have included the full article of Vvedensky in the present volume simply because Vvedensky seems to have penned a more mature reflection on the implications of Spinoza’s thought beyond Solovyov’s own youthful indebtedness to him.

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Stratford Caldecott, *The Radiance of Being: Dimensions of Cosmic Christianity* (Tacoma, WA: Angelico Press, 2013), 295 pp.

This searching work is both complex and multilayered. A celebration of being, it endeavors to highlight the cosmic dimensions of being engaged in the world, Christianity being at the center of this engagement, be it with modern physics, other religious traditions, or esotericism within Christianity itself. From the author’s Christian point of view, the *radiance* of

being is *at one* with its *Trinitarian* source, the Godhead *bestowing* being – being itself *being a gift*. In Trinitarian terms dear to the author, as noted by Adrian Walker in the foreword to this study, “the act of being is an act of giving [by the Father], an act of knowing [by the Son], an act of love [by the Holy Spirit],” meaning, of course, that “giftedness is the signature of God upon creation” (3).

The book itself has a tripartite structure. Part I deals with nature in the broadest sense of this term. Here the author engages with the insights of modern physics seeking to conciliate them with the metaphysical insights of Christian philosophy. Stressing the fact that the nature of creation is nothing less than an acknowledgment of *ontological dependency*, he fashions the task of modern physics to shed light on the essential *relativity* of the natural order that of itself demands a *participatory* physics. As the author remarks: “In the new physics the world is increasingly compared to an *organism*, rather than a machine” (37) contrary to the *via moderna* of Francis Bacon and René Descartes. Caldecott argues against all monistic interpretations of reality, proclaiming that “the ultimate resolution of the manifold tensions of existence is not the silence of the One, but the music of the Trinity” (23f).

Part II on the “Divine Nature” develops this theme of the “music of the Trinity.” Noting how the divine nature cannot be divided, he stresses, however, how it can “be *related to itself* in more ways than one – by knowing and loving itself in one simple and eternal act,” underscoring the fact that “God *knowing himself* is the relationship of Father to Son, and *loving himself* is the relationship of Son and Father to the Holy Spirit” (107), the Spirit being “the *unity* of the Father and Son, and the love that unites them” (109).

Having thus laid out the Christian Trinitarian conception of God, Caldecott proceeds on an entirely different track, outlining in successive chapters the salient features of Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism and how they can even enrich Christian experience. Before concluding his reflections on the divine nature, he proffers an orthodox reading of the medieval Dominican preacher Meister Eckhart whose mystical writings have

vexed even his most serious readers, ending with a final reflection on the “Creator” and creation *ex nihilo*.

Part III entitled “Sophia” affords the author the opportunity to be truly expansive on his point of view. He begins by promoting a “tripartite anthropology,” entailing a ternary structure of body, soul, and spirit within the human person corresponding to the Trinitarian Godhead in the image and likeness of which the human person was created and which even obtains analogously, however palely, in inanimate matter.

Also availing himself of the sophiology of Sergius Bulgakov, Caldecott aptly develops the theme of God being in man and man being in God. Significantly, he notes that Sophia is “the secret of the Father disclosed in the Son and Spirit” (266), Wisdom being the matter of glory and glory the form of Wisdom. Furthermore, he applies this insight in deepening our understanding of the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*, which decidedly does *not* exclude a creation *ex deo et in deo*. And this being the case, one grasps how the world as being truly a *relational* phenomenon can only be ultimately understood at its foundation as being in *relation* to God.

On a sad note, this volume is probably the last work by this author. Stratford Caldecott (1953 – 2014) died too young of prostate cancer. But his voice will live on in his numerous and varied scholarly publications.

Robert F. Slesinski
Mashpee, Massachusetts



Kaya Oakes, *The Nones Are Alright: A New Generation of Believers, Seekers, and Those in Between* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis Books, 2015), ix + 198 pp.

Kaya Oakes is a teacher of writing, a poet, and a fine writer herself. But more than this, she has one of the best ears around for contemporary culture and spirituality, as seen in

such earlier works as *Radical Reinvention: An Unlikely Return to the Catholic Church* (2012). She has, among her many gifts, become a trusted ethnographer of religion among the young, especially when it comes to the increasingly infamous “religious nones” documented in Pew research.

When surveys from Pew began to indicate the presence and then, over time, the growing percentage of Americans under forty who had no regular community of faith or place of worship – hence the descriptor, “nones,” as in “none of the above” – panic among institutional churches began to appear. Earlier research seemed to indicate that the “baby boomers,” while originally rebellious not only toward conformist culture and traditional politics but organized religion as well, had nevertheless begun to drift back to religious belonging and activity as they approached middle age in the 1990s.

The “nones,” though, were a great deal scarier. While they were not atheist, and expressed strong moral sensitivity, even recognition of a supreme being and the need to pray, they nevertheless described themselves as virtually allergic to membership in local congregations, did not financially support these, and did not regularly attend services or participate in religious education or other membership activities or groups. While individual studies such as Robert Putnam and David Campbell’s *American Grace* seemed to disagree with the Pew findings on “nones,” claiming instead that as the “moral majority” and “religious right” weakened in this century, and both religious diversity and social toleration grew, younger adult Americans appeared to be more likely to be religiously active. Yet it was not just the Pew surveys that made a far more compelling case. So did the experience of both clergy and laity as well as the membership numbers of most American churches. American congregations, as Mark Chaves and others found, were getting smaller and were aging rapidly. Unlike the 1950s and even into the 1960’s when childbearing brought many younger couples back to church, this was no longer happening in America.

Kaya Oakes sought to get beneath the numbers and succeeds here in introducing us to a diverse, fascinating group of “nones” who do not display any antagonism toward spiritual

practice. Rather, she finds that many are “seekers,” starting out in one tradition, recoiling from it for various reasons, but moving on to other forms of spiritual and religious belief and activity. She herself is just such an individual as her memoir, *Radical Reinvention*, documented a kind of “boomerang” experience of departure and return.

I cannot recommend this book enough to pastors, teachers and also to all local congregations. I say this because no matter the location, one will meet doubters and believers, seekers and critics. The respondents are listened to so compassionately and carefully by Oakes, their stories allowed to be told in their own words, and then so skillfully connected and presented for us to ponder. I can see this book being the basis for a course, a retreat – group or personal – and for spiritual reading on one’s own. Kaya Oakes is careful to include for one’s further exploration some of the best literature on seeking, doubting, religious losing and finding available today. It is a beautiful and thoughtful study that will leave much to ponder.

Michael Plekon
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Dorothy Day and the Church: Past, Present & Future, eds. Lance Richey and Adam DeVille (Valparaiso, IN: Solidarity Hall, 2016), 434 pp.

This is a uniformly fine collection of papers from the conference at the University of Saint Francis, Fort Wayne, Indiana in May 2015. It is a lovely book to look at, with numerous images of Dorothy Day at the start of each section and a beautiful one of her and some of her grandchildren on the cover.

The papers are diverse, starting with contributions from Bishop Kevin C. Rhodes of Fort Wayne and Archbishop José H. Gomez of Los Angeles. The other sections deal with the

many ways in which Dorothy was a dynamic witness of the church in her work and writings, and also the ways in which she was a prophetic critic both of church and society. In the last section on issues in research and materials, Marquette archivist Phil Runkel even discusses the longstanding conservative opposition to Day, not just the canonization process but her entire life and legacy, cast by such critics as a disgrace to the church and a stunning example of unchallenged and unexamined political and social radicalism. Brian Terrell follows up on the actual wording of her infamous comment on the “filthy rotten system.”

I found especially interesting Kurt Buhring’s examination of Day’s and Niebuhr’s positions on the Great Depression, its causes and solution. Archbishop Gomez, Robert Russo and several others track the imprint of Dorothy’s reading of the saints and the daily offices on her sense of ministry and the spiritual life. Over against the so-called Benedict Option championed by Rod Dreher, Joshua Brumfield presents a counter proposal, namely a “Dorothy Option,” especially relevant to Pope Francis’ continuing call – also opposed by critics on the right – for mercy in every aspect of Christian life and the church’s operation.

Several contributors discuss Day and the theory of distributism, as well as her connection to and role in the foundation of the Catholic Worker movement with Peter Maurin. One of the perennial questions is whether Maurin – a radical mystic and “fool for Christ” – was the actual spiritual origin of the movement. I would say he was the inspiration but there would have been no Catholic Worker houses or movement without the indefatigable publicity Day carried on for decades in the newspaper she founded, which is still published today. Always allergic to actions other than nearly private ones of charity, Maurin could only envision the work to be self-transformation, which would result in people being fed, housed, and clothed – somehow. He was notoriously disappointed in the very first issue of *The Catholic Worker*, saying it was everybody’s paper and thus nobody’s paper. Yet he was able to step aside and allow Dorothy to lead the movement, while he continued to teach with his “easy essays.”

Day's "far-flung friendships" with Catherine de Hueck Doherty of Madonna House and others, including Thomas Merton, are also examined along with the "ecology of hospitality" that emerged in the Worker houses, written about and promoted by Day in such different sectors as the green revolution, outreach to the marginalized, and the ecumenical appeal this basic gospel work established with evangelicals and other Christians. At the conclusion, several writers address Dorothy Day's distinctive personalism, a trait bequeathed by her to the Catholic Worker movement and houses.

Professors De Ville and Richey are to be congratulated and thanked, first for conceiving the idea of the conference, and then planning and carrying it off, and finally for publishing such a rich trove of essays based on the papers given there. I do not think there is a comparable volume on Dorothy Day in print. This is such a wonderful selection of reflections with essays of interest no matter one's own particular leanings. The quality of writing is consistently high, and the thoughtful consideration of Day's enormous witness and its enduring significance is formidable. This is a splendid addition to the literature by and about Dorothy Day.

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Michael N. McGregor, *Pure Act: The Uncommon Life of Robert Lax* (NY: Fordham University Press, 2015), 472 pp.

This is an uncommon, indeed, extraordinary biography of a truly extraordinary, uncommon poet and artist, Robert Lax. I suspect that beyond the connoisseurs of his spare, sometimes minimalist writing, others know him as the Columbia University classmate and friend of Thomas Merton, who maintained a life-long correspondence with Lax, in a distinctive and expressive writing style, often difficult to comprehend. (The corres-

pondence was published in 2000 as *When Prophecy Still Had a Voice: The Letters of Thomas Merton & Robert Lax*, ed. Arthur Biddle.) As the gallery of photos in this book beautifully document, Lax had a singular appearance – long, tall, thin, with angular features. He looks into and through the photographer and viewer of many of these pictures with a calm and clarity that were hallmarks of his way of living. The photos of Lax in his last years show a bearded elder who could easily pass for a Greek Orthodox monk or cleric.

Lax did, in fact, live for years on Greek islands, in particular, toward the end of his life, the island of the Revelation of St. John the Theologian/Evangelist. Suffice it to say that Michael McGregor's biography is, without exaggeration, a real revelation of the one-time resident of Patmos. McGregor spent considerable time with Lax during the last years of the latter's life. But McGregor's effort is exhaustive, enormous. Lax's family – his grandparents, parents and siblings – and their life both in New York City and upstate Olean are chronicled in meticulous detail. And if a powerful takeaway from this biography is the memorable simplicity of Lax's everyday existence – his housing, clothes, meals, possessions, routine – then in striking contrast is the careful tracking by McGregor of all of his travels, his residences in New York City, Olean, France, and other spots before staying in the Greek islands: Kalymnos, for the most part, but also Lipsi, and then finally Patmos. The passage I found to be an apt summary of the everyday, but I also think, "hidden holiness" of Robert Lax:

He [Lax] believed that each person has an inner voice that is entirely his own and that God communicates with us somehow through it rather than dictating our actions and beliefs from outside... In seeking to hear his inner voice, he was seeking as well to be a center of calm in the world. In making decisions or answering questions, he wanted to take his time, to let the answer rise quietly and naturally from his inner being – not a partial answer but a full one he could agree with completely. "Each movement should have the power of an instinctive movement," he wrote, "but

should be fully informed by thought – a combination of reflection and spontaneity; a response, an immediate response to stimulus: immediate but total and mature. *Pure Act* (313).

For all the biographical details McGregor provides, for all the narrative of a rich, complex life, there is still for me much about Lax that is hard to pin down, that is elusive, evanescent, even transcendent. Lax seems austere, detached, and distant, with many acquaintances and supporters but only a very few real intimates. A convert to Catholicism, he seems to have always retained the essentials of the gospel, but had little need for the rest of the ecclesiastical apparatus. In the almost 500 pages I found him in church in just a couple of them – which makes me admire and love him all the more as one who simply lived his faith by grace. I think Paul Evdokimov's idea of the universal appeal of the monastic vision, a kind of "interiorized monasticism" that can be lived by single and married alike, is a way of describing Lax's singular and simple, spiritual style of living.

With this masterful biography, Michael McGregor has put Robert Lax among those American Christians of our time who not only were gifted but who gifted us with their art and their lives.

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Gerhard Lofink, *Jesus of Nazareth: What He Wanted, Who He Was*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), 408 pp.

There are so many Jesus books! Some are scholarly, some popular, some critical, some devotional; each has an agenda.

What does Gerhard Lofink, a seasoned NT exegete, have to offer here that stands out?

At the very start Lofink expresses frustration with some NT specialists and their efforts to come to terms with the “historical Jesus.” It’s the often-arrogant claims that anything the followers of Jesus might have said about him, anything the tradition of the church puts forth, must be doubted and dismissed. Thankfully, Lofink’s book is not another arena for such combat.

Rather, it is a most careful look at not only Jesus’ identity, but his teaching and his actions. In preparing to preach on a healing text I often encounter, I found Lofink’s thorough examination of signs and miracles provocative and very helpful. So too are his extended look at Jesus’ relationship to his own Jewish tradition, the Hebrew scriptures more generally, the Torah and the prophets more specifically. Lofink is also very careful not to conflate the distinctive material and perspectives of the four gospels into an artificially harmonized vision. And he is very much aware of the later interpretations that imperial state Christianity – as well as later periods of church history – produced.

I will caution that this is not a quick but a challenging read, one that forces a reader to look passages up when not quoted, that makes one pause, reflect, even re-read regularly. Anyone looking for a simple reassurance of their own beloved view of Jesus will be frustrated, though, in the end, not disappointed. For me, Lofink’s book is a fine example of intelligence, learning, *and* faith all cooperating. In sum, this book is very good news about the Teacher of good news.

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Mebratu Kiros Gebru, *Miaphysite Christology. An Ethiopian Perspective* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), 112 pp.

The study of Ethiopian Christology remains relatively under-developed. As the result of this we still have need of books such as Mebrahtu Gebru's, who investigated the work of a Catholic Ethiopian scholar, Ayele Tekle-Haymanot, and the critical response of Ethiopian scholars to him and others. Gebru's book appears a half-century after the book written by Tekle-Haymanot, which was taken as the crucial text in the revival of the Christological debate of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to some extent, especially after the Amharic translation of his work in 1959. At the time, Tekle-Haymanot's book, which was seen as a Chalcedonian and scholastic interpretation of the Ethiopian Christological tradition, triggered a furious response among many eminent Ethiopian Orthodox scholars. Although this is not the right place to do an assessment and evaluation on Tekle-Haymanot's book, it can at least be said that his book had the merit of giving rise to other books, including the present one under review, which reviews the *status questionis* for us.

Ethiopian Christology is not Chalcedonian Christology no matter what is asserted by Catholic scholars such as Tekle-Haymanot. To grasp this point, we are aided by the author's presentation of the real meaning of important Ethiopian Christological terms. Without an exact understanding of these terms one can easily be led astray in complex debates. The Christology of the Ethiopian Church repudiates any teaching in which the distinctions of the natures of divinity and humanity cease to exist in the incarnation, or any teaching which damages the complete and perfect reality and divinity of Christ. In the incarnation, the Word of God has agreed to unite humanity with his divinity such that even as there is no confusion or separation equally there is no division: we see "One Christ" and "One Lord" as the liturgical hymnody of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church asserts.

The Christological teaching of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is the fruit of a development over centuries. The establishment of it starts to be distinguished by the dominant in-

fluence of the *Qerellos corpus*, a collection of texts by Church Fathers before Chalcedon, translated from the Greek into ancient Ethiopic during the Axumite period (fourth to seventh centuries). The Ethiopian Cyrillian tradition is not so much interested in formulae as in the soteriological message of Cyril's teaching. The stress on the unity of Christ expresses a strong concern for the unity of person as a principle of divine-human action in Jesus Christ. It becomes impossible to distinguish between Christ's divinity and his humanity.

In the fifth century Ethiopian Christology developed through the work of the nine saints who came to Ethiopia from the Roman Empire probably to escape because they refused to accept the Council of Chalcedon. They played a great role in the establishment of non-Chalcedonian Christology in Ethiopia. The period of Zer'a Ya'qob (†1468) also saw reform, literary revival, and renovation after a period of extensive Christological debate.

The periods connected especially with the advent of the Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been characterized by fierce Christological disputes within the Orthodox Church. The various theological debates with the Jesuits focused on the nature of Christ. This book of Gebru embraces the various debates with the Catholic missionaries on the nature of Christ, which helped the Ethiopian scholars to be more organized and re-consider their position, leading in some cases directly to schisms and controversies within the Ethiopian Church.

After a period of division into two major Christological factions, the Council of Burru Meda of 1878 condemned the two Christological factions and the *Tewahdo* doctrine was re-confirmed as the official position of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The term *Tewahdo* (oneness, union, and unity) underlines the union of the divinity and humanity after the Incarnation: "without separation of His Divinity from His humanity and His humanity from His Divinity, He became one person, one nature without confusion, without separation and without division."

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has proudly kept the Christological teaching of her mother Church of Egypt, which

is based on Cyril's well-known formula: "one incarnate nature of God the Word." So, it is wrong to describe Ethiopian Christians as monophysites. Ethiopian Christology, as it is emphasized in this book, is essentially orthodox as a result of St. Cyril and not, therefore, to be considered under the pejorative and rather offensive term "monophysite." Instead it is more correct to see it as a species of "*miaphysite* Christology" which differs not at all from Coptic Christology.

The efforts made by the author to clarify all this are greatly to be applauded in a book with a few flaws, including its lack of a consistent method of transliteration and its over-reliance on secondary literature. These are, however, relatively minor and not entirely unexpected in a work that was the product of an MA thesis.

Habtemichael Kidane



Petru Cazacu, *Orthodoxy and Psychoanalysis: Dirge or Polychronion to the Centuries-Old Tradition?* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, Internationaler Verlag der Wissen, 2013), 146 pp.

The relationship between contemporary psychology and patristic anthropology is especially interesting to me. Much of my early research looked at the convergence and divergence between psychoanalytic theory and Church fathers such as Maximus the Confessor, John Climacus, and Augustine. So I was excited to read Petru Cazacu's *Orthodoxy and Psychoanalysis*.

Originally the author's MTh thesis in pastoral theology at the University of Balamand, the text explores the work of Basil Thermos, "a well-known Greek Orthodox priest, [and] a child and adolescent psychiatrist." Cazacu, following Thermos, argues that contemporary psychology, and especially psychoanalysis, can be valuable in "pastoral counseling" and in evaluating the "psychological maturity" of Orthodox

seminarians and clergy. Such maturity is “not a condition for holiness.” It is, however, “an essential condition for becoming a successful church minister” (7). I am sympathetic to Cazacu’s conclusion that pastoral ministry has, if we are careful in how we use its findings, an ally in psychoanalysis.

Whether or not this represents a fair reading of Thermos I cannot say. This actually would be my major criticism of the book. The author assumes a familiarity with Thermos that, I suspect, most Anglophone readers will not have. This, however, is a relatively minor concern. Overall Cazacu has done a fine job in explaining why we need to attend to the emotional maturity and psychological health of seminarians and clergy.

Yes, as we hear in the ordination prayer, divine grace supplies that which is lacking in the candidate for holy orders. But we do not take this to mean that we ought to ordain a man with a physical infirmity that would impede his ability to fulfill the demands of his office. In a similar fashion, we ought not to presume against divine grace when it is clear that the individual does not have the emotional maturity necessary for ordained ministry. Failure to take seriously evident emotional or psychological deficiencies serves neither the Church nor the candidate.

The material Cazacu covers corresponds roughly with what, in Roman Catholic seminaries, is called human formation. Though the latter category is broader than what is covered in *Orthodoxy and Psychoanalysis*, I think the text would be a helpful for those Eastern Christians – Orthodox and Catholic – who are entrusted by the Church with the preparation of future deacons and priests.

Gregory Jensen



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Resources Available from the Sheptytsky Institute

God's Martyr, History's Witness: Blessed Nykyta Budka, the First Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Canada.
Athanasius McVay. ISBN 978-0-9809309-1-7

This is the first comprehensive historical biography of Bishop Nykyta Budka, the first Eastern Catholic bishop with full jurisdiction outside of the old continents of Europe and Asia named by the Apostolic See of Rome. While bishop in Canada, he encouraged his flock to become good Canadians but also dedicated himself to preserving Ukrainian religious and cultural identity. In a climate of intense proselytism, he battled with many political and religious opponents who sought to draw his flock away from their Catholic faith. Later, he provided moral support and spiritual ministry to Ukrainians under oppressive Nazi and Soviet regimes, and eventually was arrested, tried, and condemned by Soviet authorities. In 2001, Saint John Paul II beatified Budka and numbered him among the heavenly martyrs and confessors of the faith. Meticulously researched and illustrated with rare photographs. Co-published with the Eparchy of Edmonton. 613 pp. "With this publication, Fr. McVay has established himself as the premier historian of the modern Ukrainian Catholic Church. We await many more publications from this outstanding scholar." Fr. Peter Galadza, Acting Director, Sheptytsky Institute.

Cost: CDN and US \$25.⁰⁰

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Cost: CDN and US \$20.⁰⁰

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tale. Volume 272 of their on-going series *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*. 524 pp.

Cost: CDN and US \$50.⁰⁰

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**THE METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY
INSTITUTE OF EASTERN CHRISTIAN STUDIES**

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As a centre of higher learning, research, ecumenical understanding and prayer, the Institute is an academic unit of the Faculty of Theology at Saint Paul University in Ottawa, offering accredited undergraduate and graduate degree programs in Eastern Christian Studies to both men and women – laity, religious and clergy.

OUR COMMITMENT

As a **centre of higher learning**, the Institute is committed to quality education in Eastern Christian Theology and related disciplines, both at Saint Paul University in Ottawa, as well as in its outreach programs.

As a **centre of research**,

the Institute is committed to scholarship and publication in the various fields of Eastern Christian Studies, cooperating with other educational institutions, learned societies and individual scholars.

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the Institute is committed to fostering respectful and fruitful encounter among the various Eastern Christian Churches (Orthodox and Catholic) and between Eastern and Western Christians.

As a **centre of prayer**,

the Institute is dedicated to integrating academic study and worship of the Triune God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

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Founded at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago in 1986, the Institute came under the patronage of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops of Canada in 1989, and in 1990 became a part of Saint Paul University in Ottawa.

OUR HOPE

In dialogue with contemporary societies, the Institute hopes to communicate the power of Christian Faith and living Tradition, so that all may share in the very life of God.



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