

Logos

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Revue des études de l'Orient chrétien
Журнал східнохристиянських студій

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Editor-in-Chief: Andriy Chirovsky (Sheptytsky Institute)
Editor: Peter Galadza (Sheptytsky Institute)
Managing Editor: Andrew Onuferko (Sheptytsky Institute)
Associate Editor: Adam DeVille
Book Review Editor: Myroslaw Tataryn (University of Saskatchewan)
Distribution: Lorraine Manley
Layout & Design: Key-Co. Enterprises
tel. (613) 824-3878 fax (613) 824-9799

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Editorial and subscription offices:
223 Main Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1S 1C4
Tel. (613) 236–1393 (ext. 2332) Fax (613) 782–3026
Email: sheptytsky@ustpaul.ca
Web: www.ustpaul.ca/sheptytsky

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of Eastern Christian Studies**

Resources, Books, Academic Programmes

Note: Inconsistencies in the spelling of Andrei (Andrey), Kyiv (Kiev) and L'viv (Lviv) are due to the preferences of the authors.

Editorial: Reflections on the Visit to Ukraine of Pope John Paul II, 24–27 June 2001

It would be strange for a journal published by an institute, which is supported mainly by the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church not to comment on the momentous visit of Pope John Paul II to Ukraine in the summer of 2001. Papa Wojtyła is by no means the first bishop of Rome to come to Ukraine. He is, however, the first to successfully leave.

No less an apostolic man than Pope Saint Clement, Peter's third successor, was exiled by the emperor Trajan to the south of Ukraine and left his relics there, to be venerated by many generations to come. These relics would later be encountered by Saints Cyril and Methodius when they visited Kherson. Some of those relics were taken by them to Rome and installed in the great Church of San Clemente, while other parts were taken to Kiev by Saint Vladimir the Great and deposited in his Church of the Tithes. Kherson was also the place of exile for Pope Saint Martin I (†655), who was sent there at the behest of emperor Constans II, an enforcer of the Monothelite teaching. Martin would die a martyr's death, not at the hands of pagan imperial authorities, but rather as a defender of the true faith against heretical teachers who fancied themselves Christian and who had made their pact with a supposedly Christian empire.

True, there was no Roman emperor to banish John Paul II to Europe's eastern reaches, but that did not stop a would-be emperor *from* the eastern reaches, the patriarch of Moscow, who harbors a neuralgic fear of his brother patriarch from Rome, from trying to forbid John Paul to come to Ukraine in the first place.

There might have been trouble. There were threats of a popular uprising. Even civil unrest was predicted among a populace that would bristle at the idea that a pope of Rome would

violate the “sacred territory” of the patriarch of Moscow. In Goebbels-like fashion, the articles from paid or simply lazy drones in the press came churning out systematically. One influential media outlet per week – different every week – spread the universal message: Pope John Paul may not set foot on the soil of Ukraine, despite the invitation of its government and the bishops of both the Ukrainian and Roman Catholic Churches, with their flocks of nearly six million people.

In addition to the media efforts, demonstrations were organized – pitiful, little demonstrations, but with icons, beards, and incense, they certainly made for a good visual and thus made the editor’s cut for the news. These demonstrations were organized and attended by members of three groups: the faction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church loyal to the Moscow Patriarchate; the movement to unite Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia; and the Communist Party. At first glance the third seems “not like the others.” But in reality they were very much alike: all three would like to see the return of one state with one closely allied church, just like the good old days.

In the end, all that materialized was a couple of groups with a few pathetic demonstrators brandishing apocalyptic banners drawing supposedly horrific parallels between the 1941 Nazi occupation of Ukraine and the 2001 Papal Invasion. This was a nightmare for the press, of course. Some news organizations had sent double crews to film the religious war firsthand. “Kiev is a beautiful city.... But we did not bring multiple cameras to film a city topped with chestnut boughs and golden domes. We need blood, and the pope in trouble!” the desperate telejournalists complained.

There was no blood. In fact, as the popemobile drove through Kiev’s emptied streets (the government was taking no chances: no anti-papal zealot would be allowed to make the post-Soviet bosses who run the country look bad) bemused Kievans of no particular religious persuasion craned their necks to sneak a peak at the peripatetic pontiff. He was no rock star, but he *was* famous, and that would do. In characteristic fashion, the pope did not disappoint. Indeed, he won admiration in large part because of his excellent Ukrai-

nian. Some groaned: “If only our government officials could speak Ukrainian as well as this Polish Pope!”

Therein lies one of the most glaring differences between the pastoral approaches of the pope of Rome and the patriarch of Moscow. Even though Moscow claims that Ukraine is its inviolable turf, the man who claims to be the spiritual father of Orthodox Ukraine refuses to utter a single phrase in the language of his flock. Imperial habits die hard. No matter that Alexei II is from Estonia, with a surname – Ridiger – that hardly sounds Muscovite. In fact, when people from conquered nations serve imperial interests they often are more adamant about identifying with the master race.

It was sad to watch. After repeatedly reminding the pope that he really was not welcome in this part of the world, the patriarch of Moscow spent the duration of the papal visit just outside the northern borders of Ukraine, as if guarding the more docile Belarus from being infected by Ukraine’s sympathetic welcome for John Paul II. Old empires do need protection from new ways.

In a very paradoxical turn of events, there is only one remaining institution of the old Tsarist empire of the Romanovs: the Patriarchate of Moscow. True, it is a Tsarist institution that was put down by the Tsars themselves still in the time of the so-called Peter the Great. And it is only through the vicissitudes of history that the Moscow Patriarchate is the only old imperial institution to survive the bloody upheavals of the Russian Revolution, which led to the expansion of Russian imperial holdings but also to a loss of most of its tradition. All that remains of the *ancien régime* is the Moscow Patriarchate, which in Soviet times was the closest thing to an established church ever to exist in an officially atheist state. Today it is the Russian imperialist’s last hope for a restitution of the old empire – even if has to be a smaller, Slavic empire of three “fraternal” nations, Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. Of course, Russia would have to be – in Orwellian terms – “more fraternal” than the rest, but that is the way it is with all empires. That this last empire would never come to be was pretty much apparent by the end of the papal visit.

That is where the Moscow Patriarchate lost touch with reality and its faithful. Only one-half of one percent of the Ukrainian population was adamantly opposed to the papal visit. In the aftermath of the pontiff's trip to Ukraine sixty-five percent of Russia's population wanted a papal visit of their own, with only seventeen percent describing themselves as opposed. Patriarch Alexei's dire predictions only offered the mass media the opportunity to witness and report on a remarkably warm and successful papal pilgrimage.

Some journalists, in their perpetually Russocentric obsession, asked repeatedly: What is the meaning of the visit to Ukraine? Does it signal the end of John Paul's hopes to visit Russia? Is Ukraine merely a consolation prize? They could not see the obvious. The Catholic Church of Kiev (otherwise known by an ethnic and therefore less ecclesiologically proper name as the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church) was for half a century (1946–1990) the world's largest banned religious body. Not that many people noticed this fact, since the world knows precious little of Ukraine and even less of the largest of the Eastern Catholic Churches (those Orthodox Churches that are in full and visible communion with Rome).

This Catholic Church of Kiev looks to the Vatican City-State as a kind of guarantee that the Catholic Church will not become a servant of the state, as the Moscow Patriarchate has clearly done, from the times of the Tsars through the rule of the commissars and still today. The papal visit of June 2001 underlined this fact in a strange way. In order to appease those Orthodox who followed Alexei's warnings about the nefarious intentions of the pope – who, it was said, was out to steal sheep away from Moscow's Church in Ukraine – the entire trip was billed as the State Visit of the Head of State of the Vatican, that quaint little country (half church and half museum, with more gardens than citizenry) whose army is merrily festooned in uniforms by Michelangelo, and armed with the most modern of pike-style weaponry.

Yet, the pope is the citizen of no man's regime, the subject of no earthly ruler, and it is precisely this that Ukrainian Catholics were willing to suffer and die for in Siberia. The recent beatification of twenty-six martyrs only solidified the

long-standing belief that the Church should remain beyond government control.

After the Soviet take-over in 1944 not one Ukrainian Greco-Catholic bishop was willing to cooperate with the secret police and join the Moscow Patriarchate, though they were asked to do so repeatedly. Most died, either in prison or as a result of their tortures. The patriarch of this Church, Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, was released by the Soviets in a deal brokered by journalist Norman Cousins between John F. Kennedy, Pope John XXIII, and Nikita Khrushchev, shortly after the Cuban missile crisis. Expected to die soon, after suffering eighteen years in Siberian concentration camps, he stubbornly lived on for twenty-one more years, dying a scant five years before his Church came out of the underground not in the thousands (as predicted) but in the millions, to the utter surprise of the Moscow Patriarchate, the Vatican, the KGB, and the CIA.

There were martyrs of Nazi oppression as well. Even though the Germans struck a less barbaric pose at first and may have confused some Ukrainian Catholics who had been suffering under Bolshevik oppression, the Church soon saw things as they were.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was one who saw things very clearly indeed. He used his residences and monasteries to save Jews from extermination and wrote a courageous letter to Himmler condemning the slaughter, while most of German-occupied Europe remained anxiously silent. He also wrote a pastoral letter, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," in which he threatened with excommunication any of his flock who took part in the genocide. Among those recently beatified was a priest who took these orders seriously and was murdered by the Nazis for it. Sheptytsky himself was honored by the pope repeatedly, but his beatification apparently requires the detailed examination of his voluminous archives from forty-four years at the helm of the Church. That Metropolitan Andrey was not canonized during the papal visit to Ukraine came as a bitter blow to the hearts of most Ukrainian Greco-Catholics. Even though he had not yet been beatified, most Ukrainian Greco-Catholics held their breaths, waiting desperately for his canonization. And even though he is perhaps a political minefield of sorts –

because he was not only a holy man, but also a supporter of Ukrainian independence (not only from Russia, but from Poland as well) – most Ukrainian Greco-Catholics still cling to the innocent and naïve hope that the Church will look beyond the politics and see the man they call their spiritual Moses as the saint they know him to be.

Today that Church has the most ambitious theological school in the country, the Ukrainian Catholic University (successor to the L'viv Theological Academy), whose Harvard-trained rector, Father Borys Gudziak, asked John Paul to bless its cornerstone, its students, its faculty, its buildings, and its future.

Education is the priority of a new generation of self-starting leaders who push for authentic catechesis and place the highest demands on theological students. Armed with thorough knowledge of classical and modern languages, alumni of the Ukrainian Catholic University are among the best-educated graduates in Ukraine. Through a strange twist in post-Soviet history, as of 2001, the government of Ukraine has not yet recognized theology as a university discipline, depriving highly qualified young people of job opportunities and basic benefits accruing to university graduates. The pope made sure to emphasize the need to rectify this situation. In a wily move, Fr. Gudziak welcomed President Leonid Kuchma to the pope's last and best attended service (it is said that over one million came to the Byzantine liturgy in L'viv) by asking the crowd to thank the president for his openness on the issue of accrediting theological studies. A cheer went up and saved the president from embarrassment. Most of those present would have preferred to boo him on worldwide television. We must wait to see to what degree the still not entirely de-Sovietized Ukrainian government will see the value of theological study.

The Catholic Church of Kiev is often labeled "uniate." But this Church is no creation of Counter-Reformation missionaries out to convert unsuspecting Orthodox, as Moscow would have one believe, and as is certainly the case with some Eastern Catholic Churches. Its Orthodox bishops chose, in Orthodox synodal fashion, to end the schism with Rome in

1596. Sometimes let down and sometimes saved by Rome, this Church takes no one's help for granted, though it deserves the help of those who believe the Church has a vital role to play in the public forum, without becoming subservient to the state. This feisty attitude is directed not only to foreign occupiers, but to the Ukrainian state as well. One of the country's most outspoken critics of President Kuchma and the corruption in his government is His Beatitude Lubomyr Cardinal Husar, the patriarch of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church.

The title "patriarch" still appears in lower case because Rome has not yet recognized the title officially. This is another great disappointment of the papal visit to Ukraine. Pope John Paul II had promised the Ukrainian bishops that it was not a question of "whether or not" but rather a question of "when." The hierarchy, clergy, and laypeople of this Church are tired of waiting, and the missed opportunity stings.

Many wonder why such an archaic title is of such vital interest to a Church that has so much else to occupy its time and interest. The answer is quite simple. A "major archbishopric" (the current acknowledged category for this Church) can be swallowed up by a patriarchate, while a patriarchate cannot. With the neighboring Patriarchate of Moscow still occupying some of the church buildings taken away from the Ukrainian Greco-Catholics by Stalin and given to Moscow in the 1940s, fears of Moscow's voracious ecclesiastical appetite are not unfounded. Of course, the Church's spokesmen emphasize that the largest of the Eastern Catholic Churches should be granted full status and recognition. At the Byzantine liturgy in L'viv on June 27, the clergy and the faithful let the Pope know their hopes. As Cardinal Husar approached the altar, they chanted exuberantly: "Patriarch, Patriarch!" Did John Paul II not hear this insistent reminder from a Church that has paid dearly for the right to identify itself outside the categories of what others find appropriate?

While the fear of being swallowed up by a caesaropapist and imperially minded neighbor persists, the Catholic Church of Kiev is nevertheless decidedly ecumenical in its vision.

This Church seeks double communion – with Rome and Constantinople – and will gladly unite with the Ukrainian Orthodox if they will accept a similar arrangement, allowing the Orthodox synod to choose the one patriarch of a united Church. This position was articulated already by Andrey Sheptytsky, he whom the saint-making pope chose not to name a saint. In fact, this basic position was articulated back in the early seventeenth century, when the Catholic Metropolitan of Kiev, Josyf Veliamyn Rutsky, negotiated such things with his formidable Orthodox counterpart, Metropolitan Petro Mohyla.

Today, the bigger problem seems to be to get the Orthodox in Ukraine, now split into three major factions, to unite among themselves. The patriarch of Constantinople, who has never accepted the unilateral forced subordination of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to Moscow in 1686, has tremendous interest in these developments. Moscow's claim that autocephaly or ecclesiastical self-rule can be granted only by Moscow, as Kiev's Mother Church, is specious, since Moscow received Christianity from Kievan missionaries two hundred years after Kiev accepted the faith from Constantinople. The Moscow Church cannot be its mother's mother. That is a logic that I dare say even dialectical Marxism could not accept without choking, and yet so many supposed ecumenists put on the sincerest of faces when trying to convince the Kievan faithful that this is how reality has mutated.

It is ironic that those who accepted union with Rome in 1596 were depicted by Ukrainian freedom-fighting Cossacks (not to be confused with the Tsar's later pogrom-bringing elite troops) as having sold out to Polish overlords. How they slaughtered their own brothers (as the Roman Catholic Poles stood idly by, not caring to defend the "uniates" whom they also despised). When will the polemical tracts be rewritten to conform to reality? One still hears talk of the Catholic Church of Kiev being a Polish plot of the sixteenth century, supported by the further schemes of a current Polish pope. Within ninety years, the relatively autonomous Ukrainian Orthodox, who rejected union with Rome, would be reduced to an ever-smaller role in the Russian Church. By the early twentieth century, all its bishops would be carefully chosen Russians or

Russophiles, so that proponents of an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church could not find a single hierarch to head it and had to follow untraditional means of establishing an episcopate, which left it outside the orbit of canonical Orthodox Churches.

Today the Orthodox Churches of Ukraine live in a strained relationship. The largest Church is controlled from Moscow. In many ways it has yet to demonstrate its identity as anything more than a Russian Church in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kievan Patriarchate is greatly hindered in so many ways by one man, its tainted current head, Patriarch Philaret (like Alexei of Moscow, a former agent of the Soviet KGB), a man of many talents whom many simply cannot trust. Because of this there are yet other Orthodox groupings in Ukraine and all of the above reject each other out of hand. This is the troubled fruit of centuries of foreign domination. The Catholic Church of Kiev takes no pleasure in this division among the Orthodox. Their pain is our pain, for we are one Church of Kiev, divided by history, by neighbouring empires, and by our own sin.

It is thus even more ironic that during John Paul's visit to Ukraine, representatives of the descendants of the Ukrainian Cossacks presented the pontiff with greetings and a gift at the Byzantine liturgy in L'viv. The Ukrainian Cossacks slaughtered Roman Catholics and Greco-Catholics, whom they reprobated as "uniates," but it was Pope John Paul II and Lubomyr Cardinal Husar who did the apologizing for dark moments in history, to the fury of those who think this pope apologizes entirely too often, for entirely too much. But asking for forgiveness is a powerful weapon. It disarms the attacker and makes it difficult, or at least in bad taste, to hate. It is an entirely different thing to demand an apology, as Patriarch Alexei II did, when he demanded that the pope atone for his visit to Ukraine. As the *Kyiv Post* noted shortly after his departure, if there are any converts from Russian Orthodoxy in the wake of John Paul's visit to Ukraine, they will not be due to any proselytizing by the pontiff, but rather to the incredibly negative vituperations of the Moscow Patriarchate. Besides, history will someday judge how Moscow reacted when the

Ukrainian Greco-Catholic patriarch Myroslav Ivan Cardinal Lubachivsky proposed mutual forgiveness for the sake of celebrating the millennium of the Baptism of Rus' in 1988. His outstretched hand was met with stony silence.

In L'viv, as the pope flew off, I asked a twenty-something taxi driver how he felt about the pope's remarks. "I'm walking half a meter off the earth, and giddy as a child," he replied.

Ukraine will need a lot of such energetic and dedicated young people to transform itself into the prosperous country it could be. With a highly educated and extremely resourceful populace and much natural wealth, the largest entirely European country could emerge from the shadows in which it was hidden for centuries by foreign powers to be a formidable force. Unlike the industrialized powers of the West, Ukraine's isolation from the nihilism of twentieth-century Western elites just might make it a paradigm for a new type of modern state: one with a Christian soul. Vocations are plentiful. There is incredible potential among dedicated lay believers who want to make a difference. Can the *homo Sovieticus* now ruling at national, regional, and local levels produce a new leadership class to seize the potential? The normally cynical people who were "walking half a meter off the earth" days after the pope's departure will tell you: Ukraine has plenty of surprises left.

And so it is that Pope John Paul II, himself a man of many surprises, came and went, paying respects to the language, culture and history of Ukraine. Now it is up to Ukrainian believers – and the growing number of others, not Ukrainian by ethnicity, who identify with this Church – to take the further steps that boldness in the Spirit calls them to. There is surely much to come.

Fr. Andriy Chirovsky,
Editor-in-Chief



Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and the Religious “Tool-Kit:” A Re-Assessment of His Role in Early Ukrainian-Canadian History

Mirosław Tataryn

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 29)

The author provides a sociological analysis of Sheptytsky's relationship to Ukrainian Catholics in the first wave of immigration to Western Canada in the early 1900s. The author, in the light of several contemporary sociologies of religion and immigration, argues counter-intuitively that religion in a time of “unsettled lives” is not always a conservative factor but can create new and dynamic “strategies of action.” In the formidably new Canadian prairies, the Ukrainian immigrants were not passive “sheep,” content with their spiritual desolation and isolation, but drew on their cultural “tool kit” to create ways to address the lack of priests and spiritual leadership, a lack which Sheptytsky initially did not understand but would later address when the threat of Ukrainian Catholic immigrants joining up with Presbyterians and French Roman Catholics came to the fore. Both groups would prove unsatisfactory, and so the 1918 creation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church came about. The author critically suggests that such a development was, at least sociologically speaking, not so much a complete failure as the “culmination of a dynamic and vital process of self-definition and cultural survival.”



In the 1989 volume of essays, *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytsky*, John-Paul Himka introduces his analysis of “the great Metropolitan’s” relationship with the pre-1914 Ukrainian national movement by re-iterating Volodymyr Doroshenko’s concern that biographers have tended to oversimplify Sheptytsky’s role. In fact Himka calls this approach a “hagiographical trend.”¹ The successes and immensely positive approaches and policies of Sheptytsky post-World War I are, in a sense, projected back into the earlier period. This trend is not surprising, and I would like to suggest it gives us reason to re-examine Sheptytsky’s legacy in the first decades of Ukrainian settlement in Canada.

Certainly Ukrainian Catholic historiography participates in the homogenisation of “the great Metropolitan’s” contribution. For example, in the volume already cited, Bohdan Kazymyra sweepingly asserts: “not until Andrei Sheptytsky became Metropolitan of L’viv in 1900 were the spiritual needs of Ukrainians in Canada effectively addressed.”² Kazymyra’s assessment, however, is hardly supported by the facts. In 1903, significant numbers of Ukrainian settlers become enmeshed in the Seraphimite movement; in 1904, Ukrainian Canadians established the Independent Greek Church; and finally, in 1918, disaffected Ukrainian Catholics established the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Each of these developments clearly undermines, or at the very least sharply qualifies, Kazymyra’s assessment. We are, therefore, thrown into a crisis of interpretation: how are we to reconcile these deleterious developments with the lofty image of Sheptytsky presented to us?

Orest Martynowych’s excellent study, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years*, suggests that these events of 1903–1918 can be explained by the conduct of Roman Catholics, Russian Orthodox, and Protestants. In referring to Roman Catholic Archbishop Langevin, Martynowych argues that “his

¹ John-Paul Himka, “Sheptytsky and the Ukrainian National Movement before 1914” in *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytsky*, ed. Paul R. Magocsi (Edmonton: CIUS, 1989), 28.

² Bohdan Kazymyra, “Sheptytsky and Ukrainians in Canada” in *Ibid.*, 330.

single-minded pursuit of an exclusionist policy opened the door to Russian Orthodox and Protestant proselytising among Ukrainians and brought the intelligentsia’s latent Protestant sympathies to the fore.”³ Thus, there is the suggestion that external agency was at play in the religious crisis experienced by Ukrainian settlers. This assigning of responsibility to an external source is also evident in the works of Paul Yuzyk and Jaroslav Petryshyn.

Yuzyk identifies the disaffection of the Ukrainian settlers with the Catholic Church as a product of the Vatican’s ban on married priests serving in North America, the Latinization forced upon Ukrainians by Latin bishops, the demand by those same bishops to register church deeds in their name, and the activities of French and Belgian missionaries (“foreigners”) among Ukrainians in Canada’s West.⁴ Even Yuzyk’s claim of the “growing democratic consciousness of the pioneers”⁵ is the product of their experiencing Western democracy rather than the activation of an inherently Ukrainian characteristic. A very similar roster of causes is presented by Petryshyn in *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891–1914*.⁶

Effectively, then, the argument is that Ukrainian settlers were being acted upon and their agency in the events of the first three decades of settlement ignored, minimized or denied. Even Sheptytsky himself, in his 1911 “Address on the Ruthenian Question,” foreshadows the analysis of contemporary scholars when he says that “it is common knowledge that the Ruthenians are as a whole an inert body not yet decided for certain one way or the other.... For to follow the current, there you have the whole mentality, almost more than one can believe, of all Orientals and of Ruthenians in particular.”⁷ The accuracy of these less than flattering words

³ Orest T. Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891–1924* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1991), 182.

⁴ Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, 1918–1951* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1981), 40–45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶ (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1985), 128.

⁷ Andrew Szepticky [*sic*], “Address on the Ruthenian Question to their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Canada” in *Two Documents on*

must be questioned. I would like to address the question of why Ukrainian Catholic settlers turned en masse to first a clearly Protestant movement and then in fact created a new religious entity, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. I accept the validity of the above-cited reasons in giving us part of the picture, but suggest that the role and function of religion in the life of Ukrainian Catholic settlers in Canada can go a long way in helping us understand their motivations for responding to the external forces in the manner that they did. The theoretical model for my analysis is found in the work of Ann Swidler, a sociologist of religion and culture from the University of California, and echoed in the work of scholars like James Clifford,⁸ Delwin Brown⁹ and Sheila Greeve Davaney.¹⁰

In her article, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," Swidler proposes that we need to distinguish the way in which such manifestations of culture as religion are used in settled and unsettled periods. Traditionally, such manifestations were seen as supplying the forms and structures that express meaning in a consistent and stable manner. Culture, in other words, was a solid and constant monolith, anchoring people to their history amidst the vicissitudes of time. Swidler, however, prefers the "image of culture as a 'tool kit' of symbols, stories, rituals and world-views, which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kinds of problems."¹¹ This "tool kit" is a collection of capacities which a group or society then makes its own by the manner in which

the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 1911–1976, ed. M.H. Marunchak (Winnipeg: National Council of Ukrainian Organizations for the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 1977), 8.

⁸ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁹ Delwin Brown, *Boundaries of Our Habitations: Tradition and Theological Construction* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994).

¹⁰ Sheila Greeve Davaney, "Theology and the Turn to Cultural Analysis" in *Converging on Culture: Theologians in Dialogue with Cultural Analysis and Criticism*, eds. Delwin Brown et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹¹ Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 51: 273.

they link together and then use these capacities or values. Action results from a linking of this “cultural equipment” whereby the society or group achieves its common goals or ends. Delwin Brown expresses a similar insight in assessing the work of James Clifford: “cultures and traditions have *always* been constantly renegotiated ensembles of diversity.”¹² Cultures, therefore, are not givens or absolutes, but rather are made “through a process of collective, conflictive, value-laden negotiation.”¹³

Immigrant societies are commonly “said to act in culturally determined ways when they preserve traditional habits in new circumstances.”¹⁴ Swidler demonstrates that this is a “theoretically vacuous assumption.”¹⁵ “Far from maintaining continuity despite changed circumstances, a surge of ideological and religious activity has propelled the transformations modernizing societies seek. Culture thus plays a central role in contemporary social change, but it is *not* the role our conventional models would predict.”¹⁶

Swidler goes on to argue that culture works very differently in two different situations, what she calls “settled lives” and “unsettled lives.” In settled lives, culture functions in the commonly assumed way: there is a mutual reinforcing of cultural symbols and values with the society’s ethos or mode of action as cultural tools act as forces for stability and continuity.

In unsettled lives, however, cultural tools work differently: “people formulate, flesh out, and put into practice new habits of action.”¹⁷ This is not done by a simplistic rejection of the old, but rather by re-learning the old values and meanings and applying them to new circumstances.¹⁸ Such a phase or period demands that people “construct new strategies of action,” but strategies which, although new, may “draw on many tacit

¹² Delwin Brown, “Refashioning Self and Other: Theology, Academy, and the New Ethnography” in *Converging on Culture*, 45.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁴ Swidler, “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies,” 277.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 278.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 279.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 278.

assumptions from the existing culture.”¹⁹ I would argue that Ukrainian settlers in the northwest territories of Canada in the first two decades of the twentieth century were experiencing just this kind of upheaval and undertook just this kind of reformation of their cultural heritage and tools. As we shall see, in such periods what is crucial is the ability to hold together the new and the old in creative tension, transplanting certain parts of culture into a new context with a view to their future flourishing: “it is...the concrete situations in which these cultural models are enacted that determine which take root and thrive, and which whither and die.”²⁰

Although the outcome, the characteristic of the society at the end of the unsettled period, may be radically different than in the prior settled period, Swidler contends that this does not mean that the society has rejected the cultural tools, but instead has learned to utilize them in a new way. This is the renegotiation of value and meaning of which Clifford, Brown and others speak. Thus, the pre-World War I period of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, with its adoption by the settlers of such apparently unusual solutions to their problems as the Seraphimite movement, the Independent Greek Church, and even the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, are not evidence of the passivity and “sheep mentality” suggested by Sheptytsky, but are, instead, attempts at using the cultural “tool kit” provided by their Ukrainian Catholic heritage to address the demands of their new environment. All three of these movements can be understood as a Ukrainian Catholic response to an environment totally different from the stable world of Galicia.

We see evidence of this attempt at using the cultural tool kit in a new way among settlers in western Canada trying to maintain a spiritual life when lacking the infrastructure of the Ukrainian Church, which they had enjoyed in Galicia. Initially, Ukrainians on the Canadian prairies did not have a resident clergy or, in many cases, proper church buildings. These absences were heartfelt among many of the settlers. In 1899, a Manitoba settler wrote to the Greek Catholic journal *Misionar*:

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 280.

Dear Fathers, Life here is very good for our bodies, there is no physical deprivation, but what of that, when there are great deprivations of the soul. There is enough to eat, drink and wear. But our soul is poor, very poor. This is because it has nothing to eat or drink, nothing from which to live, no roof to stand beneath. It can only shelter itself under strangers’ roofs and listen to them, but it does not hear and does not understand.

Another source, immigrants to the United States, put it more succinctly: “we are not entirely the same as we were in our country, because we are missing something. What we miss is God Whom we could understand, Whom we could adore in our own way.”²¹

One of the strategies for dealing with this tangible absence in the new communities was of course the erection of churches and an attempt to establish parochial life without a resident clergy. Petryshyn summarizes this centrality of the church when he writes:

In their new, foreign environment, it was the only link with their past and homeland, and it served as an easily identifiable base for Ukrainian social and cultural developments in Canada. Moreover, the Ukrainian churches in Galicia and Bukovyna...protected the Ukrainian identity.... In Canada, where that identity seemed to be threatened by foreign religious influences, the churches served as a safeguard.²²

Ukrainian settlers, in their “unsettled lives,” were drawing upon their cultural “tool kit” to ground themselves in their new situation. For people in such a context, ritual in fact acquires

²¹ This quotation and the previous one are cited in the manuscript of Roman Yereniuk, “Church Jurisdictions and Jurisdictional Changes among Ukrainians in Canada in the Period 1891 to 1925.” Yereniuk’s paper was delivered at a conference in Edmonton, AB., in March 1986.

²² Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 131.

heightened meaning, as Swidler argues.²³ Indeed, its importance is such that they continued traditional rituals in spite of the lack of priests.²⁴

In this unstable environment the continued appeals for a priest manifested a desire for a leader, not simply of religious ritual, but of the community in its new situation. In fact, I would suggest the settlers were hoping for a kind of ethnarch who could help them in the onerous task of re-configuring their cultural values and meanings in their new environment, assisting them to move from their current “unsettled” state to a “settled” one. Unfortunately, this was not to be; priests were not available for service in Canada in any significant numbers. But more importantly for this analysis, the mother church in Galicia did not always recognize that the needs of the settlers were not simply sacramental or of a ritual nature but went to the core of the settlers’ identity.

In Sheptytsky’s first letter to “the Ruthenians Settled in Canada,” he tackled directly the plaintive appeals of the settlers. This letter was dated August 1901 and Sheptytsky was now the primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; as such, he was deeply committed to the survival of the Church. “For two years now I have been receiving your letters, in which you present your sad situation and you request priests.”²⁵ He stated that he did not respond earlier to their letters, not out of disregard, but rather because he wished to respond with concrete deeds rather than empty words. Finally, now, he was able to act: his former secretary, Fr. Vasyl Zholdak, would be travelling to Canada. Sheptytsky, however, was himself aware of the practical problem of one priest addressing the needs of the Canadian settlers: “he will not be able to visit all of you immediately.... Thus in this letter of mine I wish to express to you briefly what and how you are to act, while you still do not have a priest. You will need this lesson for many

²³ Swidler, “Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies,” 279.

²⁴ Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 131.

²⁵ “Русинам Осілим у Канаді,” *Твори Слуги Божого Митрополита Андрея Шептицького: Пастирські листи (2.VIII.1899 – 7.IX.1901)*. (Toronto, 1965), 259.

years to come.”²⁶ He then went on to expound the fundamentals of the Catholic faith, which are essential for “salvation” and “eternal happiness.”²⁷ Somewhat carelessly though, he admitted that “salvation is extremely difficult without a priest”!²⁸ Sheptytsky emphasized the centrality of holding firm to the Church’s teaching and participating in the sacraments, all of which, of course, require the intermediary role of the clergy. Should one not hold firm to all these teachings and practices, “that ... one ... will not be saved.”²⁹

Similarly, in his second letter a year later, he again emphasized these catechetical and moral themes. Rather than offering advice on how to use their religious “tool kit” in their unstable environment, Sheptytsky applied the “tools” used in Galicia for a “stable society” to the altogether different situation of Western Canada. The result was predictable: many would try to claim and manage this “tool kit” in their own way, often with unintended and unpredictable consequences.

By 1911, however, a slightly more nuanced analysis of the problems of Ukrainian settlers appeared in Sheptytsky’s address to the Canadian episcopate. Here he recognized that the needs of the settlers could not be addressed solely by providing a priest to every parish. This document of 1911 demonstrates that “the great Metropolitan” was in fact great: he implicitly recognized the inadequacy of his earlier response and was becoming aware of the real needs of the settlers. Sheptytsky can be seen to be modifying his earlier approach in three ways. First, he admitted the inadequacy of his earlier assessment. Second, he explicitly judged the problem to be not simply a question of the “salvation of souls,” but of the social and national survival of the immigrants. Third, his proposed remedy to the dire situation called for the appointment of a Ukrainian Catholic bishop with “entire jurisdiction over all the Ruthenians,”³⁰ a proposal which he

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 260.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 261.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 264.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

had made to Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface as early as 1903.³¹

Sheptytsky's maturing analysis was first demonstrated by his admission of the deficiency of his earlier response, as he admits:

had I better understood the need of our immigrants and the seriousness of the situation I would have been able for years past to have been preparing more missionaries for Canada. I was thinking that the Basilians alone would be equal to the task, and that it would even be better not to send secular priests.... I regret this mistake very much indeed, which has delayed for years the help we are called upon to give to the brave missionaries of the West.³²

This expression of regret suggests that Sheptytsky felt in a sense misled by the Roman Catholic bishops and the Basilian Fathers, about whose "insufficient"³³ numbers in the settlements he was never told. Sheptytsky implicitly admitted that addressing the needs of the Ukrainian settlers could not be done by a Latin bishop or priest and could not simply be solved by teaching the Catholic faith and administering the sacraments:

the position of the missionary in Canada is such at present that in the eyes of the people the Ruthenian priest from Galicia has more authority than the Latin bishop, and the priest who is on the side of this bishop has less authority than the one who is against him. It is very painful for me to have to say it, but it is most

³¹ Bohdan Kazymyra, "Sheptytsky and Ukrainians in Canada," 334.

³² "Address on the Ruthenian Question," 15.

³³ By all accounts the Basilian strategy in the missions was consonant with Sheptytsky first letter of 1901. Martynowych observes that "Most Basilians were animated by a spirit and discipline that concentrated on obtaining eternal salvation for their flock. The Ukrainian national movement and social activism were definitely subordinate to preserving the immigrants' faith and allegiance to the Catholic Church." Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 197.

certainly the case. The Latin bishop is considered as an enemy, and the priest who is on his side is no patriot, while the priest who is against him is a true patriot.³⁴

This new-found clarity of assessment led Sheptytsky to recognize that a factor which he did not even address in his 1901 letter had become very central to the crisis in Canada: the Roman Catholic Church and its representatives were rejected as a “foreign and antagonistic authority.”³⁵ Sheptytsky, however, realized that the crisis was about more than theology or ecclesiastical politics: it was about the cultural identity and survival of the Ukrainian settlers, whose future “will be in the hands of him who will know how to stir up and direct a great social movement, at once national and religious, which will carry along the whole Ruthenian population of this or the next generation one way or the other.”³⁶ Thus had Sheptytsky come to recognize that religion was not just about salvation; it was also about survival and identity. He, too, was coming to use the “tool kit” at his disposal somewhat imaginatively.

In Sheptytsky’s address to the Roman Catholic bishops of Canada, he unequivocally concluded: “it seems to me to be absolutely necessary to obtain from the Holy See the nomination of a Bishop of Ruthenian rite and nationality, who would have jurisdiction over all the Ruthenians.”³⁷ He recognized that this proposal required diplomacy. He prefaced it with complimentary words for the efforts and endeavours of the Latin bishops but went on to say that for his people to remain Catholic, their social, ethnic, and even political aspirations needed to be addressed by one of their own. He recognized that without a Ukrainian bishop any endeavour would smack of Latinization and would therefore likely be rejected by the

³⁴ “Address on the Ruthenian Question,” 18–19.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

typical Ukrainian settler: “it is his priest and his bishop whom he considers in the first place.”³⁸

Sheptytsky discovered that the settlers needed their Church to work with them in order for them to survive: “the Ruthenians in Canada are like a transplanted tree, and in consequence sick and enfeebled. The support to which they are accustomed and without which they would not have known how to live, has become now even more necessary.”³⁹ Yet, to make this happen Sheptytsky argued in favour of an innovation: the model that the Vatican used in the United States must be rejected. “The bishop in the United States has no jurisdiction and in consequence has a false position which gives him more trouble than strength, without authority to govern.”⁴⁰ The Canadian bishop must have jurisdiction, must in fact be modelled on the position of Latin bishops who reside and have jurisdiction in traditional Eastern lands.

Sheptytsky’s initial response to the settlers, rooted in his own preconceived notion of how religion functions, clearly demonstrated the conflict between perceiving religion as an absolute which preserves values and religion as a potential force for informing and assisting in the negotiation of new cultural patterns and structures. He was not alone in en fleshing this conflict. Although the Ukrainian settlers were searching to make their cultural and religious values meaningful in the struggle to survive in Canada, none of their would-be “allies” genuinely understood their real needs. The Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian “missionaries” both failed to understand the needs of the Ukrainian settlers, seeking instead to gain adherents from among the Ukrainian settlers in order for each to promote a larger agenda.

The Catholic agenda was aimed at religious assimilation for the purpose of bolstering the French position in Western Canada. Martynowych rightly observes that “Archbishop Langevin, primate of the French Catholics, themselves on the cultural defensive since the early 1870s, regarded the immigrants as potential allies in the struggle for French Catholic

³⁸ Ibid., 16–17.

³⁹ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 23.

linguistic and religious rights.”⁴¹ However, that potentially valuable role was premised on their becoming part of the Roman Catholic bloc and thus challenging the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon Protestants in the West. To promote this agenda, Langevin blocked efforts for Sheptytsky to visit Canada, ignored his appeals for support before the Vatican for the appointment of a bishop, and aggressively promoted a policy of Latinization.⁴² Moreover, Ukrainian Catholic missionaries arriving from the United States were refused jurisdiction to minister to the Ukrainian settlers.

For their part, the Presbyterians also saw the Ukrainian settlers as convenient, if unwitting, allies for different political designs as well as victims of quasi-pagan ritualism. According to Vivian Olender, “Ukrainians were believed to present the most serious obstacle to the establishment of Presbyterian Anglo-Canadian hegemony on the prairies.... To the Presbyterians the religion of the Ukrainian Churches consisted only of outward performance, an elaborate superstitious ritual and ceremony used to ward off evil.”⁴³ In fact the “excessive population growth” of these Ukrainians presented a threat, stated alarmingly by one observer of the period thus: “if the foreigners are not educated and made loyal, they are sure to prove a menace to the free play of popular government. If not evangelised and brought up to our moral level, they are sure to drag us down to theirs.”⁴⁴

To ward off such prospects, the Presbyterian Home Mission Committee set about “raising the moral standard” of the immigrants by promoting public education. In fact, this was above all a policy of blocking immigrant support for Catholic

⁴¹ Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 155.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 184. This policy even resulted in the archbishop’s support for the proselytising efforts of two Oblates of Polish descent. The Kulawy brothers established a parish in north Winnipeg together with a Polish-language school through which they attempted to attract as many Ukrainian Catholics into the Latin fold as possible.

⁴³ Vivian Olender, “The Reaction of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Towards Ukrainian Immigrants (1900–1925): Rural Home Missions as Agencies of Assimilation” (Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Michael’s College, Toronto School of Theology, 1984), 56.

⁴⁴ Cited in *Ibid.*, 57, n. 70.

schools. Here the Presbyterians were somewhat more adept than the Roman Catholics. Rather than overtly forcing assimilation, they embraced two young Ukrainians who wished to become teachers, Ivan Bodrug and Ivan Negrich, both from the same region as the influential Cyril Genik, an interpreter for the Department of Immigration.

Bodrug and Negrich came to be the leading players in the drama that resulted in the creation of the Independent Greek Church. This uniquely Canadian phenomenon attempted to maintain an Eastern flavour in a body theologically rooted in Presbyterianism. It is clear that from the perspective of the Presbyterian Church this Independent Church was nothing but a vehicle for assimilation. In 1908, the superintendent of the Home Mission Committee, Dr. J.A. Carmichael reported, “the Home Mission Committee has no more important and delicate work under its care than the guiding and controlling of this Independent Greek movement.”⁴⁵

Control of this body had to be exercised delicately: its successes came not when its Presbyterian face was dominant but when its “Ukrainianness” was at the fore. In his memoirs, Ivan Bodrug recounts how in 1903 he faced a very belligerent group of Ukrainian settlers at Fish Creek, Saskatchewan.⁴⁶ According to his account, their opposition turned to acceptance and embrace due to his ability to address them in Ukrainian and speak to their souls.⁴⁷ His impassioned Ukrainian homily pacified the crowd and resulted in their being invited into the church. He was able to celebrate a three-hour liturgy there, even though the ecclesiastical statutes said that the liturgy

⁴⁵ Ibid., 92.

⁴⁶ John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church* (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1982), 58–64.

⁴⁷ Bodrug’s dialogue with the threatening crowd began by invoking the ritual preface to the epistle reading in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy: “Let us be attentive! Peace to all! Wisdom! Let us be attentive!” After reading a passage from Second Corinthians, he placed the message of the reading in the context of the settlers’ struggles, comparing their plight to the Exodus experience: “And us, my brothers and sisters, us the Lord has led from our native land across the wide ocean and is still leading us here by the thousands. He is leading us out from the bondage of Poland and Austria into this wide, free land of Canada.” Cited in Ibid., 60.

must be no longer than one-and-a-half hours!⁴⁸ Again, success was to be found not in the norms of the “stable society” but rather in the ability to adapt to the needs and concerns of the settlers.

Adaptation to the needs of settlers required a carefully balanced hand. Speaking in Ukrainian may have won them over from their initial hostility and scepticism, but the people would not be pacified with mere language if their own leaders, together with the fundamentals of their ritual experience, were tampered with. A letter from pastor Mykhailo Hutnikevych, written to pastor Ivan Zazulyak of Saskatoon in March, 1910, admits how his parishioners in Rossgburn, Manitoba were revolting against the foreign reforms imposed by the Independent Church leaders:

a revolution has descended upon my parish in Rossgburn, as a result of my parishioners finding out that our organization has begun to reform Church ritual and rites, in order to make the people pure Protestants. The parishioners want none of it, and clearly declare that they will not abandon their own.... I have concluded that we will not be able to build an independent Church. We cannot hold the people in Protestantism, and if we do not lead them into Orthodoxy, to which they are inclined, they will go themselves and will call us traitors.⁴⁹

Even a prominent leader of the Independent Church, Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat) admitted: “the greatest mistake of all was the abolition of Ukrainian leadership in 1913, when the Independent Greek Church became a part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Added to this was the serious mistake of dropping the Greek ritual in their form of worship.”⁵⁰ Even Ivan Bodrug himself came to admit in his memoirs that what the settlers were searching for was a church rooted in their

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁹ Пантелеймон Божик, *Церков Українців в Канаді* (Winnipeg: Canadian Ukrainian, 1927), 66–67.

⁵⁰ Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, 119.

culture. This would allow them to address their needs in this new land of Canada, from within the cultural nexus which they recognized as their own:

The Presbyterian Church, a creation arising out of the spirit and culture of the Scottish people, however genuinely Christian and highly cultured it may be, was NOT UKRAINIAN. Every people has its own peculiar psychology and culture and every church must fit the psychology and culture of a given people. And when reform does come to a given church, such reform must take place step-by-step, according to the spiritual growth and traditions of that nation.⁵¹

In the end, Bodrug's experiment failed because it was not Ukrainian enough; it did not maintain enough of the elements of the Ukrainian cultural "tool kit."

With the failure to find dependable allies in either the Roman Catholics or the Presbyterians, the Ukrainian settlers came in 1918 to create the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In that year, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood issued its "Appeal to the Ukrainian People in Canada," in which it declared that it was time for the establishment of a truly Ukrainian Church, "a great institution, which must look after the religious, moral and educational elevation of the people."⁵² This Church was a novel exercise in Church creation. It struggled for recognition as an Orthodox Church, and in many instances of ecclesiastical governance it chose a non-traditional path in order to best address the needs of its membership. It was, I would suggest, exactly what Metropolitan Sheptytsky foresaw in his 1911 appeal to the Latin bishops of Canada, "a great social movement, at once national and religious,"⁵³ yet it is not what he would have like to have happened. Once more we have the religious "tool kit" being applied in creative and novel ways predicted by almost no one.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, 87.

⁵³ "Address on the Ruthenian Question," 8.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was not to demonstrate the inadequacies of Sheptytsky’s response to the dilemma of Ukrainian settlers in western Canada, nor to argue for his innocence in the incompetence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to address the needs of its members in Canada. Rather, it was to see, with the help of Swidler’s insights, that initially Sheptytsky, like most others involved in this process, engaged in a misreading of the needs of the immigrants and a misunderstanding of how they needed their religious tradition to function in their new world.⁵⁴ Whereas Sheptytsky’s letter of 1901 was a pious appeal of a hierarch to his flock that they continue in their faith, in spite of their difficult circumstances, that flock was actually seeking new ways in which to make their faith viable in their new realities. Sheptytsky, over the space of a few years, recognized the inadequacy of his early assessment and attempted to make amends. By this time, however, he came up against two significant problems. First, the “growing sense of independency,” as Yuzyk called it, meant that more and more settlers were making decisions about their faith, their religion, and their future independent of their historic religious superiors.⁵⁵ Second, the adaptability and flexibility shown in Sheptytsky’s recommendations of 1911 were stifled by those who were unwilling or unable to recognize that what was needed in those early days of Ukrainian settlement was leadership which demonstrated the meaningfulness and viability of the Ukrainian Catholic religious heritage in this new environment. Vatican decrees, Roman Catholic policies of Latinization, and foreign missionaries – no matter how well-meaning – all mitigated against an authentic, internal Ukrainian Catholic response to this new

⁵⁴ This, of course, is not to suggest that Sheptytsky is to blame for the problems of Ukrainian settlers in Canada. Nor is it to suggest that disastrous Vatican directives, the attitudes of Roman Catholic bishops, the aggressive work of Protestants and the Russian Orthodox, and secular democratic ideas were not part of a complex of causes which created the dire situation in which the Ukrainian Catholic Church found itself in the first quarter of the twentieth century in Western Canada.

⁵⁵ Yuzyk, *The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada*, 29.

situation, leading in the end to the various divisions which we have seen, and ultimately to the 1918 creation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, on which Martynowych rather mercilessly passes judgment by declaring: “it was nationalism, not doctrinal dissent, that led to the formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church. Nor was it any appreciation of Eastern theology and spirituality that attracted the founders; the attraction was political.”⁵⁶

I cannot concur. What happened in 1918 was the culmination of a dynamic and vital process of self-definition and cultural survival. The leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was unable to provide a tangible and authentic vision of their Church within the settler’s experience of the new world. The immigrants’ search for a way of being fully Ukrainian Catholic in Canada was stymied in many ways, but in the end their religious “tool kit” enabled them to create a new alternative. Martynowych is correct in saying that this new creation was not the product of dissent from one, or assent to another, particular theology. It was, however, an attempt to sustain the cultural and religious identity of a people through what was regarded by the participants as an authentic appropriation of their religio-cultural heritage. This was done independent of the Ukrainian Catholic Church only because that Church’s leadership had been judged inadequate in negotiating such a path in the circumstances of the New World.



⁵⁶ Orest Martynowych, *Ukrainians in Canada*, 410.

Резюме

Автор застосовує кілька нових соціологічних теорій для того, щоб аргументувати, що неспокій та заворушення серед перших українських емігрантів до Канади, які здебільше були греко-католиками, наштовхнуло їх шукати нових способів для вирішення релігійних проблем. Незважаючи на те, що часто буває, що емігрування веде до певного консерватизму, перші імігранти в Західню Канаду розв'язали проблему браку священників тим, що створили Українську Греко-Православну Церкву Канади. Та ще перед тим дехто з них готовий був “експериментувати” можливість творення української “вітки” пресвітеріянської Церкви. Автор вважає, що ці спроби були виявами динамічного мислення та дії перших емігрантів.



Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky: A Pioneer of the Sister Churches Model of Church Unity?

Ihor George Kutash

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 40)

The author, an archpriest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada, provides a history of the ecclesiological development of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, demonstrating his remarkable prescience in laying the groundwork for later treatment of the Orthodox Church as a “sister Church,” a model for ecumenism that would not find voice again in a significant way until after Vatican II when the international Orthodox-Catholic dialogue took it up, basing itself less on a universalist and more on a eucharistic ecclesiology. Sheptytsky’s pioneering endeavours sowed seeds for Catholics in particular to move beyond “soteriological exclusivism” and to recognize in Orthodoxy a venerable and valid means of salvation. Sheptytsky manifested an openness to, and solicitude for, Orthodoxy, as seen in: his refusal to use the epithet “schismatic” when speaking of them; his hospitality to Orthodox hierarchs; and his letter of 30 December 1941 which called for openness and unity. The author concludes by noting how these hopes have continued to grow in the six decades since Sheptytsky’s death.



I. Introduction: A Matter of Ecclesiology

Both the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, in their confession of faith, proclaim that the Church is one. The Orthodox theologian Alexander Khomiakov observed that this “unity follows of necessity from the unity of God.”¹ The Christian faith we hold in common tells us that this unity is essentially unbroken. There can be and obviously *are* schisms which certainly create scandal and weaken the testimony of the Church of Jesus Christ to a humanity that might otherwise be able to see a model of unity in diversity. These schisms, however, do *not* break the unity of the Church. As Bishop Kallistos (Ware) says, “there can be schisms *from* the Church, but no schisms *within* the Church.”²

A crucial question in the growing movement for a more visible unity of the Church is: upon what could that unity be based? Traditionally, Rome and the East have given different answers to that question; their perspectives on ecclesiology have been divergent from each other for more than a millennium. Where Rome has seen the unity of the Church in the throne of Peter (based on a certain interpretation of Matthew 16:18³), the Orthodox see this unity as embodied in the act of communion in the holy mysteries. Bishop Kallistos writes:

what ... holds the Church together? Orthodox answer, the act of communion in the sacraments. The Orthodox theology of the Church is above all else a *theology of communion*. Each local Church is constituted, as

¹ *The Church is One*, trans. William Palmer (London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1968), section 1.

² *The Orthodox Church*, (London, New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 245.

³ “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” The Orthodox (as well as Protestants) have tended to see this “rock” as the Petrine confession of faith: “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God” (Matthew 16:16) while the Church of Rome has seen it as the throne or office of Peter as leader of the apostles. When the Orthodox have accepted this interpretation, they have also said that the office of Peter is essentially the same for all bishops. As Saint Cyprian wrote, “the episcopacy is one and each bishop holds it in its entirety.”

Ignatius [of Antioch] saw, by the congregation of the faithful, gathered around their bishop and celebrating the Eucharist; the Church universal is constituted by the communion of the heads of the local Churches, the bishops, with one another. Unity is not maintained from without by the authority of a Supreme Pontiff, but created from within by the celebration of the Eucharist.⁴

It is this perspective on ecclesiology that makes it possible to speak, as has been the case for more than a decade, of the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches as “sister Churches.” It is this perspective that has made it possible for Pope John Paul II to call for the unity of East and West by saying that the Church must again be able to breathe with both lungs. It is this perspective, moreover, that is seeping into the consciousness of the *sensus fidelium*, and forms that intuition about unity held by the people of God which makes them the “defenders of Orthodoxy” (a key concept in Orthodoxy). It is this perspective that makes it possible to anticipate a restoration of communion between the Churches, making visible and manifest, within space and time, that which is already true in eternity. This perspective, finally, was the one that so animated Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in his quest for unity that he even requested a blessing to accept martyrdom for it. More than a century after his accession to the metropolitan throne of Lviv, we have fresh reason to respect his vision and mission.

II. Eastern Catholic Appeals for Unity Based on the Petrine Model

When Pope Clement VIII received the bishops of the Church of Kiev (there were only two dissenting voices among them) into the Union of Brest in 1596, he said: “Through you, my Ruthenians, I hope to convert all the East” (“*Per vos, mei rutheni, orientem convertendum spero*”). Speaking in Aleppo, Syria, more than 350 years later, another Catholic hierarch,

⁴ Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 256.

Archbishop Neophytos Edelby, would say: “our...mission as Catholics is to create a favourable atmosphere for a return to the Universal Church of our separated brethren, the Orthodox.... The separated communities of the East would find life...by making room for their own spiritual fulfilment which will be found in their integration into the rest of Christendom.”⁵ Such sentiments were echoed by Pope John Paul II, in his 1982 visit to Ukrainian Catholics in Winnipeg, where he reminded them of their duty to be a bridge between East and West.

Such sentiments have often been received with suspicion by the Orthodox, who see in them a hidden agenda of the sometime soteriological exclusivism of the Roman Church.⁶ The indignation felt by the Orthodox upon hearing such undoubtedly well-meaning appeals was expressed with some bitterness in April 1942, by the writers and signatories of the “Response of the Ukrainian Orthodox Intelligentsia to Metropolitan Sheptytsky’s Letter.” They disdained an invitation to a unity which “would not be a *union* of two Ukrainian Churches, the Greco-Catholic and the Orthodox, whereby each of these would go half-way towards the other, but on the contrary this would be a unification of the *Ukrainian Orthodox Church* to the *Universal Church*.”⁷ They go on to speak critically of “*podvihs*” of the “Christ-loving” Polish clergy of that Universal Church who participated in the destruction of Orthodox churches in Eastern Poland against which Sheptytsky spoke decisively and clearly. Then they continue to speak in similar fashion of the “Christian zeal” of Rome manifest in the

⁵ Published as “Our Vocation as Eastern Christians” in *The Eastern Churches and Catholic Unity*, ed. Patriarch Maximos IV Sayegh (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1963), 35–36, 37.

⁶ Fr. Serge Kelleher has written that “from about the middle of the nineteenth century the Holy See developed an interest in enticing more Orthodox into submitting to the Roman Pontiff, and to this end offered promises that the Eastern Rite would not be touched.” See his article, “A Watchman before the Dawn: Metropolitan Andrey and *Oriente Lumen*,” *Eastern Churches Journal* 7 (2000): 83–84.

⁷ Document no. 164 in the collection of documents and materials *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький: Життя і Діяльність: Церква і Церковна Єдність: Документи і Матеріали 1899–1944*, Volume I, ed. Andrii Krawchuk (Lviv: Svichado, 1995), 415.

warning (as they perceived it: Sheptytsky denied it was such) by the papal nuncio in Warsaw to Sheptytsky to desist from his defensive activities.

An agenda of soteriological exclusivism⁸ developed in the Church of Rome on the basis of the Petrine model of unity. According to this model, a community of the faithful gathered under the authority of a ruling bishop is in unity with the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church by virtue of being *under the authority* of the bishop of Rome, held to be Peter's successor. Such an agenda does not flow so easily from the eucharistic model of unity, the one preferred by Orthodox ecclesialogists from the mid-twentieth century onward. According to this model, it is simply necessary for the ruling bishops to be *in communion* with each other, and the dignity of their ecclesiastical authority is a matter relevant only to the question of where they sit in liturgical or conciliar assemblies and in what order their names appear in common documents.

The eucharistic model of unity – in which it is not a matter of this or that hierarch or Church *submitting* to, or being accepted into, union with another hierarch or Church which constitutes the *universal* Church – shows the way out of this dead-end of soteriological exclusivism that has blocked the work of Church unity for over a millennium. This eucharistic model makes it possible for Rome and Constantinople, Moscow and Kiev (and so on) to view each other as sister Churches who can ultimately extend eucharistic hospitality to each other and so at last find unity in the Body and Blood of Christ, who prayed that all be one as He and His Father are one (John 17). Would it be possible perhaps for the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches to see each other thus, and instead of seeking to create the monolith for which so many seem to yearn – but which historical experience should have taught us to avoid – build the unity in diversity, the garden of many

⁸ One may also find this same exclusivism in Orthodoxy. Sergius Bulgakov, for example, writes: “Not the whole of the human race belongs to the Church, only the elect. And not all Christians belong, in the fullest sense, to the Church – only Orthodox.” *The Orthodox Church* (Maitland, Florida: Three Hierarchs Seminary Press, 1964), 18.

colours, shapes, and sizes which would be a true reflection of the beauty of the cosmos created by the Master Gardener?

III. Evidence for Sheptytsky's Growing Acceptance of a Sister Churches Model

There can be no question that Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was a faithful son of the Church of Rome and shared the vision of that Church in its time. We see this in his appeals to the Orthodox hierarchs and intelligentsia of Ukraine in 1941,⁹ which are replete with exhortations to his interlocutors to, inter alia, “complete their Orthodoxy” by accepting the rest of the ecumenical councils (i.e., the councils of the Church of Rome) and by becoming “re-grafted” to the tree from which they have been cut off.

His reply to the intelligentsia contains the traditional doctrinal and historical apologetics for union with the throne of Peter. For example, he professes his readiness to cite scores of texts of Eastern Fathers recognizing the primacy of the successors of Peter. He pointedly asks how many Roman pontiffs were removed by patriarchs of Constantinople and closes with the full text of a letter by Saint Theodore the Studite to Pope Leo III appealing for his support against persecution by the Byzantine emperor for his denunciation of the former's bigotry.

The theme of being re-grafted onto the Roman tree is repeated in his correspondence with the Orthodox bishop of Volhynia, Anthony Khrapovitsky, shortly after his becoming metropolitan of Lviv.¹⁰ Sheptytsky writes that the lovely green branch, severed from the tree, no longer gives the flowers and fruit that it once did – there is no development of new dogmas, and there are no more ecumenical councils.¹¹ Metropolitan Andrey actually argues in such a way that he ends up producing a counterargument. The Orthodox, in their conflicts with the Church of Rome, frequently point to the proclamation

⁹ Document 166 in Krawchuk, *Митрополит Андрей Шептицький*, 419–433

¹⁰ Documents 17–21 in *Ibid.*, 76–92.

¹¹ Document 166, in *Ibid.*, 88–89.

of new dogmas – especially those pertaining to the Mother of God, and that of papal infallibility – as signs that it is Rome which is no longer a part of the tree of Orthodoxy since Orthodoxy knows no new dogmas but only re-expressions in contemporary language of the faith revealed once and for all.

It is possible to go on and on with such arguments. It is also appropriate that such discussions take place, for true and constructive ecumenism can only exist where honesty as well as benevolent intentions and a yearning for righteousness reign. In fact, we have here a paradox, which Eastern Christians traditionally have been careful not to try to resolve quickly and easily. The paradox lies in the seeming contradiction that the Church is already one – it can be no other, for Christ is one – but the Church is also many members (both individuals and communities), of which each is a free part. This freedom implies the possibility – and this possibility is invariably realized – of different perspectives on the same issues, and the importance of not forcing resolution of these differences. Let me say it again: there can be no monoliths, but only unity in diversity. We are to be sister Churches, not mother and daughter churches; branches of the one tree of Christ, not different communities seeing themselves as the trunk while the rest are severed branches with various degrees of life in them.

Metropolitan Andrey, because of his genuine zeal as a living member of the body of Christ as well as a pastor, was, I believe, led to intuit the life-giving value of this sister Churches model of unity, and even to become a pathfinder in this true and valuable ecumenism. One may point to his refusal to use the emotionally charged – but at that time still quite common – epithet of “schismatic” with regard to the Orthodox. One may also recall his desire, voiced in the correspondence with Bishop Anthony Khrapovitsky, that the Orthodox simply relate to the Eastern Catholics as they would to other Orthodox.¹²

As an example of this, one may point to his hospitality to the Orthodox, among them Khrapovitsky and Bishop Ilarion

¹² Document 166 in *Ibid.*, 82.

Ohienko. The warmth of his hospitality and support for Bishop Ilarion and his cordial correspondence with him led that Ukrainian Orthodox hierarch to express the hope that one day “the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, freed from alien Muscovite importations, and the Greco-Catholic Church, purified from alien Latin additions ... will draw near to each other as two native sisters.”¹³

Here we have the exact words, “sister Churches” in a letter written on 14 November 1941 from Kholm, Poland. Interruption of postal service at the time may have meant that Sheptytsky received this heart-warming letter just prior to his writing his marvellous letter to the Orthodox hierarchs of Ukraine on 30 December 1941, in which he extended a fraternal hand calling for harmony and unity.¹⁴ He called for readiness on both sides to make concessions “as far as conscience will allow.” He called further for a sincere discussion of matters pertaining to life and theology as part of the journey together towards unity.

Sheptytsky, for his part, did not reciprocate with the actual words “sister churches,” a phrase which may have come more naturally to the Orthodox than to a Catholic hierarch like Sheptytsky, especially after the 1928 decree of Pope Pius XI, *Mortalium Animos*. However, Metropolitan Andrey’s appeal is in the same vein. Furthermore, stung by the irony and apparent intransigence of the respondents to his letter to the Ukrainian intelligentsia, he made an interesting statement worth citing in full:

Gentlemen, it seems that you found that I could only be thinking of the Ukrainian Church being united to the Catholic, which would amount to full subordination. This is not the case. Individual Churches in accepting to be linked with other Churches of the West can still retain extensive autonomy which can be called autocephaly, because there is a complete absence of that kind of dependence which would

¹³ Ibid., 399.

¹⁴ Ibid., 400–401.

subordinate individual dioceses of the patriarchate to the jurisdiction of the patriarch.¹⁵

One may wonder whether Metropolitan Andrey was truly speaking for the patriarchate of Rome, as he was writing this. Subsequent history has shown the need for the Ukrainian Catholic Church itself to keep on struggling for its rights in the Catholic communion – for example, in matters of ordination of married clergy and in the matter of awarding or recognizing the patriarchal status of that Church. Be that as it may, it still sounds very much like an appeal for the creation of a unity of sister Churches. What is lacking is the awareness that this unity would be fulfilled and manifest in the sharing of the Eucharist.

Metropolitan Andrey died on 1 November 1944, just as the flock he led was about to go through the fiery ordeal of forced union with the Church of Moscow and subsequent catacomb existence in its home territory. In the diaspora, the hierarchs of this Church would be busy dealing with the demands of the twentieth century: secularism, the rise of political militancy, and the need to keep seeking traditional rights – and traditional rites!

Sheptytsky's work was carried on ably by his successor, Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. These two men inspired the creators and labourers of the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, where Ukrainian Catholic and Eastern Orthodox (including Ukrainian Orthodox) professors and students have the opportunity to openly and honestly discuss and study together – to hear themselves and to hear others speak of their own self-understanding. The model of sister Churches, toward which Metropolitan Andrey aimed, has marked out a path that continues to become manifest. This work will surely continue. As Metropolitan Andrey put it in his correspondence with Bishop Anthony:

After all we are desiring the very thing for which the God-Man Himself prayed and which He mandated

¹⁵ Ibid., 420–21.

before His death upon the Cross; the very thing for which His Holy Church prays; the thing desired by all holy church folk; the very thing, finally, which every truly Christian soul considers to be a noble desire. God, may every one be – according to Your word – perfected in unity!¹⁶



Резюме

Протоіерей Української Православної Церкви Канади описує прото-екumenічні почини Митрополита Андрея Шептицького. Греко-католицький архієпископ став предвісником православно-католицького богословського діалогу тим, що поклав підґрунтя для розвитку моделю “сестринних Церков.” Шептицький наказував не користуватись терміном “схизматик” у відношенню до православних; він неодноразово гостив у себе православних єпископів – отим розбуджуючи невдоволення серед недругів східнього християнства та українського народу; та започаткував надзвичайно приязне листування до православних єпископів у 1940-вих роках.



¹⁶ Ibid., 83.

Metropolitan Andrei and the Orthodox

Archbishop Vsevolod of Scopelos

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 56)

Orthodox Archbishop Vsevolod briefly reviews the history of the Church in Ukraine, concentrating on the various ecclesiastical and geopolitical separations that allowed Greco-Catholics and Orthodox to be indifferent to one another, a situation that Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was to challenge throughout his life. His early travels to Eastern Ukraine, Russia, Bukovnya (with its Old Ritualists) and the Holy Land gave him a sense of the breadth of Orthodoxy and a desire to overcome estrangement with them. This desire would be manifest later in his archpastoral ministry by: instructing his clergy to offer the sacraments to Orthodox faithful who asked for them; offering hospitality in 1919 to Orthodox hierarchs, who made use of the chapel in Sheptytsky's palace for Divine Liturgy; working on the creation of a superlative Studite *Typicon*; creating liturgical books based on the best Orthodox sources and still in use today by some; setting up the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv; erecting the Russian Greco-Catholic Exarchate; and defending Orthodox who were persecuted in Eastern Poland. Kyr Vsevolod concludes with a detailed study of Sheptytsky's 1941 open letter to Orthodox hierarchs, which reveals him as decades ahead of his time in ecumenical thought.



Introduction

Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, looking decades ahead, foresaw that goal which we today still try to achieve, viz., the unity of the one Church of Jesus Christ. In thinking of his pre-science, I am reminded of the words of the Prophet Habakkuk: “And the Lord answered me ‘Write the vision! Make it plain upon tablets, so he may run who reads it. For still the vision awaits its time; it hastens to the end – it will not lie. If it seems slow, wait for it; it will surely come, it will not delay” (Habakkuk 2:2–3).

Background in Ukraine

In the early nineteenth century, more than 200 years after the Union of Brest-Litovsk, the Orthodox and Greco-Catholics in Ukraine were mostly separated by boundaries of nation-states. There were a few exceptions in Bukovnya (where there was a mixed population) and a long-standing Orthodox parish in Lviv (formed by the members of Stauropegion Brotherhood who had not accepted union with Rome). These were rare. The separation was generally territorial, with well-sealed borders and no direct contact between Greco-Catholics and Orthodox, especially on any official level.

There are still remnants today of this geographical separation. Many continue to believe that the former area of Galicia in western Ukraine “should” be Greco-Catholic and the rest of Ukraine “should” be Orthodox. They also feel that an arrangement of this type would solve all the problems between the two groups. This approach to the present situation is similar to the policy of Tsarist Russia and does not recognize an individual’s freedom of choice; this separatist approach does not help with our desire for Christian unity or allow for the recognition of Ukrainian national identity. As Lubomyr Cardinal Husar has written: “the state of mind within the Ukrainian Catholic community at the turn of the century was such that if the Orthodox had entertained a pro-union desire, they would

not have found fellow Christians in the Eastern-rite Catholic Church willing to follow them.”¹

Metropolitan Andrei understood that indifference to one another was causing serious damage to both Greco-Catholics and Orthodox. Even before entering monastic life, he sought first-hand knowledge of Orthodoxy, especially by his visits to central Ukraine and Russia. He made his first visit to Tsarist Russia – lasting six weeks – in October and November of 1887. In his travels, he visited the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev and met with Vladimir Soloviev in Moscow. For a young man in late-nineteenth century Ukraine, this was a rare and unexpected departure from the norm.

In 1891, Brother Andrei (as he was then known) travelled to Bukovyna and visited the Old Ritualists at their centre in Bila Krynytsia. It may have been during this visit that he came to appreciate the pre-Niconian liturgical tradition, some of which can be seen in the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church. He maintained contact with the Old Ritualists early in his career. He corresponded with their hierarchs,² arranged a chapel in Lviv on Peter Skarga Street, and visited Nizhni Novgorod while he was interned in Russia during World War I.³

When he visited the Holy Land in 1906, he again came into contact with Orthodox Christians. There he witnessed the same Orthodox theology, spirituality, discipline and liturgy which he had seen among the Ukrainians, Belarusians, and Russians, but which are practiced in quite a different cultural environment. This experience demonstrated to Sheptytsky the universality, the *sobornost'*, of Orthodoxy, which he knew in theory from Soloviev and others, but which he now ex-

¹ Lubomyr Husar, “Sheptytsky and Ecumenism,” in *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytsky*, ed., Paul Robert Magocsi (Edmonton, Alberta: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989), 185–200.

² Cf. his letter of 1 July 1997 to the Old Ritualist Bishop Innocent in *Publicationes Scientifical et Litterararum* (Studion Monasteriorum Studitarum), No. III–V, 770–71.

³ Cyril Korolevsky, *Metropolitan Andrei (1865–1944)*, ed. and trans., Serge Keleher (Lviv: Stauropegion, 1993), 290.

perienced as a living reality. As Kyr Lubomyr Husar has written:

to his own people [Metropolitan Andrei] spoke of the scandal of the separation and of their narrow-mindedness and provincialism. He chastised them for being so engrossed in their own problems that they failed to see any larger needs. He felt that they needed to be made uncomfortable about the separation. They needed to know that they themselves were not contributing properly to the advancement of the union of their Churches since they often over-emphasized details and missed important aspects of their life in the Church.⁴

Sheptytsky's View of Ecclesiology

Upon reviewing his published writings, we realize that Metropolitan Andrei never completely arrived at the understanding of "sister Churches" which the Catholic-Orthodox International Dialogue has come to recognize. However, he was heading in that direction and I believe that such an understanding among Catholics is based on the foundations laid by Metropolitan Andrei.

The notion of "soteriological exclusivism"⁵ taught that the Roman Catholic Church is the unique and only One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. Outside this Church, there was no salvation, and other so-called churches of other Christians were considered unlawful and uncanonical groups of schismatics and heretics, in danger of losing their salvation. In this thought process, even the Eastern Catholic Churches were considered but Eastern "rites," groups of Roman Catholics

⁴ Lubomyr Husar, "Sheptytsky and Ecumenism," 196. Kyr Lubomyr is specifically referring to Metropolitan Andrei's pastoral letter of January 1901.

⁵ Father Waclaw Hrniewicz, OMI, Professor of Orthodox Theology at the Ecumenical Institute of the Catholic University of Lublin, Poland, seems to have coined this term. His book *Koscioly Siostrzanie dialog katolicko-prawoslawnny 1908-1991* (Verninum: Warsaw, 1993) is the best full-length study of the Theological Dialogue.

who practiced different worship and perhaps discipline, but who were part of this one Church with the same theology as Latin Catholics.⁶

Compare this notion with that of the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue in the 1993 Balamand Statement, which notes:

in fact, especially since the Pan-Orthodox Conferences and the Second Vatican Council, the rediscovery and the giving again of proper value to the Church as communion, both on the part of Orthodox and of Catholics, has radically altered perspectives and thus attitudes. On each side it is recognized that what Christ has entrusted to His Church – profession of apostolic faith, participation in the same sacraments, above all the one priesthood celebrating the one sacrifice of Christ, and the apostolic succession of bishops – cannot be considered the exclusive property of one of our Churches...

It is in this perspective that the Catholic Churches and the Orthodox Churches recognize each other as Sister Churches, responsible together for maintaining the Church of God in fidelity to the divine purpose, most especially in what concerns unity. According to the words of Pope John Paul II, the ecumenical endeavour of the Sister Churches of East and West, grounded in dialogue and prayer, is the search for perfect and total communion which is neither absorption nor fusion but a meeting in truth and love (cf. *Slavorum Apostoli*, no. 27).

While the inviolable freedom of persons and their obligation to follow the requirements of their conscience remains secure, in the search for re-establishing unity, there is no question of conversion of

⁶ This terminology can still be found today when many say they belong to the “Ukrainian Rite,” as if one could belong to a ritual.

people from one Church to the other in order to ensure their salvation.⁷

Metropolitan Andrei understood this broader perspective. He readily exercised pastoral *economia* in favour of Orthodox Christians in ways that were unusual for his time. For example, during World War II, he instructed his priests not to refuse the holy mysteries to Orthodox faithful – perhaps soldiers or refugees – who would approach Greco-Catholic priests. Some Catholics at the time were upset with the idea of giving the Eucharist to Orthodox faithful without requiring them to renounce their “schism” and completely accept the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

Another famous example can be identified when two Orthodox hierarchs, both refugees, were the metropolitan’s houseguests in Lviv in 1919. He made a chapel available to them so that they could serve the Divine Liturgy. This may not sound like anything unusual today, but at the time, early in the last century, this was truly amazing. Catholic canon lawyers at the time viewed Orthodox clerics as having “valid orders” but lacking the authority to exercise lawfully the episcopate, priesthood, or diaconate. Therefore an Orthodox celebration of the Eucharist, however valid, was “unauthorized,” illicit, and destructive. By providing a chapel and allowing them to serve the Divine Liturgy – in his residence of all places – the metropolitan was, canonically speaking, cooperating in mischief.

But he was right and the canonists were wrong. He was vindicated by the *Decree on Ecumenism* of the Second Vatican Council, which teaches the following about Orthodox celebrations of the Eucharist:

Everyone knows with what love the Eastern Christians enact the Sacred Liturgy, especially the celebration of the Eucharist, which is the source of the Church’s life and the pledge of future glory. In this celebration, the faithful, united with their bishop, and endowed with an

⁷ Balamand Statement, translation from *Eastern Churches Journal* 1 (1993/94), paragraphs 13–15.

outpouring of the Holy Spirit, gain access to God the Father through the Son, the Word made flesh, who suffered and was glorified. And so, made “partakers of the divine nature” they enter into communion with the Most Holy Trinity. Hence, through the celebration of the Eucharist of the Lord in each of these Churches, the Church of God is built up and grows in stature.⁸

In 1979, Pope John Paul II went to Constantinople for the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle and attended the Divine Liturgy served by the Ecumenical Patriarch, Dimitrios I. There was certainly much rejoicing in heaven on that occasion, as there was in 1995 when Patriarch Bartholomew I attended Holy Mass served by Pope John Paul II at Saint Peter’s Basilica on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. Metropolitan Andrei’s work and example earlier in the twentieth century certainly prepared the way for these important steps.⁹

Now, to be sure, Metropolitan Andrei believed that the bishop of Rome is the visible centre of the unity of the Church. His writings include words like “dissident” and “return,” and his ideas about the Roman primacy would probably be expressed in more nuanced terms today. However, he did not believe that the absence or lack of full visible communion with the bishop of Rome made the Orthodox Churches any less authentic. He recognized that the Orthodox Church also lives the “true faith” – *pravoslaviye* – or orthodox, with a small *o*. He accepted the fact that the Orthodox Church has authentic liturgy, sacraments, holy orders, spirituality, and monasticism, and that the Orthodox Church provides a genuine and valid road to salvation, as does the Catholic Church. However, he felt that the lack of full communion between these two Churches was a violation of the will of God and that we must all

⁸ *Unitatis Redintegratio*, no. 15A (with internal reference to II Peter 1:4).

⁹ If I may add a personal note here: I am also very grateful for this new view of our relationship. In December 2000, I had the honour and privilege, with the blessings of both Patriarch Bartholomew and Pope John Paul II, to serve the Divine Liturgy at the tomb of Saint Peter in Rome in the Crypt Church of the Basilica. This was perhaps the first time since the schism that an Orthodox hierarch had done so.

therefore give our complete effort to healing this separation. Sheptytsky never used the term “sister Churches” but his actions demonstrated his true beliefs. We have in great measure arrived at our current understanding of “Church” through the pioneering work of Metropolitan Andrei and others of his era.¹⁰

Liturgy and Monasticism

Unlike other bishops who may place too much emphasis on the practicalities of running a diocese, Metropolitan Andrei fully understood that the Church is here to bring us into union with God. In the Orthodox understanding of this goal, on which Metropolitan Andrei also focused, the Church achieves this goal through two primary methods: liturgy and monasticism.¹¹

Metropolitan Andrei devoted much time and effort to these two issues throughout his entire episcopacy. He and his brother, Archimandrite Clement, compiled a magnificent *Typicon* for the Studites that is one of the most interesting syntheses of the Orthodox monastic tradition.¹²

In the Orthodox tradition, monks and nuns seek in this life that union with God to which all Christians are called. They carry on a conversation with the angels and attempt to find that “uncreated light” which Christ revealed to the apostles at the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor. Thus do they lead the way for the rest of us by their daily example. A Church without monasticism is for us a contradiction in terms. Metropolitan Andrei understood this Orthodox conviction, and to his credit he acted upon it in compiling the *Typicon*.

This *Typicon* has only one serious flaw, which is not fatal. Metropolitan Andrei attempted to harmonize the Catholic

¹⁰ I owe this brief analysis of Metropolitan Andrei’s ecclesiology to the work of Lubomyr Cardinal Husar, “Sheptytsky and Ecumenism,” 194.

¹¹ I note with interest and pleasure that Josef Cardinal Ratzinger has also shown a keen appreciation of the Orthodox approach in this area. See the interview “Ratzinger, the Ecumenical Prefect” in *Eastern Churches Journal* 1 (1993/94): 131–35.

¹² *Typicon* (Publicationes Scientifcae et Litterariae Studion Monasteriorum Studitarum, nos. 1–2) (Rome, 1964).

legislation on monasticism contained in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* of Pope Benedict XV with the Orthodox monastic tradition. He feared that any monastic foundations that were not in accord with that legislation would lack credibility in the Catholic world. The ascetic and monastic work contained in this *Typicon* is a unique Ukrainian contribution to this field and the Studite monks and nuns who survived persecution in Ukraine are a powerful witness to the insights of Metropolitan Andrei.¹³

The important connection between monasticism and liturgy was clearly recognized by Metropolitan Andrei, and even by Rome at the time, as the following excerpt from the Holy See's letter, granting him approval for the Studite monastic communities, attests:

It is also the will of this Sacred Congregation that the Studite monks shall observe the Byzantine Rite in everything, both in choral services and in the practice of the Divine Liturgy, eliminating all the alterations or innovations which have been introduced in the rite as it is used among the Ruthenians, even eliminating those innovations which were established by the Synod of Zamoćś.¹⁴

With regard to the liturgy, Metropolitan Andrei understood and practiced an Orthodox approach. We love the liturgy because it is the very dwelling-place of God on earth. During the liturgy, by God's grace, love, and condescension, we sinful men and women are given an advanced exposure to the heavenly Kingdom and our future union with God. It is not a ritual for the sake of ritual, but a matter of profound love of God, whom we encounter and experience in the liturgy. Any

¹³ One can find important similarities between the Studite *Typicon* and the monastic legislation in the *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* and the apostolic letter *Orientalis Lumen* promulgated by Pope John Paul II in 1990 and 1995 respectively.

¹⁴ English text of this document may be found in Korolevsky, *Metropolitan Andrei*, 509–10.

flaw in, or deviation from, the liturgy is like a bad connection that impedes our union with God.

In this area, the results of the influence of Metropolitan Andrei are mixed. The official liturgical books of his era are of very high quality and frequently still in use by Orthodox clergy.¹⁵ But the theological and liturgical understanding that underlies these books has not been fully realized or appreciated even to this day. There are dynamic and positive directions being undertaken by the Holy See¹⁶ and pockets of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, but generally speaking the liturgy and the hours of daily worship are still neglected as central to a Christian life of many Greco-Catholics – and, for that matter, of many Orthodox! As Metropolitan Andrei did so well throughout his life, we all have a responsibility to promote and execute the highest standards of liturgical practice of the patrimony that we all share.

Metropolitan Andrei also promoted sound liturgical scholarship as exemplified by the Ukrainian National Museum, which he founded in Lviv. It has the best collection of icons in Ukraine and an amazing collection of rare liturgical books, many of which were donated by Sheptytsky personally. Catholics and Orthodox alike need to appreciate these collections, study them and make them known to clergy and laity, and teach all our people the value of our shared authentic heritage.

The Russian Greco-Catholic Exarchate

Admirers of Metropolitan Andrei sometimes point to his work in organizing the Russian Greco-Catholic exarchate as an ecumenical endeavour. On the surface, this seems like a strange idea. The exarchate was an organization directly aimed at providing a structure for Greco-Catholics in Russia, formed by a Greco-Catholic hierarch who had jurisdiction

¹⁵ These were produced in large part through the work of Father Cyril Korolevsky, Metropolitan Andrei's able friend in Rome.

¹⁶ Most notably the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, *Instruction Applying the Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* of 6 January 1996.

from the Holy See for that purpose. It was not an ecumenical institution at all, but was dedicated to the principle that the Russian Orthodox needed to return and become part of the Catholic Church. Today we might even go so far as to call this proselytism!

However, I would not adhere to that criticism of Sheptytsky for I believe that he was simply “ahead of his time.” In his work for the Russian Greco-Catholics, he never lost sight of the ecumenical nature of the Greco-Catholic Church at her best – as was later confirmed by the Second Vatican Council in the Decree on the Eastern Churches:

The Eastern Churches in communion with the Apostolic See of Rome have a special role to play in promoting the unity of all Christians, particularly Eastern Christians, according to the principles of this sacred Synod’s Decree on Ecumenism: first of all by prayer, then by the example of their lives, by religious fidelity to ancient Eastern traditions, by greater mutual knowledge, by collaborations, and by a brotherly regard for objects and attitudes.¹⁷

This could almost be a direct quote from Sheptytsky, for he preached these responsibilities throughout his archepiscopate.¹⁸

Defense of Persecuted Orthodox

Between the two world wars, Poland was a society with numerous substantial minorities, especially the Belarusians and Ukrainians, many of whom were Orthodox. Neither the Polish government nor the Roman Catholic Church in Poland were

¹⁷ *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*, no.27.

¹⁸ To understand his insights and views on these ecumenical responsibilities of the Eastern Catholics, see the “Decrees of the Eparchial Synod of the Greco-Catholic Church” which Metropolitan Andrei held in Petrograd in 1917. An English translation of these documents is available in Serge Keleher, *Passion and Resurrection: The Greek Catholic Church in Soviet Ukraine* (Lviv: Stauropegion, 1993), 198–206.

very tolerant of these minorities on both religious and ethnic grounds. In Eastern Poland, this went beyond bigotry and led to “forced conversions” of entire parishes from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism. The Polish government, moreover, confiscated much property and revenue from the Orthodox Church in Poland on the grounds that these parishes were Greco-Catholic at one time and became Orthodox because of the Tsarist persecution of Greco-Catholics.¹⁹

On the feast of Saint Elias in 1938, Metropolitan Andrei wrote an amazing pastoral letter against persecution of Orthodox in Poland, especially in the areas of Volhynia, Pidliashia, Polissia, and the Kholm region.²⁰ The government did not allow this letter to be published, but its existence and contents became widely known, and never forgotten by the Orthodox. The metropolitan, already ill, paralysed, and bed-ridden by this time, was nevertheless at odds with the Polish government and Polish Roman Catholic authorities. His raised voice in defense of the Orthodox generated letters of gratitude from them from all over Poland. When other Orthodox from other countries, who are not aware of the details of what happened in Western Ukraine, make accusations against the metropolitan’s policies or actions, I point out the text of the letter of 20 July 1938.

Letter to the Orthodox Hierarchs

One of the most profound insights into Metropolitan Andrei’s view of the Orthodox can be found in his astounding open letter to the Ukrainian Orthodox bishops of 1941. Scarcely a page in length, it speaks volumes in its content. Some of the major points include: “we must eliminate all discord, as much as we can, and with all our strength seek to attain the most perfect unity”; and “we are divided by the disagreement between the Greeks and the Latins, the traditions followed by the Greek Church and the Muscovite Church, and I do not see any reason for any of us, the hierarchs of the different Ukrainian confessions, to continue supporting

¹⁹ None of these funds were ever turned over to the Greco-Catholics but were retained by the government.

²⁰ English text in Korolevsky, *Metropolitan Andrei*, 504–07.

ecclesiastical discord.”²¹ Thus Metropolitan Andrei is telling us that we must *all* be Catholic and *all* be Orthodox!²² Notice that in these words, he clearly points to the estrangement of Rome and Constantinople, into which the Church of Kiev was gradually drawn. Also, quite perceptively, he notes a further – but less important – subtle difference in liturgical style: the Ukrainian Greco-Catholics follow a *Typicon* which is close to that of the Church of Constantinople while the Ukrainian Orthodox follow the Niconian style of services used in the Russian Church. (Even today, as a member of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, I feel particularly “at home” in a Ukrainian Greco-Catholic church where Latinizations have been removed. Here today, the atmosphere and liturgical style is deeply rooted in the Great Church of Constantinople.)

The Ukrainian Church and the Ukrainian nation are large and have room for pluralism. Coercion in liturgical matters is not usually advisable, so those who prefer Church Slavonic, or Ukrainian, or English, should all find a welcome home.²³ Likewise, those who prefer the Niconian *Typicon* should not be forced to use another. But all Ukrainians can benefit from study of the authentic Kievan tradition of worship from the great days of, e.g., Saint Peter Mohyla. Embarking upon such research together does much to advance our work toward Church unity.

Metropolitan Andrei’s letter also offers some practical steps on the road toward visible unity. Beginning with the perhaps obvious claim that “it is indispensable that all of us, united with the priests and the faithful of all our eparchies, desire reconciliation,” his letter continues: “we must pray for this, we must have services with the priests and people taking part, with the aim of asking God for the necessary grace.” Not only must we treat each other with courtesy and respect, we must thirst impatiently for full and complete eucharistic unity.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 512–13.

²² Similar language to that used by Pope John Paul II in saying that we must be Orthodox in faith and Catholic in love.

²³ Sheptytsky approved an experimental Ukrainian translation of the Divine Liturgy.

As in other cases, Metropolitan Andrei was ahead of his time, but he was heading in the right direction. It has taken decades in many places, but we now realize the importance of public prayer for the sake of Christian unity as in, e.g., the great honor I have had in leading the Akathistos Hymn to the Mother of God in Lviv in 1992 at the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic synod; I have also led non-eucharistic prayer services at the *Orientalis Lumen* conferences in Washington, D.C. over the last five years.²⁴

Metropolitan Andrei stressed that in our prayer for unity we must ask God for the necessary grace. The eucharistic unity that we all seek is not like some peace treaty or the European Union. Church unity ultimately depends on God's grace and on God's love for humanity. As Cardinal Lubomyr puts it, Metropolitan Andrei "felt that unity was a gift from God that must find human hearts willing and ready to receive it."²⁵ The Second Vatican Council also echoed this thought of Metropolitan Andrei in stressing that Christian unity is that unity willed by Jesus Christ.²⁶ This is not the unity that we ourselves might desire or conceive on our own.

This leads to Sheptytsky's next point: "it is necessary for both sides to be ready for the concessions which will be needed." The idea that Catholics needed to make concessions for the sake of unity was quite shocking at the time. Metropolitan Andrei realized that the road to unity would be painful and even threatening. Pope John Paul II has made many symbolic gestures all throughout his pontificate along these lines.

For our part, we have, sadly, remained insulated and thus still threatened by any possible movement needed toward unity; we have grown accustomed to our divisions. As I have said repeatedly, Greco-Catholics and Orthodox are used to ignoring one another, and taking unilateral moves without concern for the other.

²⁴ One of the recent molebens to the Holy Spirit included the papal nuncio to the United States, two other Roman Catholic cardinals, the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic metropolitan archbishop of Philadelphia, a Greek Orthodox bishop, and a bishop of the Assyrian Church of the East.

²⁵ Lubomyr Husar, "Sheptytsky and Ecumenism," 188.

²⁶ Cf. *Unitatis Redintegratio* and *Lumen Gentium*.

On this point, Sheptytsky not only anticipated Vatican II but also the Balamand Statement of 1993. That statement provides that Catholic and Orthodox bishops should consult with each other at the local level before establishing pastoral projects. I note with great joy how this has begun to happen in many examples around the world. The Spirituality Conferences of the last several years, held jointly by the Byzantine Catholic Ruthenian Metropolia of Pittsburgh and the Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Diocese of Johnstown are prime examples of how deep divisions and even hatred can be overcome through God's grace and mercy.

The issue here is not to make "concessions" to appease each other, but to surrender ourselves to God. We must together be committed to seek out the will of God and follow where He leads. As Metropolitan Andrei continues: "the Gospel obliges us to renounce ourselves to the point of sacrificing even our life; hence as far as our conscience permits, we must renounce everything which could impede our reconciliation." How can we search for the will of God? First, as Sheptytsky already stated, through prayer, for in prayer we ask for the grace of God, without whom we can do nothing. But, he continues, we need something else: "it is absolutely necessary that we express our thoughts to each other and, discussing with sincerity the vital and theological problems concerning the reconciliation of Churches, we search out the way which leads to this reconciliation."

Thus, in one word, we have the key: dialogue. Over the past four decades in particular, ecumenical dialogues have become so normal that we can easily forget how radical an idea this was for Metropolitan Andrei to propose in 1941. In the Roman Catholic Church of the time, the encyclical *Mortalius Animos* of Pope Pius XI strongly discouraged Catholic participation in ecumenical encounters.²⁷ Metropolitan Andrei, in his letter of 1941, invited the Orthodox to a "dialogue on equal terms." Between the Orthodox and Catholic communities worldwide, this finally became a reality with the

²⁷ Promulgated on 6 January 1928 and still very much in force until the end of Sheptytsky's life, and even later.

establishment of the Joint International Theological Dialogue Commission in 1980.

Conclusion

We have come a long way in recent decades, especially between the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. But we have much work left to fulfill the vision of Metropolitan Andrei. By dedicating ourselves to the goal of full reconciliation, of full and visible eucharistic communion, we can fulfill the spiritual inheritance of Metropolitan Andrei.



Резюме

Архиєпископ Української Православної Церкви Америки описує, як то широкий досвід Митрополита Андрея Шептицького, здобутий під час його подорожей в Росію, Східню Україну, Буковину та Святу Землю, приготував його до праці в справі католицько-православного зближення. Це виявилось конкретно в його рішенні причащати православних; влаштувати каплицю для православних єпископів, які перебували в нього; та обороняти православних волиняків під час т.зв. ревіндикації, коли представники міжвоєнного польського уряду нищили православні храми або намагалися перетворити їх в костели.



Lev Gillet (“A Monk of the Eastern Church”) and His Spiritual Father, Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky: An Analysis of Their Correspondence, 1921–1929

Peter Galadza

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 81)

By means of original research at the Sheptytsky archives in Lviv, the author uncovered a file of some seventy handwritten letters between Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky and his sometime spiritual son, Lev Gillet (“A Monk of the Eastern Church”), a file which sheds important light on the biographies of both of these influential churchmen and also on interwar history. This correspondence, dating from the first meeting of the two in 1921 through to Sheptytsky’s receiving of Gillet into the Studites and then Gillet’s entrance into Orthodoxy in 1928, is analyzed to reveal several key incidents in the decade, including: Ukrainian political aspirations after Poland took over Eastern Galicia; Eastern Catholic expansionism into former Tsarist territories; the questionable work of Michel d’Herbigny and Pius XI’s *Mortalium animos*; and the creation of Chevetogne. In addition, the letters reveal subtle developments in the thinking of both Sheptytsky and Gillet as well as their relations with such ecumenically significant figures as Dom Lambert Beauduin, Leonid Fiodorov, and the Orthodox pioneers of Saint Serge Institute in Paris. Even to the end of his life, Gillet referred to Sheptytsky as “my bishop” and the correspondence concludes with a poignant exchange as the son realizes the pain he is causing his father, but asks nonetheless for the freedom to follow his conscience – a move that might have been avoided had the

politics of “soteriological exclusivism” not been so severe at the time.



Introduction and Overview

In February 1992 while working in the recently de-classified archives of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, housed at the L’viv Branch of the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine,¹ I discovered file no. 358/1/257 entitled *Листи від кореспондентів з прізвищами на літеру Ж* (Letters from correspondents with last names beginning with the letter Ж). The file held seventy hand-written letters and post cards in 184 folios penned by Lev Gillet to Sheptytsky between November 1921 and April 1929. Realizing the importance of my find, I immediately photocopied the entire file and subsequently

Abbreviations

Behr-Sigel = Elizabeth Behr-Sigel, *Un moine de l’Église d’Orient: Le père Lev Gillet* (Paris: Cerf, 1993)

Beatification Documents = *Postulatio Causae Beatificationis et Canonisationis Servi Dei Andreae Szeptycky, Archiepiscopi Leopoliensis Ucrainorum [sic] Metropolitanæ Halyciensis*, vol. 2, *Variae Epistolae et Relationes* (Rome, 1965)

Magocsi = Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptytsky* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989)

Korolevskij = Cyrille Korolevskij, *Metropolitte André Szeptyckyj – 1865–1944* (Rome: Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificaе Ucrainorum, 1964)

Tretjakewitsch = Léon Tretjakewitsch, *Bishop Michel d’Herbigny SJ and Russia: A Pre-Ecumenical Approach to Christian Unity* (Würzburg: Augustinus-Verlag, 1990)

¹ Центральний Державний Історичний Архів, М. Львів.

arranged to have it transcribed. While containing, as might be expected, a certain amount of now irrelevant material, the correspondence also includes facts, interpretations, and ideas that shed light on key dimensions of Gillet's and Sheptytsky's biographies, not to mention other aspects of inter-war Church history.

Sheptytsky and Gillet first met in England during the former's trip to that country in 1921. At the time Gillet was a junior Roman-Rite Benedictine monk. On November 30, 1921, Gillet addressed his first letter to the metropolitan, which was followed by another eight before he made his first trip to Galicia, where he spent a short time in L'viv, and the rest of his nine-month stay at the Studite monastery in Univ.² It was there that Sheptytsky received him into his Studite community and ordained him to the priesthood. By June 1925 Gillet is back in Western Europe and pens another eleven letters to Sheptytsky before returning to Galicia in the autumn of 1926 for another visit of three and one-half months. Ten more letters followed Gillet's return to Western Europe until he visited Galicia again from February to May, 1927.

Subsequent to this trip, Gillet writes another twenty-two letters, and in December 1927 returns to L'viv for what was apparently a brief stay of only two weeks. This fourth journey to L'viv was to be his last, and it was followed by fourteen more letters to Sheptytsky before he entered into communion with the Orthodox jurisdiction of Metropolitan Evlogii Georgievsky in June, 1928. Two final letters date from the period after his reception into Orthodoxy.

Gillet also met with Sheptytsky on several occasions between 1922 and 1926 when the metropolitan travelled to Rome and other Western European cities.

As might be expected, Sheptytsky in turn wrote to Gillet, and from the latter's correspondence one can deduce that the Metropolitan had sent him at least fourteen communications. Curiously, however, the Beatification Documents, prepared by the postulator for Sheptytsky's cause back in the 1950's and 60's, contain only two letters to Gillet, the tenth letter and the

² References for specific letters are provided below in the section entitled "The Individual Letters."

penultimate one,³ in which Sheptytsky frantically attempts to dissuade Gillet from continuing on his path to Orthodoxy. (More on this below). Were the other twelve letters never provided to the postulator's office, or were they intentionally excluded? (Again, we shall return to this question below).

In sum, the nine years treated in this correspondence cover the period when Gillet went from being a Benedictine monk, to theology student at San Anselmo's in Rome, to Studite candidate and private secretary to Sheptytsky in Ukraine, to general liaison for projects sponsored by Sheptytsky in Western Europe (in particular those related to his Russian apostolate), to social worker-hieromonk in Nice, to unattached hieromonk, to resident at St-Serge Orthodox Institute in Paris.

In Sheptytsky's life, this period coincides with his desperate attempts on behalf of Ukrainian political aspirations after the Polish take-over of Eastern Galicia, the almost euphorious plans for Eastern Catholic expansion into formerly Tsarist territories, the marginalization of Sheptytsky's Russian Catholic Exarchate and unionistic work in general by key Vatican officials, in particular Michel d'Herbigny,⁴ and the rise of suspicions concerning his Catholic loyalties especially after the publication of Pius XI's tragic encyclical, *Mortalium animos*.⁵

Thus, the period is among the most important in both Sheptytsky's and Gillet's lives. In the case of the former it coincides with the stage in his life when he had gained stature as a result of his imprisonment by Tsarist authorities and was still healthy enough to engage in a host of activities. In the case of the latter it is the period of gradual transition from Roman to Orthodox communion.

³“Lettre de Mgr Sceptyzyky [*sic*] adressée au R.P. Gillet, en date du 23 février 1928”; and “Monastère d'Univ 26. V. 28.,” Beatification Documents, fols. 58 verso to 60 verso.

⁴For a recent, book-length study of d'Herbigny, see Tretjakewitsch.

⁵*Acta Apostolica Sedis* 20 (1928): 5–16

The Individual Letters

Gillet's first letter to Sheptytsky (November 30, 1921), in which he expresses his hope to join Sheptytsky's Eastern apostolate, provides a sense of how gradual his evolution towards Orthodoxy was: in referring to a Serbian Orthodox liturgicon, he places "Orthodox" in quotation marks⁶ (84 r), a then common practice among Catholics who believed that those not in communion with Rome misappropriate the term. He demonstrates a profound devotion to Saint Josaphat (Kuntsevych) and suggests that the Basilian and Benedictine traditions share a significant commonality (*ibid.*). He also writes that "the re-union of Russia and the Slavic countries with the Church, principally by means of the Greco-Slavic rite, is my great object of intercession" (83 v). Incidentally, Newman and Soloviev are for him the most attractive churchmen of the nineteenth century (*ibid.*). And in terms of national questions, at this time Gillet is still writing of Kiev as part of "medieval Russia" along with Moscow and Novgorod (84 r).

More generally, this first letter reveals a profound piety permeated with the spirit of self-abnegation and obedience, qualities evident throughout this correspondence, not to mention Gillet's life as a whole.

Three and one-half months later, Gillet is in Rome studying theology, and it is here that he first makes the acquaintance of key Vatican figures like Michel d'Herbigny and Cyril Korolevskij.⁷ There he begins his study of Slavonic and Russian, and starts noting the differences between Russians and "Ruthenians" (87 r).

Gillet writes that he would be honoured and overjoyed to serve as a Studite in a Slavic land, and that he is willing to die for the cause (86 v). A sense of post-Tsarist euphoria and near megalomania surfaces in his remark that this Eastern apostolate would have a marvellous future if it could revive the life of the Kievan Caves Monastery, the Troitsko-Sergeevska Lav-

⁶ References to the folio numbers (recto and verso) of Gillet's letters will appear in the body of our text.

⁷ For a brief biography of Korolevskij (né Jean-François Charon), see Korolevskij, vii-xxvi.

ra (near Moscow), and the Lavra of Sknyliv (near L'viv) (87 r), Sheptytsky's recently established Studite foundation.

The letter also indicates that Gillet has been initiated into the conflicting politics of unionistic work: "Bishop de Ropp is here [in Rome] and has done a lot of propagandizing in the vein that you [Sheptytsky] are familiar with" (87 r). Archbishop Edward von Ropp (1851–1939), the "Polish-minded Metropolitan of Mogilev and his Polish clergy believed that they possessed a monopoly on Catholicism in Russia."⁸ Sheptytsky's Russian Catholic exarchate was viewed by them with antipathy.

The next letter, sent from England almost two years later, but after Gillet and Sheptytsky had met in Rome, contains a curious reference to Sheptytsky's hopes to see married Anglican clergy, desirous of becoming Catholic, being received into his jurisdiction and working in Slavic lands in order to be able to exercise an otherwise inaccessible ministry. Needless to say, this is the first and last reference to such a plan in the correspondence, even though Gillet claims that there are "many former Anglican clergymen who would seize this opportunity with joy" (90 v).

The fourth letter, written in June, 1924, indicates that Gillet was anxious to attach himself to Sheptytsky's Slavic apostolate because a new Benedictine abbot, less sympathetic to things Eastern, was about to be installed and could block Gillet's hopes for work in the East. (This did not happen after all). Gillet pleads, "let me come to Univ or Leopoldis" (93 r), and manifests his devotion to Sheptytsky with phrases like "Your Excellency, I place myself entirely in your hands" (*ibid.*), and "tuus sum ego" (93 v). Significantly, however, he insists, "I would certainly not come with proud pretensions to reform the East or bring it light, but rather only with a humble desire to love and to serve," adding that he will be happy to work intellectually or as a manual labourer (93 r). Below we shall see how such sentiments enfolded themselves within a few short years.

⁸ Tretjakewitsch, 57.

The next four letters indicate that it was Sheptytsky who funded Gillet's trip to Galicia (quite generously, I might add, since, according to Gillet, he sent him far more money than he needed) (98 r), and that Lambert Beauquin and the Benedictines of the future Chevetogne community were very excited to see Gillet going to Ukraine (101 r and 105 r).⁹ One will recall that this was the period when Sheptytsky and Beauquin were actively collaborating on an Eastern apostolate in attempts to create a kind of Benedictine-Studite confederation.

Another letter indicates that d'Herbigny himself was interested in Gillet, as the former wrote to him from Velehrad, informing him of developments during the latest unionistic Congress (*ibid.*). Curiously, Gillet's connection with d'Herbigny, a relationship that, granted, would soon sour, is nonetheless not mentioned in Leon Tretjakewitsch's magisterial study of the Jesuit curialist.

After the First Sojourn in Galicia

The nine months that Gillet spent in Galicia, in particular at Univ, were transformative in several respects. First, he obviously had gained the total confidence of Sheptytsky, who made him one of his foreign-language secretaries, and subsequently entrusted to him liaison with key figures in the West, thus making him a kind of special envoy. Second, he fell in love with the evangelical poverty of the Studites, a sentiment that in part will help seal his fate. Third, he became aware of the need to avoid actions that could be interpreted by the Orthodox as proselytism. And fourth, he gained sensitivity to the differences between Ukrainians and Russians, or, put better, came to understand how the former Russian Empire included many *distinct* nationalities.

As regards his role as an envoy for special projects, immediately after returning to France, Gillet is writing to Shep-

⁹ The most recent – and exhaustive – study of Beauquin is Raymond Loonbeek and Jacques Mortiau, *Un pionnier Dom Lambert Beauquin (1873–1960): Liturgie et unité des chrétiens*, 2 vols. (Louvain-la-neuve: Éditions de Chevetogne, 2001). See pp. 349–60 for a concise presentation of Sheptytsky's early collaboration with Beauquin.

tytsky about efforts to find an appropriate site as well as candidates for a Studite monastery in Western Europe (109–110). We shall see that this was an absorbing passion for Gillet and Sheptytsky, one that actually never materialized, primarily because of Roman Catholic, and more specifically Vatican, opposition.

Gillet also took on the role of intermediary with political figures, especially those of the Russian emigration. Gaining the release of exarch Leonid Feodorov was among Sheptytsky's priorities and Gillet writes of his conversations with a key functionary of the League of Nations, a certain Russian Count named du Chayla, who was willing to include Feodorov in a prisoner exchange (112 r). As we know, even though Feodorov was briefly released from prison by the Soviets in 1925, he was re-arrested and never left Russia, dying in exile in Viatka after several years of imprisonment at the notorious Solovki prison.¹⁰ Nonetheless, a subsequent letter shows that Sheptytsky did avail himself of the contact provided by Gillet (115 v).

Incidentally, it was this same count who, in July 1925, offered to help Western-based members of Sheptytsky's Russian Exarchate enter the USSR – though as Gillet stresses, only if the purpose were to pursue *rapprochement* with Orthodox churchmen, not to engage in proselytism (111 v and 112 r).

But most significant as regards liaison work is the confidence of d'Herbigny enjoyed by Gillet during this brief period in 1925. That summer, Gillet travelled to Rome where, at the Oriental Congregation, d'Herbigny briefed him on the question of the Russian Catholic exarchate, Sheptytsky's Studites, the political status of Eastern Galicia, the nationalities and language question in the former Tsarist Empire, the celibacy debate, and the new Polish Concordat with Rome (115 r). Among the few details that Gillet shares in writing with Sheptytsky is that d'Herbigny and others in Rome had believed that the L'viv seminarians too had staged a strike to protest mandatory celibacy (115 v), and that d'Herbigny was impressed with Sheptytsky's moderate approach to the ques-

¹⁰ The most recent and authoritative study of Feodorov is Алексей Юдин, *Леонид Феодоров* (Москва: "Христианская Россия," 2002).

tion which, in d'Herbigny's opinion, was to be preferred to the rigid stance taken by Bishop Khomyshyn in Stanyslaviv (*ibid.*).

As regards liaison for special projects, by the middle of 1926 Gillet is conveying to Sheptytsky information concerning Vatican plans to move monks from Amay to Bulgaria (126 r), and his opinion of the advisability of establishing a joint Benedictine-Studite house not in Western Europe, but rather in Estonia, an area close to the Russian border, which at this time was still somewhat permeable. As Gillet writes, "on feast days, the Russians of Soviet Russia freely cross the border in order to attend religious services in Estonia" (126 v). As regards evangelical poverty, and in general his appreciation for Studite life, in his very first letter after returning from Univ, he complains of the affluence of Benedictine monasteries, and adds, "O my Studites, my brother Studites! I find no lifestyle as evangelical as yours, I find nothing in the West which approaches your *смирenna любов* [your humble love]" (110 v). A week later he writes: "here at this Benedictine monastery where I'm staying, I feel so vividly the Benedictine atmosphere: peace, harmony, beauty. But it all seems too 'stylized.' At Univ, it's the Gospel. The Studites have truly chosen the better part: I don't think that there are many things that should be borrowed [by the Studites] from the Benedictines" (113 v).

In the same letter of July, 1925 he talks about his desire to share the life of the Russian refugees by becoming a labourer (114 v). This is the first reference to such a hope, one that will eventually materialize.

A month later in the next letter he waxes emotional about the profound affection and admiration that he developed in Galicia for "*prosti lioudi.*" "I cannot think of the lay people at Univ without emotion. They know how to pray so well. And how good these people are" (118 r). It is in this letter that he summarizes for Sheptytsky his preferences for *i*) a monastic lifestyle over work as a promoter of Eastern Catholicism, *ii*) the Studites over the Benedictines, and *iii*) simple people over the intelligentsia (117 v).

As regards the obvious lessons learned from Sheptytsky in the area of ecclesiology and proto-ecumenism, note that in the very first letter sent after his return to France, Gillet now places the word “re-unite,” in reference to the rapprochement of Orthodox with Catholics, in quotation marks, suggesting that a certain unity already exists (110 r). In fact, later he informs Sheptytsky that one of the latter’s close acquaintances, Cardinal Mercier, had actually advised a former Russian parliamentarian, Baron Taube, to remain Orthodox even though he had shown interest in converting (127 r).

An indication of the complicated status of Eastern Catholicism vis-à-vis Orthodoxy emerges in the same letter, where Gillet shares his conversation with the Orthodox priest Pierre Izvolsky, rector of the Russian church in Brussels and a former procurator of the St. Petersburg Synod (himself extremely sympathetic to Catholicism): Izvolsky told Gillet that it was far better for Orthodox to attend Roman Catholic churches than Eastern Catholic ones because the danger of confusion was absent (127 v).

The same conversation with Izvolsky highlighted, however, a common commitment to corporate re-union rather than individual conversions, something to which Sheptytsky would later commit himself in writing, almost paraphrasing Izvolsky, who stated that every Orthodox conversion to Catholicism impedes another ten (*ibid.*).

Turning to the nationalities question, after his stay in Galicia, Gillet complains to Sheptytsky of Western disregard for Ukrainian realities: “these young people [studying in Western Europe for religious work among the Slavs] constantly negate Ukraine. They have no notion of Ukrainian history or literature. I am more and more of the impression that even Rome views everything through the eyes of the Russian émigrés and ignores all of Ukraine. I’ve even witnessed how at Rome the young clerics interested in things Russian are initiated into a kind of animosity for Ukraine. I believe, as your Excellency does, that one should attempt to communicate to young people an equal interest, an equal respect, an equal love for all of the nationalities of the former Russian empire” (117 r). He then mentions a Vatican curialist named Strot-

mann, who like others, “sees Russia [the former empire] only through Moscow” (117 v).

During and after the Second Sojourn in Galicia

In September, 1926 Gillet is back in L’viv. From there he pens a letter to Sheptytsky who was travelling outside Galicia, and this very first communication after his return indicates that he was now aware of Michel d’Herbigny’s mendacity. It would seem, on the basis of internal evidence, that it was Clement Sheptytsky, the metropolitan’s brother and hegoumen at Univ, who initiated him into the problems surrounding the Jesuit’s *modus operandi*. He complains to Sheptytsky that everything that d’Herbigny writes is deceptive (130 r).

Within six months, the frustration with d’Herbigny will become a prominent theme of the correspondence, as the Vatican curialist’s control over Catholic contacts with Russian emigrés and the Churches in the USSR, both Catholic and Orthodox, becomes oppressive. A consequence of this was his marginalization of Sheptytsky’s Russian Catholic Exarchate, which d’Herbigny considered illicit. Gillet writes to Sheptytsky that according to Fr. Vladimir Abrikosov, one of the first priests of the Exarchate, d’Herbigny “has done everything to ruin your work.” Abrikosov suggested that the friends of the Exarchate rally around Sheptytsky and continue to perform their tasks quietly.

One will also recall that in 1925 d’Herbigny had tried to exploit the weaknesses of the Tykhonite jurisdiction and lend support to the Renovationists, a move that angered many Soviet watchers.¹¹ His unabashed soteriological exclusivism and resultant disdain for the Orthodox also made him unpopular within Sheptytsky’s circle of “Eastern collaborators,” not to mention other circles.¹²

It is from this second post-Galician period that we have a lengthy report from Gillet to Sheptytsky concerning conversations with Baron Constantine Wrangel (not to be confused with the Denikinist general Peter Wrangel, though both were

¹¹ See Tretjakewitsch, 141.

¹² *Ibid.*, 67–88.

anti-Soviet). Constantine Wrangel, a Russian Orthodox emigré, had curiously found employment at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome where for some years he worked for d'Herbigny. With time he became an important liaison between emigré political figures and Orthodox leaders, on the one hand, and Catholics interested in emigré and Soviet affairs, both ecclesial and secular, on the other.

In January 1927, Wrangel communicated to Sheptytsky through Gillet that within émigré circles war was considered immanent (143 r). According to Wrangel, a victorious monarchist government in the former USSR would want to assure liberty to Catholicism, but it would not countenance the proselytizing policies of Rome, that is, d'Herbigny's approach. Instead, Sheptytsky's exarchate would be favoured (143 v and 144 r). This helps explain Sheptytsky's continuing hopes for an Eastern apostolate.

Incidentally, the report also contains information on the monarchists' conception of Ukraine's post-Soviet fate. As might be expected, the model proposed was that of a hetmanate dependent on the tsar (143 v). In either case, Wrangel asked Gillet to request Sheptytsky to help develop contacts between Russian monarchists and East-Galician (that is, Ukrainian) politicians (144 r).

This second post-Galician period also sees intensified efforts to establish a Studite monastery in Western Europe. In fact, initially, Gillet – inspired by Sheptytsky – suggests the creation of a monastery in Nijmegen, Holland, another in France, and reports of efforts by David Balfour, a Benedictine attached to Amay, to seek sites on behalf of Sheptytsky for a Studite-Benedictine foundation in Palestine (139 r and v). Of course, nothing became of any of these plans, but Sheptytsky's connection with Balfour is significant because the latter was known in Vatican circles in his own right, and then converted to Orthodoxy in 1932.¹³ As we shall see, such “defections” cast a shadow on Sheptytsky in certain Catholic circles.

As regards a monastery in France, note that at the beginning of January 1927 Gillet wrote to Sheptytsky that Bishop

¹³ See Loonbeek and Mortiau, *Un pionnier Dom Lambert Beauduin*, 1109–1115.

Emmanuel Chaptal, auxiliary of Paris, was impatiently waiting for the metropolitan to establish a Studite house near the city (138 v). This indicates that d'Herbigny's objections were probably the more instrumental in blocking such projects. In either case, by the end of that month Clement Sheptytsky has written to let Gillet know that any plans for the creation of Studite foundations in the West will have to wait another year (141 r). Gillet's disappointment was profound because the monasteries were envisaged as living vestiges of the Exarchate, which would prepare monks for work in the former USSR.

Another development during this period is Gillet's ministry to Ukrainian, and not only Russian, refugees. Soon after returning from Galicia, Gillet notifies Sheptytsky that Roman Catholic authorities in Paris want a Ruthenian priest assigned to their territory (138 r and v). Later, Gillet will forward his estimates of the Ruthenian population of France. He believed that in the north of France there were probably 75,000 of them with another 20,000 in the south (152 r). Of course, these were figures extrapolated from government enumerations of Polish emigration, the only category used for Galicians (*ibid.*).

Gillet writes that Ruthenians are divided between those who go to Russian Orthodox Churches and Polish Roman Catholic ones. He notes that some Ruthenian Catholics had petitioned the archbishop of Paris for a building, but then lost interest (138 r and v).

In either case, Gillet ministered to Ukrainian Catholic refugees liturgically and otherwise, and hoped to lay the groundwork for a native Ukrainian priest to build on. Curiously, however, in the same letter he asks Sheptytsky whether he actually wants him to continue "meddling in Ukrainian affairs" (140 r).

Finally, this section of letters is fascinating because of Gillet's description of the theological environment at St. Serge Orthodox Theological Institute, to which he would move within less than two years.

Their Orthodoxy is very different from the ancient Orthodoxy of the first seven Councils. Above all, it is

lyrical, emotional, tainted with Protestantism, theosophy and slavophilism. Dostoyevsky is the law and the prophets. Bulgakov openly rejects the normativity of the Councils, stating that this is still an extrinsic norm, an objectifying one, “latin,” and that only the testimony of the Holy Spirit in believers’ hearts indicates to them where the Church is (147 v).

Although in the next paragraph Gillet expresses admiration for the stress on liturgy and frequent confession at St. Serge, this rather critical evaluation helps explain why during this period Sheptytsky and others sometimes viewed Orthodoxy’s differences with Catholicism as a matter of Protestant influence.

After the Third Sojourn in Galicia

1927 became a key transitional year in Gillet’s life. Most of the period was spent in Nice ministering to Russian refugees in a community which, by year’s end, would shut down after the dramatic conversion of the community’s pastor, Fr. Alexander Deubner, to Orthodoxy. Deubner was a very symbolic figure, Roman trained and the son of one of the first priests of Sheptytsky’s Russian Exarchate.¹⁴ His departure and the drama surrounding it deeply affected Gillet and fuelled his own disillusionment with Catholicism. (More on this below.)

During part of this year, Gillet is still promoting the purchase of a site for a Studite monastery in the West, but in September Sheptytsky notifies him that flooding in the Carpathians has required the reallocation of resources for humanitarian aid (180 r). Gillet reconciles himself to this and the plan for a Western European foundation wanes.

The year also sees a re-orientation of Gillet’s own activities. As he had mentioned to Sheptytsky, he preferred work with “*prosti lioudi*” to contacts with intellectuals, and so even though we occasionally read of discussions with Wrangel and

¹⁴ For background, see Tretjakewitsch, 162, 239, 275–76.

d'Herbigny, the focus becomes his efforts on behalf of destitute refugees in Nice.

The community where Gillet worked had been established under the auspices of the local Roman Catholic diocese, and a prominent Benedictine bishop emeritus, Gérard van Caloen,¹⁵ had moved there to take up direction of this charitable agency, which co-ordinated, inter alia, Red Cross, Catholic, and even some Orthodox relief. The Nice community also had a small Catholic Russian chapel, which had been floundering until Deubner was appointed pastor in the summer of 1927. As hinted, however, the revival of the chapel was short-lived; it was closed after his conversion.

Before turning to the Deubner affair, note that during 1927 Gillet radically embraced the evangelical poverty that Sheptytsky had been preaching and practising for so many years. Gillet housed a refugee family in the small quarters that had been provided him, and thus was required to sleep outdoors during the summer or in a corner of the kitchen on cold nights. He writes that his life is even more austere than at Univ (172 r). Sheptytsky receives from Gillet lengthy descriptions of the travail experienced by the refugees: male prostitution, substance abuse, family breakdown.

In this context, it is also worth mentioning that Gillet communicated to Sheptytsky how some Orthodox, disaffected by the jurisdictional strife between Metropolitans Evlogii Georgievskii and Antonii Khrapovitsky, were drawn to Catholicism. This, however, is also the period when the Orthodox, in France – largely because of the proselytism of d'Herbigny's associates – begins to question the sincerity of the efforts on their behalf.

Reports on developments between these two camps fill some of the correspondence. Incidentally, Sheptytsky apparently wanted to avoid taking sides in the struggle between Evlogiites and Karlovtsians because Gillet writes that after a service which he attended at Evlogii's cathedral, he purposely avoided approaching Evlogii with greetings so that no one

¹⁵ For a biography, see C. Papeians de Morchoven, *L'abbaye de Saint-André-Zevenkerken: Un projet audacieux de Dom Gerard van Caloen* (Zevenkerken: 1998).

would doubt Sheptytsky's neutrality (147 r). This is curious because we know that while Khrapovitsky became an enemy of Sheptytsky, especially after the war, Evlogii continued to respect him. In fact, in 1925 Sheptytsky had been received with full episcopal honours at Evlogii's cathedral in Paris, an event which Gillet mentioned in his obituary of Kyr Andrei and which no doubt raised many an eyebrow in Catholic circles.¹⁶ It is apropos to translate a passage from Gillet's letter of July 17, 1927, in which he communicates to Sheptytsky a comment made by Evlogii to an admirer of his, the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna. In response to her effusive praise of Sheptytsky, Evlogii added:

yes, what you describe is something that I myself have experienced in speaking to Metropolitan Andrei. I have felt a powerful wave of interior emotion, and have sensed in this man such sincerity, such love for our Russian people, that I am convinced that God wants to work through him as a great force in the history of our people (173 v).

Returning to the Deubner affair, what is probably most significant about Gillet's communication with Sheptytsky concerning Deubner, is the information that he provides about the operative ecclesiology of certain members of the Exarchate. In July, 1927 he shares elements of his conversations with Deubner, who had just been assigned to Nice.

I don't believe that it would be too much to say that Nice is now one of the places where the religious work on behalf of the Russians is proceeding best, and it is certainly the only place, where in all respects we work according to the sense of the orthodox-catholic exarchate. Note that we do not speak of a Catholicism of the Byzantine-Russian Rite, because for us, Russian Orthodox-Catholicism is something different, something specific. We are not Catholics who practice the

¹⁶ Testis [Gillet], "Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 5 (1944): 345.

Easter Rite, we are Orthodox, who accept the entire Russian Orthodox tradition (along with its saints) in communion with Western Christianity and its patriarch. This is the Feodorov-Abrikosov approach, and notice that we do not say *католический* but *кафолический*. Deubner puts a stress on the *θ* (171 v).

Gillet then adds: “I sometimes fear that Christian universalism is being lost in this Russian Orthodox-Catholic conception, which sometimes is even associated (at least interiorly if not explicitly) with Muscovite nationalism, and the imperial dynasty (with its idea of “the Christ-loving tsar”)” (*ibid.*).

As mentioned above, by the autumn of 1927, Fr. Alexander Deubner, who, according to Gillet, had always considered himself a victim of Latin Catholic discrimination, and who in Nice had fallen prey to denunciations of impropriety by a certain Mlle Vadot (whom Gillet considered a sadist and demoniac [192 r]) left the Nice parish and converted to Orthodoxy, leaving behind devastation and acrimony. Gillet mentions that the local Roman-Rite bishop was similar to Bishop Khomyshyn in his orientation, and so was happy to see the community die (*ibid.*).

With the folding of work at Nice, Gillet felt compelled to move elsewhere. Two days before leaving, however, he was summoned to the police where, during a lengthy interrogation, he was accused of pro-Soviet espionage. The French police had been told that he was in direct contact with Trotsky and Zinoviev (196 v). Fortunately, he was able to convince the police that these were the machinations of the deranged woman who had menaced Deubner, and he was duly released.

After the Fourth Trip to L’viv

Gillet’s letters from December 31 to late February 1928, after returning from a two week trip to Galicia in December of 1927, give almost no indication of the impending turmoil. He writes of the Great-Russian bias among the monks at Chevetogne, their willingness to believe Slavophile myths (199 v), and their lack of social consciousness (207 r and v); he

discusses Beauduin's offer to help acquire a Studite house in Luxembourg (199 v); and mentions how he is hoping for Deubner's return to Catholicism (205 r). The only foreboding derives from the remark that "during the last year we have undone the work of the last four or five" (201 r), referring to the Nice debacle and situations where d'Herbigny-style tactics had been applied.

Ironically, exactly at the time that d'Herbigny, unbeknownst to Gillet, was effecting the liquidation of Sheptytsky's Exarchate, we find the following words in a letter of January 28:

Vladyko, you must realize the importance of your name, the name Sheptytsky. It is the name that exercises the greatest prestige among the Russians. They expect something from you, the Metropolitan, without knowing exactly what. What is certain, however, is that the policy of Bishop d'Herbigny and the Jesuits has failed and no longer represents anything for the Russians. It's fascinating, how rather than viewing Galicia as a land of Uniates, many Russians consider it an environment expressive of the Russian essence and Russian traditions, even of their religious traditions (208 r).

Incidentally, Gillet's own regard for Galicia is summarized in a preceding paragraph where he exclaims: "I desire so much to see Your Excellency soon. I am so afraid of becoming a stranger to Galicia. There are so many things I want to know about the Studites and what is happening with the [new] monastery in L'viv" (*ibid.*).

Returning to the question of Sheptytsky's stature, in a previous letter Gillet had added a postscript: "Your Excellency really has no idea of the immensity of your popularity in Holland... If you were to appear in Holland you would obtain everything you want" (202 r). No doubt the latter is an allusion to possible sites for a monastery.

During this period Gillet shares his hopes for the creation of an agricultural community for the refugees in France and

extensively describes how he has become convinced of the need to create a receptivity among the émigrés, before building institutions for them (205 r and v).

On February 23, Sheptytsky sent Gillet a note, preserved in the Beatification Documents, in which he informs Gillet that the Vatican's *Commissio pro Russia*, that is, d'Herbigny's agency, had reminded him – “in an almost brutal letter” – that he has no jurisdiction whatsoever either in Russia or Europe, and that any plans for trips to Western Europe, where he had hoped to visit members of the Exarchate, must be cancelled indefinitely. Sheptytsky asks Gillet whether he knows of any denunciations by enemies or friends, and goes through a speculative list of individuals and institutions that could have brought on the ban. His last sentence asks: “is this not an echo of the Deubner affair?”¹⁷ The news in Sheptytsky's letter was so troubling that it took Gillet more than a week to respond. His letter of March 3 symbolizes a turning point in his life (210 r – 211 v). To begin with, he mentions the encyclical of January 8, *Mortalium animos*; and as we know from other sources,¹⁸ the papal condemnation of ecumenism had plunged him into a deep depression. Gillet tries to convince Sheptytsky that he must protest the restrictions on his authority and rally the members of the Exarchate, even if it means gathering in Monaco, where visa restrictions are lax (210 v).

This letter also contains information that helps us better understand the mounting suspicions in certain circles of Sheptytsky's Catholic loyalties. Gillet writes: “I must tell you that Father Alexander Deubner, who sometimes speaks inconsiderately, has occasionally insinuated to the Orthodox that you have profoundly suffered from being paralysed by Catholic authorities and that, if pushed to the limit, you would end up joining the Orthodox Church” (*ibid.*).

Realizing that Rome would not allow Sheptytsky to embark on specifically ecclesiastical projects in the West, Gillet sets out to propose several possibilities of a less canonically bound nature. He first suggests avoiding the creation

¹⁷ Beatification Documents, 59 recto.

¹⁸ Behr-Siegel, 142.

of new “confessional” projects, and simply supporting those already founded by the Orthodox (213 r). Without saying so, he was thus proposing the approach employed by many Anglicans. He then turns to the possibility of establishing a sacred art centre, which could bring together the Galician iconographers of the Boychuk school, supported by Sheptytsky, with Orthodox iconographers in Paris (214 v).

However, with each passing week it becomes obvious that Gillet has decided to turn from projects to people, the latter understood in the most individual sense. He pens a long letter to Sheptytsky asking whether it is not appropriate to consecrate his efforts to one family and in particular to the husband of the family, caught in a web of immorality and pain. He believes that sharing the life of these destitutes is the most effective way of gaining Christ. He writes:

The *batiushka* is paid to preach and celebrate, and he does not lead the life of his faithful, which is precisely why his influence almost always risks being superficial. If you want to influence the Russian worker, you have to live his life every minute as he lives it, you have to work manually alongside him, and if you give him something, it has to be the money that you earn with the sweat of your brow, and which you yourself need to survive, and not money that is surplus (223 r).

Ironically, this commitment to personalized ministry increases in parallel with his disaffection for Catholicism. On April 2 he writes that he no longer believes that it is necessary for him to remain Catholic (227 r). Anticipating Sheptytsky’s suggestion that recent events have distorted his perceptions, he states that these have only made clearer to him realities which he had been denying for too long. According to Gillet, the recent events have demonstrated the tragedy of Orthodox-Catholicism, the tragedy of Galician history, and the tragedy of Sheptytsky’s own life (227 v). He then insists that Rome has become imperial and juridical, and that Orthodoxy is “closer to the tradition and spirit of early Christianity” (228 v). In response to putative objections about the degeneracy of Russian

Orthodoxy, he answers that the Revolution created a new situation in which priests and deacons, forced to become labourers and cab drivers, have been purified (*ibid.*).

In this context it is important to note an evolution in his attitudes. Just two years earlier he could write to Sheptytsky that most of the Russians that he met, whether Orthodox or Catholic, were either “trouble-makers, fanatics or otherwise abnormal” (125 v). Even several months earlier he communicated the reaction of a respected Russian Catholic priest to Deubner’s conversion, stating that the priest could not understand why Deubner wanted to join a Church of “*chynovnyky* and overweight *popy*” (204 v).

After enumerating theological and spiritual reasons why he believed he should become Orthodox, Gillet turns to the question of his personal relationships with Sheptytsky and insists that his perceived betrayal of the metropolitan is what will pain him most. “I consider you and Fr. Clement to be saints. You have been so generous to me ... but can friendship deter one from following one’s conscience?” (229 r).

He concludes by stating that while he knows that Sheptytsky cannot forgive him for what the metropolitan would consider doctrinal errors, he hopes that he will be able to forgive him for the pain he will be causing. He then asks to be allowed to follow his conscience, and to remain in contact with Sheptytsky regardless of what might happen. Finally, he says that he will always commemorate Sheptytsky in the liturgy (229 v – 230 r).

From a subsequent letter it is apparent that Sheptytsky had responded with kindness, but it is also apparent that Gillet had not yet become Orthodox. In fact, he writes, “by the grace of God, the step that you were probably fearing wasn’t taken, and will not be taken. The crisis seems to have been avoided” (234 v).

Curiously then, on May 26, Sheptytsky sends Gillet a letter ordering him to cease all work among the Russian refugees and to consecrate himself for an entire year to a life of study and contemplation either in one of the monasteries in Galicia or a contemplative monastery in the West. He writes: “We cannot in any way allow the enemies of the Church to use our

names to destroy the work of Union for which we would be willing to give our lives.”¹⁹ It seems that Sheptytsky must have learned from another source that Gillet was planning to enter Orthodox communion after all.

Gillet responded with a letter on June 5, that is, the same day that he received Sheptytsky’s order of May 26. The letter contains several important details. First, Gillet writes that recently on two occasions “semi-official” representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church inquired of Gillet whether Sheptytsky would not consider joining the Moscow Patriarchate. Gillet states: “I told them that in my opinion you would never leave the Roman Church, and that to imagine otherwise would be to entertain an illusion” (238 r). Nonetheless, one gets a sense of why certain Catholics were inclined to denounce Sheptytsky to Rome for “schismatic tendencies.”²⁰

Gillet then writes, “I cannot imagine myself as a Roman Catholic priest and monk, except in Galicia and under your aegis” (238 r). Gillet had been hoping to return to Galicia, and not just for one year (as Sheptytsky had suggested).

Following this he states that he had never really overcome his doubts about Roman obedience. He is gratified that in a letter which Sheptytsky had recently sent him (and *not* preserved in the Beatification Documents) the metropolitan had said: “don’t think of me. Before all else seek the truth and grace” (239 r). But as Gillet indicates, Sheptytsky had sent another letter (also not found in the Beatification Documents) in which he *did* appeal to personal factors after all. Sheptytsky had included a letter from his brother Clement as well. From Gillet’s reply it is obvious that while Clement’s response was moving to the point of evoking tears, it nonetheless contained the request that Gillet *obey* his Studite monastic vows. Gillet replies, “but would you ask an Orthodox monk seeking Catholic communion to also obey *his* vows?” (*ibid.*).

The metropolitan had apparently also stated that one’s conscience can be deceptive, to which Gillet responds by

¹⁹ Beatification Documents, 60 verso.

²⁰ For more on these denunciations, see Peter Galadza, *The Theology and Liturgical Work of Andrei Sheptytsky (1865–1944)* Orientalia Christiana Analecta 272 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2004), 359–62.

asking whether conscience is deceptive if it leads to greater sacrifice (*ibid.*). Gillet, of course, is referring to the fact that he would be giving up what little financial security he had, not to mention family connections. He notes, incidentally, that henceforth he cannot in conscience accept money from the Sheptytskys and has passed on to impoverished families the ten dollars he had recently received from Clement (239 v).

He concludes that as of yet there is no *communicatio in sacris* and that in eight days he will write to explain to Sheptytsky everything that he has been experiencing, and will also then give his response to Sheptytsky's order to take a year off for reflection in a monastery (*ibid.*).

The eight days were presumably some kind of retreat. Three weeks after this apparent time of reflection, that is, on June 15, Gillet wrote to Sheptytsky with the following information: He had returned to Nice for Easter, where the Orthodox bishop Vladimir told him that only the question of the Vatican separates East and West; that Orthodox are free to accept the formulations of Ferrara-Florence concerning the *Filioque* (241 r). Gillet adds that at Nice, even in Latin circles, he had made it clear that he had no intention of following the example of Deubner. He then describes how subsequently he was led to study the ecclesiological questions that were tormenting him, and returned, on the Catholic side, to works by Spačil, Battifol and d'Herbigny, and on the Orthodox side, Bulgakov and Kartashev (241 v).

Then, in six points he lists his conclusions:

- 1) One has the right to employ one's private judgment, as Catholic apologetics indicate elsewhere, to discern where revelation and the Church are to be found.
- 2) The present-day status of the papacy in the Latin Church is the result of a long effort on the part of the papacy to obtain an almost imperial jurisdiction over Christianity.
- 3) The Catholic Church of the East "in a direct line" continues the [reality of] the one, holy, catholic Church of the Fathers; the Roman Church is joined to it, but "departs from it."

4) The attempts of Union at Florence and Brest “were above all political” (he mentions the role of the Byzantine Emperor and the Polish King).

5) “To join the Russian Church is not a matter of joining a recent Church, but one of the ethnic communities [*sic*] which is part of the ancient catholic Church.”

6) Orthodoxy is not adherence to the dead letter of the ecumenical councils, considered as a crystallized bloc, but the life of truth in *sobornost'*, [lived out] in charity, under the influence of the Spirit.

He concludes: “I no longer have the right to call myself a Roman Catholic,” and “I do not have the right to ask to stay at any Studite monastery” (*ibid.*). He then states that at all costs he wants to avoid scandal, and that it may be possible to maintain silence about his decision. Finally, he stresses how much he regrets the pain that this will cause Sheptytsky, and asks that he be allowed to maintain contact with him (*ibid.*).

Almost a year later, in April 1929, Gillet penned his last letter to Sheptytsky to inform him that he is presently in England as part of a Russian delegation to an Anglican-Orthodox conference. Apparently, word had reached Sheptytsky that Gillet continued to refer to him as “his bishop.” Gillet states: “One would have to be stupid or ill-intentioned to interpret the phrase ‘my bishop’ in the sense of *approval* from you for my present attitude. I tell everyone in the most explicit way that I know perfectly well that you disapprove of what I have done and that I am acting against your formal will” (231 r).²¹ This should lay to rest the mythology about Sheptytsky’s alleged blessing for Gillet’s action. He then explains that he sometimes refers to Sheptytsky as his bishop because he considers himself a priest of the L’viv Archeparchy but in communion with the Orthodox, and that the bond between an ordaining bishop and his ordinand subsists forever (231 v).

From this letter we learn that Sheptytsky had communicated to Gillet the Vatican’s demand that Gillet appear in Rome for questioning, adding his own order to the demand.

²¹ Note that the archivists had misfiled this later correspondence, misreading “1929” as “1928.” This explains the letter’s *lower folio* number.

Gillet asks Sheptytsky to spare him the grief of having to respond to this order. Gillet then concludes: “you can hit me, you can excommunicate me, but for me you will always remain my bishop, my only bishop” (232 r and v).

As we ponder today the intellectual and spiritual legacy of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, it is important to note how in one sense part of that legacy is the outstanding work of Lev Gillet, a spiritual son of the metropolitan. Of course, Gillet ended up following a path disapproved of by Sheptytsky, but in many ways this was the doing of *Mortalium animos* and Vatican politics more than anything Sheptytsky had done; and one can only fantasize about the impact Gillet would have had on Eastern Catholicism had the rigidity of curial theology not triumphed in 1928.



Резюме

У 1992-му році автор віднайшов листування французького ченця Льва Жіллета (“Монаха Східньої Церкви”) до Митрополита Андрея Шептицького за років 1921–1928. Доволі велика кількість листів – понад 70 – та щирість і обширність їхнього змісту допомагають історикові ще краще навіглювати деякі моменти в житті Митрополита та й його колишнього франкомовного секретаря. Шептицький прийняв Жіллета до студитів і висвятив його в священника. Згодом вислав його до Франції, де він мав працювати над заснуванням студитського монастиря в Західній Європі. Скорочення повноважень Шептицького деякими ватиканськими чиновниками та поява папської енцикліки *Mortalium animos*, яка заборонила католикам брати участь в екуменічному русі, так розчарувала Жіллета, що в 1928 році він перейшов на православ’я, хоч до смерти настоював, що він не покинув католицизму, а тільки ввійшов в сопричастя з православними.



Convoluted Conjuality: Hymnographic Repression, Transference and Co-optation in the Byzantine Sanctoral's Commemoration of Married Saints

Brian Anastasi Butcher

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 146)

The author examines the hymnography of the Byzantine *Menaion* in order to identify and critically analyze the theology of marriage in its texts. The first part surveys the theology of marriage in various Eastern authors, including Alexander Schmemmann (whose methodology for liturgical theology is employed), Stavros Fotiou, William Basil Zion, David Petras, Paul Evdokimov, Michel Evdokimov, John Meyendorff, Bishop Kallistos (Ware), Archbishop Peter (L'Huillier), John Chryssavgis, and Anthony Ugolnik. This theology is then analyzed vis-à-vis the texts of various saints found in the *Menaion*, a work which, the author suggests, presents a radically different picture of marriage by treating married saints (whom he divides into righteous Israelites, martyrs, celibate spouses, absentee husbands, monastic widows, and "wonder women") through one of three means: a repression of mention of their marriage, a transference of their struggle in marriage into a monastic milieu, or a co-optation of them for other disembodied purposes. He concludes with reflections on what work needs to be done to repair this wide chasm between Byzantine *lex credendi* and *lex orandi*.



I. Introduction

This essay will put in question the principle *legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*¹ by examining the liturgical theology of the Byzantine tradition to see if it can indeed be credited with the vision of marriage espoused by modern Eastern theologians. While the *lex orandi* is by no means to be identified exclusively with hymnography, it is nonetheless true that the Byzantine tradition gives overwhelming pride of place to the liturgical singing of hymns. Thus it is appropriate to use this hymnographic corpus – especially the propers of Vespers and Matins – to determine the extent to which the *lex credendi* of marriage taught by modern Eastern² theologians is reflective of the texts that they and their communities pray. What follows, then, is an exercise in liturgical theology, understood by David Fagerberg as “theology from worship,” that is, the exercise of “trying to unify liturgy and doctrine by showing that the worship of the Church has influenced doctrine and the doctrine of the Church has influenced worship.”³

Given that – typically – the rite of Crowning appears but once in a couple’s lifetime, our question here is: does the *daily* prayer of the Church celebrate married saints, thereby illustrating on a regular basis, through the particularity of a given couple, the luminous theology of the sacrament that the wed-

¹ Cf. Robert Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2001), 189.

² Throughout this work, the terms Orthodox, Eastern Christian, and Byzantine will be used interchangeably, it being understood that there are some “Orthodox” who are not Eastern at all, and many who are not of the Byzantine tradition. “Eastern Christian,” while susceptible of referring to all the Churches of the East, in our context signifies Eastern (Byzantine) Orthodox as well as Byzantine Catholics.

³ David Fagerberg, *What is Liturgical Theology? A Study in Methodology* (Collegeville, MI: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 12. Fagerberg identifies his own observations about liturgical theology as “secondary reflections upon [its] meaning and method,” and distinguishes these also from actual liturgical theology. While he credits Alexander Schmemmann and the Orthodox tradition at large with a proclivity for the latter, he notes that Schmemmann wrote “secondary reflections” as well. Given Fagerberg’s nuances, it is fair to add that certain of Schmemmann’s works may be better termed “theology from worship” than “liturgical theology.”

ding rite so clearly propounds? Given the tradition of the Eastern Church regarding what she has always considered, if not defined, as one of her “mysteries,” one might expect to find among the roster of her saints some examples of how married holiness has been lived.⁴ Finding out which models there are, and to what extent – if at all – they embody the Church’s understanding of marriage, are the goals of this paper. Simply put, is there congruence between the theology of the rite of Crowning and the theology of the sanctoral? Is the Church’s understanding of marriage truly incarnate in her full cycle of daily and yearly services? If not, what are the theological consequences? This paper will endeavour to respond to these questions.

The study of the Byzantine hymnographic tradition by scholars writing in English or French is of recent origin and suffers *lacunae* both in textual and philological criticism as well as in liturgico-theological exegesis and hermeneutics.⁵ Eva Catafygiotu Topping has argued that “the study of this complex and important subject [i.e., hymnography] is, it can be said, still at the beginning. Much remains to be done. Among other things, important texts need to be established, published in critical editions and then studied. Furthermore,

⁴ Concerning marriage as *mysterion*, John Meyendorff makes this dramatic claim: “Never, in her entire history, did the Christian Church show more clearly that she was bringing into the world a new and unprecedented divine reality and presence. And the New Testament texts quoted above show that this new reality also implied a completely new attitude towards marriage, different from both the Judaic and the Roman concepts. This new reality was not originally expressed in any specific and independent marriage ritual.... What mattered, therefore, was not the particular ceremony used to conclude the marriage, but *who* was accepting the marriage contract. If the parties were Christian, their marriage was a Christian marriage, involving Christian responsibility and Christian experience. For them, marriage was a sacrament, not simply a legal agreement.” *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1984), 17–18.

⁵ For an itemized agenda for further research, see Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 292–95.

*scholars still face the challenging task of interpreting Byzantine hymns.”*⁶

The principle of *lex supplicandi, lex credendi* is more often invoked than demonstrated, and there is to my knowledge no full-length treatment of the hymnographic corpus’s plurivocality concerning gender and sexuality, for example, nor indeed any general, thematic liturgico-theological analysis of the hymnographic corpus per se. Individual studies of particular hymns have been done,⁷ as well as musicological-historical introductions to the tradition.⁸ On the other side, there are numerous monographs and articles relating to marriage, but few refer to the hymnographic corpus or display a liturgico-theological method. There is, therefore, a paucity – if not a total lack – of attempts to relate the ancient patrimony of Byzantine liturgical poetry to contemporary reflection on marriage.

The necessity for such an analysis is provoked by the often diffident, frequently ambivalent, and sometimes downright contemptuous view of matrimony as found in the “book of months,” the *Menaion*. Our critique will survey Orthodox authors to provide a scope for an examination of the liturgical texts themselves before turning to an examination of the historical background to the composition of the sanctoral’s hymnography. Such a contextualization provides the necessary foundation for the liturgical critique which follows, wherein the hymnographic material itself is probed to determine how it interacts with theology and history. In doing so, I come to identify the liturgical theology of marriage that obtains in the *Menaion*, and the manner in which the liturgy itself alternately confirms and undercuts the formal theology which has grown up alongside it. My analysis reveals a latent pattern of prob-

⁶ Eva Catafygiotu Topping, *Sacred Songs: Studies in Byzantine Hymnography* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing Company, 1997), 3 [emphasis mine].

⁷ Cf. Ibid.; Oliver Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1977).

⁸ Cf. Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949).

lems that I have termed *repression*, *transference* and *co-optation*.⁹

II. Modern Eastern Christian Theology of Marriage

Numerous articles and books have been published in recent decades on marriage in the Orthodox (Byzantine Church) tradition, no doubt in response to the dramatic changes that have taken place in Western society in matters of sexuality, marriage, and family life. These works, however, are not simply restatements of past presuppositions. They manifest conceptual development, as many of the animating concerns of these authors are sociological and cultural phenomena foreign to traditional Eastern Christian environments. Many of these theologians discussed below have – taken together – quite possibly written more about marriage in three decades than all the Eastern theologians of the past two millennia combined.

It will be helpful to organize this corpus according to the basic perspectives adopted by the authors in their approach to marriage. Several make use of a methodology recognizable as liturgical theology, eliciting from the actual text of the Crowning their theological conclusions regarding the sacrament or explaining the Orthodox theology of the nuptial mystery in terms of the Crowning. Others proceed from the doctrinal and canonical tradition, and attempt to discern the mind of the Church as expressed through these sources. Still others, finally, attempt to frame the teaching and praxis of the Church, as culled from various sources, in terms of modern philosophy and psychology. We begin with the first group.

⁹ It is worth responding, before proceeding further, to a potential criticism: it would be fatuous and anachronistic to judge, according to contemporary standards, the moral “value” of these ancient texts, *if* they were simply literary artifacts of a culture as historically contingent as our own. I do not pretend to assess, from my own vantage point, the “meaning” of the *Menaion* for the proverbial “man in the pew.” What I do intend is to take the sanctoral’s hymnography seriously as a *locus theologicus*, as a mediator of revelation, for – to speak phenomenologically – that is how the Church has received, experienced and transmitted it.

A. *Sacramental/Liturgical Perspectives*

Alexander Schmemmann

The liturgical theology of the Crowning is clearly Alexander Schmemmann's start and end point. He regards the rite as both containing and conferring the meaning of the sacrament of marriage, superseding that which originates from other theological sources. The Orthodox doctrine of marriage is "expressed more often in liturgical rites rather than canonical texts."¹⁰ Schmemmann argues that marriage can only be understood in reference to "the Kingdom," the eschatological reality of God's ultimate consummation of all things in Christ, of which the Church herself is a sign and proleptic presence.¹¹ Schmemmann emphasizes the agency of the Church in transforming natural realities. Juxtaposed to the Crowning, the rite of betrothal serves as "nothing else than the Christianized form of the marriage as it existed always and everywhere, i.e. as a public contract sealed before God and men by those entering the state of marriage,"¹² while the "transformation" of marriage is effected in the second part of the service wherein "the 'natural' marriage is taken now into the dimensions of the Church and, this means, into the dimensions of the Kingdom."¹³

Nuptiality is considered by Schmemmann as not simply a sanction of a natural, bilateral relationship. Christian marriage is a concern of the entire ecclesial community as a sacrament of divine love: "this is a double analogy. On the one hand we understand God's love for the world and Christ's love for the Church because we have the experience of marital love, but on the other hand marital love has its roots, its depth and real fulfilment in the great mystery of Christ and his Church."¹⁴

¹⁰ Alexander Schmemmann, "The Indissolubility of Marriage: the Theological Tradition of the East" in *The Bond of Marriage*, ed., William W. Bassett (Notre Dame, IL: Notre Dame Press, 1968), 98.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹² *Ibid.*, 100.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁴ Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1995), 84.

Such an ecclesiological understanding of Christian marriage as establishing and presiding over an *ecclesiola* is heralded by the actual coronation of the rite of Crowning. Husband and wife recapitulate Adam and Eve within the new creation of their home, and have the opportunity to build a kingdom that in some way mirrors the Kingdom. The crowns signify not only regal authority, but the ascetic victory of spiritual athletes. The troparion sung to the martyrs in the course of the rite makes this connotation explicit.¹⁵

Stavros S. Fotiou

In his essay, “Water into Wine, and Eros in Agape: Marriage in the Orthodox Church,”¹⁶ Stavros Fotiou argues that marriage emulates the life of the Trinity, wherein abide a Lover, a Beloved, and a Co-beloved. Furthermore, it typifies the vocation of all persons to spousal union with God through the experience of self-transcendence, self-sacrifice and continuous personal *kenôsis*. Such *kenôsis* is of course modeled on that of Christ and His self-emptying for the sake of the Church.¹⁷ God intended from the beginning to become bone of bone and flesh of flesh with humanity. Participants in marital love “iconify” this union brought about through the Incarnation; their physical love opens onto an eternal, spiritual love.

Fotiou equates the attainment of complete psychosomatic union between the spouses, and their subduing of the natural inclination to instrumentalize each other, with *agape*. The wine of Cana represents this perfect love, the preservation of which is only possible through ascetic struggle, even though it is in one sense bestowed *in toto* through the very celebration of the sacrament.¹⁸ By means of this given and yet ever-to-be-

¹⁵ “O holy martyrs, who fought the good fight and have received your crowns: Entreat ye the Lord, that He will have mercy on our souls.” Cited in John Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective*, 129.

¹⁶ Stavros S. Fotiou, “Water into Wine, and Eros in Agape: Marriage in the Orthodox Church,” in *Celebrating Christian Marriage*, ed., Adrian Thatcher (Edinburgh and New York: T&T Clark, 2001), 89–104.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 95.

appropriated *agape*, Christ restores man and woman to prelapsarian purity and splendour.

Virginity in marriage is an essential concern, but its meaning is different from that which obtains in celibacy. Here it signifies the integrity of spirit, which prevents the reduction of the other to a body. Fotiou considers *eros* to be an inappropriate term for Christian marital love insofar as erotic love implies a kind of objectification. Such “love,” he argues, was crucified on the Cross. Through Christ, we are enabled to love with a similar self-sacrifice that extends even to death, although unlike the divine love, ours remains limited by our finitude.

Finally, the wine of Cana serves as an image of the Eucharist, and a sign that marriage is incorporated into the sacramental economy of the Lord. In the Eucharist, Christian spousal love experiences the Pentecost that can render it capable of building a domestic church, marked in its own way by unity, sanctity, universality and apostolicity. This grace can well lead to the deification of the persons implicated in it, and such is in fact the divine plan – to transform the world through love.

William Basil Zion

Zion attempts to tackle the problematics of marriage from several angles.¹⁹ This author, like others, equates a liturgical theology of marriage with an analysis of the marriage rite.

The Pauline idea of the Church as bride was, in Zion’s opinion, more appreciated in the East than in the West, and this recognition of the communion between Christ and the Church was accompanied by a consequent lack of pessimism towards sexuality. He observes that marriage was always considered sacramental, although its solemnization took different forms throughout history. The Crowning, while in use from at least the fourth century onwards, was not made mandatory for all until the twelfth century.²⁰ A blessed betrothal or reception of

¹⁹ William Basil Zion, *Eros and Transformation: Sexuality and Marriage, An Eastern Orthodox Perspective* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1992).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

the Eucharist was considered sufficient to solemnize the marriage of two Christians. Zion concludes that it is the priestly blessing, imparted in one way or another, which “confects” the sacrament.²¹

Unlike Schmemmann, this author sees the bipartite structure of the present Byzantine wedding rite as redundant; while originally discrete, the two services have been gradually assimilated to the point that their theology is duplicated. He finds Schmemmann’s distinction between natural and eschatological marriage to be tenuous, observing that the entrance of the bridal party from the narthex into the church proper for the Crowning (an action which Schmemmann regards as portentous of the entry of natural marriage into the Kingdom) is only practiced among the Slavs, whereas the Greeks celebrate the betrothal as well as the Crowning in the nave. The prayers of the two rites are also, according to Zion, substantially the same.

David Petras

David Petras also takes the Crowning to be a summary of the Church’s theology of marriage.²² Unlike Schmemmann, he acknowledges the ambivalence of Patristic thought concerning the sacrament. “For many of the earlier Fathers, marriage was clearly an inferior vocation to virginity. ... [Their qualms] were not over the institution of marriage itself, but over the powerful passions involved in the physical union of man and woman.”²³

Nevertheless, since the advent of Christ, and the concomitant dignity bestowed on human flesh, the nuptial bond contracted in faith is acknowledged as recapitulating the death and resurrection of Christ, and this Paschal content is elemental to the sacrament’s status as such. The Christianization of wedding rites was impelled by the new, Christological significance the Church wished to attach to marriage: “the mutual

²¹ Ibid., 111.

²² David M. Petras, “The Liturgical Theology of Marriage,” *Diakonia* 16 (1981): 225–37.

²³ Ibid., 225–26.

love of the husband and wife becomes an incarnation of Christ's 'love of mankind' (*philanthropia*) ... sanctifying those who share in it."²⁴ Like Zion, Petras is aware of the connection between the rite of betrothal and the idea of a pledge. Quoting Gennadios Scholarios, he remarks:

the spouses give themselves to each other by the *arrha* of marriage ... this is the portion, the charism of the Spirit, who is the pledge (*arrabon*) of our inheritance. The connotation here is that the couple promising themselves to a future marriage – through the Betrothal – image the pledge of the Holy Spirit given to the Church, which still awaits the fullness of the Kingdom.²⁵

Michel Evdokimov

Michel Evdokimov, son of the eminent theologian Paul Evdokimov (treated below), stresses the eschatological context of the sacrament of marriage. He asserts that Orthodoxy recognizes its paradoxical character: what begins in the temporal may only be fulfilled in the eternal. Rather than an externally imposed contract, he argues that Christian marriage consists in "la grâce demandée à Dieu, un élan qui sourd de l'intérieur du couple."²⁶ Even death does not dissolve the bond of marriage, since it has been lived *sub specie aeternitatis* from the beginning. To live in Christ is to live in the light of the Kingdom, and the sacrament of marriage is oriented to this eternal end.²⁷

²⁴ Ibid., 229.

²⁵ Ibid., 231.

²⁶ Michel Evdokimov, "Les époux du Royaume: un point de vue orthodoxe," in Xavier Lacroix, *Oser dire le mariage indissoluble* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001), 145–49.

²⁷ Nonetheless, the Orthodox Church can allow for divorce and remarriage insofar as those in the Church are under grace rather than the law. While Christ has fulfilled the law, rather than abolishing it, and set the standard higher, the Church must still live with the ambiguities of earthly life. Indissolubility is not unique among other apparently impossible dominical injunctions, and cannot be considered from within a legalistic frame-

Evdokimov – paraphrasing Schmemmann – regards a “sacrament” as a locus of the presence of the Spirit and an announcement of the advent of the Kingdom. The grace conferred in the Crowning enables the couple to live that prophetic ministry which the gospel grants to them. This ministry is signified by what Evdokimov calls the “nuptial Pentecost” of the Crowning, the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the couple analogous to the epiclesis of the eucharistic liturgy.²⁸

This author’s thought is representative of those who wish to contrast the perceived contractual character of the Western Church’s tradition regarding marriage with a more mystical, personalist and dynamic Eastern Christian counterpart. The Crowning, a rich and evocative rite, becomes the reference point for this contrast, although no actual citation of corresponding Western liturgical sources is provided.

B. Doctrinal/Canonical Perspectives

John Meyendorff

John Meyendorff approached marriage through the evidence of conciliar decisions, canonical precedents, and liturgical formulae. He sought to situate Orthodox doctrine of the sacrament in its context within the tradition, arguing that historically “all Byzantine Christians were offered a choice between celibate asceticism and married life, but in either case they were called to anticipate in their lives the eschatological Kingdom of God.”²⁹ The Byzantine Church, at the Council of Gangra (c. 340), rejected ascetic extremes (e.g., Manichean, Encratite, Messalian) that condemned marriage, even anathematizing those who chose celibacy out of disdain for marriage; this was reiterated by the Council in Trullo (692).³⁰ Meyen-

work. Pastoral solicitude condescends to mitigate it under certain conditions, impelling the faithful through appropriate penance to a restoration of communion.

²⁸ Ibid., 146.

²⁹ John Meyendorff, “Christian Marriage in Byzantium: The Canonical and Liturgical Tradition,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 99.

³⁰ Cf. Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective*, 103–10 (Appendix III, “Canon Law”).

dorff, however, admits “that numerous hagiographic texts continued to glorify at least some individuals who seemed to fall under Gangra’s anathemas, by leaving their consorts for the sake of asceticism.”³¹ Despite the preferential honor given to monasticism by the Byzantines, Meyendorff argues that they were compelled to consider marriage an eschatological reality because of the prominence of nuptial metaphors in the gospels (e.g., Matt 22:2–12, 25:10; Luke 12:36).

Meyendorff states that the Orthodox tradition has, in general, considered only a first marriage to be chaste, because only absolute monogamy can exemplify the icon of Christ’s love for the Church. The Eastern Church’s conviction has been that even death does not end a marriage, due to its eschatological character. Despite this, however, the Church of Constantinople retained into the late Byzantine period the custom of crowning second marriages, thereby seemingly honoring them like the first union. Meyendorff explains:

the Byzantine Church, though proclaiming and cherishing the principle of the indissolubility of marriage ... never understood indissolubility to be a legal absolute. It condoned the famous exception, found in Matt. 19:9 ... and recognized adultery as a legitimate cause of divorce, covering other situations where the mystical union of husband and wife had, in reality, ceased to exist, that is situations practically equivalent to the death of one of the partners (disappearance, insanity, violence).³²

Church blessing only became a legal alternative to contract in the eighth century, and only mandatory in the ninth, with Emperor Leo VI’s *Novel 89*. Until then, the Eucharist had remained a means of solemnizing matrimony, as well as a means of distinguishing, through temporary or permanent excommunication, illegitimate marriage from legitimate. Meyendorff notes that for the influential monk, Theodore of

³¹ Meyendorff, “Christian Marriage in Byzantium: The Canonical and Liturgical Tradition,” 100.

³² *Ibid.*, 102–03.

Studios, communion was in fact the essence of the wedding, making it Christian: “the principle and goal of the wedding is the holy and unique body and blood of Christ.”³³

Kallistos Ware

Bishop Kallistos’s article, “The Sacrament of Love: The Orthodox Understanding of Marriage and Its Breakdown,”³⁴ presents quite lucidly the basic Orthodox doctrine of the sacrament, beginning with the anthropological claim that the *imago dei* was granted to man and woman together and therefore the one only discovers true fulfillment in relation to the other. This prevails to such an extent that “monastics and lay people not called to matrimony, if they are to be authentically human, need to realize in some other way the capacity for mutual love which finds its primary expression through the man-woman relationship within marriage.”³⁵

Ware acknowledges – with Meyendorff and others – that while the Crowning began to be a form of the nuptial blessing in the East by the end of the fourth century, the Eucharist was the initial mode of Christian matrimonial solemnization. Since the Eucharist implies the mediation of a priest, it anticipated the later emphasis on the sacerdotal blessing of the Crowning. The original centrality of the Eucharist illustrates that “the sacrament of marriage is therefore much more than a contract between two humans, of which the Church takes cognizance. Primarily it is an action performed by God himself, operating through the person of the officiating priest.”³⁶

Modern Orthodox theology, according to Ware, tends not to stress the notion of marriage as a remedy for sin, and there is no mention of such in the Crowning. Rather, the Church affirms the significance of mutual love and procreation: “the aim of marriage is the mutual sanctification of husband and wife, their transfiguration through the reciprocal gift and union

³³ Ibid., 105–06.

³⁴ Kallistos Ware, “The Sacrament of Love: The Orthodox Understanding of Marriage and Its Breakdown,” *Downside Review* 109 (1991): 79–93.

³⁵ Ibid., 79.

³⁶ Ibid., 81.

of their two lives.”³⁷ Again we hear that the crowns are symbols of both martyrdom and its victory, since no true marriage exists without sacrifice and suffering. The prayer of the wedding rite that the Lord “take up their crowns into [His] kingdom,” shows marriage to be a reality fulfilled only in the *eschaton*, a process rather than a state, of which the Crowning is but the beginning.

While Ware maintains that subsequent marriages have not been, and should not be, regarded in the same light as a first, he concedes that the Church has in fact often allowed the celebration of the Crowning instead of the penitential services prescribed for second (and third) unions. “The marriage bond, while in principle for eternity and not just for life, is considered by Canon Law to be terminated by death.” In time, spiritual death came to be considered a condition in marriage analogous to physical death. The Church recognizes when a marriage has “died,” and does not insist on the prolongation of a “lifeless outward form.” Indeed, “if each sacrament is a divine action, effected by Christ within the Church, then the Church, as steward of the sacraments and by virtue of the authority to bind and loose conferred upon it by Christ himself ... has the right to release the couple from the marriage bond and to permit a remarriage.”³⁸

The author concludes by contending that divine compassion is the ultimate ground of the Church’s marital praxis. As Christ offered new life, forgiveness and a “second chance” to the fallen, the Church can do no less. In granting divorces, she allows the faithful to begin again. Christ’s strictness with marriage parallels His resoluteness with regard to poverty, pacifism and numerous other concerns, which the Church does not and cannot try to enforce legalistically; ideals must be embraced rather than imposed.

Peter L’Huillier

Peter L’Huillier’s article on the doctrinal and canonical history of the sacrament of marriage in Orthodoxy begins with

³⁷ Ibid., 82.

³⁸ Ibid., 87.

an examination of the New Testament evidence concerning marriage.³⁹ This he finds to create as many problems as it solves, inasmuch as it witnesses to conflicting views and practices. The discrepancies within Scripture led subsequently to a diversity of practices in the early Church, both East and West, neither of which developed matrimonial law very quickly.

Nonetheless, divorce and remarriage were uncommon in the pre-Constantinian period – although not completely unheard of. Origen, for example, attests to the practice of divorce and remarriage in the Church and demonstrates that the specifics of each case were subject to the jurisdiction of the local bishop; episcopal permission for divorce was sought prior to civil action.⁴⁰

Excommunication, with penance before restoration, was deemed an appropriate discipline for those who divorced and remarried. Many of the Fathers, however, exhorted against any remarriage after divorce, considering continence or reconciliation as the proper course of action. On the other hand, L'Huillier quotes such authorities as Cyril of Alexandria and John Chrysostom who declare that marriage is soluble in the case of adultery or fornication.⁴¹

L'Huillier does not suggest that there was any eschatological significance attached to the marital vocation. Eschatology appears, rather, as the province of monasticism. Certain Fathers of the Church promoted permanent continence even between spouses, and discouraged remarriage after the death of a spouse. The author argues that this is not attributable to any expectation of an imminent *parousia* – such as obtained in the New Testament period – but to the gradual monasticization of spirituality in the Byzantine tradition. As we shall see, the hymnographic corpus witnesses to this in the equivalencies it draws between chastity and continence.

³⁹ Peter L'Huillier, "The Indissolubility of Marriage in Orthodox Law and Practice," in *Catholic Divorce: The Deception of Annulments*, eds., Pierre Hégy and Joseph Martos (New York: Continuum, 2000), 108–26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

L'Huillier posits that the significance of marriage in the first millennium was ambiguous, recognized by and large as a natural rather than a sacramental phenomenon. For it was only “during the thirteenth century [that] the Orthodox Churches accepted the sevenfold sacraments, including marriage ... The inclusion of marriage in the list of the seven sacraments had little ensuing effect on ecclesiastical practice.”⁴²

There would seem to be a disjuncture between the theological norm regarding marriage and the practice of local Churches, each competent to legislate its own rationales for legitimate divorce, and hence to define in praxis the character of the nuptial bond. The universal promotion of a “norm” has been vitiated by the local formulation of ever-increasing rationales and categories that contradict it. For example, L'Huillier notes that the Greeks, under Turkish domination, retained a rather conservative view of marriage: it was rarely dissolved, and then only in cases of adultery. While the influential late eighteenth-century *Pedalion* also granted that heresy or homicidal violence could justify divorce, remarriage was still difficult and only possible for the innocent party. The Russians were more lenient, granting divorce on numerous grounds, occasionally even that of mutual consent. While legislation was tightened under the Holy Synod (1720–1917), the Synod retained the prerogative to arbitrate cases that did not fit the usual categories (which continued to multiply).

Like Ware, L'Huillier believes that the imposition of penance prior to remarriage, the strict conditions for obtaining it, and the use of a somber, penitential rite in solemnizing it, adequately express the mind of the Church that subsequent unions are not on equal footing with a first. He concludes: “in the first place, Orthodox churches must proclaim the holiness and the unity of marriage between Christians ... [But] the church does not think that, in the domain of marriage as in many others, it is necessary to exclude compassion systematically, as long as the pastoral tendency does not lead to official laxity.”⁴³

⁴² Ibid., 118.

⁴³ Ibid., 122.

C. Philosophical/Psychological Perspectives

Paul Evdokimov

Paul Evdokimov was deeply concerned with the significance and state of marriage in the Church. His famous work on the nuptial mystery, *The Sacrament of Love*, seeks to discern a spirituality of marriage that is reciprocally connected to that of monasticism, grounded in an awareness of the ontological equality and eschatological orientation of both vocations. Monks and spouses alike are called to renunciation, an act that Evdokimov argues is directed toward the positive embracing of another in love. “Nuptial chastity for the man,” for example, “means that there is but one being [i.e. his wife] in the world, that all femininity resides in her.”⁴⁴ “Chastity” (*sophrosynê*) is equivalent in this connection to “integrity” and “integration” rather than continence.⁴⁵ For spouses it signifies that faithful praxis of nuptial love can actually protect them from “unclean flux” and prepare them for integration into eternity.⁴⁶

The dying to self entailed by the spouses in marriage is also analogous to the mortification of the monk. The author contends to this effect that the ancient rite of monastic tonsure makes use of nuptial imagery, while early wedding services included a form of tonsure.⁴⁷ The two vocations are even to be considered as the two faces of Tabor.⁴⁸

The distinct charisms of male and female are presented especially in terms of the iconic character of marriage. Spousal consubstantiality renders husband and wife a “nuptial icon” of the Trinity; it is “nuptial man who is in the image of the triune God.”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Paul Evdokimov, *The Sacrament of Love* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1985), 115.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 68. Unfortunately Evdokimov does not provide evidence of either of these instances, which, if true, would be highly significant.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 116.

Throughout his presentation, Evdokimov endeavors to present marriage in positive, fecund terms as a phenomenon essential to the self-understanding and welfare of the Church at large. Spouses are like Christ, who in joining himself to the Church, becoming flesh of flesh and bone of bone with her, did not diminish his unity with God. Their personal hypostases similarly mediate those of God, the love of whom is acquired through love of another person. The nuptial union thus establishes a “domestic church” to which it provides “undivided service,” modeling in its own way the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity and obedience.⁵⁰

John Chryssavgis

John Chryssavgis considers marriage a “mysterious icon of the Church.”⁵¹ This theological insight is analyzed sociologically and psychologically in his monograph, *Love, Sexuality and the Sacrament of Marriage*. His concern is existential, directed toward the elaboration of a marital spirituality in terms of a positive appraisal of erotic love. Without reference to any particular Eastern theological locus, he asserts that nuptial union cannot be separated from the mystery of such love. *Eros* is construed as a positive energy animating our relationship with God and each other, and even the relation between God and the cosmos. Marriage, in virtue of its erotic character, may thus be regarded as an image of divine love. Sexual love, moreover, “in the Christian sacrament, [is] an event imparting saving grace and a pledge of a covenant relationship with the sacred order.”⁵² The author also refers to monasticism as a sacrament and posits an equivalency between married and monastic life as two modes of experiencing and purifying *eros*.⁵³ The sacramental potential in marriage is related to its capacity to realize within the participants, through the exercise

⁵⁰ Ibid., 61–63.

⁵¹ John Chryssavgis, *Love, Sexuality and the Sacrament of Marriage* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 33–34.

⁵² Ibid., 5.

⁵³ Ibid., 4–5.

of authentic *eros*, an awareness of their own identity as created *imago dei*.

Chryssavgis insists that marriage is a union of not two, but three persons: husband, wife and Christ.⁵⁴ “Hence the permanence of the vows: ‘I marry’ signifies that ‘I belong to Christ forever.’”⁵⁵ It is not acceptable to regard marriage as simply a secular institution or even a religious one, since it is not a by-product of the Church but a phenomenon coterminous with that eucharistic mystery which constitutes the Church. “The sacrament of love for a Christian, therefore, is not a state but a stage in the development of life in Christ; it is not a sign of settlement (*apokatastasis*) but rather an essential way of salvation.”⁵⁶

Like Evdokimov, Chryssavgis affirms the Church’s positive appraisal of marital sexuality. Spousal love implies a transformation of *eros* which cannot be equated with “carnal” sin. Such sin is rather the deprecation of the flesh, the denial of the salutary potential imparted to sexuality by the Incarnation.

Chryssavgis concludes with the significance of the historically eucharistic context of marriage and its abiding eucharistic character. As in the Divine Liturgy, there is “offering” (of the bridal couple to each other), “*anamnesis*” (of the holy exemplars of marriage, from the Old Testament to the New), “*epiclesis*” (for the Holy Spirit upon the couple) and communion (from the erstwhile eucharistic chalice and, latterly, the cup of simply blessed wine). Marriage does not only recapitulate the Eucharist: the Crowning summarizes, through its prayers, the entirety of salvation history.

⁵⁴ Chryssavgis considers the troparion, “Dance Isaiah,” which extols the mystery of the Incarnation, to affirm this nuptial three-in-oneness.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 21. This statement reads as somewhat odd, coming from a Greek theologian, since the Greek recensions of the Crowning do not actually include any vows as such.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

Anthony Ugolnik

Anthony Ugolnik explores the Orthodox view of nuptial sexuality in the light of both its similarities and dissimilarities with Roman Catholic and Protestant models.⁵⁷ He is one of the few Eastern Christian writers who give currency to the discrepancies within the Byzantine tradition concerning marriage, but he remains convinced of its fundamental optimism.

Ugolnik puts forward the Orthodox understanding of sexual love as *synousia* (“consubstantiality”). He identifies in Adam’s recognition of Eve as flesh of his own flesh the origin of the Eastern tradition’s positive appraisal of sexuality: “the [Orthodox] reading of the Creation account ... emphasizes the mutual completion of each gender in the other. That mutuality is itself a sign of its likeness to God.” The “union of being” in sacred marriage images forth the interpenetrating life of the three divine persons who share one essence, and as such it is a mode of spiritual life par excellence. The author concludes that “in its Edenic theology, marriage is ‘ameliorative’; in cooperation with the saving grace of Christ, marriage is intended to ‘knit up’ creation, and through repentance and mutual love, to put to death that enmity which destroys our links to each other.”⁵⁸

D. Summary

Through this survey of contemporary Orthodox theologians on the subject of marriage, we have been able to acquire the hermeneutic apparatus necessary for a critique of the hymnography’s characterization of the sacrament. Our next task will be to discern to what extent this theology corresponds to the hymnographic corpus in the sanctoral. We begin by situating this corpus in its historical context, mindful that – as Taft has put it – “history is essential to the formation of a

⁵⁷ Anthony Ugolnik, “Living in Skin: Sex, Spirituality and the Christian Male,” in *Windows to the East: Eastern Christians in a Dialogue of Charity*, eds., Jaroslav Z. Skira and Myroslaw I. Tataryn (Ottawa: Novalis, 2001), 283–316.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 312–13.

‘moving point of view,’ a sense of relativity, of seeing the present as always in dynamic tension between past and future, and not as a static ‘given’.⁵⁹

III. Historical Background to Marriage in Middle Byzantium

In order to place the phenomena that surface in the *Menaion* in their context, it will be useful to review the historical background of marital theory and praxis in Byzantine culture. The hymnography of the Byzantine rite was produced in this culture, and its characteristics are traceable in the main to patterns of belief and behavior that crystallized in the period generally known as Middle Byzantium (c. 800–1204). Byzantine culture of this period was generally conservative in regard to the decorum and interactions of the sexes. Women typically wore veils outside the home, and both male and female dress exposed as little of the body as possible. It was in this period that the *Menaion* was composed and compiled – although it was not codified definitively until the sixteenth century.

A. Nuptial Mores and Customs

Marriage in Middle Byzantium was generally understood in utilitarian terms, as one means (others included adoption, godparenthood and “the making of brothers” [*adelphopoiesis*]) of extending a family’s kinship ties and influence throughout society.⁶⁰ Arranged marriage was the norm; parents were legally obliged to find spouses for their children. Solemn betrothal, after the eleventh century including a sacerdotal blessing, possessed the same force of law as marriage, and could be concluded for a girl at age twelve, a boy, age fourteen. An engagement, which could be celebrated from the age of seven and up, had almost the same status as a betrothal, distinguished from it only by the absence of the blessing. Both rites involved a contractual arrangement, usually verbal, which

⁵⁹ Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 236.

⁶⁰ Evelyne Patalagean, “Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,” in *A History of Private Life*, 5 vols. ed., Paul Veyne (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 551–644, 596.

was sometimes formalized in yet another rite. The “cross bonds” (*staurikoi desmoi*) – named after its solemnization through the sign of the Cross – provided for the consent of the fiancés to be committed to writing in the presence of their parents. This rite bound them to each other under legal penalty. In some cases, moreover, it was of itself a legitimate means of effecting matrimony, not necessarily being followed by a betrothal or a Crowning.

Consent was considered an integral element in a valid marriage at least in Late Byzantium, and most probably in the Middle Byzantine period as well, given the manner in which it is taken for granted by later writers like Matthew Blastares and Symeon of Thessalonika.⁶¹ Nonetheless, the Byzantine church seems to not have elaborated a distinct theology of consent pertinent to matrimony.

Tamara Talbot Rice has researched the celebration of the actual nuptials and has identified the basic elements.⁶² The bridegroom would fetch his bride at her family’s house, accompanied by a consort of singers. Together with torchbearers, musicians, family and friends, the couple would walk to church while bystanders showered them with rose petals and violets. In church, rings would be exchanged during the betrothal. (A second, special ring was later given to the bride in the bridal chamber by the groom.) In return, the groom was given a dowry by his bride’s family. During the Crowning, the spouses’ godparents would hold the crowns over their heads. Following the service was the banquet, during or after which the couple retired for their wedding night. In the morning they would be awoken to the singing of their family members.⁶³

⁶¹ Patrick Viscuso, “The Formation of Marriage in Late Byzantium,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 35 (1991): 309–25.

⁶² Tamara Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (New York: Dorset Press, 1967).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 159. Many of these customs had Greek or Roman antecedents going back more than a thousand years. Cf. Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Wife* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), 21–22, 28–29.

B. Discipline and Theology of Marriage

John Meyendorff has argued that the Byzantine tradition always regarded marriage as a unique sacramental state.⁶⁴ This view finds authoritative articulation in Theodore Balsamon (c.1140–c. 1195). Theodore's views presage those of the modern theologians cited in the first part of our study. While Eastern Christianity has always displayed a certain continuity of the Old Testamental models of purity and defilement in regards to connubial sexuality, Theodore represents an alternative tradition that emphasizes the salutary effects of the Incarnation and the uniqueness of the Christian sacrament vis-à-vis its natural counterpart:

Balsamon believed that the nuptial union was a Divinely-created [*sic*] image of the Trinity that pre-existed the sin of the foreparents. He held that the sin of Adam and Eve was transmitted through marital relations and resulted in the hereditary corruption of human nature. By Christ's fulfillment of human nature, marital relations no longer took place in sin, but were chaste and undefiling by nature and thus recovered their original goodness.⁶⁵

As we shall see, however, such a perspective does not obtain in the hymnographic corpus, which tends to preserve the predominant patristic hermeneutic that even within marriage sexual relations are intrinsically polluted.⁶⁶ It is surprising that Balsamon's "dissenting" voice was so esteemed in his day and thereafter, not least because of its lack of manifest liturgical analogues – other than, perhaps, the optimistic cast of the prayers of the Crowning. The reason for the continued dominance of the patristic hermeneutic lies primarily in the

⁶⁴ John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974), 196–97.

⁶⁵ Patrick Viscuso, "Marital Relations in the Theology of the Byzantine Canonist Theodore Balsamon," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 39 (1990): 288.

⁶⁶ Cf. Patrick Viscuso, "The Theology of Marriage in the *Rudder* of Nikodemos the Hagiorite," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 41 (1992): 187–287.

monastic context out of which much of the hymnography emerged. To that we turn now.

C. *The Influence of Monasticism*

In Byzantine society, especially after the period of iconoclasm, monasteries were ubiquitous and implicated in many aspects of the lives of non-monastics. They were involved in the education of children; they provided hospitality for travelers and care for the poor and sick; they exemplified an alternative vocation to the young and a possible second career for adults; and, in general, served by their eschatological orientation to critique and relativize the world outside their confines, particularly the significance of marital and familial ties and the value of work and wealth. Alice-Mary Talbot credits this critique with the “ambivalence of Byzantines, torn between the desire to embrace monastic life and the desire to continue the family lineage.”⁶⁷ Hagiography – and in turn hymnography – reflects this tension, and usually resolves it in favor of monasticism: “there are cases of husbands leaving their wives... [and] of middle-aged couples separating to enter different monasteries... These actions are normally viewed as virtuous and praiseworthy deeds; the value of the life dedicated to God is so great that it outweighs any obligations to one’s family.”⁶⁸

Moreover, as Alexander Kazhdan has argued, “the gist of the hagiographical message is that the body and its ‘impure’ desires should be suppressed and the sexual drive eliminated.”⁶⁹ However, this ascetic disdain eventually gave way to a mild affirmation of the nuptial embrace, and the hagiography began to incorporate saints who had lived in the world and participated in the sacrament.

Marriage was a blessed union, and we can probably observe gradually growing respect toward it. The

⁶⁷ Alice-Mary Talbot, “The Byzantine Family and the Monastery,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 120.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶⁹ Alexander Kazhdan, “Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990), 131.

earlier concept that the ideal marriage is the one without consummation was contrasted with the ideal of the ‘middle way’ [of infrequent and restricted nuptial union] ... or even of a normal family ... [But sexuality] in hagiography is never coupled with love. Love is placed on a different level – as Christian devotion or Christian philanthropy.⁷⁰

Monastic life would seem to have further reinforced its superiority to marriage by co-opting its positive images and customs. For, in the Byzantine worldview, “virginity was considered a type of marriage, the virgin (or nun) being proclaimed Christ’s bride.”⁷¹ The abbess assumed the quasi-parental role of betrothing and presenting her daughters to Christ as pure virgins. In this vein, a nun’s family would provide her convent, in lieu of her groom, with a dowry. A monk was also said to be “‘entering the bridal chamber’ when he donned the monastic habit.”⁷²

The hymnography reveals an inconsistent theology in this regard. At some times monastics are presented as “brides” upon their tonsure, at others, upon their entrance into heaven. Perhaps this ambiguity reflects the distinction between betrothal and marriage common to Byzantine culture, wherein the nuptial union was initiated in one rite and fulfilled in another. Such a correlation fits with what is known of the contemporary practice of betrothal vis-à-vis marriage.⁷³ The former was indissoluble except for the conditions recognized for the dissolution of the latter, because of the blessing, which elevated the human contract to a divine bond. One might then ask: as the betrothed were required to be faithful while not enjoying the privileges of cohabitation and sexual union, were the monastics understood to be awaiting the consummation of their union with Christ, in His dwelling place, which would only obtain after death? The hymnography certainly suggests this.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 143.

⁷¹ Ibid., 131.

⁷² Talbot, “The Byzantine Family and the Monastery,” 121.

⁷³ Viscuso, “The Formation of Marriage in Late Byzantium,” 312.

In addition to the aura of marriage, monasticism also appropriated the ambience of the Byzantine home. *Hesychia* as “repose” was a state originally associated with the security of the domestic sphere. For those called to the angelic life, it came to express that spiritual rest which they so ardently sought, and anticipated by their entry into the household (*oikos*) of a monastic “family.”⁷⁴ This *iter animae dei* is an almost constant theme of the *Menaion*, wherein a saint, through either actual or “white” martyrdom, prepares his soul for return to its heavenly homeland.

Lest one should think that the Church’s hymnography is an inaccurate indicator of contemporary attitudes and behavior, it bears noting that hagiography is considered to have served as the popular literature of the Middle Byzantine period.⁷⁵ While the hymnographic corpus presents a more truncated selection of material than the lives of the saints, it was perhaps even more germane – especially for those who could not read – by being widely diffused through liturgical proclamation. While Kazhdan argues that later revisions of saints’ lives endeavored to reflect a growing belief that “sanctity could be achieved not only in the desert or in the monastery but in family life,” this trend is not corroborated by the hymnographic corpus. Perhaps it simply proved more conservative in this respect, preserving the services that already existed and not allowing the newer models of sanctity easy entry into its ranks.

A few observations are in order here. While it is true that the *Synaxarion* acquired married saints, these saints seem to have only rarely had services composed for them, and have in most cases not become the saints fêted by the Church on a given date. In other words, the *Menaion* only provides propers for one or two of the several saints commemorated on each day of the sanctoral, and most of the individuals to whom Kazhdan refers in his article do not appear in this regard. Even when they do – for example, in the case of Konon of Isauria – references to their marriages are typically token if not absent.

⁷⁴ Patalagean, “Byzantium,” in Veyne, *A History of Private Life*, 568, 571.

⁷⁵ Kazhdan, “Byzantine Hagiography,” 131.

D. Sexuality and Spirituality

Peter Brown posits that the monastic preoccupation with celibacy, chastity and sexual purity was a distinctive innovation of Christianity vis-à-vis the cultures of the ancient world.⁷⁶ Particularly novel was the attention paid to the psychological aspects of moral praxis. Christian spirituality, he argues, interested itself in the connection between sexuality and the “passions,” and the way in which asceticism in regard to the former conditioned the dynamics of the latter:

the marital and sexual morality of the early Byzantine Christian was dour; but little in it seemed problematic.... In Eastern Christian morality the facts of sexuality were not communicated by the clergy as fraught with any particular sense of mystery. Either one lived with them, as a married person, in the world, or one abandoned them, in order to soak the body in the “sweet smell of the desert.”⁷⁷

This balance to which Brown alludes is seen in the antinomy the Church maintains by anathematizing sectarian movements that deemed nuptial love as incompatible with sacramental ministry or the spiritual life (even if it was generally acknowledged that the full attainment of holiness usually devolved to those who had freed themselves of fleshly concerns).

This is clearly manifested in the Eastern practice of married secular clergy, who were always seen as appropriate pastors for those in the world. By the seventh century, however, celibate (that is, monastic) clergy came to be entrusted with the care of the Church as a whole as the episcopate was restricted to monastics. The characteristic Byzantine orientation towards the *eschaton* is probably to be credited for this. The bishops, as the shepherds of the Church, were expected to exemplify the eschatological identity of the Church as rooted in the “not yet” even if living in the “now:”

⁷⁶ Brown, in *A History of Private Life*, 300.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 301–02.

sexuality became a highly charged symbolic marker precisely because its disappearance in the committed individual was considered possible, and because this disappearance was thought to register, more significantly than any other human transformation, the qualities necessary for leadership in the religious community. The removal of sexuality – or, more humbly, removal from sexuality – stood for a state of unhesitating availability to God and one’s fellows, associated with the ideal of the single-hearted person.⁷⁸

E. *Origins of the Menaion*

Although the cathedral office in Middle Byzantium had little hymnography, the popularity and availability of monastic worship, even in urban settings, and particularly the influential role of the Studite monks in the diffusion of Palestinian monastic practices, suggests that many Byzantines were exposed to the hymnography of the *Menaion* more or less as it was composed. By the thirteenth century, the Studite liturgical synthesis supplanted the rite of the Great Church itself, with the prominence of hymnography as one of its most salient features.⁷⁹

The initial codification of the *Menaion* was underway already in the tenth century. Local collections would circulate, be collated, and eventually be enshrined in the first printed Byzantine liturgical books. The first such *Menaion* appears in Venice in 1526, printed by Jean Antoine Niccolini da Sabio and his brothers.⁸⁰ Other editions followed, from other Venetian printers, in various redactions. The da Sabio edition set the pace, however, and it was this version that became the standard for the *textus receptus* of the *Menaion*, being subsequently accepted not only by the Greeks but also the Slavs, who translated it. The da Sabios had to choose from the

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 263.

⁷⁹ Cf. Robert Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 45, 55–56.

⁸⁰ Alphonse Raes, “Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise,” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 vols. (Vatican City, 1964), 3:211.

numerous extant manuscripts of the *Menaion* and decide on a definitive text and arrangement of the services. While the details of the editorial process and the personages involved are somewhat obscure, it would seem that Greek clergy charged with the pastoral care of Venetian Orthodox were some of the main protagonists. Alphonse Raes describes how one such “editor,” Nicholas Malaxos, actually wrote his own hymns for the sanctoral and inserted them into his proof-texts, only some of which were ever expurgated!⁸¹

The criteria for establishing the *Menaion* in what would come to be the definitive form appear, in any case, to have been incidental. Notwithstanding such haphazard beginnings, the *Menaion* received wide acceptance, suggesting that the texts were more or less aligned to what was already in use. The addition, omission, elevation or demotion of particular saints – necessary to the production of a critical edition – does not seem to have elicited any demonstrable protest. Local churches continued to glorify their own saints and compose services for them, even if they availed themselves of a basic sanctoral, common after the sixteenth century at least, to almost the whole of the Byzantine Church (the notable exception being sectors of the Church in Magna Graecia). Whatever repression of married saints may have taken place, it was not sufficiently novel to impede the success of the Venetian redactions of the *Menaion*, and we can probably conclude that the sanctoral’s *textus receptus* reflects by and large the ambivalences, adumbrated above, of the Byzantine *Sitz im Leben* in which the original services emerged. Let us now finally turn to the actual service texts themselves and begin our analysis of what they have to say about marriage and to what extent they reflect or refract the theology of marriage unfolded in the first part of this essay.

⁸¹ Ibid., 212–13.

IV. The Liturgical Theology of Marriage in the Menaion's Married Saints

The notions of repression, transference and co-optation used in the title of this study indicate three identifiable motifs in the (dis)use of nuptial imagery in the sanctoral's texts. *Repression* is intended to express the absence of a married saint, or the treatment of that saint in terms that make no reference to his or her marriage. *Transference* is the device whereby nuptial imagery is employed to celebrate a celibate saint, particularly to the detriment of the natural referent of such imagery. *Co-optation*, in turn, describes the celebration of a married saint to the effect that he or she is appropriated as a model for celibates rather than for spouses. These three motifs, and their variations, will become more intelligible in the light of their relevant examples.

Ours is a synchronic study, concerned with the *textus receptus* of the sanctoral, rather than a diachronic study focused on comparing different manuscripts prior to the sixteenth century codification of the *Menaion* in printed volumes. (Such discrepancies as may exist between the services as they now stand and their original versions, or between the number and nature of now defunct feasts vis-à-vis those that made it into the sanctoral's "canon," are moot points.) Thus my critique does not turn on issues of semantics or translation, and I will therefore be dealing with English translations of the *Menaion*. Of course, the Greek remains the foundational text⁸² and I have consulted it to clarify words and phrases. Only two editions of the 12-volume *Menaion* exist in English, that of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) and that of the Melkite Church. Given that it is fuller (including as it does the canons), I have made use of the ROCOR edition,⁸³ supplemented by the French *Menaion* of Diaconie Aposto-

⁸² Αποστολική Διακονία τῆς Εκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος *Μηναιόν* (Athens: Αποστολική Διακονία, 1991–93).

⁸³ Isaac E. Lambertsen, trans., *The Menaion of the Orthodox Church* (Liberty, TN: The St. John of Kronstadt Press, 1996–).

lique.⁸⁴ The former includes several modern Slavic saints who are not found in Greek or other *Menaia*. For our purposes, however, this edition is eminently suitable, as it is lucid and comprehensive. Moreover, almost all the married saints of the Byzantine sanctoral are common to the various recensions of the *Menaion*.

The texts selected for study were identified by means of two books whose goal is to summarize the *Synaxarion*, the traditional collection of the lives of the Byzantine saints.⁸⁵ The authors of these works claim to have identified all the saints in the sanctoral who were ever married, and they present résumés of their *vitae*. I cross-referenced the lists of married saints with the actual commemorations found in the *Menaion*, month-by-month, and discovered that most of the married saints of the Church receive no official cult. Of course, many non-married saints are also not fêted, simply because there are more saints in the *Synaxarion* than days in the year, and the Church typically only celebrates one or two saints, or groups of saints, at a time, even if nominally remembering several. What is striking, nonetheless, is the disproportionately small number of married saints in the *Menaion* compared to their number in the *Synaxarion*. Very few ended up receiving or retaining their feasts in the face of the numerous monastics who came to be commemorated by the Church.

Having narrowed the parameters of my study to those texts which commemorate married saints (see Table 1), I further reduced the material for actual analysis by eliminating the texts of those saints whose marriage is never mentioned, i.e., of whose marital state we would not know except through the *Synaxarion*, or whose marriage receives such perfunctory acknowledgement as to provide no scope for meaningful discussion. The service for James the Persian (November 27), for example, contains only a single, passing reference to his wife; it has not been possible to tease out anything germane to the

⁸⁴ Denis Guillaume, trans., *Les Menées* (Rome: Diaconie Apostolique, 1982).

⁸⁵ David Ford, *Marriage as a Path to Holiness*, and (Monk) Moses, *Married Saints of the Orthodox Church* (Wildwood, CA: St. Xenia Skete, 1991).

present work, other than the mere observation that there is not much there to observe! The services I have selected, arranged and interpreted in what follows, therefore, represent essentially all that the *Menaion* has to say concerning saints whose marriages are put forward as noteworthy.

The Byzantine sanctoral has certain categories for heroes of the faith. In one sense this is a rather straightforward development, based on the ecclesiastical status or manner of death of a saint. Witness the production of generic propers for various classes of saints, e.g. martyrs, virgins, bishops, etc. This pastorally pragmatic option, necessitated in the past by the frequent unavailability of complete texts for services, provided for the commemoration of a saint by the simple insertion of his name into a familiar liturgical template.

This use of pre-existent categories will have an impact on the sanctoral's treatment of married saints. The holiness, which came to be recognized by the Church, would seem in great measure to have been formed by the holiness she had already experienced. The *Menaion* exhibits conventions that, while not eliminating the particularity of a person, do mitigate it in order to subsume him into a pre-existing schema of sanctity.⁸⁶ The following presentation is organized around categories that reflect such a "leveling" at work in the *Menaion*.

Alexander Schmemmann's method of liturgical theology stresses the need to consider the liturgy as an integral phenomenon whose parts must be interpreted in reference to each other.⁸⁷ What follows, therefore, aims to contribute to the completion of what is lacking in Orthodox liturgical theology of marriage by enlarging the field of study from those

⁸⁶ Indeed, such a predilection is evident in the influential *Menologion* (arrangement of the *Synaxarion* according to the *Menaion*) of Symeon Metaphrastes, who "reworked most of the texts he used, to standardize and purify the language ... and give it rhetorical embellishment: Alexander Kazhdan, "Symeon Metaphrastes," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1983.

⁸⁷ Alexander Schmemmann, "Liturgical Theology: Remarks on Method," in *Liturgy and Tradition: Theological Reflections of Alexander Schmemmann*, ed., Thomas Fisch (Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 144.

liturgical data that directly concern marriage, i.e., the texts of the Crowning, to those of the sanctoral. It is worth noting that the Crowning itself makes reference to particular saints as exemplars of the mystery it celebrates, although these saints are not specifically commemorated in the *Menaion*.⁸⁸ Here we shall proceed deductively from the particular to the general, from the married to the mystery of marriage. We look to the sanctoral to identify the way in which marital theology has been exemplified. In order to refer to phrases from a given text, I have devised a simple schema by which relevant liturgical pericopes can be identified.⁸⁹ This has been done in such a manner that verification of my observations does not require recourse to the specific edition of the *Menaion* I am using for my work.

Table 1: Married Saints Mentioned in the *Menaion*

Month	Saint <i>(those in italics are saints whose marriage receives little or no actual treatment in the text)</i>
September	Zachary and Elizabeth (5 th); Joachim and Anne (9 th); Theodora of Alexandria (11 th); Sophia (17 th); Eustathis and Theopista (20 th); <i>Gregory the Illuminator</i> (30 th)

⁸⁸ Cf. the first prayer of the Crowning, which mentions Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Rachel, Joseph and Aseneth; and the second, which includes Moses and Zipporah (Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective*, 120–22).

⁸⁹ *CXL* denotes a sticheron (a hymnographic stanza, typically a few sentences in length) farcing the verses of Psalms 140–141 at the lamp-lighting psalms of Vespers. *Dox* or *Theo* denotes the sticheron sung after the “Glory be ...” or the “Now and ever ...” in a given set of stichera. *Apo* denotes a sticheron sung in between at the Aposticha of Vespers. *Sess* denotes a sessional hymn sung in between readings of the Psalter (kathismata) at Matins. *Ode* denotes an ode (a series of verses) of a canon (a long, stylized poetic form, divided into eight odes) at Matins, and the specific verse in it. *Can* denotes which canon, when more than one is prescribed. *Kont* denotes the kontakion, one of the “theme songs,” of a given feast. *Ikos* denotes a stanza sung following a kontakion. *Praises* denotes a sticheron sung in between the verses of Psalms 148–150 at Matins.

Month	Saint <i>(those in italics are saints whose marriage receives little or no actual treatment in the text)</i>
October	Adronicus and Athanasias (9 th); <i>Philip the Deacon</i> (11 th); Terrence and Neonilla (28 th); Abramios (29 th)
November	Galacticon and Episteme (5 th); <i>Nilus, John the Merciful</i> (12 th); <i>Philip the Apostle</i> (14 th); <i>Gregory</i> (20 th); <i>Philemon and Apphia</i> (22 nd); <i>James the Persian</i> (27 th)
December	<i>Philaret</i> (1 st); <i>Spyridon</i> (12 th); Theophania (16 th); <i>John of Kronstadt</i> (20 th); <i>Juliana</i> (21 st); <i>Anastasia</i> (22 nd); <i>Melania</i> (30 th /31 st)
January	<i>Juliana</i> (2 nd); <i>Polyeuctus</i> (9 th); <i>Gregory of Nyssa, Dometian</i> (10 th); <i>Xenia</i> (24 th); Xenophon and his wife and children (26 th)
February	<i>Symeon</i> (3 rd)
March	Conon and <i>Anna</i> (5 th [service mentions Conon alone]); Alexis (17 th); Chrysanthus and Daria (19 th); <i>Innocent of Moscow</i> (31 st)
April	<i>Eupsychus</i> (9 th)
May	Timothy & Maura (5 th); <i>Simon the Zealot</i> (10 th); <i>Constantine, Helena</i> (21 st); <i>Andronicus & Junia</i> (17 th); <i>Theodutus of Ancyra</i> (18 th)
June	<i>Peter the Apostle</i> (29 th)
July	<i>Julitta</i> (15 th); Anne (her Dormition on the 25 th)
August	<i>Dalmatus</i> (3 rd); Bassa (21 st [no mention of her marriage but only her children and motherhood]); Adrian and Natalie (26 th)

A. Righteous Israelites

The first category that emerges in the *Menaion*, that of “Righteous Israelites,” comprises married saints of the Scriptures who lived before the genesis of the New Testament Church. What is notable is that there are really only two couples in this category, and yet their feasts are of great significance. Conceivably there could be several more, and it is indeed surprising that there are not. Old Testament prophets, for example, are commemorated in the sanctoral, despite living

before the Incarnation. One might similarly expect to find the patriarchs celebrated with their wives, especially as they are singled out in the Crowning.

The first feast in the Byzantine liturgical year that commemorates a married couple is that of **Zacharias and Elizabeth** on September 5th. On the twenty-third of the same month the feast of the **Conception of the Forerunner** occurs. The two services will be treated together, as their content is continuous.

A major theme in the first service is the honor that accrues to the parents as a result of the importance of their son, John the Forerunner. The fruit of the womb, which is granted to the couple, is miraculous. John's conception is presented as a reward for the faith and charity of Elizabeth in particular.⁹⁰ Her virtue elevates her even above the virginal state, as it is better to be a wife like her than to possess virginity per se.⁹¹ Such a contention is based on Saint Paul's claim to have betrothed the Church to Christ "as a pure virgin to one husband"⁹² (cf. II Cor. 11:2). The hymnographer explains that the apostle calls the married virginal inasmuch as they are members of the Church, herself likened to a virgin. This example thus provides the rationale for placing Elizabeth, although a wife and mother, in the ranks of those who are praised in Christ's parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt. 25:1–13). Despite the fact that Elizabeth was married, she was actually greater than a virgin.

Zacharias is not mentioned in the previous context. The spouses are in fact usually lauded in separate stichera. Nonetheless, they are presented together in one instance as a "model" of how to please God. Their "walk[ing] in the commandments" is a means whereby God leads the Church, just as the pillar and cloud led Israel in the desert; this implies that the married not only participate in, but exemplify holiness.⁹³ In the conception, Zacharias is occasionally given an active role, as when Gabriel announces to him: "the Creator of Nature, the

⁹⁰ Apo, 2/3.

⁹¹ Ode IV, Can of E, 1.

⁹² Ode IV, Can of E, 2.

⁹³ Ode IV, Can of E, 3.

King of Angels, hath been well pleased that thou givest birth unto the herald of his own coming.”⁹⁴ Often, however, he remains on the sidelines. He is “upstaged” by his son, for example, who is portrayed as almost pre-existent and implicated in his own generation, the cause rather than the effect of his mother’s miraculous fertility: “now having thrown wide the gate of the barren one, the great and divine Forerunner of Christ taketh up his abode within his mother’s womb, as within royal chambers, that he may issue forth as a warrior.”⁹⁵

Striking in this regard are the parallels drawn between the pregnancies of Elizabeth and Mary. The hymnographer exclaims, “O God, Thou didst show forth Elizabeth’s conceiving as an image of Thine own inconceivable birthgiving from the Virgin.”⁹⁶ Elizabeth’s natural conception by means of her husband is thus co-opted to praise Mary’s virginal one. In the service of the conception, Elizabeth is again compared to Mary, with the impression left that they conceived in a similar way: “Elizabeth hath been freed from barrenness; and the Virgin hath remained a virgin, even when she conceived in her womb at the cry of Gabriel.”⁹⁷

Resonances of the beauty of the marital embrace do occur in the first sessional hymn of the former feast: “great is the love for mankind which the all-good God hath toward mortals, and which He showed forth upon thee, O Elizabeth, in that it was His will, in His ineffable goodness, that thou be with Zacharias.”⁹⁸ Similarly, the *kontakion* of the conception exhorts: “rejoice with splendor, O great Zacharias and most glorious Elizabeth, his spouse, in conceiving John the Forerunner as is meet.” This service also introduces an awkward but charming astronomic metaphor which will recur in the feast of Joachim and Anne: “as radiant as the sun, Zacharias, cleaving unto Elizabeth, the moon, begat the light-bearing

⁹⁴ Ode VI, 2.

⁹⁵ Ode IX, 1.

⁹⁶ Ode VI, Can of E, 3.

⁹⁷ Sess I, 1.

⁹⁸ Sess I, 1.

beacon of the Light, which shineth upon us.”⁹⁹ This is a rare example of a verse that carries a romantic overtone.

Alongside this positive appraisal of marriage and procreation, however, both services provide an alternative commentary. In the ikos of the kontakion for the holy couple, they are described as receiving John the Baptist “by the voice of an angel.” His conception is thus implicitly presented as more miraculous than the Scriptural witness attests by virtue of its dissociation from sexual union. We find a repression of Luke 1:23–25 (wherein Zacharias returns home – having received the promise of the angel – and only subsequently, after being together with his wife again, is John conceived by Elizabeth).

In the feast of the conception, this aberration from the gospel becomes explicit. John is the fruit of a miracle per se, not the fruit of the procreative synergy of his parents in the context of Elizabeth’s miraculously removed barrenness. John is said to have “come forth from a barren womb as an angel,”¹⁰⁰ without mention being made of Zacharias and Elizabeth coming together. Problematic also is the subsequent reference that depicts Elizabeth as conceiving apart from her husband at the very moment he is met by the angel. Although Zacharias was away from Elizabeth at the temple when he received Gabriel’s message, the text exults: “the glorious forerunner ... hath at the angel’s command sprung forth in his mother’s womb.”¹⁰¹ Again, in Matins, we hear: “the Forerunner of the coming of the Lord is now conceived at the angel’s announcement.”¹⁰² Similar to the Scriptures, the hymnography regards infertility as a strictly feminine condition. The instrumentality of men is veiled by the *fiat* of the Lord, which transforms barrenness into fecundity. This in turn would seem to effect a certain co-optation of the human agency in procreation and of its vital role in mediating the divine will and power.

An article of note in the feast of the holy couple is the way in which the Song of Songs is allegorized. In the eighth ode of

⁹⁹ Ode VII, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Apo, Dox.

¹⁰¹ Ode III, 3.

¹⁰² Praises, 3.

the Canon of Elizabeth, this text is presented as typifying the relationship of God and the Church (Song of Songs 4:7). Elizabeth, in turn, is likened to the Church: “as God said of his Church: ‘Thou art all-comely, My beloved, and there is no blemish in thee,’ so art thou also blameless, O righteous Elizabeth.”

On September 9, the Church commemorates for the first time her other pre-New Covenant married couple, **Joachim and Anne**. This couple is also fêted in the service for the Nativity of the Theotokos (September 8), as well as in that of the Dormition of Saint Anne (July 25). The deaths and hence the lives of both saints are commemorated in this latter feast, despite the name of the celebration.¹⁰³

A particular challenge of these services is the manner in which the frequent description of Anne as *sôphrôn* (“chaste, modest”) is to be interpreted. Both Joachim and Anne are called chaste,¹⁰⁴ as well as being elsewhere referred to in terms such as “the holy mates.”¹⁰⁵ Perhaps *sôphrôn* simply designates here the living out of a marital sexuality free from the concupiscence that so often defiles it. Fiona Bowie notes that chastity has had a dual connotation in Christian thought, referring both to “the purity of heart which enables the individual to see God (Matt. 5:8) ... [and] the abstention from sexual intercourse, often associated with a denigration of marriage and a distaste for the body.”¹⁰⁶ The hymnographer seemingly intends the first of these meanings, but does seem to incline at times toward the second as well.

As in the service for Zachary and Elizabeth, the husband concerned here remains somewhat in the background as far as his child’s conception is concerned. Joachim is lauded, however, as one of the “honored couple who gave birth to the Mother of God for us.”¹⁰⁷ The hymnographer also declares

¹⁰³ Cf. the feast’s CXL, Dox, where the holy couple are said to pass into heaven with their daughter, the immaculate virgin.

¹⁰⁴ Ode V, Can of J, 2.

¹⁰⁵ CXL, Dox.

¹⁰⁶ Fiona Bowie, “Chastity,” in *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*, eds., Adrian Hastings et al (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 108–09.

¹⁰⁷ CXL, 4.

that he, “enriching his spouse with divine grace, was vouchsafed to beget the mediatrix [*sic*] of men’s salvation.”¹⁰⁸ There is thus a felicitous recognition of how God’s miraculous restoration of fertility in Mary’s mother co-operates with the procreative agency of her father; her life itself comes from God, but through Joachim.

A more convoluted metaphor occurs later on. “Entering into conjunction with Anne, like the sun with the luminous moon, Joachim gave rise to a ray of virginity.”¹⁰⁹ This latter image is so strange precisely because the only time the sun and moon are seen to be together is during an eclipse – during which time the sun’s rays are not evident. And the two, of course, never actually touch each other!

“Seed” is referred to in the canon for Anne’s Dormition, but in such a way as to suggest again that Anne bore Mary without Joachim’s assistance.¹¹⁰ A further reference to her seemingly unilateral conception occurs in the first sticheron of the aposticha, in which Joachim is not mentioned; the third, however, does affirm the mutual dignity of the couple in bringing forth the Mother of Christ. The ambivalence here recalls that of the feasts of Zacharias and Elizabeth. Addressing matters of procreation seems to involve a breach of modesty for the hymnographer, who employs the supernatural deliverance from sterility almost as an excuse to neglect the synergy of the couple inherent in the natural processes through which the miracle was manifested.

Finally, it is significant that the only two conceptions of saints celebrated by the Church are those of John the Forerunner and Mary. Thomas Hopko considers their feasts to prove “that it is possible by the grace of God ... for sexual union in marriage, even in the present condition of things, to be good, holy, beautiful, loving and pure.”¹¹¹ As we have seen, this may be claiming too much. The circumlocution and ambivalence of the services treated above send mixed

¹⁰⁸ Ode III, Can of J, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Ode IX, Can of J, 3.

¹¹⁰ Ode I, 3.

¹¹¹ Thomas Hopko, *The Winter Pascha* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1984), 43.

messages and do not lend themselves, as Hopko believes, to refuting the notion that “sexual union is in any sense sinful, or the cause in itself of any sinfulness or stain.”¹¹²

B. *Martyrs*

The *Menaion* contains several services for couples or entire families who were martyred together.¹¹³ Martyrdom is the phenomenon set in relief, and the personalities of the martyrs are thus frequently overshadowed by the attention given to their sufferings and death. Marriage and family serve at times to represent the worldly attachments that challenge the martyr’s determination to honor and serve Christ. Martyrdom is of course the archetypal mode of holiness in the Church, providing the frame of reference for monasticism itself, the so-called white martyrdom. While the *monachos* is one who lives alone for God, the martyr lives and dies for God alone. Indeed, we encounter in the services for martyrs a willingness to sacrifice all for the sake of salvation. Marriage is often high on the list of offerings, and if not marriage itself, then its natural comforts and blessings. Those saints whose spouses supported their vocation to martyrdom, however, are celebrated together with them.

An example of this is to be found in the first occurrence of a married couple to be martyred, the September 20th feast of **Eusthatus and Theopista**. These spouses, together with their children, are glorified for their common faith and sacrifice. Eusthatus maintains his courage even when separated from his household. In this respect he is likened to Job, who piously endured the loss of all that he held dear:

O thou who art as firm as adamant in soul, how can we
praise thee as is meet? For, deprived of thy spouse,

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Interestingly, the martyr Prokopios (July 8), whose intercessions are invoked at the dismissal of the Crowning, is identified by Chryssavgis as having been married (*Love, Sexuality and the Sacrament of Marriage*, 21). However, neither Monk Moses nor David and Mary Ford include him in their lists of married saints.

thou didst transcend nature, possessions and children, and didst utter the blessed and ever-memorable cry of Job: ‘The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away! As the Lord hath willed, so hath it been!’ But God Whom thou didst love and Whom thou didst fervently desire, again gave thee most cherished things, O thou who didst consider beforehand concerning those who suffered with thee. And having reached the end of divers torments with them, receiving them as thy fellow supplicants, O blessed Eusthatus, patient of soul, pray thou, that we be delivered from our iniquities.¹¹⁴

The saint’s wife and children are contrasted with “corruptible riches and pleasures” as the true source of his glory.¹¹⁵ Our hymnographer exhibits a deep sympathy for the pain that Eusthatus underwent in the deprivation of his family. His example is compelling precisely because he had so much to relinquish. Consequently, what for a lesser man might have proven a temptation – the impulse to sacrifice Christian integrity for the security of loved ones – becomes the occasion of the martyr’s victory. As a result, the text exclaims: “ye were beautifully united, O honored ones, having been separated before by Providence most great; and having dyed the purple robe of betrothal in your blood, ye hasten ardently to the heavenly bridal chamber.”¹¹⁶

On October 28th, the feast of **Terrence and Neonilla** is kept. The familiar astronomical metaphor recurs: “like a sun of surpassing brilliance thou didst join with the moon, Neonilla, and didst beget, O Terence, a choir of seven stars who were stained with the blood of martyrdom and emit splendid radiance, and who have made their abode in never-waning peace, where the team of all the athletes joineth chorus in splendour.”¹¹⁷ Here we see a striking example of a distinctly positive view of marital life. One senses that this domestic

¹¹⁴ Apo, Dox.

¹¹⁵ Ode I, 3.

¹¹⁶ Ode VIII, 2.

¹¹⁷ CXL, 3.

church was formative for the vocation of martyrdom to which they were all eventually called. There is nothing derogatory in this feast in regard to marriage.

The married martyrs **Timothy and Maura** are remembered on May 3rd. Timothy is instrumental in his wife's conversion to Christ: "O divine Maura, thou didst listen lovingly to the luminous discourse of thy spouse."¹¹⁸ She then measures up to him – exceeding what the hymnographer considers the natural limitations of her sex – through her resilience in "manfully enduring unjust torture."¹¹⁹ The implication would seem to be that the union of this couple was effected not through marriage but martyrdom: union, that is, with each other in blood and in imitation of Christ. "Manifestly joined together in an excellent union, together ye took the easy yoke of the Lord upon your necks."¹²⁰

A final and more substantial example of this genre is provided by the August 26th commemoration of **Adrian and Natalia**. Here, a happily married couple together undergoes martyrdom, encouraging and strengthening each other on the way. Of note is the parallel drawn between Eve and Natalia, which highlights the esteem in which the hymnographer holds the latter: "the spouse of Adam caused him to be driven from Paradise through the counsel of the serpent; but Natalia all-wisely led Adrian to Paradise with her sacred conversations, spurring him on with her teachings to endure painful sufferings, being a mediator for him of heavenly rewards and everlasting glory."¹²¹ The reciprocity of the couple's relationship is affirmed in the second allusion to Eve; here Adrian brings forth what is best in Natalia, and she in him:

the zeal of a pious man drew his God-loving wife to a splendid teaching; for the eminent Adrian was drawn on by the words of Natalia and finished the course of suffering. O the ways of the God-loving wife! For she did not bring her husband corruption as did Eve to

¹¹⁸ Ode V, 1.

¹¹⁹ Ode V, 3.

¹²⁰ Ode VIII, 2.

¹²¹ CXL, 3.

Adam, but won never-ending life for him. Praising her with her husband, we cry out to Christ.¹²²

Natalia, like Maura, breaks the stereotype of the weaker sex by carrying both herself and her husband forward to their destiny, and by setting an example for him.

O holy couple, elect of the Lord! O eminent union blessed by God! Who doth not marvel, hearing of their deeds! How did the female sex stand in manly manner against the arrogant tyrant and strengthen her husband, that he not give in to the wicked, but choose to die for the Faith rather than to live? O the divinely woven words of the all-wise Natalia! O the divine teachings which transcend the heavens and which set the glorious Adrian before the very throne of the great King Whom he acknowledged! O holy couple, pray to God for us who with love keep your memory.¹²³

Against the backdrop of these accolades, however, a dissonance is perpetuated through the contrast of “carnal love” with love of Christ. Love for God is thus at odds with the natural love of one’s spouse: “who will not marvel at the wondrous woman’s love for God? For she disdained carnal desire and persuaded her spouse to honor and glorify Christ for all ages.”¹²⁴

Although one might wish to interpret “carnal desire” as simply that instinct for preservation of self (and of another) which would ordinarily prevent one from willingly submitting to martyrdom, the phrase in question is used in the hymnography to connote the natural affection proper to marriage, or, rather, to exclude it.

The issue is not, of course, that the couple in question do not love each other; it is that their love as spouses appears to possess no particular conjugal quality, at least no positive one. There is an evident fraternal charity between Adrian and

¹²² Apo, Dox.

¹²³ CXL, Dox.

¹²⁴ Ode VIII, 2.

Natalia, which nonetheless manifests itself as a mutual rejection of their spousal affection: “the dew of thy precious words was truly healing for the pangs of thy spouse, who tasted of the love of higher things, O divinely wise Natalia, consort of the martyrs,”¹²⁵ and again: “utterly disdain[ing] carnal love, O Natalia, with desire for Christ thou didst enflame the soul of thy husband which was kindled with the fire of divine love.”¹²⁶ Here we see a tendency to exalt one thing by debasing another.

The example of these saints is undoubtedly among the most inspiring, providing a beautiful image of a couple whose mutual piety reinforces their marriage: “Natalia was given to Adrian by God as a helpmate united with him in soul, drawing him forth who was stuck fast in the abyss of deception and urging him to cry out: Blessed is the God of our fathers!”¹²⁷ Yet there are points of disconnection with the theological tradition regarding the notion that “carnal desire” of at least some kind might be a vehicle of grace. Karl-Heinz Uthemann notes that in Byzantine anthropology *σάρξ* is only sometimes distinguished from *σώμα*. This is indeed the case in the hymnography, where *σαρκικός* and *σωματικός* are used at times indiscriminately, and where the salient contrast is between the sarkic/somatic love of spouses, and the spiritual love of God and neighbor that transcends it.¹²⁸ Uthemann makes this cogent observation:

a major problem for Byz.[sic] theology was determining an appropriate moral or soteriological role for the body. The Byz. rejected the Stoic image of the body as the cage or prison of the soul as well as the Manichean vision of the body as the embodiment of evil. The body, created by God himself, was con-

¹²⁵ Ode V, 3.

¹²⁶ Ode III, 3.

¹²⁷ Ode VII, 2.

¹²⁸ See for example the service for March 19, Chrysanthus and Daria (discussed below), Ode IV, 3: “With courage of heart thou didst shake off carnal pleasures (i.e. *τάς ἡδονὰς τοῦ σώματος*).” Later in the service they avoid “the things of the flesh” (i.e. *τῆν τῆς σαρκός*).

ceived of as ethically irrelevant, an instrument through which the soul could sin.¹²⁹

C. *Celibate Spouses*

A third genre of married sanctity is to be found in the celebrations of saints who lived continence within their marriages, who were, in effect, celibate spouses or married “monks.” The hymnography expresses a two-fold admiration for this vocation, on the one hand praising the choice to abstain from sexual relations as a sign of spiritual fervor and self-discipline; on the other, extolling the fruit of that choice in terms of Christian witness and service.

On October 9th the Church commemorates **Andronicus and Athanasia**. Initially Andronicus leaves his wife in order to seek out his path to holiness, but she later joins him in his quest, accepting that they live together in continence. The hymnographer finds ostensible justification for the former’s prior abandonment of his spouse – a practice that in Orthodox canon law would later legitimate divorce – in Genesis 12:1–9: “submitting to the Master’s commands as the patriarch Abraham did of old, O father, thou didst leave thy country and didst forsake thy kinsfolk; and, far from wife and riches, thou didst dwell alone in the desert, O blessed one.”¹³⁰ Oddly, the text glosses over the fact that Abraham took his wife along with him on this trek! This failure to distinguish between the parent-child relationship and the spousal one seems to indicate an indifference to the theology of the New Testament, not to mention the doctrinal teaching of the Church regarding the duties of spouses to each other.¹³¹ In this instance a Scriptural

¹²⁹ Karl-Heinz Uthemann, “Body,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., eds., Alexander Kazhdan et al (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1: 299.

¹³⁰ Ode I, Can of And., 2.

¹³¹ See for example, David G. Hunter, *Marriage in the Early Church* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 20, where he notes that Saint John Chrysostom speaks of “the desire (*erôs*) that draws two human beings together as the creation of God and as the highest form of human love (*Homily* 20.1) ... The Christian couple can approach even the ascetic virtue of the monk.” Clement of Alexandria, for his part, has nothing but scorn for

example is co-opted to endorse something to which it simply does not correspond. Andronicus's actions are further rationalized by reference to the counsel given by Christ to the rich young man to sell all and follow him (Matthew 19:16–22). The relevance of this pericope is also dubious as there is no indication that the gospel inquirer was married.

Athanasia later recognizes the validity of her husband's decision and follows him in taking up the ascetic life, initially posing as his disciple.¹³² Her docility confirms his initiative, and the two pass on to a superior mode of marital co-existence. "Adam was driven from Eden because of the counsel of Eve, but thou, O wise one, believing the counsel of thy spouse, becamest within a garden of paradise, and with her dost ever rejoice."¹³³ Here, as so often in the texts of the sanctoral, there seems to be no consideration of marriage as a means of grace.

The hymnographer draws such a strong dichotomy between marriage and monastic life that one wonders whether he considers those in the world to be capable of salvation. The entry into heaven of these saints is presented as the result of their abandoning conjugality for celibacy: "putting aside fleeting and corruptible love and leaving it to those on earth, ye bound yourselves with spiritual love, O blessed ones; *wherefore* ye now abide where the habitations of the righteous are."¹³⁴

A positive aspect of the service is its witness to the saints' patient and faithful bearing of suffering. This is accomplished by a more tenable Scriptural allusion:

those who think that the eschewal of the nuptial bond is an expression of holiness: "To those who blaspheme both the creation and the holy Creator ... through their supposedly sacred continence, and who teach that marriage and childbearing should be rejected and that one should not bring other unfortunate people into the the world ... they can be refuted ... But if by agreement sexual relations are suspended for a time for the purpose of prayer, this teaches self-control. But [Saint Paul] adds the words *by agreement* to prevent anyone from dissolving the marriage ... Just like celibacy, marriage has its own distinctive services and ministries for the Lord; I refer to the care of one's children and wife" (55).

¹³² Ode VI.

¹³³ Ode III, 1.

¹³⁴ Ode II, 3 [emphasis mine].

ye were deprived of your children's loving companionship through your great struggle, remaining bereft of consolation in this life; and ye uttered the cry of the most valiant Job, exclaiming: 'The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away!' Wherefore, ye did opportunely accomplish the work ye desired and have been shown to have joyfully passed over to the most lovely holy places.¹³⁵

The loss of their children thus served as an impetus for the saints to alter their vocation by becoming monastics.

Andronicus and Athanasia are commemorated as a couple, yet they are the kind of couple that would seem to serve as an example to almost no one. Monks and nuns, for example, already have scores of their own monastic saints; for their part, married lay people – at least at large – could scarcely be expected to emulate such an unusual example of “marriage.”

Another example of a celibate couple is that of **Galacteon and Episteme**, whose feast is kept on November 5th. The rubrics for Matins explain its canon's acrostic thus: “it is fitting to hymn the unconjugal pair of athletes.” What is esteemed in this pair is the manner in which they de-nuptialized their union, as it were. They are lauded for “having set aside family, wealth and power for the sake of Christ,”¹³⁶ reflecting the traditional monastic disciplines of celibacy, poverty and obedience. There is no issue for the hymnographer, however, of the sacramental possibilities they have also set aside, such as the establishment of an *ecclesia domestica*. Rather, marriage is again co-opted by monasticism, and deprived of significance in its own right: “with thy spouse, thou didst struggle monastically.”

Celibacy is the key aspect of this metamorphosis, and is praised in such a way as to suggest that it is not only appropriate but even ideal for those who are married: “held fast by purity of love, thou didst teach thy spouse to live in virginity with thee.”¹³⁷ Purity is made equivalent to virginity.

¹³⁵ CXL, 3.

¹³⁶ Ode I, 3.

¹³⁷ Ode III, 2.

In Ode VI,1, the hymnographer describes how baptism rendered the couple close to “those who wed not.” In a common analogy, the avoidance of nuptial union is seen as an anticipation of the *eschaton*: “desiring the life of the angels, ye maintained your union incorruptibly.”¹³⁸

These two saints eschew the natural disintegration associated with their state in life by effectively living as if unwedded. In virtue of her celibacy, moreover, Episteme in particular qualifies for the kind of transference usually reserved for female monastics or martyrs. She is extolled for her spiritual marriage: “Episteme, who wast wedded to the Word of God”¹³⁹ is later called a “virgin martyr of the Lord.”¹⁴⁰

The commemoration of **Melania** on December 31st is a further example of the genre under consideration. Here only Melania is named, but her husband is fêted along with her. Once again, the characteristic virtue of the saint is her ability to maintain continence within marriage, and to persuade her husband to do likewise: Melania is praised for turning away “from the pleasures of the flesh.”¹⁴¹

The saint is thus a “model for monastics,” rather than for couples.¹⁴² The hymnographer acclaims: “thou dost gaze directly upon the beauty of God, which Thou had first acquired through chastity.”¹⁴³ Chastity is conflated with celibacy, which is in turn construed as the means of grace par excellence. There does not seem to be any room in this spiritual vision for marriage to possess grace per se. Marital chastity is presented not as a virtue in itself, but only as the starting point for the saint to cultivate true chastity, i.e., celibacy. The association of celibacy with the angelic life virtually excludes the possibility for marital chastity to have any positive significance.

Passion is presented in hymnography as redeemable in the redirected *eros* of the monastics toward “spiritual” marriage,

¹³⁸ Ode VIII, 2.

¹³⁹ Ode VII, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Ode IX, 2.

¹⁴¹ Ode I, 3.

¹⁴² Ode III, 3.

¹⁴³ Ode IX, 2.

but not in the *eros* of Christian marriage. The physicality of the latter seems to draw it toward its aberrations, such as fornication or adultery, insofar as all are characterized by a certain corruption. The hymnographer seems to equate sexual activity with sin; if he does allow a distinction between “carnal lust” and a holy erotic desire, it is not readily apparent. For Melania attained the spiritual life not by the exercise of that chastity proper to marriage, but by “mortifying the carnal lusts with *abstinence*.”¹⁴⁴ Other references to this effect permeate the service.

Among the few ostensible affirmations of the marital vocation we find: “bearing the yoke of Christ with thy husband, ye renewed your souls with the plough of prayers, and having cultivated the field of good works, ye delight,”¹⁴⁵ or, “with Thy husband, Thou didst faithfully follow after Christ.”¹⁴⁶ In the light of the quotations cited above, however, these few salutary references serve as exceptions to the rule. Alexander Kazhdan considers Melania’s story to illustrate how:

a conflict between marriage and chastity could evolve in the process of connubial life ... After the death of her two sons she felt an aversion to marriage and told her husband that she would stay with him ‘as her lord and master’ only if he agreed to lead a life of chastity; if not, she would give him all her belongings and ‘liberate her body.’ In the later *Vita* of Melania, the sharpness of this anti-marital tendency was reduced, the ‘aversion’ disappeared, and only the call for chastity remained.¹⁴⁷

The service in the *Menaion* for Melania has evidently built upon her earlier *vita*.

On January 26th, the Church commemorates **Xenophon, his wife and their children**. Here we see find an example of a

¹⁴⁴ Ode IV, 1 [emphasis mine].

¹⁴⁵ Ode VII, 1.

¹⁴⁶ Ode VIII, 4.

¹⁴⁷ Kazhdan, “Byzantine Hagiography and Sex in the Fifth to Twelfth Centuries,” 133.

saint whose holiness obtained despite his non-celibate marriage. Although he fathered children, he and his whole family became monastics and eventually martyrs. Ode III suggests that he received monastic tonsure while still attending to his children's upbringing. The text does provide, however, a positive image of paternal love and responsibility: "with instruction and edification in the Law of the Lord didst thou teach thy children."¹⁴⁸ The family excels in charity as well as faith. The hymnographer acclaims: "having gladly distributed thy riches to the poor, O blessed one, with thy spouse and children thou wast vigilant in the commandments of the Lord."¹⁴⁹

Yet this salutary example is ultimately distinguished from normal marriage and co-opted to laud monastic life. The kontakion reads: "strange is the path which with thy spouse thou didst tread in godly manner ... for ye were not mindful of nature, and clearly showed yourselves to be as bodiless beings on earth. *Wherefore*, the portals of heaven have been opened unto you."¹⁵⁰ Thus the saints have been saved, and are worthy of veneration, because of their rejection of the body and their espousal of monasticism. The kontakion just quoted ends with an interesting reference to Christ as the "Bestower of crowns." The hymnographer, however, precludes their potential interpretation as marriage crowns: Ode IX specifies that they signify the victory of asceticism. Xenophon and his family were crowned because they all pursued monastic life.

A final paragon of "married monasticism" is provided by **Chrysanthus and Daria**, commemorated on March 19th. These two were also martyrs, but I have placed them in the present category due to the reification of celibacy evident in their service. This service displays how, together with *aphthartos* ("incorrupt"), *amōmos* ("undefiled") is employed as a characteristic term for "spiritual marriage."¹⁵¹ Transference is at work in two directions: through the assimilation of all positive nuptial attributes to this kind of union, and also through the lack of differentiation between marriage and its deviancies.

¹⁴⁸ Ode III, 3.

¹⁴⁹ Kont.

¹⁵⁰ Kont II, Ikos [emphasis mine].

¹⁵¹ For example, CXL, 2.

Their marriage notwithstanding, the saints are lauded for “having gained control over the carnal passions which”¹⁵² marriage does nothing to sanctify or even legitimate.

Certainly the life situation of these saints is somewhat different from others we have discussed, inasmuch as Daria was not a Christian at the time of her marriage to Chrysanthus. While the impugning of nuptial union as regards saints who were married as Christians is problematic in the light of the text of the Crowning and its status as a sacrament, the disdain for the consummation of marriage shown by Chrysanthus and here extolled by the hymnographer seems to stem primarily from what such a phenomenon represented in his particular situation. The saint is tempted by Daria, an unbeliever, to renounce his faith and receive her instead. Because of this, woman, marriage and the “pleasures of a woman” are vilified.¹⁵³ Marriage to Daria represents, for Chrysanthus, abandoning Christ for pagan philosophy.

Nonetheless, after Daria has been converted by her husband, the two of them abide as married, although the circumstances of their prison “wedding” do not conform to a normal pattern. The hymnographer, however, resorts to transference as far as their marriage is concerned. Chrysanthus is likened to a friend of the bridegroom in escorting his wife to Christ as “an undefiled bride.”¹⁵⁴ Jesus, in turn, “betroth[es] to Himself Daria.”¹⁵⁵ Despite her marriage to Chrysanthus, Daria is still susceptible of marriage to Christ in virtue of her continence. She thus makes within herself “a divine bridal chamber,” and becomes the “ornament of virgins.”¹⁵⁶ The marriage of the two saints seems to serve essentially as a temptation, bringing into relief their holiness. Chrysanthus keeps himself “undefiled” by resisting Daria, and she does likewise by renouncing him.¹⁵⁷ The text exults: “with oneness of soul, ye avoided carnal relations and showed yourselves to

¹⁵² Ode VIII, 4.

¹⁵³ Ode I, 3.

¹⁵⁴ CXL, 2.

¹⁵⁵ Ode III, Theo.

¹⁵⁶ CXL, 3.

¹⁵⁷ Ode IV, 2.

be pure vessels of the Almighty.”¹⁵⁸ The goal of martyrdom appears to be the interpretive key to the extremes lyricized in this hymnography. The physicality of nuptial union is not obviated, but transposed into the martyrs’ suffering. Daria weds herself to Christ “by all manner of bodily pangs.”¹⁵⁹

Martyrdom is obviously heroic and it is not surprising that such a couple as Chrysanthus and Daria were canonized. The question remains, however, as to the relationship between this kind of married sanctity and the norm. If the monasticism praised in the hymnographic corpus generally reflects that which the Church conceives the monastic vocation to be, the exemplars of marriage, *mutatis mutandis*, ought to include some who are “typical.” Instead, what is presented can be termed exception after exception.

D. Absentee Husbands

Our next category, of saints who abandoned their spouses to become monks, is perhaps one of the most incongruous of those that concern marriage. Unlike the choice for celibacy instead of marriage, these saints decided to break the spousal bond after the fact. On October 29th, the Church commemorates **Abramios**. He appears to have been placed in an arranged marriage, which he forsook for monastic life. This is couched in the familiar terms of the dichotomy between the physical and the spiritual, of that which is of this world and that which is of the next. The hymnographer proclaims: “disdaining the pleasures of the flesh, thou didst come to love purity from thy childhood, O wise one. Wherefore fleeing a worldly bridal-chamber, and rejecting a noble spouse and thy parents, thou didst manifestly desire the one, loving God.”¹⁶⁰ The service does not specify whether the saint’s marriage had already taken place, but his *vita* indicates that it had. Ascetic zeal is presented as such a virtue, in any case, that it justifies even the rejection of one’s spouse.

¹⁵⁸ Ode VIII, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Ode VI, 3.

¹⁶⁰ Kont, Ikos.

The feast of **Alexis**, on March 17th, brings this phenomenon into greater relief. Alexis's spouse is presented as almost chattel, a possession to be discarded for love of God. "Thou didst count Thy wife and fleeting wealth as but dust, desiring Christ alone Who is beloved of Thee."¹⁶¹ Such desire is unabashedly held to be antithetical to the nuptial bond. The hymnography blusters on, extolling the saint's option for celibacy, without any evident sense that his abandonment of his spouse might be sinful, subverting what otherwise would have been an honorable vocational choice. "Thou didst exchange a bridal chamber on earth for one in heaven, and the love of a wife for an angelic habit most sweet." The rationale offered is that Alexis was "pierced with longing for purity."¹⁶²

The typically female motif, of bride to the divine bridegroom, is here applied to a male saint, further sidelining his spouse. Thus Alexis emerges as both a husband and a wife: married to angelic purity, as well as to Christ himself. It is difficult not to regard such a commemoration as misogynist and deprecatory toward marriage; it bears witness to a theological current diametrically opposed to that embodied in the Crowning.

E. Monastic Widows

There are many saints who became monastics after the death of their spouses. They are remembered for their monastic sanctity and rarely is reference made to the married life they led before their tonsure. A few such saints' services are discussed here to illustrate the type of transference of nuptial imagery that is common in services for monastics. On September 11 the Church commemorates the widow **Theodora**. The texts are silent in regard to her previous life. That ubiquitous metaphor for the kingdom of heaven, the "bridal chamber," is invoked to describe the state to which Theodora was summoned at death by her Bridegroom,¹⁶³ who had prepared a home for her.

¹⁶¹ CXL, Dox.

¹⁶² Ode III, 1.

¹⁶³ Ode VIII, 1.

On September 17th the feast of **Sophia and her daughters** is kept. The service gives short shrift to the mother, making no mention of her marriage, and focuses rather on the three virgin daughters. As a result of their martyrdom, this family also has “made their abode in the heavenly bridal chamber.”¹⁶⁴ They desired Christ, “the most comely Bridegroom, [and] united themselves to Him, having adorned themselves with the divine wounds.”¹⁶⁵ Although already pure through asceticism, they are only brought to Christ, the noetic Bridegroom, through their dying.¹⁶⁶

The connotation here is that through suffering a true corporeal oneness with Christ is realized. The nuptiality of this union is imbued with the pain either of persecution or asceticism. This stress on pain as an inherent precondition of the bliss of true union seems to serve as an analogue to the “passion” and “corruption” entailed by love-making, so disparaged by the hymnographers. Affliction and death, which appear morbid to the natural eye, become luminous to the eye of faith: “like a bride is the Church splendidly adorned with the water of grace and Thy blood, O Word.”¹⁶⁷ The body of Christ, however, is conjoined with the body of His bride, as His martyrs offer their own lives in emulation of Him. The Church is adorned with Christ’s blood; the martyrs, with their own.

A final example of this genre can be found in the feast of **Xenia of Petersburg** on January 24th. She is a modern saint, commemorated only in the Russian Church, but her service is helpful in delineating the phenomenon of transference that obtains in the commemorations of monastics. This saint was moved to renounce the delusion of the world and a “fleshly bridegroom with most manly understanding, and to wed [her]-self to the Lord in purity.”¹⁶⁸ This opposition between the love of Christ and spousal love is highlighted again in the following: “betrothing thyself to Christ, the only Man comely in beauty as is written, thou didst piously acquire all manner of

¹⁶⁴ CXL, 4.

¹⁶⁵ CXL, 6.

¹⁶⁶ Ode I, Can of Martyrs, 4.

¹⁶⁷ Apo, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Ode I, 2.

virtues ... receiving the grace of healings as thy marriage portion.”¹⁶⁹

Xenia emulates the passion of Christ by her ascetic *kenôsis*, and thus also anticipates in her body the experience of heaven: “delighting in the beauties of the immortal Betrothed, thou didst cause the beauty of the flesh to wither away ... making thine abode in the divine bridal-chamber.”¹⁷⁰ In typical fashion, the use of the nuptial metaphor devolves solely around the wedding night itself: married love, as an ongoing reality involving the birth of children, the domestic church, or service to God in the world, is not envisaged.

The inter-penetration of married life with that of society at large is, for the hymnographer, a liability: “when thy husband died suddenly, the desire for a worldly life died within thee, and thou gavest thyself wholly over to Christ.”¹⁷¹ This urge to polarize the world and Christ, marriage and monasticism, is an invariable feature of the *Menaion*’s vision of sanctity. The latter tend to be upheld through the denigration of the former.

F. “Wonder Women”

There are several saints in the sanctoral for whom marriage is incidental to sanctity. Their participation in the sacrament, which ordinarily would have mitigated their holiness, is neutralized in such a way as to allow their true vocation to fulfil itself. The empress **Theophania**, commemorated on December 16th, exemplifies this process. She was able to eschew the attendant temptations of her status, and the indifference of her husband, and become a quasi-monk. We learn, for instance, that God has taken Theophania to His “radiant bridal chamber” as a reward for her faith, “lovingly opening to [her] His fatherly embrace.”¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Ode VIII, 1. The reference here to the dowry, or “marriage portion,” is surprisingly rare in the hymnography, despite the prominence attached to such a gift in Byzantine society.

¹⁷⁰ Ode II, 2.

¹⁷¹ Little Vespers, CXL, 2.

¹⁷² CXL, 3.

Although she is married, Theophania is likened to a “wise virgin” because of her acquisition of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷³ She becomes an ascetic, “that with the wise virgins [she] might enter the heavenly bridal chamber.”¹⁷⁴ Theophania’s husband remains a spectator of her vocation. Although it is remarked that he perceived her sanctity,¹⁷⁵ there is no mention in the service of how this ultimately affected him or his marriage with the saint.

Ode V, Canon 1, 3 witnesses an interesting conflation of the garment-for-the-wedding-banquet motif with that of the bridal chamber. The former has a specific gospel referent (Matthew 22:11–13), while the other, although common in the hymnography, seems to be an innovation, based on the parable of the wise virgins (Matt. 25:1–13). Here Theophania desires to be clothed with a garment of light, and led into the Lord’s “bridal chamber, whence all are cast out that have not a wedding garment.” What is strange about this is that only a spouse enters into the chamber, while all of the guests at a wedding attend the banquet. The image of nuptial consummation is thus melded with the eucharistic image of the festive meal. Upon her death, the saint enters the “chamber of the bridegroom to dine on immortal fare.”¹⁷⁶

On January 2nd the Church commemorates **Juliana**, included here because of the attention the hymnographer draws to her sanctity during marriage, as well as to her later monasticized widowhood. Her married life is clearly presented as the inferior stage of her life: “even though Juliana was not vouchsafed the monastic tonsure, yet because she did things worthy of monastics she hath therefore not been denied a place in the choir of Thy saints.”¹⁷⁷ It is *despite* her state in life that Juliana was not denied a place in heaven. The possibility that her marriage could be the cause and not simply the locus of her sanctity is not countenanced. The text proclaims: “*even though* Juliana lived with her husband and begat children, *yet*

¹⁷³ Ode IV, Can 1, 1.

¹⁷⁴ Ode IV, Can 1, 2.

¹⁷⁵ Ode IV, Can 2, 1.

¹⁷⁶ Ode IV, Can 1, 3.

¹⁷⁷ CXL, 5.

did she bestow alms without number upon the poor and show love unfeigned for her neighbor; wherefore she hath been glorified by Thee.”¹⁷⁸ The service repeatedly praises the saint’s virtue, but nowhere alludes to any positive role her family may have had in its cultivation and blossoming.

The notion of physical union with Christ effected through asceticism is once again given voice in terms of Juliana’s later monastic tonsure. Her natural marriage is superseded by a spiritual one: “enlightened by a pure widowhood, O blessed of God, thou didst wed thyself to God by fasting, prayers and almsgiving.”¹⁷⁹ The nuptial imagery is extended further in the first sessional hymn: “adorned with fasting and prayer, and making God thy debtor through almsgiving, with Him thou hast entered the incorrupt bridal-chamber, where thou delightest in his beauty.” While marriage is the constant metaphor for true spiritual life, it rarely coincides with natural marital life, and is usually presented as antithetical to it. “Thou didst exchange the corrupt world for life beyond the world ... and by thy pure widowhood thou didst find a heavenly Bridegroom.”¹⁸⁰

We can also perceive that in the *Menaion* nuptiality typically serves as a highly individuated metaphor. There is scant treatment of the Church as bride of Christ. Rather, it is the Mother of God, or female saints (and the rare male saint) who are imaged in terms of a spousal relationship with God. Saints’ marriages simply do not carry the significance one might expect, despite the logical primacy of actual marriage as a referent for metaphorical use. Although nuptial imagery is only intelligible if marriage possesses an *a priori* value, it is precisely this value that is called into question by the denigration of actual marriages featured in the *Menaion*.

V. *Evaluation and Conclusion*

Having completed our examination of the *Menaion*’s treatment of nuptial realities in the feasts of married saints, it re-

¹⁷⁸ CXL, 6 [emphasis mine].

¹⁷⁹ Ode I, 2.

¹⁸⁰ Ode VII, 2.

mains to interpret more generally the significance of what is and is not there, particularly in the light of the preceding considerations given to the theology and history of the sacrament of marriage in the Byzantine tradition.

Schmemmann's third step in liturgical theology, the "release of the inherent theological meaning" has proven in our case to yield ambiguous results. Firstly, while the Crowning does indeed reveal the eschatological character of marriage (hence its being the object of Schmemmann's and others' reflections), the hymnography often undoes this by the anti-eschatological character it imputes to marriage, suggesting that it hinders a saint's vocation as a monastic spouse of Christ. The corollary to Schmemmann's assertion – that the liturgy has as its proper content eschatology – is to be found in a development of his insight that Byzantine liturgy "remains literally inundated with hymnography [and] often this is to the detriment of other essential elements ... One finds in this material certain texts ... whose rhetorical and artificial character obscures more than reveals."¹⁸¹ Ostensibly he recognizes that textual analysis of a given rite per se cannot suffice as liturgical theology; what is necessary is a consideration of a given theme in the light of the liturgical corpus as a whole. Only through an archaeology of the liturgy, an uncovering of the various strata that have gone into its formation (theological, cultural, sociological), can the liturgy itself be put into its proper context.

Second, it follows that Schmemmann's eschatological reading of the Crowning is problematic. The motif of the marriage wreaths as crowns of martyrdom, for example, is never even hinted at in our hymnography. Instead it is monasticism that garners the victory, and marriage only to the extent that it is monasticized. Nor is the notion of the correlation between marriage and priesthood, as fecund as it is, to be found in the *Menaion*, even in such obvious places as the feasts of married clergy.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ Schmemmann in Fisch, *Liturgy and Tradition*, 140.

¹⁸² Cf. Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, 94: "This is why the sacrament of ordination is, in a sense, identical with the sacrament of matrimony. Both are manifestations of love. The priest is indeed married to the Church. But just as the human marriage is taken into the mystery of Christ

Third, the assertion of a “double analogy” regarding the interpretative reciprocity between marriage and the example of the spousal love of Christ and the Church does not seem to obtain – because half of it is overlooked. While the sanctoral’s texts see nuptiality as the proper metaphor for the relationship of God to humanity, they locate it not in human marriage but in monastic perfection or martyrdom. The natural referent is eclipsed in order to elevate its derivative. Marriage, as a natural or fleshly reality, is superseded by celibacy.

Fourth, Schmemmann’s remarks that the Orthodox doctrine of marriage is “expressed more often in liturgical rites rather than canonical texts,”¹⁸³ needs careful qualification. By “rites” Schmemmann seems to intend simply the Crowning, as he makes no reference to any others. Such an approach is unsatisfactory, however, since it glosses over the inconsistencies in the liturgical tradition as a whole, and fails to appreciate the salutary role canon law has played in the development of the theology of marriage. Moreover, Schmemmann sees the rites of the Church as complementing the *consensus patrum*, on the one hand, but conflicting with later, post-patristic theology manuals on the other, which he believes contradict the “earlier and more normative tradition, that of the Fathers and of the liturgy.”¹⁸⁴ In fact, as we have seen, it is the liturgy that contradicts both itself and Schmemmann, thus offering the “post-patristic manuals” ample liturgical ground on which to base their systems. In any case, a *consensus patrum* regarding marriage is non-existent. Such writings as there are not do tend toward a valorization of the sacrament as Schmemmann does.¹⁸⁵

and the Church and becomes the sacrament of the Kingdom, it is this marriage of the priest with the Church that makes him really priest, the true minister of that Love which alone transforms the world and reveals the Church as the immaculate bride of Christ.” We note, however, that the service for John of Kronstadt, for example, has nothing to say about his marriage, and the feasts of other married clergy are similar.

¹⁸³ Schmemmann, in Bassett, *The Bond of Marriage*, 98.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁸⁵ Such comments as the following seem simply naive: “The fundamental doctrine, or better to say, theoria, vision of marriage, as still expressed in the liturgy, belongs to the early, maximalistic and eschatological

Finally, Schmemmann's distinction between the betrothal and the Crowning is difficult to reconcile with the historical and liturgical data. He understands the former as "nothing else than the Christianized form of the marriage as it existed always and everywhere, i.e., as a public contract sealed before God and men by those entering the state of marriage."¹⁸⁶ Yet it was equivalent to a Crowning, and sufficient for the solemnization of marriage during the Middle Byzantine period. What Schmemmann identifies as the *telos* of marriage, the Crowning wherein "the 'natural' marriage is taken now into the dimensions of the Church and, this means, into the dimensions of the Kingdom,"¹⁸⁷ is a phenomenon to which the sanctoral appears indifferent. There we find in the main only a worldly kind of marriage, an estate distinctly secular and carnal to be renounced for the sake of one's salvation, irredeemable except through assimilation to monasticism. Our eminent liturgical theologian's vision of a "sacramental transformation, whose content and goal now is not mere 'happiness' but the *martyria*, the witness, to the Kingdom of God [and] the power to be a service of Christ in the world and a special vocation within the Church,"¹⁸⁸ is eloquent and, one hopes, true. Nonetheless, it is a vision not found in the *Menaion*.

With regard to the other modern theologians whose thought we surveyed, the following observations can be offered. Fotiou argues that participants in marital love iconify this union effected through the Incarnation, and recall as well the human race's proto-history, their physical love opening onto an eternal, spiritual love and simultaneously hearkening back to the original androgynous unity of the human person. The hymnographic tradition, however, sees the angelic life as exemplified in virginity rather than marriage. Likewise, the author's conviction that marriage is a prime locus of deification finds no support in the sanctoral, which virtually identifies *theôsis* with the monastic vocation. The theological support

period of the Church ... For it belongs to the very essence of the Eastern Orthodox tradition to keep together [antinomies]" (Ibid., 103).

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 100.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 101.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 102.

for deification within marriage is provided by the notion that the Christian home is an *ecclesiola*, a notion similarly absent in the hymnography, despite its antiquity.

Zion sees significance in the concept of betrothal as a pledge of what is to come. This certainly obtained early on, when the rite was concluded apart from the Crowning and still possessed simply a civil, legal character. As we have seen, however, the betrothal eventually assimilated the sacerdotal blessing, which enabled it to stand alone as a form of marital solemnization. Also unsubstantiated by the *Menaion* is the author's assertion that the salience of Paul's theology of the Church as bride in the East, and its concomitant affirmation of *henôsis*, was accompanied by a lack of pessimism towards sexuality.

David Petras's position that the Christianization of wedding rites was in fact compelled by the new significance the Church wished to attach to marriage ("the mutual love of the husband and wife becomes an incarnation of Christ's 'love of mankind' [*philanthropia*] ... sanctifying those who share in it"¹⁸⁹) finds similarly sparse support in the sanctoral's texts. Concerning marriage, the Incarnation appears to have been somewhat ineffectual. One finds hardly any appreciation of the natural goods of marriage, not to mention any iconic, sacramental or ecclesial benefits. There is no juxtaposition of marriage "in the Lord" with any other kind.

Meyendorff noted that the Byzantine Church rejected ascetic extremes that condemned marriage. His admission, however, "that numerous hagiographic texts continued to glorify at least some individuals who seemed to fall under Gangra's anathemas, by leaving their consorts for the sake of asceticism,"¹⁹⁰ is revelatory, since we have seen that such glorification was transferred into the hymnographic corpus. Meyendorff's stance on the original and abiding connection between the Eucharist and marriage (shared by several of our theologians), while well attested by history, cannot be adduced from the *Menaion*'s treatment of the latter.

¹⁸⁹ Petras, "The Liturgical Theology of Marriage," 229.

¹⁹⁰ Meyendorff, "Christian Marriage in Byzantium," 100.

Paul Evdokimov's interesting speculations on the inter-relationship of marriage and monasticism are likewise beyond the scope of the sanctoral, as is also Schmemmann's construal of the sacramental counterpoint played out between marriage and the other Mysteries. Evdokimov sees *sophrosynê* as equivalent to "integrity" and "integration" rather than continence,¹⁹¹ implying in the marital context the faithful praxis of sexual love. By contrast, the hymnographic texts understand the latter as all but antithetical to *sophrosynê*, interpreted usually as virginity or celibacy. Mortification, too, has a curtailed spectrum of meaning, relating only to that eschewal of carnal realities which monastic life facilitates. Notwithstanding any alleged inclusion of tonsure in ancient wedding rites, the sanctoral does not grant marriage any scope for asceticism. Nor does the estate enjoy the prerogative of representing the preternatural creation of the human being. Evdokimov's claim that "nuptial love thus reveals, and is ordered toward, the prelapsarian state,"¹⁹² is countered by the opacity the *Menaion* attributes to it. Like Schmemmann, Evdokimov's beautiful theology is at odds to a significant degree with his liturgical tradition. It is not surprising, therefore, that he quotes from literature and patristics more than from the liturgical texts.

In the light of the *Menaion*, Chryssavgis's theses that the "Augustinian view" of the "mind-body dichotomy ... on the whole was quite alien to the Eastern patristic tradition," and that, "everything which God created is essentially good, including gender and sexuality ... is a fundamental principle of Patristic thought and of Orthodox spirituality," read as irresponsible.¹⁹³ One therefore may draw any number of conclusions: that the people responsible for the sanctoral's hymnography were not fathers; or that it is not (in the broad sense) patristic literature; or else that such assertions as Chryssavgis's must be qualified. The author also refers to monasticism as a sacrament and posits an equivalency between married and monastic life as two modes of experiencing and purifying *eros*. Our texts would not seem to support this

¹⁹¹ Evdokimov, *The Sacrament of Love*, 168.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁹³ Chryssavgis, *Love, Sexuality and the Sacrament of Marriage*, 8.

notion. Despite its status as a sacrament, marriage is presented as inferior to monasticism. The interpersonal context of marriage, which Chryssavgis regards as intrinsic to its sacramental potential, receives short shrift in the *Menaion*. *Eros*, in the Maximian sense of a holy energy directed toward true love of the other,¹⁹⁴ is not countenanced as a possibility for spouses, who are typically depicted as pressing each other down into the vortex of carnality.

If liturgy, as Schmemmann has said, “is the only genuine source of the Church’s comprehending of her own nature and eschatological vocation,”¹⁹⁵ the question arises as to how to reconcile the conflicting claims of the liturgy in regard to marriage. Is it acceptable, as most modern Eastern Christian theologians have done, to simply bypass a source as significant as the *Menaion* in favor of the Crowning? to adopt a taxonomy of liturgical *loci* wherein some are considered as essential and others as peripheral? to make one element of the liturgical tradition, namely the Crowning, the standard by which the orthodoxy of other texts is measured? Clearly there is a problem to be resolved of conflicting *didascalía*.

In trying to make sense of the mixed messages articulated by the liturgical tradition, is it perhaps possible to contextualize and relativize them in a way similar to the manner in which disconcerting aspects of Old Testament faith and practice are meshed with the revelation of the New Testament? Surely it is necessary to identify a hierarchy within the liturgical tradition when hermeneutical coherence seems stymied. Can the criteria for this task be located, however, within the liturgy itself? As our discussion of marriage in the *Menaion* suggests, what may instead be necessary is the formulation of such criteria in “external” theological *loci*, i.e. in the doctrine and discipline of the Church. To say “external” is simply to identify them vis-à-vis the liturgy, not to suggest that they are somehow foreign to the praying tradition of the Church.

The ambivalence of the theology of marriage in the Byzantine sanctoral is, in my opinion, sufficient evidence that the Church needs a theology of liturgy as much as, if not more

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁹⁵ Alexander Schmemmann in Fisch, *Liturgy and Tradition*, 143.

than, a liturgical theology. It is to this theology that future work on marriage among Eastern Christian authors must be oriented. Not to a theology of marriage per se, which I daresay is easy enough, nor to a liturgical theology of marriage in terms of specific ritual units, necessary but insufficient on its own. The task at hand, rather, is to identify the relevant loose ends in the liturgical tapestry as a whole, and sew them up, repair *or even replace them*, so that what has been called the “icon of Christian reality”¹⁹⁶ might ever more resemble its prototype. As contemporary political debate increasingly takes issue with the very definition of marriage, it is imperative for Eastern Christians to understand the ambiguities of our own tradition in order to articulate our authentic convictions with both clarity and charity.¹⁹⁷



Резюме

Автор аналізує твори 11-ох богословів, які пишуть про подружжя зі східньо-християнської перспективи і доказує, що існує конфлікт між їхніми (позитивними) твердженнями про це таїнство та ідеями про подружжя, які знаходяться в Мінеї. У повній Мінеї, служби одружених святих можна поділити на: i) праведних старозавітних супругів; ii) мучеників; iii) супругів, які такі подружніх стосунків не зазнали; iv) чоловіків, які покинули свої сім'ї; v) вдовиць, які стали монахинями; та vi) жінок, які втекли від своїх супругів до мужеських монастирів, де вдавали, що вони чоловіки. В мінейних службах майже нема згадки про духовні чи, взагалі, позитивні зусилля подружнього

¹⁹⁶ Peter Galadza, “Restoring the Icon: Reflections on the Reform of Byzantine Worship,” *Worship* 65 (1991): 238–55.

¹⁹⁷ I acknowledge with deepest gratitude the assistance of Fr. Peter Galadza in supervising the research that went into this paper. His integrity, intellectual passion, and love for the Church – not only as professor and priest but as husband and father – have been a source of constant inspiration to me.

I also acknowledge my wife Jean as my “wonder woman,” without whom I would not be who I am. May the Lord “receive [our] crowns into [His] kingdom, preserving them spotless, blameless, and without reproach, unto ages of ages.”

життя. Це ставить під сумнів традиційне гасло *lex orandi, lex credendi*, оскільки в мінейній гимнографії годі знайти подвижників сімейного життя, незважаючи на те, що подружжя – це Таїнство Церкви.



Rome's Liturgical Instruction for the Eastern Catholic Churches

George Gallaro

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 179)

By means of a detailed study of the 1996 Vatican document, *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*, as well as the *Code* itself, the author attempts to assist Eastern Catholics in the process of returning to their roots and eradicating whatever is foreign to their rich liturgical and spiritual patrimony as mandated by the Second Vatican Council and subsequent Roman documents, especially those of Pope John Paul II. The author concentrates on the structures of Eastern Catholic Churches and their lawful autonomy and authority before focusing on several key areas, including: the publication of liturgical books; liturgical formation of seminarians; the proper celebration of the sacraments of initiation, healing, and vocation; sacramentals; the sanctoral cycle, including days of feast and fast, and the importance of lost traditions such as the Lenten Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts; the spiritual necessity of recovering public celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours; and the role of icons. He concludes with an appeal for the full restoration by Eastern Catholics of their liturgico-theological heritage for its own sake as well as for the sake of Orthodox-Catholic unity.



Introduction

On January 6, 1996, the Congregation for the Eastern Churches published an *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical*

*Prescripts of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*¹ (hereafter: LI). The *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (hereafter: CCEO), following the Second Vatican Council's *Decree on the Eastern Churches (Orientalium Ecclesiarum* n. 1), deals here and there with a series of important norms pertaining to liturgical matters. The LI, by contrast, gathers all these norms into a systematic whole, completing them with further details, and presenting them to the Eastern Catholic Churches so that they fully realize their own identity (n. 5).

The LI has the following objectives: a) to lead to a more profound understanding of the immense richness of the authentic Eastern traditions, which are to be scrupulously maintained and communicated to all the faithful; b) to arrange the liturgical norms valid for all the Catholic Eastern Churches in an organic summary and to introduce recovery, where necessary, of the Eastern liturgical authenticity, according to the Tradition which each Eastern Church has inherited from the Apostles through the Fathers; c) to exhort a permanent liturgical formation to be organized on a solid basis, for both the clergy – beginning with seminaries and formation institutes – and the laity through schools of mystagogical catechesis; and d) to list the principles in common for the elaboration of liturgical directories for the individual Churches *sui iuris* (n. 5). In light of these principles, we reflect below on the most germane parts of the LI.

Eastern Code and Liturgy

In canon 3, the CCEO states that: “the code, although it often refers to the prescripts of liturgical books, does not for the most part determine liturgical matters; therefore, these prescripts are to be diligently observed, unless they are contrary to the canons of the Code.” Thus the CCEO does not directly regulate questions of a liturgical character. It belongs,

¹ *Istruzione per l'applicazione delle prescrizioni liturgiche del Codice dei Canoni delle Chiese Orientali* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1996). In English: *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical Prescripts of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1996).

therefore, to the competent ecclesiastical authority to regulate public divine worship according to can. 657. Can. 3 uses the expression “prescripts of liturgical books” and not that of “liturgical norms,” and this is because the code underlines the obligation of these “*praescripta*” to be observed by all the Eastern Churches and determines which authority can approve the liturgical books.

The reference to the liturgy is something fundamental and constant in the CCEO.² The code refers repeatedly to “liturgical books,” to the “prescripts of the liturgical books,” to “what is contained in the liturgical books,” to the “liturgical laws,” to the “particular law” in liturgical matters, and to “the legitimate customs” in liturgical matters. All these expressions, although they may not always have the same juridical significance, are inserted into the “particular law,” understood in the sense of can. 1493 § 2 as “all laws, legitimate customs, statutes and other norms of law, which are not common to the entire Church nor to all the Eastern Churches,” but to each Church *sui iuris*. The frequent reference of the code to the laws and norms or liturgical prescripts attributes to them greater vigor, as much as their application is really required for the application of the same canonical norms. In fact, the liturgical books of the different Churches *sui iuris*, legitimately approved, contain particular prescripts for the order of divine worship and the celebration and administration of the sacraments and sacramentals. Here it is not a question of liturgical rubrics or mere exhortation, but the true liturgical order, required by sound spiritual life and a real ecclesial foundation. Therefore, can. 3 establishes a general norm whereby the prescripts of the liturgical books should be diligently observed, unless they are contrary to the canons of the code.

It is obvious that the reform and changes of the liturgical books undertaken by the various Eastern Catholic Churches, after the promulgation of the code, cannot contain liturgical norms contrary to the canons of the code. In this perspective, can. 40 § 1, confirming the teaching of Vatican II³, orders that

² Ibid., especially Title XVI, “On Divine Worship and Especially the Sacraments.”

³ See the conciliar decree, *Orientalium Ecclesiarum n. 6*.

the “hierarchs who preside over Churches *sui iuris* and all other hierarchs are to care with the greatest diligence for the faithful and accurate observance of their own rite; nor are they to allow changes to be made in it except by reason of its organic progress; they are nonetheless to keep in mind mutual goodwill and the unity of Christians.”

Clerics, monastics and other Christian faithful are bound to observe everywhere their own rite faithfully, and daily to acquire a greater understanding and a more perfect practice of it (see cann. 40 §§ 2–3; 405). The LI underlines this sacred duty: “all these prescripts, those of universal as well as particular legislation, have the force of law. Regarding the latter, can. 3 of CCEO insists on the obligation to diligently observe them” (n. 26).

Diligent observation, as Pope Paul VI noted in 1975, should be coherent and agree with sound tradition, in such a way that the new norms do not appear as an extraneous body forced into an ecclesial unity, but blossoming as though spontaneously from already existing norms.⁴ For his part, John Paul II reminded Eastern Catholics: “if therefore you are to prune forms and adventitious/casual developments, deriving from various influences coming from liturgical and paraliturgical traditions foreign to your tradition, it is possible that you will be correcting some popular practices.” He went on to warn: “do not adhere with excessive improvisation to the imitation of cultures and traditions which are not your own, thus betraying the sensibility of your own people.... This means it is necessary that every eventual adaptation of your liturgy be founded on an attentive study of the sources, objective knowledge of the specific features of your culture and maintenance of the (Coptic) tradition.”⁵

Particular Law on Liturgical Matter

The Eastern Code requires the various Eastern Catholic Churches to go back and discover their own sources, to review their own current praxis and customs and make their own par-

⁴ *Nuntia* 1 (1975): 6.

⁵ *Osservatore Romano*, 27 August 1989, 7.

particular law in liturgical matter, in accordance with canonical procedure.

The sources of canonical norms in liturgical matters for the various Churches *sui iuris* are contained in their liturgical books, precepts, rules, norms, statutes, legitimate customs as well as the norms of the same CCEO, not very abundant but equally important. The Eastern Code, by “public divine worship” intends that which is done in the name of the Church by persons legitimately appointed for this and through an act approved by the authority of the Church (can. 668 § 1).

In the Apostolic Constitution *Sacri Canones*, Pope John Paul II gave the following advice:

furthermore, in this area full attention should be given to all those things that this Code entrusts to the particular law of individual Churches *sui iuris*, which are not considered necessary for the common good of all of the Eastern Churches. Our intention regarding these things is that those who enjoy legislative power in each of the Churches should take counsel as soon as possible for particular norms, keeping in mind the traditions of their own rite as well and the precepts of the Second Vatican Council.⁶

In this perspective, can. 6 states: “with the entry into force of the Code: 1) All common or particular laws contrary to the canons of the Code or which concern matters which are integrally reordered in this Code are abrogated; 2) all customs reprobated by the canons of this Code or which are contrary to them, unless they are centennial or immemorial, are revoked.” Therefore, this canon, too, requires that the legislative bodies of each Church *sui iuris* review their own particular law till now in force and bring about a diligent revision for their organic progress.

It belongs to the competent authority of the various Churches *sui iuris* to regulate public divine worship. Consequently, can. 668 § 2 states that “no other person can add to, remove, or

⁶ *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (Washington, DC: Canon Law Society of America, 1991), XIV.

modify that which was established by this authority.” According to can. 657, this competent authority in the patriarchal Churches is the patriarch with the consent of his synod of bishops; in the major archiepiscopal Churches it is the major archbishop with the consent of the bishops of the major archiepiscopal Church; in the metropolitan Churches *sui iuris* it is the metropolitan with the consent of the council of hierarchs; in all the other Churches *sui iuris* this right belongs to Rome alone and, within the limits established by that see, to the bishops and their synods. As far as liturgical laws are specifically concerned, the patriarchal Churches can elaborate, in accordance with the law, liturgical norms binding all their faithful everywhere (can. 150 § 1); the same applies to the major archiepiscopal Churches (can. 152). The council of hierarchs of the metropolitan Churches *sui iuris* can also make liturgical norms (cann. 167 §§ 1–3; 169). In all other Churches *sui iuris*, the hierarch who presides over it according to the norm of law, with the consent of Rome, can make liturgical norms, if common law remits the matter to particular law (can. 176).

The patriarchs and the bishops are the custodians of the liturgical patrimony of their own Churches. By his own right the patriarch can: direct instructions to the faithful of the entire Church over which he presides for the purpose of fostering piety; approve practices which foster their spiritual welfare; and issue encyclical letters concerning questions with respect to his own rite (can. 82). What is stated concerning the patriarchs is understood to be applicable also to major archbishops (can. 152).

The eparchial bishop is the main steward of the liturgical heritage in his own Church. According to can. 199 § 1, “the eparchial bishop must be vigilant that it [the liturgical life of his eparchy] be fostered to the greatest extent possible and ordered according to the prescripts and legitimate customs of his own Church *sui iuris*.” Can. 201 § 2 states that “the eparchial bishop is to be vigilant lest abuses creep into ecclesiastical discipline, especially concerning the ministry of the word of God, the celebration of the sacraments and sacramentals, the worship of God and the cult of the saints.” Furthermore, “the

eparchial bishop to whose care the Christian faithful of another Church *sui iuris* have been committed is bound by the serious obligation of providing everything so that these Christian faithful retain the rite of their respective Church, cherish and observe it as far as possible” (can. 193 §1). Lastly, can. 415 § 1 asserts that: “all religious are subject to the power of the local hierarch in matters that pertain to the public celebration of divine worship.” Cann. 114 § 1 and 124 prescribe the establishment of a liturgical commission within the patriarchal and the major archiepiscopal Churches.

Publication of Liturgical Books

The Eastern Code, in cann. 656 §§ 1–2, 657 §§ 1–3, and 655 § 3, clearly refers to liturgical books and precisely to the ecclesiastical approbation of the liturgical texts and their translations, as well as the edition of the Holy Scripture for liturgical use. Can. 656 § 1 lays down that “in liturgical celebrations, only books that have received ecclesiastical approval are to be used.” The LI illustrates the meaning of this canon:

although an obvious principle, some practical difficulties are encountered. In fact, some Eastern Catholic Churches lack their own editions of liturgical books, or at least some, and must use editions ... used by the corresponding Orthodox Churches. Such use occurs with the tacit approval of the Apostolic See of Rome or the local authority. This necessity ... may prove itself a valuable custom, as a manifestation of the partial but deep and extensive communion existing till today between the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches, which come from a common family, and may serve as a dynamic seed for the recovery of full communion. On the other hand, quite a number of editions of liturgical books published in Rome are sometimes appreciated and used by Orthodox brethren. Nonetheless, any unnecessary differentiation between the liturgical books of the Eastern Catholic Churches and those of the Orthodox should be avoided. Rather,

common editions, in the measure in which it is possible, are encouraged (n. 29).

Such a desire is also reiterated by the *Ecumenical Directory*:

Churches and ecclesial Communities whose members live within a culturally homogeneous area should draw up together, where possible, a text of the most important Christian prayers. ... Agreement on a version of the Psalter for liturgical use would also be desirable; a similar agreement for common Scriptural readings for liturgical use should also be explored. The use of liturgical and other prayers that come from the period of the undivided Church can help to foster an ecumenical sense. ... Cooperation in developing liturgical music is also to be recommended. When Christians pray together, with one voice, their common witness reaches to heaven as well as being heard on earth.⁷

Pope John Paul II, on 21 November 1987, talking to the faithful of the Armenian Catholic Church, said: "I sincerely wish that the common study of the liturgy and its necessary adaptations can be a privileged field of collaboration between Catholic and Orthodox Armenians."⁸

As far as the question of Latinization is concerned, the LI notes:

the Eastern Catholic Churches have received quite a number of devotions specific to the Latin Church, thus not belonging to the traditional structure of Eastern worship. It is not good that the particular devotions, which contribute to the spiritual life of the faithful, turn out to be extraneous to the heritage of each

⁷ *Directory for the Application of Principles and Norms on Ecumenism* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1993), no. 187.

⁸ *Osservatore Romano*, 23 November 1987, 6.

Church: if, therefore, they develop independently from this heritage, they could give rise to ‘parallel’ forms of spirituality. But since these devotions are by now spread out in the Eastern Catholic Churches and, in fact, feed and comfort their faithful, it would be seriously imprudent and a sign of pastoral insensitivity to believe that they must simply be eradicated (n. 38).

The approval of liturgical texts, after previous review (*recognitio*) by Rome, is reserved in patriarchal and major archiepiscopal Churches to the patriarch and the major archbishop with the consent of the synod of bishops of their respective Church; in metropolitan Churches *sui iuris*, to the metropolitan with the consent of the council of hierarchs; in all other Churches, this approval rests exclusively with the Oriental Congregation.

The fundamental importance of the liturgy as divine-human action which realizes salvation *hic et nunc*, and its nature as the privileged place which preserves and expresses the *depositum fidei*, are precisely that which motivates the function of guardianship and protection, even of Eastern liturgical practices, which the See of Rome continues to perform: it is a question of guaranteeing and defending the faith in one of its most important expressions (LI, n. 24).

As for translations, the same authorities are also competent to approve them, after sending a report to Rome in the case of patriarchal, major archiepiscopal, and metropolitan Churches *sui iuris*. To republish liturgical books or their translations, it suffices to establish their correspondence with the approved edition (cann. 657 §§ 2–3).

Rights of Faithful to Worship in their Church

CCEO can. 17 enunciates a basic principle on the right of all Christians to commune with God and to follow their own way of spirituality: “the Christian faithful have the right to worship God according to the prescripts of their own Church *sui iuris* and to follow their own form of spiritual life in accord with the teaching of the Church.” The LI offers this comment:

all the faithful participate in the divine worship in a way proper to each of them: assemblies of worship are thus composed of different parts just as the body is composed of different members which constitute, all together, a single living being. In this way the entire body of the liturgical assembly, well coordinated and connected through the collaboration of every joint, according to the particular power of each member, can grow and attain to the unity of faith and knowledge of Christ, avoiding the risk of being carried here and there by every wind of doctrine (n. 34).

Can. 17 is prompted by OE n. 4: “each and every Catholic ... should keep, follow and as far as possible observe their own rite everywhere in the world.” Thus do the teachings of Vatican II and the subsequent canonical discipline guarantee the religious freedom of all Catholic faithful to practice their own ritual tradition. Consequently, can. 31 sets down that: “no one is to presume to induce in any way the Christian faithful to transfer to another Church *sui iuris*.” Can. 1465 sanctions: “A person who, ascribed to any Church *sui iuris*, including the Latin Church, and exercising an office, a ministry or another function in the Church, has presumed to induce any member of the Christian faithful whatsoever to transfer to another Church *sui iuris* is to be punished with an appropriate penalty.”

On the participation of laypersons in divine worship, can. 403 § 1 establishes that “laypersons have the right to participate actively in the liturgical celebrations of any Church *sui iuris* whatsoever, according to the prescripts of the liturgical books.” Nevertheless, according to can. 38, “Christian faithful of Eastern Churches, even if committed to the care of a hierarch or pastor of another Church *sui iuris*, nevertheless remain ascribed in their own Church *sui iuris*.” The Latin Code too notes that “the practice, however long standing, of receiving the sacraments according to the rite of another Church *sui iuris*, does not carry with it membership in that Church.”⁹

⁹ Canon 112 §2, *Code of Canon Law* (Washington, DC: Canon Law Society of America, 1983).

Can. 9 § 2 underlines the care for catechumens: “the Church has special concern for catechumens, invites them to lead the evangelical life and introduces them into participation in the Divine Liturgy, the sacraments and the divine praises.” Persons who desire to join the Church are admitted to the catechumenate with liturgical ceremonies. Those who are enrolled or ascribed in the catechumenate have the right to be admitted to the liturgy of the word and other liturgical celebrations not reserved to the Christian faithful.

Fostering Liturgical Formation

Following the Second Vatican Council’s teachings, can. 346 offers a series of recommendations pertaining to the spiritual and liturgical formation of those who aspire to ordained ministries. It says that

those aspiring to the sacred ministry are to be formed in such a way that they learn to cultivate in the Holy Spirit an intimate familiarity with Christ and to seek God in all things.... Day by day let them draw strength, especially from the word of God and the sacraments, for their spiritual life and strength for their work of apostolate: through watchful and constant meditation on the word of God, and by means of a faithful explanation of it according to the Fathers, let the students acquire the habit of configuring their lives ever more to the life of Christ; and, fortified in faith, hope and charity, let them train to live according to the pattern of the gospel; let them participate assiduously in the Divine Liturgy in such a way that it may be the source and summit of the life of the seminary, as it is for all Christian life; let them learn to celebrate constantly the divine praises according to their own rite and draw nourishment from it for their spiritual life.

The LI, reflecting on these canons, adds:

it is necessary that the liturgical life be celebrated with great care and always in its integral form in Eastern seminaries and houses of formation, so that the candidates may be shaped by it and learn it in all its richness and completeness, giving due space not only to the Eucharist but also to the Divine Office. The liturgy is to be the true font of spirituality by which the candidates are formed, the element that unifies all that they learn, and the place wherein doctrine becomes celebration of praise and thanksgiving and life is transformed by grace (n. 71).

Among the theological disciplines that need to be taught in major seminaries, can. 350 § 3 includes the liturgy, which “is to be taught ... as a necessary source of doctrine and of a truly Christian spirit.” Can. 352 § 2 maintains that “students are to be instructed especially ... in the liturgical celebration.”

As for the formation of deacons not destined for the priesthood, can. 354 underlines the studies of “their own Church *sui iuris* concerning the service (*diaconia*) of the liturgy, the word and charity.”

Can. 591 n. 2 refers to the catechists in missionary territories and asserts that they “be valid cooperators of the sacred ministers” who will be “able to discharge their task in the work of evangelization and in liturgical service.”

Can. 343 deals with students enrolled in a seminary and insists that, “students, even if admitted into a seminary of another Church *sui iuris*, or into a common seminary for several Churches *sui iuris*, are to be formed in their own rite; any contrary custom being reprobated.” This canon, which does not appear in the Latin Code, is of particular importance especially in the case of Eastern students enrolled in Latin seminaries or houses of formation.

As for the lay faithful, can. 405 exhorts them to “study zealously their liturgical, spiritual, theological and disciplinary patrimony.” Indeed, in can. 903 “fidelity to the ancient traditions of the Eastern Churches,” especially the liturgical ones, is considered an efficacious means of fostering unity among all Eastern Churches. Furthermore, can. 41 suggests that “the

Christian faithful of any Church *sui iuris*, even the Latin Church, who by reason of their office, ministry, or function have frequent dealing with the Christian faithful of another Church *sui iuris*, are to have an accurate formation in the knowledge and practice of the rite of the same Church in keeping with the importance of the office, ministry or function they hold.”

Liturgical Life in the Eparchy

Can. 199 §§2–3 prescribes that

the eparchial bishop is to see to it that in his own cathedral at least part of the divine praises are celebrated, even daily, according to the legitimate customs of his own Church *sui iuris*; also, that in all parishes, to the extent that this is possible, the divine praises are celebrated on Sundays, feast days, principal solemnities and their vigils. The eparchial bishop is to preside frequently at the divine praises in the cathedral or other Church, especially on holy days of obligation and on other solemnities in which a sizeable part of the people participate.

Can. 278 § 1 n. 3 establishes that the protopresbyter (*vicar forane*) has the right and obligation to ensure “that the Divine Liturgy and the divine praises are celebrated according to the prescripts of the liturgical books; that the décor and neatness of the Churches and sacred furnishings are carefully maintained especially in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy and the custody of the Divine Eucharist.” And can. 289 § 2 reminds the parish priest that, “in discharging the sanctifying function, the pastor is to take care that the celebration of the Divine Liturgy is the center and culmination of the whole life of the Christian community. He is to strive to ensure that the Christian faithful are nourished with spiritual food through devout and frequent reception of the sacraments and through ... participation in the divine praises.”

As for religious houses, can. 473 establishes:

in individual monasteries, the divine praises are to be celebrated daily in accord with the norm of the typicon and legitimate customs. Likewise, the Divine Liturgy is to be celebrated on all days except those that are excluded by the prescripts of the liturgical books. The superiors of monasteries are to take care that all members, in accord with the norm of the typicon: participate daily in the divine praises and Divine Liturgy whenever they are celebrated; take time for contemplation of divine realities, and diligently apply themselves to other pious exercises.

For monasteries in which there are no hieromonks, the local hierarch shall designate a priest who will regularly celebrate the Divine Liturgy and preach the word of God (can. 475 § 2). For the members of other religious institutes, can. 538 prescribes: “in individual houses of orders and congregations, the divine praises are to be celebrated in accord with the norm of the statutes and legitimate customs. The superiors are to see to it that all members fulfill in accord with the norm of the statutes what is prescribed in can. 473, § 2.”

Celebration of the Sacraments

Title XVI of the CCEO carries the inscription: “The Divine Worship and especially the Sacraments,” underlining “the necessity to conform to the mentality of the Easterners, according to whom the sacraments, and above all the eucharistic sacrifice, cannot be adequately distinguished from divine worship”¹⁰

The pneumatological dimension of the liturgical life of the Church is particularly emphasized in the Eastern Code. Can. 667 describes the sacraments thus: “through the sacraments, which the Church is bound to dispense in order to communicate the mysteries of Christ under visible signs, our Lord Jesus Christ sanctifies people by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that

¹⁰ *Nuntia* 10 (1980): 4.

they become in a unique way true worshipers of God the Father and be inserted into Christ and the Church.”

Can. 673 emphasizes the ecclesial dimension of the sacraments: “the celebration of the sacraments, above all the Divine Liturgy, as an action of the Church, inasmuch as it is possible, should be done with active participation of the Christian faithful.”

Can. 674 underlines the obligation to observe one’s own liturgical rite in the celebration of the sacraments: “in celebrating the sacraments, that which is contained in the liturgical books is to be observed accurately. The minister should celebrate the sacraments according to the liturgical prescripts of his own Church *sui iuris*, unless the law establishes otherwise or he himself has obtained a special faculty from the Apostolic See.”

Sacraments of Initiation

The CCEO stresses the unity of the three sacraments of Christian initiation and regulates their celebration and joint administration. Can. 695 § 1 holds: “chrismation with holy myron must be administered in conjunction with baptism, except in a case of true necessity, in which case, however, care is to be taken to have it administered as soon as possible.” Canon 697 reiterates: “the sacramental initiation ... is completed with the reception of the Divine Eucharist; therefore after baptism and chrismation with holy myron the Divine Eucharist is to be administered as soon as possible in accord with the norms of the particular law of each Church *sui iuris*.”

These canons confirm the Eastern tradition, that is, the intimate unity of the three sacraments of Christian initiation. The LI maintains that “the link is so strong that, in quite a number of contexts, the term baptism usually implies all three of the phases of Christian initiation: this is the title attributed to them in many manuscript or printed euchologia” (n.42).

Nevertheless, this same n. 42 observes:

this practice was changed during the last centuries in different Eastern Catholic Churches under external

pressure, based on spiritual and pastoral meanings borrowed from the Latins; a change comprehensible but extraneous to the organic progress and not in line with the dynamism of the Eastern heritage. In places where the traditional practice has been lost, the application of the norms prescribed in the content of the code will require a true reform.

Obviously, this whole process will require a painstaking and attentive task for all concerned.

Can. 675 § 1 quotes entirely the formula used in the celebration of baptism, while can. 683 refers to the liturgical precepts on how this washing is to be done: “baptism must be celebrated according to the liturgical precepts of the Church *sui iuris* in which in accord with the norm of law the person to be baptized is to be ascribed.” Cann. 29 and 30 establish the norm that, as the LI re-phrases it, “the celebration of baptism should also visibly signify the entrance in one’s own Church *sui iuris* (LI, n. 47).

As for the manner of celebrating baptism, the LI, n. 48 underlines: “many liturgical books provide for the usual administration of baptism through the rite of triple immersion. Maintained throughout the traditions of the Eastern Churches, it is a meaningful and highly expressive rite which is still present and encouraged today in the Western Church.”

The CCEO’s treatment of “confirmation” uses the traditional – liturgical and canonical – expression of chrismation with the holy myron, that is, the anointing with sacred chrism. The LI goes further, explaining that

chrismation with holy myron is the name given in the East to the sacrament which the Latin Code calls confirmation. Such diverse designations for the same sacrament may correspond to traditional understandings which are substantially identical but diversely accentuated: each, in fact, insists preferably on one aspect and underscores, in the Eastern Churches, the perfect initiation into the mystery of Christ, and, in the

Latin Church, the capacity acquired by the individual to bear witness to his/her faith (n.49).

Can. 693 describes the elements of the holy myron, composed of the oil of olives and other aromatic herbs, and consecrated by the bishop or patriarch.

The Eucharistic Liturgy

The canons of liturgical content concerning the Eucharist are the following: can. 699 §§ 2–3 refers to the liturgical ministry of the deacons according to the prescripts of the liturgical books, and the participation of lay faithful in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy in the manner determined by the liturgical books or particular law. Can. 709 determines the minister of Holy Communion, that is, the priest or if the particular law of his own Church *sui iuris* establishes it, also the deacon; the same particular law can establish appropriate norms according to which other Christian faithful can also distribute the Eucharist.

Concerning this last possibility, the LI observes:

reserving the distribution of the Eucharist normally to the priests has the scope of manifesting its highest sacredness. Even if this excludes the enhancing value of other criteria, also legitimate, and implies renouncing some convenience, a change of the traditional usage risks incurring a non-organic intrusion.... Therefore, it is appropriate that the faculty of distributing the Eucharist by those other than the bishop or the presbyter, or the deacon if so disposed by the particular law of each Church *sui iuris*, be exercised only in cases of true emergency (n. 58).

Can. 700 § 2 recommends the concelebration of Divine Liturgy as manifesting the unity of priesthood and sacrifice, without prejudice to the right of each priest to celebrate individually (not, however, at the same time and in the same Church where the concelebration is taking place). Moreover,

can. 701 regulates the manner of concelebrating: the concelebrants follow all the prescripts of the liturgical books of the main celebrant, avoiding any liturgical syncretism whatever and all preferably wearing the liturgical vestments and insignia of their own Church *sui iuris*.

Canon 704 recommends the daily celebration of the Divine Liturgy, except those days which are excluded according to the prescripts of the liturgical books of the Church *sui iuris* in which the priest is enrolled/ascribed. On the aliturgical days of Great Lent, the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts is celebrated (can. 715 § 2). The LI illustrates the meaning of these aliturgical days thus:

it is necessary to recognize that these prescripts, although stated in the liturgical books and accordingly in force in many Churches *sui iuris*, have too often dropped into disuse in recent times, also due to influence from the Latin tradition. Their disappearance entails, besides the loss of the ancient tradition of aliturgical days, abandoning the celebration of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. Considering that the joyous and festive dimension of the Eucharist, experienced as an event and not as a habit, was alive in Christian antiquity and is maintained in many Eastern liturgies, the forsaking of such practice contributes to diminishing the full meaning of the Divine Liturgy.... To recuperate an element so significant in the heritage of the undivided Church, it is necessary to proceed toward revival of the discipline of aliturgical days where it has disappeared in relatively recent times (n. 63).

Can. 706 refers to the gifts that are offered in the Divine Liturgy: pure wheat bread recently made and natural grape wine. The canon does not refer to the addition of a little water in the chalice, as witness the liturgical prescripts of all the Eastern Churches, except the Armenian. Therefore, the lawmaker does not mention this mingling because it is not used by the Armenian Church and thus is not to be considered as valid

for all the Eastern Churches. As regards the confection of the bread (leavened or unleavened), can. 707 § 1 orders that the norms established by the particular law of each Church *sui iuris* must be observed, since the Christian Churches know different ways of preparing the bread destined for the Eucharist. The LI (no. 67) mentions the rite of *zeon*, the supplemental addition of hot water in the chalice before communion, present in the Churches coming from the Constantinopolitan family and unfortunately forsaken in some Eastern Catholic Churches.

As for the prayers performed by the priests before the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, the observance of the eucharistic fast, liturgical vestments, the time and place of the celebration and other like matters, the canon states that the norms of each Church *sui iuris* must be accurately observed. Likewise, concerning the preparation for participation in the divine Eucharist through fasting, prayers and other works, the Christian faithful are to observe faithfully the norms of the Church *sui iuris* in which they are enrolled or ascribed not only within the territorial boundaries of the same Church, but, inasmuch as possible, everywhere (can. 713 § 2).

The holy Eucharist is distributed in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, unless a just cause suggests otherwise (can. 713 § 1). In churches where there is public divine worship, the holy Eucharist is to be reserved especially for the sick, and also is to be adored with the greatest reverence by all Christian faithful, observing the prescripts of the liturgical books of the respective Church *sui iuris* (can 714 § 1).

Can. 715 admits that it is lawful for priests to receive the offerings that the Christian faithful give for having their intentions mentioned during the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. It is also possible, if it is thus established by lawful custom, to receive offerings for the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts. According to can. 1013 § 1, the eparchial bishop fixes the amount for the various offerings.

The Eastern Code emphasizes the importance of the homily during the Divine Liturgy. Can. 607 recommends that “the celebration of the word of God is to be opportunely

fostered,” especially “the liturgical homily.” Can. 614 establishes:

the homily, by which during the course of the liturgical year the mysteries of faith and the norms of Christian living are expounded from Sacred Scripture, is strongly recommended as part of the liturgy itself. Pastors and rectors of Churches have the obligation to take care that a homily is preached during the Divine Liturgy at least on Sundays and holy days of obligation, when it is not to be omitted except for a grave cause.... The homily is reserved to a priest or, according to norm of particular law, also to a deacon.

Can. 92 § 2 prescribes that the patriarch must commemorate the Roman Pontiff in the Divine Liturgy and the divine praises, according to the precepts of the liturgical books. In turn, the patriarch must be commemorated, after the Roman Pontiff, by all the bishops, presbyters and deacons of his own Church (can. 91); this is valid also for major archbishops and metropolitans who preside over their own Churches *sui iuris*.

For his part, the eparchial bishop must commemorate the Roman Pontiff before all as a sign of full hierarchical communion with him, and to see to it that this be faithfully done by the priests and deacons of his eparchy. In turn, the eparchial bishop must be commemorated by all the clergy in accordance with the precepts of the liturgical books (can. 209).

The patriarch must celebrate the Divine Liturgy for the people of the entire Church over which he presides on feast days established by particular law (can. 94). With regard to prayers and pious exercises, provided that they are consonant with his own rite, the patriarch can do the same as the local hierarch in the entire Church (can. 96). The eparchial bishop is to celebrate the Divine Liturgy frequently for the people of his eparchy; he must celebrate on the days prescribed by the particular law of his own Church *sui iuris* (can. 198). It is for the eparchial bishop to celebrate sacred functions in the entire eparchy. These the bishop must conduct solemnly according

to the prescripts of the liturgical books while vested in all episcopal insignia (can. 200).

Sacraments of Healing

Can. 719 recommends confession to the Christian faithful who are conscious of serious sin, especially during the times of fasts and penitence observed in their own Church *sui iuris*. Can. 736 prescribes that the proper place for celebrating this sacrament is in the church, with due regard for the prescripts of particular law. The Eastern Code does not offer further directives relative to the location for hearing confessions, as the Latin Code does (can. 964 § 2).

The LI stresses that

this sacrament is traditionally administered in a framework of prayers, declarations, admonitions and absolutions, which can praiseworthy be celebrated by an assembly of faithful. Such practice is suggested, at least indirectly, when the code affirms that the proper place of its celebration is the Church and corresponds to the Eastern traditional usage of celebrating it not in a confessional similar to that used in the Latin Church, but in the same sacred building and, in some traditions, in front of the icon of Christ (n. 89).

Can. 737 § 2 recommends to the Churches that have the custom of administering the sacrament of the anointing of the sick by several priests together to keep this practice. Can. 741 establishes that the oil for the use in this sacrament is to be blessed by the priest who administers the anointing, unless the particular law of his Church *sui iuris* stipulates otherwise. As regards the order and manner of anointing, can. 742 directs to follow the prescripts of the liturgical books.

Sacraments of Vocation

Can. 773 recommends that sacred ordinations should be celebrated on a Sunday or feast day, so that the greatest num-

ber of Christian faithful can participate. Can. 327 refers to the particular law of each Church *sui iuris* about the regulation of the minor orders and their liturgical functions. “If besides bishops, presbyters or deacons, other ministers also, constituted in minor orders and generally called minor clerics, are admitted or instituted for the service of the people of God or to exercise the functions of the sacred liturgy, they are governed only by the particular law of the proper Church *sui iuris*.”

This canon refers to the norm given by the *Decree on the Eastern Churches* n. 17: “the legislative authority of each individual Church should make due provision with respect to the subdiaconate and the minor orders and their rights and obligations.” Can. 325 considers as major orders the episcopate, the presbyterate and the diaconate. In order that a baptized man is to be ordained licitly, the reception of the lower orders according to the norm of the particular law of each Church *sui iuris* is required (can. 758 § 1 n. 5).

The LI affirms:

while the Latin Code speaks of ministries that can be permanently assumed by the laity, “through the prescribed liturgical rite” (can. 230 § 1), the minor orders, on the other hand, are inserted into the ecclesiastical hierarchy according to the level of each one. Whoever has received these orders, therefore, is no longer a layperson, but becomes a member of what the liturgical books of most Eastern Churches call the ‘clergy’ or ‘sacred orders.’ ... It does not seem appropriate that the different Churches *sui iuris* change their custom regarding minor orders, once shared by all the Churches: this has, in fact, its own special meaning. Far from abandoning them, the reforms of the particular laws of the different Churches should rather restore them to greater significance and vitality. This is also recommended for reasons of ecumenical nature.... Every change that has been improperly introduced in more or less recent times should be re-examined based on these principles (n. 73–74).

Nevertheless, can. 403 § 2 states that “if the necessity of the Church or genuine advantage so recommend, and when sacred ministers are lacking, certain functions of the sacred ministers may be committed to lay persons, in accord with the norms of law.”

When we come to the question of engagements and marriages, can. 782 § 1 refers the regulation of the former (“which according to the ancient tradition of the Eastern Churches laudably precedes marriage”) to the particular law of the respective Church *sui iuris*. The *Instruction* continues:

in the practice existing for centuries – and still used in many Churches – the engagement, often called the “rite of the rings,” is usually celebrated together with the matrimonial rite itself, called the “rite of the crowns.” The specific meaning of the rite of engagement is to express the consent of the future spouses, while that of the crowns has more directly the scope of introducing them into the fullness of matrimonial life (LI, n. 85).

Can. 828 requires the sacred rite for the valid celebration of marriage. This sacred rite is a constitutive element of the canonical form of marriage, and consists of the intervention of a priest who assists and blesses. To assist means to ask and receive in the name of the Church the manifestation of consent from the spouses while to “bless means to act as the true minister of the sacrament, in virtue of his priestly power to sanctify, so that the spouses may be united by God in the image of the flawless nuptial union of Christ with the Church and be consecrated to each other by sacramental grace” (LI, n. 82). Therefore, according to cann. 828 and 830 § 1, a deacon or a lay person cannot be delegated to assist or bless a marriage – as the Latin Code allows.

According to can. 834 § 2, the blessing of a priest is required for the valid celebration of mixed marriage between a Catholic faithful and an Eastern Orthodox. Can. 836 directs that “apart from a case of necessity, in the celebration of marriage the prescripts of the liturgical books and the legitimate

customs are to be observed.” The LI reminds the competent authorities of every Church *sui iuris* that

in reviewing and eventually updating the liturgical pre-
scripts for these celebrations, they are to carefully
safeguard the specific features of their own heritage
which shows the particular prominence of the meaning
of the matrimonial institution in the framework of the
history of salvation and, especially, expresses in theo-
logical terms the strict relation of this heritage and the
nuptial mystery existing between Christ and his
Church (n. 84).

Can. 838 § 2 permits the particular law of each Church *sui iuris* to establish norms concerning the time of the celebration of marriage. Generally speaking, in the Eastern Churches marriages are not permitted during the penitential times and the more solemn feasts.

Sacramentals

Can. 867 presents the notion of sacramentals. The relationship between sacramentals and sacraments consists in a certain imitation that exists in the sacred signs of the sacramentals with respect to the signs of the sacraments. The sacramentals are not things (*res*) or actions (*actiones*), but sacred signs, liturgical signs of divine grace. Insofar as the sacramentals cause grace, they do so not primarily through the power of the rite itself, but primarily through the faith and devotion of those who are using, receiving, or celebrating the sacramentals. While the sacraments are instituted by Christ, the sacramentals are set up by the Church, whose praying and interceding sanctifies the life of the faithful and disposes them for the reception of the principal effect of the sacraments.

The second paragraph of can. 867 prescribes that as far as the sacramentals are concerned, the norms of particular law of the respective Church *sui iuris* are to be observed. In fact, in the Eastern Churches the number of sacramentals is very large.

The rite of their celebration and administration is prescribed in the proper liturgical books.

Sacred Places

Can. 869 defines the place of a church as a building exclusively dedicated for divine worship by consecration or blessing, obviously according to the prescripts of the liturgical books. According to can. 871, the cathedral churches, parish churches, churches of monasteries and churches attached to religious houses should be dedicated through consecration by the eparchial bishop. The consecration of churches and altars is effected by the anointing with chrism. The eparchial bishop cannot grant the faculty of such consecration to a presbyter, not even in exceptional cases, because “it is not acceptable to the Christian East that one who is not endowed with episcopal consecration can consecrate the churches.”¹¹ As regards other private oratories, the dedication takes place in general with the benediction according to the liturgical books.

Christian cemeteries are treated as sacred places for the burial of deceased Christian faithful; their tombs, on the occasion of funeral rites, become sacred places through benediction according to the liturgical books (can. 874 § 2). In particular, the tombs of the holy martyrs were venerated by the Christian faithful from the very first days of Christianity. In the cemeteries, the Church not only remembers the dead, but also professes faith in the resurrection of the dead.

Feast Days and Days of Penance

Cann. 880–883 deal with feast days and days of penance. Can. 880 §§ 1–2, states: “the supreme authority of the Church alone is to establish, transfer or abolish feast days and days of penance that are common to all Eastern Churches, with due regard for § 3. The competence to constitute, transfer or suppress feast days and days of penance for individual Churches belongs to the authority in those Churches that is competent to

¹¹ *Nuntia* 28 (1989): 120.

establish particular law.” This canon goes on to establish the feast days of obligation – besides Sundays – common to all the Eastern Churches: Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension, Dormition of the Theotokos and Sts. Peter and Paul. It also makes provision for “particular law” to transfer or suppress feasts.

However, in the promulgation of this particular law, it is necessary to see most carefully to the faithful protection and accurate observance of their own rite and not admit changes in it except by reason of its organic development. The suppression of the feast days of obligation would be contrary to the sacred liturgical tradition of the Christian East. The transfer of feast days of obligation to Sunday would be contrary to the specific theological sense of the same feast days and of the Sunday itself, day of the Lord par excellence; besides, the eventual transfer of some feast days of obligation to Sunday, though justified by practical pastoral reasons, is not in conformity with the structure of the liturgical year.

The LI offers the following observation:

if in recent times, feasts or fasts coming from the Latin liturgy or from other inconsistent liturgies have been introduced in the calendars of the Eastern Catholic Churches, necessary steps should be taken, with pastoral prudence, to restore the calendar to its traditional structure, eliminating the elements incompatible with the spirit and features of the Eastern heritage (n. 36).

Concerning the celebration of Pascha, the conciliar *Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches* establishes:

until we reach the greatly desired agreement among all Christians about the one day on which the feast of Pascha/Easter should be celebrated, in the meantime in order to promote unity among Christians living in the same region or country, there is entrusted to the patriarchs or the highest ecclesiastical authorities in the locality the task of reaching a unanimous agreement, after discussion with all concerned, to keep Pascha/Easter on the same Sunday (OE, n. 20).

The LI comments: “Catholic communities living in countries of Orthodox majority, will be encouraged to celebrate Pascha/Easter on the day in which is celebrated by the Orthodox. ... In addition to being a sign of ecumenical fraternity, this practice allows the Catholic faithful to enter harmoniously in the common spiritual climate, which often also marks civil life, avoiding inappropriate dissonance” (n.36).

Can. 881 § 1 prescribes the obligation of the Christian faithful to participate, on Sundays and feast days, in the Divine Liturgy or – according to the prescripts or legitimate customs of their own Church *sui iuris* – in the celebration of the divine praises. The immediate source of this canon is the *Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches*: “the faithful are held by obligation to be present at divine worship on Sundays and feast days or, following the rules or custom of their own rite, at the celebration of the divine praises” (OE, n. 15). The CCEO, preserving the alternative of participation of Christian faithful in the celebration of the divine praises, intends to underscore that the celebration of the divine praises, too, has its specific value for Christian life. In many Eastern Churches, imitating the practice of the Roman Church, the divine praises have almost disappeared at the parish level and the Divine Liturgy constitutes the whole liturgical life; and thus an equilibrium has been lost, leading to an impoverishment of liturgical life.

On the meaning of the divine praises, the LI says: “the divine praises are each Church’s school of prayer, instructing in the ancient way of glorifying God in Christ as one body, in union with and by the example of its head”(n. 96).

Paragraph two of can. 881, restating OE n. 15, determines the available time to fulfill more easily this obligation, which extends from vespers of the vigil to the end of the Sunday or feast. This arrangement is new. The norm by itself does not authorize the celebration of the Divine Liturgy on the vigil of the Sunday or feast.

In addition to the pre-eucharistic fast, the CCEO, according to can. 882, notes that “on the days of penance the Christian faithful are obliged to observe fast or abstinence in the manner established by the particular law of their Church *sui*

iuris.” In fact, “in addition to feast days, and usually in preparation for their celebration, days of penance must also be observed” (LI, n. 36).

Sacred Icons, Relics and Persons

Can. 886 confirms the practice of the Eastern Churches to propose the veneration of sacred icons to the Christian faithful, in the manner and order established by the particular law of each Church *sui iuris*. However, can. 665 § 1 recommends the pastors and rectors of churches to be watchful so as not to display, sell or distribute icons or images that are not in keeping with genuine sacred art or that do not conform to the proper liturgical and spiritual tradition.

The LI defines this precisely by stating:

many Eastern Catholic Churches have often been subjected in this field to western ways which are sometimes not of high quality, perhaps more simple but foreign to the requirements and significance of their own traditions. An organic recuperation of the proper usages is essential in order to avoid hybridisms and contradictions within the celebrations: the dispositions of the space, images, liturgical vestments and furnishings are not left to the taste of each individual or group but must correspond to the intrinsic requirements of the celebrations and should be coherent with respect to each other (n. 108).

As regards sacred relics, can. 888 § 1 orders that it is absolutely unlawful to sell them. In the Church, according to Tradition, the authentic relics of saints are venerated and held in honor. The sacred relics, especially those of the martyrs, besides being venerated, are placed on the altar during the consecration of churches. The Second Council of Nicea (787), in its seventh canon, establishes: “we decree that in venerable Churches consecrated without relics of the holy martyrs, the installation of relics should take place with the usual prayer.

And if in the future any bishop is found to have consecrated a Church without relics, let him be deposed.”¹²

Can. 884 underlines the importance of the veneration of the Theotokos and the saints for the sanctification of the people of God. In liturgical worship

the Eastern Christians pay high tribute, in beautiful hymns, to Mary ever-virgin, whom the ecumenical Synod of Ephesus solemnly proclaimed to be the holy Mother of God in order that Christ might be truly and properly acknowledged as Son of God and Son of Man, according to the Scriptures. They also give homage to the saints, among them the Fathers of the universal Church (UR, n. 15).

In the Church, according to Tradition, the saints are venerated and their feasts proclaim the wonderful works of Christ in His servants, offering to the faithful fitting examples for imitation. According to can. 885, only those servants of God who are listed by the ecclesial authority among the saints or the blessed may be venerated publicly. In the Christian East, even those servants of God who are canonically inscribed among the blessed, are venerated with public cult among the saints, under many distinctions reported accurately in the liturgical books.

Liturgical Commission

The Eastern Code prescribes for the patriarchal Churches, the major archiepiscopal Churches (cann. 114 § 1, 124, 152), and, implicitly for the metropolitan Churches (can. 171), the establishment of liturgical commissions. In addition, a commission of sacred art can also assist the liturgical commission.

It cannot be denied that the Eastern Catholic Churches have been exposed, in rather recent times, to the influence of sacred art styles completely foreign to their heritage, concerning both the external form of sacred buildings and the

¹² Norman Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:144.

arrangement of their interior space and sacred images. Fidelity does not imply anachronistic fixation, as the evolution of sacred art – even in the East – demonstrates, but rather development that is fully coherent with the profound and immutable meaning of how it is celebrated in the liturgy (LI, n. 109). We deal here with the obligation of fidelity to tradition so that sacred art may meet the criteria and importance of the proper liturgical tradition.

Other Norms

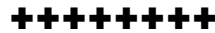
The proclamation and enthronement of a patriarch should also be done according to the prescripts of the liturgical books (can. 75). According to can. 62, a patriarch who has resigned from his office retains his title and honors especially during liturgical celebrations. Concerning monastic profession, can. 462 § 2 states that the prescripts of the liturgical books shall be observed.

Final Remarks

All these norms of liturgical nature demonstrate that the CCEO confirms and preserves the liturgical heritage of the Eastern Churches contained in their liturgical books. For its part, the *Liturgical Instruction* also assembles all these liturgical norms, completing and presenting them with the hope of being of some help to the Eastern Catholic Churches. This instruction sometimes seems too critical in regard to the various innovations foreign to these Churches. But it is guided by the sound teaching of Vatican II:

all Eastern Christians should know and be certain that they may and should always preserve their own lawful liturgical rites and way of life, and that changes should be made only by reason of their proper and organic development. If for reasons of circumstances, times or persons they have fallen unduly short of this they should have recourse to their age-old traditions (OE, n. 6).

Liturgical tradition is an essential part of the precious heritage of each Church *sui iuris*. To the Eastern Churches, then, belongs the special responsibility of furthering the unity of *all* Christians by the example of their religious fidelity towards the ancient Eastern traditions. In this heritage shines forth the Tradition which has come from the Apostles through the Fathers and which affirms the divine unity in the truth of the Catholic faith.



Резюме

Мелхітський священик, Джордж Галларо, аналізує *Інструкцію застосування літургійних приписів Кодексу Канонів східних Церков*, видану 1996-го року Східною Конгрегацією. Він звертає особливу увагу на видання літургійних книг, і те, що Рим бажає, щоб якомога східні католики співпрацювали з православними в цій справі. Щодо вишколу семінаристів, *Інструкція* підкреслює, що від цього залежатиме літургійне відродження Церков. На жаль, велике число семінарій далі занедбує цей аспект душпастирської формації. Далі існують випадки, що Церква не причащає немовлят; та Літургія Ранішосвячених Дарів занедбана. В багатьох випадках, єпископи навіть толерують відправлення Літургії Золотоустого в будні дні Великого Посту. Також, незважаючи на заохоту, висловлену ще в 1960-их роках стосовно відродження всенародного відправлення Вечірні і Утрени, парафії, на загал, цього не роблять. В минулому була тенденція голосити, що це все потрібне для того, “щоб притягнути православних до католицької Церкви”. Сьогодні, незважаючи на важливість цього “єкуменічного” моменту, підкреслюється, що саме духовне і богословське відродження східних католиків вимагає оживлення автентичних східних традицій.



The Catholic Syro-Malankara Church: Some Reflections on Its Canonical Status Past and Future

John Madey

Abstract

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Knowledge of the Eastern Catholic Churches is generally very low, and the Syro-Malankara Church is particularly recondite to most. The author provides a very detailed exposition of the nature and structure of this Church *sui iuris* which enjoys communion with the See of Rome and therefore the other twenty-two constituent members of the Catholic Church. The author gives a detailed history of this Church's activities on the Indian Sub-Continent, including its entrance into Catholic communion, before concentrating on the canonical forms – and revisions needed thereto – of the structure of the Syro-Malankara Church in light of the 1990 *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*. The author concludes with an appeal for the status of this Church to be set aright in light of Eastern tradition, with the head of the Church being recognized as *pater et caput* based on the model of a major-archiepiscopal Church with its own autonomy, synodical government, and *Catholicos*. Such a move would strengthen the Church internally and also assist her external ecumenical witness.



Introduction

It is not well known that the Catholic Church is not a monolith but, in fact, a communion of twenty-three autonomous Churches (*ecclesiae sui iuris*), 22 of which are indebted

to oriental traditions: Alexandrian, Armenian, Byzantine, Syro-Antiochene, Syro-Oriental (Chaldean).¹

This language of autonomous churches is given special treatment in the 1990 *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (hereafter: CCEO), which does not speak of “rites”² alone or “particular Churches,”³ as was once the case in the past, but uses the language of “Churches *sui iuris*”⁴ to emphasize the particular, peculiar, individual character of each Church. Of course not all these Churches are of equal rank. The “full form” of a Church *sui iuris* is a property alone of the *patriarchal Churches* and – with certain limitations – the *Major Archepiscopal Churches (Ecclesiae Archiepiscopales Maiores)*.⁵ We are concerned here with one such Church, the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church, whose history, canonical forms, and future needs, all little known in the West, we will now analyze.

¹ See *Annuario Pontificio* (Vatican City, 2001), 979. The twenty-third Church and liturgical tradition is of course the Latin.

² CCEO, canon 28: “A rite is a liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary heritage, differentiated by the culture and circumstances of the history of peoples, which is expressed in each Church *sui iuris* in its own manner of living the faith. The rites dealt with in this Code, unless it is established otherwise, are those which arose from the Alexandrian, Antiochene, Armenian, Chaldean and Constantinopolitan traditions.”

³ The Decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* of Vatican II used this term to designate the Churches of Eastern tradition. However, since the term “*ecclesia particularis*” has been reserved by the 1983 *Code of Canon Law* (hereafter: CIC) of the Latin Church to designate a diocese, a territorial prelate, an apostolic vicariate, an apostolic prefecture, or a permanently established apostolic administration (CIC c. 368), the CCEO also uses it exclusively to designate an eparchy (CCEO c. 177).

⁴ In the English canonical literature, this term is often rendered as “autonomous Churches.”

⁵ Thus, for example, the archbishop major, prior to executing his ministry as *pater et caput* of his Church, must petition the *confirmation* of his election by the Roman Pontiff (c. 153, §.2) while the newly elected patriarch, after his canonical election by a synod of bishops, simply requests *ecclesiastical communion* with the Roman Pontiff by means of a letter signed in his own hand (c. 76 §2). On granting the ecclesiastical communion, see *Bollettino della Sala Stampa della Sante Sede* of 9 December 2000 and 24 February 2001. Within the communion of Catholic Churches only the Ukrainian Church (Byzantine tradition) and the Syro-Malabar Church (Syro-oriental tradition) have the status of major archiepiscopal Churches.

The Status of the Syro-Malankara Church

The Syro-Malankara Church⁶ has been in communion with the See of Rome only since 1930. She is the youngest Catholic Church of oriental tradition and possesses the rank of a *Metropolitan Church*.⁷ This means that she is directed by a metropolitan in communion with the bishops of the actually existing suffragan eparchies. In the oriental understanding, a metropolitan – unlike a patriarch – is *not* the father and head (*pater et caput*) of a Church *sui iuris* because the metropolitan does not preside over a synod of bishops.

All the bishops of the metropolia constitute a council of hierarchs under the leadership of the metropolitan (c. 159 § 2).⁸ The duties of the council of hierarchs can be compared to those of national or regional episcopal conferences of the Roman Catholic Church. Although c. 167 § 1 gives the council the right to make laws and norms, and legislate in those cases in which common law remits the matter to the particular law of a Church *sui iuris*, the metropolitan is obliged to notify as soon as possible the Roman See about the laws and norms enacted by the council. These laws and norms may not be validly promulgated before the metropolitan has written notification from Rome of the reception of the acts of the council (c. 167 § 2). In other words, the rights of the council of hierarchs are largely limited in favour of the Roman Pontiff and the offices of his curia, mainly the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. The council of hierarchs is competent to elect neither a new metropolitan if the see is vacant nor other bishops; it also lacks any right to establish new eparchies by itself. The metropolitan is *appointed* by the Pope and must

⁶ According to the definition given in note 3 above, the Syro-Malankara Church is a Church *sui iuris* of Antiochene tradition.

⁷ This is also the hierarchical rank of the Ethiopian-Eritrean Church (Alexandrian tradition), the Romanian Church (Byzantine tradition), and the Ruthenian-Byzantine Church of the Metropolia of Pittsburgh.

⁸ As the council of hierarchs is more or less merely a *consultative* body, ordained bishops of another church *sui iuris* can be invited to participate in the council – if a majority of the members of the council approve – but only as guests, i.e., observers without even a consultative vote.

request the (Latin) *pallium* before he can exercise his metropolitan ministry by convoking the council of hierarchs or ordaining bishops (c. 156 §§ 1 and 2).⁹ The bishops of a metropolitan Church *sui iuris* are also appointed simply by the Roman Pontiff.

In face of this state of affairs, the question arises: do these rules and norms correspond to the proper juridical tradition of the churches of oriental tradition in general and of the Syro-Malankara Church in particular? To answer that, let us consider the history and development of this youngest member of the Catholic Church.

The Origin of the Syro-Malankara Church

The designation *Syro-Malankara* is given to that Church of Indian Thomas Christians that entered into Catholic communion in 1930 as a consequence of the Unity Movement headed by the Indian Malankara Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan, Mar Ivanios (Geevarghese Thomas Panicker, d. 1953). Until the seventeenth century, it was an integral part of the undivided apostolic Church of the Thomas Christians who called themselves “Nazrani” and were following the Syro-oriental, i.e., Chaldean, tradition. Due to the massive Latinization by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Portuguese colonial power, there was a division of the Thomas Christians in 1653, which widened to an unintended but real schism.¹⁰

In the beginning there was no question of breaking with Rome. The issue of one’s own ecclesial identity and the preservation of the proper “rite”¹¹ were both at stake. All the efforts to obtain bishops, according to tradition from the Syro-oriental patriarchate, came to naught because of the opposition of the colonial power as well as the intrigues of missionaries instituted by it, who knew how to influence the Roman curial

⁹ On the pallium, see the commentary in J.D. Faris, *Eastern Catholic Churches: Constitution and Governance* (New York, 1992), 377.

¹⁰ See Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, *Christianity in India* (Calcutta, 1957), 78–82; cf. J. Madey and E.R. Hambye, *1900 Jahre Thomas-Christen in Indien* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1972), 34–36 and 45.

¹¹ Cf. footnote 3, above.

offices. The requests of the opponents of the Latin hierarchy instituted after 1599 were ignored by everyone except the Syriac¹² Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East. The representatives sent to India, however, made their cooperation dependent on certain far-reaching conditions that could not be immediately satisfied.

The separated Thomas Christians were led by archdeacons who styled themselves Mar Thomas. With the exception of the first two, all the others – beginning with Mar Thomas III – were “laymen-prelates” because there was nobody to ordain them as priests; Roman documents mention them as “mitred laymen.” At last, in 1771, Mar Thomas VI received episcopal ordination and the rank of metropolitan. As a bishop, he assumed the name of “Mar Dionysios I.” From Mar Dionysios I onwards, the Thomas Christians (“Malankarites”) who were not subject to the Latin hierarchy possess validly ordained, indigenous bishops who use the title “Metropolitan of Malankara.”

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a schism ensued.¹³ One part of the Malankara faithful followed Metropolitan Matthew Mar Athanasios who had come under the influence of Anglican missionaries and accepted Protestant theological opinions. After his deposition by the Syriac Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, he became the founder of the Mar Thoma Church.¹⁴ In his place, the patriarch ordained Joseph Pulikottil under the name of Mar Dionysios V. At the same time, he sent the consecrated *myron* for distribution to the churches and demanded that the *cathedraticum* be paid to him. Patriarch Mar Ignatios Patros III travelled to India in person in 1875 where he convoked a synod at Mulanthuruthy which took

¹² We are using the term “Syriac” because recently the Holy Synod has changed “Syrian” to “Syriac” in order not to confuse the Church with the present political state of Syria and its geographical territory.

¹³ On this chapter of history, see J. Madey, “Background and History of the Present Schism in the Malankara Church,” *Oriens Christianus* 60 (1976): 95–112, esp. 96–101.

¹⁴ The doctrine and constitution of this Church are described by Metropolitan Johanon Mar Thoma, *Christianity in India and Brief History of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church* (Madras, 1968); Metropolitan Alexander Mar Thoma, *The Marthoma Church: Heritage and Mission* (Tiruvalla, 1993).

place from 29 June to 1 July 1876. During this synod, presided over by the patriarch, canons were formulated circumscribing the patriarchal authority; these were accepted by the assembly of 102 participating parishes.¹⁵

Each parish was obliged to swear to the patriarch their fidelity. Further, in all parishes a census was to be done. It was to be the basis for levying the patriarchal *cathedraticum*. As regards the administration of the temporal goods of the Church, a body was created which received the name "Syrian Christian Association." The patriarch himself became the patron of this association and the metropolitan of Malankara its president.¹⁶

Doubtless, the Synod of Mulunthuruthy effected in the last instance the submission of the Church in Malankara, which until then had managed its affairs autonomously, under the authority of the Syriac Orthodox patriarch of Antioch and his synod. The first measure of the patriarch was to create a diocesan structure in Malankara by establishing seven eparchies. Until then, there had been only one eparchy. As Mar Dionysios V very hesitantly accepted the decisions described above, he was given the most insignificant eparchy of Kollam (Quilon). He was succeeded as metropolitan of Malankara by Mar Dionysios VI (Vattasseril), who received episcopal ordination from Patriarch Mar Ignatios Adallah II in 1908.

Mar Ignatious Abdallah II had a leading part in the deposition of his predecessor, Mar Ignatios Abdal-Massih II. Having reached his goal, he came to India in 1911 to work for a time with the aim of strengthening his authority also with regard to the temporal goods of the Malankara Church. He therefore demanded that all bishops confirm his claims publicly. As a result, a vehement dispute arose between him and

¹⁵ The other 78 parishes followed the excommunicated Metropolitan Matthew Mar Athanasios and gave this synod no fellowship.

¹⁶ J. Mounayer (now Mar Eustathios Joseph, the Syriac Catholic Metropolitan emeritus of Damascus), *Les Synodes Syriens Jacobites* (Beirut, 1963), 102, relying on the magisterial work of the Orthodox Patriarch Mar Ignatios Ephrem Barsaum, *Histoire des sciences et de la littérature syriaque* (in Arabic) (Aleppo, 1956), 149. Barsaum comes to the conclusion that the assembly proclaimed the patriarch president and the metropolitan manager (rector) of the "Syrian Christian Association."

Metropolitan Mar Dionysios VI on the nature and extension of the patriarchal rights. Mar Dionysios was prepared to recognize exclusively the spiritual supremacy of the Syriac patriarch. To him should be reserved the ordination of bishops, the consecration of the myron for the Malankara Church, and general supervision of the faith of the Syriac Orthodox Church by the Malankara Church. The tensions reached their climax in the excommunication of the metropolitan of Malankara, Mar Dionysios VI, on 31 May 1911, because of his unwillingness to recognize patriarchal supremacy with regard to temporal goods.

The Rise of an Autonomous Church

As soon as Patriarch Mar Ignatios Abdal-Masih II (who continued to consider himself the legitimate patriarch of Antioch, though *de facto* only outside the Turkish empire) had learned about the excommunication of the metropolitan of Malankara, he declared it invalid in a message dated 17 August 1911. Under the influence of the young priest P.T. Geevarghese,¹⁷ Mar Ignatios Abdal-Masih II came to India and established there, at St. Mary's Church, Niranam,¹⁸ the Catholicate as the continuation of the ancient Catholicate of the East in Tagrit; this happened on 15 September 1912.

Metropolitan Paulos Mar Ivanios of Kandanad, the only surviving prelate ordained bishop by Patriarch Mar Ignatios Patros III, was installed under the name Mar Paulos Basilios I as the first Catholicos of the East¹⁹ on Indian soil. In a 1913 letter, the patriarch writes:

¹⁷ Later he became known as the Syrian Orthodox founder of a monastic community, Bishop (and eventually Metropolitan) Mar Ivanios, "Father of the Union Movement with Rome." See J. Madey and K. Valuparampil, "Panicker, Geevarghese Thomas Mar Ivanios," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* VI (Hamm: T. Bautz, 1975-), 1478-81.

¹⁸ According to tradition, this is one of the seven churches founded by Saint Thomas the Apostle in the first century.

¹⁹ The present titular is titled "His Holiness, Catholicos of the East and [since 1935] Metropolitan of Malankara."

by the grace of God, according to your requests, we have enthroned a “Maphrian” or Catholicos under the name of Paulos Basilios, and consecrated the new Bishops Mar Geevarghese Gregorios, Mar Joachim Ivanios and Mar Gregorios Philexinos. We realized that if we do not nominate a Maphrian for the Malankara Church, our Church in Malabar would not preserve her pristine beauty and holiness. But now, when we understand that it would forever, by the power of our Lord, persevere in them and be stabilised more than before in its communion of charity with the Antiochene Church, we obtained happiness of our heart.... Your Catholicos and Metropolitans who are your Pastors will, we hope, satisfy your requirements. With the assistance of the Metropolitans, the Catholicos will consecrate according to the canons of our Holy Fathers, Metropolitans and Holy Chrism (myron) for you. After the death of the Catholicos, your Metropolitans have the right and authority to enthrone a Catholicos in his place. Nobody shall have any right to prevent them from doing it. However, everything shall be done prudently, orderly and according to the customs with the counsel of the Committee which is under the chairmanship of Mar Dionysios, the Malankara Metropolitan.

With the establishment of the Catholicate, the Malankara Church became divided in two jurisdictional units: on the one side, the adherents of the Catholicos and of the Malankara Metropolitan²⁰ (called “Metran kakshi”); and, on the other, the adherents of the Patriarch (called “Bawa kakshi”).²¹

²⁰ The two offices of Catholicos and Malankara Metropolitan were united in one person only in 1935.

²¹ Nowadays both groups have a Catholicos of their own. The Syriac Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, Mar Ignatios Yacoob III, consecrated a Catholicos for his adherents in 1975. To distinguish their Church from that of the autonomous Catholicate, i.e., the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, those in communion with Antioch form the Malankara Syriac Orthodox (Jacobite) Church. For more on this history, see J. Madey, “Background and History,” above (note 13).

Communion with the Church of Rome

Efforts towards re-establishing communion with Rome cross the whole history of the Malankara Church, but only those of 1930 obtained durability. The starting point was a synodal reunion under the presidency of Catholicos Mar Basilios II (d. 1929), which took place at Perumala on 1 November 1926. Mar Ivanios of Bethany,²² who had received episcopal consecration in 1925, was charged to correspond with Rome on the renewal of full ecclesiastical and sacramental communion.

Inside the Malankara Church, the synod granted the bishop of Bethany exclusive jurisdiction over the members of the order he had founded, as well as over the religious houses of the order in all seven eparchies. Further, he was given the right to erect churches in all eparchies, to organize new parishes and to take the faithful joining them under his jurisdiction.²³ “The necessity for this arrangement arose from the desire on the part of the Synod to have churches established in Malabar that would be free from the control of the laity.”²⁴

After the death of Catholicos Mar Basilios II, the interest in re-establishing communion with the Church of Rome vanished within the episcopate for different reasons. Some, for example, hoped for reconciliation with the bishops of the adherents of the patriarch of Antioch (mentioned above as “Bawa kakshi”). In the end, only Metropolitan Mar Ivanios and his suffragan bishop, Jacob Mar Theophilos, eparch of Tiruvalla and a monk of the Bethany Order of the Imitation of Christ, remained firm in their decision. On 20 September

²² The name “Bethany” was given to the first monastic community of his order.

²³ Letter of Mar Ivanios (17 September 1929) to the Apostolic Delegate in India (*Archives of the Archdiocese of Trivandrum A*, 13/1929). The bishop of Bethany was eventually given the rank of metropolitan at the time of Catholicos Mar Basilios III in 1929. Thus Bethany could be regarded as representative of the entire Malankara Church. See Archbishop Mar Basilios, *The Syro-Malankara Church*, 191.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

1930, these two hierarchs, while retaining the Syro-Antiochene rite, effected their communion with the Catholic Church by pronouncing, in the presence of Msgr. Aloysius Maria Benzinger, the Roman Catholic bishop of Kollam and deputy of the Apostolic Delegate, the Creed and declaring their recognition of the primacy of the bishop of Rome as the successor of Saint Peter, first of the apostles.

Already in replying to the first memorandum of 1926, Rome had assured the Malankarites that they would be in no way dependent on the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Antioch residing in Lebanon. Thus was smoothed the way towards the recognition of the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church as an *Ecclesia sui iuris*.²⁵

The Present Hierarchical Structure

The metropolitan of Bethany retained his supraterritorial jurisdiction in the territory of the seven eparchies of the Syriac Orthodox Catholicate. The corresponding Roman documents say expressly: “The two Bishops... will be kept in their respective office and jurisdiction; Mar Ivanios will remain Bishop of Bethany with the personal title (*ad personam*) Archbishop Metropolitan and Mar Theophilos, Bishop of Tiruvalla.”²⁶ Despite the fact that Mar Theophilos had the title of an eparch of Tiruvalla, the churches founded from Bethany remained,

²⁵ In this memorandum, the Synod of the Catholicate asked that “they be admitted into the unity of the Catholic Church themselves, 1) preserving the ancient rites and rituals, 2) retaining for the Holy Synod for the individual bishops their jurisdiction over all the Jacobite Syrians that come into the reunion and 3) accepting the supremacy of the Holy See, the Pope being the successor of St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles of the Lord. The Holy Synod does not want to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Syrian Catholic Patriarch of Beirut. For *the Holy Synod exercises Patriarchal jurisdiction within the Archdiocese of the Catholicate in South India*.” Archbishop Mar Baselios, *The Syro-Malankara Church*, 155f. (Emphasis added.)

²⁶ Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies, Prot. No. 2935–30 in Placidus S. Joseph (P.J. Podipara), *De Fontibus Iuris Ecclesiastici Syro-Malankarensium Commentarius Historico-Canonicus* (= SCOirent, Fonti: serie II, fasc VIII) (Vatican City, 1937), 83. Cf. Archbishop Mar Baselios, *The Syro-Malankara Church*, 164f.

even in his eparchial territory, under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Bethany.

For a short time, on 13 February 1932, the Roman authorities imposed on Mar Ivanios the metropolitan titular see of Phasis (province of Lazica) and on Mar Theophilos the episcopal titular see of Aradus (province of Phoenicia)²⁷ with residence at Tiruvalla. This measure appears nowadays as meaningless, because in the same year, Pope Pius XI established for the Syro-Malankarites an ordinary hierarchy, creating, by the bull *Christo Pastorum Principi*, an ecclesiastical province according to the model of the Latin Church. This territory included the metropolitan eparchy of Trivandrum and the suffragan eparchy of Tiruvalla. The territories of both these jurisdictional units were scrupulously described. The document quoted above recognizes doubtlessly the autonomous existence of the Syro-Malankara Church and guarantees, according to common law and the legitimate usages of the Syro-Antiochene Church, the right and duties of the hierarchs. On the other side, however, the former metropolitan of Bethany – who became the metropolitan archbishop²⁸ of Trivandrum – lost his supraterritorial rights. At that time, there was no codified law for the Eastern Catholic Churches, and therefore the bestowal of titles simply followed the Roman Catholic pattern. The double title of “metropolitan archbishop” is also used by the successors of Mar Ivanios, Benedict Mar Gregorios (1955–1994) and Cyril Mar Baselios (since 1995).

According to recent statistics, the metropolitan eparchy of Trivandrum counts 305,000 faithful in 143 parishes. There are 442 churches for divine worship. The eparchial priests number 192. There are also 50 religious men working in the eparchy, of whom 35 are priests. There are 760 religious sisters. The Church also has responsibility for 228 educational institutions,

²⁷ Today's titular is *rightly* the Maronite patriarchal vicar in Joubbé, Lebanon. However, this episcopal see has no relation whatsoever to the history of the Thomas Christians.

²⁸ This title is purely a Latin one because in the West the rights and duties of a metropolitan as head of an ecclesiastical province are reduced to a minimum.

from kindergartens (nursery schools) to university colleges; and 34 charitable works, including 32 hospitals. The metropolitan is assisted by his auxiliary bishop (since 1998) who is, at the same time, the protosyncellus of the metropolitan eparchy.

The Suffragan Eparchies

According to *Christo Pastorum Principi*, the territory of the Eparchy of Tiruvalla was described as reaching from the river Pampa in the south to the river Poonani in the north, from the Arabic Sea in the west to the western Ghats in the east. In 1958, the Congregation for the Eastern Churches extended its jurisdictional territory to the entire Malabar region of Kerala and beyond. On the request of the third eparch, Zacharias Mar Athanasios (†1977), the Eparchy of Tiruvalla was divided in 1978. In its northern part, the Eparchy of Battery was established. The present eparchy of Tiruvalla (since 1988) is Geevarghese Mar Timotheos, who is assisted by his auxiliary bishop and protosyncellus, Thomas Mar Koorilos, who was raised to the episcopate in 1997.

The eparchy has at present 56,400 faithful organized in 185 parishes. There are 123 eparchial priests exercising ministry for them. The number of religious men is 57, among whom there are 33 priests. The 351 religious sisters of nine institutes devote themselves mainly to educational and charitable works. There are 101 educational and 52 charitable institutions run by the eparchy. Pushpagiri Hospital, Tiruvalla, is the most prestigious one in the area and is set to develop a medical school.

As mentioned above, after the death of Mar Athanasios, the new Eparchy of Battery was established on the northern parts of the Eparchy of Tiruvalla. Cyril Malancharuvil was appointed its first bishop and ordained under the name of Cyril Mar Baselios in 1978 by the then-metropolitan of Trivandrum, Benedict Mar Gregorios. At its foundation, this eparchy counted but 8000 faithful. Actual statistics speak of 25,000 faithful in 22 parishes. There are 93 churches and centres for worship. In pastoral and missionary activity, 72 eparchial and 15 religious priests are working, while 231 religious sisters

devote themselves to running 62 educational and 28 charitable institutions.

In the face of the liturgical, social, and cultural heritage of the population in the south of the metropolitan eparchy, Metropolitan Cyril Mar Baselios asked Rome to grant a division of its enormous territory.²⁹ Consequently, in December 1996 Rome established the new Eparchy of Marthandom in the district of Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu. The then-auxiliary bishop at Trivandrum, Lawrence Mar Ephrem, who belonged to the indigenous people of Nadars living there, was appointed the first eparch. After his premature death in 1997, he was succeeded by the present eparch, Yuhanon Mar Chrysostomos. Where Malayalam, the proper language of Kerala, is not spoken, the Divine Liturgy is celebrated in the Tamil language.

The Eparchy of Marthandom is, like the Eparchy of Battery, considered a mission territory. Most of its faithful embraced the Christian faith in its Malankara Syro-Antiochene form only in the twentieth century. Today there are 62,837 faithful in 62 parishes. Most of these parishes do not yet have a church building; in the whole eparchy, there are but 18 church buildings. There are 22 eparchial and seven religious priests devoting themselves to the faithful. The work of the priests is aided by 138 religious sisters who are working in the fields of education and charity. In concluding this discussion, we may state that, at the time of writing, there are 449,237 Syro-Malankara Catholics living under a hierarchy of their own.

Syro-Malankarites Outside the Care of a Proper Hierarchy

In India

The situation is completely different for tens of thousands of Syro-Malankara faithful living either in India – but outside the territory of the metropolitan eparchy – or abroad. Only a few years ago, the “Mission Centres” in India, North America,

²⁹ For all the details regarding the eparchies of the Syro-Malankara Church, see *Malankara Catholic Directory 1999* (Trivandrum, 1999).

and Germany acquired a “coordinator.”³⁰ In India, there are several such centres in various cities and towns run by priests of the various eparchies. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated in ten churches owned by the Syro-Malankara community, in twenty Roman Catholic churches, in two Syro-Malabar churches in the Bombay region, in two classrooms, and in two flats.³¹ The urgency of establishing an eparchy “outside Kerala,” as is the case with the non-Catholic Malankara Churches, is evident. Until now, however, all efforts of the Malankara hierarchy towards reaching this end were not successful.

In like manner, the pastoral situation in which the Malankara emigrants live in the Gulf region, especially in Kuwait, cries out for a permanent remedy. Their submission to the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Vicariate of Kuwait has proved harmful for both the Syro-Malabar and the Syro-Malankara faithful.

In North America and Europe

On 18 June 2001, Pope John Paul II appointed Dr. Isaac Thottunkal, protosyncellus of the Eparchy of Battery, as auxiliary bishop at Trivandrum with the additional charge of (permanent) apostolic visitor for the Syro-Malankara Catholics in Europe and North America. He received episcopal consecration under the name of Isaac Mar Clemis at Thirumoolapuram, Tiruvalla, on 15 August 2001. With this appointment, hope has grown that Rome is prepared to establish an eparchy also for the Syro-Malankarites, as it happened in recent times for the Syrians from the Middle East³² and for the Syro-Malabarians.³³

In the United States, there are twelve pastoral centres for the Malankara emigrants. Their “coordinator” is the head of

³⁰ This title implies no jurisdictional authority and does not occur in the CCEO.

³¹ For more info, cf. www.malankara.net/india/general.asp

³² The Eparchy of Our Lady of Deliverance of Newark (for both the USA and Canada) was established on 6 November 1995.

³³ On 1 July 2001, Mar Jacob (Angadiath), first bishop of the new Eparchy of Saint Thomas of Chicago, was raised to the episcopate. He is also the apostolic visitor for the c. 50,000 Syro-Malabarians in Canada.

the “Malankara Catholic Mission” who belongs to the clergy of the Eparchy of Trivandrum. The other centres are in Long Island and Queens (New York); Jersey City and Staten Island (New Jersey); Philadelphia (Pennsylvania); Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Dallas and Houston (Texas); Detroit; and Toronto, Canada.

In Germany, the administrator of a Roman Catholic parish in the Archdiocese of Paderborn, who belongs to the clergy of Tiruvalla, is “coordinating” the pastoral care for the Malankarites living in the regions of Dortmund, Cologne-Bonn, Mainz, Frankfurt (Main), Krefeld and Heidelberg-Stuttgart. The situation is highly unsatisfactory, raising the question: *is there a solution?* To answer that, we must look to the hierarchical system of the Malankara Church itself.³⁴

The Structure of the Church

Already about thirty years ago, the shortcomings of the present hierarchical situation of the Syro-Malankara Church became apparent – particularly in the insufficient authority of a metropolitan as head of an autonomous Church. This is problematic because the Malankara Church can be considered an apostolic Church.³⁵ It is headed by a Catholicos who, together with his synod, exercises patriarchal power.

The CCEO neither mentions the title of Catholicos nor describes the hierarchical head of a whole autonomous Church of eastern tradition that is not a patriarchal Church as “major archbishop” – a title of recent origin that has been used in codifying Pope Pius XII’s *motu proprio* of 1957, *Cleri sanctitati*. The CCEO defines a major archbishop as “a

³⁴ Cf. C. Malancharuvil, *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Alwaye, 1973), 176.

³⁵ “What we need today is a strong ecclesial consciousness. Fortunately the Malankara Church is keeping this consciousness in spite of all the hazards it had to face. I feel it is not because of the role of the head of the Church, but because of its liturgical patrimony. This is an inherent strength of the Malankara Catholic Church and the Council Fathers have really urged all to safeguard these Churches and their patrimony through bestowing proper autonomy (even to the one of Patriarchal status).” A letter to the author in August 2001 written by a Syro-Malankara bishop.

metropolitan of a see determined or acknowledged by the supreme authority of the Church who presides over an entire Eastern autonomous Church, but is not endowed with the patriarchal title” (canon 151). This applies certainly to the protohierarch of the Syro-Malankara Church, too. The endeavour to adjudge the Syro-Malankara Church as a major archiepiscopal Church is supported by the practice of Rome.

A further argument in favour of the Syro-Malankara Church is the fact of its development. It started in the communion of Catholic Churches in 1930 in utmost modesty. Nowadays we see a church with four eparchies numbering approximately 450,000 faithful (the emigration factor excluded). This is more than four times the number of faithful belonging to the Syriac Catholic patriarchate of Antioch.³⁶

The number of vocations – clerical as well as religious – is very promising for the future. In the intereparchial Saint Mary’s Major Seminary in Trivandrum, more than 180 young men have studied for the priesthood in the academic year 2001/02. Also, twenty members of the Order of the Imitation of Christ are receiving their theological formation at Bethany Veda Vijanana Peeth, Pune.

Sometimes an objection is raised that the Syro-Malankara Church consists of a single metropolitanate while a major archepiscopate is supposed to have more than one metropolitan. This assertion is unfounded. It may have its origin in the erroneous understanding of canon 324 of the former legislation (*Cleri sanctitati*), but nothing in that legislation, in the decrees of Vatican II, or in the CCEO requires the existence of several metropolitanates for the recognition of the major archiepiscopal rank for a metropolitan. Today, the only major archiepiscopal Church having several metropolitanates³⁷ in its territory³⁸ is the Syro-Malabar Church of the Syro-

³⁶ This latter has about 110,000.

³⁷ There are four metropolies of Changanassery, Ernakulam-Ankamaly, Thalassery, and Thrissur. Cf. *Annuario Pontificio 2001* (Vatican City, 2001), 964, 981.

³⁸ The territory of the Syro-Malabar Major Archiepiscopal Church is far from that of the historic Assyro-Chaldean Metropolitans of All India. It is limited to the State of Kerala and parts of neighbouring states. Thus do there

oriental tradition. In the Byzantine tradition, only the Ukrainian Church has several metropolitanates, but they are situated outside the proper territory of the major archiepiscopal Church, which consists of only one metropolitanate.³⁹

Owing to historical circumstances, one cannot refer to the practice of non-Catholic Churches of the East.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, some facts are noteworthy. The title (archbishop or metropolitan) designates the canonical precedence rather than the jurisdictional power and authority. The Catholicos of the Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church also exercises the office of the Malankara metropolitan in order to emphasize the fact that he *is* the proper metropolitan or protohierarch who presides over all the eparchies of his Church.⁴¹ Worth mentioning in this context is also the fact that the autonomous Church of Sinai is headed by an archbishop (major). It consists solely of his eparchy; there are no suffragans.

Recognition as a Major Archiepiscopal Church

By recognizing the Syro-Malankara Church as a major archiepiscopal church, Rome would point to the reality that this Church enjoys, within the *communio* of Catholic Churches, the status of a Church *sui iuris* in its full sense, an autonomous church with a constitution corresponding *entirely* with the tradition of the Christian East. A major archiepiscopal church is simply a patriarchal church “without this title.”⁴²

remain in India ten eparchies which are only “attached to the hierarchy” of the Syro-Malabar Church. Cf. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* no.7.

³⁹ So the rights of the major archbishops are, in the case of the patriarchs, largely limited there.

⁴⁰ Only the Romanian Orthodox Church knows ecclesiastical provinces (metropolies) with headquarters at Bucharest, Iassy (Transylvania), Sibiu, Craiova, and Timioara.

⁴¹ As in other Churches of Eastern tradition, e.g., the Greek-speaking Orthodox Churches, the eparchies are today called “metropolitans” while the assistant (auxiliary) bishops are simply called “bishops.”

⁴² As early as the sixteenth century, F. Ingoli, secretary of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, called the then archbishop-metropolitan of Kyiv and All Rus’, the predecessor of today’s major archbishop, a patriarch “without the name-title.” See J. Madey, *Le Patriarcat Ukrainien*.

The position of the patriarch/major archbishop within the hierarchy makes evident that, in the churches of oriental tradition, the form of government is not monarchic but, in accordance with Tradition, synodal.⁴³

In light of this, it is desirable that the actual metropolitan of Thiruvananthapuram (Trivandrum), capital of the State of Kerala, be elevated to, and recognized as, major archbishop, i.e., *Catholicos* of the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church. Linked with this would be the transformation of the council of hierarchs into an ordinary patriarchal (major archiepiscopal) synod. In this context, it may be useful to quote what the former Syriac Catholic patriarch said in his intervention of 11 October 2001 in a synod of bishops in Rome. He gave particular emphasis to the present needs of the oriental Catholic Churches within the patriarchates and beyond their “territories:”

our ‘*sui iuris*’ Patriarchal Churches ... live the bishops’ collegiality (*affectus collegialis*) not only by effective and affective communion with the Church of Rome and her bishop, and with their brother bishops in the same territory, but also synodally. The Synod of Bishops of the Eastern Patriarchates ... is understood as a way of practicing the collegiality of the bishops, sanctioned from the first ecumenical councils (Nicea I in 325, canons 6 and 7, for example), enriched by the long and multiform experiences of the Eastern Churches. Vatican Council II did not hesitate in stating that the Patriarchs of the East were born “by Divine Providence” (*Lumen Gentium*, 23)...

Vers la perfection de l'état juridique actuel [=Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientifica Ucrainorum, XIX] (Rome, 1971), 140.

⁴³ P. Duprey, “La structure synodale de l’Eglise dans la théologie orientale,” in *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 20 (1970): 123–145; J. Jajjar, “Les synods des Eglises Orientales Catholiques et l’Eveque de Rome,” in *Kanon* 2 (1974): 53–99; see also W. Aymans, “Synodale Strukturen im Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium,” in *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 160 (1991): 367–89.

But who makes the bishop, that is to say the man? Who calls him, who elects him?... The Eastern tradition, sanctioned by the ecumenical councils and the pontifical documents, gives the Synod of Bishops of the “sui iuris” Church competence over the election of bishops, which raises an electoral act to the rank of an ecclesial act of primary importance. The election of the bishop in the Eastern tradition is not the fact or the work of an organ that prepares, studies, proposes names, but the work of a...responsible college which elects, creates, makes the bishop.⁴⁴

These arguments are not new. In a letter of February 2002 to the author from a Syriac Catholic hierarch – who has been a close collaborator of three patriarchs – we find the following agreement:

La proposition du Patriarche Moussa Daoud au Synode des Evêques à Rome un document dans lequel il réclamaient quatre point de droit: (1) La juridiction sur leurs fidèles à l’intérieur comme à l’extérieur des territoires patriarcaux, selon l’ancienne tradition orientale. (2) Le droit d’ériger des paroisses et des eparchies partout dans le monde pour leurs fidèles. (3) La faculté d’ordonner des homes mariés pour le service des fidèles en pays d’émigration, tradition toujours en vigueur en Orient. (4) L’élection et la proclamation des nouveaux évêques, à l’intérieur comme à l’extérieur des territoires patriarcaux, sans avoir à Rome ni avant ni après les elections. Suite à l’ordination de l’évêque, c’est le l’assentiment du Pontife Romain serait la reconnaissance de l’action canonique faite parle Synod et l’admission dans la communion de l’éveque élu. Aucune de ces propositions n’a été retenue par la Curie Romaine. En cela, les Orthodoxes

⁴⁴ Patriarch emeritus Mar Ignatios Moussa I (Daoud), Prefect of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches in *Bulletin of the Synod of Bishops* from the Vatican Information Service, 11 October 2001, and available from www.vatican.va.

sont privilégiés en exerçant partout dans le monde ces droits.

As regards the Syro-Malankara Church, presently it consists of seven bishops, four of whom are the ordinaries of the metropolitan see and the suffragans eparchies; the other three are titular bishops. Members of the synod are, according to canon 192 §1, all those who have received episcopal ordination, not excluding those who work outside the territory of a major archiepiscopal church (§2), and the retired bishops. It is a sound tradition of the Christian East to recognize the full voting rights of all bishops in the synodal decisions; it is an expression of esteem for the age and experience of life that they bring. Bishops who are elected or appointed, but not yet ordained, cannot be ordinary members of the synod of bishops.

The reference to bishops working outside the patriarchal or archiepiscopal territory brings us to the question of establishing new eparchies there. For the time being, the right of establishing new eparchies outside the territory of a patriarchal or major archiepiscopal church is exclusively the prerogative of Rome (CCEO c. 177 §2). It is arguable that Rome would in effect lose nothing if she were to cede this authority to those bodies to which it belongs, viz., the patriarch and his synod of each Church *sui iuris*. The patriarch and his synod are more capable of understanding and responding to local pastoral situations. In the case of the Syro-Malankara Church, this would ensure that the faithful living in Asia, Europe, and North America were governed by hierarchs of their own Church and tradition.

The most eminent task of the synod of bishops is to elect new bishops for vacant eparchial sees or for other important services (CCEO c. 181). Canons 63–74 govern the order of the election of a patriarch or major archbishop by the synod.⁴⁵ This synod also elects, according to the norms of law regar-

⁴⁵ As a rule, the patriarch presides over the synod. For the election of a patriarch, however, the administrator of the patriarchal or major archiepiscopal Church presides (CCEO c. 127). Cf. J.D. Faris, *Eastern Catholic Churches*, 326f; J. Madey, *Quellen und Grundzüge des Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (Essen, 1999), 71–75.

ding the election of bishops, a minimum of three candidates for the ministry of eparchial bishop, a coadjutor bishop, or an auxiliary bishop outside the territory of a patriarchal or major archiepiscopal church. Thereafter the patriarch or major archbishop proposes their names to the Roman Pontiff for selection and appointment. This procedure is evidently complicated and inconvenient. It certainly could be shortened if the synod directly elected the respective hierarch from a list of suitable candidates approved earlier by Rome. The elected bishop would be ordained and installed in the name of the Roman Pontiff as well as that of the synod of his Church.

A constituent part of the patriarchal or major archiepiscopal administration is the *permanent synod*, composed of the patriarch or major archbishop and four bishops. The latter are elected for a period of five years, three by the synod of bishops and one appointed by the patriarch (CCEO c. 115 §§ 1 and 2). At least two of them must be eparchial bishops. To make the permanent synod function at any time, four other bishops are elected to represent the members of the permanent synod in case these latter are ever prevented from exercising their role for a given time.⁴⁶

In conclusion, we wish to point out that the recognition of the Syro-Malankara Church as a major archiepiscopal or patriarchal church *sui iuris* of the Syro-Antiochene tradition, and the elevation of its protohierarch to the rank of major archbishop (Catholicos) would also considerably raise its prestige with their non-Catholic brethren and strengthen and promote still more its dynamism in the fields of pastoral service and ecumenism.



Резюме

Відомий знавець східного католицизму, зокрема в Індії, подає детальний опис історії та теперішнього стану Маланкарської Церкви. Вона ввійшла в сопричастя з римським престолом щойно в 1930-му році. Однак, на

⁴⁶ Madey, *Quellen und Grundzüge*, 94–98.

думку автора, вона посідає всі прикмети та атрибути, щоб бути піднесеною до статусу верховного архієпископства.



Romanus the Melodist: Drama as an Instrument of Theology

Matthew Schroeder

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 250)

By means of a close reading among several texts of Greek antiquity, the author demonstrates that in the hymnography of Saint Romanus the Melodist we see the advent of a new dramatic religious genre in the Byzantine tradition. By combining the schematic plots of the classical dramatist Euripides with a new poetic form, the kontakion, Romanus was able to provide the Church of his day with a vehicle for expressing and conveying her faith in the Triune God. Like its predecessors in the classical tradition, the kontakion was meant to produce in those who listened to it feelings of awe and understanding. Romanus's poetic works are the product of a complicated and intricate inculturative process that took several centuries to fully mature. In his works, a synthesis of Syriac form and classical dramatic and rhetorical convention has been created that is nearly perfect. Nevertheless, in the inculturative process we witness a collision of two different cultures that leads, ultimately, albeit haltingly, to a harmonious blending of the two cultures into a new culture, in the process giving birth to a theology that is at once dramatic and liturgical.



Introduction

In the poetry of Romanus the Melodist, we see the beginnings of a new dramatic religious genre. The poet combined the poetic form called the kontakion with the vocabulary and schematic plot that he adapted from the work of the classical

dramatist Euripides. In the hands of Saint Romanus, schematic plot became an instrument to express the emerging pro-Chalcedonian theology in terms of a personal encounter with the Θεάνθρωπος that leads to light and peace. The work of Romanus represents a major achievement of the Early Byzantine period in the inculturation of Christianity in the Hellenic world. Through the kontakion, the vocabulary, the art, the plot scheme and the fundamental aims of classical drama are Christianized and used as a vehicle for Christian theology and liturgy. This study will show that Saint Romanus's use of the vocabulary and schematic plot of the classical dramatist Euripides, along with the form of the kontakion (whose roots are in Syriac religious poetry), allowed the poet to create plots, which, like their precedents in the dramatic tradition, lead from perplexity and fear to awe and understanding.

I. Statement of the Problem:

The Origin of the Dramatic Art of Romanus

Romanus the Melodist was born in the city of Emesa, modern Homs, in western Syria sometime around AD 496. Very little is known about his life beyond the vaguest outline. We know that he was ordained to the diaconate for the Church of Berytus (modern Beirut), and that he served as a deacon for a time in the Church of the Resurrection in that city. At some point, probably during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius I (491–518), Romanus became a member of the clergy of the Church of Constantinople. He was, apparently, assigned the diaconal ministry in the Church of the Theotokos in the Kyrou. He remained in this position until his death sometime between AD 550 and 560.¹

The legends surrounding the life of Saint Romanus already show forth the process of the inculturation of Christianity in Hellenic culture to an eminent degree. According to one legend, at some point after the poet's transfer to the clergy of Constantinople, the poet became disillusioned with his diaconal ministry in the Kyrou quarter because of his inability to

¹ Eva Catafygiotu-Topping. *Sacred Songs: Studies in Byzantine Hymnography* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1997), 19–20.

preach effectively. He was, according to the *Synaxarion*, the subject of considerable ridicule for his inadequacies in this area.

During this period, it was the poet's custom to celebrate the weekly all-night vigils in the Church of the Vlachernae, praying before the miraculous icon that was kept there. During the vigil of Christmas (we cannot be certain of the year), the legend relates that the Mother of God appeared to the poet and gave him the gift of poetry in the form of a little scroll that the poet was to eat.²

At the same time, the legend shows the profound influence of the classical tradition. The gift that is communicated to the poet by the Theotokos is the gift of song, not the gift of prophecy as we find in the Scriptural parallels. The classical inspiration for the legend, as Eva Catafygiotu-Topping claims, is the inspiration of the Muse as described in the *Theogony* of Hesiod.³ The legend tells us that Romanus's life was changed by his encounter with the Theotokos as his "muse." The poet went on to compose over a thousand kontakia, or verse homilies consisting of a variable number of strophes arranged in the order of an acrostic message. In fact, the works of the saint were probably far fewer. Today, there are only fifty-six kontakia or verse homilies that are extant.⁴

The Roman province of Syria, where Romanus was born, and where he began his diaconate, was bilingual (Greek and Syriac) but extremely Hellenized, proof of which is seen in the presence of a major faculty of higher studies in the city of Beirut.⁵ This "School of Beirut" was an old institution in Romanus's time, as a survival from classical days, and the curriculum, understandably, tended to follow classical lines and depart very little from models adopted without adaptation

² The little scroll as a symbol of divine inspiration is a *topos* in Scripture, appearing in both the Old and the New Testaments (Ezekiel 2; Apocalypse 10:2).

³ Eva Catafygiotu-Topping, *Sacred Songs*, 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Tamara Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (New York: Dorset Press, 1987), 199.

from classical antiquity.⁶ This is a natural consequence of the fact that the Empire saw itself as the legitimate heir and descendant of the classical world. During the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, an unashamed and undisguised classicism was quickly becoming the common discourse of the educated elite of the Empire. As Ihor Šhevčenko observes:

the classical component was strongest in works produced for the pagan market by Christian authors imbued with the basic cultural assumptions of the literary pagans; and later, in works written predominantly for Christians, by authors imbued with a Christian high-style literary tradition that had been formed by the fourth century. To be sure, classical or contemporary pagan literary culture was present, through osmosis, in writings coming from less refined pens, beginning with the New Testament. But starting about 400, a vast literary production was forthcoming for the internal, mostly monastic, market, a production in which the osmosis from the classical world was hardly perceptible.⁷

It should be noted that what Šhevčenko has in mind when he uses the terms “classical” and “classicizing” is the tendency in the Byzantine Empire, throughout all its periods, to Atticizing, deliberately archaizing in both vocabulary and style in order to slavishly imitate older models. Nevertheless, what has escaped Šhevčenko’s notice is the fact that the inheritance from the classical world is less apparent in this later production because the classical heritage had been successfully assimilated and accommodated. Šhevčenko himself has given us the schema for the various stages in the process of inculturation, of which the production of the *kontakion* represents an advanced stage:

⁶ J.M. Hussey, *The Byzantine World* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1961), 146–7.

⁷ Ihor Šhevčenko, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1952), 63.

1. A phase in which classical and classicizing influence appears in apologetic literature intended to win over the pagan population, or, at least, to convince the pagan population that Christianity is an intelligent and respectable movement.
2. A phase in which classical and classicizing elements begin to appear in works intended for Christian audiences. In this phase we begin to see Christian hymns written in quantitative verse. In some cases, this phase was concurrent with phase 1, since, even in very early representations we find depictions of Christ as Orpheus, etc.
3. A phase in which classical elements are woven together with early Christian forms into an harmonious whole. In this phase, the literary form becomes a *tertium quid*, neither classical nor early Christian.

As Šhevčenko himself admits, the genre of the kontakion, although a completely new and originally Byzantine genre of religious poetry, owes for its devices an “indirect” debt to classical antiquity.⁸ As Eva Catafygiotu-Topping observes:

Romanos demonstrates his sure command of the techniques familiar from ancient drama. His expert use of major and minor metaphorical patterns, the development of action and character through dramatic speech, the juxtaposition of colloquial and grand styles, all follow patterns of Attic tragedy. The tight construction, the concentration on two or three figures and on a single action likewise conform to the canons handed down from the 5th century B.C. To compare the two hundred forty verses of this kontakion with the one thousand forty of Aeschylus’ shortest play, *Eumenides*, is to measure the artistic control demanded of the poet by the metrical sermon known as the kontakion. Romanos must have learned his poetic craft from classical Greek models, which he studied in the

⁸ Ibid.

schools of his native Emesa, a Hellenized Syrian city. Greek culture shaped his genius, perfecting his mastery of form and language.⁹

As Catafygiotu-Topping suggests, the indirect debt to classical civilization that can be observed in the *kontakia* of Saint Romanus amounts to the hymns' dramatic and rhetorical structure, a structure that cannot be observed in the authors of Syriac hymnody who preceded Romanus and exercised a very great influence on him:

Les hymnes de Romanos le Mélode, pour nous limiter à un seul exemple, présentent une structure rhétorique, et la différence, par rapport aux hymnes d'Ephrem, est due à la tradition classique. La différence spécifique entre les hymnes de Romanos et ceux d'Ephrem est «un goût tout hellénique de l'ordre» comme écrit Grosdidier de Matons. Les préambules des hymnes, comme dans la rhétorique, visent à la préparation psychologique des auditeurs. Mais si le discours rhétorique constitue la base de la structure de *Kontakion*, d'autres éléments nombreux, comme la stichomythie dramatique, l'ironie, l'harmonie parfaite du rythme du texte, sont dus à la culture hellénique du poète.¹⁰

As Manaphis suggests, the *kontakion* is a genre that has dramatic elements. Nevertheless, it cannot be called drama in the strict sense. The attempts in the earlier part of the twentieth century to show that the *kontakion* was in fact a theatrical production intended to be staged ultimately failed because of a total lack of evidence for any religious drama intended for

⁹ Eva Catafygiotu-Topping, *Sacred Songs*, 98–9.

¹⁰ Konstantinos Manaphis, «Idéologie chrétienne et tradition classique chez les écrivains du VI-e siècle» in Vladimir Vavrinek, ed. *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium: The Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference*. (Praha: Academia, 1985), 187.

stage in the early and middle Byzantine periods.¹¹ The consensus among scholars now is that the type of verse homily, which Romanus fashioned, is well established in the homiletic tradition of the Eastern Church. The origins of the kontakion as a homiletic form are to be found in the works of the Syriac Fathers.¹² The works of these Fathers constitute the kontakion's formal precedents. Nevertheless, it is important to remember the ways that this new genre of verse homily, in the hands of Saint Romanus, is radically different from the earlier forms. The kontakion, unlike the earlier Syriac poetic homilies, incorporates Hellenistic dramatic and rhetorical elements. As we shall see, this last point is observable in the congruity of vocabulary and convention with the classical dramatic tradition and particularly with the dramatist Euripides.

Basically, the distinct elements that we can observe in the kontakion can be illustrated in the following table:

1. Syriac Poetic Structure – Isocola and Acrostic 1. Proemial <i>koukoulion</i> }	2. Syriac Poetic Imagery Common images: the physician, medicine of life, mirror, pearl, tree of life, paradise [these images can be found throughout]	3. Classical Rhetorical Structure – the traditional <i>taxis</i> 1. Prooimion 2. <i>Diegesis</i> } 3. Pistis 4. Epilogos	4. Dramatic Art Schematic Plot with the use of other aspects of dramatic convention
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¹¹ See G. La Piana, "The Byzantine Theatre," *Speculum* 11 (1936): 171–211.

¹² R.J. Schork, "Dramatic Dimension in Byzantine Hymns," *Studia Patristica VIII* (Papers presented to the Fourth International Conference of Patristic Studies) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 274.

II. Romanus's Heritage in the Dramatic Tradition: Euripidean Schematic Plot and Dramatic Convention

The kontakion is analogously dramatic. The dramatic genre requires the presence of actors as well as an audience as the genre is motivated principally by imitation of reality according to convention.

The kontakion, on the other hand, does not have an audience. The chorus, to use dramatic terms, is the assembly in the church, which supplies a refrain to the musings of the preacher who serves as the chorus leader (*κορυφαίος*). The chorus is engaged in a discursive meditation on some aspect of sacred history.

In drama, the multiplication of voices occurs in the following way: first, a member of the chorus leaves the main body of the chorus and turns around in order to address the chorus. An opposition is thus created between the chorus and the first actor. The addition of this one voice in opposition to the chorus is the Thespian Revolution that transformed the dithyramb into drama. In Aeschylus, a second actor is added who stands in opposition not only to the chorus, but also to the other actor.¹³

In the kontakion, autonomous voices arise within the chorus. They exist only within the context of the chorus as conventions of the chorus's meditation. Essentially, the chorus becomes a spiritual orchestra within which the voices of sacred history speak to one another. A necessary law of this arrangement is that, unlike drama, in the kontakion the voices of characters in the meditation never address the chorus, although the chorus does address the characters of the kontakion.

The meditation, which is central to the genre of the kontakion, hovers around a central theme that is related to the sacred event. The main body of the chorus, the assembly in the church, continually reaffirms this main theme by repeating it in the refrain, drawing the meditation back to its central point, collecting and relating all the points made by the chorus

¹³ Cf. Michael Grant, *The Classical Greeks* (London: Phoenix, 1989), 39–40.

leader in the previous section. The refrain often relates the meditation directly to the practical experience of the assembly.

The meditation, which consistently goes out from the central theme and returns to it again at the end of each section, takes on a form similar to the eastern meditation formula referred to as the Thousand-Petaled Lotus. In this form of meditation, a word or event is chosen to be the central object of contemplation. With the contemplation of the central object, various associations arise (which may or may not consist of other words or events). The relationships between the central object and the associated objects help to reveal further the meaning of the principal object of contemplation. After considering each relationship briefly, the meditation returns to the consideration of the central object. Although the associations arise spontaneously in the course of the meditation, it is the ceaseless return to the central object of contemplation that keeps the formula from becoming one of free association.¹⁴

A practical illustration of this kind of meditation at work in the kontakion can be observed in the kontakion of Saint Romanus entitled *On the Harlot*. The central theme of the kontakion is the personal sinfulness of the chorus. Therefore, the refrain of the kontakion is “the filth of my deeds.”¹⁵ The first strophe of the kontakion is concerned directly with the theme. In the second strophe, the second prelude, the chorus begins to consider the example of the harlot, and the harlot speaks in her own voice for the first time. The third strophe, the first strophe of the kontakion proper, considers the effect that the words of Christ must have had on the harlot; it considers her sense of shame at her actions. It presents the harlot as meditating on Hell, and on the torments that await her there if she does not change her life. Nevertheless, at the end of the strophe, the chorus explicitly states the relationship between its own attitude and the repentance of the harlot, returning completely to the central theme in the repetition of the refrain:

¹⁴ Lawrence LeShan, *How to Meditate: A Guide to Self-Discovery* (Boston: Back Bay Books, 1974), 90–91.

¹⁵ Saint Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia on the Life of Christ*, trans. Ephrem Lash (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 77.

Τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθάπερ ἀρώματα φαίνόμενα πανταχοῦ βλέπων ἢ πόρνη ποτέ καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς πνοὴν ζωῆς χορηγοῦντα, τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῆ τοῦ δυσώδους ἐμίσησεν, ἐννοοῦσα τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἑαυτῆς καὶ σκοποῦσα τὴν δι' αὐτῶν ἐγγιγνομένην· πολλὴ γὰρ θλίψις γίνεται τότε τοῖς πόρνοις ἐκεῖ, ὧν εἷς εἰμι, καὶ ἔτοιμος πέλω εἰς μάστιγας ὡς πτοηθεῖσα ἢ πόρνη οὐκέτι ἔμεινε πόρνη, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πτοούμενος ἐπιμένω τῷ βορβόρῳ τῶν ἔργων μου.¹⁶

The rest of the strophes of the kontakion continue in the same way, raising associations and introducing voices, returning at the end of each strophe to the central theme of the chorus's own personal sinfulness.

Romanus believed the purpose of the kontakion was to reflect on the meaning of sacred history. Analogously, the classical dramatists believe that the purpose of drama is to reflect on myth. Their reflections, however, are structured for presentation to an audience. Nevertheless, Romanus does view the kontakion, and the entire liturgical experience in general as an explicit form of drama. He shows this when, in the kontakion entitled *On Lazarus*, he refers to two possible schemata for liturgical drama: the enactment of the tragedy of the demons and the enactment of the comedy of their downfall.¹⁷ There are, nevertheless, other schemata as well, since Romanus himself freely explores the tragic qualities of the sufferings of both Christ and the Mother of God. The fact that Romanus views the liturgical action as drama is borne out also by Carpenter's interpretation: "the point is that the incidents and their theological implications were dramatic in a real sense. The impact on the communicant was that of entering

¹⁶ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Irvine, CA: University of California, 2000), Hymn 21, 1.

¹⁷ Joseph Trigg, "Romanos's Biblical Interpretation: Drama, Imagery, and Attention to the Text" in P. Blowers, A. Christman, D. Hunter and R. Young, eds. *In Dominico Eloquio: In Lordly Eloquence: Essays in Patristic Exegesis in Honour of Robert Louis Wilken* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002), 245.

into a drama, a struggle – actually, the one important struggle that moved him in the sixth century.”¹⁸

In the construction of the *kontakia*, Romanus follows particular dramatic rules. For example, Romanus begins his considerations at an advanced stage of the action, at a point where most of the action of the story lies in the past. This is a convention that is common to the classical dramatists, especially Euripides.¹⁹ An example of this can be seen in the *kontakion On the Prodigal*. This *kontakion* begins at the time of the son’s return to his father’s house, and assumes the congregation’s knowledge of the foregoing part of the parable. This beginning *in medias res* serves as the source of the dramatic tension that sustains the plot.

Romanus, starting with the biblical story, reinterprets it by means of a Euripidean schematic plot. The works of Euripides enjoyed great popularity throughout late antiquity and into the Middle Ages, and the literature of the early and middle Byzantine periods is littered with quotes from this classical dramatist. As late as the twelfth century, we find a poet writing in Greek with the intention of retelling the story of Christ’s Passion as a Euripidean tragedy. The study of the plays of Euripides was an integral part of Byzantine higher education, and the dramas were studied for both rhetorical and artistic reasons.²⁰

The plays of Euripides that have come down to us fall into two basic groups: the Select Plays and the Alphabetic Plays. The first of these groups, the Select Plays, is again divisible into two groups: the triad and the “further selections.” The Euripidean triad is the oldest selection of the plays, and is comprised of the three most popular plays, copied and bound together for use in schools. The three plays in the triad are *Hecuba*, *Orestes* and *Phoenissae*. In addition to the triad, the further Select Plays are *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Troades* and *Rhesus*.

¹⁸ Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia on the Life of Christ*, trans. Marjorie Carpenter (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), xxiii.

¹⁹ William Chase Greene, *Moirai: Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), 90

²⁰ G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 254–5.

The Select Plays of Euripides, because of their use in schools, have scholia, whereas the Alphabetic Plays do not. The Alphabetic Plays are so called because they appeared in alphabetical order in the Alexandrian edition. They are the *Bacchae*, the *Cyclops*, *Electra*, *Helena*, *Heracles*, *Heracleidae*, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, *Ion* and *Supplices*.²¹ These plays enjoyed less popularity than the Select Plays during the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods. Nevertheless, both groups of plays were available to readers even up until the end of the early Byzantine period. Furthermore, all of the dramas played a significant role in the development of rhetorical science:

the rhetors could rely on mere summaries (“the Tales”) when casting about for subjects of declamations, but the original texts alone could supply the classic models for the study of oratorical perfection; nor did literary men and philosophers draw their tragical quotations exclusively from the Selection or florilegia (as can be seen from certain passages in Plutarch, Epictetus, Dio of Prusa, Philostratus and in the Lucianic corpus); in the same age, scholars like those gathered in Oxyrhynchus studied the whole of Euripides with renewed vigour. In short, the classicism of the Hadrianic Age – the age of Herodianus! – led to a revival of the tradition and some evidence even suggests that in the second century tragedies proper were still performed, and not just extracts or ballets only. In the following centuries, very few were interested in any plays outside the Selection; but John Malalas and the Hermogenes commentaries, as well as the fragments of codices containing *Melanippe* and *Phaethon* show that texts of these were still found even in the early Byzantine period.²²

²¹ Alexander Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957), 19.

²² G. Zuntz. *An Inquiry*, 254–5.

As Zuntz points out, the plays of Euripides were available in two different forms. One of these forms was anthologized plot summaries known as *Tales from Euripides*; these anthologies retold the stories without giving the actual text of the drama. The other form was an anthology of complete plays, sometimes including scholia. The dramatic tradition in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods was held in common by both pagans and Christians, and adherents of both religions quoted from the dramatists with equal enthusiasm. Both groups were culling the dramatic writers for sayings and proverbs of philosophical import:

Mais, en dépit de cette différence d'intention, les deux œuvres appartiennent à la même veine littéraire. Ce sont de morceaux choisis philosophiques, où les sentences gnomiques d'Euripide tiennent une grande place, et les *Stromates*, comme le *Banquet des Sophistes*, révèlent un commerce direct de leur auteurs avec les textes.²³

Nevertheless, because of the existence of the anthologies which were so popular with the rhetors, certain Christian authors made greater use of the complete text than their pagan contemporaries, who rarely if ever quoted passages that were not already to be found in rhetorical or sophistic works. For example, in his period, Gregory of Nazianzus cites texts of Euripides more than any other author. Furthermore, the variety of citations is incomparable.²⁴

The plot scheme that is common to both Euripides and Romanus is that scheme which is used by the classical dramatist in his non-tragic dramas, romances, or, as some critics call them, tragi-comedies. The purest examples of this plot are the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and the *Helena*. The schematic plot proceeds in the following way:

²³ André Tuilliers, *Recherches critiques sur la tradition du texte d'Euripide* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1968), 85.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 92–3.

1. The retold story begins with perplexity, misunderstanding or fear.
2. The plot proceeds to the point that these emotions lead to some sort of a crisis situation.
3. The crisis and the emotions leading to it are resolved by divine intervention, and the faith of everyone is deepened and strengthened.

There are, of course, variations to this plot in which some of the parts are less pronounced in any given kontakion. Nevertheless, this rule is a good starting point for understanding what Romanus is trying to accomplish from a theological standpoint.

The rule holds for the best-known kontakia. In the kontakion *On the Nativity*, Romanus begins with the Mother of God contemplating her Son and seeking understanding about the events that have happened to her. Her inability to understand puts her in something of a quandary. At this rational impasse, the Magi arrive unexpectedly. At first the Mother of God is afraid because she does not know who they are. Then, when she is put at ease, she is amazed at their story. Finally, with the permission of her divine Son, the Virgin invites the Magi to enter the cave. As they enter, they see Joseph and are aghast. They question the virginity of the Mother of God and they wonder, at the very least, what people will say. The Mother of God eases their fears by explaining the presence of Joseph and his function in the divine plan. At the invitation of the Mother of God, the Magi tell their story. The Magi's narrative, in some measure, answers the quandary of the Virgin in the first part of the poem. Christ's presence in the manger is balanced with His omnipresence in the whole universe. The Magi open their treasures and give gifts to Christ. The Mother of God begs Christ to accept the gifts since they will be a comfort to the Holy Family in its exile.²⁵

The same schematic plot is observable in the kontakion *On the Meeting of the Lord*. This kontakion begins with the perplexity of the Mother of God, as she struggles to contemplate

²⁵ Saint Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia on the Life of Christ*, 3–12.

and ponder the mystery of her Son, as she walks with the infant in her arms on her way to present Him to the Lord in the Temple. Unbeknownst to her, she is accompanied by a great host of angels who are worshipping and singing the praises of the infant. As she enters the Temple, she meets Symeon, and Symeon enthusiastically takes the infant in his arms. As soon as he does so, however, he is struck with fear, because he is given a vision of the angelic army that is in attendance on the infant. Symeon speaks, glorifying Christ. Mary is amazed at what the man knows about her Son. Symeon comforts the Virgin and promises to explain the Scriptures to her, which he does in due course. Symeon ends his discourse by begging the Son to free him from corruptible and earthly life. Christ responds that he is dismissed, but he must go down into hell to the prophets of old and tell them that Christ has come as they prophesied.²⁶

A consequence of using this particular Euripidean plot is that there are occasional inconsistencies in the detail of plot construction. In the *Helena* this fact is particularly clear. Euripides' character Theonoe is an omniscient seer who knows the minds of the gods themselves. Nevertheless, everyone in Egypt, including the all-knowing Theonoe, is unaware that the city of Troy has fallen to the Greeks, and they are still unaware of it seven years after the fact. Similarly, in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, Pylades could easily have spoiled the whole plot relatively early in the play by doing something that would have been completely natural to his character, that is by turning to the chorus and asking concerning the identity of the Greek woman who lives among them. This kind of plot requires of the audience a suspension of reason at the outset, and it continues to require that suspension throughout the course of action.²⁷ In this respect, this type of plot is very close to comedy, as Kitto points out:

the enacting of an exciting story makes for unity of plot, but the need for continuous piquancy of situation appreciably tempers the logic of that plot...In tragedy

²⁶ Ibid., 25–36.

²⁷ H.D.F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 323.

such weak links in the chain would be ruinous, for the strain on it is great; the succession of significant cause and effect must be close, and improbability in behaviour avoided. Now since little depends on it except our own enjoyment, we are content to be bluffed if the bluff is worthwhile; and if the play is a comedy, we may even relish a *non sequitur* for its own sake.²⁸

Examples of the same sort in the works of Romanus abound. First, in many of the kontakia there is the idea that the characters are privy to information that, naturalistically speaking, they could not possibly have. For example, in the entire corpus of the kontakia it is interesting to note who is aware of the divinity of Jesus and who is not. Often in the kontakia even the enemies of Jesus are perfectly aware that Jesus is God, and yet the logic of the plot is undermined by the fact that although possessing this information, indeed being fully convinced that this information is true, they act in a way that is completely inconsistent with the knowledge that they have.

Even outside the cycle of kontakia that is concerned with the life of the Lord, similar inconsistencies of plot are observable. In the kontakion *On the Sacrifice of Abraham*, for example, Abraham speaks to God, expounding a hypothetical discourse with Sarah. Halfway through the account of the purely hypothetical discourse, the speech shifts abruptly and without warning to real discourse, as the character of Sarah begins to speak and voice consequences that are not part of the hypothetical portion of the dialogue.²⁹

Perhaps an even better example is in the kontakion *On Joseph*.

Οτε οὖν κατέλαβον τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἔλαμψεν ὁ ἄναξ ὡς ἥλιος καὶ πλεκεῖς ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κατεφίλει αὐτὸν δακρυρροῶν. “³ Ἐμὲ τῷ Θεῷ σου, φησί, πάτερ, ἐδάνεισας, καὶ γὰρ ταῖς εὐχαῖς σου καρποφορῶ· τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον διπλοῦν εὗρες σὺν τόκῳ.” Πρὸς ὃν ὁ πρεσβύτερος δακρύων βοᾷ· “Πόθεν μοι ἔλαμψας; ἀπὸ γ_Ις

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Sebastian Brock, “From Ephrem to Romanos,” in ed. E.A. Livingstone, *Studia Patristica* 20 (Leuven: Peeters Press, 1989), 145.

ἢ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; ἐκ νεκρῶν ἢ ἐκ ζώντων; ποῖος θῆρ ἔτεκέν σε;
 Ταῦτα τοῦ κτ' ἵστου τὰ τεράστια· ὑπάρχει γὰρ μέγας
 μόνος Κύριος ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν.³⁰

The repeated references in this hymn to the radiance of Joseph as well as the repeated questions regarding Joseph's paternity are not found in the Scriptures. In fact, in the context of the hymn the references even appear a bit odd, since Jacob knows perfectly well that Joseph is his son. The oddity of the passage can be explained by the fact that, as far as vocabulary is concerned, it shows a high degree of dependence on the *Phaethon*, one of the plays of Euripides that is no longer extant. This is in fact so true that Romanus sees no need to even mention the Scriptural reference to Joseph harnessing his chariot and riding out to meet his father. Rather, Romanus, knowing that his audience automatically construed the Sun as a chariot, simply writes: ἀνάξως ἥλιος ἐλάμψει. In Hymn 32, Romanus explicitly identifies the Sun as the “chariot of light” ἄρμα φωτός:

Ὁ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις σου, Ἰησοῦ μου· ὁ νόμος ἦν Σαουλ φθονῶν καὶ διώκων, Δαυὶδ δὲ διωχθεὶς τὴν χάριν βλαστάνει· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ κύριος Δαυὶδ· εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος τὸν Ἄδὰμ ἀνακαλέσασθαι. Ἄρμα φωτός ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ οὗτός σοι δεδούλωται· φαιδρός μὲν εἰς ὄχημα, καὶ οὗτος ὑπόκειται τῇ κελεύσει σου ὡς πλάστου καὶ Θεοῦ.³¹

Joseph goes out to meet his father driving his chariot like Phaethon. Joseph is so radiant that Jacob looks upon him with difficulty and with wonder, asking, “How is it that you are radiant to me? Are you of earth or of heaven, of the living or of the dead? What sort of a wondrous being is it that bore you?” Here Romanus is creating an amusing reversal of the original legend. This is the quintessential “good bluff for its own sake.” In the legend of Phaethon, it is Phaethon who has questions regarding his own paternity, and who ultimately

³⁰ Romanus Melodus. *Cantica. Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, 5, 39–40.

³¹ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica. Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, 32, 7, 1–8.

finds it difficult to look upon the radiance of his father, Helios the Sun God. Here, it is the father, Jacob, who looks with wonder on the radiance of his son, Joseph, and in wonder Jacob is moved to ask, “What sort of a wondrous being is it that bore you?” Unfortunately, there is very little of the original drama that survives besides the general plot outline and a few fragments of the poetry preserved in citations made by other authors. Nevertheless, the fragments that do survive are sufficient to show the parallels between the two works: *Μέροπι τῆσδ’ ἄνακτι γῆς, ἣν ἐκ τεθρ ἰ ππων ἀρμάτων πρώτην χθόνα* “*Ἥλιος ἀν ἰ σχων χρυσέα βάλλει φλογί.*”³²

In order to assist the plot, Romanus also employs certain Euripidean dramatic conventions. For example, the quintessential Euripidean convention, the *deus ex machina*, is employed in the kontakion *On Peter’s Denial*. Another important dramatic convention to consider is *peripeteia*. *Peripeteia* is an end of an action that is the opposite of the end that was originally intended.³³ Romanus employs this convention, for example, in the kontakion *On the Victory of Cross*. In this kontakion, Romanus portrays Death and Hades conspiring to destroy Christ. In the end, the execution of their plan leads to their own destruction.³⁴ Here, as elsewhere, the concept of *peripeteia* is intimately connected with *anagnorisis*, the sudden and startling recognition of the truth.³⁵

Furthermore, like the classical dramatist Euripides, Romanus pays little attention to the character or character development in his work. One possible explanation of this fact is the relatively short duration of each of the works. Nevertheless, like Euripides, Saint Romanus relies on dialectic and rhetorical material to join the action together. In other words, to ask why a particular character in Saint Romanus’s work behaves in a particular way is a nonsensical question, since the characters in the work were created specifically to act in a particular way.

³² Euripides, *Fragments*. *Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001)*, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, 725.

³³ William Chase Greene, *Moirā: Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought*, 92.

³⁴ Saint Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia on the Life of Christ*, 156–61.

³⁵ William Chase Greene, *Moirā: Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought*, 92.

The emphasis is on the action, not on the character. Commenting on this particular dramatic method, Kitto observes:

in the mature Euripidean tragedy they [events] are often quantitative, when a Menelaus or a Lycus does something, what is done does not interest us as a reflection of the spiritual or mental balance of the doer; he was invented to do this and for no other purpose; having done it he is exhausted. It is not now the case that the person behind colours the action; in fact it is the action that creates the person behind it.³⁶

In the same way, it is clear from reading the corpus of Saint Romanus, that his dialogue is mainly rhetorical and argumentative as a consequence of his general lack of interest in character. In the structure of dialogue that is common to Euripides and Romanus, the figures in the works may have character, but their character portrayal is intermittent, coming and going, as the action requires, without development of character in between. An example of this can be seen in the kontakion *On Peter's Denial*. In this kontakion, the plot requires that Peter be aware of the divinity of Jesus at the beginning, during the action and at the end. This awareness of the divinity of Jesus is key to the action as Saint Romanus has conceived it. The incident of the denial of Peter is brought into deliberate juxtaposition with the earlier gospel adventure of walking on the sea. According to Romanus, just as Peter wavered when he saw the force of the wind and the waves on the sea, so now does he waver from fear of being exposed as a follower of Jesus. Here, it is clear that the speech at the very beginning of the kontakion (strophes 3–5) is argumentative and dialectical in nature. The fourth strophe begins with a series of concatenated enthymemes in which a more elaborate argument is collapsed. The rhetorical argument is four-stage:

1. God is the greatest benefactor
2. Jesus is God

³⁶ H.D.F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy*, 265–7.

Therefore, Jesus is the greatest benefactor

1. Denial and betrayal are unsatisfactory responses to honour
2. Jesus has given the greatest honour

Therefore, denial and betrayal are unsatisfactory responses to Jesus

1. Denial and betrayal are unsuitable responses to benefaction
2. Jesus has been Peter's greatest benefactor

Therefore, denial and betrayal are unsuitable responses to Jesus

And:

1. Only the ingrate would answer benefaction and honour with an unsuitable response
2. Peter is not an ingrate

Therefore, Peter cannot answer Jesus' benefaction and honour with an unsuitable response³⁷

Peter, since he is aware of the divinity of the Lord Jesus throughout the kontakion, denies Jesus ultimately because of fear, and because the word of the Lord had to be fulfilled. Yet Peter's character does not change in the kontakion because the development of Peter's character is not important. What is important is the action that culminates in a reversal and a recognition scene in which Peter realizes his weakness in the fact that Christ's prophecy has proven true.³⁸

In the end, there is a scene of reconciliation, by means of the aforementioned *deus ex machina*. Christ appears suspended on the Cross and offers forgiveness to Peter even as He is granting forgiveness to all mankind. Christ, hanging upon the Cross, forgives and remits the sins of the thief as a symbol of Peter. The reconciled Peter is specifically mentioned by the Lord in His Resurrection as one to whom the women should

³⁷ The argument has been derived from Saint Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia On the Life of Christ*, 130–1. [The text has been compared with the original to verify the sense of the enthymemes.]

³⁸ Saint Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia On the Life of Christ*, 136–7.

especially tell the Good News. The kontakion then ends with the *paenismus* that is typical of Romanus's compositions.³⁹

The *paenismus* has its roots in the choral doxologies of Greek tragedy. The doxology, or *clausula*, serves to bring the action to a fitting close. In the classical dramas, the doxology takes a number of forms, expressing commiseration with suffering, or providing a philosophical summation to the action.⁴⁰ In Romanus, consistent with his particular plot, the *paenismus* has the same function as the doxologies we find in Euripides' *Helena* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris*: it expresses benediction on the action of the work that has reached a happy conclusion, even while wondering at the inscrutable actions of God, praising Him for His marvels and exhorting hearers to change in some way.

III. Romanus's Poetic Vocabulary: An Inheritance from the Dramatic Tradition via the Second Sophistic

José Grosdidier de Matons found that there are enormous similarities between the language of Saint Romanus and the language employed by the classical dramatists. The similarity extends not only to common vocabulary but is present also in style. Grosdidier de Matons observed that the kontakia by St Romanus that are written in purely a sermon form are far less numerous than those in which a conversation is put into the mouths [un sermon placé dans la bouche d'un des personnages] of one of the persons involved in the story. There is a further distinction between hymns that are this kind of monologue and hymns that are properly dramatic and narrative.⁴¹

The language of Romanus has more in common with the language of drama than with any other genre of literature classical or Byzantine. Grosdidier de Matons compared the language of Romanus to six other authors spread out over a one

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 137–8.

⁴⁰ William Chase Greene, *Moirai: Fate, Good and Evil in Greek Thought*, 100.

⁴¹ José Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Melode et les origines de la poesie religieuse à Byzance*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), 322.

thousand year period. The six authors were Euripides, Thucydides, Plato, Longus, John Chrysostom, and Palladius. In all, he found that the language of Romanus was most similar to the language of Euripides in the three areas in which he scored it.⁴²

Furthermore, Grosdidier de Matons, in examining the exact vocabulary of the Melodist, has found a strong correlation between his usage and that of the dramatist Euripides. Frequently, for example, Romanus uses the noun *αἵμα* in the plural, which is a hallmark of Euripides.⁴³ Romanus uses this form to describe the blood of the martyrs as roses without thorns:

Νῦν ἀκούσατε ξένα καὶ ἴδετε θεῖα καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστα
πράγματα· πανταχοῦ τῶν μαρτύρων τὰ αἵματα ὡσπερ
ρόδα μὴ ἔχουσα ἄκανθας σπαρέντα βρούουσιν ἰάματα,
εὐωδίαν δὲ πνέουσι χαρισμάτων, δι' ὧν λαβεῖν παθῶν

⁴² Grosdidier de Matons accords special importance to the occurrence and lack of the participle:

On constate que la fréquence du participe dépend moins de l'époque que du style de l'auteur et du genre littéraire de son œuvre. Il est rare dans le style coupé des dialogues de Platon et des drames Euripide. Chez Thucydide, au contraire, son rôle est très important pour l'articulation de la phrase, tant dans les parties narratives que dans les discours; les participes précédés de l'article et pourvus de compléments, qui équivalent à des relatives, sont particulièrement abondants. Dans la prose faussement naïve de Longus, le participe est plus fréquent encore, mais son emploi est moins varié, et il sert beaucoup plus souvent à la seule expansion du prédicat; surtout, il est un élément essentiel d'une phrase toute construite en kôla parallèles ou antithétiques, très fréquemment soulignés par des homoiotéleutes et paromoïoses pour lesquelles les formes participiales fournissent d'abondantes ressources. Dans la syntaxe de Palladius, plutôt sommaire et en tout cas dépourvu de toute prétention esthétique, le participe n'est guère moins fréquent que chez Longus, mais cela tient tout simplement à ce qu'il tend à absorber les autres formes de subordination. Comparé aux auteurs postclassiques en général, Romanos fait un usage remarquablement discret du participe; en particulier, il use fort peu du génitif absolu (nous n'en avons relevé que 159 exemples dans ses poèmes) et pratiquement jamais du nominatif absolu. Cela n'entre pas pour peu de chose, du moins pour nous, modernes, dans l'agrément de son style. (Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Melode et les origines*, 293.)

⁴³ Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Melode et les origines*, 304.

ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ βοᾶν τῷ Θεῷ· Ὑψηλὴ σου ἡ χεὶρ,
πολυέλεε.⁴⁴

Similarly, Romanus affirms that the blood of the holy martyrs is a source of healings through the use of the rhetorical *homoioteleuton* αἵματα and ἰάματα at the end of the adjacent lines:

Ἐδάτος δίκην ἐξέχεαν οἱ ἀνόητοι τῶν ἁγίων τὰ αἵματα,
ἵν' ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν ἰάματα· τούτων δὲ τὰς σάρκας τῷ πυρὶ
παραδίδοντες κλέος μέγα ἐπέθηκαν· καὶ ἐγενήθησαν
ὄνειδος οἱ ἀποκτεινότες, οἱ κτανθέντες δὲ καυχῆμα·
ἐμυκτηρίσθησαν οἱ μανέντες κατὰ τῶν ἀθλοφόρων· μετὰ
θάνατον γὰρ ζῶσι καὶ ψυχὰς πιστῶν φρουροῦσι· τούτους
νῦν ἐν τάφῳ ὡσπερ ἐν θαλάμῳ ὄραντες, ἰκετεύομεν·
“Δεσμῶν ἡμᾶς ὕσασθε· δεσμὰ γὰρ πατήσαντες
στεφάνων ἐτύχετε.”⁴⁵

This last example raises the issues of the Gorgianic figures. Romanus's work, like many of the literary works of the Second Sophistic, is typified by the abundant use of Gorgianic figures such as *paronomasia*, *anadiplosis* and *homoioteleuton*. The classical dramatists also used these figures extensively, as can be illustrated by the similar *homoioteleuton* in Euripides' *Phoenissae*:

δίδυμα τέκεα πότερος ἄρα πότερον αἰμάξει ἢ ἰὼ μοι πόνων,
ἰὼ Ζεῦ, ἰὼ Γαῖομογενῆ δέραν, ὁμογενῆ ψυχὰν δι' ἀσπίδων,
δι' αἰμάτων; τάλαινα ἔγὼ τάλαινα, πότερον ἄρα νέκυν
ὀλλόμενον ἀχρήσω.⁴⁶

Much of the vocabulary with which Romanus chooses to express himself has its roots in the Attic drama of Euripides. The first and perhaps the clearest illustration of this fact is the noun Ἐναξ. This word is an honorary title, given to kings and chieftains, primarily in archaic Greece, before the Dark Age (1200–900 B.C.). Ἐναξ is used frequently in Homer (in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* it is used more than two hundred and seventy times) and in the *Homeric Hymns*, and the word

⁴⁴ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica genuina*, 59, 4, 2.

⁴⁵ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica genuina*, 57, 15, 1

⁴⁶ Euripides, *Phoenissae*. *Diogenes 0.94* (1999–2001), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

appears with some frequency also in the lyric poets, especially Pindar. In the dramatic tradition, however, the word is used sparingly in Aeschylus and Sophocles, but extensively in the plays of Euripides. No author, in fact, uses this word more, proportionally, than Euripides (with the exception of Homer.) In Euripides' time, the word was already an archaism, and had been superseded by the two words *Βασιλευσ* and *κυρισσ*. Euripides uses the word for the obvious purpose of making his Homeric Age characters more life-like, in the same way that if we were to write about Chicago in the 1930's we would refer to a member of the municipal legislature as an alderman rather than as a city councilman in order to avoid anachronism.

The Attic Orators use it very rarely, usually only when quoting from Homer, and the same can be said for the authors of the Second Sophistic. Athenaeus, for example, quotes extensively from Homer and the tragedians in the *Deipnosophistae*. Apart from these references, he does not use the word. The only ecclesiastical writer who uses the term Ἐναξ is Eustathius, who is the author of a two-volume commentary on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, this apart from two references in the work of Eusebius's *Praeparatio evangelica*:

ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτός, εἶποι τις ἄν, ὁ Ἐπόλλων ἔφη πού ἐν
 χρησιμοῖς ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὅστις εἶη· “Ἥλιος,
 Ὀρος, Ὀσιρις, ἔναξ *διὸς υἱὸς Ἐπόλλων, ὠρῶν καὶ
 καιρῶν ταμίης ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὀμβρῶν, ἡοῦς καὶ νυκτὸς
 πολυάστερος ἢ γῆν νωμῶν, ζαφλεγέων ἄστρων βασιλεὺς
 ἡδ' ἀθάνατον πῦρ.⁴⁷

Here again, Eusebius uses the term to avoid anachronism since he is discussing bygone days.

Another example of the connection between Romanus's vocabulary and that of classical drama, and particularly of Euripides, is the adjective *ἀθλιος*. Ἄθλιος is the Attic spelling of *αέθλιος*, which means “unfortunate” or “wretched” (as a result of conflict). The word is used only once in its Homeric/Ionic form, in the *Iliad*. This word, however, came into common usage in the time of the great flowering of Athenian drama. It

⁴⁷ Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*. *Diogenes* 0.94 (1999–2001), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, 3, 15, 3, 1.

occurs most frequently in Euripides, but it also appears in some of the plays of Sophocles and Aeschylus. In the generation that followed, after the close of the Peloponnesian War, and with the rise of Macedonia, *ἄθλιος*, along with many other words and conventions from the old Attic drama, was absorbed into the increasingly elaborate rhetorical field. The word then appears with some frequency in the works of Athenian orators such as Demosthenes and Isaeus. Thus, it is not at all surprising that *ἄθλιος* was taken up as part of the common vocabulary of some of the Second Sophistic writers: Athenaeus (f. AD 200), Plutarch (f. AD 100), Aelius Herodianus (f. AD 160) and Lucian (f. AD 150).

In the following passage from Euripides' *Helena*, we find the sorrowful Helen using the word to describe her husband Menelaus, who, as a result of divine deception has waged a totally pointless war on Ilium: *καγὼ μὲν ἐνθάδ' εἴμ', ὁ δ' ἄθλιος πόσις στράτευμ' ἀθροίσας τὰς ἐμὰς ἀναρπαγὰς θηρᾶι πορευθεὶς Ἰλίου πυργώματα.*⁴⁸ And later, in the same drama, Menelaus himself uses the word to describe his own sufferings: *κακῶν τόδ' ἡμῖν ἔσχατον τοῖς ἀθλίοις, ἄλλους τυράννους αὐτὸν ὄντα βασιλέα βίον πρασαιτεῖν· ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει. Λόγος γάρ ἐστιν οὐκ ἐμός, σοφῶν δέ του, δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύειν πλέον.*⁴⁹

Romanus's use of this word has much in common with the dramatist's use of the same term. Romanus uses the word to describe the moral condition of the evil king Nabuchodonosor in the kontakion *On the Song of the Three Youths* (appointed for the Sunday before Christmas):

*Ἄμα ἤκουσε τούτων, ὁ ἄθλιος καὶ πανώλης ὡς σίδηρος ἐπυρώθη καὶ φλογμὸν ἀπεσπινθήριζε, κράζων, βράζων, ἀσθμαίνων καὶ λέγων τοῖς παρεστῶσιν· “Ἐπτάκις ὑπὲρ τὸ πρῶτον ὑποκαύσατε τὴν κάμινον· λάφθη ὁμοῦ καὶ πίσση καὶ κληματίδων πλήθει ταύτης τὸ πῦρ αὐξήσαντες τῷ θυμῷ μου ἰσώσατε· ὁμοίως γὰρ ταύτης ἀνάπτομαι καὶ φλέγομαι, ὅτι οὗτοι ἠθέτησαν ἐμέ.”*⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Euripides, *Helena*. Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, 49–51.

⁴⁹ Euripides, *Helena*. 510ff.

⁵⁰ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica*. Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, 8, 15.

As this word study reveals, the poet's vocabulary belongs to the dramatic tradition. Further, some of the key words that he uses appear little in the works of ecclesiastical writers, while the others that are used by the ecclesiastical writers are used consciously retaining their dramatic sense. An example of this latter case is the word *κορυφαίς*, which is a dramatic term for the leader of the chorus. The term is used by Theodoret of Cyr for Saint Peter the Apostle, whom he refers to as *κορυφαίος του χόρου αποστολίων*.⁵¹ This same usage appears in Saint Gregory of Nyssa and Saint Gregory Nazianzen.⁵²

Despite slight shifts of meaning, for the most part, the vocabulary employed in the dramatic-rhetorical tradition formed a word pool that was stable over a period of a little more than a millennium. This is the case because, like all high literary styles, the dramatic-rhetorical tradition was essentially a conservative science taught according to the same canons of style from generation to generation.

In conjunction and association with the dramatic-rhetorical vocabulary that is used by Romanus, the poet also shows an interest in terms employed by the pagan mysteries. Romanus often uses the word *μύστης*, "an initiate in a mystery," to describe the Apostles. Once again, the word is an established feature of the dramatic-rhetorical tradition. The word is employed in the tragedies of Euripides and is present in abundant references in the writings of the Second Sophistic such as Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* and Philo Judaeus' *De cherubim*.⁵³ Further, Romanus uses the term *θίασος* in reference to the Eucharist, in his kontakion *On the Prodigal Son*: *Τῶν κεκλημένων πᾶς λοιπὸν ὁ θίασος ὡς ἐδείπνει καὶ πάντες εὐφρανθέντες ἐμελίθουν θεῖον ὕμνον· ὁ πατήρ μὲν πρῶτος κατήρξατο τῶν παρόντων, "Γεύσασθε, λέγων, καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι*

⁵¹ Theodoretus. Epistle 86, 56. *Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.*

⁵² E.g., Sanctus Gregorius Nyssenus, *De Instituto Christiano*. *Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.*

⁵³ Euripides, *Fragmenta* 472, 10 and *Fragmenta papyracea* 79, 10; Athenaeus. *Deipnosophistae* 13, 71, 17; Philo Judaeus, *De cherubim* 49, 3. *Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.*

Χριστός εἰμι.”⁵⁴ This term, used in Dionysism to refer to an ecstatic revel, is common in Euripides.

IV. The Rhetorical Background of Romanus: Dialogue in the Second Sophistic

The first thing noticeable in the works of Saint Romanus the Melodist that displays the author’s dependence on the classical rhetorical tradition is his use of rhetorical structure and rhetorical figures of speech. All of the kontakia can be considered to be rhetorical pieces of an epideictic nature. According to Aristotle, epideictic oratory is that branch of rhetorical science that has virtue and vice as its primary topics of invention.⁵⁵ In this branch of oratory, according to Quintilian, there are various elements in the *taxis* that describe the stock of the individual who is being praised or blamed, describe his deeds, compare him favourably to others, and exhort the audience to emulate him.⁵⁶

According to Cicero, the *taxis* itself consists of six discernible parts. First, there is the *exordium* in which the speaker introduces the topic of his speech and exhorts his audience to attention. Second, there is the *narratio*, or the main body of the speech in which the speaker develops his central theme. Third, there is *partitio*, in which the speaker breaks his central theme into logical parts and develops each of the individual areas. Next is the *confirmatio*. This stage contains the proof or evidence for what the speaker has said to this point. The fifth stage is the *refutatio*, in which the speaker argues against the objections of his opponents. Finally, there is the *peroratio*, which serves as a summation of the entire speech culminating in a restatement of the central theme and a final appeal to the

⁵⁴ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica Genuina. Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.*

⁵⁵ Aristotle, *Rhetoric 1.9. Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001), Thesaurus Linguae Graecae.*

⁵⁶ Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 2.4.20.

audience.⁵⁷ Aristotle recognized only four of these parts explicitly: the *exordium* or *prooimion*, the *narratio* or *diegesis*, the *confirmatio* or *pistis* and the *peroratio* or *epilogos*.⁵⁸

Most often, the kontakia of Saint Romanus can be observed to follow the *taxis* according to Aristotle, although sometimes the extra stages added to Aristotle's schema in Cicero's *De Inventione* are included. For example, in the kontakion *On the Resurrection*, the rhetorical *prooimion* is clearly recognizable, defining the central theme of the hymn. Further, the hymn contains a non-narrative *epilogos* that takes the form of a prayer of praise, the rhetorical figure of speech (considered a figure of pathos) called *paenismus*. Furthermore, the *narratio*, the body of the text between the *prooimion* and the *epilogos*, follows the rhetorical formula very closely. Romanus incorporates a great deal of *dialogismus* from the very beginning of the piece. He, the narrator, frequently beginning in the first strophe, addresses the other voices in the hymn. The narrator uses a large portion of the *narratio* for the purpose of an invective attack against the Jews. Then, in strophe ten, employing the rhetorical figure of speech called *apostrophe*, Romanus turns from addressing the Jews, in order to address Pilate. The *narratio* continues until the beginning of the nineteenth strophe. Then, the nineteenth strophe begins the work of the *pistis*, the summation and the proof of what was laid down in the *narratio*. The *pistis* then leads naturally into the *epilogos* with its accompanying *paenismus*.⁵⁹

Furthermore, the use of dialogue within a speech is attested even in classical times. The rhetorical convention known variously as *dialogismus*, *ethopoeia* or *prosopopoeia* gained such popularity in late antiquity, during the period known as the Second Sophistic, that the composition of a speech incorporating the convention became one of the stan-

⁵⁷ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Inventione* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994), 1.7 and *De Oratore* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), 1.31.143.

⁵⁸ Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3.13–19. *Diogenes* 0.94 (1999–2001). *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

⁵⁹ For an analysis of the major divisions of the text see J.H. Barkhuizen, "Romanos Melodos: Essay on the Poetics of his Kontakion 'Resurrection of Christ' (Maas-Trypanis 24)," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 79 (1986): 18–9.

dard educational exercises, or *progymnasmata*, defined as “an imitation of the ethos of a person chosen to be portrayed.” This *progymnasma* was closely akin to what we now call a dramatic monologue. Rhetorically, the *prosopopoeia* is most closely related to the encomium, because its range of subject is identical, that is, either an historical, legendary or fictional character. The author of the speech was to dramatize by speaking directly in the person of the subject of the speech. Further, the speech incorporated description and emotional language in between the parts allotted for direct speech. The *progymnasma* was particularly challenging because of the attention that the author had to pay to fulfilling the demands of the rhetorical virtues in respect to this genre, as well as maintaining an awareness of temporal issues in respect to the life of the subject.

Closely related to the *progymnasma* was the figure of speech referred to as *dialogismus*. The purpose of this figure of speech was to introduce into the *narratio* different points of view. Sometimes the introduction of differing points of view involved the creation of dialogue or argument between characters within the speech. Again, descriptive and emotional language was used to complete the circumstances of the dialogue.⁶⁰ When the convention was used in the Second Sophistic, it was usually incorporated into the *narratio* (*diegesis*), or main body of the speech.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Cicero, *Rhetorica Ad Herennium* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 4.52.65.

⁶¹ All information on rhetoric is taken from Gideon O. Burton, *Silva Rhetoricae*. (Brigham Young University, 1996–2002) available at <http://humanities.byu.edu/rhetoric/silva.htm>.

V. Romanus's Syriac Heritage: Form and Imagery

At its foundation, the kontakion is a genre that is, apparently, the amalgamation of three different Syriac hymn genres: the *memra*, the *madrasha* and the *sougitha*. The *memra* is a verse homily employed extensively by Saint Ephrem the Syrian. The genre takes the form of a variable number of fourteen syllable couplets.

The *madrasha*, on the other hand, is a hymn, which is stanzaic in form, and the *sougitha* is a similar stanzaic poem that is appended to the end of a *memra*. Saint Ephrem is particularly famous for his *madrashas*. The *madrashas* sometimes contain what is called the Dispute of Preeminence, an ancient Sumerian literary form in which two interlocutors dispute about which of them is the greatest. Saint Ephrem's works contain Disputes of Preeminence between Death and Satan and Marriage and Virginit⁶². This use of the Dispute of Preeminence is apparently the origin of the convention of dialogue in the hymns.

The hymns of the east Syriac author Narsai contain probably the most dialogue in the Syriac tradition. It is extremely useful to contrast the hymns on the mystery of the Nativity of the Lord by both Romanus and Narsai. Narsai is careful to tell the complete story from the beginning to the end, and to relate all the episodes just the way that Scripture has them. The Virgin Mary is a major character in the story, and yet, in Narsai's version, her character speaks only once, and her "part" consists of only three lines of poetry. In the course of the poem, the Magi also speak, but their part consists only of three lines, and amounts to nothing more than what the Scriptures tell us about their meeting with Herod the Great. The longest reported speech in Narsai's version is the archangel Gabriel's address to Mary. This speech covers the course of fourteen lines of poetry. In Romanus's corpus, this exchange is not contained in the hymn *On the Nativity*, but in the hymn *On the Mother of God*. The vast difference between

⁶² Sebastian Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of Saint Ephrem the Syrian* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Studies, 1985), 18–19.

the two portrayals of the same event can be seen in the following table:

<u>Narsai</u> ⁶³	Romanus
<p>Peace he mingled (together) with grace and gave (it) to the pure one, in order to wash away the bitterness that the evil one sowed in the ears of Eve. "Peace to you, Mary, kinswoman of Eve, the mother of death, because the fruit that (will come forth) from you (will) loosen the bonds of mortality! Peace to you, woman, palace of flesh that (is to become) an edifice for a man, because the King has willed to establish His image within your limbs! By the power of the Spirit, He has willed to construct a temple in your womb, so that it might become (His) dwelling place and He might dwell therein through (His) good pleasure. Without the pigments (of human seed), He depicts an image on the tablet of your body, so that He might thereby signify the authority of His hidden Offspring. Great he will be and also holy and more glorious than all, and he will receive the rank and the sublime name of the (Divine) Essence. To him will be given the sovereignty of David's throne; and he will reign over all without (ever) surrendering his crown to another.</p>	<p>As he [Joseph] spoke a word of joy, Gabriel sowed the Word in the Virgin, revealing by the Spirit the conception without wedlock, "See, the Lord is with you, and he who is before you is from you: your Father and your Son who took me by preference and sent me to you, who also keeps you pure after childbirth, so that everyone will say, <i>A Virgin gives birth, and after childbirth remains still a virgin.</i>"</p>

⁶³ The text of the Syriac hymn and the kontakion of Romanus have been given here in English translation for the sake of comparison.

The pure virgin carried the fruit, which the (angel's) voice had sowed; and the Spirit sounded on the harp of her soul a hymn of praise. A hymn of confession she offered as a requital for her new conception, (saying:) "Blessed is He Who chose a dwelling place for His love within my limbs! Worthy of praise from all mouths is the Fashioner of the universe, because by my humility He has willed to exalt the dust of Adam"!⁶⁴

The moment she heard the words of the angel, the Maiden cried out, "How will this be, since I have no knowledge of man? He who now has me in his home keeps me for himself as my betrothed, not as my husband. But if what you say is going to happen, my natural marriage would be the better thing, so that everyone may say, 'A *Virgin gives birth, and after childbirth remains still a virgin.*'"⁶⁵

Another important parallel between the work of Romanus and that of Narsai can be seen in their hymns on the Parable of the Prodigal Son. Here again, as in the foregoing example, we plainly see the tremendous difference in their portrayal of Scriptural events. The kontakion by Romanus begins at the end of the parable, when the prodigal is at home in his father's house, while Narsai's homily seeks to preserve the integrity of the entire Scriptural witness by retelling the whole story from the beginning. In the course of Narsai's hymn there are interspersed lines of dialogue, but the lines of the characters within the hymn/homily usually only reiterate the Scriptural data. Only in one extended speech at the end of the hymn/homily does Narsai allow himself an interpretive flourish, which he places in the mouth of one of the major characters:

Père, j'ai mal agi et j'ai péché beaucoup sans mesure;
 et je ne suis plus digne de porter le nom d'héritier.
 Pas de nom de fils pour un esclave,
 Pas de libération pour le serviteur de l'iniquité.

⁶⁴ F. Graffin, *Patrologia Orientalis Tomus Quadragesimus Tome XL – Fascicule 1. No. 182: Narsai's Metrical Homilies On the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension*, trans. Frederick G. McCleod (Turnhout, Belgique: Brepols, 1979), 45.

⁶⁵ Saint Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia on the Life of Christ*.

Pas de noblesse d'âme pour celui dont l'âme est vile,
 Pas de bâton du pouvoir pour un sot.
 Je suis trop infirme pour m'appeler héritier et fils;
 Et je ne mérite pas de prendre le rang des immortels.
 Donne-moi de servir comme les étrangers au prix du pain
 quotidien et de prendre la nourriture avec les domestiques
 qui sont dans ta maison.
 Et s'il n'est pas possible d'être embauché, de travailler et
 d'avoir un salaire, rendez moi digne de recevoir
 gratuitement un salaire comme un pauvre.
 Je connais avoir beaucoup péché contre mon rang et je ne
 peux rembourser la dette de mes péchés.
 Je n'ignore pas que mon crime est trop grand pour un
 pardon et que la mer est peu pour laver mes souillures
 abominables.
 Enfin, il n'y a pas de remède capable de guérir la
 perversité de mes maux, sauf la miséricorde de mon père
 qui par sa création m'engendra.⁶⁶

In the kontakion *On the Prodigal Son* by Saint Romanus, a similar theme is dramatized by creating a true dialogue between the father and the elder son. In this exchange, in which the father and the son both have several parts, Romanus gives free rein to his interpretive abilities in a way that is unknown in the Syriac writers. Dialogue between the father and the younger son is precluded because of the poet's decision to begin the story *in medias res*.⁶⁷ Beginning a story at a certain point of dramatic tension is a convention that is often employed by Romanus.

Dialogue itself appears in the hymnic tradition of both the Greek and Syriac traditions under several modalities. Sebastian Brock observes that there is, first of all, a treatment of dialogue in which characters alternate speaking parts stanza (in the case of the *madrashe*) by stanza, with connecting narrative. This type of organization is rare in the Greek poems, but more common in the Syriac works. Examples of this kind of ar-

⁶⁶ Narsai, *Cinq homélies sur les paraboles évangéliques* trad. Emmanuel Patras Siman (Paris: Cariscript, 1984), 30, 32.

⁶⁷ Saint Romanus the Melodist, *Kontakia on the Life of Christ*, 108–11.

rangement can be seen in a homily attributed to Saint Proclus of Constantinople in which there is a dialogue between the Virgin Mary and the Angel. The suggestion put forward by Brock, however, that this kind of formal dialogue is a direct borrowing from Syriac is not compelling, since (besides alphabetic acrostic) formal dialogue is known in Greek as early as the ninth century B.C.

A second type of dialogue discerned by Brock is that which incorporates parts of stanzas into dialogue form, while relying on a narrative framework. The speeches thus incorporated form irregular blocks in which the various personages in the story say their piece and are responded to within the same stanza or within one stanza and part of another stanza. Brock points out that this type of dialogue is clearly visible in the writings of Jacob of Serug and Ephrem, while being altogether lacking in the Greek hymns. The third type of dialogue is that which arises within a strictly narrative framework. This style can be seen in certain of Romanus's kontakia. Fourthly, there is another kind of dialogue which is inserted into narrative in such a way that the homiletic material is arranged at the beginning and, perhaps, at the end. This kind of arrangement is observable in some of the kontakia of Romanus and in the works grouped together under the title *Ephrem Graecus*. Lastly, a fifth type of dialogue consists of speeches being inserted into narrative with homiletic material interspersed. This type of arrangement is common in Narsai and Jacob of Serug, and is also observable in some of Romanus's kontakia.⁶⁸

There is no doubt that dialogue and the use of dialogue in the works of Romanus are heavily influenced by the earlier Syriac authors. As R.J. Schork observes, "any investigation in the literary sources used by the Melodist reveals his debt to such works [the Syriac Christian hymnography] – and this debt is quite apparent in those elements which are, so to speak, dramatic."⁶⁹ And yet, the arrangement of elements within the hymns of Romanus betrays the presence of the influence of the

⁶⁸ Sebastian Brock, "From Ephrem to Romanos," 142–3.

⁶⁹ R.J. Schork, "Dramatic Dimension in Byzantine Hymns," 274.

classical tradition, an influence that is either altogether lacking or far less discernible in the Syriac authors.

A number of scholars have produced evidence of Romanus's debt to Syriac authors for certain elements in his imagery. William Petersen attempts to display Romanus's thorough dependence on Ephrem by showing similarities of imagery between the two poets. Petersen begins by making a distinction between literary sources and poetic form. He relies heavily on the work of Maas to establish the congruity between Syriac poetic form and the work of Saint Romanus. Petersen sets out to show Romanus's debt to the Syriac authors as literary sources. Petersen holds that, while Grosdidier de Matons is correct in saying "dans l'état actuel des recherches, qui sont fort peu avancées, rien n'indique qu'il ait eu accès à des ouvrages écrits en langue syriaque," and, in evaluating certain hymnic texts, "là encore, rien n'indique que Romanos ait eu le texte d'Ephrem sous les yeux," he has failed to consider the value of appraising the Syriac writings as a source of theological imagery. Therefore, Petersen attempts to show that a great deal of the imagery in the kontakia is directly borrowed from the works of Saint Ephrem the Syrian. Petersen concentrates his efforts on Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* and on his *Commentary on the Book of Genesis*. Consequently, the dependence on Ephrem that he demonstrates in the works of Romanus is a dependence that is solely on the prose works of Ephrem. Petersen gives four detailed examples of parallels in the works of the two authors that demonstrate the imagery dependence.⁷⁰ The first example is taken from Romanus's *Fifth Hymn on the Resurrection* (XLIV, 5). The context of the selected lines is a speech that Adam addresses to Hades: "Ὡστε καὶ πληγὰς δι' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἂν παραιτήσῃται, δεύτερος Ἐδάμ δι' ἐμὲ γενήσεται μου ὁ Σωτήρ· τὴν ἐμὴν τιμωρ ζῶν δι' ἐμὲ ὑπενέγκῃ τὴν σάρκα μου φορέσας, καθάπερ ἐγώ· ὃν Χερουβὶμ οὐχ ὄρῃ, τούτου νύξουσι πλευρὰν καὶ ὕδωρ ἀναβλύσει καὶ τὸν καύσωνά μου σβέσει."⁷¹

⁷⁰ William L. Petersen, "The Dependence of Roman the Melode on the Syriac Ephrem," *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985): 171–187, at 178.

⁷¹ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica Genuina*, in *Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001.) Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

Petersen points out that the image that is used in this relatively short passage is extremely complex. He identifies seven points of comparison with the Syriac Ephrem:

1. The side of the Second Adam
2. The Second Adam
3. The piercing of the Second Adam
4. The Water that will flow from the side of the Second Adam
5. The extinguishing which the water accomplishes
6. The burning heat that the water quenches
7. The First Adam who burns with the heat that the water extinguishes.⁷²

Petersen points out that exactly the same elements are present in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (XXI, 10):

Quia enim ignis qui arsit Adamo
 e costa sua arsit in eo,
 ideo perfossum est latus Adami secundi,
 et exiit ex eo fluvius aquarum,
 ad exstinguendum ignem Adami primi.⁷³

In the same way, Petersen demonstrates the same kind of resemblance between the works that is displayed by this example, giving three other examples of parallel imagery and vocabulary. All of the parallels to which he calls attention are from the prose works of Ephrem.

VI. The End of Romanus's Art – The Glory of the Chalcedonian Christ: Schematic Plot as an Instrument of Theology

As we have seen, the kontakion in the hands of Romanus must be understood as a religious genre that is analogously dramatic. Thus, the art of Romanus must be interpreted in the

⁷²William L. Petersen. "The Dependence of Roman the Melode on the Syriac Ephrem," 178.

⁷³Ibid.

terms of religious drama, for the genre only has meaning within the liturgical context for which it was created. According to Kitto, in his book *Form and Meaning in Drama*, religious drama is a wide category that often defies interpretations according to traditional methods. The emphasis of the action in religious drama is not on character or hero, but on the divine substratum, the providence that is directing events.⁷⁴ Aristotle's notion that the purpose of dramatic action is to produce in the audience the emotions of pity and fear does not seem to work with the majority of tragedies and still less with those dramas and melodramas that occupy the twilight region between tragedy and comedy, such as the *Helena* and the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*. This notion is also not applicable to the similar plot structure that Romanus uses for the kontakia. Instead of pity and fear, Kitto suggests, religious drama is meant to produce the feelings of awe and understanding:

Its true Catharsis is from this, that when we have seen terrible things happening in the play, we understand, as we cannot always do in life, why they have happened; or, if not so much as that, at least we see that they have not happened without any significance. We are given the feeling that the universe is coherent, even though we may not understand it completely.⁷⁵

Already in the time of the author, Byzantine civilization was beginning to understand its religious ritual as a drama. Mystagogical writers such as Theodore of Mopsuestia had already, more than a century earlier, written works that interpreted the religious rituals of the day as re-creation and reenactment. Theodore argued that the real liturgy is the angelic liturgy, and the liturgy celebrated by human beings participates in the heavenly liturgy by means of imitation. The representational quality of this imitation helps to ensure the realism of the Church's worship, and at the same time makes it possible for the faithful to participate in the liturgy by means

⁷⁴ H.D.F. Kitto, *Form and Meaning in Drama* (London: Methuen and Company, 1956), 231.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 235.

of the imagination. Therefore, every ritual action that the Church performs has its parallel and equivalent in the actual event that is commemorated. Theodore is careful not to reduce the Church's liturgy to a mere dramatization of the events of the mystery of Christ, by insisting on the liturgy's allegorical universe as a participation in the angelic liturgy that it seeks to imitate.⁷⁶

Saint John Chrysostom agrees substantially with this view. His homilies are filled with references suggesting the identification of the liturgical celebration with the events that they commemorate. In Chrysostom, there are many levels of signification, so that the mystery of the Incarnation is commemorated with the mystery of the Redemption.⁷⁷

The layout and the furniture of the church itself in the Age of Justinian was conducive to the development of the dramatic aspects of the liturgy, particularly the so-called great entrance. The fact that the *bema* of the church was an enclosed area (although the *templon* was not an unbroken barrier) led by necessity to a heightening of the dramatic effect of the procession.⁷⁸ Some scholars of the earlier part of the twentieth century even attempted to connect the design of the *templon* with the proscenium of the Greek theatre.⁷⁹

The homily in general and the kontakion in particular, as part of the liturgy, are merely an extension of the participatory imitation that is the program of the rest of the ritual action. The Church has the continual challenge of integrating in a meaningful way all of her various cycles into one consistent and coherent ritual. One of the principle purposes of the homily, in the early Byzantine period as now, is to relate the events commemorated in the Church year with the readings from the Scriptures that are appointed for the feast, as well as with the mystery of salvation commemorated in the liturgy itself. In

⁷⁶ Enrico Mazza, *Mystagogy* (New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1989), 63–64.

⁷⁷ Hans-Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1986), 15.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷⁹ See K. Holl, "Die Entstehung der Bilderwand in der griechischen Kirche," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* II (Tübingen, 1928), 225–37.

order to accomplish the relation of these various elements, the homily may tend by necessity to be quite theological, sharing in the very same vocabulary and phrases that are common to the liturgy: “the Greek sermon was mostly theological. Its paramount aim was to disclose the meaning of a particular feast in the Church calendar and its mystical significance. The sermon itself was a continuation of the Liturgy, sharing in its solemn theurgical style.”⁸⁰

Romanus accomplished this integration of feast and Eucharist through the medium of the kontakion by taking the events of the Church year (usually corresponding to a gospel reading for either the fixed or movable cycle) and bringing them down into the liturgical assembly, so to speak. Often-times, this means, in practical terms, that the liturgical assembly becomes the setting of the specific events commemorated in the cycle of feasts. The liturgical assembly becomes the banquet to welcome the Prodigal Son back to his father’s house, or the supper in the house of the Pharisee where the harlot washes the feet of Jesus with her tears and wipes them with the hairs of her head.⁸¹ By establishing this connection early on, reconciling the liturgical year and the Scriptures appointed for it, with the eucharistic mystery, Romanus accomplishes with his compositions the primary task of the liturgical homily. It is the authentic role of the homily, within the liturgical action, to relate that action to the everyday life of the Christian assembly, to interpret the action in all its complexity and to make it both meaningful and understandable.⁸²

⁸⁰ G.P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* (New York, 1946) cited in Anthony Coniaris, *Preaching the Word of God* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1983), 109–10.

⁸¹ This is clearly illustrated in Romanus Melodus, *Cantica*. 21, 2 and 28, 2.

⁸² In our own day, the Church has returned, for the most part, to this understanding of the liturgical homily. The following statement from the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops shows the renewed relevance of Romanus’s kind of liturgical preaching:

In the Eucharistic celebration the homily points to the presence of God in people’s lives and then leads a

Even in the kontakia that do not have explicit eucharistic themes, Romanus often incorporates into his exhortation an invitation to assemble. Romanus will invite his listeners to “draw near” in order to behold the mystery that is the subject of the commemoration, in the context of the full mystery of salvation. In this way, the homily in general, and the kontakion in particular, adds a dimension to the liturgy. Through the kontakion, a specific aspect of the mystery of Christ is brought to the fore, and this aspect, an event from sacred history, becomes the vantage point from which the entire ritual action is considered.

It is not surprising that Romanus uses plot as a homiletic instrument, since the mystery of Christ as it is presented in the liturgy has plot. Furthermore, the schematic plot that we observed in the kontakia of Saint Romanus is consistent with the plot pattern of the liturgy itself. The pattern of one single action leading from perplexity, to crisis and then to a happy and fulfilling conclusion is the very same pattern that is mirrored in the entire Church ritual. At the beginning of the eucharistic service there are abundant signs of Christ’s presence among his people, in the solemn and joyful entry of the

congregation into the Eucharist, providing, as it were, the motive for celebrating the Eucharist in this time and place.

This integral relationship of the homily to the liturgy of the Eucharist, which follows the liturgy of the word has implications for the way in which the homily is composed and delivered. In the first place, the homily should flow quite naturally out of the readings and into the liturgical action that follows.... Whatever its form, the function of the Eucharistic homily is to enable people to lift up their hearts, to praise and thank the Lord for his presence in their lives. It will do this more effectively if the language it uses is specific, graphic, and imaginative. The more we can turn to the language of the poet and the storyteller, the more we will be able to preach in a way that invites people to respond from the heart as well as from the mind.

The Bishops’ Committee on Priestly Life and Ministry: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Fulfilled in Your Hearing: The Homily in the Sunday Assembly* (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1995), 23; 25.

whole congregation into the church, led by the book of the gospels, and in the readings that follow. Then, at the beginning of the so-called liturgy of the faithful, there is the second and more solemn procession in which the prepared gifts are brought by the deacons from the place of preparation to the holy table. This procession, the forerunner of the so-called great entrance in the Byzantine Rite, was interpreted, beginning with Theodore of Mopsuestia, as the burial procession of the Lord. Even barring the acceptance of this particular interpretation of the procession at Constantinople to a later date, there is abundant evidence that there were important parallel interpretations that were equally expressive.

Saint John Chrysostom's student and admirer, Isidore of Pelusium, acknowledges, for example, that the cloth that is laid on the altar at the time of the transfer of the gifts represents the ministry of Saint Joseph of Arimathea.⁸³ Chrysostom himself leaves us no interpretation of the procession, but writes on several occasions about the identity of the sanctuary and what is done within it with the events that are commemorated. He explicitly identifies the Holy Table of the church as the selfsame table that was in the upper room in which the Lord celebrated the Passover with His disciples. Moreover, in Chrysostom's terms, all of the things associated with the liturgy are "terrifying" and not to be approached lightly, since they are, so to speak, charged with the divine presence.⁸⁴ This designation extends far beyond the sacramental species themselves to include even things that are obliquely connected with the sacramental mystery:

Chrysostom's concept of mystery ... is not derived from the mystery cults, but rather takes as its starting point the basic meaning of the word itself: "a hidden, secret reality," and then understands this in the specifically Christian sense as referring to God's decree of salvation and its revelation in Jesus Christ. Such a

⁸³ Hugh Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharist Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (Crestwood, NY: Saint Vladimir Seminary Press, 1989), 64.

⁸⁴ Hans-Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy*, 16.

concept of mystery allows this Church Father ... to make clear the place of all these within the overall order of salvation. As a result, it is all the easier to see the importance that Chrysostom assigns to the sphere of worship and sacrament and to the liturgy ... It is characteristic of Chrysostom that he indicates the mystery character of various aspects and elements of the eucharistic celebration by referring to them as “terrifying.” ... Chrysostom sees all of these objects, actions and prayers as participating in the sacramental mystery.⁸⁵

Furthermore, Patriarch Eutychius (552–565) refers disapprovingly to the custom already in place in the imperial capital of singing Psalm 23 (LXX) during the transfer of the prepared gifts.⁸⁶ Maximus, in the seventh century, refers to the transfer as the “entrance of the holy mysteries:”

Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν μυστηρίων εἴσοδος ἀρχὴ καὶ προοίμιόν ἐστιν ὡς ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος ἔφασκε γέρων τῆς γενησομένης ἐν οὐρανοῖς καινῆς διδασκαλίας περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἐν ἀδύτοις τῆς θείας κρυφιοῦτος ὄντος μυστηρίου τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας. “Οὐ γὰρ μὴ πῖω,” φησὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Λόγος, “ἀπ’ ἄρτι ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ’ ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐμοῦ.”⁸⁷

This solemn and symbolic representation of the Lord entering into His suffering and death is a moment of pathos, and the high point of the plot of the liturgy, the moment of the greatest dramatic tension. The tension is resolved by a series of accrued symbols of the Resurrection, as God works a reversal that no one could have expected. Finally, the people, having received the Body and Blood of the risen Christ, sing in thanksgiving for the wonders God has performed.

⁸⁵ Hans-Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy*, 16–17.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 15; 37–8.

⁸⁷ Maximus the Confessor, *Mystagogia. Diogenes 0.94 (1999–2001)*, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, 16.

The kontakion, as a homily, or interpretive key supplying a statement of the motive of the particular celebration, situates the assembly within the drama of the mystery and attunes the assembly to a special interpretation of the mystery that accentuates or emphasizes particular aspects. It is clear from the poet's use of the word *μύστης* (initiate, usually applied to the disciples and apostles of the Lord) that Romanus views the liturgical celebration as the primary manifestation of the *μυστήριον του Χριστού*.⁸⁸ This word, originally used in the context of the pagan mysteries, is intimately related with the concept of mysticism itself:

the word mysticism itself is connected with the term *mustes*, *muesis*, *mustikos* and *musterion*, which have special reference to Eleusis, where the rituals included initiation, revelation, internal transformation, and the promise of a better lot in the beyond...This family of words was to retain the same meanings of secret rite, hidden revelation, *sumbola*, the significance of which is inaccessible to non-initiates, right down to the third century AD. As used by Plotinus, they acquired further layers of meaning and eventually came to denote more than just a revelation stemming, as at Eleusis, from a vision or experienced emotion rather than from instruction. Now they signified an intimate experience of the divine, a way of feeling it directly, internally, of entering into contact and communion with it within oneself.⁸⁹

As we have mentioned, the poet often uses language borrowed from the pagan mysteries to designate the liturgical celebration, but always the liturgical celebration as the extension and re-presentation of events commemorated in the kontakion. For this same purpose, and even more poignantly, the author uses the term *θίασος* to designate the Eucharist. The use of this term

⁸⁸ Cf. Romanus Melodus, *Cantica genuina*, 18, 5, 3; 29, 6, 6; 32, 2, 8.

⁸⁹ Jean-Pierre Vernant, "The Masked Dionysus of Euripides' Bacchae" in Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: Zone Books, 1990), 386–7.

to refer to the eucharistic mystery shows in a forceful way Romanus's understanding of Christ as the one who par excellence breaks down the dividing wall between what is human and what is divine. In the *Bacchae*, the *θίασος* is an event that involves direct experience of the divine as a communal or group experience:

the *thiasos* is an organized group of faithful devotees, who, if they use trance, turn it into a form of social behavior, ritualized and controlled and for which a preliminary period of apprenticeship is probably required. Its purpose is not to cure an individual's sickness, much less to deliver him from the evil of living in a world from which he longs to escape forever; instead, it is to procure a changed state of being, through music and dancing, for a group of people, in ritual costume, in a setting of wild nature either real or simulated.⁹⁰

Further, the deity of the *thiasos* is that being who causes the boundary between the human and divine to disappear, even if only momentarily:

he blurs the frontiers between the divine and the human, the human and the animal, the here and the beyond. He sets up communion between things hitherto isolated, separate. His eruption into nature, the social group, and each individual human being, through trance and regulated possession, is a subversion of order. This subversion, by means of a whole range of prodigies, fantasies and illusions, involving a disconcerting disorientation from everyday reality, projects one either upward, into an idyllic confraternity between all beings, the blessed communion of a golden age suddenly retrieved, or, on the contrary, if one rejects and denies him, downward, into the chaotic confusion of a terrifying horror.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Ibid., 389.

⁹¹ Ibid., 390.

The use of this kind of vocabulary connected with the Eucharist shows Romanus's intention to portray a Christ who is the central figure and protagonist of the liturgical drama as well as the one who is directing the action and bringing it to its fulfillment. Romanus's plot is liturgical, mirroring the plot scheme of the liturgy itself, and in this way the poet succeeds in making the kontakion not a disconnected interlude within the liturgy but a part of the liturgy, which effectively and organically leads into the rest of the service where Christ continues to act on behalf of the people.

The Christ who acts in the kontakia (and thus also in the liturgy) is specifically and explicitly the Christ of the Chalcedonian definitions. Romanus uses the classical dramatic tradition in order to advance the Chalcedonian concept of Christ, by his use of dramatic convention and vocabulary in connection with a strong insistence on the divinity and humanity of Christ. This insistence is especially apparent in those places in which the poet chooses to use the adverbs that are the hallmark of the Chalcedonian definition.⁹² Of the four adverbs, Romanus actually uses only two, the first two that appear in the decree of the Council of Chalcedon: *ασυγχύτως* and *ατρέπτως*. The former Romanus uses only once, but the latter adverb is found far more frequently.⁹³

In addition to the Chalcedonian adverbs, the poet also employs a great many Christological metaphors. The majority of the metaphors that the poet uses are concerned with human occupations, and serve to accentuate the notion of the humanity of Christ and His role in human history. One such metaphor we have already called attention to is the case of the word *ἀνάξ*. *Ἀνάξ* is used of Christ in numerous places in Romanus's kontakia, and often in connection with His victory over death and Hades, which He worked in His humanity.⁹⁴ In

⁹² Henricus Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*. (Herder: Rome, 1960), #149.

⁹³ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* 43, 1, 4; 13, 18, 2; 14, 2, 8; 14, 18, 9; 20, 2, 5; 43, 18, 9

⁹⁴ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* 43, 26, 6; 44, 9, 7; 45, 8, 2; 38, 16, 1.

other places it is side by side with titles such as “Creator” and “Lover of mankind.”⁹⁵

At a point of dramatic tension, a part of the kontakion that is a moment of perplexity, Romanus introduces the figure of Christ under the guise of one of the metaphors. Then, at a crucial moment in the work, very often a crisis point, Christ works an unexpected reversal in the action that leads to the metaphor being put aside to reveal the full reality of who Christ is according to the Chalcedonian definition.

The kontakion *On the Samaritan Woman* provides a good example of this use of the schematic plot. Romanus has introduced the Lord into the kontakion by having Him appear at the well as “the fountain of immortality” in the fourth strophe. The stage is set for reversal in the eighth strophe where Romanus incorporates the dialogue between the woman and Jesus concerning the living water, but the actual reversal is made explicit in the tenth strophe: the one who was to provide drink to Christ has become thirsty and now looks to Him for drink. Then, beginning in the fifteenth strophe, the woman begins to appreciate that the one she is speaking to is more than just a man. By the beginning of the seventeenth strophe she freely confesses that Jesus is both God and Man, and she begs Him for further understanding of His identity. Further, it is the knowledge of the true identity of Jesus that is tantamount to salvation, for Christ says in the nineteenth strophe that He has come to dwell in the woman and to reveal Himself to her.⁹⁶

Similarly, in the fourth strophe of the kontakion *On the Theophany*, Romanus introduces Christ with the Scriptural metaphors of the river in the desert, the dew in the fiery furnace and the rain on the fleece. John the Forerunner immediately recognizes Jesus, in the fifth strophe, as the Christ Who subsists in two natures, for he says to Jesus, “I know Who You are and I am not ignorant of What You have always been”:

“Α ἐπιτάσσεις μοι, σωτήρ, ἐὰν ἐπιτελέσω, τὸ κέρας μου
ὕψωσε· ἀλλ’ ὁμῶς οὐχ ἄρπάσω τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆν δύναμίν μου.

⁹⁵ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* 20, 13, 9. Cf. also 43 and 44.

⁹⁶ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica* 19.

Οἶδα τίς ὑπάρχεις καὶ ὃ ἦξ οὐκ ἄγνοῶ· ἐκ μήτρας γὰρ
 γινώσκω σε· πῶς σε νῦν ἀγνοήσω φαινόμενον, ὅνπερ
 κεκρυμμένον κεκρυμμένος θεωρήσας ἐσκίρτησα ἐν
 ἀγαλλιάσει; Ἐπίσχεξ οὖν, σωτήρ, καὶ μὴ με βαρύνῃς·
 ἱκανὸν ὅτι ἰδεῖν σε ἤξιώθην· ἔχει μοι καλῶς ἂν εἴπηξ με
 πρόδρομόν σου· σὺ γὰρ ὑπάρχεις τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀπρόσιτον.⁹⁷

Further, John the Forerunner acknowledges to Jesus that the purpose of His baptism is to reveal His true identity to the people. True reversal comes in the sixteenth strophe, when John realizes that it is he who has been changed by the baptism, he has been glorified, and in some measure deified.⁹⁸

These are merely two examples of the way that the Melodist uses and inculturates the schematic plot learned from the classical dramatic tradition, and uses it in order to glorify the Christ of the Chalcedonian definitions, and to teach his congregation concerning the light and peace that comes from having a relationship with the θεάνθρωπος. Scarcely without exception, Romanus uses this same plot structure as we have seen. This use of plot, combined with his vocabulary which itself betrays its origins in Attic drama, and his reliance on rhetorical and dialectical dialogue, display, in Romanus, the birth of a theology that is at once dramatic and liturgical.

Conclusion:

Romanus and the Inculturation of Dramatic Art

In many ways, Romanus's poetic works are the product of a complicated and intricate inculturative process that took several centuries to fully mature. It is neither true to say that Romanus has only Syriac antecedents, nor to say that he is indebted solely to the classical tradition. The truth is that in the works of Saint Romanus a synthesis of Syriac form and classical dramatic and rhetorical convention has been created that is so nearly perfect that it is difficult, if not impossible, to discern where one influence ends and the other begins. The Syriac poetic form has been changed to become a vehicle for dramatic dialogue and rhetorical argument that is not seen in

⁹⁷ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica*, 16, 5.

⁹⁸ Romanus Melodus, *Cantica*, 16, 16.

the Syriac antecedents. In turn, this comingling of poetic form with elements of drama and rhetoric becomes a suitable mode of expression for the subtlety of Hellenistic theology.

The three stages identified by Ihor Šhevčenko are indeed a good blueprint of the process of inculturation in which we see a rather Hegelian thesis-antithesis-synthesis operation at work. Nevertheless, what we should bear in mind is that, in the inculturative process, we witness a collision of two different cultures that leads, ultimately, albeit haltingly, to a harmonious blending of the two cultures into a new culture. In this study we have seen only the harmonious blending, and not the five centuries and more of literary attack and counterattack that led to it. Furthermore, we have seen the transfer and adaptation of only one of the plot schemes used by one of the classical dramatists into the work of one Christian poet.

Still, in the work of Saint Romanus we see the beginning of religious drama in the Byzantine tradition. With Saint Romanus, we have seen that the kontakion became a genre of religious poetry, dramatic in nature, that was intended to provide a prolonged reflection on sacred history. Through plot, Romanus designed his kontakia to begin with perplexity and fear, to build to a tension-filled crisis point, and then for that tension to be resolved by the intervention of a loving God with the result that everyone's faith was deepened and strengthened. Like its predecessors in the classical tradition, the kontakion was meant to produce in those who listened to it and participated in it the feelings of awe and understanding. This is the essential orientation of religious drama, and the orientation of the Christian liturgy itself.



Резюме

У візантійській літургійній традиції існує форма гімнографії, яка називається кондак. Однак, сьогоднішній кондак своєю формою далеко відбігає від історичного кондаку. Первісний кондак звичайно складався з понад 20-ти параграфів (ікосів) і отим нагадував сьогоднішній акафіст. Він з початку був немовби співаною проповіддю.

Вершком komponування кондаків – це 6-те століття, період Романа Сладкопівця. В цій статті автор аргументує, що Роман злучив елемент класичної драми із школи грека Еврипида із формами сирійської поезії. Романові йшлося про те, щоб розбудити в слухачів почування подиву, так як під час класичної драми. Отим Роман став черговим християнським богословом, якому вдалося “інкультурувати” християнське вчення.



Whose Saints? How Much Can We Recognize Holiness beyond the Pale?

Ron (Serafim) Grove

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 294)

The author examines what might be called “cross-confessional” or “trans-jurisdictional” sanctity, i.e., figures accounted as “saints” in one Church who are also venerated as such by another Church which may not be in communion with the canonizing Church and may indeed even be otherwise vigorously opposed to their theology and practices. The author explores this often-contradictory phenomenon as it is found in Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Churches, Eastern and Roman Catholic Churches, and in Protestant bodies, analyzing particularly the liturgical calendars of each. In addition, and by means of contrast, the author also provides a brief analysis of “saint-making” as it occurs in some secular circles and non-Christian religions, especially Judaism and Islam. This analysis reveals several things: that veneration of holy figures is a catholic practice not confined to explicitly religious people but seems almost globally humanly ingrained; that such veneration often proceeds quite independently and “democratically” as people venerate holy figures irrespective of decisions made about them by their leaders; and that such veneration highlights (sometimes almost comically so) a theological incoherence that can be nonetheless ecumenically useful as people today seek out spiritual relationships with those once accounted heretics and enemies. The author concludes with a salutary warning not to assume too blithely that “if our saints are true, yours must be false” because in the search for Christian unity accommodations will eventually have to be made in hagiographical canons and liturgical calendars.



Introduction

Western Christians are sometimes surprised at the number of pre-Christian saints commemorated by various Orthodox Churches. Yet Orthodox Christians are in for their own surprise when contemplating the number of outright *non-Christian* figures commemorated, for example, in the iconography of the decidedly Western parish of Saint Gregory of Nyssa Episcopal Church, San Francisco. When the Societas Liturgica met there in 2001, we were given to see a fascinatingly all-encompassing mural of “dancing saints” in that church.¹ This gathering of “saints” was catholic in the most nonsectarian sense.²

Such a collection of figures raises numerous questions not simply about the departure from received canonical norms for the writing of icons, but in fact about the necessarily prior question of what one might call cross-confessional or trans-jurisdictional sanctity, that is, saints canonized in one Church but venerated in others, including those not officially in communion with the canonizing Church. Conversely, one must also attend to questions of saints considered by some Christians as either heretics or, worse, indistinguishable from common pagans given their communion with a church not recognized as such by others. Bearing in mind George Orwell’s dictum that “saints should always be judged guilty until they are proved innocent,”³ the following represents an attempt to consider both sets of questions in the light of the liturgical calendars of numerous and various Christian bodies: Protestant, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Eastern Catholic, Byzantine Orthodox, and Oriental Orthodox. We begin, however, with some brief considerations of non-Christian “saints” to provide

¹ See Mark Dukes, *The Dancing Saints* (San Francisco, 2001). This is a labeled sketch of the murals in the church and available therefrom.

² I was glad to recognize my own saint, Seraphim of Sarov, and relieved that his friend the bear, also dancing, lacked a halo, as did Francis of Assisi’s wolf.

³ Glenn Frankel, “A Seer’s Blind Spots: On George Orwell’s 100th, A Look at a Flawed and Fascinating Writer,” *Washington Post*, 25 June 2003, C01. Available on-line at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A28471-2003Jun24.html> (visited 30 June 2003).

a greater sense of the universality of “sainthood” on the one hand, and, on the other, to put into relief Christianity’s distinctiveness.

I. Non-Christian Saints

i) Secular Saints

The impulse to venerate saints is universal, and many non-Christians engage in behavior very similar to the Church’s cult of saints. For example, the self-mummified bodies of two seventeenth century Vietnamese Buddhist monks are venerated in the Dau Pagoda south of Hanoi. They sit, as they reposed after several years of special diet and exercises aimed at preserving their bodies, in the lotus position. Although painted with red lacquer, it is still remarkable that these bodies remain incorrupt, even though no internal organs were removed, as is usual in the preparation of mummies.⁴

Not far away geographically, but perhaps less edifying spiritually, in Anlong Veng, Cambodia, villagers pray to Pol Pot for help winning the lottery, recovering health, and all the usual human needs and desires. One of the most notorious mass murderers of a particularly murderous century rewards with miraculous cures those who tend his grave.⁵

The few remaining Communist countries maintain “cults of personality” so reminiscent of the Christian cult of the saints that the same vocabulary is used to describe them. A journalistic report from March 2003 has the subtitle “China dusts off an icon from the Mao era to promote selflessness.”⁶ The “icon” in question is the “fool-for-Mao,” Léi Feng, a literal child of the Revolution who died in a freak accident at the age of 22 after having been orphaned very young when his peasant

⁴ “The Mystery of the Mummies, *Vietnam Investment Review, Timeout* 19–25 June 2000. On-line at http://www.gocvietnam.com/fa_the_mystery_of_the_mummies.html (visited 7 March 2003).

⁵ Seth Mydans, “Praying to Pol Pot, Seeking Health and Good Luck,” *The New York Times On The Web*, 23 June 2001. On-line at <http://www.nytimes.com/2001/06/23/world/23CAMB.html> (visited 25 June 2001).

⁶ Ching-Ching Ni “Anachronistic Altruist,” *Los Angeles Times*, 20 March 2003, A20.

parents were killed. He was nurtured by the Communist Party and devoted the rest of his short life to gratefully serving the people in ways small and often disgusting. As with fools-for-Christ, most people, even those who benefited, e.g., from his latrine cleaning, did not understand him then or now.

It is not only Buddhists and Communists who worship saints. Even the resolutely secular socialist author George Orwell was called “the first saint of our age” by social historian Noel Annan and is the subject of an “orgy of praise and hagiography,”⁷ often emanating from persons he would not have had much use for had he met them in his lifetime.

The opening exhibit of the Museum of GLBT (“gay, lesbian, bisexual, & transgender”) History in San Francisco was entitled *Saint Harvey: The Life and Afterlife of a Modern Gay Martyr*. The exhibit was dedicated to a folk hero, Harvey Milk, a Jewish war veteran and financial analyst from Long Island who moved to San Francisco, and, as the first openly gay person elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, was assassinated along with the Catholic mayor George Moscone in November 1978 by another Catholic, ex-Supervisor Dan White, who later committed suicide.⁸ An on-line biography of Moscone calls him “a co-martyr of the city’s progressive cause with Supervisor Harvey Milk” and calls Dan White “the pure-hearted assassin.”⁹ The Museum “exhibit documents Milk’s life as well as his afterlife in our cultural consciousness.” The on-line description, graced with a 1987 painting in iconographic style by Robert Lentz, says “his personal possessions were treated like the relics of a saint, lovingly tended and occasionally displayed by a band of friends and admirers until

⁷ Glenn Frankell, “A Seer’s Blind Spots: On George Orwell’s 100th, A Look at a Flawed and Fascinating Writer,” *Washington Post*, 24 June 2003, C01. Available from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A28471-2003Jun24.html> (accessed 30 June 2003).

⁸ Hank Donat, *Notorious SF: Dan White*. On-line at <http://www.mistersf.com/notorious/notwhite.htm> (visited 8 July 2003).

⁹ Joel Gazis-Sax, *The Martyrdom of Mayor George Moscone*. On-line at <http://www.notfrisco.com/colmatales/moscone> (visited 8 July 2003).

they finally came to rest in the archives of the GLBT Historical Society” before finding their way into the exhibit.¹⁰

ii) *Jewish and Old Testament Figures*

In the perhaps less controversial realm of openly religious, and here specifically Jewish, figures, we may ask: what Christian, having read or heard Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, has not profited and become a better Christian thereby? He himself acknowledged the holiness present in the Church: “it is arrogant to maintain that the Jews’ refusal to accept Jesus as the Messiah is due to their stubbornness or blindness as it would be presumptuous for the Jews not to acknowledge the glory and holiness in the lives of countless Christians.”¹¹ Why should Christians not reciprocate by acknowledging those who attained holiness through Judaism? Who would deny Anne Frank and all the other innocent victims of genocide a place among the blessed?

On the other hand, attempts by Christians to appropriate such persons through canonization would certainly be resented by most Jews. There is much Jewish suspicion about the 1998 canonization of the martyred Jewish Carmelite nun, Edith Stein/Sister Teresa Benedicta of the Cross. Despite Pope John Paul II’s affirmation that she was murdered because she was a Jew,¹² Jewish people fear giving ammunition to Christians seeking the conversion of Jews.¹³

This issue is more complicated when we come to the question of Christian commemoration of Old Testament and later Jewish figures. When Saint Paul refers to “the saints,” does he mean to include such persons? Should he? Some Christians clearly think so. For example, the Anglican Church

¹⁰ See <http://www.glbthistory.org/museum/exhibits.lasso> (visited 7 July 2003).

¹¹ Cited in Michael A. Chester, “Heschel and the Christians,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 38 (2001): 270.

¹² This important point is not explicated in the new *Martyrologium romanum*, 2001, at her entry on August 9th.

¹³ See Frederick C. Holmgren, “Jews and Christians in Germany: A New but Still Troubled Relationship,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 38 (2001): 298–315.

of Canada has a memorial of the “Prophets of the Old Testament” on December 9.¹⁴ This Anglican example is interesting insofar as it goes against the trend in Western sanctorals. As Blessed Giacomo da Voragine wrote:

it is worthy of note that the Eastern Church celebrates the feasts of saints of both the Old and New Testaments. The Western Church, on the other hand, does not celebrate feasts of saints of the Old Testament, on the ground that they descended into hell – exceptions being made for the Holy Innocents, in each of whom Christ was put to death, and for the Maccabees.¹⁵

Voragine proceeds to give four reasons (excuses?) for commemorating the Maccabees. His reason for normally excluding saints who died before Christ, however, seems odd, as Christ himself descended into hell (1 Peter 3:18–19; 4:6). Within the Roman Catholic Church, the Maccabees’ “cult [has been] confined to local calendars since 1969.”¹⁶ However, they remain in the *Martyrologium romanum*¹⁷ as do numerous pre-Christian saints, particularly the prophets, some of them now moved to the dates of their commemorations in the Byzantine tradition in which no distinction is made between “Old” and “New Testament” saints.¹⁸ Whereas Western Chris-

¹⁴ Stephen Reynolds, ed., *For All The Saints: Prayers and Readings for Saints’ Days According to the Calendar of the Book of Alternative Services of the Anglican Church of Canada* (Toronto, ON: Anglican Book Centre, 1994), 36, 370–73.

¹⁵ *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, William Granger Ryan, trans., (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 33.

¹⁶ Benedictine Monks of Saint Augustine’s Abbey, Ramsgate, comp., *The Book of Saints: A Dictionary of Servants of God* (Wilton, CT: Morehouse Publishing, 1989), 358.

¹⁷ See *Martyrologium romanum ex decreto sacrosancti Œcumenici Concilii Vaticani II instauratum auctoritate Ioannis Pauli pp. II promulgatum*, editio typica (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2001), 405.

¹⁸ Some of the assumptions underlying the limitation of Old Testament saints seem to extend to the work of secular scholars. Corinne Dempsey, apparently unaware of widespread devotion to the Maccabee martyrs throughout a range of traditional Christian Churches, regards the South Indian (Jaco-

tians tend to see pre-Christian saints as separated from the Church and generally not to be venerated, the Orthodox see them as part of the Church and to be recognized as saints.

That having been said, some of the Old Testament “saints” serve largely to remind us that saints are also sinners as in, e.g., the twelfth century B.C. (?) tribal leader Gideon. For one thing, another name by which he was known, Jerubba’al, is theologically ambiguous; the “Ba’al” could be the Israelite God or the Canaanite fertility god often known by that title alone.¹⁹ A danger of wider interest for later believers came from those such as Gideon’s own father, Joash, who chose “religious options”²⁰ other than the cult of YHWH. To this danger, Gideon apparently succumbed himself. After refusing an offered kingship (in favor of Israel’s true king, YHWH) as a reward for his victory, Gideon instead accepts a share of looted gold from which he constructed an ephod for divination, an object of which the compilers of the Judges stories disapproved in terms reminiscent of biblical condemnations of idolatry (Judges 8:27) – hardly an edifying end for a hagiography.

Nevertheless, Hebrews 11:32 lists Gideon among the heroes of faith. He is celebrated by the Byzantine Churches on the twenty-first of September²¹ and by the Coptic and Ethiopian churches on 16 Kiahk/Tâkhshâsh (=12 December).²²

bite) Syrian Orthodox cult of “Marttašmūni” (the Malayali name for the martyred mother of the seven Maccabee martyrs, from the Syriac title *marthā* “Lady” and a conflated version of her traditional name, Solomonē) in the Peroor Church as anomalous. She interprets it as evidence of the peaceful coexistence of several religions (in this case, Judaism and Christianity) in Kerala. See Corrine G. Dempsey, “Lessons in Miracles from Kerala, South India: Stories of Three ‘Christian’ Saints,” *History of Religions* 39 (1999): 150–76.

¹⁹ An additional theological complication arises in that Judges 6:1 presents those Midianites as the scourge of God against Israelite evil-doing.

²⁰ Robert G. Boling, “Gideon,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, eds., David Noel Freedman et al, 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992): 1013–1015.

²¹ Hieromonk Makarios, ed. and trans., *The Synaxarion: The Lives of the Saints of the Orthodox Church* 6 vols. (Ormylia, Greece: Holy Convent of the Annunciation of Our Lady, 1998), 205.

²² *Coptic Synaxarium* (Hinsdale, IL: St. Mark and St. Bishoy Coptic Orthodox Church; Vols. 2–4, Chicago, IL: St. George Coptic Orthodox

What does Gideon's status as a saint mean? In his Hymn 9 on the Nativity, Saint Ephrem the Syrian presents the paradox that Tamar (Genesis 38:6–30) became an ancestor of Christ through an adulterous relationship (in fact, an incestuous act of prostitution) rendered chaste because committed for love of her divine descendant:

Tamar went out and in darkness
 she stole the light, and by filth
 she stole chastity, and by nakedness
 she entered furtively to You, the Honorable One,
 Who produces chaste [people] from the licentious.
 Satan saw Him and was afraid and ran
 as if to hinder [her]; He reminded [her] of judgment,
 but she feared not, of stoning and the sword
 but she was not afraid. The teacher of adultery
 was hindering adultery to hinder You.
 For the adultery of Tamar was chaste
 because of You.²³

Saint Ephrem's monkish obsession with sexual purity ignores what gives most of us a greater moral shock, viz., that Christ would not have been the "Son of David" had David not murdered a man to marry his wife (cf. James 2:11). David Ford has noted that all the women mentioned as ancestors of Christ in Matthew 1:1–16 (the incestuous Tamar, the prostitute Rahab, the Moabite Ruth, Uriah's wife who married her husband's murderer, and even the Virgin Mary who conceived out of wedlock) are morally or socially "problematic." If Tamar, David, and Gideon can be included in God's Kingdom, perhaps less notorious sinners can also become saints.

Church, 1987–95): 168–70. Cf. *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church: A Translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium Made from the Manuscripts Oriental 660 and 661 in the British Museum*, trans. E.A. Wallis Budge (Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), 387.

²³ Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns*, Kathleen E. McVey, ed. and trans. (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 126.

iii) Islamic Figures

Moving into the realm of Islam we come across practices very similar to those of Christians. Thus, e.g., in Lahore, Pakistan, in 2002, and in Srinagar, Kashmir, in 1964, relics of the Prophet Muhammad – a pair of shoes and a lock of hair, respectively – were stolen from Muslim shrines, perhaps in much the same way that Christian relics were sometimes “translated” by rival communities.²⁴ As in Christianity, there are also fanatical iconoclasts within the Muslim world who express their puritanical austerity by desecrating the shrines of saints. Several of the men who bombed the Sari Club and Paddy’s Bar in Bali in 2002 began their terrorist careers in 1987 by setting fire to the shrine of Saint Sinori, an itinerant Muslim preacher buried in their village of Tenggulun, Java.²⁵

Traditionally, it has been not unusual for Muslims to resort also to Christian saints. In both April 1968 and March 1986, the Virgin Mary appeared in Cairo, witnessed both by Christians and by Muslims.²⁶ Although ordinary believers of every faith were delighted by the apparitions, Egyptian officialdom was not: according to Pope Shenūdah, “the Security Police ordered me that the Holy Virgin should not appear any more!”²⁷ The Virgin Mary, however, keeps to her own timetable: in December 2002, many Muslims – this time in Iraq rather than Egypt – were turning to her intercession again. An American journalist, Anne Garrels, reported from Baghdad:

²⁴ “Pakistan Police Probe Relic Theft,” http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/2165780.stm (visited 1 August 2002).

²⁵ Simon Elegant, “The Family Behind the Bombings,” *Time*, 25 November 2002, available on-line at <http://www.time.com/time/asia/covers/1101021125/story.html> (visited 22 July 2003). See also Dan Murphy, “A Village in Java Tells Story of Militant Islam’s Growth,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, 23 January 2003, 1, 10 at <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0123/p01s04-woap.htm> (visited 22 July 2003).

²⁶ *Coptic Synaxarium*, 326–328; Otto Meinardus, “A Note on the Apparitions of the Holy Virgin in the Spring of 1986 in Cairo,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 35 (1986): 337–39; *The Apparitions of Virgin Mary at Zeitoun Church, Egypt With Real Photos* [n.d.] at <http://www.zeitun-eg.org> (visited 7 March 2003).

²⁷ Meinardus, “A Note on the Apparitions of the Holy Virgin,” 339.

just in case Islam fails, though, Muslims here have turned to the Virgin Mary for succor. At the Armenian Orthodox Church of Mary in the old section of Baghdad, Muslim women come to pray to the Virgin. An honored figure in the Qur'ān, she is particularly revered here for her miracles, and Iraqis need one right now. 29-year-old Afar says she has great faith in Mary. She doesn't think there's a difference between Muslims and Christians.²⁸

Even in places where less irenic Muslim-Christian relations prevailed, there are instances of Muslim veneration of Christian saints. In its entry for April 29th, the Eastern-Rite portion of the *St. Hilarion Calendar of Saints* for 2003 records “in Montenegro, at Ostrog, Saint Basil, b, myrrh-streamer, to whom not only Orthodox, but Roman Catholics and Muslims also resort for healing on the Day of Pentecost.”²⁹

In July 1994, Scottish travel writer William Dalrymple witnessed Greek Christians and Turkish Muslims separately venerating Saint George at his shrine on Prinkipo Island, Istanbul.³⁰ Oddly enough, just as in the case of the Virgin Mary, there is a Koranic basis for Muslim worship of Saint George, since he is identified with al-Khadir/al-Khidr, servant of the prophet Mūsā/Moses in Sūra 18:59–81; he is also identified with the prophet Īlyā/Elijah, the wandering Jew, and numerous other figures from Middle Eastern myth and folklore.³¹

²⁸ Anne Garrels, “Harsh Realities Flavor Iraqi Cultural Pursuits,” *Morning Edition*, National Public Radio, 13 December 2002 (transcript at <http://www.npr.org/programs/morning/index.html>) (visited 13 December 2002).

²⁹ *St. Hilarion Calendar of Saints* (Austin, TX: St. Hilarion Press, 2003), 32. See also Nikolai Velimirović, *The Prologue of Ohrid: Lives of Saints, Hymns, Reflections and Homilies for Every Day of the Year*, ed. Janko Trbović, trans. T. Timothy Tepsic (Alhambra, CA: Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Western America, 2002), 438.

³⁰ William Dalrymple *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey in the Shadow of Byzantium* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 45–47, 338–44.

³¹ A.J. Wensinck, “al-Khadir (al-Khidr),” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed., E. van Donzel, B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, et al (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 902–905.

Historically, Muslims have not been the first or only ones to join in venerating Christian saints. Even in the days of imperial persecution of Christianity, non-Christians sometimes did so. Thus, according to at least one source, “on the first anniversary of Agatha’s death, Mount Etna erupted and Catania was on the brink of being engulfed by a stream of lava. Christians and pagans alike rushed to the Saint’s tomb, lifted the veil from the sarcophagus and bore it like a shield to confront the river of fire, which stopped immediately.”³² If even supposed enemies of Christianity can honor Christian saints, why is it sometimes doubtful that fellow Christians from different communities can honor each other’s? To this question we now turn, beginning first with those who would deny the possibility of there being sanctity outside of their own self-defined ecclesial boundaries.

II. If Our Saints Are “True,” Yours Must Be False

The issues involved here are addressed squarely, although in a sectarian fashion, by Father Gregory Williams, an American missionary in Haiti of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, in the course of a rather rambling review of several books.³³ He explicitly excludes from “sanctity in its specifically Christian sense” not only righteous unbelievers and extraordinarily good non-Orthodox Christians (e.g., Mother Teresa and Francis of Assisi), but also the Greek Orthodox missionary to Zaïre, hieromonk Kosmas of Grigoriou Monastery (Mount Athos), and the confessor Bishop Luka the surgeon of Simferopol. Such persons are merely “testimony to the essential goodness which God, in His mercy, instills by the very act of Creation in every man and woman made in His image and likeness.” According to Williams, Father Kosmas and Bishop Luka are not saints because they did not belong to the Body of Christ. Kosmas was “perhaps in all innocence ... an agent ... of the deformed orthodoxy [*sic*] of the

³² Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxrion*, 411 (5 February).

³³ Gregory Williams, “Hagiography with an Agenda,” *Living Orthodoxy* 23 [=133] (2003): 3–11.

new-calendarist, modernist ‘Orthodox’ Church of Greece.”³⁴ Bishop Luka’s imprisonment for the faith was neither evidence nor cause of his personal sanctity, since he afterwards “returned to the service of the very ‘Church’ which had collaborated in his imprisonment and exile ... and within it he reposed.”³⁵

While criticizing the Roman Catholic Church as “a contradiction in terms: ‘Catholic’ means ‘universal’, and this was in fact the departure into heresy and schism of only a fraction of the Church,”³⁶ Williams rejects communion with the Moscow Patriarchate as tainted by collaboration with godless Communists, and with any Churches using the Gregorian (which he calls the “papal”) calendar. No one in fellowship with such pseudo-Churches can claim membership in the “universal” Body of Christ. Father Gregory utterly denies the ecclesiastical nature of Churches he disapproves of, saying of the Copts, for example, that “they fell away from the Body of Christ” by “denying the Truth” and so “became incapable of passing that [apostolic] succession to others.”³⁷ Such bodies are also incapable of producing saints.

There are grounds for Father Gregory Williams’s stand. Canon 34 of the local council held in Laodikeia (364) forbade the veneration of heretical ψευδομάρτυρες. Those martyrs are held to be “false” because, as heretics, they cannot witness to the truth. Nevertheless, there are several notable ancient examples of persons who, having lived their lives outside the Church, were nonetheless venerated by it after their deaths.

Much as one may disagree with Father Gregory’s rigorist application of principles, the principles themselves seem valid. Indeed, despite some interesting inconsistencies among the phenomena we will examine, there is a correspondence between the broadness or narrowness of a given Church’s ecclesiology and its acceptance of saints from other churches. The more exclusively a Church defines itself as *the* Body of Christ, the less prone it is to sacramental sharing with other

³⁴ Ibid., 4.

³⁵ Ibid., 10.

³⁶ Ibid., 7.

³⁷ Ibid., 6.

Churches and the less likely it is to venerate saints other than its own. By contrast, the more inclined a Church sees itself as *a* limb of the Body of Christ, and the more it finds itself in communion with other limbs, the more likely it is to revere holy persons from other parts as well. It would be odd indeed to routinely venerate as saints departed persons with whom we would not have shared communion in the flesh but yet, as we shall see, many Christians do just that.

III. Veneration of Saints from Estranged Churches

i) Early Martyrs

Dear to the hearts of liturgists is the hieromartyr Hippolytus, author of the *Apostolic Tradition* and various works of biblical exegesis. Some Roman Catholic resources call him an anti-pope (not so the *Martyrologium romanum*, which calls him a *presbyter* and never mentions his ecclesial-political difficulties³⁸) but assert that, while exiled to Sardinia, he was “reconciled to the Church before his martyrdom,” thereby enabling them to rescue him from extracanonial pseudo-martyrdom.³⁹ Recent Greek Orthodox hagiographers view him similarly:

the Byzantine *synaxaria* state that this St Hippolytus was a Pope of Rome, which is incorrect. He was, in fact, a zealous priest and a brilliant and prolific writer devoted to the apostolic tradition. ... Having refused to recognize Pope Callistus (217–22), he led a party, which considered him to be the rightful Pope. On being exiled to Sardinia during the persecution of Maximinus (235), he was reconciled with the Pope and urged his followers to return to the Church.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Martyrologium romanum* 2001, 426 (13 August).

³⁹ Benedictine Monks of Saint Augustine’s Abbey, *The Book of Saints*, 272.

⁴⁰ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxrion*, 355 n. 20 (30 January).

The Coptic and Ethiopian *synaxaria* also commemorate him (on 6 Amshir/Yakâtît=31 January, the day after the Byzantine commemoration), or at least “the appearance of his body,” which floated to the surface of the water despite the stone tied to his feet. The Copts call him “the Pope of Rome,” the Ethiopians “Archbishop of the city of Rome, the teacher of all the ends of the world.”⁴¹ Although no one in the Catholic Church ever accused Hippolytos of heresy – he was nothing if not rigorously Orthodox – he did separate himself from the communion of the legitimate Church, and the references to his reconciliation sound very much like pious palliatives that would have been added to his story whether or not they had any basis in fact.

ii) *Saints of the Arian Era*

The great martyr Artemios, whose documented miracles continued at least through 1945 in Athens, was the *dux augustalis* of Alexandria who implemented the Arian persecution against Pope Saint Athanasios the Great and who never renounced Arianism.⁴² Greek Orthodox sources ignore this inconvenience, focusing instead on Artemios’s friendship with Saint Constantine the Great. Together with the emperor, Artemios witnessed the famous apparition of the holy Cross (with the legend *in hoc signo vinces*) and shared responsibility for the transfer of the relics of the apostles Andrew and Luke to Constantinople; he also gave courageous witness unto death before Constantine’s descendant and successor, Julian.⁴³ Similarly oblivious are the Maronite Catholics, who venerate Artemios under the name Shalita, the patron of animals

⁴¹ *Coptic Synaxarium*, 254; *Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 596.

⁴² *The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church* (Buena Vista, CO: Holy Apostles Convent; Dormition Skete, 2002), 441, n. 1 (20 October).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 441–60; Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxrion*, 430–34; Saint Demetrius of Rostov, *The Great Collection of the Lives of the Saints*, trans. Thomas Marretta (Springs, MO: Chrysostom Press, 1994–), 286–302; Velimirović, *The Prologue of Ohrid*, 447–49 (20 October).

throughout Lebanon.⁴⁴ Roman Catholics, however, seem willing to admit Artemios's anomalous status, perhaps because they can distance themselves from his cult.⁴⁵ The new *Butler's Lives of the Saints* explains:

there is no evidence of a cult in the West, but in the sixteenth century Cardinal Baronius, the famous ecclesiastical historian, revised the Roman Martyrology and added Artemius' name to the list of saints for 20 October, on the grounds that the saint had always been recognized in the East. Baronius was not at his strongest, however, with the Eastern Church, and some writers have suggested that he may have been confused between this Artemius and another martyr of the same name; they argue that it was to this other Artemius that the ... famous miracle cures must be attributed.... The earliest Greek Life, however, which was written by an Arian chronicler, assumes that they were the same person, and that seems to be more likely.⁴⁶

His name has been dropped from the *Martyrologium romanum* of 2001. Artemios's imperial patron, Saint Constantine the Great, is another problematic figure. Although the Western Churches usually venerate only his unambiguously Christian mother (he is absent from the *Martyrologium romanum* of 2001), in the East he is counted as a great saint as well. The new *Butler's* recounts his continuing pagan religious practices along with his toleration of, and generosity toward, the Roman Church, but then flatly asserts that he "remained a catechumen until he was baptized on his death-bed by an Arian bishop in Nicomedia."⁴⁷ This is in contradic-

⁴⁴ Boutros Gemayel, ed., *The Prayer of the Faithful According to the Maronite Liturgical Year* (Brooklyn, NY: Diocese of Saint Maron, 1982–85), 895. Also available on-line at <http://www.johnmaron.org/feasts/sanctoral.html> (visited 24 June 2003).

⁴⁵ Benedictine Monks, *Book of Saints*, 63.

⁴⁶ Paul Burns et al., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 40 (20 October).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 237 (listed on 31 December under Pope Saint Silvester I).

tion to the medieval tradition that he was baptized and simultaneously cleansed of leprosy by the Orthodox Pope Saint Silvester.⁴⁸ This latter tradition bears all the marks of pious fabrication meant to make the emperor Orthodox despite himself. This was necessary because his Arian baptism contradicts his role in convening, while as yet unbaptized, the Council of Nicaea, which of course condemned Arianism. He was buried among the relics of the apostles in their church in Constantinople and thus, at the very core of Orthodox/Catholic Christianity, we have a figure who is ambiguous in his orthodoxy, if not in his very Christianity, but yet is venerated as equal to the apostles by subsequent generations.

iii) Saints of the Conciliar Era: Ephesus

Toward the middle of the fifth century, less ambiguous schisms occur. The Church of the East (which stopped adding saints to their calendar in the tenth century) refers to Patriarch Nestorios of Constantinople, who was deposed and condemned by the Ecumenical Council at Ephesus, as “a Martyr without bloodshed, who was persecuted for the sake of truth of the Orthodox confession.”⁴⁹ There seem to be grave difficulties in this case, since the Church of the East venerates Nestorios precisely for maintaining the theology for which the rest of the Church condemned him.

It may be worth mentioning that two daughter Churches to the Church of the East, the Chaldean Catholic and the Syro-Malabar Catholic Churches, acquired new saints, but mainly through Latinization.⁵⁰ Another daughter church, the [West] Syrian Orthodox Indians, have only one locally canonized

⁴⁸ Jacobus de (=Jacobus a=Giacomo da) Voragine, *Legenda aurea: Vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, ed., Th. Graesse (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller Verlag, 1969), 72, 306; Idem., *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 65, 279; Velimirović, *The Prologue of Ohrid*, 517.

⁴⁹ *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari together with the Liturgies of Mar Theodorus and Mar Nestorius and the Order of Baptism* (Trichur, Kerala: K.A. Paul & George Mookan, 1967), 83, 138.

⁵⁰J.M. Fiey, “Le Sanctoral syrien oriental d’après les évangéliques et bréviaires du XI^e au XIII^e siècle,” *L’Orient Syrien* 8 (1963): 53.

saint, Metropolitan Gregorios Gheevarghese of Niranam, whose relics are at Parumala.⁵¹

iv) Saints of the Conciliar Era: Chalcedon

Seemingly parallel in process to the Nestorian schism but much less clear-cut in practice is the division among Churches and in distribution of their saints occasioned by the Council of Chalcedon (451). Two of the principal antagonists, Popes Leo the Great of Rome and Dioskoros of Alexandria, are revered as saints and great theologians by their own successor communities but anathematized as arch-heretics by the opposite camp. Moreover, we have today not only parallel Church organizations and parallel apostolic succession but parallel canons of saints as well. The imperial (Chalcedonian) successor to Pope Dioskoros was Proterios, whom the Greek Orthodox venerate as a hieromartyr. Having fled from an anti-Chalcedonian mob, which favored a priest whom the Greeks call “Timothy the Cat” (who became in fact the rival Coptic pope), Proterios returned to Alexandria as instructed by a vision of the Prophet Isaiah. There, he:

took refuge in the baptistery of the Church of Saint Quirinius. As he was presiding at the service on Maundy Thursday, 28 March 457, the heretics, armed with sharp reeds, burst into the church. Hurling themselves on the saint, they eviscerated him and six of his fellow-clergy. They then dragged his mutilated body through the whole city, cut off one piece, which they threw to the dogs, and burnt the rest of his body, casting his ashes to the winds.

Timothy, imposter and veritable limb of Antichrist, relentlessly attacked the memory of the holy Archbishop and of Saint Cyril, deleting their names from the diptychs and substituting his own and the name of

⁵¹ *Saint Gregorios of Parumala: A Saint Par Excellence in the Malankara Church*, trans. Yacob Mar Iranus (Kottayam, Kerala: Orthodox Syrian Sunday School Association, 1998).

Dioscorus. He persecuted the relatives and friends of Saint Proterius, rifled his goods and burned his episcopal throne. These bloody events sealed the definitive separation of the Monophysites (Copts) and the Orthodox, and marked the beginning of the decay of the Church of Alexandria.⁵²

The *Martyrologium romanum* notes his cruel death at the hands of “Monophysite” partisans of Dioskoros on “*féria quinta in Cena Dómini*” but lacks so much gory detail.⁵³ Not surprisingly, the Copts tell a different version of the story and venerate a different set of characters. On 23 Misra (=16 August), they remember 30,000 Christians killed by imperial troops in Alexandria:

when Emperor Marcianus banished Pope Dioscorus to the island of Gagra, he appointed Brotarius, a Patriarch, in his place. The bishops of Egypt refused to have a fellowship with him. They assembled a council against him, the Council of Chalcedon, and the tome of Leo. Brotarius became enraged and with the aid of the government forces he attacked and plundered the monasteries and churches. Then he confiscated all the endowments for himself and he became very wealthy. Thieves attacked him during the night, killed him, and plundered what he had. His friends sent to the Emperor, saying, “The followers of Dioscorus were the ones that killed the Patriarch that was appointed by the Emperor.”⁵⁴

After this, Pope Timothy II was elected, falsely accused of Proterius’s murder, and exiled. He is commemorated as a saint on 7 Misra (=31 July), when he died, after having “suffered many hardships for the sake of preserving the Orthodox faith.”

⁵² Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, vol. 3, 641–42.

⁵³ *Martyrologium romanum*, 197.

⁵⁴ *Coptic Synaxarium*, 623.

The hardships included exile by Emperor Leo the Great but return “with honor” seven years later under Leo the Less.⁵⁵

Continuing in this rather depressing rut, the Coptic Pope Peter III, successor of Timothy II, is remembered mainly for sharing communion with Patriarch Akakios of Constantinople, who was exiled due to pressure from Rome.⁵⁶ The Copts venerate Akakios on 30 Hatour (=26 November); the Greeks do not, although some traditions commemorate on that day a monk named Akakios mentioned in the *Ladder* of Saint John Climacus, perhaps in this way ensuring that the patriarch’s name is remembered on the day of his repose, despite his communion with the Copts.⁵⁷

Given the often-gory rancor involved in the Chalcedonian schism, it is surprising to find that a number of Chalcedonian saints are commemorated in non-Chalcedonian Churches. Ethiopians remember the wonderworking Chalcedonian Empress Theophano on 16 December/20 Tâkshâsh. On 11 December, the Greek Orthodox calendar includes two Constantinopolitan stylite saints: Daniel and Luke the New.⁵⁸ The Armenians remember Daniel on the same day, 3 Kałoc’ in their calendar;⁵⁹ the Copts and Ethiopians recall the death of Luke on 15 Kiahk/Tâkshâsh (=11 December) and the transfer of his relics two days later.⁶⁰

All Christians once venerated the great martyr Euphemia of Chalcedon, although in 1969 she was removed, like the Maccabees, from the “universal calendar” of the Roman Catholic Church.⁶¹ The Greek Orthodox have two feasts in her honor: one commemorating her martyrdom on 16 September; and the second, remembering a miracle involving her relics at

⁵⁵ Ibid., 600.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 86, 132-33.

⁵⁷ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 251; John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Colm Luibheid & Norman Russell (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 115–16 (in Step 4, “On Obedience”).

⁵⁸ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 374–84.

⁵⁹ G. Bayan et al., ed. & trans., *Le Synaxaire Arménien de Ter Israel* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1980), 22.

⁶⁰ *Coptic Synaxarium*, 170–71; *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 384, 387–388.

⁶¹ Benedictine Monks, *Book of Saints*, 195.

the Council of Chalcedon – which was held in her church – on July 11. The story is that the fathers placed two tomes in her coffin, one containing the Monophysite theology, the other the non-Monophysite. The next morning, they found the former volume under her feet and the latter in her right hand, showing divine approval of Chalcedonian doctrine. What is surprising is that the Copts and Ethiopians keep their sole commemoration of Saint Euphemia on the day the Greeks commemorate her miracle at the Council of Chalcedon, 17 Abib/Hamlê (=11 July).⁶² The new *Butler's* says “there is absolutely no truth to the legend”⁶³ celebrated by the Greeks on July 11, but one wonders why that day is the one celebrated by the Copts.

The Egyptian Patapios probably migrated to Constantinople between 475 and 518 (some say even later, in the seventh century), well after the Council of Chalcedon, and became a wonderworker, an activity that continued after his death and burial in the capital's Egyptian monastery and was resumed following the recovery of his relics in 1904 near Corinth.⁶⁴ His credentials as a Chalcedonian saint did not prevent him from appearing in the Armenian *synaxarion* on 30 Trê (=8 December), although neither the Copts nor the Ethiopians commemorate him.⁶⁵

IV. Blurring the Boundaries

i) Armenians

It is best not to become too enthusiastic about the ecumenical implications of such observances. One can find Chalcedonians throughout Bayan's edition of Ter Israel's Armenian *Synaxarion/haysmavourk*.⁶⁶ Consultation with an Armenian

⁶² *Coptic Synaxarium*, 553–54; *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 1124–1125.

⁶³ Paul Burns et al., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 142 (for 16 September). The legend is unmentioned in the *Martyrologium romanum* for the same day.

⁶⁴ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 354–55.

⁶⁵ Bayan, *Le Synaxaire Arménien*, 181–82.

⁶⁶ Bayan's edition also remembers Pope Gregory the Great of Rome on 5 Areg (=13 March, the day after his commemoration by the Greek Orthodox; the seventh century monk and martyr Anastasios the Persian and the

Orthodox priest, Father Simeon Odabashian,⁶⁷ revealed, however, that both Bayan and the traditions he worked with were Catholic or pro-Catholic and that in 1900, ten years before Bayan's first volume was published, the Orthodox Armenians had already purged the Chalcedonians from their *synaxarion*. So it turns out that these apparently misplaced saints are really not being venerated outside their communions. Armenians who identified themselves as Chalcedonian Christians would naturally accept other Chalcedonians as saints while those who did not would naturally scratch such names off their own lists.

new martyr Theophilos, governor of Cibyrhæa (which an Armenian scribe seems to have mistaken for Cyprus); an eighth century Palestinian ascetic, Stephanos, sent from Constantinople to found the Chênolakkos monastery in Bithynia. Surprising is the inclusion of "T'oumasou bishop of the English," i.e. Thomas à Becket on 21 K'aloc'/29 December, who lived too late for even the anglophile Western-Rite Orthodox portion of the *Saint Hilarion Calendar of Saints* to include. Interestingly, the date of his death is given as "29 December, year 616 of the Armenian Era, under the reign of Manouël of the Greeks" (Bayan, *Le Synaxaire Arménien*, 137–41). Yet more surprising, aggressive promoters of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy also appear, e.g., the abbots Euthymios the Great on 13 Arac'/20 January, Theodosios the Great, the Koinobiarch on 5 Arac'/12 January (Greek commemoration on 11 January), and Sabbas the Sanctified on 27 Trē/5 December, each of whom is credited in Greek sources with helping to win the Palestinian monastic communities over to Chalcedonian christology. Most surprising of all, on 20 Trē/28 November, is the late sixth century Armenian bishop, Theodosios of Theodosiopolis/Karin/Erzerum. He is found on that day in the tenth century *Typikon* of the Great Church of Constantinople (see Jean Mateos, ed. & trans., *Le Typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Saint-Croix n° 40, X^e siècle* [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1977], vol. 1, 116ff.) and in some Palestinian and Georgian calendars. The Greek Orthodox regard him as a saint primarily because he convinced the Armenians in areas of what is now eastern Turkey that had then been recently captured from Persia by Rome to accept the Chalcedonian definition (see Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 270, including n. 4).

⁶⁷ Personal correspondence, 5 February 2003. Cf. Paul Peeters, "Pour l'histoire du synaxaire arménien," *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911): 5–26; Sirapie Der Nersessian, "Le synaxaire arménien de Grégoire VII d'Anazarbe," *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950): 261–85.

ii) *Maronites*

There are even more extreme examples of the kind of *pseudomorphosis* represented by Bayan's edition. Students of the Maronite calendar discern four chronologically successive strata therein: (1) the ancient Syriac/Antiochian; (2) the Chalcedonian/Melkite/Byzantine, including the uniquely Maronite commemoration of 350 pro-Chalcedonian monk martyrs, approval of whose cult by Pope Hormisdas of Rome is emphasized in the *Synaxarion for the Sanctoral Cycle* on 31 July; (3) the Western; (4) a mixture of all the above.⁶⁸

As the Maronite Church identified herself more and more with Churches removed from her own region of origin, its calendar and its canon of saints gained universality but lost integrity. This process may help keep certain Churches from devolving into isolationist sects. They demonstrate their universality by appropriating others' saints, who seemingly provide what is lacking in their earthly membership. The more honest (albeit sometimes mistaken) examples of this approach include Cardinal Baronius's addition of Artemios's name to the Roman martyrology mentioned above. Saints recognized by an estranged sister Church in a pre-schismatic age, when the churches concerned were actually in communion, are legitimately claimed as their own as well.

There is also a certain degree of communion that continues despite ecclesiastical separations. Of Maksim Grek, for example, we are told that "he spent two years with the Dominicans in Florence, without, however, renouncing anything of his Orthodoxy. In fact, at this time, despite the failure of any attempted union of the Churches, certain clearly defined areas of ecclesiastical communion could still be confirmed."⁶⁹

When the new martyr Nikolaos Karamanos was hanged at Smyrna, 19 March 1657, "he inspired admiration in the Westerners who were there at the time. Indeed some of them recovered his body from the sea and took it to Europe."⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Hani Matar, "Le calendrier maronite," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 64 (1998): 143–58.

⁶⁹ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 250, n. 5 (for 21 January).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 338.

iii) Copts

After a judicially condoned mob tortured Sidhom Bishay at Domiat in Egypt, resulting in his death on 25 March 1844, all the Christians united to honor his martyrdom and to demand civil rights. The *Coptic Synaxarium* tells us that:

they gathered regardless of their denomination and joined in his funeral in a unique and unprecedented celebration.... The ruler of Egypt was concerned about this incident and sent two official representatives to examine the case. They reopened the inquiry and realized the injustice and ill treatment that befell the great martyr and convicted the judge and governor for their wrongdoing, stripped them from their honor and exiled them. They asked, as a sign of good will to comfort the people, to allow the raising of the Cross publicly before the Christian funerals. The ruler allowed that in Domiat. This was allowed later on all over the country.⁷¹

iv) Roman Catholics

There are some interesting examples of veneration of unambiguously Greek Orthodox saints by Roman Catholics. Saint Sava I, the first archbishop of the Serbs, a post-schismatic monk of the Holy Mountain, firmly established the Serbian Church in the Orthodox camp. He convinced the emperor and the Ecumenical Patriarch to grant autonomy to his Church so that "Rome and the West's attempts to capture the Balkans could be thwarted."⁷² Nevertheless, his cult has always been part of Roman Catholicism in the region as well (he is not found, however, in the new *Martyrologium romanum*). As *Butler's* tells us:

⁷¹ Coptic Synaxarium, 315–16.

⁷² Daniel M. Rogich, *Serbian Patericon: Saints of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Volume I January-April*. (Platina, CA: St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood and Foresville, CA: St Paisius Abbey Press, 1994), 88.

he has been invoked in the revival of Serbian nationalism of the past two centuries, but his feast is kept in Roman Catholic Croatian as well as Orthodox Serbian dioceses. He figures as St Sava... “the Enlightener” in several Latin calendars, and should be regarded as a potentially healing rather than divisive figure in relation to the situation in the Balkans in the 1990s.⁷³

Similarly a (grecophone?) Calabrian wonderworker, Saint John the Harvester, who died in the mid-eleventh century, is claimed by some Catholics as a “Benedictine” monk⁷⁴ (although the *Martyrologium romanum* says “monachus factus sub orientálium Patrum institútis”⁷⁵) as well as by the Orthodox.⁷⁶ He certainly lived within both cultural communities, regardless of when he died.

v) *Melkite Greek Catholics*

Perhaps representing a trend in Eastern Catholicism, Melkite Catholics have rehabilitated two controversial Greek Orthodox figures: Patriarch Photios the Great of Constantinople, whose patriarchate was opposed by Rome; and the even later promoter of hesychasm, Archbishop Gregory Palamas of Thessaloniki. Raya and de Vinck’s note for the second Sunday of Great Lent is interesting:

according to the ancient liturgical discipline, the commemoration of Gregory Palamas, Bishop of Thessalonica ... was held on this day. One of his followers, Philotheus, Patriarch of Constantinople, declared him a saint in the year 1368, established his feast day on November 14, and ordered a special commemoration on the Second Sunday of Lent. The theology of Pala-

⁷³ Paul Burns et al., *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*, 98 (14 January).

⁷⁴ Benedictine Monks, *Book of Saints*, 302.

⁷⁵ *Martyrologium romanum*, 153 (for 23 February).

⁷⁶ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 599–600.

mas contains some errors that were refuted later by Greek and Russian theologians.

In the year 1843, Patriarch Maximos III Mazloum of Antioch ordered that the relics of saints be venerated on this day. Such relics are to be venerated, not as objects having an intrinsic value, but as representative of the persons from whom they originated. Patriarch Maximos himself composed a beautiful Office for this feast.⁷⁷

The propers composed by the patriarch, however, do not appear in the book. There is a generic *apolytikion* and *kontakion* for martyrs, but the rest of the hymns refer only to the Great Fast.

Several decades later, the Melkite Catholic Diocese of Newton, Massachusetts published a twelve-volume *Menaion*, based largely on an earlier French edition. The February volume has a second office for Saint Photios on 6 February.⁷⁸ The hymns extol him as a champion of Orthodoxy. At the Psalms 148–150 in the morning, he is called “the holy chief hierarch of the Church” and compared to the heavenly powers: “O glorious Photios, like another Archangel Michael, you struggled with an earthly Lucifer who exalted himself in arrogance.”⁷⁹ Clearly, the Melkite Catholics see themselves more in sympathy and ecclesiastical continuity with Photios than with his Roman Catholic adversaries. The November volume combines the service for Gregory Palamas with that of the apostle Philip on 14 November, including in the note the rubric: “if, for some reason, Gregory Palamas is not celebrated...”⁸⁰ This acceptance of Orthodox saints was accompanied also by deletion of Western Catholic saints, e.g.,

⁷⁷ Archbishop Joseph Raya and Baron José de Vinck, eds. and trans., *Byzantine Daily Worship: With Byzantine Breviary, the Three Liturgies, Propers of the Day and Various Offices* (Allendale, NJ; Combermere, ON: Alleluia Press, 1969), 797.

⁷⁸ *Menaion* (for February) (Newton Centre, MA: Sophia Press, 1985–2000), 69–84.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁸⁰ *Menaion* (for November), 108.

Thérèse of the Child Jesus, who had been included in the Raya and de Vinck volume.

vi) *Slavic Orthodox*

Confusion is evident in the Western-Rite portion of the *St. Hilarion Calendar of Saints* for 28 January: “St. Paulinus, patr. of Aquileia,” who died in 802, safely before 1054, but who was, according to Roman Catholic sources, “a firm supporter of the *filioque*”⁸¹ and thus hardly a brilliant candidate for veneration by Churches that never accepted the *filioque*.

Oddly enough, even among the most sectarian of Orthodox Christians, there is a movement to venerate Western saints who can legitimately be claimed as Orthodox. A prime force in the recovery of Western saints was the wonderworker Saint John Maximovitch II, who served the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia in many places, including Shanghai and San Francisco, where he ended his earthly life. While living in Western Europe, he was especially active in the Low Countries. His *vita prima*, written by Eugene Rose, who later became Blessed Hieromonk Seraphim, tells us that Maximovitch’s

interest in and devotion to the Church’s saints, of whom his knowledge was already seemingly limitless, was extended now to Western European saints dating from before the schism of the Latin Church, many of whom, venerated only locally, were included in no Orthodox calendar of Saints. He collected their Lives and images of them, and later submitted a long list of them to the Synod.⁸²

⁸¹ Benedictine Monks, *Book of Saints*, 439.

⁸² Bishop Alexander Mileant, *Archbishop John the Wonderworker: Life and Miracles of St. John (Maximovich), Archbishop of Shanghai and San Francisco*, on-line at <http://www.fatheralexander.org/booklets/english/johnmx1.htm> (visited 19 October 2001). See also Eugene (later hieromonk Seraphim) Rose, *The Vita Prima of Blessed John the Wonderworker*, available on-line at <http://www.apostle1.com/index1.htm> (visited 19 October 2001).

Among the Orthodox, this stipulation that such saints must be pre-schismatic is very common. The *St. Hilarion Calendar of Saints* is an annual publication of a Western-Rite Orthodox monastery in Austin, Texas. Since the monastery frequently provides Byzantine-Rite services as well, the calendar is printed in two synoptic columns, one for the Western Rite, one for the Eastern. The foreword to the 2000 edition explains their policy.

This year's calendar, like all the editions since 1996, contains all the names of known Orthodox Saints of the pre-Schism West (that is, who had an authentic veneration in the Western Church prior to 1054), as well as the standard Greek and Russian listings. Once again, we are very happy to announce the publication of the most complete list of Orthodox Saints available anywhere, in any language. The alphabetized index at the close of this calendar names over 12,000 Saints and grows each year.

In keeping with the guidelines...laid down by St. John, Archbishop of Shanghai and San Francisco, only Western Saints whose date of repose precedes the fateful year 1054 are included. While realising that the departure of the Western Church from patristic Orthodoxy may not be precisely attributable to one month or year, a "line in the sand" such as 1054 prevents spiritualities foreign to Holy Orthodoxy from insinuating themselves into the spiritual lives of the faithful children of the Church, for whom the unchanging quality of Orthodoxy is itself her freshness and vitality.⁸³

The *Liturgical Calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church*, published by the Saint John of Kronstadt Press, includes more Western saints, supposedly using Saint John Maximovitch's criteria: "listings of the righteous and venerable who have not

⁸³ *St. Hilarion Calendar of Saints* (an annual) (Austin, Texas: St. Hilarion Press, 2000), i.

been canonized appear in *italics*, as do western saints whose pre-schism veneration is not certain.”⁸⁴ It is perhaps odd that it includes at least three Western saints who died after 1054 and so could not possibly have enjoyed veneration as saints before that year, although it does italicize their names: “*St. Duthac, bp. in Ross*” (†1065) on March 8th, “*St. Lulach, last Orthodox king of Scotland*” (†1058) on March 17th, and “*St. Alfwold, bp. of Sherborne*” (†1058) on the twenty-fifth of March.⁸⁵ (Of these three, only Duthac appears in the *Martyrologium romanum* on the eighth of March, the deposition of his relics.) Perhaps, as they lived most of their lives in the pre-schismatic Church and were geographically removed from the centers where the schism originated, both sides could legitimately claim them.

vii) *Greek Orthodox*

A similar figure is the clairvoyant Bohemian hieromonk Prokopii of Sazava, who died on 25 March 1053 and who is celebrated in the Roman calendar on the fourth of July and in the Greek on the sixteenth of September. The Greeks acknowledge he was tonsured a Benedictine monk⁸⁶ while the Romans call him a “Basilian,” their designation for most Eastern monastics.⁸⁷ These saints probably cause few difficulties for either side.

As mentioned above, one motive for amplifying the canon of saints is to be more complete, more *catholic* in the nonsectarian sense. The *Synaxarion* of Hieromonk Makarios, being published in English after completion of a French version by a monk of the Holy Mountain, makes this clear. It includes more Western saints than previous Greek Orthodox works did. For example, on February 24th, “the Holy Martyrs Montanus, Lucius, Julian, Victoricus and Flavian and their companions at Carthage” are included with the note: “this summary of their

⁸⁴ *Liturgical Calendar According to the Usage of the Russian Orthodox Church 2003*, “editor’s notes,” unnumbered p. 3.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 64, 72, 77.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸⁷ Benedictine Monks, *Book of Saints*, 467.

Passion is included here by way of example, for there are many other Martyrs of Carthage and North Africa who are without commemoration in the Byzantine synaxaria.”⁸⁸

A similar motive seems to be at work in the calendar of “Orthodox saints of Africa” by Metropolitan Makarios, Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Kenya and Irinoupolis [=Dār as-Salām], a work compiled largely from Latin sources.⁸⁹ The saints, though added to the Byzantine calendar by the hieromonk Makarios of the Holy Mountain, are not only Westerners. On February 25th, there is the third-century Egyptian ascetic, Paphnoutios Kephalas, who “is unnoticed in Greek and Latin hagiographic sources but is commemorated in the synaxaria of Alexandria and Ethiopia, as well as in a very few Slav menologies.”⁹⁰ Likewise, on 19 January, there is a mention of the late eighth or early ninth century martyr Antony Rawah the Qoraisite of Damascus, who was hitherto only commemorated by the Georgian Church and whose life was “preserved in Arabic, and in Georgian and Ethiopian translations.”⁹¹ Likewise, on 28 January, the seventh century ascetic bishop Isaac the Syrian, who

is absent from the Greek hagiographical collections but is commemorated in the Slav Synaxaria. Some historians suppose that Abba Isaac would have belonged to the Nestorian Church, which alone was present at that time in Syria-Mesopotamia. However, it should be noted that there is no trace of heresy in his writings. Moreover, his pre-eminent authority in the Orthodox spiritual tradition justifies his inclusion in the *Synaxarion*.⁹²

⁸⁸ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 607, n. 4 (cf. *Martyrologium romanum*, 282 for 23 May).

⁸⁹ Archbishop Makarios, *Yearbook and Review, 2002* (Nairobi: Greek Orthodox Archbishopric of Kenya and Irinoupolis, 2002): 40–49.

⁹⁰ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 616, n. 4. Contrary to what Makarios leads us to expect, he seems missing from the *Coptic Synaxarium* and from the *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*. See also Nikolai Velimirović, *The Prologue of Ohrid*, 200.

⁹¹ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 221, n. 9.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 333–34, n. 2.

His book of *Ascetical Homilies*, Makarios goes on to tell us, “is, with the *Ladder* of Saint John Climacus, the indispensable guide for every Orthodox soul to journey safely towards God. Hence, not many years ago, a holy spiritual father, Jerome of Egina (d. 1966), recommended begging, if necessary, in order to be able to purchase a copy.”⁹³ Although Isaac is not commemorated in the West, he is the author of an important Marian antiphon, the *Salve Regina*.⁹⁴

Along similar lines to these examples, several Greek Orthodox communities now commemorate the Egyptian archimandrite Shenouti/Shanūdah on 1/14 July, the day (7 Abib/Hamlê) of his feast among the Copts and Ethiopians who, despite his dramatic intervention at the Council of Ephesus (431) against Nestorius, was ignored by the Greek and Latin traditions.⁹⁵ According to his disciple Besa’s *Life*, Pope Saint Cyril ordained him archimandrite at a session of the council after Shenouti, then a simple monk, had struck Patriarch Nestorius on the chest in rebuke for his disrespect of the gospel book. The *St. Hilarion Calendar of Saints* has him, oddly, only on its Western-Rite list. The community of New Skete in Cambridge, New York also remembers him.⁹⁶ He also appears in the new *Butler’s* on 1 July but not in the new *Martyrologium romanum*. His violent and authoritarian manner did not prevent him from acquiring and holding rule over 4,000 monks and nuns.

⁹³ Ibid., 337.

⁹⁴ Nikolaos S. Hatzinikolaou, ed. & trans., *Voices in the Wilderness: An Anthology of Patristic Prayers* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press. Hatzinikolaou, 1988), 131. For the Latin text, see, e.g., *Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis juxta vota RR. DD. Abbatum Congregationum Confœderatarum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti a solesmensibus monachis restitutum* (Paris; Tournai; Rome: Desclée et Socii. 1934), 176–77, 180.

⁹⁵ *Coptic Synaxarium*, 535–36; *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 1079–1082. The *Life* also tells us that, earlier in his life, after he had miraculously been given the Prophet Elijah’s mantle, a voice from heaven declared Shenouti “archimandrite of the whole world” while he was still a very young man. See *The Life of Shenoute*, David N. Bell, ed. & trans. (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1983), 44–45, 78–79.

⁹⁶ Monks of New Skete, *Troparia and Kontakia* (Cambridge, NY: Monks of New Skete, 1984), 365.

viii) Saints in the British Isles

A Northern Irish Orthodox website quotes Saint Arsenios of Cappadocia, giving an additional motive for veneration of Western saints: “when the Church in the British Isles begins to venerate her own saints, the Church will grow.”⁹⁷ Interestingly, one of the saints extolled in this website for fidelity to tradition actually championed the Celtic date for Pascha and other customs opposed by Roman Catholics at the time as incompatible with Catholicism: Colmán of Lindisfarne and Inishboffin. His *apolytikion* says in part: “as an upholder of Orthodox discipline, thou didst show forth in thy life the pre-eminence of holy Tradition.... With great personal sacrifice, thou wast true to thy teachers, wherefore we pray that we may unhesitatingly follow our fathers in the Faith with loyalty and devotion and thereby be guided into the way of salvation.” Two things seem odd: first, that those who follow the Julian calendar in Ireland, presumably regarding the Gregorian as heretical, would extol the virtue of one who went into exile rather than submit to the Roman calculation of Pascha, which at the time was the same as the Greek; and second, that what sounds like a Western *collect* prayer would be cast as a Byzantine “dismissal hymn.” Incidentally, the Moscow Patriarchate’s Eparchy of Sourozh, encompassing the British Isles, has been recovering local saints for Orthodox veneration, which is reflected in its diocesan calendar.⁹⁸

Canterbury Press in Norwich disseminates many Anglican hagiographical materials. One of their publications, *The English Saints: East Anglia*, is by an Orthodox priest and includes pictures of modern Byzantine-style icons, as well as of older Western images of the saints.⁹⁹ Included are some persons not otherwise generally venerated as saints, e.g., Bishop Jaruman of Mercia, Wendreda and Bettelin, as well as Our

⁹⁷ See www.orthodoxireland.com/saints.htm and http://www.orthodoxireland.com/hymns_ (visited 17 March 2003).

⁹⁸ See their calendar at www.sourozh.org (accessed 26 June 2003).

⁹⁹ Trefor Jones, *The English Saints: East Anglia* (Norwich, Norfolk: Canterbury Press, 1999).

Lady of Walsingham, whose cult cannot be traced before 1061. Also in this category are three slim volumes called *The Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, which have been published by an American Orthodox press.¹⁰⁰ Anglophones, not just Celts or Anglo-Saxons, are promoting the cult of ancient British and Irish saints.

The New Skete Community mentioned above in connection with Shenouti is interesting in that its liturgical books include such post-schismatic Western saints as Queen Bridget of Sweden on 8 August and both Francis and Clare of Assisi, 4 October and 16 August, respectively.¹⁰¹ New Skete's earlier *Prayerbook* (1976), published when they still called themselves "Monks of the Brotherhood of St. Francis, Inc.," reveals also several post-schismatic Orthodox saints in their calendar: Sergey of Radonezh on 25 September (who, alone among these saints, appears in the *Martyrologium romanum* for 25 September), Seraphim of Sarov on 2 January, Nil of Sora on 7 April, Herman of Alaska on 27 July (not the date of his Orthodox feast), and Tikhon of Zadonsk on 13 August. All the Orthodox saints whom the monks of New Skete venerated when they were Catholics were Russian: Greeks, Arabs, Romanians, Serbs, and others were ignored. Now, however, as members of the Orthodox Church of America, the Catholic and Coptic saints whom they venerate come from a wider spectrum.

Official Ecclesial-Liturgical Calendars

i) Anglicans

A similar expansiveness – both ethnic and ecclesial – can be found in some Reformation Churches, particularly within the Anglican Communion, which have enriched commemoration of saints. From a post-Reformation base of only New Testament saints, many Anglican calendars expanded to in-

¹⁰⁰ Vladimir Moss, *The Saints of Anglo-Saxon England (9th to 11th centuries)* (Seattle, WA: St. Nectarios Press, 1992–1996).

¹⁰¹ Monks of New Skete, *Troparia and Kondakia*, 118–21, 397–98, 404–05.

clude Old Testament, post-biblical, and post-Reformation saints as well.¹⁰² Some of them have freely included saints from other communions. In some cases, this is for national or cultural reasons, e.g., the Anglican Church of Canada including French Canadian saints such as Marguerite Bourgeois.¹⁰³ Some commemorations, however, go far beyond such concerns, e.g., the martyrs of Japan on 5 February or Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Maximilian Kolbe on 14 August, none of whom, of course, were either Anglican or Canadian.

When Anglicans celebrate confessionally mixed groups of people, they explicitly include all involved, e.g., the Catholic, Free Church, and Anglican martyrs of Uganda (†1886) on 3 June in the calendar of the Church of England.¹⁰⁴ The reading for this feast in the Church of England's *Celebrating the Saints* is in fact from the homily delivered by Pope Paul VI at the canonization of the Catholic martyrs in October 1964; it includes the words: "nor should we forget those others of the Anglican Communion who died for the sake of Christ."¹⁰⁵

At the same time that rationalism and historicism have weakened or discouraged the cult of ancient saints in the Roman Catholic Church, canonization of new saints has exploded.¹⁰⁶ For her part, the Catholic Church wishes to remember

¹⁰² David R. Holeton, "Eight Modern Anglican Calendars," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 95 (1981): 252–74.

¹⁰³ Stephen Reynolds, *For All The Saints*, 48–49, 400–03; see also Paul Burns et al., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 83–84 for a Catholic version of her story.

¹⁰⁴ Brother Tristram, ed., *Exciting Holiness: Collects and Readings for the Festivals and Lesser Festivals of the Church of England* (Norwich, Norfolk: Canterbury Press, 1997), 178; Episcopal Church in the USA, *The Proper for the Lesser Feasts and Fasts Together with the Fixed Holy Days Conforming to General Convention 2000*, (New York, NY: Church Publishing 2001), 258–59; Stephen Reynolds, *For All The Saints* 186–87, 565–68 (the US and Canadian notices also including Uganda's Christian martyrs of the 1970s); see also Kathleen Jones, *The Saints of the Anglican Calendar* (Norwich, Norfolk: Canterbury Press, 2000), 131–33.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Atwell, ed., *Celebrating the Saints: Daily Spiritual Readings for the Calendar of the Church of England* (Norwich, Norfolk: Canterbury Press Atwell, 1998), 183.

¹⁰⁶ Richard P. McBrien, *Lives of the Saints: From Mary and St. Francis of Assisi to John XXIII and Mother Teresa* (San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 2001), 601.

the Anglicans, although apparently not the Free Church, but only as “others,” not exactly in the same category as the Catholics. The new *Butler’s* includes the stories of the Anglican martyrs, among them the missionary Bishop James Hannington, but makes it clear they are not Catholic saints and that “there are both Catholic and Protestant shrines at Namugongo,” together but separate.¹⁰⁷ The new *Martyrologium romanum* names only the Catholics and mentions no others.¹⁰⁸

More explicitly still, the Church of England has a feast on 4 May for the English saints and martyrs of the Reformation era of all Christian confessions.¹⁰⁹ How many other Churches do anything similar? The new *Butler’s* lists on 4 May “martyrs of England and Wales (1535–1680),” clearly referring only to those beatified by Rome, i.e., only to certain Roman Catholic martyrs.¹¹⁰ On 4 May, the new *Martyrologium romanum* names only five martyred English priests and religious. Needless to say most of those commemorated in the calendars created specifically for Anglican Franciscans are Roman Catholics.¹¹¹ How many Anglican Franciscans are venerated by Catholic Franciscans?

ii) Roman Catholics

Even when semi-official Roman Catholic resources expand commemorations beyond the limits of canonized saints, they tend not to expand them beyond the limits of the Catholic Church. The *People’s Companion to the Breviary* includes in its “calendar of feasts” 22 commemorations of individuals or groups not canonized or beatified by the Roman Catholic Church. Most of them are easily recognized because they have

¹⁰⁷ Paul Burns et al., *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*, 22–24 (for 3 June).

¹⁰⁸ See the entry for 3 June on page 302, including n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Brother Tristram, *Exciting Holiness*, 139–42; Robert Atwell, *Celebrating the Saints*, 142–44; Kathleen Jones, *The Saints of the Anglican Calendar*, 100–102.

¹¹⁰ Paul Burns et al., *Butler’s Lives of the Saints*, 22–25.

¹¹¹ See Brother Tristram, *Exciting Holiness* and also his *Franciscan Supplement to Exciting Holiness: Collects & Readings for the Festivals & Lesser Festivals of the Additional Celebrations in the Calendar of the Society of Saint Francis* (Dorchester, Dorset: The Friary Press, 2000).

no “Saint” or “Blessed” before their names. Out of them all, only one is a non-Catholic: English mystical theologian Evelyn Underhill, whose notice on 15 June mentions that “in 1988, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States voted to add her to its liturgical calendar as a mystic and a theologian.”¹¹² So she has come as close as one in her communion can come to being “canonized.” Her notice in the American Episcopal Church’s *Lesser Feasts and Fasts 2000* says she was influenced by Italian art and culture and “spent nearly fifteen years wrestling painfully with the idea of converting to Roman Catholicism, but decided in the end that it was not for her” and that in 1921 she “became reconciled to her Anglican roots, while remaining what she called a ‘Catholic Christian.’”¹¹³ Perhaps it was her strong attraction to Roman Catholicism that attracted her name to an otherwise exclusively Roman Catholic calendar.

iii) Protestants

Protestants generally did not and do not venerate saints in the sense of invoking them in prayer, venerating their relics or icons, or commemorating them on their feast days. However, in a less formal sense, they venerate the memory of their faith and witness. John Foxe’s Reformation martyrology was designed to compare the Protestant martyrs of his own time to the ancient Christian martyrs under the Roman Empire, which was seen as the predecessor of the Roman Church, persecutor of Christians.¹¹⁴ While it does include Catholic martyrs, e.g., those safely far away in Japan, their confessional identity is not mentioned.¹¹⁵ There are no Catholics martyred by Protestants; there is, however, an abundance of Protestants martyred by Catholics.

¹¹² *People’s Companion to the Breviary: Revised and Expanded Edition of the New Companion to the Breviary With Seasonal Supplement* (Indianapolis, IN: The Carmelites of Indianapolis, 1997), 469.

¹¹³ *Lesser Feasts and Fasts 2000*, 272.

¹¹⁴ See John Foxe, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs*, ed., Marie Gentert King (Old Tappan, NJ: Spire Books, 1975) and *The New Foxe’s Book of Martyrs* (Gainesville, FL, 2001).

¹¹⁵ John Foxe, *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs*, 108–09.

Recent generations of Evangelicals have up-dated Foxe's work, as one version says, to the point of being able "to include recent accounts from the 160,000 martyred in 2001."¹¹⁶ Some of those represented from recent years are obviously Catholic or Orthodox, but not identified as such, e.g., from Albania in 1973 the "bishop of Durazzo," the "abbot of Mirdizia," and three "priests."¹¹⁷ Some are identified: two Romanian Orthodox and ten Coptic Orthodox Christians in 1981.¹¹⁸ While the 1,220 Christians who died of persecution in Lebanon in 1984 were "of all denominations," the statistics were supplied by "the Catholic Information Center in Beirut," so it would be natural to think they included Catholics.¹¹⁹

An opposite blindness can be seen in Chenu et al.'s less extensive, more intensive, translation of *passiones* from the second to the twentieth centuries. It includes more Roman Catholics than any other Christians and identifies them as such, but then it includes no non-denominational Christians, despite its publisher's aspiration – boldly printed on the dust jacket – to base it "exclusively on the strength of witness to the faith of Jesus."¹²⁰

We have seen some signs that lists of saints in various Churches are diversifying, but we still have not seen anything approaching the diversity of Saint Gregory of Nyssa's *Dancing Saints*. For that, we have to leave the official and semi-official churches and enter the even murkier realm of popular culture and popular piety.

¹¹⁶ John Foxe, *The New Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, front cover.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 334–35.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 340.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 341–42.

¹²⁰ Bruno Chenu, Claude Prud'homme, France Quéré, and Jean-Claude Thomas, *The Book of Christian Martyrs*, tran. John Bowden (New York, NY: Crossroad, 1990).

Popular Manuals of Devotion

Published materials about saints seem to come primarily from a Roman Catholic base, even when they are in no way related to the institutional Church. Not quite “popular” but headed in that direction was an ecumenical (Roman Catholic/Greek Orthodox/Anglican) edition, *The Time of the Spirit: Readings through the Christian Year*.¹²¹ It commemorated a variety of Christians, not all of them from the three communions represented by the editors, and readings from secular literature, not only sermons or theological commentaries.

Similarly Catholic-based but with a certain outreach is Bert Ghezzi’s *Voices of the Saints*, an alphabetical list of readings from or about 365 saints, one for each day of the year.¹²² There are various indexes and other devices allowing for different methods of reading, i.e., chronological or thematic. There are a few non-Roman Catholic saints, e.g. Seraphim of Sarov¹²³ and Shenouti,¹²⁴ about whom he says that “western Christians have mixed feelings” and that “his example shows us that sanctity is possible for a person with big character flaws and faults.” He included Mother Teresa of Calcutta even before her beatification in October 2003.¹²⁵

Richard P. McBrien’s *Lives of the Saints* is subtitled *From Mary and St. Francis of Assisi to John XXIII and Mother Teresa*, which would make one expect an exclusively Roman Catholic focus. However, the volume is ecumenically ambitious, based on the

feast days celebrated throughout the Roman Catholic Church, as well as of the many other saints whose feasts are celebrated by various countries, religious orders, or other Christian denominations, particularly

¹²¹ George Every, Richard Harries and Kallistos Ware, eds., *The Time of the Spirit: Readings Throughout the Christian Year* (London: SPCK; Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1984).

¹²² Bert Ghezzi, *Voices of the Saints: A Year of Readings* (New York: Doubleday, 2000).

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 652–53.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 658–59.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 678–79.

the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches, the churches of the Anglican Communion, especially the Church of England and the Episcopal Church in the United States of America ..., and the churches of the Lutheran World Federation, especially the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.¹²⁶

It is organized by the calendar year. It commemorates not only the principal saints of the Roman calendar but also such others as: George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends (Quakers) on 13 January; Sava of Serbia on 14 January; American Baptist and civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. on his birthday, 15 January, a national holiday in the USA – noting that the Episcopal Church remembers him on the day of his death, 4 April, where McBrien has a second notice. On 30 January we finally enter the realm of the *Dancing Saints* with a notice of “Mohandas K. Gandhi, Hindu holy man,” although in the same sentence with the Irish-born Belgian abbot, Blessed Joseph Columba Marmion. German Reformer Martin Luther gets one sentence in a paragraph that also notes the Russian Orthodox feast of Pope Leo the Great of Rome on 18 February. The Anglican poet George Herbert appears on 27 February, noting his literary influence on the Methodist Charles Wesley. Both Wesley brothers are noted on 2 March. A hero of the German Confessing Church, Martin Niemoeller, is on 5 March. The martyred Reformation Archbishop Thomas Cranmer of Canterbury gets one sentence on 21 March in a paragraph he shares with the Benedictine and Cistercian observation of the death of Benedict. American Puritan theologian and missionary Jonathan Edwards is noted on 22 March, on the strength of his commemoration in some Lutheran calendars. Without going through the whole year, it can be said that while there is a serious effort to include non-Catholics (and uncanonized Catholics) in this list, the longer entries are invariably for recognized Catholic saints; others get much shorter notices.

¹²⁶ Richard P. McBrien *Lives of the Saints: From Mary and St. Francis of Assisi to John XXIII and Mother Teresa* (San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 2001), vii.

Finally, and even closer to the attitudes that produced the *Dancing Saints*, is Robert Ellsberg's *All Saints: Daily Reflections on Saints, Prophets, and Witnesses for Our Time*.¹²⁷ It has one entry for each day of the year, many of them from Catholic sources, but really without regard to religious identity or hierarchical approval of their cult. The approach is at once spiritual and secular. On 8 January, there is the Italian scientist Galileo, who, although a man of conscience and integrity, was absolved of heresy only in 1990. Giordano Bruno, who was burned by the Inquisition for his cosmological inquiries, is remembered on 17 February.

Influential theologians whose doctrines have been condemned by the Church appear: Evagrius Ponticus on 10 January and Origen on 18 May. There are several non-Christians: Gandhi on 30 January; Jewish philosopher Martin Buber on 8 February; the biblical Hagar, mother of Ishmael, is on 19 February, but with no mention of her importance to Arabs or Muslims; the Ba'al Shem Tov, founder of Hassidism on 22 May; Squamish Chief Seattle on 7 June; Holocaust victim Anne Frank on 12 June; Irish-American Zen monk Maura O'Halloran, regarded as a Buddhist saint but also revered by Christians, on 22 October; the martyrs of *Kristallnacht* on 9 November; and the Dutch Jewish mystic of the Holocaust, Ety Hillesum, on 30 November. Ellsberg manages to find sanctity not only in the obvious places but includes such figures as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart on December 5th, aware that many will find this a strange choice.

Toward the Dancing Saints?

Thus we seem to have come full circle, returning to the wide-ranging catholicity of the *Dancing Saints*. Individuals and Churches will have to make up their own minds about whom to regard as saints and how to honor them. We have seen a variety of degrees of acceptance of others' saints, Anglicans often being, among those Churches that do venerate

¹²⁷ Robert Ellsberg, *All Saints: Daily Reflections on Saints, Prophets, and Witnesses for Our Time* (New York, NY: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1997).

saints, the least sectarian in selecting those who make it into their calendars.

At the other extreme are some Orthodox Churches who reject anyone from a new-calendar church but who go out of their way to claim as their own pre-schismatic Westerners, although often with a certain suspicion, e.g., in the case of Saint Augustine of Hippo. However, by accepting the Arian Artemios, even they have accepted fudged credentials for someone they wish to claim as their own. Perhaps something similar is behind the few post-schismatic Orthodox saints who appear in the *Martyrologium romanum*.

Most curious of all, perhaps, are some Eastern Catholics who have rehabilitated certain Orthodox saints but purged themselves of Western Catholics, exactly counter to the tendency of even some very conservative Orthodox Churches to include representatives from what have become non-Orthodox Churches. All one can say is that several contradictory tendencies all seem to be operating simultaneously. Those optimistic souls still hoping for the re-establishment of communion among the Orthodox and Oriental Churches, and between Catholics and Orthodox, envision sharing of saints, but permissively, not by *fiat*. As one recent author has put it, “what is foreseen is a *communion of communions*, in which each can largely retain its local customs, saints, clerical headgear, and so on.”¹²⁸

It is sobering to remember that many of our martyrs were murdered by fellow Christians, sometimes at the instigation of Church authorities. Churches considering whether to venerate members of other communions which they themselves had martyred should recall our Lord’s reprimand to the religious establishment of his day (cf. Matthew 23:29–37).

On the other hand, even victims of the Spanish Inquisition could be perceived as martyrs by contemporary Catholics. The Venetian merchant Piero Venier’s account of the 8 June 1511 *auto de fé* in Palermo says of “Judaizers” condemned to death: “Et, hessendo morti come cristiani, el suo morir se poria dir

¹²⁸ Peter Bouteneff, “Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians: Realizing Unity,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 42 (1998): 163.

martirio,” a sentiment encouraged by the Dominican who preached for two hours before the executions:

el persuade...quelli che fosseno per aver qualche pena corporal, etiam che el fosse la morte, a soportarla con pacientia, como fedeli cristiani, per la fede et per amor de Dio, exortandoli et aducendoli molti exemplij dei martiri santi, i qual, a torto, vegnivano alcune volte per una vania, alcuni per un'altra sorte de acusation fati morir; excusando el reverendo inquistor, che sopra le cosse atestà per molti testimonij, e non per utel proprio, li condanava.¹²⁹

To what communion do ambiguous martyrs belong? The attitude of Maximos the Confessor is instructive. He was brought back to Constantinople for one last trial before the synod and interrogated: “‘What Church do you belong to, then?’ he was asked. ‘To Constantinople? To Rome? To Antioch? To Alexandria? To Jerusalem? For you see that all are united with us.’ – ‘To the Catholic Church, which is the right and salutary confession of faith in the God of the universe,’ the Confessor answered.”¹³⁰

While perhaps not seeking to draw attention to the role our own communion may have played in persecuting the martyrs of other communions, in presuming to judge the saintliness of Christians from other Churches, we should take care lest we find ourselves asking the question posed by certain detractors caricatured in the Wisdom of Solomon:

These are persons whom we once held in derision and made a byword of reproach – fools that we were! We thought that their lives were madness and that their end was without honor. Why have they been numbered among the children of God? And why is their lot among the saints? So it was we who strayed from

¹²⁹ Nadia Zeldes, “Auto de fé in Palermo, 1511: The First Executions of Judaizers in Sicily,” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* 219 (2002): 226, 225.

¹³⁰ Hieromonk Makarios, *The Synaxarion*, 243–44 (for 21 January).

the way of truth, and the light of righteousness did not shine on us, and the sun did not rise upon us. We took our fill of the paths of lawlessness and destruction, and we journeyed through trackless deserts, but the way of the Lord we have not known.¹³¹



Резюме

Стаття православного диякона розглядає питання визнання святих однієї Церкви чи релігійної спільноти іншими Церквами та релігіями. Він доказує, що навіть нерелігійні люди творять своїх “святих”; що почитання святих – у цьому випадку святих у звичайному розумінні того слова – нерозв’язує праведників іншої конфесії – без апробату ієрархії; та що, незважаючи на деякі майже комічні випадки, такий “синаксарний екуменізм” може допомогти християнам зблизитися. Це питання зокрема важливе на християнському Сході, тому що поодинокі святі нерозв’язують символи розколу. Герої-святі не-халкедонських (монофізитських) Церков, наприклад, далі по-іменню засуджені православними Церквами, незважаючи на те, що не-халкедонські та православні Церкви з року в рік зближуються. Сьогодні члени цих Церков часто прищипаються один в одного з дозволом своїх ієрархів.



¹³¹ Wisdom 5:4–7.

La Liturgie Pénitentielle des Églises Syriaque et Copte

Elias El-Hayek

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 313)

Arguing that penitential discipline is a crucial component of the liturgico-spiritual patrimony of both the Coptic and Syriac traditions, the author demonstrates that both traditions offer a much more “therapeutic” understanding of penitence whose indebtedness to Jewish tradition is more clearly seen than in the frequently more juridical and individual approaches common in Western traditions. In particular, the author focuses on non-eucharistic penitential services and penitential aspects of eucharistic liturgies which have the effect of underscoring the wounds a community endures when a member sins, and the healing a community can mediate to revive and restore that member when he repents. The author also discusses the different approach taken to the question of a taxonomy of sins, arguing that figures like Theodore of Mopsuestia and Ephraim the Syrian have developed an understanding of sins which require individualized therapeutic intervention by a priest in auricular confession alongside those that require no such attention directly and can be dealt with through liturgical action in the sacrifice which is the divine Eucharist. The author concludes with an analysis of the “prayers of pardon” in the Syriac (east and west) and Alexandrian anaphoras, which are compared with others, including the Nestorian.



La discipline pénitentielle orientale représente un élément important de sa spiritualité. C’est dans le contexte de la spiritualité et de la théologie des Pères que la pratique pénitentielle

peut être située dans sa perspective propre.¹ Malgré le fait qu'entre les diverses traditions chrétiennes de l'Orient, il existe parfois plus de différences qu'entre les églises orientales et l'église latine, certains facteurs de la pratique pénitentielle relèvent tout particulièrement de la tradition orientale. La pénitence publique et individuelle, en Orient, a toujours été considérée comme une thérapeutique spirituelle du pénitent individuel.

Le père spirituel (lequel, en fait, n'avait pas besoin d'être un clerc) était un homme sous la mouvance de l'Esprit Saint, ayant réalisé avec succès l'unité de sa vie intérieure pour devenir un spécialiste du conseil des autres.² Cela ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y avait pas des services de pénitence en commun (appelés souvent service de pardon), comme nous le verrons plus loin, qui se sont développés parallèlement à la pratique individuelle de la pénitence; mais ces pénitentiels faisaient partie intégrantes des réunions de prière des premières communautés chrétiennes. Souvent ces réunions se terminaient par la célébration eucharistique ou par l'administration d'un autre sacrement.

Les liturgies orientales conservent les éléments essentiels de ce service de pénitence commune dans les prières de la pré-anaphore aussi bien que dans l'anaphore. Le pénitentiel appelé «prière de purification» qu'on retrouve dans les liturgies syriaques ainsi que dans les liturgies coptes, accompagné par l'offrande de l'encens, est un exemple typique.

Il est à noter que les Églises qui relèvent de la tradition antiochienne et alexandrine sont orientées beaucoup plus sur la Bible que ne le sont les Églises romaine et byzantine. Car elles ont gardé dans leur pratique bien des éléments de la tradition juive. La liturgie de la pénitence dans ces deux traditions peut être groupée autour de deux rites: l'un que j'appellerai le rite de purification. (C'est une séquence liturgique

¹ Cf. *Les Catéchèses de Cyrille de Jérusalem* (P.G. 33, 1065–1128); Ephrem, «Hymni Azymorum,» *Ephremi Hymni et Sermones*, éd. J. Lamy (Malines, 1889); Aphrahat, *Demonstratio 7* in *Patrologia Syriaca* 1, ed., J. Parisot (Paris, 1894), 315 ss.

² I. Hausherr, «Direction Spirituelle en Orient autrefois,» *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 144 (1955).

complète accompagnée par l'offrande d'encens; elle est toujours conclue par la demande de pardon. Ce rite pénitentiel – ou de purification – se trouve dans la partie pré-anaphorale de la liturgie eucharistique et dans la liturgie de tous les sacrements.) L'autre, que j'appellerai la prière du pardon proprement dit, est se trouvé uniquement dans la liturgie anaphorale comme prélude au rite de la communion et se termine souvent par une absolution.

I. Rite de la purification

Ce rite est largement répandu dans la famille liturgique antiochienne et, de point de vue technique, il s'appelle le service de l'encens. Il s'agit sans doute d'un des plus anciens services de «pénitence de groupe,» toujours en usage dans l'Église. Les liturgistes sont d'accord sur les trois parties qui le composent:

(a) La première genome Proemion (ou Phroumioun en Syriacque), c'est un terme grec qui veut dire préambule. Sous sa forme actuelle, il s'agit d'une bénédiction dont l'origine probable se trouve dans le service sabbatique de la synagogue, et en particulier dans la 18^{ème} Bénédiction. Elle débute toujours par une prière doxologique récitée par le président de l'assemblée, lorsqu'il impose l'encens: «Soyons dignes toujours et en tous temps de glorifier,³ louer, exalter, etc...» Ici l'on commémore l'occasion ou la célébration liturgique. Le président conclut ensuite le préambule par la formule doxologique suivante: «A Dieu sont dus l'adoration, la gloire et l'honneur en ce temps et en toute saison et temps, jour, heure et instant de nos vies, maintenant et toujours.»⁴ L'assemblée répond: Amen

(b) La deuxième partie est appelée Sedro (du mot syriacque qui signifie, série, rang). Cette prière est plus longue et

³ La Torah hébraïque.

⁴ Ce proemion doit être comparé avec la Bénédiction 18 du Shemoneh Ezreh; cf. William Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue Upon the Divine Office* (London: Faith Press, 1964).

représente le corps du service de l'encens. Elle développe le thème de la célébration liturgique. Elle est généralement chantée par le président de l'assemblée. Dans l'usage actuel c'est le diacre ou le chantre qui la chante en réservant la doxologie finale au président. Suite à l'encensement de l'autel, les icône du Christ et de la vierge, de la croix, du président de l'assemblée et des autres ministres, le diacre ou le prêtre encense l'assemblée. Les membres de l'assemblée se mettent debout et inclinent leurs têtes découvertes durant l'encensement. Le sedro se termine par une doxologie chantée par le président de l'assemblée à laquelle l'assemblée répond «Amen.»

(c) La partie finale du service de l'encens consiste de la prière de l'encens. Celui-ci est toujours lué par un membre de l'assemblée et le service est conclu en priant Dieu de réconcilier son peuple grâce au parfum de l'encens qui lui a été offert.

Dans le préambule, comme dans le sedro, nous trouvons une requête formelle pour que les péchés des fidèles soient pardonnés et en particulier les verbes techniques de RY et NYH (en syriaque: «satisfaire» et «calmer» ou «apaiser»), sont utilisés. On sait que ces deux termes avaient été employés dans les services de l'encens au Temple. Les savants sémitiques vont plus loin et assurent que ces cérémonies d'expiation étaient en usage chez les Sémites, avant d'être adoptées par les Juifs dans les rituels du temple. Les Sémites et les autres peuples du Proche-Orient croyaient que les narines étaient le siège de la colère divine. Par conséquent pour apaiser la divinité, il devient nécessaire de lui offrir la douce odeur de l'encens et du parfum.⁵ Il en résulte que l'offrande de l'encens était considérée comme un sacrifice de satisfaction et conciliation qui apaiserait la colère de Dieu.

⁵ La liturgie maronite comporte d'autres prières insérées dans ce service. Cf. P.E. Gemayel, «La Structure des Vêpres maronites,» *L'Orient Syrien* 9 (1964): 26. Pour le rite malankar, cf. *L'Ordre de la Sainte Qurbona*, (Trivandrum, 1964), 26, 39, 48-49.

Ces deux termes d'apaiser et de calmer employés par les Sémites païens et aussi par les Juifs,⁶ se retrouvent dans les services de l'encens des rites syriaques. Alors que le rite de purification a des liens précis avec la liturgie de l'Ancien Testament du Kippour, les prières employées sont modelées d'après la liturgie de la Synagogue des temps apostoliques.⁷ Cependant le genre littéraire du sedro est connu dans l'Église syriaque depuis la fin du onzième siècle,⁸ et porte les marques de l'influence d'Edesse.

L'un des rites de purification les plus expressifs est le service de l'encens dans la liturgie pré-anaphorale des Malankars qui suit la lecture de l'Évangile.

Après les prières du Proemion et du Sedro, le célébrant entonne: «De Dieu puissions-nous recevoir le pardon de nos offenses et la rémission de nos péchés.» Ensuite, en grande solennité (deux éventails garnis de clochettes sont agités et les sonnettes à main sont mises en branle), le célébrant bénit l'encensoir fumant et proclame:

Béni soit le Père saint! Béni soit le Fils saint! Béni soit l'Esprit saint vivant qui sanctifie l'encens de ses serviteurs pécheurs, plein de miséricorde et de compassion pour nos âmes et celles de nos pères, nos frères, nos dirigeants, nos maîtres, nos morts et tous les fidèles trépassés, les enfants de la Sainte Église, maintenant et toujours.⁹

Le célébrant ou le diacre se promène alors au milieu du peuple (qui se tient debout) en balançant l'encensoir qu'il tient à la main et en envoyant la fumée vers l'assistance, qui la reçoivent dans les mains et s'en couvre le visage.

On trouve dans la liturgie maronite du samedi saint un service de pardon accompagné de l'offrande d'encens aussi

⁶ Edouard D'Horme, *L'Emploi métaphorique des Noms des parties du Corps en Hébreu et en Akkadien* (Paris, 1963), 180.

⁷ G. Khoury-Sarkis, «Le Sedro dans l'Église syrienne d'Antioche,» *L'Orient Syrien* 1 (1956): 88.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹ *L'ordre de la Qurbana*, 50.

élaboré que celui des la liturgie Malankar. Ce service de «pénitence de groupe» est célébré vers onze du matin le jour du samedi saint; il clôture le carême et dès qu'on a fini de chanter les prières de ce service, les cloches sonnent pour annoncer Pâque. Alors que l'acclamation «le Christ est ressuscité en vérité» retentit dans l'église et les fidèles avec le célébrant s'offrent les vœux de joyeuses Pâques.

La liturgie copte célèbre un service de l'encens appelé «prière de l'encens du matin»¹⁰; il sert de service préparatoire à la célébration de la liturgie eucharistique. Nous y trouvons les mêmes éléments que dans les liturgies syriaques occidentales, quoique dans un ordre différent. L'offrande de l'encens est reliée à la requête du pardon, et la tonalité du service est donnée par le diacre, dans la prière d'ouverture suivante: «Priez pour que Dieu ait pitié de nous et rend dignes de recevoir la rémission de nos péchés.»¹¹

Le célébrant déclare alors solennellement l'objet du rite: «O Seigneur, accorde nous le pardon de notre péché, pour que nous puissions te louer avec ton Père saint et ton Esprit saint»¹²; après quoi il bénit l'encens par une prière qui rappelle l'offrande de sacrifices et d'encens dans l'Ancien Testament:

Dieu qui a agréé les offrandes d'Abel le juste, le sacrifice de Noë et d'Abraham et l'encens d'Aron et de Zacharie, reçois cet encens, même s'il est offert par nos mains de pécheurs. Pour le parfum suave de l'encens et pour la rémission de nos péchés et de manquements de ton peuple. Car tu es béni et il est bon de te louer, Père, Fils et Esprit Saint.¹³

Notons que la dernière partie de la prière est semblable à la fin de la 18^{ème} Bénédiction de la liturgie synagogale. Tout ce rite trouve sa conclusion dans une prière d'absolution générale adressée au Fils. La première partie de la prière implore le

¹⁰ *Le service matinal copte pour le Jour du Seigneur*, trad. J. Marquess de Bute (Londres, 1882), 1–34.

¹¹ Ibid., 4.

¹² Ibid., 8.

¹³ Ibid., 9.

pardon du Christ, grâce au pouvoir des clés donné à Pierre et aux apôtres. La deuxième partie est un appel à sa miséricorde pour absoudre les péchés de l'assemblée.¹⁴

II. Rites pénitentiels dans la liturgie anaphorale

Les rites du service de l'encens ne sont pas les seuls rites pénitentiels des traditions antiochiennes et alexandrines. Les anaphores des liturgies syriennes d'Occident et d'Orient et celles de la tradition alexandrine ont adopté un certain nombre d'éléments des rites pénitentiels. Ces derniers ont apparemment été greffés sur les prières anaphorales à une date ultérieure, peut-être à une époque où la pénitence publique était en voie de disparition.¹⁵

Les catéchèses de Théodore de Mopsueste font une nette distinction entre les péchés remis par la réception de l'Eucharistie et ceux qui requièrent une procédure pénitentielle particulière.¹⁶ Selon l'enseignement de Théodore, les péchés qui n'excluent pas la participation aux mystères divins sont ceux qui résultent de la faiblesse¹⁷ de notre nature, de l'ignorance, ou qui sont commis involontairement.¹⁸

Il y a, cependant, une catégorie d'offenses qu'il appelle «les grands péchés qui rejettent à jamais la Loi.»¹⁹ Ces péchés sont soumis à une discipline spéciale et réservés à l'évêque.²⁰

¹⁴ Ibid., 33–34. La même forme est donnée par l'anaphore copte de S. Basile; cf. aussi la même prière d'absolution dans la liturgie copte de St. Cyrille, in Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), 148–9. L'absolution que l'on trouve dans la liturgie de S. Grégoire est plus longue. Cf. Ligier, «Pénitence et Eucharistie,» *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 29 (1963): 46–48.

¹⁵ Ligier, «Pénitence et Eucharistie,» 6–7.

¹⁶ Raymond Tonneau et Robert Devreesse, eds., *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (Città del Vaticano, 1949); cf. Renne, *La doctrine eucharistique et la liturgie de la catéchèse mystagogique de Théodore de Mopsueste*, (Washington, DC, 1942), 41–54.

¹⁷ Homélie XVI, 33 in *Ibid.* Cf. Renne, *La doctrine eucharistique*, 41–54.

¹⁸ Renne, *La doctrine eucharistique*, 34–35

¹⁹ Tonneau et Devreesse, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, 589–91.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Le «grand péché» doit être entendu suivant la définition de Jean (1 John.3:4; 5:16). C'est le péché par excellence, la «*anomia*,» le rejet de la loi. C'est le péché qui entraîne la mort «*pères thanaton*.» Selon Jean, tout péché qui tend, par son objet et son caractère volontaire, à rejeter la loi de Dieu de manière permanente tombe sous cette catégorie. Théodore de Mopsueste reconnaît le fait que nombre d'offenses pourraient tomber dans cette catégorie qui entraîne la mort. Les exemples qu'il en donne sont les suivants: l'inceste, l'adultère, l'idolâtrie, l'avarice, l'ivrognerie, le vol etc.

En d'autres termes, ce type de péché recouvre toutes les offenses qui, suivant les règles de l'Église du Nouveau Testament, sont sujettes à une discipline pénitentielle particulière. L'enseignement de Théodore sur ce point n'est que l'écho de la pénitence publique qui gouverne la pratique de l'Église de l'âge patristique.

La distinction entre péché volontaire et involontaire se trouve déjà chez Origène. Dans son commentaire du Lévitique, le docteur alexandrin, après avoir énuméré les divers moyens d'obtenir la rémission des péchés sous la loi nouvelle, déclare:

le prêtre qui a le pouvoir d'offrir le sacrifice pour certaines transgressions volontaires ou involontaires n'offre pas un holocauste pour le péché d'adultère, d'homicide volontaire ou d'autres péchés graves. De même les Apôtres eux-mêmes et les prêtres qui leur ont succédé selon le Grand Prêtre Suprême, ayant reçu la science de la thérapeutique divine, savent d'après leur instruction par l'Esprit, pour quel péché, quand et comment ils doivent offrir le sacrifice. Ils savent également pour quels péchés ils ne doivent pas le faire.²¹

²¹ Origène, «Exhortation au Martyre,» in *Anciens auteurs chrétiens*, trans. J.G. O'Maira (Paris, 1954), 111–12. Cette classification des péchés est plus largement développée dans le «Commentaire sur les Nombres» (15:24–31) d'Augustin. Mettant de côté les péchés involontaires qu'il regroupe avec les péchés involontaires (*peccata nolentium*) de l'ancienne loi, il énumère dans une catégorie particulière les péchés commis in «*manu*

Suivant le «De penitentia,» oeuvre attribuée à Ephrem, il existe une catégorie de péchés qui pourraient être facilement remis par l'action liturgique (intervention) et une autre qui est jugée «incurable» et ne peut être absolue par le pouvoir sacrificiel du prêtre.²² Dieu seul absout ce type de transgression et seulement après que les pécheurs aient été soumis à une longue pénitence. Selon Ephrem, «les médecins sont incapables de guérir les maladies incurables, et de même les prêtres ne peuvent accorder l'expiation (*exlaseathai*) de tous les péchés. Comment se fait-il alors que certains pensent pouvoir lier et délier tout péché? Le prêtre qui s'efforce de délier ce que Dieu a lié est, de ce fait, impie.»²³

Il est évident que cette classification du péché par les Pères est basée sur la législation de l'Ancien Testament.²⁴ Nous sommes ici concernés par le contenu essentiel de ces testes qui consiste dans le fait que la classification scripturaire des péchés est surtout sacerdotale et liturgique. C'est sous cet aspect que la distinction est passée dans la liturgie chrétienne et le sacrifice eucharistique.

D'après la théologie de l'Ancien Testament, il n'y a aucun remède à la situation dans laquelle se trouve un des fidèles ayant transgressé volontairement et formellement la loi. Mais, celui qui, à l'intérieur de cadre de la loi a commis une violation par ignorance ou involontairement, trouvera un remède à sa situation à l'intérieure même de cette loi. Son péché est rémissible liturgiquement. Sous la discipline de l'Ancien Testament, l'idolâtre, l'adultère ou l'homicide représentaient des

superbiae,» pour lesquelles n'existe aucune purification sacrificielle possible. Voir P.L. 34, 727–29.

²² Il s'agit d'une compilation en grec de règle morales, canoniques et liturgiques attribuées à Ephrem. La recherche récente a mis en doute l'attribution à Ephrem. Cf. Voobus, «Etudes littéraires critiques et historiques d'Ephrem le Syrien,» *Textes de la Société théologique estonienne en exil* (Stockholm, 1968), 28.

²³ Ephrem, *Opera Omnia*, éd. Assemani, (Rome, 1746), 198.

²⁴ Nombres 15:22–31; Lévitique 4:5. Les péchés soumis à une purification sacrificielle sont les péchés d'ignorance (*bi-segaga*) suivant le texte massorétique, ou involontaires (*akousios*) suivant la Septante; cf. Ligier, «Pénitence et Eucharistie,» 10.

péchés relevant d'une catégorie particulière. Leur rémission n'était obtenue que par l'aspersion du sang dans le Saint des Saints au jour de l'expiation (Yom Kippour).

Sous la loi nouvelle, ces trois péchés sont supposés souiller la sainteté du Corps du Christ. Leurs auteurs sont par conséquent exclus de la communion eucharistique et de la communauté de l'Église. Mais la transgression causée par ignorance ou inadvertance tombe sous le pouvoir de pardon de l'Église. Par conséquent, nous pouvons comprendre pourquoi Théodore de Mopsueste dit que ces péchés non seulement n'excluent pas le pécheur de la participation aux saints mystères, mais plutôt que l'on trouve dans ces mystères l'absolution laquelle, sous l'ancienne loi, était accordée par l'intermédiaire du sacrifice sacerdotal ordinaire.²⁵

Il est intéressant de noter ici que Théodore de Mopsueste attribue le pouvoir du pardon de ces péchés à la puissance sanctifiante quasi-physique de l'humanité du Christ.²⁶ Cette purification est attribuée à la fois à la communion au Corps du Christ et au sacrifice eucharistique.²⁷ L'enseignement d'Ephrem sur ce point est identique à celui de Théodore de Mopsueste. Pour lui, l'incarnation mit fin au sacerdoce et aux sacrifices figuratifs: Jésus institua son sacrifice pascal.²⁸ A partir de ce moment, au lieu de sacrifier des animaux vivants, offerts uniquement à Jérusalem, le Corps vivant du Christ est offert dans le monde entier comme sacrifice vivant.²⁹ A l'Église, délivrée de l'ancien sacrifice, il confia le calice de son sang et invita ses enfants à le boire: car par ce sang «leur crime sera pardonné.»³⁰ Par conséquent, le pardon des péchés commis après le baptême pourrait être obtenu non seulement

²⁵ Lévitique 7: 1-7; 6:17-23.

²⁶ Hom. XVI, Renne *La doctrine eucharistique*, 36; Tonneau-Devresse, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, 591-93.

²⁷ Selon Théodore, la grâce du pardon est attribuée aux paroles de la communion: «Le Corps du Christ.» Cf. Renne *La doctrine eucharistique*, 28; Tonneau-Devresse, *Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste*, 579.

²⁸ Ephrem, «Hymni Azymorum,» 2,2, *Ephremi Hymni et Sermones*, ed. Lamy (Malines, 1889), 1:575-76.

²⁹ Ibid., 735-36.

³⁰ Ibid.

par le jeûne, l'aumône et la prière, mais également par l'offrande du «qurboono,» le sacrifice eucharistique.³¹

Le même concept concernant le pouvoir de l'oblation eucharistique de pardonner les péchés se trouve dans la compilation canonique (nomocanon) de Kitab AI-Houda (*Le Livre et la Direction*), pénitentiel maronite de l'onzième siècle.³²

Nous tirons de ces textes la conclusion que cette classification de péchés liturgiquement pardonnables et impardonnables est basée sur un fondement liturgique semblable à l'Ancien Testament et que l'Eucharistie, sacrifice de la loi nouvelle, a le pouvoir de remettre les péchés d'inadvertance et de faiblesse qui étaient pardonnés, dans l'Ancien Testament, par l'offrande du sacrifice habituel.

A la lumière de ce qui précède, nous voyons pourquoi les églises syriaques et copte insèrent des rites pénitentiels dans la prière eucharistique (l'anaphore). Ces prières du pardon se trouvent dans les anaphores syriaques occidentales avant le rite de la fraction et la prière du Seigneur et après le Notre Père dans la liturgie copte. Les fidèles, de ce fait, ne se présentent pas à la communion avant d'avoir demandé la rémission de leurs péchés.³³

A. *Les prières du pardon dans les anaphores des liturgies Syriaques*

Le prototype de toutes les anaphores syriaques est l'anaphore de St. Jacques de Jérusalem. Les liturgistes sont d'avis que la liturgie de St. Jacques fut connue dans la Cité Sainte, mais ils diffèrent quant à la date de sa rédaction.³⁴ La version syriaque de cette anaphore, cependant, remonte au onzième siècle.³⁵ Le texte syriaque présuppose un texte grec, comme l'indique nombre de termes et d'expressions. Il contient aussi

³¹ Ibid., 3:161–62.

³² Kitab AI-Houda, *Livre de la Direction*, éd. P. Fahd (Alep, 1935), 86.

³³ Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 31–45.

³⁴ Alphonse Raes, *Introductio in Liturgiam Orientalem* (Rome, 1947), 20; Alphonse Raes, *Anaphorae Syriacae*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1939), 2:125 (fasc. 2).

³⁵ Raes, *Anaphorae Syriacae*, 125.

nombre d'expressions qui sont manifestement d'origine araméenne. Nous utiliserons les deux versions au cours de notre exposé.³⁶

Il y a environ soixante-dix anaphores en usage dans les rites syriaques et toutes contiennent ce rite pénitentiel. Notre discussion portera seulement sur les texte syriaque³⁷ et grec de Saint Jacques.³⁸

Le thème du pardon dans les anaphores syriaques se présente régulièrement après l'intercession pour les défunts qui est vraisemblablement employée comme transition vers une prière de supplication pour la rémission des péchés. Après avoir supplié Dieu, qui est seul sans péché, de pardonner les péchés et les transgressions des défunts, le célébrant termine en demandant pardon pour les péchés des vivants

O Seigneur des Esprits et de toute chair, souviens-toi, ô Seigneur de ceux que nous n'avons pas mentionnés, qui ont quitté cette vie dans la foi orthodoxe. Accorde le repos à leurs âmes, à leurs corps et à leurs esprits, délivre-les de la punition éternelle à venir et accorde leur le bonheur au sein d'Abraham, d'Isaac et de Jacob, là où resplendit la lumière de ton visage, d'où peines, tribulations et soupirs ont disparu. Ne leur impute aucune de leurs offenses et n'entre pas en jugement avec tes serviteurs, car devant toi aucun vivant ne sera justifié: il n'est personne en effet parmi les fils des hommes de cette terre qui ne soit coupable de péché et exempt de souillure, sauf notre Seigneur, Dieu et Sauveur Jésus Christ, ton Fils unique, grâce auquel nous aussi espérons obtenir les miséricordes et le pardon des péchés, grâce à lui, tant pour nous-mêmes que pour eux.³⁹

³⁶ Cf. la version grecque chez Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 31–68.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 69–110.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 28–68.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 96–97.

Le célébrant introduit alors le thème du pardon et demande à Dieu d'absoudre les péchés de l'assemblée: «Donne-leur le repos, remets et pardonne, ô Dieu, nos offenses commises volontairement ou involontairement, en connaissance ou sans connaissance de cause, ceux qui sont manifestes et ceux qui furent commis il y a longtemps, ceux qui sont connus et ceux qui sont oubliés et dont seul ton saint Nom a gardé connaissance.»⁴⁰

Ce thème du pardon des péchés tant des vivants que des morts se retrouve dans toutes les anaphores syriaques.⁴¹ Mais il est évident que les offenses graves ne sont pas exclues de ces prières de pardon.

*B. La prière du pardon
dans les anaphores de la liturgie alexandrine*

Dans les anaphores coptes, le rite pénitentiel débute par l'embolisme de la prière du Seigneur.⁴² Il se compose deux prières, l'une appelée prière de l'inclination, l'autre étant la prière de conclusion et d'absolution adressée au Père.⁴³ La prière de l'inclination supplie Dieu d'accorder à l'assemblée inclinée devant lui toutes les grâces nécessaires à chacun: la protection du mal, la purification de toute souillure du corps et

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ A cause de l'importance de la version syriacque de l'anaphore de Saint Jacques, je donne ici la liste des principales éditions et traductions. Boderianus, *Severi Alexandrini ... de ritibus baptismi et synaxis apud syros christianos receptis* (Anvers, 1572) (texte syriacque avec traduction latine); Assemani, *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae in XV libros distributus* (13 seulement ont été publiés) (Rome, 1749–1766), 4:131–179; Lebrun, *Explication littérale historique et dogmatique des prières et des cérémonies de la Mess* (Paris, 1779) 4:581–625; Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* (Paris, 1716), 2:1–43 (en latin); Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 69–110; Rucker, *Die Syrische Jakobsanaphora* (Münster, 1923) (trad. allemande); Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1954), 187–97; Raes, *Anaphorae Syriacae* (Rome, 1939) 2:137–176, fasc. 2; (texte syriacque avec trad. latine); G. Khoury-Sarkis, «L'anaphore de S.Jacques,» *l'Orient syrien* 4 (1959): 425–48.

⁴² Dahane, *Liturgie de la Sainte Messe selon le rite chaldéen* (Paris, 1937), 72–79; Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 247–305.

⁴³ Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 293.

de l'esprit et de toutes sortes de péchés, la force, enfin, la connaissance et l'intelligence de compréhension, pour qu'ils puissent recevoir les dons divins «en toute sincérité et sans passion.»

*C. Les prières du pardon
dans les anaphores des liturgies syriaques orientales*

Si le thème pénitentiel est bref dans les anaphores occidentale, dans les anaphores orientales, il est souligné et développé, surtout dans la liturgie de Addai et Mari.⁴⁴ Il débute à la fin de l'épiclese et utilise les rites essentiels de la liturgie en les adaptant à une portée pénitentielle, jusqu'au «Sancta Sanctis.» Toutes les prières de cette séquence récitée alternativement par le célébrant et l'assemblée, représentent un préparation directe «pour s'approcher des mystères des précieux corps et sang de notre Sauveur.»⁴⁵

Ce rite est accompagné par le service de l'encens et par une ectène récitée par le diacre, qui invite les fidèles au pardon réciproque de leurs offenses et implore Dieu de pardonner leurs péchés.⁴⁶ Enfin, le rite se termine par la prière d'absolution prononcée par le célébrant: «pardonne, ô mon Seigneur, par ta compassion, les péchés et les transgressions de tes serviteurs et purifie nos lèvres par ta grâce, pour qu'elles puissent produire les fruits de louange à ta divinité exaltée, avec tous les saints, dans ton Royaume.»⁴⁷ Notons en passant que dans le contexte de cette liturgie, la communion semble être donnée

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 294; Dahane *Liturgie de la Sainte Messe selon le rite chaldéen*, 77. Les anaphores syriaques (orientales) se servent du terme *surata* (offenses) ou *sahlwata* (erreurs) ou *htahe* (péchés) *oumet'abranwata* (transgressions). Pour une description complète de la signification de ces termes, voir Ligier, «Pénitence et Eucharistie,» 21–23.

⁴⁶ Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, 295; Dahane *Liturgie de la Sainte Messe selon le rite chaldéen*, 77–79.

⁴⁷ Pseudo-Georges d'Arabie, *Expositio officiorum Ecclesiae*, dans éd. R.H. Connolly, *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium*, série 2, vol. 92 (Louvain, 1903–), 66–67.

comme signe de pardon du péché.⁴⁸ Alors que le rite pénitentiel dans les liturgies syriaques orientales est plus développé, la liste des péchés est moins détaillée et moins exacte que dans les liturgies occidentales.

III. Autres rites de pénitence (célébrés hors de la liturgie eucharistique)

A. Chez les monophysites relevant de la tradition antiochienne

L'église syriaque occidentale élabore très tôt une théologie de la pénitence et divers rites pénitentiels.⁴⁹ Nous trouvons une description détaillée de l'un de ces rites dans le pontifical syriaque publié au 12^{ème} siècle par le patriarche monophysite d'Antioche, Michel le Grand.⁵⁰ Il établit les règles que chaque confesseur devait respecter: «ne pas révéler quoi que ce soit entendu en confession, ne embarrasser ultérieurement le pénitent et prendre garde de ne pas le décourager, ni de faire preuve de respect pour les personnes.» Il décrète ensuite que «les confessions seront entendues à la porte de l'église ou dans le sanctuaire. Le pénitent, à genoux et tête nue, la figure prostrée vers le sol et les bras croisés, s'accuse au prêtre qui est assis à côté de lui. Ensuite le prêtre et le pénitent récitent nombre d'hymnes, de psaumes et de prières destinées à susciter le chagrin pour le péché.»⁵¹

Suit un services complet de l'encens avec un «proemion» et un «sedro,» en d'autres termes, un rite complet de purification. Après la récitation de la prière de l'encens, le prêtre pose la main droite sur la tête du pénitent et récite une longue prière de supplication. Le rite de la confession se termine par l'imposition d'une pénitence (satisfaction), généralement sous forme

⁴⁸ Cf. Sévère d'Antioche, *P.G.* 3, 1087ss.; De Vries, "Sakramenten-theologie bei den Syrishen Monophysiten," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 125 (1940): 181, 210.

⁴⁹ Le Pénitentiel est attribué à Dyonisios Bar Salibi.

⁵⁰ Dalmais, *La prière des liturgies orientales* (Chambray-lès-Tours, France: CLD 1981), 97.

⁵¹ Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, 1:97-98.

de jeûne ou d'aumône. Le pénitent reviendra après avoir accompli sa pénitence, pour recevoir absolution et communion.⁵² L'absolution proprement dite est accompagnée par l'imposition de la main, d'un souffle et d'un triple de signe de croix. La formule généralement employée est la suivante: «le péché est enlevé de ton âme, au nom du Père. Amen. Tu es redevenu pur et saint au nom du Fils. Amen. Que tu sois pardonné et que tu participes aux Mystères, au nom du Saint esprit, pour la vie éternelle. Amen.»⁵³

B. Chez les Nestoriens

Bien que l'Église de Perse considère les funérailles, les voeux monastiques et la consécration de l'autel parmi les «mystères,» elle n'élabora pas un rite spécial pour la confession privée auriculaire. Un manuscrit nestorien datant du dixhuitième siècle donne une énumération des péchés graves et une formule d'absolution qui présuppose une confession. Les recherches actuelles ont démontré que ce pénitentiel est d'origine jacobite et n'était en usage que chez les Nestoriens de Mésopotamie au cours du dixseptième et dixhuitième siècles.⁵⁴ De plus, la formule d'absolution à la fin du manuscrit est manifestement d'origine latine.⁵⁵

Le rituel de pénitence attribué au Catholicos Ishu'yab III était prévu à l'origine pour la réconciliation des apostats et des hérétiques, mais son usage fut étendu aux pécheurs publics.⁵⁶ Le rite avait lieu avant la communion.

Au cours des trois jours précédents, le pénitent s'était tenu assis, revêtu d'une toile de sac, au seuil de la porte du sanctuaire, tête et pieds nus, une corde au cou.

⁵² Ibid., 448.

⁵³ Voste, "La Confession chez les Nestoriens," *Angelicum* 7 (1930).

⁵⁴ Ibid., 23–25.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 25. L'assertion d'Assemani concernant l'existence de la confession privée chez les Nestoriens n'est pas sûre. Cf. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Rome, 1721), 2:171 ss.

⁵⁶ Heinrich Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum in administrandis sacramentis* (Graz, 1961), 467–68; De Vries "Sakramententheologie bei den Syrishen Monophysiten," 265–80.

Après la prière du Seigneur, et le chant des Ps. 122 et 129, des antiphones et des hymnes, le prêtre posait ses mains sur la tête du pénitent en prononçant une prière de réconciliation, pour laquelle il disposait de plusieurs textes; enfin il y avait la signature (du pénitent) avec la croix et parfois une onction.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Ce rapide examen de la pratique de la pénitence chez les églises de la tradition antiochienne et alexandrine nous permet de définir quelques unes de ses caractéristiques. Le rite pénitentiel, dans ces traditions, qu'il s'agisse de confession individuelle ou de pénitence de groupe, est profondément enraciné dans la vie de la communauté chrétienne. Ainsi les rites de purification repris du culte païen et juif expriment la douleur de la communauté chrétienne par suite de ces péchés et sa foi inébranlable dans l'amour de Dieu et sa miséricorde. Les prières du pardon insérées dans les diverses anaphores permettent aux membres de la communauté d'obtenir le pardon de leurs péchés avant de partager avec leurs frères chrétiens le Corps et le Sang de leur Sauveur. De plus, les rites de la confession auriculaire elle-même ont été toujours insérés dans un service communautaire.

Enfin l'attitude chrétienne orientale envers Dieu et le péché est différente. L'homme est un pécheur mais un pécheur avec dignité du ciel. S'il y parvient, ce n'est pas parce qu'il l'a mérité. Dans son cœur, il a une réelle affinité avec le bon larron qui a «volé» le ciel au cours des derniers instants de sa vie. La pénitence publique ou privée a toujours été en Orient comme une thérapie spirituelle. Le père spirituel était toujours le médecin de l'âme; la satisfaction était primitivement destinée à guérir les maladies de l'âme et à rétablir l'ordre perdu par le péché.

Les Pères orientaux concevaient le péché comme une maladie (*phthora*) contractée par Adam et transmise à la postérité par ses descendants. Cyrille d'Alexandrie parle au nom de

⁵⁷ Voste, "La Confession chez les Nestoriens," 25.

la tradition patristique syriaque et grecque lorsqu'il dit, dans son commentaire sur la lettre aux Romains:⁵⁸

Adam fut créé pour l'incorruptibilité et la vie; au paradis il menait une vie sainte; son intellect était totalement et uniquement tourné vers la contemplation de Dieu, son corps était en sécurité et dans le calme sans manifester le moindre plaisir mauvais, car le tumulte des inclinations pécheresses n'existaient pas en lui. Mais, lorsqu'il tomba à cause du péché et glissa dans la corruption, alors les plaisirs et les impuretés envahirent la nature de la chair et cette loi de sauvagerie qui est dans nos membres fit en lui son apparition (Rom. 7:5–23). La nature tomba malade suite au péché d'Adam par la désobéissance d'un seul homme (Rom.7:23;8:2). Comme chez Adam, la nature humaine contracta la maladie de la corruption (*errhostesen tèn phtoran*) par la désobéissance, car grâce à la désobéissance, les passions firent leur entrée dans la nature humaine. Cependant, elle retrouva de même la santé dans le Christ, car elle se fit obéissante au Dieu et Père et ne commit aucun péché (1 Pet.2:22).

Malgré les rites magnifiques qui ont été décrits ici, la pratique orientale de la pénitence se trouve en pleine crise. Les cérémonies et les rituels proposés par les livres liturgiques orientaux sont tombés en désuétude. Les cérémonies trop prolongées et les longues prières, ainsi que les difficultés des pratiquer les rituels, en sont la cause. Cependant, l'étude de la tradition pénitentielle des églises orientales offre nombre de suggestions pour le renouveau et l'adaptation de ce sacrement, dans le champ de la «pénitence de groupe» et de la direction spirituelle.



⁵⁸ P.G. 74, 789; John Meyendorf, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, DC, 1969), 88.

Резюме

В літургійній практиці сирійської та коптійської Церков наголошується на покаяння як на зцілення. Це походить з деяких аспектів старозавітного вчення про гріх. Так як усі класичні літургійні традиції, сирійська та коптійська посідають різні покаянні богослуження та, крім цього, сама євхаристійна Служба включає покаянні елементи. Автор аргументує, що наголос на покаяння “в спільнотному контексті” дає християнам можливість зцілити міжусобні рани, які часто або наштовхують на гріх, або є симптомами гріха. Мислення Теодора з Монсуестії та Єфрема Сирійця виявляє двоякий підхід до покаяння-сповіді. Окрім можливості особистого визнання гріхів перед представником Церкви, сама Євхаристійна Жертва, зокрема в анафорі, відзначається наголосом на відпущення гріхів.



The Evangelical Potential of the Byzantine Liturgy in a Culture of Efficiency and Death

Adam A.J. DeVille

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 338)

Building upon earlier analyses of Pope John Paul II's encyclical *Evangelium Vitae* ("on the gospel of life"), the author argues that the Catholic Church is undergoing its own internal crises concomitant with the most profound disaster in Western culture of our time, abortion. Noting that reputable scientific statistics record over fifty million abortions around the world each year, the author unfolds the papal analysis of this crisis to reveal at its heart a metaphysical structure of evil whose core value is that of efficiency. Following Josef Pieper's argument that efficiency can only be transformed through a renewed culture of leisure, which itself is inexorably bound up with a renewed celebration of liturgy, the author then argues that the transformation necessary to build what John Paul II calls a "culture of life" may come in part through liturgy. Following the liturgical scholarship of Alexander Schmemmann, Joseph Ratzinger, and Catherine Pickstock, together with the work of Robert Taft and Romano Guardini, the author undertakes an analysis of the structural repetitions built into the Byzantine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, focusing in particular on the several litanies which recur throughout that liturgy, to argue that such repetitions point to a unique liturgical ethos which may be useful in an evangelically counter-cultural witness whose goal is the transformation of a culture of efficiency into a culture in which children are welcomed to engage in "holy play" before their heavenly Father.



Introduction

Writing in the late 1930s, Hans Urs von Balthasar observed a process of destruction of the Church, and therefore of the Western culture formed by her, that has only increased in the intervening sixty-five years.¹ In his arresting image, von Balthasar noted that “the tree of culture is now being stripped of its leaves,”² a process of denudation which has only increased and indeed accelerated as the years of the twentieth century went by, leading von Balthasar later to remark in another place that “the Christians of today [are] living in a night which is deeper than that of the later Middle Ages.”³ In the closing years of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, this seemingly pessimistic and once lonely voice of von Balthasar has been joined by a veritable chorus of other theologians soberly assessing the present situation and demonstrating how prophetic von Balthasar was. Thus, for example, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger in 1985 confirmed von Balthasar’s prognostication of what would happen to the Church: “it is incontestable that the last ten years have been decidedly unfavorable for the Catholic Church.”⁴ A little more than a decade later, this diagnosis was given in a more amplified form by the prominent English Dominican theologian, Aidan

¹Hans Urs von Balthasar, “The Fathers, the Scholastics, and Ourselves,” *Communio* 25 (1997): 347–96. (This essay was originally published in 1939.)

²*Ibid.*, 347.

³Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics*, 7 vols., ed. John Riches, trans. Brian McNeil et al. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991), 5:648.

⁴Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger with Vittorio Messori, *The Ratzinger Report: An Exclusive Interview on the State of the Church*, trans. Salvator Attansio and Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1985), 29. This theme of a new dark age was given its perhaps most influential articulation in the widely read book of Alasdair MacIntyre, the Thomistic moral philosopher and one of the most influential Anglo-American philosophers of the latter half of the twentieth century. In his *After Virtue* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), MacIntyre wrote that while “it is always dangerous to draw too precise parallels between one historical period and another...nonetheless certain parallels there are” and thus we may speak of “the coming ages of barbarism and darkness,” the “new dark ages which are already upon us” (*Ibid.*, 244–45).

Nichols. Writing in *Christendom Awake: On Reenergizing the Church in Culture*, Nichols argues that “at the present time, the Catholic Church, in many parts of the world, is undergoing one of the *most serious crises in its history*, a crisis resulting from a disorienting encounter with secular culture and compounded by a failure of Christian discernment on the part of many people over the last quarter century from the highest office-holders to the ordinary faithful.”⁵

The manifestations of this crisis are multiform, and many can be gleaned from simply surveying the astonishing number of writings of Pope John Paul II⁶, who has spoken, inter alia, of: a crisis in catechetics⁷; a catastrophic collapse in the sacrament of reconciliation⁸; widespread doubt about basic moral teachings⁹; skepticism about the capacity of human reason

⁵Aidan Nichols, *Christendom Awake: On Reenergizing the Church in Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 186 (emphasis mine). I have examined some aspects of this crisis elsewhere and, in particular, what to do about it. See my “When Sects Put us to Shame: The Enfeeblement of the Church,” *Catholic Insight* 11 (2003): 36–39.

⁶The best biography of this pope remains George Weigel’s *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1999).

⁷See his apostolic exhortation, *Catechesi Tradendae*, issued 16 October 1979 and available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jpii_exh_16101979_catechesitradendae_en.html. All references henceforth to Vatican documents will, following accepted protocol, refer to their paragraph numbers in the official English translation. Rather than refer to the several different English translations extant (e.g., those of the Paulist Press, those in *Origins*, etc.), I will give instead the URL to the Vatican website for ease of access.

⁸See his 1984 apostolic exhortation, *Reconciliatio et Paenitentia*. Available at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_02121984_reconciliatio-et-paenitentia_en.html. (The Holy Father is quite blunt at points: “the sacrament of penance is in crisis,” he declares in no. 28 of the exhortation.)

⁹See his 1993 encyclical, *Veritatis Splendor*, where he recognizes that “a new situation has come about *within the Christian community itself*, which has experienced the spread of numerous doubts and objections of a human and psychological, social and cultural, religious and even properly theological nature, with regard to the Church’s moral teachings. It is no longer a matter of limited and occasional dissent, but of an overall and systematic calling into question of traditional moral doctrine” (no. 4). Available at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/index.htm.

even to know basic metaphysical categories of good and evil¹⁰; dissolution of faith in Christ's presence in the Eucharist¹¹; degradation of the human body¹² and of the uses of the body, especially in marriage¹³; and a complete assault on the dignity of human life itself as seen in the millions of babies slaughtered each year in abortions.¹⁴

It is this latter crisis which is indisputably the most severe. Every *year* around the world nearly *fifty million* babies are killed by means of abortion.¹⁵ Each *year*, eight times the number of people killed in the six-year-long Jewish Holocaust are killed in clinics around the globe; each *year*, half the number of people estimated to have been killed by Communism¹⁶ in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, Africa – and elsewhere – in all the decades of the twentieth century combined are dispatched as unnecessary, unwanted, unloved: a new category of *lebensunwertes Leben*. This is, indisputably, the gravest moral crisis of our time, and most likely of all time. Never before has there been such a massive and systematic

¹⁰See his 1998 encyclical *Fides et Ratio*. Available at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/index.htm.

¹¹Addressed in part by the most recent papal encyclical, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, issued 17 April 2003 and available at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/index.htm.

¹²See his groundbreaking work, *The Theology of the Body: Human Love in the Divine Plan* (Boston: Pauline Books, 1997). This is a collection of what were originally short discourses given at the pope's weekly general audiences in Rome.

¹³Cf. the 1981 exhortation, *Familiaris Consortio*, available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_jp-ii_exh_19811122_familiaris-consortio_en.html.

¹⁴Cf. the 1995 encyclical letter *Evangelium Vitae* (about which more below) available at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_25031995_evangelium-vitae_en.html.

¹⁵The Centre for Bio-Ethical Reform (<http://abortionno.org/Resources/fastfacts.html>), basing itself on the well-known Alan Guttmacher Institute and its partner, Planned Parenthood, has the statistics and their breakdown. See <http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/journals/25s3099.html>.

¹⁶*The Black Book of Communism* estimates – and few have disputed the number, except to suggest it is too conservative – that communism killed more than one hundred million people in the twentieth century. See Stéphane Courtois et al., *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression*, trans. Jonathan Murphy and Mark Kramer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

attack on human life as this yearly slaughter of the most vulnerable and innocent human beings.

Never before, moreover, has there been not only such bloodshed but also and most especially such sophistry by which it is justified as a good and a necessary exercise of human “freedom.” Never before has such an attack on so many people been seen not as a crime to be resisted or an evil to be overcome but a “right” to be defended. Thus is a heinous crime wrapped in a tangle of lies, which few have unravelled in order to analyze the moral and metaphysical consequences to the human condition of this perpetual and pervasive evil – few, that is, except for Pope John Paul II in his 1995 encyclical *Evangelium Vitae*.

By means of a careful reading of the 1995 encyclical *Evangelium Vitae*, I will show that this slaughter of the unborn¹⁷ has at its heart a metaphysical structure of evil whose core value is that of *efficiency*. Then, by means of an analysis which draws on Josef Pieper’s *Leisure: The Basis of Culture*,¹⁸ I will argue in the second part that a crucial aspect of rebuilding a culture of life, and so overcoming such a metaphysic, requires a restored ethos of leisure and its necessary concomitant, liturgy; in other words, the culture of death’s metaphysic of efficiency can only be encountered and transformed by a counter-metaphysic of leisure and liturgy whose core value is that of gracious – indeed gratuitous – repetition. I will therefore argue in the third and final part that the Byzantine liturgy is uniquely poised to offer an evangelical witness to a new metaphysic based not on efficiency but rather on leisurely repetition and prayerful superfluity.

I. A Culture of Death

In 1995, in the midst of the yearly harvest of nearly fifty million people, John Paul’s encyclical emerged as noteworthy

¹⁷Now, alas, in addition to the millions of babies butchered every year in the womb, one must now also think of the increasing number of the sick and elderly who are being hastily dispatched under the slogan of “mercy killing.”

¹⁸Josef Pieper, *Leisure: The Basis of Culture*, trans. Alexander Dru (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

for many reasons, not least the starkness of the analysis and the theological and moral claims it makes.¹⁹ The encyclical is structured in four chapters. The introduction and first chapter situate the letter in the context of “present-day threats to human life.” These threats are contrasted with an eloquent and beautiful statement of “the Christian message concerning life,” presented in the second chapter. The third chapter sets out “God’s holy law.” Then, in more sanguine tones, the Pope turns hopefully in the final chapter to a “new culture of human life.” Our analysis of the encyclical will concentrate primarily on the introduction and first chapter.

In the first chapter, “The Voice of Your Brother’s Blood Cries to Me From the Ground,” the Pope situates “present-day threats to human life” (the sub-title of the chapter) within the context of the story of Cain and Abel and its introduction of violence into human life. He goes on to deplore the rise of a corrosive epistemological and moral relativism and skepticism within the context of Western culture’s liberal individualism, noting its tendency, like Cain, “to refuse to accept responsibility for [our] brothers and sisters.”²⁰ He then sketches out the aetiology of this phenomenon:

in fact, while the climate of widespread moral uncertainty can in some way be explained by the multiplicity and gravity of today’s social problems, and these can sometimes mitigate the subjective responsibility of individuals, it is no less true that we are confronted by an even larger reality, which can be described as a veritable *structure of sin*. This reality is characterized by the emergence of a culture, which denies solidarity and in many cases takes the form of a veritable “culture of death.” This culture is actively fostered by powerful cultural, economic and political currents,

¹⁹I have elsewhere outlined how much of a doctrinal development is contained within this encyclical. See my “The Development of the Doctrine of ‘Structural Sin’ and a ‘Culture of Death’ in the Thought of Pope John Paul II,” *Eglise et Theologie* 30 (1999): 307–25.

²⁰John Paul II, *Evangelium Vitae*, no. 8.

which encourage an idea of society *excessively concerned with efficiency*.²¹

Such a concern with efficiency manifests itself in large scale enterprises aiming systematically to make abortion common, cheap, and easily accessible, all the while arguing seductively that abortion is nothing more than a simple medical procedure privately undertaken by a woman and physician.²² Abortion, however, is no longer (*pace* the apologists of the movement) a “private” decision: the widespread international chains of abortion clinics, together with not merely the approbation of the United Nations and its votaries for this procedure but their active and voiciferous lobbying to have it

²¹Ibid., no. 12. Second emphasis added. John Paul is far from being alone in decrying this obsession with efficiency, a cry which has been taken up by others, most notably at length in a recent book by the Jewish political philosopher, Janice Gross Stein. In her book *The Cult of Efficiency*, Stein develops at length a diagnosis that Pope John Paul only spells out briefly. According to Stein, in industry, education, health care, and virtually every other sphere of human life in our day, “efficiency, or cost-effectiveness, has become an end in itself, a value often more important than others.... When we define efficiency as an end, divorced from its larger purpose, it becomes nothing less than a cult.” Stein’s use of religious language is deliberate. As she writes earlier on, “in our avowedly secular age, the paramount sin is now inefficiency. The demands of this cult are proving to have “profound consequences for the way we as citizens conceive of public life.” See Stein, *The Cult of Efficiency* (Toronto: Anansi Press, 2001), 2–4. Stein’s book is one of many in the last decade lamenting the deleterious effects of technology on human life. Cf., inter alia, Ursula Franklin, *The Real World of Technology* (Concord, ON: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1990); Neil Postman, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992).

²²Indeed, it is now possible – according to recent reports – in metropolitan London to visit a clinic and have an abortion done over the lunch hour in what some have called a “conveyer belt atmosphere.” See <http://www.lifecoalition.com/UK2.html>. The provider of this “service,” the Marie Stopes Clinics, reports on their website that “since the... ‘lunchtime abortion’ service was launched in 1997, around 54,000 women have opted for this early method of abortion without general anaesthetic. Women prefer it because it enables them to quickly return to their families and workplaces and because it reduces the health risks associated with general anaesthetic.” Women can even “conveniently” book an appointment and pay for this online. See <http://www.mariestopes.org.uk/uk/press/press-uk-290102.htm>.

declared an international “right,” means, the Pope says, that abortion:

goes beyond the responsibility of individuals and beyond the harm done to them, and takes on a distinctly social dimension. It is a most serious *wound* inflicted upon society and its culture by the very people who ought to be society’s promoters and defenders. As I wrote in my *Letter to Families*, “we are facing an immense threat to life: not only to the life of individuals but also to that of civilization itself.” We are facing what can be called a “*structure of sin*” which opposes human life not yet born.²³

The next several sections of the encyclical trace further the multiple causes of these threats against human life. Among the causal factors named are an excessively individualistic and subjectivistic understanding of freedom together with a loss of “*the sense of God and of man*,” which comes not merely from personal disbelief or individual acts of infidelity, but from a “social and cultural climate dominated by secularism...with its ubiquitous tentacles.”²⁴ Such notions darken human conscience, the Pope notes, to the point where the distinction between good and evil becomes blurred as the structure of secularism strangles the individual conscience: “the ‘moral conscience’ *of society*...is responsible, not only because it tolerates or fosters behaviour contrary to life, but also because it encourages the ‘culture of death,’ creating and consolidating actual ‘structures of sin’ which go against life.”²⁵

Notwithstanding his descriptions of the advances that the culture of death is making, the Pope does not counsel despair but, rather, calls for a renewed transformation in hope whereby we may start to construct a new civilization of life and love. It is later in the encyclical, in dealing with such a transformation, that the Pope continues and extends his embrace of the language of structures. Rather than a traditional call to in-

²³*Evangelium Vitae*, no. 59. Emphasis in original.

²⁴*Ibid.*, no. 21. Emphasis in original.

²⁵*Ibid.*, no. 24. Emphasis in original.

dividual repentance, transformation and good works as a remedy for the ills of the world, the Pope acknowledges again the structural nature of the problems and hence recognizes that the solutions must likewise be not only personal but also structural:

what is urgently needed is a general mobilization of consciences and a united ethical effort to activate a great campaign in support of life. All together, we must build a new culture of life.... [There is an] urgent need for such a cultural transformation.... The purpose of the Gospel, in fact, is “to transform humanity” ... [and] to permeate all cultures and give them life from within.²⁶

The encyclical does not specify how such a movement of broad transformation is to take place; it does not give details as to what is required for a renewed culture of life. It is important to realize at this point that there will not, of course, be any sort of panacea; there is no single solution to a problem so pervasively systematic and perniciously structural as this one. What lies below, therefore, is most certainly not to be interpreted as suggesting that the crisis of life in human society around the world can be overcome in one grand gesture of renewed leisure and reformed liturgy. What is instead suggested is that if the culture of death, as we have seen, has been shaped profoundly by the *idea* of efficiency, then one way of counteracting this idea, and so influencing – however indirectly – the broader cultural context, is through a recovery of the *idea* of leisure (and therefore, as we shall see, of liturgy also). David Schindler explicates this “intellectual” emphasis in his commentary on *Evangelium Vitae*:

personal sin, in sum, often involves not only a failure of the will, but a failure in “logic.” The term “*structure* of sin,” refers to this “logical” as distinct from merely “willful” aspect of sin. When the pope sug-

²⁶Ibid., no. 95. Emphasis in original.

gests that sin can express itself as a “logic” and thus as an “idea,” he clearly means to imply not that ideas *exhaustively determine* a culture’s pattern of behavior, but only that ideas serve *logically to dispose* a culture toward certain patterns of behavior.²⁷

As we have seen, a cult of efficiency has logically disposed us to a culture of death, and so a counter-cultural witness based on a recovered ethos of leisure and its necessary concomitant, liturgy, may well help to begin to logically dispose our culture toward a renewed appreciation of the value of human life. This analysis we draw from the work of the late Thomistic philosopher Josef Pieper and his work on leisure, which he calls “one of the foundations of Western culture is leisure.”²⁸ To that foundation we turn now.

II. Toward a Renewed Culture of Leisure and Liturgy

Pieper’s argument is tripartite: man has come to be defined only as “the worker;” this can only be overcome by a recovery of a genuine practice and understanding of leisure; and such leisure, properly so called, involves the right worship of the divine. Let us take each argument in turn, given greater attention to the latter two because Pieper’s anthropological vision is largely coterminous with that already sketched out by Pope John Paul and others, and has been subsequently vindicated by events of the later decades of the twentieth century.

Pieper first puts forth an analysis of changes he saw coming in the 1930s – changes which, as we have seen only too well, have been subsequently confirmed in the appearance of “a new and changing conception of the nature of man, a new and changing conception of the very meaning of human existence – this is what comes to light in the...modern notion of ‘work’ and ‘worker.’”²⁹ In such a context, Pieper asks the question: “is it possible, from now on, to maintain and defend,

²⁷David Schindler, “Christological Aesthetics and *Evangelium Vitae*: Towards a Definition of Liberalism,” *Communio* 22 (Summer 1995): 197.

²⁸Josef Pieper, *Leisure: The Basis of Culture*, 25.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 29.

or even to reconquer, the right and claims of leisure, in face of the claims of ‘total labour’ that are invading every space of life?”³⁰ If we define leisure solely as a break from work, a short holiday, or the performance of other activities³¹ then, Pieper says, such a defense is impossible and we have already lost the battle. Leisure understood in such terms falls victim to an instrumentalist mentality, which covertly perpetuates the very thing it ostensibly wars against. Leisure consists not simply in an absence of activity or a variation on standard actions. Leisure, in fact, is a comprehensive approach to life itself: “leisure, it must be remembered, is not a Sunday afternoon idyll, but the preserve of freedom, of education and culture, and of that undiminished humanity which views the world as a whole.”³²

If leisure is the preserve of an undiminished humanity, it is not, however, a solely human achievement and cannot be defended on what Pieper calls humanistic terms. For on those terms, we have arrived at an understanding of the nature of man as the all-efficient worker for whom inefficiency is the only sin. The only way to resist this conception and its cultural consequences is through a renewed understanding of leisure. This requires an understanding of the etymological roots of the idea: “leisure in Greek is *skolé*, and in Latin *schola*, the English ‘school.’ The word is used to designate the place where we educate and teach.”³³ What is it that leisure seeks to teach us? What, indeed, is leisure itself?

To these questions, Pieper responds: “leisure is a receptive attitude of mind, a contemplative attitude, and it is not only the occasion but also the capacity for steeping oneself in the whole of creation.”³⁴ Such an attitude of contemplation is teleologically ordered. In contemplation one aims not at an emptying of the mind or an absence of activity and so an inner stillness. Contemplation, in fact, involves “‘celebration,’ a word that, properly understood, goes to the very heart of the

³⁰Ibid., 59.

³¹Eg., movie-watching, bicycle-riding, sightseeing, sports, etc.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 26.

³⁴Ibid., 52.

meaning” of leisure.³⁵ In sum, “the soul of leisure ... lies in ‘celebration.’”³⁶

Thus we arrive at the third part of Pieper’s argument. If we are to overcome the idea of man as worker through renewed leisure, and if leisure presupposes celebration, then that celebration is not, and cannot be, a simple exercise in human self-congratulation or secular festivity-making – such as that fabricated by the French Revolution to replace the Christian calendar or the early Bolshevik proposals to celebrate Sunday as “Leninday.” Celebration, rather, always presupposes celebration of that which transcends man, namely the divine:

if “celebration” is the core of leisure, then leisure can only be made possible and indeed justifiable upon the same basis as the celebration of a feast.... There is no such thing as a feast that does not ultimately derive its life from divine worship, and that does not draw its vitality as a feast from divine worship. That is not a demand or a requirement; it does not mean that is how things *ought* to be. It claims to be a simple statement of fact: however dim the recollection of the association may have become in men’s minds, a feast “without Gods,” and unrelated to worship, is quite simply unknown.³⁷

We now have a full definition of leisure: it presupposes liturgy, which itself presupposes a celebration of the divine. Such a celebration of divine worship “is the deepest of the springs by which leisure is fed and continues to be vital.”³⁸ In sum, “culture lives on religion through divine worship. And when culture itself is endangered, and leisure is called into question, there is only one thing to be done: to go back to the first and original source.”³⁹ Such a return to sources is our next and final task here.

³⁵Ibid., 54.

³⁶Ibid., 71.

³⁷Ibid., 72.

³⁸Ibid., 76.

³⁹Ibid., 78.

III. The Counter-Cultural Witness of the Byzantine Liturgical Tradition

In what follows, I will argue that the Byzantine liturgy is for the Church today one of the most capable forms by which the preparatory evangelical work of overcoming the idolization of efficiency can be undertaken. In sum, my argument is that, in a culture which measures the worth of human life on the basis of extrinsic criteria whose supreme value is efficiency, the Byzantine liturgy offers a counter-witness in two ways: first, the very fact of its celebration as a “useless” exercise demonstrates that liturgy – like life and much of human culture – has a value intrinsic to itself.⁴⁰ Liturgy properly so called resists instrumentalization and establishes itself as an attitude of contemplative adoration rather than simply a ritual “activity.”⁴¹ Second, the manifold repetitions of the Byzantine liturgical tradition – whether in eucharistic liturgies or in the divine office – offer a helpful corrective to the cult of efficiency’s fear of repetition and horror of superfluity.⁴²

The connection between liturgy and life is not always appreciated, leading one Orthodox liturgist to lament that “liturgy is confined to the temple, but beyond its sacred enclave it has no impact, no power.... Liturgy is neither explained nor understood as having anything to do with ‘life;’ as, above all, an *icon* of that new life which is to challenge and

⁴⁰In Taft’s memorable words, liturgy “serves no purpose beyond itself.... It doesn’t mean *something*; it simply *means*. It has no more use than art, or poetry, or a kiss. This is in radical contrast to contemporary narcissism regarding the worship of God: ‘I don’t go to church because I don’t get anything out of it.’ What one ‘*gets* out of it’ is the inestimable privilege of glorifying God.” Robert F. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2001), 54.

⁴¹One should therefore resist translations, which suggest that *λειτουργία* means the “work” of the people rather than public service or public worship (thus the *Oxford English Dictionary*).

⁴²As Pieper has put it, “wherever the superfluous makes its appearance it is immediately subjected to the rationalist, utilitarian principle of the world of work.” Josef Pieper, *Leisure: The Basis of Culture*, 74.

renew the ‘old life’ in us and around us.”⁴³ This lament has been echoed by another equally prominent liturgist, this time a Catholic:

faced with the political and social crises of the present time and the moral challenge they offer to Christians, the problems of liturgy and prayer could easily seem to be of second importance. But the question of the moral standards and spiritual resources that we need if we are to acquit ourselves in this situation cannot be separated from the question of worship. Only if man, every man, stands before the face of God and is answerable to him, can man be secure in his dignity as a human being. Concern for the proper form of worship, therefore, is not peripheral but central to our concern for man himself.⁴⁴

Schmemmann and Ratzinger thus both argue that it is only by understanding human life liturgically that can we subvert what may be called the totalizing impulse of politics and transform culture. With Schmemmann⁴⁵ in particular, I submit that the Byzantine liturgical tradition is the one best positioned to do that today.

Modern Western liturgies, including the 1970 *Novus Ordo Missae* of Pope Paul VI, are not only incapable of meeting this challenge but the *Novus Ordo Missae* has, in fact, unwittingly incorporated many of modernity’s ideas about efficiency and a

⁴³Alexander Schmemmann, “Liturgy and Theology,” in ed. Thomas Fisch, *Liturgy and Tradition: Theological Reflections of Alexander Schmemmann* (New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990), 52.

⁴⁴Joseph Ratzinger, *The Feast of Faith: Approaches to a Theology of the Liturgy*, trans. Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986), 7.

⁴⁵But also Aidan Nichols. In his *Christendom Awake*, cited above, Nichols goes on to argue that, faced with myriad crises in the Catholic Church today, above all the liturgical crisis, what is needed is the stabilizing influence of Orthodoxy: “Practically speaking, then, the re-entry into Catholic unity of this dogmatic, liturgical, contemplative and monastic [Orthodox] Church could only have the effect of steadying and strengthening those aspects of Western Catholicism which today are most under threat by the corrosives of secularism and theological liberalism” (p. 187).

linear progression of time, as the Cambridge liturgist Catherine Pickstock has argued in her recent and influential work, *After Writing: On the Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy*: the “Vatican II reforms of the mediaeval Roman Rite ... participated in an entirely more sinister conservatism. For they failed to challenge those structures of the modern secular world which are wholly inimical to liturgical purpose: those structures, indeed, which perpetuate a separation of everyday life from liturgical enactment.”⁴⁶ The particular aspects of anti-ritual modernity that need challenging, according to Pickstock, include “such anachronistic structural concepts as ‘argument,’ ‘linear order,’ ‘segmentation,’ ‘discrete stages,’ and the notion of ‘new information’ outside ‘linguistic redundancy’ or repetition.”⁴⁷ Only a liturgy, which contains what Pickstock calls “apophatic liturgical ‘stammer,’ and oral spontaneity and ‘confusion’” through “the shock of a *defamiliarizing* language,” will be able to transform our world.⁴⁸

Such phenomena, as we shall shortly see, are prominent hallmarks of Byzantine worship.⁴⁹ We turn, therefore, to a

⁴⁶Catherine Pickstock, *After Writing: On the Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 171. Pickstock’s critique is not as *sui generis* as it might seem at first glance. Her sociological analysis in particular has been made by others, notably Aidan Nichols in *Looking at the Liturgy* (see note 17 above), and then especially in the groundbreaking and extremely important work of the anthropologist Mary Douglas: see her *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (London, Barrie and Rockliff Cresset, 1970) for a complete demolition of the appeals to “noble simplicity.”

⁴⁷Pickstock, *After Writing*, 175.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 176.

⁴⁹They were, as Pickstock’s own work amply demonstrates, also prominent hallmarks of the Roman liturgical tradition prior to the Second Vatican Council. Today, however, they are gone, purged under the guise of removing medieval accretions and eliminating “useless” repetitions so as to return to the supposedly purer liturgy of something romantically (and therefore fatuously) called the “early Church.” This purgation has led to a liturgy much impoverished and destabilized and hence a liturgy in crisis. That there is a crisis in the liturgical life of the Church of Rome is so widely acknowledged now as to be almost unworthy of comment. The documentation of this crisis has been growing for more than three decades. Louis Bouyer in some respects started the conversation with his famous remark in 1968: “we must speak plainly: there is practically no liturgy worthy of the name today in the Catholic Church.” Louis Bouyer, *The Decomposition of*

liturgical form, the Byzantine, which has enjoyed much greater stability, at least in the modern period. At first glance it may seem counter-intuitive to suggest that Western culture can be re-evangelized by the use of traditionally “Eastern” forms in general and Byzantine liturgical forms in particular. This argument therefore requires three careful qualifications.

First and foremost, it is not a simplistic appeal for all Western liturgical traditions to abandon their own rich patrimony; it is not an appeal to match centuries of the Latinization of Eastern Churches – both Catholic and Orthodox – with a revenge of “Byzantinization” of the Latin, so to speak. As Robert Taft has argued, “the west needs to return to its roots. Latin Christianity is just as apostolic, ancient, traditional, patristic, spiritual and monastic as that of the east.” Taft’s bracing scholarship disabuses us of the potential delusion that everything Eastern is automatically better. At no point should my argument be confused as a plea for the whole-scale adoption of the Byzantine liturgy by the Roman Rite, which, to be sure, has a distinct history of its own.⁵⁰ Much of the classical liturgical ethos of Latin Christianity, however, has been largely – and, sadly, often deliberately – undermined since the Second Vatican Council. One must therefore look to places where a strong, and strongly counter-cultural, liturgical form may yet be found. As Aidan Nichols has argued, the best place to locate such a thing today is in the Orthodox East.⁵¹

Catholicism (London, 1970), 99. Some aspects of this decomposition have been addressed by no less a figure than Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, especially in his private works as a theologian. For an historical overview, see his *Milestones: Memoirs 1977–1977*, trans. Erasmo Leiva-Merikakis (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997) but see especially his *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. John Saward (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000). Cf. also Thomas Day, *Why Catholics Can’t Sing: The Culture of Catholicism and the Triumph of Bad Taste* (New York: Crossroad, 1990); James Hitchcock’s *The Recovery of the Sacred* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1974); and especially Aidan Nichols’s *Looking at the Liturgy. A Critical View of its Contemporary Form* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996).

⁵⁰For a very balanced treatment of these and related questions, see Taft, “‘Eastern Presuppositions’ and Western Liturgical Renewal,” available at: <http://www.praiseofglory.com/taftliturgy.htm>.

⁵¹Aidan Nichols, *Christendom Awake*, 186–87.

Second, it is becoming increasingly specious to continue to employ geographical gate-keepers at the liturgical playground (to use a Chestertonian image). In today's world, mass migration has taken place and people travel widely, frequently, and easily, bringing with them into historically "Western" lands their own traditions – to the point now where there is, for example, an enormous array of Orthodox and Eastern Catholic parishes in North and South America, Australia, and elsewhere.

Third, we must remember, as one author has recently argued, that "because it developed in the uniquely eclectic synthesis of New Rome, which happily assimilated Roman, Greek, and Semitic culture into a marvellous harmony, the Byzantine Liturgy is the only Catholic liturgical tradition that is *not* tied to a particular culture."⁵² Such a lack of particular ties means that to some extent the Byzantine forms⁵³ can aid us in laying the ground work for evangelization with the gospel of life by embodying a new metaphysic and so challenging the hegemony of the metaphysic of efficiency whose destructive consequences we have already examined. With these qualifications in mind, then, let us now look more closely at some of the constitutive parts of the Byzantine liturgy to illustrate my thesis.⁵⁴

At the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, immediately after the opening, Trinitarian greeting, in which, in a standing posture, we seem to have begun our journey toward the Triune God, we are immediately thrust into imprecatory prayer and forced to admit that we are dependent on God for everything, including the very ability to pray and worship rightly. Almost immediately, then, the confidence of our upright posture belies the weakness of our position. We begin on what seems a confident note, but as soon as we are done that we resort to a sort

⁵²Serge Keleher, "Whatever Happened to the Liturgical Movement? A View from the East" in Stratford Caldecott, ed., *Beyond the Prosaic: Renewing the Liturgical Movement* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 87. Cf. Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 63–71.

⁵³Taft calls Byzantine forms a "mongrel."

⁵⁴The examples listed below are drawn from the litanies of the eucharistic liturgy but could almost as easily have been drawn from the frequent litanies which recur in the offices of Vespers and Matins.

of stammer, repeating over and over again the request: “Lord, have mercy.”⁵⁵

Thus the first of several litanies opens in which we beg God to have mercy on us. This first litany, the so-called litany of peace, itself contains in-built repetitions and examples of a liturgical “stammer” as well as manifesting what seems to be “confusion.” Even though the text may be familiar to many, the danger is precisely that it is too familiar to us and its profoundly counter-cultural structure is not always readily appreciated. Consider the two opening requests:

Deacon: In peace, let us pray to the Lord.

People: Lord, have mercy.

Deacon: For peace from on high, and for the salvation of our souls, let us pray to the Lord.

Deacon: Lord, have mercy.

We begin our prayer, we are told, already “in peace” and yet the very first request of God is precisely “for peace from on high.” How can this be, the worldly mind wants to know? Are we already in a state of peace, or do we need to “locate” or “acquire” it? The liturgy leaves us to stammer on.

The litany continues its various petitions, each time repeating the request: “Lord, have mercy.” As the litany concludes, the priest prays:

Deacon: For to You is due all glory and honor and worship, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and forever.

People: Amen.

We seem thus to have come full circle: we began in the name of the Trinity, and we conclude our prayer in the same way. This is surely “deliberate:” the Byzantine liturgy does not abide by modern cultural assumptions about the progress

⁵⁵All quotations from the Byzantine Divine Liturgy are drawn from *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* in the English translation approved by the Synod of Bishops for the Ukrainian Catholic Church and by the Vatican, (Toronto: Basilian Press, 1988).

of time and the accumulation of human accomplishment. We have, to be sure, advanced, but it is an advance with an in-built return – the first of many, as we shall see. Thus from the very outset, the liturgy frustrates our desires for discrete, empirical accomplishment. As Pickstock frankly acknowledges:

from a non-liturgical perspective, it would seem that nothing really “happens” in the liturgy. For there is no perceptible change, nothing “new” occurs, and no action is ever accomplished: there is only a series of supplements and postponements. However, to suppose that human action is humiliated because it fails to offer an “advance” or a delimited accomplishment is to subscribe to spatial criteria which...disimulate their perpetuation of the disempowerment of all actions by seeing them as attainment of discretely allotted projections.⁵⁶

There are, in the Byzantine liturgy, no “discretely allotted projections.” Such an absence frustrates our desire for concrete signs of our advance and progress. Moreover, the frequent repetitions further frustrate any sense of having accomplished something. Consider the following examples of large-scale liturgical repetition.

After the first litany, the liturgy moves through the proclamation of the Word, including the homily. After the homily, we come to another litany, this time the so-called litany of supplication. Many of the petitions are the same as the first litany, but the tone is more urgent, and the repetitions therefore more frequent. It opens with the request to pray “with our whole soul, and with our whole mind.” Thus, as the liturgy progresses toward the eucharistic climax, we must become still more focused, yet more devoted: and so our response to each petition, “Lord have mercy,” is here chanted not once, as before, but three times in a more urgent tone.

⁵⁶Pickstock, *After Writing*, 244–45. Pickstock’s work, of course, deals with what she calls the “classical Roman Mass,” that is the liturgy before the reforms of Vatican II and their result, the 1970 Pauline missal. Nonetheless, her work – albeit *mutatis mutandis* – is applicable here.

This litany ends with a paean: “For You are a merciful and gracious God, and we render glory to you, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and forever.” Once more, however, a defamiliarizing repetition comes back. Just as we have finished this second, more urgent litany, just as we think we are moving on to something else, we are called to a halt and a return in the very next instance:

Deacon: Again and again in peace let the faithful pray to
the Lord.

People: Lord, have mercy.

This is the only petition at this point,⁵⁷ but its appearance here is sufficiently jolting: did we not just do all this? why the call to do it again and again? have we ended something? are we beginning it all over again? are we moving on to something else? The answer to these questions comes, but it is not the answer we expect; it thwarts our attempts at grasping something concrete. We are, literally, moving on to something else – the cherubicon, which reminds us that we do not worship alone, itself a defamiliarizing gesture in a materialistic age – but the very words of this hymn chide our desire to have material markers or signs of temporal progress to hang onto: we are called to leave behind “all earthly cares.”

Following this, there is yet another physical movement, this time in what is called the great entrance. After moving to the table of preparation, where the sacred gifts are made ready for the sacrifice, the priest processes from the altar onto the solea, all the while commemorating, yet again, those very people and concerns we have already twice prayed for in our litanies of peace and supplication. This, we are reminded, is but a further invitation to yet more prayer, as we now begin the litany of the offertory, at the outset of which we are invited to “complete our prayer to the Lord.” The liturgy here is again disorienting – not to say disingenuous: “complete” is a rela-

⁵⁷According to present-day practice among Ukrainian Catholics.

tive verb used here well in advance of any actual ending to our prayer.⁵⁸

As we now move toward the consecration, we seem to be arriving somewhere, ascending the heights to be one with the angels in hymning the sacrifice of Christ. Immediately after the anaphora, however, we are, yet again, thrown back into a position of imprecation and intercession, this time in a litany of that very name. Thus, just after the consecration, just after, that is, we seem to have scaled the summit, the litany of intercession begins: “Having remembered all the saints again and again in peace, let us pray to the Lord.” Once more the familiar petition, “Lord, have mercy,” comes back to us. And yet, part way through, this litany introduces a change in response:

Deacon: That this whole day may be perfect holy,
peaceful, and sinless, let us beseech the Lord.

People: Grant it, O Lord.

Deacon: For an angel of peace, a faithful guide, a
guardian of our souls and bodies, let us beseech the
Lord.

People: Grant it, O Lord.

Deacon: For the pardon and remission of our sins and
offenses, let us beseech the Lord.

People: Grant it, O Lord.

Precisely because – through grace – we have been made capable of offering the eucharistic sacrifice, we are emboldened to make our requests in this stronger way. And yet, once more our pretensions of strength and progress will be graciously thwarted immediately following our reception of the Mysteries. Having received Holy Communion, it would seem that we have arrived, have received something tangible and thus accomplished our goal and arrived somewhere; we have made progress, in other words. And yet even we who

⁵⁸Note that my reflection – intended to be just that, instead of a discursive tract – approaches the Byzantine Rite synchronically without consideration of the diachronic permutations, both structural and theological, of these rites and texts.

now carry Christ within our own bodies are not allowed to get away with this conceit. As Pickstock puts it: “the ‘return’ is to receive and repeat. We go on calling upon God, even when He is within us. We cannot exhaust Him, but offer a ‘return’ by receiving Him again and again.”⁵⁹

Part of the “return” we offer consists of two short hymns of gratitude and praise before we begin another short series of requests, the prayer of thanksgiving:

Deacon: Having received the divine, holy, most pure, immortal, heavenly and life-giving, awe some mysteries of Christ, let us worthily give thanks to the Lord.

People: Lord, have mercy.

Deacon: Help, save, have mercy and protect us, O God, by Your grace.

People: Lord, have mercy.

Deacon: Having prayed that this whole day be perfect, holy, peaceful and sinless, let us commend ourselves and one another, and our whole life, to Christ, our God.

People: To You, O Lord.

The appearance of this request for mercy is a further instance of defamiliarizing language. Once more the liturgy impresses upon us our constant, unending need for God’s help, which He mercifully bestows on those who ask for it with perseverance.⁶⁰ Even in our sanctified state of having received His Son in the Eucharist, our need for His mercy remains until the end of time. Thus our prayer remains the same until the end of time: Lord, have mercy!

Conclusion

The crisis of the deliberate murder of millions of unborn babies each year has, as we saw in the encyclical *Evangelium Vitae*, a necessary “idealist” component: the core idea is that

⁵⁹Pickstock, *After Writing*, 247.

⁶⁰Cf Luke 11:5–13; 15:8–10; 18:1–8.

of efficiency. Challenging such an idea, according to Josef Pieper, requires restoring a genuine idea and practice of leisure and so of liturgy. The Byzantine liturgy, it was argued, provides a stronger model of liturgy than others available today in the West. It underscores and celebrates the transcendental dignity of the human person, resisting any reduction to what Pieper called “man as worker.” As Pope John Paul II has observed in *Oriente Lumen*:

liturgical prayer in the East shows a great aptitude for involving the human person in his or her totality: the mystery is sung in the loftiness of its content, but also in the warmth of the sentiments it awakens in the heart of redeemed humanity. In the sacred act, even bodiliness is summoned to praise, and beauty, which in the East is one of the best loved names expressing the divine harmony and the model of humanity transfigured, appears everywhere.⁶¹

The Byzantine liturgy offers a vision of transfigured humanity through a complex of multiple layers with an in-built structure of repetition that manifests itself in many ways, only a few of which we have examined here. This brief survey has attempted to demonstrate that this liturgical tradition has not succumbed to our culture’s iconoclastic horror of repetition. Thus it may be argued that the Byzantine liturgy stands as a counter-cultural model of liturgy needed in the struggle to overcome the culture of death’s fetishization of efficiency. If we are to begin the task of transforming such a culture of death, we can do no better than remind the world, through our leisure and liturgy, that – as Romano Guardini winsomely put it – children, far from being killed in mass numbers, should instead be given an opportunity to do what children do best in front of their Father, viz., playing:

⁶¹Pope John Paul II, *Oriente Lumen* no. 11. See http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jpii_apl_02051995_orientale-lumen_en.html.

it is in...the liturgy...that the soul must learn to abandon, at least in prayer, the restlessness of purposeful activity; it must learn to waste time for the sake of God and to be prepared for the sacred game with sayings and thoughts and gestures, without always immediately asking ‘why?’ and ‘wherefore?’ It must learn not to be continually yearning to *do* something, to attack something, to accomplish something useful, but to play the divinely ordained game of the liturgy in liberty and beauty and holy joy before God. In the end eternal life will be its fulfilment.⁶²



Резюме

В енцикліці *Evangelum Vitae* Папа Іван Павло II проаналізував те, що він назвав сучасною “культурою смерти.” Кожного року приблизно 50 мільйонів дітей вбито в утробі. Між основними причинами цієї кризи людської цивілізації є метафізична “структура зла”, яка вкорінена в світогляді, в якому панує “продуктивна справність” (efficiency). Тільки відновлена культура “дозвілля – відпочинку” (leisure) може дати опір цій гонитві за “справністю”. Автор аргументує, що “етос” і дух Літургії візантійського обряду є здатні поборювати сучасну “культуру справності”. Літургія виявляє “дитячу забавність”, яка не має за ціль будь-якого “результату”. Постійні “непотрібні повторення” Літургії семіотично голосять, що існує вища ціль від “цілеспрямованої продуктивності.” Сучасна людина, огорнута любов’ю небесного Отця, мусить знову навчитися, що означає просто “бути”, для того, щоб зрозуміти, що людське життя є безмежної вартості.



⁶²Romano Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. Ada Lane (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1998 [original: 1930]), 71–72.

The Life and Times of Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev

Ronald P. Popivchak

Abstract

(Українське резюме на ст. 359)

The author, one of only a handful of active Mohyla scholars of the last quarter-century, provides an overview of this enormously influential reformer of ecclesiastical life in Ukraine, including his biographical and historical milieu in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe. Mohyla, recently glorified as a saint by the Orthodox Church, possessed a brilliant mind able to manoeuvre between many conflicting ecclesial and political currents before emerging at an astonishingly young age as metropolitan of Kiev, a position from which he reformed and restored to great heights the Church of his day. His accomplishments analyzed here include his reformation of the clergy of his day; formation of the famed Mohyla Academy, the first institute of higher learning in Ukraine and a model for Slavic Europe; and publication of so many works that his erudition and ambition continue to amaze. Several works are examined here, including the *Lithos Albo Kamen* of 1644; his *Trebnyk* of 1646; his various lives of the saints; and then his famous *Orthodox Confession of Faith*, which influenced all of Orthodoxy and is analyzed here in detail as one of the greatest lasting achievements of the Church of Kiev.



Although the literature on Peter Mohyla is rather extensive, only six major and comprehensive works have been written about this Kievan metropolitan during the last one hundred or so years.¹ His recent canonization by the Orthodox Church of Ukraine invites us to renewed interest in his life and a critical review of works about him. The following is an attempt at such a review.

1. Historical Background

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Eastern Europe was groaning under the weight of both political and religious upheaval. The north-south geo-political plane, stretching from Moscow to Constantinople, was being re-aligned. The east-west axis, which led from Kiev through Krakow and Geneva all the way to Rome, was being redrawn. New religious forces challenged the old, while kings and tsars tried mightily to stave off upstart sultans and hetmans. Into this new world aborning came Peter Mohyla, both prince and prelate, who chose to stand at the epicenter of the gathering storm.

The northerly movement of power, both political and ecclesiastical, after 1453 from Constantinople to Moscow, could not completely bypass Kiev, the “Mother of all Rus’ Cities.” Politically the Ukrainian lands were ruled by both the Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland at the time of the fall of Constantinople as a result of the Union of Krevo in 1385 and the dynastic marriage of Polish Queen

¹ They are chronologically: Стефан Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1883 and 1898); A. Malvy and M. Viller, “La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila,” *Orientalia Christiana* X (1927); T. Ionesco, “La Vie et L’Oeuvre de Pierre Moghila, Metropolitte de Kiev,” (Paris: Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Paris, 1944); O. Barlea, *De Confessione Orthodoxa Petri Mohilae* (Frankfurt am Main, 1947); А. Жуковський, *Петро Могила і питання єдності церков* [=Peter Mohyla and the Question of the Unity of the Churches] (Paris: Ukrainian Free University, 1969); R. Popivchak, “Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47), Translation and Evaluation of his ‘Orthodox Confession of Faith,’” (unpublished Thesis 259, Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1975). The last named is the only doctoral dissertation written at an English-speaking university during the last 60 years.

Jadwiga and Lithuania Prince Jagiello. As Poland gradually gained the upper hand over its partner in union, it became clear that Kiev and other Ukrainian provinces would now lose all semblance of self-rule. In the words of Orest Subtelny: “in 1452 Volynia, occupied by a Lithuanian army, was transformed in accordance with Polish models, into a common province which was governed by an official of the Grand Prince. In 1471, Kiev and its surrounding territories experienced a similar fate.... It was now evident that the last institutional remainders of Kievan Rus’ and of Ukrainian self-rule were quickly disappearing.”² And indeed, by the time of the Union of Lublin in 1569 and its formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the fate of Ukrainian lands was sealed. For once the Ukrainian “lands and populace were transferred from Lithuania to Poland, their continued existence as distinctive societies would be put in question.”³ And so, while the two-headed imperial eagle might have transferred its nest from the Bosphoros to Moscow in the north, it would not lack serious political rivalry. The White Eagle of the vast Polish Kingdom had now taken wing.

Ukraine as a nation would not inherit the political power of the dying Eastern Empire of Byzantium. The immediate heirs were Moscow and Poland-Lithuania. But the Ukrainian Church would manage to survive the swirling storm with help from an unexpected quarter, Rome itself. Some eleven Kievan metropolitans⁴ (from Theognost in 1350 to Jonas in 1461) had taken up residence in Moscow, making that city the ecclesiastical center of all Rus’. But in 1458 the patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory, then living in and united with Rome, consecrated Gregory II to be the metropolitan of Kiev with his residence in that same city. The pope himself, Pius II, confirmed this consecration with a papal bull to Polish King

² Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine, A History* (Toronto, 1988), 77.

³ Ibid.

⁴ For a complete listing of all the Kievan Metropolitans, both Orthodox and Catholic, see Іриней Назарко, *Київські і Галицькі митрополити* (Rome, 1962).

Casimir.⁵ With this re-establishment of a hierarchy in Kiev, the Church of Moscow was faced with both a serious and near rival, one that had the support of both Western and Eastern patriarchs, the so-called first and second Romes. And so now the road to ecclesial glory for the “Third Rome” was by no means a certain path.

If Ukraine’s ancient capital of Kiev lay on the north-south “Varangian Way,” used by the medieval Vikings, tradesmen, princes and armies (all from the north), as well as craftsmen, scholars, missionaries and prelates (from the south), this city on the Dnieper also lay on the open steppes across which commerce and conquerors, religions and rebellions moved from east to west and vice versa.

Kiev had reached its political and cultural apogee during the reigns of Grand Prince Vladimir (980–1015) and Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1036–1054). Soon thereafter, the combination of princely feuds and the rise of other rival power-centers – such as Halych-Volhynia, Smolensk and Vladimir-Suzdal – began to reduce the influence of Kiev. The city was able, however, to continue for some 200 years as the predominant power in all of Rus’ thanks to both its seniority and its gifted princes, such as Vladimir Monomakh (1113–1125). But Kiev’s days were limited. The death knell was rung in December of 1240 with the invasion of the nomadic Mongols from the East. In the words of Subtelny: “the total destruction inflicted on the City (Kiev) by the Mongols in 1240 marked the tragic conclusion to the Kievan period in Ukrainian history.”⁶

For the next 100 years, the dynastic hegemony in Rus’ was exercised by the western principality of Halych-Volhynia, where princes such as Danylo (1221–1264) and his son Lev (1264–1301) were able to withstand the territorial aggressiveness of both the Western powers (Poland and Hungary)

⁵ See Григор Лужницький, *Українська Церква між Сходом і Заходом* (Philadelphia, 1954). The author mentions that Gregory II was given the title “Metropolitan of Kiev, Galicia and all Rus’.” After 1461, the Metropolitan of Moscow ceased using “Kiev, Galicia and all Rus’” in his official documents. See *Ibid.*, 198–99.

⁶ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine, A History*, 41.

and the Eastern Tatars (Mongols). With the extinction, however, of the Romanovych Dynasty in 1323, the proverbial floodgates were opened, especially to the West.

It was Lithuania that struck first. Under Grand Prince Gedymin, the Lithuanians moved into Belarus in 1320 and into Ukraine proper in 1340. His son, Algirdas, led the northern forces into Kiev in 1362 to complete the conquest of nearly half of the original Kievan Rus' territory. The pagan and unlettered Lithuanians, however, did not conquer the Ukrainian soul. Indeed, for the most part they themselves were conquered in a cultural sense, as they adopted the language, were baptized as Orthodox Christians, and expelled the remnants of the Golden Horde from all the Kievan lands.

The Kingdom of Poland was another story. Under the ambitious lead of King Casimir the Great, Poland overcame the final resistance of the Galician boyars led by Dmytro Detko and conquered this westernmost Ukrainian province in 1349. Succeeding generations saw the gradual but advancing conquest by Poland of virtually all the ethnic Ukrainian lands, so that "eventually all Ukraine, except her tiny Transcarpathian region, was dominated by Poland, under the Polish Lithuanian agreement of 1569."⁷ This domination was not purely political-hegemonic but most assuredly affected the cultural, religious, legal, educational and economic lives of all Ukrainians; it is not possible to overstate the impact of this Polish domination. In the words of Subtelny:

the Polish acquisition of Ukrainian lands and subjects was a crucial turning point in the history of both peoples.... For Ukrainians, the impact went far beyond the replacement of native rulers by foreigners: it led to the subordination of Ukrainians to another people of a different religion and culture. Despite certain positive effects produced by this symbiosis, eventually it evolved into a bitter religious, social and ethnic con-

⁷ Nicholas Chirovsky, *Old Ukraine: Its Socio-Economic History Prior to 1781* (Madison, New Jersey: Florham Park Press, 1963), 134.

flict that lasted 600 years and permeated all aspects of life in Ukraine.⁸

2. *Religion in Ukraine*

Those looking westward from Kiev and Vilnius at the start of the seventeenth century saw not only the inflow of their political and civil overlordship from Poland: they also saw powerful and diverse religious and cultural forces migrating to their lands from the west. In a scene replicated ironically in the 1990s, Western missionaries and cultural couriers descended from their home bases in Wittenberg, Geneva, and Rome.

The Protestant missionary activity was most effective among the landed gentry of the Ruthenians. Professor Ohienko tells us:

the Ukrainian nobility was totally taken by the new religion [Protestantism] and often despoiled the Ukrainian churches of their possessions, transforming them into prayer houses for the Socinians. This new religious faith flourished in the Ukrainian lands around 1550 and held sway longest in the Volhynia Province. Even some defenders of Orthodoxy such as Prince Ostrozky treated rather mildly the new religionists and maintained close contact with them.⁹

Prince Nicholas Radzivil Chorny of Vilnius was one of the greatest Protestantizing forces of this entire epoch. A convert to Calvinism, he was instrumental in the conversion of the Kievan Roman Catholic Archbishop Nicholas Patz to Protestantism. Orthodox princes embracing the new beliefs included “magnates and princes Vyshnevetsky, Khodkevych, Volovych, Horsky, Sapiha and others. Following their example was the

⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹ I. Ogienko, *Українська Церква* (Prague, 1942), 167. The word “Socinian” refers to the Italian Reformational theologian Fausto Socinus (1539–1604). Ukrainians have historically used this term in a generic sense to refer to all Protestants.

rank of lesser nobility dependent on them.”¹⁰ Indeed, the dean of Ukrainian historians, Michael Hrushevsky, writes that 99% of the Ruthenian Orthodox nobility of the Novohrudek region abandoned their faith for the doctrines of the Reformers.¹¹

But the Reformers’ assault on the Ruthenian lands of the Polish Kingdom was not only a frontal one. It succeeded in encircling Ukraine to confront it from the south and the east with John Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. This religious incursion was centered in one man, Patriarch Cyril Lukaris of Constantinople. He served first as Patriarch of Alexandria (1602–1620) and then as Ecumenical Patriarch on five different occasions, having been deposed at least five times. His “Confession of Faith,” written in Latin in 1629, was printed in Geneva. Although this thoroughly Calvinistic “Confession” was formally and solemnly condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 1638, it nevertheless had done its work:

the influence of Lukaris’ Protestant ideas and an incipient martyr’s cult began to spread not only throughout the Greek world but even into Moldavia and as far as Kiev. Metropolitan Peter Mogila, who had participated in the 1638 synod of Constantinople, summoned a synod of the Kievan Church in 1640 in order to condemn the doctrines of Lukaris.¹²

Hard on the heels of the Reformers there followed the various forces of the Counter-Reformation in their search for souls among the Ruthenians. Under the benign patronage of King Sigismund III of Poland, spiritual agents of Rome such as the Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans and Piarists began to descend upon Ukraine with a two-fold mission: “convert the heretical Protestants and re-unite the schismatic Orthodox:”

¹⁰ М. Стахів, *Христова Церква в Україні, 988–1596* (in Ukrainian), (Stamford, 1985), 272.

¹¹ М. Грушевський, *Історія України-Руси*, (History of Ukraine-Rus’), (Kiev, 1936), vol. VI, 425.

¹² G. Maloney, *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453* (Belmont, MA: 1976), 135.

the Jesuits, sure of their victory over Protestantism, now focused their attention on the “schismatics,” as they called the Orthodox. Soon after 1569, they moved into Ukraine, establishing collegiums in Iaroslav, Lviv, Kamianets, Bar, Lutsk, Vinnytsia and Kiev. Their best polemicists, most notably the brilliant Piotr Skarga, castigated the alleged doctrinal fallacies and the cultural backwardness of the Orthodox in sermons and open debates. In his famous work “The Unity of God’s Church,” Skarga argued that the state of Orthodoxy was so hopeless that its adherents’ only alternative was union with Rome.¹³

Surely not in disagreement with Skarga’s characterization above was Meletius Smotrytsky, Orthodox archbishop of Polotsk and arguably the most learned churchman of his time. In his 1610 “Threnos,” he dramatically laments the recent decline of the Orthodox Church and the denationalization of the Ruthenian people. In a ringing rhetorical device the hierarchy has his once holy and beautiful Church speak out as a queen bewailing the loss of her diadem’s precious stones, i.e., all the nobles who have abandoned their Orthodox faith for that of Poland:

where are the valuable and so precious stones of that diadem, the glorious houses of the Ruthenian princes – the invaluable sapphires, priceless diamonds: the princely families Slutsky, Zaslavsky, Zbarazky, Vyshnevetsky, Sangushky, Solomeretsky, Holovchynsky, Chartoryisky, Pronsky, Ruzhynsky, Kroshynsky, Masalsky, Horsky, Sokolysky, Lukomsky, Puzyny and and uncountable others, too many to mention?¹⁴

Many of these noblemen, along with their subjects, were totally westernized with their acceptance of Roman Catho-

¹³ Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine, A History*, 94–95.

¹⁴ Григор Лужницький, *Українська Церква між Сходом і Заходом*, 307–08.

licism and Polish culture. But some of their peers found a different solution for the East-West *Kulturkampf* that raged in Eastern Europe around 1600. Born at the Union of Brest of 1596, this solution enabled a large segment of the Ruthenian Church to formally accept union with Rome along with the preservation of their own rites, customs, language, theology, canon law, and clergy. The story of this Union, at least in its first fifty years, parallels uncannily the storied life of the man who lent his name to this entire era, Peter Mohyla, to whom we turn now.

3. *Peter Mohyla*

The future metropolitan of Kiev was born 21 December 1596 to Prince Simeon Mohyla and Hungarian Princess Marguerita, (presumably at Jassy, Moldavia).¹⁵ Young Peter was raised in the Orthodoxy of his father, who himself became the Prince of Moldavia in 1606. The Mohyla family, although staunchly Orthodox, maintained an alliance with the equally staunch Roman Catholic King of Poland, Sigismund III (1587–1632). This duality of allegiance would be a hallmark permeating the entire life of Peter Mohyla.

Scholars have debated the question of Mohyla's formal education for centuries.¹⁶ Most are agreed that his early education took place at the Dormition Brotherhood School in Lviv. Convergent facts in support of this affirmation include: (1) the departure of the Mohyla family from Jassy in 1606; (2) their subsequent presence in Lviv; (3) historical records of the Mohyla Family being great benefactors of the Lviv School; and (4) Peter Mohyla's lifelong attachment to both the School and its teachers. Along these lines, Jugie states categorically:

¹⁵ Стефан Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники*, I: 8.

¹⁶ For a discussion of the primary education of Mohyla, see Ronald Popivchak, *Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47): Translation and Evaluation of his 'Orthodox Confession of Faith' (1640)* (Washington, DC: 1975), 5–6.

“le jeune Pierre continua dans l’école de la confrérie de Léopol les études commencées en Moldavie.”¹⁷

Mohyla’s subsequent words and works clearly indicate that he also undertook university-level studies. Scholars are divided in their opinion as to the exact locus of this education. Most Ukrainian, Russian and Romanian researchers think that Mohyla studied “in the West,” either in Holland or at the University of Paris.¹⁸ Several modern authors, however, have cast doubt on this putative Western European education, as they point out the absolute lack of any documentary evidence.¹⁹ These scholars assert the probability that Mohyla studied at a college in the Polish Kingdom, most likely the University of Cracow.

What is certain, however, about the pre-monastic life of Mohyla is his attachment to the interests of the Polish Crown. None other than Stanislaw Zolkiewski, chancellor of King Sigismund III and hetman of the Polish army, became the

¹⁷ Martin Jugie, “Pierre Mohyla,” in eds. Emille Amann et al., *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, Volume X (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1903–1950), cols. 2063–2081.

¹⁸ This opinion seems to be based on an oral tradition maintained at Kiev. Its proponents include Стефан Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петро Могила и его сподвижники*, 16; Дмитро Дорошенко, *Нарис історії України* Volume 1 (Warsaw, 1932), 221; Микола Костомарів, *Історія України* (Lviv, 1918), 211; Михайло Грушевський, *Записки Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка* Volume 83 (Journal of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Kiev, 1908): 14; C. Erbiceanu, “Petro Movila,” *Biserica Ortodoxa Romana* Vol. XXXIII (1909): 539. As Kostomarov puts it, “Peter, the son of Simeon, studied in Paris, as we are told.”

¹⁹ The first modern scholar to doubt Mohyla’s education in Western Europe was Malvy, *Op. cit.*, p. IX: “One finds no trace, however, of (Peter Mohyla’s) travelling to Paris and the Sorbonne.” Malvy was joined in a kindred thought simultaneously by M. Jugie, *Op. cit.*, c. 2064: “This voyage abroad (by Mohyla) remains very problematical.” A later scholar writing in Paris, A. Zhukowsky seems to have it both ways: “He (Mohyla) soon completed his education at colleges in Poland and Western Europe.” *Op. cit.*, p. 58. However, three other modern scholars on Mohyla (O. Barlea, T. Ionesco and R. Popivchak) all disbelieve the Western European education theory. The last-named (*Op. cit.*, p. 8) affirms: “In any case, in the absence of any clear documentation on Peter’s higher education, it might be well to bury the myth of his Parisian sojourn and seek other answers. In our view, one might well begin with the University of Cracow.”

“singularis patronus Petri Mohilae.”²⁰ With Mohyla at his side, the Hetman led the Polish military against the Turks at the battle of Tsetsora in 1620 to regain the Moldavian lands for the Crown. Ianesco neatly sums up this armed effort: “Après la mort de celui-ci (Zholkiwski), qui eut lieu en 1620 dans les combats de Tsetsoura, ou l’armée polonaise fut écrasée par les Turcs, Movila rentre en Pologne.”²¹

History, amazingly, repeated itself only one year later, when the new Polish hetman, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, became the patron of Peter Mohyla and launched a new offensive against the Turks in Moldavia. The major battle of Chotyn, in July of 1621, was fought to a stalemate, which allowed the hetman and Mohyla to return to Poland alive.

Mohyla’s first documented sojourn to Kiev transpired during Lent of 1622 for the funeral of the heroic Ukrainian hetman, Peter Konashevych Sahaydachny.²² (The latter led the Ukrainian Cossacks alongside the Poles against the Turks at Chotyn.) And it was at this requiem that Mohyla first met Metropolitan Job Boretsky, the main celebrant of the hetman’s obsequies. Scholars see in this encounter the main transition in the life of Peter Mohyla, from Cracow to Kiev, from military to monastic, from politics to religion.²³ In their view Job Boretsky now becomes the “singularis patronus Petri Mohilae.”

And this very transition was confirmed in August of 1627 by Mohyla’s monastic tonsure as a member of the Caves Monastery in Kiev. As history would fortuitously have it, the monastery was without an archimandrite at this juncture with

²⁰ J. Sobieski, *Commentariorum Chotinensis Belli Libri Tres* (Danzig, 1645), 32.

²¹ Teofil Ionesco, *La Vie et L’Oeuvre de Pierre Movila, Metropolit de Kiev* (Paris, 1944), 26.

²² Стефан Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники*, 55.

²³ Аркадій Жуковський, *Петро Могила і питання єдності Церков*, 60: “In Kiev Mohyla visited Metropolitan Job Boretsky, with whom he soon became a fast friend and who became his spiritual-religious mentor.” Cf. Teofil Ionesco, *La Vie et L’Oeuvre de Pierre Movila, Metropolit de Kiev*, 27: “Le rôle du hetmann Chodkiewicz s’efface de plus en plus et la personne du metropolit (Boretsky) commence à occuper le premier plan de la nouvelle existence de Pierre Movila.”

the death of Zachariy Kopystensky on 21 March 1627. On November 29, Mohyla obtained the decree of appointment from King Sigismund and was solemnly enthroned as archimandrite in December. In the words of Malvy, “l’influence du métropolitain (Boretsky) ne fut pas étrangère, sans doute, à cette élévation.”²⁴

The final rung in the ecclesiastical ladder was ascended by Mohyla some five years later upon the death of King Sigismund III on 30 April 1632. The archimandrite was delegated to attend the triple Diet (convocation, election, coronation) in Warsaw that same summer. The newly chosen king, in the person of Wladislaw IV, on 10 November 1632, approved the candidacy of Peter Mohyla as the Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev.²⁵ The king also issued a safe-conduct to Hieromonk Leontiy and Isaias Trofymovych Kozlovsky for their journey to Constantinople for the purpose of obtaining the brief of confirmation from Patriarch Cyril Lukaris.

Since Mohyla enjoyed great popularity in Lviv and since the old Metropolitan Isaias Kopynsky refused to abdicate his throne in Kiev, the former site was chosen for the liturgical rites of elevation. Mohyla was ordained a priest on 24 April 1633 in Lviv’s new Brotherhood Church; consecrated a bishop April 27; and elevated to metropolitan of Kiev on Thomas Sunday, April 28, by the imposition of hands of four bishops, with Lviv Eparch Jerema Tisarowsky, the patriarchal exarch, as chief consecrator.

The only remaining obstacle for the new metroplitan was the presence of Metroplitan Kopynsky in Kiev. Mohyla remained in Lviv for two months preparing his plans for the takeover of the Kievan metropolitan throne. He first sent his agents to seize possession of Holy Wisdom Cathedral, which not only gained him the Mother Church of all Ukraine but also

²⁴ A. Malvy, A. and M. Viller, “La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila,” X.

²⁵ Historians are much divided as to the motives of both the King and the candidate Mohyla in this nomination. In general, the Russian writers attribute an ambitious intrigue to Mohyla and an anti-Moscow attitude to King Wolodyslav. See Жуковський, *Петро Могила і питання єдності Церков*, 90–93.

the admiration of the Kievan Orthodox, especially the Cossack Brotherhood. And on 5 July 1633, the new metropolitan entered Kiev in triumph and general acclamation. His retinue locked the elderly Kopynsky in a cell of the Caves Monastery until he signed a letter of abdication.²⁶ And so, armed now with both royal and patriarchal decrees of appointment, and much relieved at the imprisonment of Kopynsky, Peter Mohyla became the undisputed head of the Orthodox Church in the vast Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom.

Foreign-born and untraditionally youthful (thirty-six-years-old) for the post, Peter Mohyla's ascent was a masterful stroke of pure genius. As if this were not sufficient, he proceeded, in the next 15 years, to raise his Church and faithful to such historical heights that later scholars would refer to this period as the Mohylian Era ("Mohylanska Doba"). This achievement was registered by Mohyla in three different areas. The first is the organizational realm: Mohyla introduced discipline among the clergy and an ordered devotion among the laity, both peasants and gentry, toward all things divine.²⁷ In the second field, the educational, Mohyla conjoined the Kievan Brotherhood School with the Caves Monastery School to form the Mohyla Academy, thereby creating the first institution of higher learning in Ukraine and a pedagogical paradigm among Eastern Slavdom for centuries.²⁸ Thirdly, Mohyla wrote and published a wide array of polemical, liturgical, hagiographical and theological works, such that scholars still today marvel at

²⁶ Mohyla's behavior toward the elderly Kopynsky has elicited much scholarly comment through the years. A. Malvy, A. and M. Viller, "La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila," XIV simply avows: "Le nouveau metropolitte avait la main rude." Cf. Octavianus Barlea, *De Confessione Orthodoxa Petri Mohilae*, 57, where he uses the phrase "indoles despotica" in referring to Mohyla's "modus agendi" as metropolitan. One thing here is certain. Until the death of Kopynsky on October 4, 1640, the decisive harshness of Mohyla's character was much in evidence.

²⁷ For Mohyla's rebuilding of churches, reforming of the clergy, regulation of the brotherhoods, control of the patronage rights of the nobility, raising of the cultural level of the faithful, see A. Жуковський, *Петро Могила і питання єдності Церков*, 99–116.

²⁸ Ionesco, *La Vie et L'Oeuvre de Pierre Movila, Metropolitte de Kiev*, 67–90 provides a detailed description of the Mohylian Academy and the politico-historical background of that specific institution.

his erudition and ambition.²⁹ And it is to these works that our attention is now directed.

4. *Mohyla's Writings*

The capital polemical work of Peter Mohyla is *Lithos*, a massive volume of 424 pages directed against the attacks of Uniate Cassian Sakovych's 1642 polemical "Perspectiwa." Known also by its fuller title *Lithos Albo Kamen*, the work was published in 1644 under the pseudonym "Eusebius Pimen." In the introduction and subsequent eight chapters, Pimen admits to abuses in his Church but lays them at the feet of the Polish Crown. Pimen then defends vigorously the rites and beliefs of the Kievan Church. It is necessary to mention that the author of "Lithos" never resorts to personal attack, name-calling and ridicule – all hallmarks of Sakovych's "Perspectiwa."³⁰

History rightfully regards Mohyla as the major liturgical reformer of this entire epoch. From 1629 to 1644, some twenty-three liturgical volumes were published under his direction.³¹ These works not only provided a sorely needed solution to the liturgical chaos of the Kievan Metropolia, but also served as textbooks for the clergy. The most valuable and long-lived work of Mohyla was the *Trebnyk* (more or less

²⁹ For a complete and annotated list of all the works written and published either by Mohyla or under his auspices, see Emile Picot's entry in ed. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellenique du XVII siecle*, mult. vols. (Paris, 1894), IV: 120–55.

³⁰ Ionesco, *La Vie et L'Oeuvre de Pierre Movila, Metropolit de Kiev*, 125 concludes simply: "L'importance dogmatique et surtout historique du *Lithos* est considerable." It is interesting to note that Golubev, the chief biographer of Mohyla, devotes some 80 pages to this one work. See his Стефан Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники*, II: 306–86.

³¹ Both Г. Флоровский (*Пути русского богословия* [Paris, 1937], 120) and Голубев (*Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники*, 246) list these 23 liturgical works. Ionesco also mentions this listing (*La Vie et L'Oeuvre de Pierre Movila, Metropolit de Kiev*, 109–111) and includes a categorical breakdown, i.e. five editions of liturgicon, three editions of the octoechos, three editions of the triodion, two editions of the evangelicon, four editions of the Psalterion, one epistolarian, one irmologion and four other minor works.

equivalent to the western sacramentary) of 1646, a veritable encyclopedia of dogmatic and liturgical import.³² This 1,760 page volume, the first of its kind in all Orthodoxy, established Kiev as the leading liturgical light of the Eastern Church. In fact, in 1757, the Russian Church adopted this Mohylan composition as its own.

The canon of Mohyla's hagiographical works is certainly worthy of mention here, for these various "Lives" not only possess inspirational value for the faithful, but also served as moral, didactic and even polemical tomes.³³ They were published to both teach and defend the practices of Orthodox Christianity, particularly against the attacks of Protestant and Roman Catholic partisans. The classic example of this genre is the 1635 *Paterikon* or "Lives of the Saints of the Caves Monastery," edited by Silvester Kossiw, who was charged by Mohyla with updating the old *Paterikon* of the chronicler Nestor by including recent Greek and Latin sources. Written in Polish for the general readership, the work essentially strove to demonstrate the sanctity and the Orthodoxy of the late fathers of the Cave Monastery in Kiev. The value of this work is clearly recognized by Ionesco: "dans presque tous les pays orthodoxes le Patérikon ou Vie des Saints a été maintenu fois traduit ... et offert un lecture instructive au grand public."³⁴

From a purely doctrinal standpoint, Mohyla's legacy is most firmly grounded on two works, his "Orthodox Confession of Faith" of 1640 and his "Catechism" of 1645, "les deux oeuvres dogmatiques capitales de notre auteur."³⁵ Commonly known as the "Small Catechism," the latter work was published in Polish (the lingua franca of the time) with the title "Zebranie krotkiey nauky o Artikulackh jako Cerkow Wschód-

³² See Жуковський, *Петро Могила і питання єдності Церков*, 184–197 for a history of the critical scholarship in regards Mohyla's *Trebnik*, also for several fine reproductions of the work's title pages and illuminations.

³³ Ionesco (*La Vie et L'Oeuvre de Pierre Movila, Metropolitte de Kiev*, 111–14) lists seven distinct works under this canon of hagiography. The most noteworthy are the "Paterikon" edited by Kossiw, the "Teratourgima" by Kalnofoysky and St. John Damascene's "Lives of Barlaam and Joasaph."

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 125.

nia uczy” (“Brief Résumé of the Teaching in Articles as the Eastern Church Teaches”).³⁶ It was published by Mohyla to provide a simple and brief instruction booklet for the common clergy and faithful, especially since the 1640 “Great Catechism” was still not formally available. And it is this “Great Catechism” of 1640, properly known today as “The Orthodox Confession of Faith” of Peter Mohyla, that deserves our attention now.³⁷

5. Mohyla’s “Orthodox Confession”

The first decades of the seventeenth century witnessed a proliferation of catechisms on the territory of the Kievan Church. Among the so-called Uniates, both the martyr Josaphat Kuntsevych (1620) and the scholar Joseph Rutsky (1623), published catechisms, the last-named being the Uniate metropolitan of Kiev from 1613 to 1637. Roman Catholic catechisms available in Latin included those of the Council of Trent and of Saint Peter Canisius. The rather infamous catechism of the ubiquitous Cyril Lukaris (1629) was also circula-

³⁶ The most complete analysis of this “Catechism” is that of A. Malvy, and M. Viller, “La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila,” CXIV–CXXIX, where the authors give a brief history of this work and a fairly extensive comparison of its teachings with those of the “Confession” of 1640.

³⁷ Only four substantial works, devoted specifically to the “Confession,” are generally available in the West. The French work is that of the Jesuit Fathers Malvy and Viller (cited in the note immediately above) of 1927, which gives an introduction and the unedited Latin text of the “Confession” from Paris Manuscript no. 1265. The second work, *De Confessione Orthodoxa Petri Mohilae*, was written by Romanian Octavianus Barlea in Latin in 1947 and devotes much attention to the inter-confessional rivalry of the seventeenth century as a framework for the composition of the “Confession.” The third work is that of John Karmires, *Τα δογματικά και συμβόλικά μνημεία της ὀρθοδόξου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας* (Graz, Austria, 1968), II: 662–766. This Greek work contains an historical introduction to the “Confession,” as well as the listing of the various linguistic editions. It also gives the complete Greek text of the “Confession” as emended and translated by Meletios Syrigos. The fourth and final work this century on the “Confession” is my own, “Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47).” This English-language dissertation is a translation into English of the Latin text of the “Confession” of Paris Ms. 1265 and a theological analysis of the same.

ted in the Kievan realm with its clearly Calvinist teachings. The Ukrainian Orthodox had no such completely acceptable doctrinal guide, until, that is, 1640, when the Synod of Kiev approved a lengthy statement of faith, lodged in question-answer form. This was the historical beginning of what was to become the “Orthodox Confession of Faith” of Peter Mohyla.

Six sessions of the September 8–18 synod in Kiev were devoted to the reading aloud of the “Confession,” which was done in Holy Wisdom Cathedral by Isaias Trofymovych Kozlovsky, regarded by such scholars as Bolkhovitinov, Metropolitan Makarius of Moscow, and Gruzdev as the true author of the “Confession.” However, Kozlovsky, who was hegumen of Saint Nicholas Monastery in Kiev, himself asserts on September 9: “our Metropolitan had composed a catechism.”³⁸ Most scholars today agree that, whereas Kozlovsky and even others may have somewhat assisted Mohyla in the composition of the “Confession,” the authorship itself belongs properly to Mohyla himself.

Two doctrinal issues – from among the thousands read and discussed – caused a division among the participants of the synod: the fate of human souls after death and the moment of the consecration in the liturgy. The decision was soon made to remand the “Confession” to the patriarchal authority of Parthenios in Constantinople for a solution and then formal approbation. The Kievan Synod then gave its provisional approval to the “Confession,” selected three delegates to hand-deliver it to Parthenios, and finally adjourned on 18 September 1640.

Two different schools of thought exist as to the original language of the “Confession.” Scholars such as Loofs, Malvy-Viller, Florovsky, and, more recently, Ševčenko³⁹ assert that Latin was the original language, basing their opinion on the words of Meletios Syrigos, the chief legate of the patriarchate

³⁸ Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellenique du XVII siècle*, 115.

³⁹ Loofs: “Die Ursprache der Confessio orthodoxa,” *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1898): 165; Malvy-Viller: “La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila,” LI; Флоровский: *Пути русского богословия*, 50; Ihor Ševčenko: *The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla*, (Cambridge, MA, 1985), 24.

to the 1642 Synod of Jassy.⁴⁰ Other scholars, such as Jugie, Barlea, and myself,⁴¹ hold that the work was originally composed by Mohyla in Polish or Old Ukrainian, as they point to the witness of Nectarios, the patriarch of Jerusalem.⁴² All things considered, Balea's conclusion seems to be the safest and wisest: "Itaque Petrus Mohila, prout magna cum probabilitate apparet, Confessionem orthodoxam lingua Polonica redigit."⁴³

The subsequent debut of the "Confession" occurred some two years later, at the so-called Council of Jassy of September-October 1642.⁴⁴ Hosted by Prince Basil Lupul of Moldavia – a personal friend of Mohyla and strong defender of Orthodoxy – this gathering was attended by three Kievan delegates: Isaias Kozlovsky, Ignatius Oksenovych, and Joseph Kononovych. They hand-delivered the "Confession," now translated into Latin, to the two Greek delegates of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Meletios Syrigos and the Metropolitan of Nicea, Prophyrios. The former translated the "Confession" into common Greek, correcting it to conform to the current doctrines of the Great Church. Prince Basil's personal physician, Scogardi of Denmark, wrote a letter, dated 6 November 1642, to R. Schmidt, Danish envoy in Constantinople, arguing that the "Confession" had to be corrected on two salient points: the teaching of a "third place" after death, distinct from heaven and hell, and the teaching that the consecration of the bread and wine at the

⁴⁰ These words of Syrigos can be found in Ms. 360 of the Holy Sepulchre Monastery in Constantinople, the verso of the last page, where it says that "this book came to us in Latin first written by the most learned elders of Rosia...." The Greek text is given by A. Malvy and M. Viller, "La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila," LI.

⁴¹ Jugie, *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, Volume X, col. 2071; Octavianus Barlea, *De Confessione Orthodoxa Petri Mohilae*, 77–81; Popivchak, "Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47)," 17–18.

⁴² E.I. Kimmel (*Monumenta fidei Ecclesiae Orientalis*, [Jena, 1850], 50) asserts that Patriarch Nectarios wrote a letter of November 20, 1662, in which he says that the "Confession" was first composed "russice."

⁴³ Octavianus Barlea, *De Confessione Orthodoxa Petri Mohilae*, 81.

⁴⁴ For the history of this council and its main protagonist, see J. Pargoire, "Meletios Syrigos, sa vie et ses oeuvres," *Echos d'Orient* 11 (1908) and 12 (1909).

liturgy transpires at the words of Christ.⁴⁵ Syrigos, of course, made these corrections, along with others of minor import, in his translation. This work was completed on October 27 and sent off to Patriarch Parthenios (1639–1644) for formal approval on October 30. It is interesting to note that the original title of the work, “The Exposition of the Faith of the Church of Little Rus’,” was itself now transformed into the “Orthodox Confession of Faith.”

The Great Church formally approved the “Confession” in its Greek format on 11 March 1643, and sealed this synodal approbation with the signatures of Patriarch Parthenios, Alexandrian Patriarch Joannikios, Jerusalem Patriarch Paisios and Antiochian Patriarch Makarios. Both the Latin and Greek texts of the “Confession” were deposited in the patriarchal library of Constantinople, while copies were also sent off to Mohyla in Kiev. There is evidence that Syrigos himself brought the approved document to Kiev in June of 1643.

Strangely enough, the “Confession” remained unpublished for some thirty years. Mohyla, it seems, was offended by the various alterations of the Greeks and published, instead, his “Small Catechism” in 1645. Parthenios, for his part, was not overly eager to contribute to the glory of the Kievan Church by publishing this major doctrinal statement. It took the so-called religious wars in far-off France to free the “Confession” from its premature archival retirement.

Certain French Catholics, such as Arnauld and Renaudot, were engaged in a polemical battle with French Huguenots over the nature of the Eucharist. The latter called upon the witness of Cyril Lukaris’ “Confession” to document and demonstrate their beliefs. The Port Royale Catholics appealed to Charles Nointel, French Ambassador to the Grand Porte, for some favorable and cogent documentation of their religious convictions. In July of 1671, there arrived in Paris from Nointel and Court interpreter N. Panaghiotis that document that would soon be enlisted as a powerful weapon in the holy wars of France. This was, of course, the “Confession” of Peter Mohyla, in both Latin and Greek. The Catholic party pub-

⁴⁵ E.D. Hurmuzachi, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Roamnilor*, 4 vols. (Bucharest, 1882), IV:668.

lished it in Holland in 1667, most probably in Amsterdam.⁴⁶ Today, the original submission of Nointel rests in Paris, known to scholars as Paris Manuscript 1265.

The “Confession” itself is composed of an introduction and three parts, all of which are in the question-answer format. It is important to note here that the main source of Mohyla’s “Confession” is the Bible; in part one alone some 295 source citations are given, of which 270 are biblical. Three articles form the introduction, characterized by an overtly anti-Protestant standpoint, as the need for a Christian to have faith *and* good works is affirmed. Part one, on faith (“de fide”), is comprised of 123 articles and is based on the twelve articles of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Part two contains sixty-three articles and is based on the “Our Father” and the nine beatitudes of the gospel. The theme of this part is the virtue of hope (“de spe”). Part three is founded on the Ten Commandments, has seventy-two articles, and uses the theme of Christian love (“de caritate”). This part also treats such topics as prayer, fasting, virtues, vices and sin.

For more than three centuries, both theologians and historians have debated the value of Mohyla’s “Confession.” Their studied conclusions are usually divided, most often along both confessional and ethnic lines, into certain schools of thought. In general, most Russian Orthodox thinkers condemn the work as “Western” and “papist,” while the Romanians praise it as a most valuable and true statement of faith. For the most part, the Greeks, Ukrainians, and French take the middle road of cautious commendation.⁴⁷ However, above and beyond the realm of scholarly dispute, the “Confession” of Peter Mohyla is a truly significant work in the history of the Eastern Church.

⁴⁶ No doubt the best review of all the subsequent editions of the “Confession” can be found in Octavianus Barlea, *De Confessione Orthodoxa Petri Mohilae*, 106–18. He lists some 59 distinct editions, beginning from the 1667 Greek one in Amsterdam to the 1930 Romanian edition in Bucharest. The first Slavonic edition was that of Moscow in 1696.

⁴⁷ For a thorough review, by country and confession, of the scholarly and ecclesiastical criticism of the “Confession,” see *Ibid.*, 193–215. For the history and analysis of the adverse judgment on the “Confession,” see Popivchak, “Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev (1633–47),” 123–40.

It is a fact of history that in 1643 the Ecumenical Patriarch himself, Parthenios I, along with the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, solemnly and in synod approved Mohyla's "Confession." And it is a fact of history that the "Confession" has always been regarded by the Great Church as a "Symbolic Book," that is, in total accord with the holy faith of the Orthodox church. In addition, it is the only such "Symbolic Book" of the entire Eastern Slavic Church, i.e. the Churches of Kiev *and* Moscow.⁴⁸

Finally, it is also a fact of history that the "Confession" remains the unique doctrinal treasure in the 1,000-year history of the Ukrainian Church, both Orthodox and Catholic. Peter Mohyla's "Confession" again placed Kiev and its Church on the map of religious renown.



Резюме

Автор, український греко-католицький священник, який в 1970-их роках захистив докторську працю про *Ісповідь Віри* Митрополита Петра Могили в Католицькому Університеті Америки, підсумовує науково-богословські досягнення київського митрополита аналізуючи його головніші праці, як також і старшу літературу про нього.



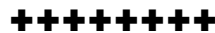
⁴⁸ The only other work that may be considered "symbolic" to emanate from the Slavic Churches is the 1948 Decision of the Orthodox conference at Moscow against "papism." This brief (800 words) polemic cannot be compared with the "Confession" of Mohyla. It is included in Karmires, *Τα δογματικά και συμβολικά μνημεία της ὀρθοδόξου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*, 1046–48.

“Віки вічні” чи “віки віків”?

Петро Галадза

Abstract

The author demonstrates that “i na viky vichni,” the translation of the embolism *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* that has gained currency among Ukrainian Catholics since 1988, is not only inaccurate, but erroneous. It became dominant among the Ukrainian Orthodox owing to the work of Ilarion Ohienko, who had argued for a rejection of “i na viky vikiv” on purely philological grounds, without a consideration of theology. In the 1980s, a prominent Ukrainian Catholic hierarch had insisted that in the interests of “uniformity” with the Orthodox, the shift be made by Ukrainian Catholics to the (inaccurate) translation “i na viky vichni.” The change was then codified in several official publications of the UGCC. Ironically, the Ukrainian Orthodox, both in Ukraine and in the West, have now rejected the erroneous translation in their new liturgical books, leaving the Ukrainian Catholic Church to perpetuate the mistake.



Немає сумніву, що найкращий та найточніший український переклад закінчення возгласу і славослов'я *καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* (по церковно-слов'янському “і во віки віков”) є “і на віки віків,” а не “і на віки вічні.” Найпростішою причиною є та, що християнська есхатологія визнає тільки один вічний вік – майбутній вік вічного Божого царства. Будь-яка множина тут є зовсім нелогічною, вже не кажучи, не правовірною. Нижче подамо інші причини, чому “віки вічні” є помилковим перекладом, але варто відразу відповісти на питання, звідки взялася ця

помилка, зокрема тому, що навіть серед греко-католиків чимраз частіше чути цю форму.

Оскільки мені відомо, дотепер появилися тільки два пояснення перекладу “і на віки вічні.” Перше знаходиться в додатку до перекладу Літургії Золотоустого, Івана (пізніше Іларіона) Огієнка з 1922 р.,¹ а друге – в анонімній відповіді на завваги о. Андрія Онуферка² до нового перекладу Літургії Золотоустого Синодом УГКЦ 1988 р. Анонімна відповідь, яка обороняє новий переклад разом з “віки вічні,” появилася в 1989 р.³

Огієнко, який був надзвичайним філологом, але слабим богословом, взявся до вирішення цього питання саме як філолог, і не врахував як слід суто богословських моментів. Він відкинув буквальний переклад “на віки віків,” бо це – як він слушно зауважує – є гебраїзм⁴. В єврейській мові суперлятиви часто утворюються додаванням іменника в родовій множині до тотожного іменника в називній однині, наприклад, “цар царів,” “празник празників” і т. п. Цей гебраїзм перейшов не тільки в грецьку мову, але й в латинський переклад нашої фрази (*in saecula saeculorum*), французький (*dans les siècles des siècles*) та інші. Сам факт, що інші мови – навіть модерна французька – зберегли цей гебраїзм, повинен наштовхнути перекладача при задуматися над тим, що в ньому криється. Однак, незважаючи на те, що сам Огієнко звертає увагу на латинський, французький та інші буквальні переклади цієї фрази, він таки відкидає його.

Натомість, Огієнко цитує кілька творів переходового періоду формування української мови, де знаходиться форма “на віки вічні,” наприклад післямову Переспонницького Євангелія 1556 р. і “Поученіє” Л. Зизанія

¹ Огієнко І. Свята Служба Божа св. отця нашого Іоана Золотоустого мовою українською. Ч. 2. – Пояснення до тексту. – Львів, 1922. – С. 27.

² Онуферко А., о. Новий переклад Літургії св. Йоана Золотоустого, – Чикаго, 1988.

³ Завваги до критики нового Літургікону о. А. Онуферка. 2 Бюлетень Товариства Священиків св. Андрея. Європейська область. – Чарлєруа, Бельгія, 1989. по 2/75. – С. 2.

⁴ Огієнко І. Свята Служба Божа. – С. 27.

1618р.⁵ Очевидно, такі твори прецінні як філологічні пам’ятки, бо відображають розвиток української мови, однак не можуть становити єдині критерії. Кожну філологічну пам’ятку слід осмислювати і з богословської точки зору. Тільки національний романтик даватиме перевагу історично-мовним моментам над богословськими, а таким романтиком був Огієнко (що, очевидно, не заперечує його геніальності як філолога, а тільки вказує, яким чином він – як і кожен з нас – був “дитиною своєї епохи”).

Анонімна оборона вислову “віки вічні” з 1989 р. наводить факт, що “в українській мові іменник (віки) повинен визначатися прикметником (вічні), а не другим іменником. Форма «на віки віків» є архаїзмом.” Тут головний аргумент знову є філологічний – чи точніше – стилістичний, який і так не зовсім переконливий, бо в українській мові існує вислів “в кінці кінців.” За логікою вищезгаданої анонімною оборони, цей вислів повинен бути хіба замінений формою “в кінці кінцевому.”

Без найменшого сумніву справжній переклад завжди повинен звучати рідним у мові перекладу – оскільки сам зміст на це дозволить. Цей “*saveat*,” однак, є надзвичайно важливим, зокрема в богослов’ї, яке побудоване на нюансах і вказує дорогу до істини. Зміст грецького оригіналу *не* дозволяє на усунення цього т. зв. архаїзму, бо, як згадано з самого початку, немає більше одного вічного віку. Найкращий переклад – зокрема богословських і філософських текстів – завжди намагається балансувати дві головні тенденції перекладацької методології: т. зв. динамічну еквівалентність, яка наголошує “енкультурацію” перекладу, та те, що я назвав би “поширювальною буквальністю.” Ця друга тенденція поширює горизонти мислення в іншій мові тим, що “накидає” їй нові метафори, фразіологію і т.д. На мою думку, і Огієнко, і автор відповіді на завваги о. Онуферка⁶ недооцінили цієї другої тенденції. (Геніальна оборона “поширюючої буквально-

⁵ Там само. – С. 27.

⁶ Завваги до критики. – С. 2.

ти” знаходиться у Вступі американського філософа Алана Блума до свого перекладу *Республіки* Платона)⁷.

Автор анонімної репліки 1989 р. додав, що “саме «віки вічні» краще передає нюанс вічності, коли «на віки віків» в біблійній мові означає тільки неозначене, велике число століть”⁸. Цей аргумент веде нас в саму суть питання справжнього значення вислову *καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων*. Неможливо зрозуміти будь-який текст поза його контекстом. Отже, *καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων* можна зрозуміти правильно тільки тоді, коли збагнути як воно “функціонує” у відношенні до слів “нині і повсякчас.” Хоч нижче подані аргументи потребуватимуть ширшого джерельного підґрунтя, все-таки я готовий пропонувати наступне пояснення цілої цієї фрази, яке можна буде пізніше доповнити.

Ця фраза намагається передати поняття повсякчасності і вічності. Але як вона цього досягає? Осягає вона це тим, що обіймає *всі* виміри часу. Фраза ця властиво означає: “теперішній, конкретний момент” (*νῦν*), і – для контрасту – “понадчасний вимір” (*καὶ ἄει*); і одна історична епоха за другою (*καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων*), що є часовою сферою між теперішнім, конкретним моментом і понадчасним – дійсно вічним – виміром. Перейдемо до складових частин цієї фрази.

У грецькій мові *νῦν* в першій мірі означає теперішній момент. Як би не стилістичний фактор і якщо б неможливо було зрозуміти українське слово “нині” як “тепер,” то приневолені б були ми перекладати *νῦν* саме як “тепер” (що зробив, між іншим Огієнко у своєму перекладі Літургії з 1922 р.)⁹.

Як контраст до цієї дуже конкретної теперішності, у фразі відразу зустрічаємо слово *ἄει*. Для того, щоб добре зрозуміти нюанси цього слова, треба вдатися до світу грецької патристики, з якої ціла фраза як така виникла і в якому ціла вона розвивалася. (У Новому Завіті маємо тільки частини цієї фрази). Ще в 1930 роках Георгій Фло-

⁷ Bloom Allan, trans., *Plato's Republic*. – New York, 1985. p. 9.

⁸ Завваги до Критики. – С. 2.

⁹ Огієнко І. Свята Служба Божа. – С. 26–27.

ровський простудіював, як слово *ἀεί* виступає в творах св. Григорія Нисського. “У нього *ἀεί* визначає те, що є вищим від часу, або понад часом. Не розвивається воно в межах часу і не можливо його міряти віками. Натомість *αἰών* (вік) стосується часовости, того, що діється в часі”¹⁰.

Словник Гергарда Кіттела звертає увагу на паралель у Колосян 1:26 між *αἰών* і *γενεαί* (покоління), адже, за словами Кіттела, вжиток *αἰών* в Новому Завіті не раз включає поняття довготривалого (prolonged) часу, але не безконечного¹¹. В інших контекстах, за словами Кіттела, слово *αἰών* поєднує поняття обмеженого і необмеженого часу, що, між іншим, доказує, що богословський аргумент у вищезгаданій анонімній репліці є помилковим.

Можна би проілюструвати зміст вислову *νῦν καὶ ἀεί καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* наступним рисунком: _____ ———
ΛΛΛΛΛΛ, якщо зрозуміти низьку лінію як символ теперішності, високу лінію як символ вічності, а хвилясті лінії як символ переходу від однієї епохи в іншу.

Дехто скаже, що, незважаючи на помилковість перекладу “віки вічні,” все таки треба його прийняти для однорідності з православними, які (раніше) в своїх літургійних виданнях майже без винятку ним користувалися. Аргумент слабкий з двох причин. По-перше, будувати консенсус на помилках означає будувати на піску. Скоріше чи пізніше нове – мудріше – покоління відкине цю помилку. Можуть бути випадки, коли заради однорідності, цебто для осягнення цілі єдності, можна тимчасово користуватись *гіршим* перекладом, але не *помилковим*, і кожен християнин має право – властиво, обов’язок – відкрити доктринальний блуд.

По-друге, той, хто відвідує різні православні храми в Україні відразу здає собі справу з того, що навіть там, де священослужителі користуються виданням, в якому подано “віки вічні,” вони не раз співають “віки віків,” себто виправляють помилку на місці. Про це я сам переконався

¹⁰ Florovsky G. The Eastern Fathers of the Fourth Century. – Vaduz, 1987. – Vol. 7. – p. 209.

¹¹ Kittel G., ed. Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. – Grand Rapids, 1964. – Vol. 1. – p. 199.

на Літургіях у Володимирському Соборі в Києві та в інших православних храмах. Крім цього, найновіші видання православного Київського Патріархату з 1999 року, як також і молитовник з 2000 року, виданий за благословенням усіх українських православних ієрархів цілої діаспори, офіційно виправили помилку і повернули форму “і на віки віків”¹². Цей останній момент переважливий, бо (згідно того, що сказано авторові цієї статті видатним членом василіянської літургійної комісії в Римі), коли оо. василіяни видавали свій *Молитвослов* у 1980-их роках, вони таки хотіли користуватись правильним перекладом “і на віки віків.” Однак, пок. Митрополит Максим Германюк настоював, що заради “однообразности з православними” треба змінити переклад на і “на віки вічні.” З вищесказаного, навіть цей аргумент уже зовсім неактуальний. Та згідно принципу *cessante ratione legis* (чи в цьому випадку *auctoris*), нема тепер найменшої причини дотримуватись помилкового перекладу. Можна тільки надіятись, що українські греко-католицькі єпископи матимуть відвагу офіційно повернути переклад “на віки віків,” як це зробили їхні православні брати.

Накінець, треба врахувати музичний і чисто пасторальний фактори. Майже всі наші церковні композиції були написані для церковно-слов'янського “і во віки віків.” Переклад “і на віки віків” не вимагає переставлення тривалості нот, бо розміщення складів є тотожне. Однак, перехід на “віки вічні” вимагає переписування тисячі сторінок церковної музики, бо наголос тепер падає на передостанній, а не останній склад. Коли б “на віки віків” було помилкою, то ніякі практичні аргументи не мали би права впливати на справу. Однак, у цьому випадку вимагається від церковних музикознавців титанічної праці для того, *щоб утвердити помилку!*

¹² Українська Православна Церква Київського Патріархату. Службник. – Київ, 1999. – С. 5 і далі; і Українська Православна Церква Київського Патріархату. Молитовник. – Київ, 1999. С. 6 і далі, та Постійна Конференція Українських Православних Єпископів поза межами України. Молитовник – Prayerbook – Вінніпег, 2000.

Пасторальний аспект стосується того, що щойно сім років після того, як народ в Україні масово перейшов на українську мову в богослуженнях, і вже трохи звикав до одного перекладу, раптом під тиском єпископів УГКЦ в діаспорі, де і так українська мова зникає з наших парафій, поставилася вимога прийняти новий переклад з 1988 р. Знову ж, коли б попередній переклад був помилковим, ніякий пасторальний аргумент не був би промовистим. Однак, було навпаки.

Закінчую з думкою, що треба б оголосити мораторіум у справі видавання *офіційних* перекладів на українську мову до того часу, поки в самій Україні не буде достатньої кількості народжених в Україні літургістів, біблістів, патрологів, християнських філологів та літургійних музикознавців, які могли би взятися до переважливої справи перекладу богослужебних текстів. Та крім цього, Синод єпископів УГКЦ повинен би якнайскорше видати постанову, щоб вернутися до правильного перекладу закінчення возгласу і славослов'я, цебто, до «віки віків».

(Попередня версія цієї статті появилася в журналі *Лавра – Часопис Монахів Студитського Уставу*, 2000, по. 4, ст. 33–35.)



Book Reviews

The Monks of Mount Athos: A Western Monk's Extraordinary Spiritual Journey on Eastern Holy Ground by M. Basil Pennington, OCSO. Foreword by Archimandrite Dionysios. Woodstock, Vermont: Skylight Paths Publishing, 305+ pp.

One should not be misled by the title of this book, which makes it sound more like a self-congratulatory travelogue than the winsomely and graciously written diaries of a charmingly modest hieromonk, the Trappist Basil Pennington. As diaries, they are not likely to be as historically memorable as, say, the famous Pepys diaries, but they may, in time, be put to more providential – which is to say ecumenical – purposes. For if all Catholics encountering Orthodox were as humble as Fr. Basil, then the relations between our two Churches would be that much the better. As Fr. Basil notes, these diaries – not originally intended for publication – seem to have “been a healing thing, a step, however small, in the coming together in love of the separated sister Churches.”

Parts of these diaries have origins going back many years to the ecumenical zeal that animated Roman Catholics after the Second Vatican Council. Excerpts from them were published in 1978 under the title *O Holy Mountain! Journal of a Retreat on Mount Athos*. This present volume is an expanded “jubilee edition” with a fulsome forward of high praise written by Archimandrite Dionysios, the founder of the Monastery of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Greece. Fr. Dionysios salutes Fr. Basil as a worthy bearer of the name of “Basil” and a “faithful and honest friend” with a “profoundly monastic innermost personality” that is as “mighty as a cedar of Lebanon.” For his part, Fr. Basil, in his preface, notes with joy his friendship with Fr. Dionysios as well as the felicitous connections built up over the years between the monks of Athos and others. But let us go back to the beginning.

In 1973, Fr. Basil went off to an Orthodox-Cistercian symposium at Oxford University, where he first began to learn about the Athonite monastics, whom he would shortly there-

after visit briefly for the first time. It would prove an introduction to a different way of living monastic life, and Fr. Basil helpfully provides details of each of the communities on the Holy Mountain – both cenobitic and idiorhythmic – and an accessible description of their structure, liturgical practices, and community life. He also offers a helpfully detailed glossary of monastic terminology from his own tradition and that of the Orthodox (both Greek and Slavic).

After his initial visit, the idea remained with him of a longer visit – for which he needed special permission from the Holy Mountain, hitherto accustomed to short-term visits of the curious and the tourist, but not to a sabbatical of a fellow monastic. Many others had tried to explain Athos to the West but none had been able to do so from the experience of having lived inside the community for so long. This alone makes Fr. Basil's book unique and important, but adding to it is the spirit in which it is written: an open "vulnerability" which, he fears, will manifest itself in "inadequate expression" and perhaps hurt feelings. But to this reviewer that scarcely seems possible given the very irenic and forgiving spirit with which Fr. Basil lived on the mountain. Fr. Basil is at pains, both in his encounters with the monks and then his encounters with readers of these diaries, to lay himself open, freely and repeatedly acknowledging (without becoming mawkish) his own many failings and his own fervent and repeated prayers for greater holiness. Many of the entries are in fact prayers, and often deeply moving ones at that.

Fr. Basil spends most of his time at prayer in the various monasteries of Athos. Surprisingly, he encounters only a little of the unecumenical animosity which some in the media have suggested is rife on Athos, and it is only toward the very end of his retreat that he goes to the Esphigmenou Monastery (linked with the schismatic Old Calendarists) and sees their infamous banner, ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΙΑ Η ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ("Orthodoxy or death!"). Fr. Basil makes great effort to understand the roots of such an attitude and to seek out forgiveness for anything that Catholics may have done to cause it. In his humility, he does not strike back when insulted: "if I feel pain at times at being put in a corner or excluded as a 'heretic,' I can readily

accept it in a spirit of reparation for all the past sins against unity of my own Church.”

Fr. Basil does encounter one or two instances of mind-boggling levels of ignorance, including one old monk who, upon being informed Fr. Basil was a Catholic, asked “why I didn’t become a Christian,” and a “young brother” who thought that “Catholics always make the Sign of the Cross with four fingers because they believe there are four persons in the Trinity”! But these are very rare. Much more often he encounters instead a very friendly reception; and his diaries are replete with warm and affectionate sketches of various people who treat him as a real brother, going out of their way to make him feel at home and demonstrating a genuine depth of charity as well as prayer. (Their prayer life is impressive indeed: there are numerous references like “the Services began shortly after nine last night. We left church only shortly after nine this morning” or “the Vigil [for the feast of the Transfiguration] began at nine last night and, with a short breather before Liturgy, ended at 10:30 this morning, followed by a reception and a meal.”)

Fr. Basil’s own struggle to remain focused on and in prayer is reported in the diary with what seems brutal honesty. His lesson to us is that precisely in and through prayer ecumenism is advanced: “in these months we have been together not as members of different Churches in an ecumenical dialogue but as brothers together before the Lord.” In the end he recognizes that “the one thing needful” for his life, the life of the Church, and the unity of the Churches, is humility in prayer before the Lord. In prayer to our Father we are already one; through prayer we shall become more fully one. The prayers and works of such as Fr. Basil Pennington are helping us along that road to unity.

Adam A.J. DeVille
Sheptytsky Institute, Ottawa



Windows to the East: Eastern Christians in a Dialogue of Charity, eds. Jaroslav Z. Skira and Myroslaw I. Tataryn. Ottawa: Novalis, 2001. 352 pp., including 8 pp. of modern icons. \$24.⁹⁵ Cdn / \$17.⁹⁵ US.

It became commonplace in the last decade – especially in Eastern circles since the collapse of the Soviet Union and resurrection of the so-called Uniate problem – to speak of an “ecumenical winter,” as the advances made during and following the heady days of the 1960s gave way to more intractable difficulties and even, sadly, to retrenchment and collapse of talks that were invested with such hope.

How one rejoices, then, in the shoots of new life tenaciously and unexpectedly pushing up from this supposedly frozen ground. One such especially stubborn shoot poked up from the literally frozen landscape of the Canadian prairies in the winter of 1994: the “Windows to the East” initiative, organized principally by Lesya Nahachewsky as a gathering of Eastern Catholics and Orthodox in and around Saskatchewan to come together to get to know one another, appreciating more deeply a shared heritage and seeking ways of cooperating so that this heritage might reach new generations. In each of the following years, the conferences grew, attracting more and more clergy, laity, and even hierarchs from Eastern communities – such as the Ukrainian Orthodox, Evangelical Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic, Antiochean Orthodox, Melkite, and Orthodox Church in America – as well as Roman Catholics and Protestants.

The present volume, an anthology, presents the results of the papers given at those conferences with their various themes over the years. Two papers are presented for each theme (except the last, which has three): “Exploring the Heart of Eastern Christianity” (1994), “Centrality of the Lord’s Table: Eucharistic Perspectives” (1995), “Prayer in the Modern World: An Eastern Christian Perspective” (1996), “Holy Trinity: Exemplary Paradigm of Community, Evangelism and Ecumenical Relations” (1997), “Mary: Model for Christian Life and Ministry” (1998), “Meeting Christ in the Divine

Liturgy” (1999) and “Eastern Christianity in a Post-Modern World” (2000).

Like all anthologies, the papers here are a mixed lot. Some come with a substantial scholarly apparatus while others are much shorter and clearly of an oral provenance; some aim more at academic debate while others are “pastoral” in orientation; but almost all provide at least a short list of suggested sources for further reading. Many are an embodiment of Dr. Johnson’s famous observation that we need not so much to be instructed as to be reminded – reminded of the riches of our iconographic, liturgical, and spiritual practices. Others attempt to take those riches in new directions.

Myroslaw Tataryn’s piece, for example, “Community of Being: A Trinitarian Imperative,” is both a reminder of foundational Trinitarian theology and an attempt to interpret it – following Zizioulas – in the light of contemporary anthropological, sociological, and ecclesiological needs. Tataryn’s essay is a helpfully accessible introduction to the discussion of “being as communion.”

Fr. Anthony Ugolnik’s piece, “Living in Skin: Sex, Spirituality and the Christian Male,” attempts to break new ground by taking account of concerns from both feminism and the so-called men’s movement. However, his paper seems to suffer from an attempt to do too much in too short a space, and thus the reader is left frustrated at his bobbing and weaving – here into Protestant theologians (William Law), there into Roman Catholics (Edward Schillebeeckx), here into trendy feminist theory (Mary Daly, Andrea Dworkin), there into solidly Orthodox thinkers (Paul Evdokimov). His conclusions – that sexuality in marriage is eucharistic and “iconic,” and that “sex is at once the most private and cosmic of acts” – are deeply suggestive but invite more developed articulation.

Such a concern for an embodied theology is at work also in Fr. Andriy Chirovsky’s piece, “Prayer and the Body of Christ – Prayer and the Body of Humanity,” which argues forcefully that *how* we pray as embodied creatures gives witness to the world, demonstrating that Christians take the body seriously – a truth Chirovsky explicates by means of a discussion of the role of icons and posture in church.

A further ground-breaker would seem to be Elaine Hanna's "Mary: Model for the Diaconate." The title is somewhat misleading, however, insofar as Mary gets less than three (out of twenty-seven) pages before the author turns her attention to her real agenda, viz., trying to argue in favour of a female diaconate – for which evidence is assembled in a transparently tendentious manner.

A few further critical remarks may be in order. While one can understand the desire of the editors to arrange the essays chronologically, this sometimes makes for disjointed reading insofar as part three, dealing with the Eucharist, does not include Bishop Lawrence Huculak's "Meeting Christ in the Divine Liturgy," which is relegated to part seven under the heading of the same name. Similarly, two articles on iconography show up in the final section – when a great deal has been mentioned about iconography in other pieces as well as in part four, on prayer. These are, of course, minor concerns; but an anthology by definition has a jumbled "feel" to it, and anything editors can do to mitigate that and so ensure a smoother read is always appreciated by readers.

A glossary is appended to the book, purporting to introduce hitherto strange terms to the reader. While moderately helpful in some respects, many of the entries (eg., "canons," "ecclesiology") are – or should be – easily accessible in competent dictionaries if they are not already known to most readers. More recondite terms are not listed, and this is a disappointment. It is also odd that only a few early heresies – e.g., Manicheism and pelagianism [*sic*] – are included, but those of even greater importance – eg., iconoclasm or Arianism – are completely overlooked. Finally, several terms from various traditions are imported (e.g., *Shekinah*, *arche*, *filioque*, *starets*) without the diacriticals and without acknowledgement of their varied linguistic provenance – and therefore cultural and theological context or etymological history.

These are, however, small points in what does not purport to be an encyclopaedic introduction to the Christian East but only the results of a small, but nonetheless ecumenically sig-

nificant, series of conferences, for whose fruits we may all offer thanks to the holy, consubstantial and undivided Trinity.

Adam A.J. DeVille
Sheptytsky Institute, Ottawa



Roman Cholij. *Theodore the Stoudite: The Ordering of Holiness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. xvi + 275 pages.

It used to be said that dissertations make poor books. Today, that is less frequently the case – owing in part to the ability to re-write infinitely on computer. In any case, this certainly does not hold for this dissertation-turned-book. Roman Cholij, presently a London-based researcher, has produced a superb – and need I add – much needed analysis of the life and key initiatives of one of Byzantium’s more important churchmen. I say “much needed” because the last similar English-language book-length study of the Stoudite (excepting dissertations) appeared in 1905! Groundbreaking work on the sources, and literature in other languages, has proliferated in the meantime, and Cholij masterfully synthesizes these, consistently arriving at judicious and well grounded conclusions. To achieve this, he had the guidance of some of the best scholars in the field: Kallistos Ware (his director at Oxford), and Averil Cameron, Andrew Louth, Ken Parry and John Erickson, who served as examiners and external readers.

After providing a biography of the Stoudite in the first half of the book, Cholij turns to an analysis of Theodore’s contribution to monastic – and more generally, ecclesial – reform. The subtitle, “The Ordering of Holiness,” is intended to characterize these efforts, which fundamentally consisted of opposing some of the ecclesial and imperial corruption of his day, and re-invigorating asceticism by reviving teaching and liturgical-sacramental practice. By joining solid historical research with

theological analysis, Cholij has done justice to this figure who has been misinterpreted recently by writers who refuse to take seriously his role as a churchman. Anyone reading Cholij's work will wonder at P. Karlin-Hayter's statement that Theodore was "little more than 'a Byzantine politician in a monk's gown.'" Of course, that kind of reductionism will continue as long as historians refuse to study theology. Cholij has again demonstrated that good theologians can also be good historians, and in this case – a better historian.

Turning to a sequential overview of the book: Cholij situates Theodore within the "cultural and humanistic revival of the ninth century" and summarizes the events that lead to his being exiled/imprisoned by imperial authorities on three separate occasions. Of course, the aforementioned revival consisted to a fair degree of codifying and collecting previous intellectual and spiritual treasures. Theodore revived a purer, Basilian, approach to coenobitism and transmitted the teaching of Dorotheos of Gaza. The development of miniscule writing within Stoudite scriptoria was itself an attempt to convey the heritage of the past more expeditiously. Cholij illustrates how Theodore's work epitomized this process of "inheritance unto revitalization." Thus, the Stoudite was not original in this thought. What made him so significant nonetheless, was his pro-active response to secular and ecclesial events, grounded in a relatively solid reading of Church tradition. (I say "relatively" because his iconodoulia, for example, suffered from idiosyncratic excesses: he praised the use of icons as god-parents and monastic sponsors.)

In the section entitled "Theodore's writings," Cholij provides a very helpful guide to the state of critical editions. We also learn that only about a quarter of Theodore's "catechetical" discourses are extant, and that probably half of his letters have been lost. This section ends, however, with the following remark: "Finally, there is an abundant quantity of monastic and liturgical poetry attributed to Theodore" (p. 77). With that, his discussion of hymnography ends, and in a footnote, the reader is directed to several sources and bibliographies. In view of the fact that the book jacket claims that "Cholij ... provides a complete analysis of all the primary source material

attributed to Theodore” one would have hoped for a more fulsome treatment of this genre. Cholij himself insists – after describing various other tasks at Theodore’s monasteries: “The liturgical life of the monastery was its central activity. Work was always to take second place to liturgy and psalmody” (p. 33). Theodore lived at a time of prolific hymnographic activity, and to gloss over this dimension of work attributed to him is ill-advised. Of course, one could counter that the jury is still out as to certifiable attribution; indeed, we are still not sure whether Theodore is the actual author of the famed *anabathmoi* ascribed to him. But this is to beg the question. In such a “comprehensive” study one would expect the author to have harnessed the resources of tools like the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* to help detect correspondence between Theodore’s corpus at large and the hymnography attributed to him.

The question of the TLG brings us to a related question. In referring to Theodore’s sources Cholij states that “a study of Theodore’s sources has been made by Dobroklonskij.” But the latter’s work appeared before the Russian Revolution, and while earlier generations of scholars with photographic memories and index cards did manage to work wonders, today there is no substitute for the computer.

Turning to Parts II and III of the book, “Principles of Order,” and “Principles of Holiness” it would not be an overstatement to say that Cholij has provided a graphic snapshot of a particular facet of early Middle-Byzantine spirituality. In many ways, it constitutes one of the best introductions to the topic. Obedience, discipline, asceticism in general, and their relation to the gospel, are discussed lucidly and engagingly. Cholij also provides a solid analysis of *oikonomia* and its application during this period.

In the sub-section entitled “Church and Emperor” Cholij corrects the tendency to see Theodore as a maverick in the area of Byzantine political theory. Like all Byzantines, the Stoudite viewed Church and State as two facets of a single reality with *imperium* equally – if distinctively – bound by the gospel and Church tradition. Pre-Vatican II Catholic scholars tended to misinterpret Theodore’s attitude towards “secular” authority

by imputing to him Western-style thought on the relationship between *imperium* and *sacerdotum*. His deference towards Rome was even touted as an aspect of this “radically different attitude.” While Cholij has rectified this, we are nonetheless left wondering why in this volume Theodore’s relationship with the papacy is accorded such short shrift. Cholij acknowledges the lacuna and notes in his conclusion that “a particular area not covered in this study but of some interest to modern ecumenists is Theodore’s thinking on church unity. Not being an original thinker, his views on, for example, the Roman pontiff take on particular interest as an expression of ninth-century Byzantine understanding of who and what the pope is.” I would counter that over and beyond “ecumenical concerns,” this question is a crucial one, bearing more generally on ecclesiology per se, not to mention – adapting Cholij’s own words – ninth-century Byzantine history. Cholij himself mentions Theodore’s appeals to popes regarding, inter alia, the emperor’s adultery (p. 51) and iconoclasm (p. 59) and Theodore’s confession of faith made to Pope Leo III (p. 76).

A subsequent section on the sacraments provides an excellent elucidation of the confused question of sacramental “lists.” Cholij’s demonstrates how anachronistic – in the sense of retrojection – are the claims that Theodore’s “list” testifies to a belief in “six sacraments.” As is well known, it took several more centuries – even in the West – for the Church to develop a delineatory enumerative approach to sacraments.

Cholij concludes his book with the statement, “Theodore’s theology of holiness, which is a theology of living the reality of one’s baptism, is most relevant to the needs of our own Christian age” (p. 248). He then adds: “Theodore’s insights help one to see that the laity cannot be defined in terms of monasticism and be placed in the shadow of the latter. On the contrary, monks must be defined in terms of the laity. They are not more perfect lay people, but lay people who make a commitment to live out their baptismal promises within a protected society with protective rules” (ibid.). In our day, when that “protection” has so frequently failed, engendering a corruption that permeates segments of (Eastern and Western) monasticism, the laity are required to “look past” those who

should otherwise be inspiring examples of poverty, chastity and obedience. In this context, Cholij's study not only provides invaluable information, but also enlightens and encourages seekers as they struggle on the rough road to knowledge and sanctity.

Peter Galadza
Sheptytsky Institute, Ottawa



Maria Vassilaki, (editor) *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Milan, Italy, Skira editore, 2000. 531 pages. Includes bibliography, glossary and index.

This beautifully illustrated and masterfully printed and bound volume was published to accompany the "Mother of God" exhibit at the Benaki Museum in Athens from October 2000 to January 2001.

The book is divided into three parts: "On the Cult and Theology of the Virgin," "Representing the Virgin," and "The Catalogue." Parts one and two fill half the volume, leaving the other half for the catalogue proper. The exhibit included pieces in various media, tempera and encaustic panels, carvings and metal work from a number of distinguished collections. The period covered ranges from the fourth century to post-Crusade representations.

Two hundred and nine numbered color plates in the first two parts, together with color plates of the exhibit pieces and their accompanying commentary, make this book a visual delight. The descriptive section includes extensive commentary on the individual pieces and is made more useful by the inclusion of a list of exhibitions that the work has been in and a short bibliography. One might wish that the editors had more consistently supplied information in all the sections of the book on the size of the art works under discussion, but it

would be hard to find other cause for complaint with the artwork in *Mother of God*.

Twenty-seven articles by a group of distinguished contributors make this book a piece of substantial scholarship. Those familiar with current English-language work in Mediterranean history and art history will recognize names such as Averil Cameron, Cyril Mango, Ioli Kalavrezou, and Henry Maguire.

Twenty-two pages of up-to-date critical bibliography will lead the researcher to greater depth. A glossary of more than seventy artistic, liturgical, and theological terms will make the book "user friendly" to a wide range of readers.

Historians and art historians will be among those most interested in *Mother of God*, but those interested in the history of theology or the history of devotion and spirituality will also find informative and interesting material. Niki Tsironis, for example, in "The Mother of God in the Iconoclastic Controversy," offers a survey of the evidence for iconophile and iconoclast approaches toward Marian devotion. While Tsironis's analysis of the dispute based on attitudes toward materiality does not do justice to the complexity of the issues raised, that does not detract from a very thorough presentation of the extant texts from the period.

Canonical and apocryphal Scripture, liturgical texts, homilies and theological treatments all play a part in the construction of Marian cult and iconography, demanding a breadth of field from the researcher. In this, Averil Cameron does not disappoint. In her contribution, "The Early Cult of the Virgin," she traces six centuries of theological, artistic and cultic developments in a succinct but very readable manner. She successfully interweaves two strands: Mary and her role in the incarnation during the Christological controversies, and Mary in ascetic movements within Christianity after the fourth century. She concludes with a survey of the development of devotion to Mary as a civic and personal protector, which the author documents with both literary and artistic references.

Henry Maguire's contribution, "The Cult of the Mother of God in Private," takes up themes that he covered in his "Magic and the Christian Image," a chapter in *Byzantine Magic* pub-

lished by Dumbarton Oaks in 1995. He offers an analytic description of a number of personal items such as clothing, jewelry, crosses and the like intended for personal wear or use which date from the late fourth to the twelfth century. His purpose is to demonstrate the manner in which images of Mary changed in ways that indicate changes in her cult. He concludes that in the post-iconoclastic period, emphasis moved from the events of Mary's life to more personal images that emphasized "her role as intercessor, or her personal relationship both with the wearer and with Christ, her son."

Other chapters address topics as diverse as miracle-working icons, the apocryphal gospels, the mosaics of Hagia Sophia, portable icons, and the influence of Byzantine iconography in Italy.

Mother of God is a scholarly and artistic success. Fortunately, it has been heavily subsidized, making it – in comparison with comparable scholarly art books – reasonably priced.

Eugene Ludwig



Contributors to Volume 43–45

Brian Butcher is a doctoral candidate at the Sheptytsky Institute in the Faculty of Theology, Saint Paul University, Ottawa, and a (three-year) SSHRC fellow. He is writing a dissertation on the hermeneutics necessary to appropriate Byzantine rites of blessing in a technological age.

Andriy Chirovsky is Kule Family Chair of Eastern Christian Theology and Spirituality at the Sheptytsky Institute in the Faculty of Theology, Saint Paul University, Ottawa.

Adam DeVille is a doctoral candidate at the Sheptytsky Institute of the Faculty of Theology, Saint Paul University, Ottawa, where he is writing a dissertation on Orthodoxy and the Roman Papacy in response to *Ut Unum Sint*.

Peter Galadza is Kule Family Chair of Eastern Christian Liturgy at the Sheptytsky Institute in the Faculty of Theology, Saint Paul University, Ottawa.

George Gallaro is a Melkite Greek Catholic priest, currently teaching canon law at Saints Cyril and Methodius Byzantine Catholic Seminary, Pittsburgh.

Ron Grove is a deacon of the Orthodox Church in America, currently resident in Arizona.

Elias El-Hayek, a Maronite Catholic priest, is a retired professor of canon law and liturgy. Until recently, he was resident in Montreal.

Ihor Kutash is an archpriest of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada, resident in Montreal, and a sessional lecturer at the Sheptytsky Institute.

Eugene Ludwig (OFM Cap.) is Dean and Professor of History and Patristic Theology, Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology, Graduate Theological Union, San Francisco.

John Madey is retired professor of theology at the University of Paderborn, and the author of several authoritative works on Eastern Christian history and thought.

Matthew Schroeder, a graduate of the STL programme in Eastern Christian Studies at Saint Paul University, is pastor of The Mother of God Ukrainian Catholic Church in Conyers, Georgia.

Myroslaw Tataryn, a Ukrainian Catholic theologian, is the new dean of Saint Jerome's College, Waterloo, Ontario (effective 2005).

Archbishop Vsevolod is bishop of the Western Eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States of America.

Resources Available from the Sheptytsky Institute

CDs and Audio Tapes

The Divine Liturgy for Congregational Singing (Two-CD Set)

This recording, by the renowned chorus Schola Cantorum of Chicago, under the direction of J. Michael Thompson, includes the main sections of the book, *The Divine Liturgy: An Anthology for Worship* (2004). All of the propers of the eight resurrectional tones are also recorded. Over 2 hours of music.

Two-CD Set CDN \$25.⁰⁰ US \$20.⁰⁰

Therapeia: Insights into Healing from Orthodox

Theology and Spirituality

Opening ceremony for the first Ph.D. (Eastern Christian Studies) program in the "New World" and keynote address by Dr. Kyriaki Karidoyanes FitzGerald. December 4, 2000.

Audio-cassette CDN \$7.⁰⁰ US \$6.⁰⁰

Christian, Muslims and Jews Building a Future

Together in the Holy Land

A public lecture by Archimandrite Emile Shoufani Melkite-Greek Catholic pastor of Nazareth (Israel). Mostly in French with some English. October 20, 1999.

Audio-cassette CDN \$7.⁰⁰ US \$6.⁰⁰

What is Eastern Catholic Theology?

Round-table discussion at the 53rd Annual Convention of the Catholic Theological Society of America (June 13, 1998).

Two 60-minute audio-cassette CDN \$7.⁰⁰ US \$6.⁰⁰

International Symposium on English Translations of Byzantine Liturgical Texts (Stamford, June 17-20, 1998)

I. Opening session with Keynote Address (Rev. Robert Taft), "Theological & Philological Accuracy" (Archimandrite Epem Lash), "The Style of the Translation" (Bishop Kallistos Ware, Rev. Anthony Ugolnik) with discussions.

Five 90-minute audio-cassettes CDN \$37.⁰⁰ US \$32.⁰⁰

II. "Survey of Translations" (Rev. David Petras, Bishop Nicholas Samra, Archimandrite Serge Keleher, Dr. Paul Meyendorff, Rev. John Chryssavgis, Archimandrite Daniel Griffith) with discussions.

Four 90-minute audio-cassettes CDN \$30.⁰⁰ US \$25.⁰⁰

III. "Singing the Translation" (Michael Thompson, Mark Bailey) with discussions.

Two 90-minute audio-cassettes CDN \$18.⁰⁰ US \$15.⁰⁰

COMPLETE AUDIO PROCEEDINGS

Eleven 90-minute audio-cassettes CDN \$60.⁰⁰ US \$50.⁰⁰

XIXth Congress of UCWLC (June 25, 1998)

Opening speeches and keynote address by Fr. A. Chirovsky

90-minute audio-cassette (Bilingual) CDN \$7.⁰⁰ US \$6.⁰⁰

***Clergy Conference on Orthodox-Catholic Relations
and the Ukrainian Catholic Church***

(Stamford, October 16–18, 1995)

The Current Worldwide Ecumenical Situation and the Position of the
Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church (Fr. Andriy Chirovsky)

Audio-cassette CDN \$7.⁰⁰ US \$6.⁰⁰

The International Commission for Orthodox-Catholic Dialogue (Fr. Andriy
Chirovsky)

Audio-cassette CDN \$7.⁰⁰ US \$6.⁰⁰

An Analysis of Pope John Paul's *Orientalis lumen* and his encyclical *Ut
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***Symposium Marking the 50th Anniversary of the Death of
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Metropolitan Andrey on Prayer and the Wisdom of God (Fr. Andriy
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Collegial Manner?***

A public lecture by Metropolitan Maxim (Hermaniuk) delivered at Saint
Paul University, March, 1994.

90-minute audio-cassette CDN \$7.⁰⁰ US \$6.⁰⁰

Books Available from the Sheptytsky Institute

***The Divine Liturgy: An Anthology for Worship.* Peter Galadza, Editor-in-Chief.**

ISBN 1-895937-12-4

A one-volume source for singing the Divine Liturgy in English with sections in Ukrainian. This book contains Sundays, Festal and Weekday Musical Settings for the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, Music for the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, the Hours in English, Propers for the Liturgical Year, Tables for Scriptural Readings, Hymns and Carols, Blessings and Other Brief Rites. xiv, 1160 pp.

Price: CDN \$49.⁹⁵ US \$45.⁰⁰; bulk discounts available.

***The Theology and Liturgical Work of Andrei Sheptytsky (1865-1944).* Peter Galadza.**

ISBN 1-895937-13-2

This is the first comprehensive study of the sources and characteristics of the theology of Metropolitan Andrei, as well as the first full account of his liturgical initiatives. Co-published with Pontificio Istituto Orientale. Volume 272 of their on-going series *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*. 524 pp.

Price: CDN \$49.⁹⁵ US \$38.⁰⁰

***Following the Star from the East: Essays in Honor of Archimandrite Boniface Luykx.* Andriy Chirovsky, ed.**

ISBN 1-895937-02-7

This collection of scholarly articles and popular reminiscences highlights the life and work of Archimandrite Boniface, the founder of Holy Transfiguration (Mount Tabor) Monastery in Redwood Valley California. In addition to articles on the archimandrite's accomplishments and a bibliography of his extensive published works, the volume includes scholarly studies in the fields of monasticism, liturgy, iconography, and patristics by over 20 scholars from a variety of universities. xii, 274 pp.

Price: CDN \$20.⁰⁰ US \$15.⁰⁰

***Pray for God's Wisdom: The Mystical Sophiology of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.* Andriy Chirovsky.**

ISBN 1-897937-00-0

The first major monograph on the spiritual core of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's thought and life – his devotion to the Wisdom of God. Fr. Andriy Chirovsky studies the life and literary output of Metropolitan Andrey, looking for clues to a clearer understanding of the many levels of meaning that Wisdom-Sophia held for the saintly primate of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church. Comparisons with the three Russian sophiologists (Solovyov, Bulgakov, and Florensky) show how much more rooted in the Tradition were the sophiological musings of Sheptytsky. xx, 279 pp.

Price: CDN \$20.⁰⁰ US \$15.⁰⁰

***Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine – the Legacy of Andrei Sheptytsky.* Andrii Krawchuk.**

ISBN 1–895937–04–3

A stimulating study of the legacy of a remarkable religious leader who left his distinctive mark on twentieth-century Christian thought. A Catholic who defended the rights of persecuted Orthodox Christians and who saved Jews during the Holocaust, Andrei Sheptytsky transcended his own Polish and Latin-rite background, devoting his life to upholding universal Christian ideals among the Eastern-rite Catholics of Ukraine. Exhaustively documented, this is the first analysis of an inspiring moral response to delicate Ukrainian-Polish and Catholic-Orthodox issues, socialism and communism, church-state relations and the Nazi occupation. xxiv, 404 pp.

Price: CDN \$49.⁹⁵ US \$49.⁹⁵

The Sheptytsky Institute also acts as Canadian distributor for the Ukrainian-language religious publications of *Svichado* Publishing, L'viv, Ukraine.

Academic Programs of the Sheptytsky Institute

Undergraduate Programs

The Sheptytsky Institute (Saint Paul University, Faculty of Theology) offers the following undergraduate programs of study.

Certificate in Eastern Christian Studies

The Certificate of University Studies in Theology (Eastern Christian Studies) is a **24-credit** program, which provides a general but serious initiation to the most important issues addressed by contemporary Eastern Christian theology. This program also allows students to study certain issues more deeply, according to their needs.

Since this program can be completed in two sessions (September-April), it is of special interest to those who lack the time to undertake a Bachelor of Theology program. This program is especially suitable for: professors of religion and catechetics who wish to gain a more complete understanding of the message they are called to transmit; religious men and women who have a doctrinal year as a part of their formation; those who wish to take refresher courses to update or broaden their understanding of the Eastern Churches; those who wish to register for the M.A. in Pastoral Studies but do not have the required theological preparation.

Bachelor of Theology Programs (Eastern Christian Studies)

The Bachelor of Theology (ECS) programs seek to foster in the students: **a.** general knowledge of contemporary theology solidly rooted in the Catholic-Orthodox tradition and open to the contributions of other Eastern and Western Christian and non-Christian traditions; **b.** the ability to perceive the relationships between the various areas of theology; **c.** the aptitude to exercise critical discernment both in the selection and the use of theological texts (scripture, liturgy, Church Fathers, ecclesiastical documents, particular theologies, etc.) and also in the assessment of various historical situations (of the Church, of the world; of the past and of the present); **d.** a clear-minded and searching interiorization or personal appropriation of the realities of the faith; **e.** the aptitude to perceive ministerial activities as contributing to the life of the Church in spirit and in truth; **f.** adequate knowledge of the sources, the methods, and the tools needed to continue the study of theology independently; **g.** more profound knowledge of the disciplines with which theology maintains special bonds; **h.** sensitivity to the different cultural formulations of theology and the four great families of Eastern Churches; **i.** basic formation in theology which gives access to graduate studies in theology.

The Civil B. Th. (Eastern Christian Studies) is a **120-credit** program consisting of two parts: 1) a **30-credit** cluster equivalent to one year of university, 2) a **90-credit** (30 course) cluster of compulsory and elective courses, which may include up to twenty-two courses in Eastern Christian subjects.

The Ecclesiastical B.Th. (Eastern Christian Studies) is a **90-credit** program in Theology to which are added **18 credits** of philosophical formation.

The Ecclesiastical B.Th.(ECS) is conferred by Saint Paul University and the Civil B.Th.(ECS) is conferred jointly by Saint Paul University and the University of Ottawa. The civil and ecclesiastical B.Th.(ECS) programs can be followed concurrently, if desired.

The 2003-2004 Academic Year Undergraduate Courses in Ottawa

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THO 2131 General Introduction to the Eastern Churches
(Prof. John Jillions)

THO 3301 Hermeneutics and Exegesis in Eastern Christianity
(Prof. Francois Beyrousti)

THO 3318 Eastern Christian Spirituality
(Prof. Maxym Lysack)

WINTER 2004

THO 2144 The Contemplative Psychology of Eastern Christian
Spirituality
(Prof. Suzette Phillips)

THO 3319 Eastern Christian Doctrine I: Trinity, Christ, Holy Spirit
(Prof. Andriy Chirovsky)

THO 3322 Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgies
(Prof. Danylo Kuc)

THO 3324 Introduction to Eastern Christian Ethics
(Prof. Andrii Krawchuk)

The 2004-2005 Academic Year Undergraduate Courses in Ottawa

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(Prof. John Jillions)

- THO 2138 Selected Topics in Eastern Christian History: Formation of the Christian Tradition
(Prof. Andriy Chirovsky)
- THO 2309 Selected Topics in the Eastern Christian Canonical Tradition: Marriage
(Prof. Greg Zubacz)
- THO 3328 The Holy Mysteries: Byzantine Sacraments
(Prof. Peter Galadza)

WINTER 2005

- THO 3308 Patristic Moral Tradition
(Prof. Ihor Kutash)
- THO 3316 Ecclesiology and East-West Ecumenism
(Prof. John Jillions)
- THO 3325 Theology and Spirituality of Icons
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- THO 3338 Byzantine Liturgical Celebration
(Prof. Peter Galadza)

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Through Saint Paul University's Faculty of Theology, the Sheptytsky Institute offers a graduate concentration in Eastern Christian Studies, closely following the established structural pattern of other concentrations in the Faculty, while maintaining a firm commitment to a genuinely Eastern approach to the graduate study of theology. The graduate concentration in Eastern Christian Studies includes both **civil degree programs** leading to an M.A.(Th.) and Ph.D.(Th.), and **ecclesiastical degree programs** for the licentiate (L.Th.) and the doctorate (S.Th.D.). Four areas of study are offered: Spirituality-Doctrine, Liturgical Studies, Historical Studies, East-West Ecumenism.

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WINTER 2004

THO 6379 Issues in Eastern Christian Hermeneutics and Exegesis
(Prof. Andrew Onuferko)

THO 6388 Classical Texts in Eastern Liturgy from Chrysostom to
Schmemmann
(Prof. John Jillions)

THO 6392 The History of Eastern Christian Institutions,
Movements, Persons – Hyrhorii Skovoroda: A Secular
Monk
(Prof. Ihor Kutash)

**The 2004-2005 Academic Year
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THO 6376 Mystical-Ascetical Approaches to Eastern Christian
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Christian Desert and Monastic Literature
(Prof. Andriy Chirovsky)

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Christian Liturgy: Byzantine Funeral Rites
(Prof. Peter Galadza)

THO 6381A Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905 – 1988)
(Prof. Achiel Peelman)

WINTER 2005

THO7286/7686 Research Seminar – Both Sessions
(Prof. Achiel Peelman)

THO 6352 Studies in Eastern Christianity: Classical Texts in
Eastern Christian Theology
(Prof. Andriy Chirovsky)

THO 6379 Issues in Eastern Christian Hermeneutics and Exegesis:
The Eastern Church Fathers and the Writings of Paul
(Prof. John Jillions)

THO 6381B Contemporary Eastern Theology: Health and Healing in
the Byzantine Tradition
(Prof. Robert Hutcheon)

Summer Programs

The Seventeenth Annual Sheptytsky Institute Summer Intensive Program at **Orangeville, Ontario**, June 28 – July 26, 2003.

- THO 2133 Byzantine Lectionary: Structure and Theology
(Prof. Andrew T. Onuferko)
- THO 2309 Monastic and Religious Canons of the Eastern Code of Canon Law
(Prof. Gregory Zubacz)

The Eighteenth Annual Sheptytsky Institute Summer Intensive Program at **Orangeville, Ontario**, June 26 – July 24, 2004.

- THO 3324 Introduction to Eastern Christian Ethics
(Prof. Robert Marko)
- THO 3328 The Holy Mysteries: Byzantine Sacraments
(Prof. Andrew Quinlan)

The Seventh Annual Summer Institute at Holy Dormition Studite Monastery in **Univ, Ukraine**, July 12 – Aug. 9, 2003.

- THO 4103 Johannine Literature
(Prof. Taras Barscevski)
- THO 2197 Selected Topics in Eastern Christian Doctrinal Tradition I: The Historical Development of Trinitarian Doctrine: An Eastern Christian Perspective
(Prof. Roman Zaviyskyy)

The Eighth Annual Summer Institute at Holy Dormition Studite Monastery in **Univ, Ukraine**, June 26 – July 24, 2004.

- THO 3316 Ecclesiology and East-West Ecumenism
(Prof. Yuri Sakvuk)
- THO 2152 Selected Topics in the New Testament I: The Pauline Corpus
(Prof. Yevhen Stanishevskyy)

MISSION STATEMENT

THE METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY INSTITUTE OF EASTERN CHRISTIAN STUDIES

The Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies is a centre of higher learning, research, ecumenical understanding and prayer. 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. As an academic unit of the Faculty of Theology, the Sheptytsky Institute offers accredited undergraduate and graduate degree programs to both men and women – laity, religious and clergy.

- ❖ 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.
- ❖ As a centre of ecumenical understanding, 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.

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.

Spring 2000



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Theoforum

Revue publiée, en français et en anglais, par la Faculté de théologie. Elle paraît en janvier, mai et octobre. Les articles traitent de sujets d'intérêt pour la communauté théologique et aussi pour le lecteur cultivé, ouvert à ce domaine.

Abonnement: CAN 46,80 \$ (TPS incl.). Étranger: CAN 60 \$ ou US 43 \$.

A journal of the Faculty of Theology published in January, May and October.

A referred scholarly journal, in French and in English, its articles are also of interest to the general educated reader.

Subscription rate: CAN \$46.80 (GST incl.). Outside Canada: CAN \$60 or US \$43.

Secrétaire de rédaction/Editor: Léo Laberge, O.M.I.



Studia canonica

Revue publiée deux fois par année, en français et en anglais, par la Faculté de droit canonique.
Abonnement: CAN 50 \$ (TPS incl.). Étranger: CAN 65 \$ ou US 45 \$.

A journal published twice a year, in French and in English, by the Faculty of Canon Law.
Subscription rate: CAN \$50 (GST incl.). Outside Canada: CAN \$65 or US \$45.

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Sciences pastorales / Pastoral Sciences

Revue publiée deux fois par année, en français et en anglais, par la Faculté des sciences humaines. Elle a pour but de promouvoir le dialogue entre chercheurs, formateurs et praticiens et de contribuer à l'intégration de la théologie et des sciences humaines dans une perspective œcuménique.

Abonnement: CAN 30 \$ (TPS incl.). Étranger: CAN 34 \$ ou US 24 \$.

A journal of the Faculty of Human Sciences, published twice a year, in English and French. The journal provides a forum for dialogue among researchers, trainers and practitioners. It aims to contribute to the integration of theology and the human sciences in an ecumenical framework.

Subscription rates: CAN \$30 (GST incl.). Outside Canada: CAN \$34 or US \$24.

Rédactrice/Editor: Pierrette Daviau, rédactrice adjointe/Co-Editor: Terry Lynn Gall



Mission

Revue bilingue (français et anglais), publiée deux fois par année par l'Institut des sciences de la mission. Mission succède à Kerygma avec le premier numéro de 1994. Revue favorisant le dialogue entre les missionnaires, de même qu'entre les missionnaires et le monde académique.

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Bilingual (English and French), published twice a year by the Institute of Mission Studies. Mission is the continuation of Kerygma, starting with the first issue of 1994. A journal which fosters dialogue between missionaries as well as between missionaries and researchers.

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