
A Concise History of The Ecumenical Patriarchate

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INTRODUCTION

The city of Istanbul, surrounded by the waters of the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara (Hellespont), has known a long history. Today, it is certain that at the time of the arrival of the Greek inhabitants from Megara under their legendary leader Byzas (658 B.C.) there existed an indigenous population of Thracian origin. Since that year, the city took the name of Byzantium and its history as a Greek city constituted a part of the wider history of ancient Greece. The Romans followed. Constantine the Great, after his triumphal entrance into the city (324), chose Byzantium as the center of his Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire (to 1453). Henceforth, the new city would be known as Constantinople, New Rome. From 1453 to 1923 the city of Istanbul was the capital of the Ottoman Empire, which replaced Byzantium. Within the modern Turkish Republic (1923 to the present) Istanbul remains the first city after the new capital, Ankara.

The Christian community or Church in this city has been known by various names: as the Church and Bishopric of Byzantium; the Church, the Bishopric, the Archbishopric and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, or the Patriarchate of New Rome; the Great Church of Christ, the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Phanar. In Turkish, it is known as Istanbul or Fener Rum Patrikhanesi.

PART I

THE BYZANTINE PERIOD (324-1453)

I. CHURCH AND STATE

With the accession of Constantine the Great and the termination of persecutions against Christians, a new era began in church-state relations, which were shaped in a particular way in Byzantium. Here, church and state came to be seen as two parallel and inter-related hierarchies, each having at the top the Patriarch and the emperor, both belonging to a single unity, serving the one Lord for the establishment of his kingdom on earth and the well-being of their members.

The emperor, a layman himself, was the protector of the Church and had some 'priestly' functions. This second 'priestly' element of his office was apparent, e.g. in the ritual that followed during his election and coronation. The emperor was responsible for the unity of the Church, and for maintaining the purity of the Orthodox faith and he exercised this responsibility by calling the ecumenical synods and vesting their decisions with the status of state laws. Indeed, he took an active role in the domain of church legislation, not only by turning church canons into state laws, but also by issuing laws affecting the life of the Church. As regards church organization the emperor had special rights during and after the election of the Ecumenical Patriarchs. He was actively engaged in the establishment of new dioceses and monasteries, and he also dealt with matters related to the clergy. At the time of sacred worship, he could enter the altar area, stay there and receive Holy Communion like a priest, offer incense, and bless the faithful with the *trikerion*.

In principle, however, the Byzantine emperors did not deal only with the external affairs of the Church. On some occasions at least, they would directly interfere in church affairs and force the Church on points of doctrine and unity and also on matters affecting the election and resignation of patriarchs and other hierarchs. Yet, on such occasions of open clash between state and church in Byzantium we see the Church almost always winning the victory in the long run.

The Byzantine ideal of church-state relations was transplanted to those nations and States that received the Christian faith through the missionary efforts of the Byzantines, such as Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia, and Rumania.

2. CHURCH ADMINISTRATION

a) Foundation and Development of the Church of Constantinople

Authors like Harnack, Vailhe, Janin, and Dvornik consider the existence of the Christian Church in Byzantium during the second century A.D. as a definite fact. From written sources, however, it is not possible to ascertain the year in which Christianity was preached in this city. There is also, of course, connected with this, the tradition of Andrew, the brother of Peter, who comes to Byzantium and establishes the first ecclesiastical organization during his itinerary to Scythia. Two contemporary scholars have written on this subject: F. Dvornik, who finds it possible that the above tradition was already in existence from the time of Constantine the Great, but rejects its historicity; and Gennadios of Helioupolis, who holds that this tradition possesses historical value and could be traced to the time before Constantine. In any case, historians cannot easily overlook this tradition.

The Church of Byzantium appears in history first as a bishopric of the diocese of Heracleia, Thrace, even at the time of and subsequent to the foundation of New Rome (330). It grew to a great ecclesiastical center during the period 330-451, because of its special position in the new capital of the empire. In this case it was the principle of adaptation to the political conditions and administrative organization of the empire that was initially applied, but later on the other principle, that of apostolic origin, was also taken into due consideration.

Canon 3 of the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381) conferred upon the bishop of this city the second rank after the bishop of Rome because this city was New Rome. Thus, the line of precedence of the first bishops in the Roman oikoumene came to be as follows: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) gave definitive shape to the organization of the Church of Constantinople. Accordingly, the Church of Constantinople kept the same rank that had been accorded to her by the Second Ecumenical Synod, and assumed ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the formerly autonomous dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace (Caesarea, Ephesos, Heracleia) and the metropolitans of the sees 'in the lands of the barbarians,' i.e. those lands that lied outside the borders of the Roman Empire. After the Great Schism between East and West (1054), the first place of

precedence within the Orthodox Church, that is, the primacy of honor, was accorded to the Ecumenical Patriarch.

The leader of the Church of Byzantium and (later) of Constantinople was in the beginning called "bishop" and "Archbishop." Later on, in the years of Acacius (471-489), he received the title of "Patriarch." Since the time of John II (518-520), he has been known as "Ecumenical Patriarch." From the thirteenth century on, his full title has been "by the grace of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, and Ecumenical Patriarch."

The election of the bishop of Constantinople was at first done by a body composed of clergy and laymen, but later on this was carried out by a synod of bishops, which had the duty to prepare a list of three names, among whom the final choice was entrusted to the emperor. The general rule was to choose a Patriarch from the clergy and the monks. There have been few occasions, however, when patriarchs were elected from laymen, or bishops, or patriarchs of other sees in the East. The patriarchal residence was in the same area as the cathedral churches of St. Irene, Holy Apostles, and Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia). With the establishment of the Latin Empire (1204-1261), the patriarchal residence was moved to Nicaea.

b) Synodical Institution

In order to deal with different matters concerning the life of the Church, the bishop of Constantinople summoned "synods" mainly composed of bishops. The first synod known to us is that of the year 335/336 against Marcellus of Ancyra. In the beginning the regular yearly "diocesan and patriarchal synods" were customary. A feature of the synodical regime here was the "endêmousa synod," which was called by the Patriarch and was composed of bishops and metropolitans who were present in the city or had dioceses in the vicinity. A third specimen was the "extraordinary patriarchal synod," in which all or most metropolitans of the Patriarchate participated. The diocesan synods stopped functioning in the twelfth century, while the yearly patriarchal synods ceased in the thirteenth century.

The most common synod in the Patriarchate came to be the endêmousa synod, which, since that period, met on a more regular and permanent basis. This regular synod and also certain extraordinary synods continued to operate until the fall of the city (1453) and

afterwards. The endêmousa synod takes its name either from the fact that it was summoned in the city or that it included all the hierarchs sojourning (“endêmountes”) in the city. Its first appearance is placed in the fourth century. From then on, it continues operating throughout the entire Byzantine period, in post Byzantine times and up until the present time.

The endêmousa synod is intimately connected with the organization and the seniority of honor of the Church of Constantinople and constitutes a special characteristic of this Patriarchate. It took place in the city of Byzantium and was summoned by the Patriarch of Constantinople who presided over it by virtue of his office. Members of it were the hierarchs of the Patriarchate who sojourned in Constantinople. Other participants included patriarchs and hierarchs of other Churches, as well as ecclesiastical officials, priests, deacons, monks, state officials and civil representatives of the Byzantine emperor, but not all of them had the same rights. At first the endêmousa synod was extraordinary and was summoned unexpectedly and at different times. It appears that it became regular and permanent during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The endêmousa synod had jurisdiction within the Church of Constantinople over various matters, legislative, judicial and administrative. There were cases, however, when it also deliberated on matters pertaining to other ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the East.

Finally, there was the “greater,” or “great,” or “local synod,” which was usually summoned and presided over by the Patriarch of Constantinople, or rarely by the Byzantine emperor and took place at times of doctrinal or administrative crises. Other participants included hierarchs of the Byzantine Empire and, sometimes, representatives of Rome and of the Eastern Patriarchates. Such were, for example, the synods summoned at the time of Patriarch Photios in the ninth century, or the synods that dealt with the so-called Palamite or hesychastic controversy in the fourteenth century. These synods have many common features with the ecumenical ones and constitute an intermediary stage between the endêmousa synod and the ecumenical synod.

c) Offices and ranks

The terms “office” (*offikion*) and “rank” (*axiôma*) were at first

used by the Roman (Byzantine) state; but they were later introduced to the ecclesiastical sphere. Offices and ranks were also called *archontikia* (from the term *archon*=leader) and *klêrikata* (from the term *klêros*=clergy and *klêrikoi*=clerics). Those who bore these offices and ranks were called *offikialoi*, or *offikiouchoi*, *axiômatikoi*, *archontes* and *klêrikoi*. All these constitute a special order in the service of the Church of Constantinople. They began to appear from the fourth century onwards.

The bearers of these offices were divided into two grand categories, a) the *esôkatakoiloi* (or *esôkatakêloi* or *esôkatakelloi*=resident), and b) the *exôkatakoiloi* (or *exôkatakêloi* or *exôkatakelloi*=non resident). It appears that these terms were derived from the words *koilos*, *koila* (in the geographical sense or in the sense of pointing to a place), or *kella* (*kêla*, from *kellion* or *dôma*).

Around A.D. 400 the *synkellos* (*synkella*, *kellion*) appears; who is a cohabitant of a bishop, sharing meals with him, as well as considering the ecclesiastical affairs. The *synkellos* was at the beginning a deacon or a presbyter, but from the tenth century onwards he could also be a Metropolitan. Then, the number of one *synkellos* was increased to more. The first of them, in distinction to the others, was called *prôtosynkellos*, eventually adding to it the epithet *megas* (grand). Along with the rank of *synkellos*, which belonged to the order of the *esôkatakoiloi* clergy of Constantinople, there also appeared the so-called *exôkatakoiloi offikialoi* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (fourth century onwards, with special development later on). Such an office was that of *oikonomos*, *chartophylax*, *ekdikos* and others. To some of them at least, and perhaps to all, the titles *archôn* and *megas archôn* were added as a matter of honor or of distinction from others who bore the same *offikion*. These *offikia* were divided hierarchically into groups of five. They were nine in number and each one of them was placed on either the right or the left chorus. From the tenth century onwards it appears that the position of the old *synkelloi* was little by little taken by the *exôkatakoiloi* archons, who enjoyed the same privileges with them.

The so-called officials or *archontes* of the Patriarchate carried out the everyday routine work, thus forming a permanent body around the Patriarch, which was occasionally able to exert a strong influence upon him.

d) The Hierarchy

Metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, belonging to the third order of the higher clergy, ranked after the Patriarch. A Metropolitan, being the bishop of a major city in a large area, had some pre-eminence over the bishops in the same district. Autocephalous archbishops, who had no bishops under them, were directly responsible to the Ecumenical Patriarch. Bishops had diocesan jurisdiction, but during the first centuries we also come across titular (suffragant) bishops as well.

e) Ecclesiastical jurisdiction

The jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate extended over a vast geographic area. In the fifth century the whole of Asia Minor, Thrace, and the dioceses around the Black Sea were under the Patriarchate. The growth in the number of bishops was due to the geographic extension of the empire and the missionary work undertaken by the Ecumenical Patriarchate. From the fourth to the ninth centuries the total number of metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops was between 500-600. In the eighth century Eastern Illyricum, that is, the lands of the southern Balkans, including the Greek islands, the island of Sicily and parts of Italy were annexed to the Patriarchate.

With the spreading of Christianity from Byzantium among the Slavs—Bohemians, Moravians, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Russians—the Patriarchate established many more dioceses. The Church of Bulgaria was at times independent or under the Patriarchate. The Church of Serbia also won her independence. The Church of Russia remained under the Patriarchate until the end of this period. During the years of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and after the arrival of the Seljuk and the Ottoman Turks on the scene, the number of bishoprics constantly diminished. In the fourteenth century we come across the two metropolises of present-day Rumania, that is, of Wallachia, and Moldavia. In the fifteenth century the total number of bishops of all categories was 150, a number that has, more or less, remained the same to the present.

f) Missions

The Church of Byzantium was always a missionary Church. As

Rome in the West, so Constantinople in the East was a great center for propagating Christianity among different nations. Mission became the common task of church and state. Those directly concerned were clergymen, monks and lay Christians, merchants, Byzantine empresses, diplomats, soldiers and captives. The initiatives were taken not only by the two above-mentioned institutions, but also by distinguished personalities.

Since the time of Constantine the Great missionary work, centered in Constantinople, began to be pursued within and without the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. It included the geographical area extending from the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea to the Adriatic, and to Arabia and North Africa in the south, as far as Nubia and Ethiopia. Generally speaking the people who were Christianized included Jews and pagans, such as Dacians, Goths (Sarmatans and Scythians), Huns, Iberians, Armenians, Lazians (Abasgians, Alans, Tzanians), Slavs, Arabs, Ethiopians, the various tribes of Nubia, the Vandals, the Berbers, and others. Missionary work was constant from the fourth century onwards, although external factors by and large forced those who engaged in it to temporal slowing-down or stoppage. The period from the fourth to the sixth century, with the sixth century reaching a peak under Justinian the Great (527-565), presents an intensification of missionary zeal.

The center of the departure of the missions was usually Constantinople itself. There were also other ancillary centers for this task and other local ecclesiastical centers, connected with or being under the Ecumenical Patriarchate. What followed after every missionary undertaking was the ecclesiastical organization of the regions and peoples that were evangelized, by appointing suitable clergy and hierarchy, as well as by the establishing sacred churches and other special places of worship. Orthodox missionaries used in their missionary preaching the apostolic principle of using local languages. They took care right from the start to translate the Holy Scriptures, the liturgical books and other texts into the local language and to organize indigenous local Churches. Their care also covered other areas, educational, social, literary, artistic and so on.

The second period, during which the missionary zeal appears to be intense and productive in Byzantium, comprises the ninth and tenth centuries, which is the era of the Macedonian dynasty. Whereas previously the missionary work of Byzantium moved along the

geographic parameters of the Byzantine Empire, it will now be restricted, on account of external reasons, to Northern regions alone, but also to a vast area which will cover, the Balkans, Poland, Lithuania and Russia, from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean and to the Euxine, as far as the Northern extremities of Europe, and especially the European continent. The recipients of the evangelical preaching will be the world of the Slavs and the Romanians. The Missions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate will come to an end with the fall of the Byzantine Empire.

3. DOCTRINAL AND CANONICAL WORK

The see of Constantinople has played a great role in the work of both defining and explaining church dogmas and promulgating church canons. There have been great heresies, schisms, and theological discussions affecting dogma, order, and the unity of the Church, all of which were connected with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The proper agencies for dealing with such problems were the ecumenical synods, which constitute the highest authority in the Orthodox Church. Ecumenical synods did not call themselves ecumenical. No ecumenical synod legislated concerning an ecumenical synod. Ecumenical synods have had an extraordinary character and have operated on the basis of ecclesiastical action and custom and above all of ecclesiastical synodical consciousness.

The causes pertaining to the summoning of an ecumenical synod included the position, discussion and decision that were taken on issues relating to church dogma, unity and generally issues of ecclesiastical nature, especially those relating to heresy and doctrine. It was the emperor who usually summoned these synods in the name of the Church. Besides, the emperor specified, up to a point, the number of participating members of these synods. He also participated either personally or through his representatives. He made the inauguration and decided on the termination of the sessions. His representatives maintained order and he endorsed the decisions of these synods.

The presidency of an ecumenical synod, depending on the particular circumstances, was given either to the representatives of the pope of Rome or to one of the four Eastern patriarchs, among whom the Patriarch of Constantinople was also included. Synod members

with the right to vote were those holding the episcopal office, bishops, metropolitans, exarchs, patriarchs, and, earlier on, even *chôrepiscopoi*. These hierarchs represented the entire ecumenical Church.

As regards the authority and validity of an ecumenical synod, it was based on the fact that the Holy Spirit led its proceedings and on the conviction that it expressed the orthodox, apostolic faith. The issue of its reception is connected with the issue of its authority, i.e. whether it was guided by the Holy Spirit and, therefore, was received by the consciousness of the Church.

The Christian (Orthodox) Church lived and acted during the first three centuries and after the ninth century without ecumenical synods, which constitute extraordinary events of charismatic and circumstantial character, but with synods of lower standing or even with other agencies and means that were at her disposal.

The Orthodox Church accepts seven ecumenical synods. The first such synod of Nicaea (325) condemned Arius and promulgated the doctrine of the "homoousion." The second of Constantinople (381) gave a final solution to the sequels of Arianism, condemning the Pneumatomachians. Indeed our symbol of faith (creed) is connected with these two synods and is known as the symbol of Nicaea-Constantinople. The third of Ephesus (431) condemned Nestorius and approved the use of the name of *Theotokos* (God-bearer) for Mary. The fourth of Chalcedon (451) dealt with the dogma of the two natures of Christ and condemned Monophysitism. From the fifth century onwards several Ancient Eastern Churches of Nestorian and Monophysite origin have been in existence: Assyrian, Syrian, or Jacobite (with their daughter Church in South India), Coptic, Ethiopian, and Armenian. The fifth of Constantinople (553) condemned the so-called Three Chapters and Origenism. The sixth of Constantinople (680-1) condemned Monothelitism, a logical outgrowth and successor to Monophysitism; the seventh of Nicaea (787) dealt with the doctrine of the veneration of icons. At the same time the above-mentioned ecumenical synods issued canons.

The summoning of all seven ecumenical synods within the territory of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the fact that the presidency was at various times entrusted to Ecumenical Patriarchs and the presence of a great number of bishops from this Church contributed a great deal, along with other factors, to the acquisition by this Church of the

honor of being in the East the visible center of church unity, and the expression of ecclesiastical lawfulness and missionary activity.

4. RELATIONS AMONG THE CHURCHES

a) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ancient Eastern Patriarchates

The relations of the see of Constantinople with the other Churches have passed through periods of tensions and crises. During the fourth and fifth centuries there was some tension between Constantinople and Alexandria.

After the fourth ecumenical synod of Chalcedon the history of the three Eastern Patriarchates, those of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem was on the one hand full of internal disputes and schisms and on the other hand was marked by their subjection to Arab rule (seventh century). In Alexandria those opposed to Chalcedon organized the Monophysite Church, whilst the remaining residue of the Orthodox were called Melchites (people of the king). In Antioch the Church was split between Nestorians, Monophysites and Maronites, whilst the Patriarchate of Jerusalem remained on the whole Orthodox. As in Alexandria, so throughout the entire Middle East the Orthodox Christians were called Melchites.

From the time of the Arab conquest of the East the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were mostly elected and lived in Constantinople. The Ecumenical Patriarchate displayed to these suffering sister Churches a brotherly sentiment, care and direction, helping them in every way to maintain their existence.

b) Old and New Rome

Ecclesiastical communion between the Churches of Old and New Rome had several times been disrupted in the years before the ninth century. These two great ecclesiastical centers were the symbols of the two main parts within one Christian Church and world. Unfortunately, several negative factors were operating against the unity of the Church, such as the division of the empire, the continuation of the same empire in the East and the cataclysmic events in the West, namely, the arrival of new races, the foundation of the Frankish and the Germanic Empires, and the differences in language, manner of life and thought.

Along with these, there were in sight two different tendencies within the Church that were manifested in the Church's mission to those outside, theological perception and language, church customs, worship, organization, and the formulation of dogmas. Two of the greatest differences were the following: the first one related to church order and arose as a result of a claim of the Roman popes for a *de jure* primacy over the whole world contradicting the theory of the pentarchy of patriarchs which accorded to the popes only seniority of honor; the second difference was related to the *Filioque* addition to the third article of the creed. Beyond these two main differences, however, the most important of all was the freezing of the spirit of Christian love.

The first manifestation of the Great Schism between the two Churches occurred in the ninth century when Pope Nicholas I and Patriarch Photios I were on the respective Thrones of Old and New Rome. The year 1054 is accepted as the year in which the Great Schism between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople occurred, but the chasm of the Churches became a reality during the period of the Crusades. In that period Westerners established the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, and other Patriarchates in the East with Latin hierarchs, thus forming the first Uniate Churches in the East.

At the same time, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century several efforts were made to reunite the two Churches. Three factors operated in these efforts: a) the popes, b) the emperors of Byzantium, and c) the Eastern Church, which had been divided into two groups, unionists and anti-unionists. The various means employed in this task included: visits, discussions, correspondence, writings, unionist synods – the most important of which were those of Bari (1098), the Lateran (1215), Nicaea-Nymphaeon (1234), Lyons (1274) and Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) – imposed ecclesiastical communion, individual conversions to the Western Church, the establishment of permanent Latin Patriarchates and Latin hierarchy within the territory of the Eastern Patriarchates and the creation of various forms of Uniatism in the East.

Thus we arrived at the capture of Constantinople (1453), which constitutes yet another turning point, since reunion attempts unfortunately remained fruitless. The unionist views of the papists are well known. The spirit of making concessions, or reconciliation, was almost non-existent. The establishment and consolidation of Latin

Patriarchates, hierarchy and Uniatism in the East produced negative results. On the other hand the Byzantine emperors made no positive contribution to these attempts. The lack of a common line of approach within the Eastern Church, due to its division and constant inter-Orthodox frictions, was not at all constructive. The absence of a common language and of a common ecclesiastical criterion between the two Churches was an important factor in this failure. The situation was further exacerbated by the adverse events that took place during the Crusades, which contributed greatly to the constant cooling down of the spirit of love. The chasm that separated the two Churches became unbridgeable and the alienation of the two worlds from each other was made definitive.

c) Other Movements

Other movements of the same kind were those of the Paulicians and the Bogomils in the Balkans and of Palamism or Hesychasm. The last of these movements can be also understood within the wider context of relations between East and West.

Hesychasm, which made its appearance in the fourteenth century, became the subject of many discussions as to whether or not and to what extent it was one of the key factors in the fall of Byzantium, or whether it was a consoling phenomenon, belonging to the broader context of the spiritual regeneration of the Palaeologan era. Today this movement is taken as an expression of the mysticism of the East, or as a movement that brought renewal of the theological terminology concerning the vision of God on the basis of the ancient tradition of Orthodox monasticism and gave new directions to theological thought.

d) Conclusions

The period up until the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire yields certain findings and leads to certain conclusions concerning the position of the Ecumenical Patriarch in the Orthodox Catholic Church:

Constantinople was the seat of the Empire. This meant that the seniority of honor (*ta presbeia*) of the Bishop of Constantinople was not a mere matter of words, but incurred certain rights and duties for the Patriarch of Constantinople vis-à-vis the other Orthodox Patriarchs. It meant that the Church of Constantinople hosted ecumenical synods and other synods within her territory; that she was the visible

center of the unity of the Church; that she bore the form of integrity and authority; that she offered a ministry of protection and support to the Churches of the East that were undergoing great trials. It also meant that the Ecumenical Patriarch had the right over the churches of the diaspora and also the right to hear appeals of Bishops or other clerics and to establish stavropegiac monastic centers.

5. MONASTICISM

Monasticism is accepted as a considerable spiritual force in the Eastern Church. Begun in Egypt, it moved to Palestine and Syria and then covered the whole ecclesiastical area of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, that is, Asia Minor, Constantinople, Greece, the islands, Sicily, South Italy, the Balkans, and Russia. Within this area both styles of monastic life, the eremitic and coenobitic, were to be found, but the second was most usual. From the fourteenth century the idiorrhythmic style of monastic life also appears on the scene.

The first monastery in Byzantium was that of Dalmatios (382). Other famous monasteries were those of the Akoimatoi (420) and of Studios (463). Janin counts 325 monasteries, for men and women, which existed in the capital and its European suburbs during the Byzantine Empire. Other famous monastic centers were the following: St. Basil's in Cappadocia, Mt. St. Auxentios and Mt. Olympos in Bithynia, Mt. Latros near Miletos, Thessalonike, Athos, Meteora in Greece and Patmos.

Monasteries belonged to different categories: imperial, patriarchal or stavropegiac, diocesan or independent, known as such according to their founders. St. Basil's rule was used for their operation. St. Theodore the Studite adapted this rule to the needs of his time and this new rule was put into practice in the monasteries of Mount Athos. Monks spent their time in contemplation, prayer, and manual work. Monasteries were centers of learning, involving copying manuscripts, hymnography, painting, piety and mysticism, the defense of Orthodoxy and philanthropy. In the strife of the two ecclesiastical parties in Byzantium, liberals and traditionalists, the monastic world stood almost always for the latter.

6. DIVINE WORSHIP

The period from the fourth to the sixth century constitutes the golden period in the formation of worship in the Eastern Church,

with Constantinople at its center.

At the beginning this Church did not have its own liturgical tradition, but acquired its components from other Christian areas, such as Asia Minor, Antioch, and possibly Jerusalem, giving to them enrichment, organic unity, and final shape. The liturgies that are connected with St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are the best examples of the Byzantine liturgical genius. These liturgies little by little replaced all other Eastern liturgies (twelfth century). Liturgical life had been nearly shaped by the eighth century, but the Iconoclastic controversy (eighth and ninth centuries) was a set back to this process. With the Macedonian dynasty (ninth century) things regained their previous status.

The church calendar generally in the East and particularly in Constantinople included feasts of the Lord, the Theotokos and the Saints. The last category comprised martyrs, confessors, monks, patriarchs, bishops and other clerics, emperors and members of the royal family and laymen. There were also festal days for the commemoration of events connected with the Holy Cross, churches and monasteries, political life, and natural phenomena.

Byzantine liturgical life was enriched by hymnographers, most of them living or holding offices in Constantinople, Rômanos Melôdos being the greatest of them all (sixth century). Their hymns were sung with a special music called Byzantine. Preaching formed an integral part of the liturgical life throughout the Byzantine period. One can furnish a long list of well-known preachers, with St. John Chrysostom at the top, and of sermons during the whole period of Byzantine history.

Byzantine architecture and painting were at the service of divine worship. Byzantine architecture, with the great example of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, a combination of the ancient basilica and a dome, was formed from Syriac and Hellenistic styles, under the impact of the Christian tradition. Later on, the basis of the temple, which was previously quadrangular, was inclined towards the rectangular. Besides, apart from the middle or central dome other domes began to be constructed in other parts of the temple. From the time of the Macedonian dynasty onwards the well-known cruciform temple with a dome will make its appearance.

The same can be said about painting, which includes panel-icons, wall paintings (frescoes), mosaics, and illuminated manuscripts. Re-

ligious art flourished during the Macedonian period (ninth and tenth centuries), but in later centuries two opposing schools emerged: a) The Macedonian school of art followed earlier Byzantine prototypes but was somewhat more liberal (Panselênos); and b) the Cretan school, whose technique had a more conservative character (Theophanês and Damaskênos). This latter was particularly developed in the sixteenth century and was dominant throughout the period of Turkokratia.

Byzantine art is subdivided into: 1) proto-Byzantine (sixth – mid-ninth centuries), 2) middle-Byzantine (end of the ninth – end of the twelfth centuries, i.e. the period of the Macedonians and the Komnênoi), and 3) the period of the Palaiologoi (thirteenth – the middle of the fifteenth centuries). Designed to serve Divine Worship, Byzantine art visualized heavenly realities for worshipers and initiated them into the mystery and symbolism of the great act of the offering of the whole of creation to God.

7. PHILANTHROPY

The Church of Byzantium was involved in various kinds of organized philanthropy. The emperors, members of the royal family and others established philanthropic institutions and attached them to monasteries. These included old people's homes, hospices, hospitals, orphanages, crèches, penitentiaries, burial places for foreigners, homes for the blind and asylums for the poor, where needed medical care was offered with the most advanced medical methods of that time.

8. ECCLESIASTICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Within the Byzantine Empire there were several early-established centers of ecclesiastical and theological learning, such as Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea in Palestine, and North Africa. For a variety of reasons, these centers started to deteriorate. Their academic traditions slowly but steadily moved to Constantinople and the Byzantine tradition that emerged retained its importance in the domain of letters to the very end.

Theology, in the Byzantine tradition, can be studied in two distinctive periods: the first is generally known as "Patristic" (fourth – eighth centuries), and the second, as "Byzantine" (ninth – fifteenth centuries). The characteristic of the first period is the tendency to

make a synthesis between the Greek spirit and Christianity, to define and explain the Christian faith and to be original in all branches of theology. The characteristic of the second period is a spirit of traditionalism, with an air of originality in relation to persons and sectors not studied in the first period, that is, ascetic theology, hymnology, symbolism, mysticism, polemics, and the like.

The whole of Byzantine society was imbued with the aspirations of the Church and lived in the atmosphere of the Church. Thus, theology up to a point was the concern of all the faithful. Nevertheless, those who pursued it par excellence and incarnated it in their lives were, on the one hand, the patriarchs, the hierarchs, the clergy, and the monks, and on the other hand, the emperors and all sorts of men from the different strata of society. They all theologized with their faith and their life styles, as well as with their pens and mouths.

Byzantium included special schools for the ecclesiastical and theological education, such as the patriarchal school, and the various monastic schools that existed in the provinces. The independence, or not, of the patriarchal school from the university of Constantinople has been a matter of discussion. Research on this tends towards the independence of this school, although points of contact between these two supreme Byzantine institutions are acknowledged.

Other ancillary means or agencies for theology were the libraries, the imperial and the patriarchal, as well as those of the monasteries, the parish churches, etc., and also the archives, as well as the scriptoria where copying and decorating manuscripts was systematically practiced.

Other special factors that came to bear directly upon the development of theology in Byzantium, beyond the above-mentioned, would be: the relation of the Greek letters to Theology, the emergence of great monastic establishments around Byzantium and especially those in Constantinople and in the Holy Mountain, the relations between Old and New Rome, the existence of schisms and heresies.

The above factors, and perhaps others too, make the theology of Byzantium appear at least tied to certain tendencies and currents, which sometimes took the form of historical exaggerations. Therefore, the theology of Byzantium is called, from time to time and during different stages, theology of the palace or imperial, Greek, synodical or conciliar, of the desert, or of the great monastic centers, unionist or anti-unionist. It appears that in Byzantium there were two ecclesi-

astical and theological parties, that of the liberals and that of the conservatives, which in the passage of time took on various names and gained followers from all the social strata of Byzantium. The existence of these two parties could be regarded as a healthy and promising condition for the articulation of theology in Byzantium, as long as they did not move to extremes.

PART II

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (1453-1923)

I. CHURCH AND STATE

Immediately after the conquest of the city of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (May 29, 1453), the Ecumenical Patriarchate faced new relations with a new State, the official religion of which was Islam. According to some information, Mohammed II the conqueror specified those relations within his empire, by taking into consideration the teaching of the Koran on this matter and the political interests of his empire.

He accepted the Orthodox Christians as a separate and autonomous religious and ethnic entity (the Greek nation, *Rum milleti*), and the Patriarch as their spiritual and ethnic leader (ethnarch, *Millet basi*). In this way, the Patriarch assumed rights pertaining not only to the spiritual domain of the Church, as was the case with the Byzantines, but also to the family, social customs and education of the members of the Church. The conqueror gave written orders, the so-called *berat* (ordinance) to the first Patriarch after the conquest, Gennadios Scholarios, in which these special rights were officially acknowledged. The *berats* were given to the patriarchs and the metropolitans. Patriarch Germanos V (1913-18) was the last to receive such a *berat*. The sultan, although a non-Christian, acted in some ways like the Byzantine emperors. For example, after the election of each Patriarch, he would personally install the Patriarch (patriarchs appeared before the grand viziers instead of the emperors during the years 1657-1834).

All non-Muslims had to pay the so-called head tax. Each Patriarch, beginning with the year 1467, had to pay at his election a special tax called *peskes* and yearly the so-called *harac* (after 1474). After the eighteenth century no mention of these taxes is made.

Janissaries were recruited from the male Christian children, who

were taken from their families and Islamized, with the last probable mention of this custom occurring in 1637. Christians had accepted Islam, as individuals or groups, mainly in some Balkan States, like Albania, Serbia, and Bosnia. Several Byzantine Churches had been turned into mosques, which still exist in Istanbul, like the churches of Holy Wisdom (*Aya Sofya muzesi*), The Holy Apostles (*Fatih camii*), Pammakaristos (*Fethiye camii*), and the monastery of Chora (*Kariye muzesi*), etc. During the first centuries after the captivity, it was usual policy not to permit the founding of new churches, but the renovation and repair of existing churches was allowed. Up until the middle of the nineteenth century the use of bells was generally prohibited.

Within the Ottoman Empire there existed religious freedom and a policy of toleration for Christians and Jews. The religious policy within the Ottoman Empire, a non-Christian state, could be better understood by comparison with the position accorded to heretics, schismatics, Jews, and Muslims within the Christian West during the same period. The actual application, of course, of the special rights granted to Christians in the Ottoman Empire depended on the personal will of the sultan and the governors, as well as on certain events.

With the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), Russia, being an Orthodox state, assumed the right to interfere in the empire on behalf of the Orthodox citizens, as France did on behalf of Roman Catholics.

Special mention should be made here of the so-called Phanariots, who were connected with the Phanar quarter of Constantinople and served as merchants, lawyers, and interpreters. They eventually entered the civil service of the Ottoman state and even held highest positions, such as that of the Grand Dragoman (chief interpreter) of the Porte, which in reality meant under-secretary of state for foreign affairs. The first such Interpreter was Panagiotakis Nikousios and his successor Alexander Mavrokordatos was the chief delegate of the Ottomans in the treaty of Karlowitz (1699). The Phanariots also assumed the position of the Dragoman of the Fleet and became hegemons (hospodars) of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. Their service falls within the eighteenth and the nineteenth century (1661-1821). Most of these aristocratic families appeared during the times that followed the captivity. Such families that could be traced to the Byzantine period were those of Argyropoulos, Cantacouzêns, Mourousês, Rangavês and Hypsêlantês. To them we may add the following Phanariot families: those of Aristarchês, Kallimachês,

Karatzas, Manos, Mavrokordatos, Mavrogenos, Negrês, Rallês or Ralletos, Rizos-Neroulos, Rôsettês, Gikas, Soutsos, Stourzas, Schoinas and Chantzerês.

Attempts to reform the Ottoman Empire according to western ideals started in the eighteenth century and affected religion. With several state decisions a policy was enacted to equalize non-Muslim and the Muslim Ottomans before the law. The Hatti-Serif of Gülhane (1839) and mainly the Hatti-Hümayun (1856) were such examples. This policy continued during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (until 1923). In reality, of course, this meant the abolition of the special rights acknowledged to the Orthodox Church by the conqueror.

At the time of the Sultan Abdul Hamit II, the so-called issue of privileges made its appearance, which had to do with the attempt to abolish the privileges of the Church within the Ottoman Empire that had been granted since the capture of Constantinople and afterwards. These privileges were related to serving a writ of summons to clergy, and deliberating on it, to granting alimony to women in cases of conjugal disputes, to settling inheritance law, to dealing with church and school disputes. This issue presents three historical phases: The first one (1883-1884) was developed during the first Patriarchy of Joachim III (1878); the second, during the Patriarchy of Dionysios V (1887-1891), with the collaboration of the then Metropolitan of Herakleia and afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos V; and the third phase, during the Patriarchy of Germanos V (1913-1918).

At the same time, the Ecumenical Patriarchate had members living in Roman Catholic and Orthodox states. In the latter the Byzantine ideal of church-state relations was in practice, while in Roman Catholic states, such as Venice, Austria, Hungary, and Poland, Orthodox had from time to time to face difficulties, for they were pressed to become Uniates and be absorbed into the Roman Church.

2. INTER-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

a) Generally

One of the prerogatives of the honorary pre-eminence of the Ecumenical Patriarch within Orthodoxy was his right to take initiatives, to deal directly and occasionally to represent Orthodoxy in her relations with the heterodox. The activities of the Patriarchate in this

domain were very rich.

b) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ancient Oriental Churches

The Ecumenical Patriarchate maintained good relations with the Ancient Eastern Churches. The establishment of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul (1461) by Mohammed II normalized relations between the two Churches. In 1755, however, the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided to re-baptize the Armenians who entered the Orthodox Church. This was the Orthodox practice to the end of the nineteenth century when the ancient custom of accepting Armenians by the use of holy chrism was once again in use. The twentieth century saw a great rapprochement between these two Churches that was enhanced by the exchange of visits of their respective patriarchs and other persons, the exchange of church buildings and other hopeful actions.

Relations between the Orthodox and the Ethiopians were always warm, especially through the mediation of the Orthodox Patriarchs of Alexandria. Joachim III of Constantinople (1878-1884) communicated by correspondence with the leaders of Ethiopia. This is reported in the important inter-Orthodox correspondence of the same Patriarch at the beginning of the twentieth century (1902-1904).

c) Constantinople and Rome

The two parties in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the one for and the other against union with Rome that existed at the end of the Byzantine period continued functioning at least until the seventeenth century. Consequently, Roman Catholic interferences in Orthodox theology were always felt. The main aim of Rome was to subdue the Patriarchate, and all the Eastern Orthodox to Rome through preaching, sacramental life, education, philanthropy and political interference. To this end she established and recruited the Jesuit order of monks, the Greek College of St. Athanasius (1577) and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (1622) with its special branch for the Orientals (1917), while promoting the Uniate church scheme. In most of the Latin states the Orthodox hierarchy was replaced by a Latin or a Uniate one and the Orthodox members were forced to become Uniates or Latins. The Ottoman state had on several occasions issued *firman*s condemning the work of proselytizing

its Orthodox citizens to the Roman Catholic faith.

The union of Western and Eastern Orthodox Christians that was accomplished at the synod of Ferrara-Florence (1438-1439) also became an important chapter in determining relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Churches. The Church of Constantinople rejected the decisions of the above synod through an Orthodox synod that was summoned in Constantinople in 1484. The synod of 1755 that was summoned in Istanbul decided to accept Roman Catholics into the Orthodox faith by rebaptizing them – a custom that continued to exist to the beginning of the twentieth century. Pope Pius IX invited the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Vatican I (Roman Catholic Ecumenical) Synod (1870), but Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory VI did not accept the invitation.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was always on the alert to meet the efforts of the Latins to proselytize the people within its own ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to help the other Orthodox Churches as well to meet this particular challenge. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries we see the exchange of encyclicals between the Church leaders of the two Churches. In the above-mentioned correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904) reference is made to relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics and to the proselytism that was carried out by the Westerners.

d) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Old Catholics

Old Catholics, immediately after their break with Rome (1870), invited friendly and official ecclesiastical contacts with the Orthodox Church, including the Ecumenical Patriarchate, aiming at uniting with her. The two Union Conferences in Bonn (1874, 1875) exposed the lines of rapprochement between these two Churches. The Ecumenical Patriarchate sent delegates to the second conference. This common desire for union was kept alive through official pronouncements, correspondence, visits, theological conferences, offering of scholarships, and special writings. The existing relations were favorably commented upon in the Orthodox correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-4). At the preparatory conference of Faith and Order in Geneva (1920) the Orthodox and the Old Catholics met unofficially; and this was to be repeated later on as well.

e) *The Ecumenical Patriarchate and Anglicanism*

Contacts between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of England began after the Reformation. With the passage of time they have taken various forms and developed in a positive way.

In the seventeenth century a correspondence began between the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Ecumenical Patriarch. The Anglican chaplains in the British diplomatic and commercial delegations and the visitors from England helped the West to understand the East. The contacts of the Non-jurors with the Eastern Churches constitute the most important event in the eighteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century relations of the Anglican Communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate were resumed after an interval of interruption that lasted a century and a half owing to proselytism. The main reason for this change was the Oxford Movement and also the conferences in Bonn and Lambeth, the establishment of Anglican communities within the Orthodox ecclesiastical territory and vice versa, the foundation within the Anglican Communion of associations on the Eastern Churches, the exchange of visits, and the commencement of an official correspondence (1899).

Contacts during the twentieth century show a substantial degree of improvement, together with some stagnation, for external reasons. The two principal sees of Constantinople and Canterbury usually take the initiative in promoting mutual relations.

In the beginning (1901-1914), contacts were academic and theoretical in character with a degree of ignorance existing on both sides. Anglicans fervently wished the realization of inter-communion. In 1903 Androustos, professor in Chalkê at that time, wrote his classic study on the validity of Anglican Orders. In the inter-Orthodox correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III favorable comments were made concerning Anglican Communion. In 1907, the same Patriarch appointed as his *apokrisiarios* to the see of Canterbury an archimandrite but in 1922 the newly appointed Metropolitan of Thyateira acted in this capacity and so did all his successors to the present. 1922 was also the year when the first Anglican student entered the School of Chalkê.

World War I (1914-18) opened a new era in this area (until 1930), due to the assistance the Anglicans rendered to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the existence of several strong personalities, the eccle-

siastical character of the contacts already made and the development of mutual interest. From the Ecumenical Patriarchate the names of Patriarch Meletios IV (1921-23) and Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira (1922-1951) deserve particular mention. The Ecumenical Patriarchate sent, for the first time in history, an official delegation to the Sixth Lambeth Conference (1920), which engaged in theological conversations. In 1922 the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided in favor of recognizing the validity of Anglican Orders and in 1925 it was represented in the commemoration of the 1600th anniversary of the First Ecumenical Synod in Nicaea that was held in London (325/1925).

f) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and Protestantism

Protestantism being a movement, which sprang from Roman Catholicism, was not of immediate interest to Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Protestants, in their fight against Rome, tried to win the Ecumenical Patriarchate to their side. In order to realize their plans they used the diplomatic delegations that were in place in the East, the chaplains serving therein, as well as deeds of philanthropy, exchange of correspondence, publications and contacts, both personal and ecclesiastical. In facing those contacts the Patriarchate maintained a position of reserve, accepted and cultivated friendly relations with Protestants, explaining at the same time Orthodox doctrine in comparison with Protestant thought and condemning Protestant heterodoxies.

In the sixteenth century the relations of Protestants with the Ecumenical Patriarch rather bear the form of an academic exchange and are characterized as serious and as laying down the lines that ought to be followed in subsequent centuries. In the seventeenth century the clash between Latins and Calvinists was particularly felt within the boundaries of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. A certain group of Orthodox theologians and ecclesiastical leaders found themselves under Protestant influence. The Calvinists tried in all sorts of ways to infiltrate the Ecumenical Patriarchate, causing commensurate reactions. At the end of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth centuries the Protestants engage in proselytism against the members of the Patriarchate, establishing Evangelical (Protestant) Churches. For this reason relations between the two sides became very tense. In the twen-

tieth century the ecumenical movement played an important role in helping Orthodox and Protestants, more or less, to regain normal relations.

The first official contact of the Patriarchate with Lutheranism took place between Melanchthon and the deacon Demetrius Mysos, who came to Wittenberg in 1559 on behalf of Patriarch Joasaph II in order to acquire first-hand knowledge of the faith and customs of Protestants. Mysos, who seems to have fallen under the influence of Lutheranism, brought back upon his return a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession and a letter of Melanchthon to Joasaph. The Patriarch, as it seems, did not send an answer to Melanchthon.

The second instance of a Lutheran-Orthodox contact was the correspondence of Patriarch Jeremias II with the theologians at Tübingen (1573-1581), in which the most important Christian doctrines were discussed. For the first time in history Orthodox and Protestants met each other on an official theological level, and this stands as a starting point for all forthcoming confrontations between the two parties.

One of the tragic figures in this area of Protestant-Orthodox contacts is Patriarch Cyril Loukaris (1572-1638), who could be better understood within the wider context of the struggle for supremacy between Roman Catholic and Protestant powers in the East. In the seventeenth century two ecclesiastical parties emerged within the Ecumenical Patriarchate and took the form of pro-Roman and pro-Protestant supporters respectively. Loukaris thought that the salvation of his Church depended on the Protestant world and so he became the leader of the pro-Protestant party. In facing the Orthodox he acted like one of them, while in his dealings with Protestants he was lenient with them. His Protestant *Confession* seems to have been written by him as a personal document in order to please the Protestants. Protestant influence on other Orthodox theologians can also be found in the same period. Thus, several synods that were held in the seventeenth century in Istanbul dealt with Protestantism.

Beginning in the eighteenth century and continuing afterwards, those relations were unfortunately obscured, because of missionary work undertaken by several Protestant bodies within the territories of the Orthodox Church in general and of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in particular. Patriarchs like Gregory VI and Joachim III tried their best to confront these disruptive Protestant tendencies.

g) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ecumenical Movement

The role of the Patriarchate in the Ecumenical Movement has been considerable, when it is seen from different angles. One, however, may stress two points in particular, a) that the Patriarchate was one of the few Christian Churches which initially proposed and worked for the formation of this movement, and b) that it was and still is one of the most faithful members and ardent supporters of the Ecumenical Movement.

In the patriarchal encyclicals of 1902-4 relations between Orthodox and other Christian Confessions were touched upon and favorably commented upon. In the Second Encyclical of 1920, "*Unto all the Churches of Christ wherever they may be,*" the formation of a league or a council of Churches was proposed, and a scheme containing the appropriate practical steps to be taken was given. Indeed the Patriarchate and other Orthodox Churches participated in this movement from the very start, i.e. from the Preliminary Conference on Faith and Order in Geneva (1920).

Factors that influenced these relations were perhaps the following: church-state relations in the Ecumenical Patriarchate; the supranational character of the Patriarchate; the ecumenical and universal character of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from a geographical point of view; the manner of operation prevailing in the Patriarchate; the presence of outstanding personalities and the preparation of worthy personnel; the right of the Patriarchate to take initiatives within the structure of the Orthodox Churches.

3. HERETICAL BELIEFS; RELIGIOUS DISPUTES; SCHISMS

The external conditions within which the Patriarchate lived and the formulation of dogmas in the past did not form suitable ground for the birth of great heresies and theological discussions in the old sense. Nevertheless, we come across some heretical tendencies, theological discussions and ecclesiastical schisms that were due to influences coming from the West, to the existence of some heretical or schismatic tendencies from the past, to the lower level of education, and to the awakening of nationalistic spirit.

Joannikios Kartanos (sixteenth century) expounded in his book called *Anthos* some pantheistic and anti-Trinitarian doctrines.

The monk Matthew from Melenikon (sixteenth century) denied

that Christ died on the Cross.

Theophilos Korydalleus (1563-1645), one of the great teachers of his time who belonged to the circle of Loukarês, was accused of holding Calvinistic opinions. The same can be said of John Karyophyllês who, in addition, fought against the use of the term "*metousiôsis*."

During the seventeenth century the Orthodox Church, as we have already noted, found herself between two firing squads, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Orthodoxy resisted this danger from the West in a double way; on the one hand by firmly upholding her faith, and on the other hand by articulating the commensurate Orthodox doctrine against the innovations of the West and especially of those of the new Reformation. Thus, we have a series of synods and composition of Orthodox confessions, which address in the best possible way this particular aim. For this reason the ecclesiastical history of the seventeenth century could be called the century of symbolic texts. The local synods summoned during this century are the following six:

a) The synod of Constantinople (1638);

b) The synod of Constantinople (1642);

c) The synod of Iasi (1642);

d) The synod of Constantinople (1672);

e) The synod of Jerusalem (1672);

f) The synod of Constantinople (1691).

g) The synod of Nicossia in Cyprus (1668) may be also included here.

Methodios Anthrakites (eighteenth century), a teacher, was accused of being a pantheist and an extreme mystic.

Christodoulos Akarnan (eighteenth century), following the tenets of pantheism and the teachings of the French Encyclopaedists, denied the basic Christian doctrines.

After the heated discussions and events which had taken place in the diocese of Izmit (Nicomedia) and under the leadership of a monk called Auxentios (on the rebaptizing of the Latins and Armenians), a decision on this, as previously stated, was taken by the Synod at Istanbul in 1756.

On Mt. Athos, on the other hand, we come across some disputes, touching matters of worship, such as the practice of holding services (*mnêmosyna*) for the commemoration of the dead and of taking frequent communion (eighteenth century), the sacredness of the name

of Jesus Christ and the old calendar dispute (twentieth century). The Ecumenical Patriarchate duly dealt with these above-mentioned disputes, taking the appropriate measures.

The doctrines of Theophilos Kairês (1784-1853), who was a member of the Church of Greece, were of interest to the Patriarchate because it had to deal with his pupils.

The Church of Bulgaria remained in a state of schism from the Patriarchate and some Orthodox Churches from 1872 to 1945. This was due to the appearance among the Orthodox of the spirit of *phyletism* (nationalism) and the tendencies of the Bulgarians to create an autocephalous Bulgarian Church not only within the boundaries of their state, but also to include all Bulgarians found in it within the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and thus create a new Orthodox Church within the boundaries of another. The Bulgarian schism was officially announced in the Great Synod of 1872 in the Phanar and was finally healed in 1945. From 1953 to 1961 there was once more an anomaly in the relations of these two Churches, but this ended with the recognition of the patriarchal status of the Bulgarian Church by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

4. ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION

a) *The Patriarch, etc.*

Church government in the Patriarchate did not undergo any great changes, but some important readjustments were made to meet the new needs.

At the head of that Church was the Patriarch. Until 1923 a special electoral assembly, composed of metropolitans, officials and laymen conducted his election. This was done on three names by a majority vote or by the exclamation *axios* (worthy). From 1860 to 1923 the synod of metropolitans had the right of electing one among the three names presented by the special assembly. Since 1923 the endêmousa synod has carried out the whole process of election, without the presence of any lay participants. The general rule has evolved of electing the Patriarch from among the metropolitans. There are examples, though, of Ecumenical Patriarchs having been elected from other patriarchal or autocephalous sees. Once elected, a Patriarch is enthroned or ecclesiastically installed. This is done by a ceremony that involves the pronouncement of the "lesser" (*mikron*) and the "great message"

(*mega mênyma*), the delivery of an appropriate address and the handing over of the patriarchal staff to the new Patriarch by the Metropolitan of Heracleia. Another ceremony of presentation or installation of the new Patriarch also took place before the Sultan. During the period 1657-1834 the new Patriarch appeared before the Grand Visier. From the middle of the seventeenth century and afterwards the presentation to the Sultan preceded the enthronement.

The Patriarch's residence followed the wanderings of the patriarchal cathedral churches: 1) the church of the Holy Apostles (1453-1455); 2) the Pammakaristos (1455-1586); 3) the Panaghia Paramythia or Wallach Saray (1586-1597); 4) St. Demetrios Xyloportês (1597-1599); and 5) St. George in the Phanar (1600-to the present). Another residence of the Patriarch was in *Xêro-Krêne* and in the *Mega Reuma* of the Bosphoros. At present (and throughout the nineteenth century) the patriarchal summer residence is in the Theological School of Chalkê.

The Patriarchate, being a Monastery, had the Patriarch as its Hegumen. Furthermore, the Patriarch as Archbishop of Constantinople had at his disposal his cathedral church. This is applicable to this day, since the patriarchal church is St. George in the Phanar, where the main acts of worship are celebrated with the Patriarch as the chief celebrant. Although the Patriarch presided over the services in the patriarchal church, he also celebrated in other churches of the holy Archdiocese of Constantinople, because there was no *chorostasia* at that time. At the patriarchal church in the Phanar the Patriarch stands at the head of the chorus (*chorostatei*) in all Saturday Vespereal Services, on the Sundays of the entire year and at the Vespereal Services of Feast days, when patriarchal and synodical *chorostasia* and sometimes synodical liturgy (of the *endêmousa* synod) liturgy was observed. The Patriarch presides in similar services and on extraordinary circumstances, among which we may include the blessing of the Holy Myron. Since 1860 the blessing of the Holy Myron was celebrated twelve times at the Phanar. The first time was in January 1865 under Sophronios III and the last one, in 1992 under Bartholomaios. The Patriarch visits every community at least once a year and presides in *chorostasia* in their churches. He also celebrates a patriarchal and synodical liturgy in other sacred churches besides the patriarchal church, e.g. at the Holy Trinity in Chalkê, at the Entry of the Theotokos in Peran and at the sacred Monastery of the

Zôodochos Pêgê at Balouklê.

The revenues of the Patriarchate were of two kinds, the regular and the irregular ones, i.e. the revenues of the Patriarch and those of the Patriarchate. All these were not enough to cover the greatly mounting debt of the Patriarchate (*chreos tou koinou*). A positive step to meet this was the establishment of a committee of finance (first in 1564), which started functioning regularly from the middle of the eighteenth century.

b) Offices and Ranks

Until the middle of the eighteenth century the Patriarch had absolute authority in dealing with church affairs, because of the absence of the regular synodical regime. The only body in this period existing besides him was that of the officials, who had assumed a real power, stronger than that of the endêmousa synod. Since the nineteenth century, however, these offices have almost entirely lost their real meaning and have become honorary. Their catalogue at the present has been greatly augmented.

c) The Synodical Institution

During this period and at least until the eighteenth century, the Ecumenical Patriarchs ruled all church affairs with absolute authority, because there was no permanent synodical authority beside them. Yet, the synodical institution continued to exist even during this time because the Patriarchs did summon and presided over *ad hoc* synods.

Thus, we have the appearance of extraordinary synods, which brought together hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the purpose of resolving serious problems. We also have "great," or "greater," or "local synods," which were summoned in Constantinople and included not only representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate but also of other Orthodox Churches. These synods, which constitute a broader synodical form within the Orthodox Church, dealt with issues of a more general nature, ecclesiastical, dogmatic, canonical, and other.

The most usual synodical form, however, continued to be the "endêmousa synod" as in the past. This synod was summoned to deal with common issues of the Patriarchate, but its character was extraordinary and rather consultative. By the middle of the eighteenth

century the endêmousa synod became constant and regular, the number of its members varying, but reaching twelve by the nineteenth century. It was summoned regularly at first twice a month and later once a week and even beyond that on extraordinary occasions. There were various causes that led to this development.

During the period of “gerontism” (middle of the eighteenth – middle of the nineteenth century), which falls within the period of the “phanariots,” there was a regular synod composed of metropolitans of distinguished gerontic metropolitanical thrones that ruled with absolute authority. Gerontic metropolitans were those of the Sees of Caesarea, Ephesus, Heracleia, Cyzicus, Nicaea, Nicomedeia, Chalcedon and Derkoi. These metropolitans were the permanent members of the endêmousa synod (of “gerontes”) that sat first and by special right, but other hierarchs who happened to sojourn in Constantinople also joined them. These “gerontes” dealt rigorously with all ecclesiastical matters, including the election of candidates for the patriarchal throne and the other hierarchical chairs. They were also guardians of the metropolitans at the sacred patriarchal center and, therefore, exercised great authority. This system had its advantages and disadvantages. Today the gerontic metropolitans continue to be first in the seniority line of the *syntagmation* of the metropolitans of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but “gerontism” is rather a relic of history having only symbolic significance.

The “general” or “ethnic regulations” (1858-1862), prepared by a special assembly in the Patriarchate and confirmed by the Ottoman state, put an end to “gerontism.” These conditioned church life until 1922. Some articles, not affected by the political change, are still in force. Those regulations deal with the Patriarch, the Holy Synod, the mixed council, finances, personnel of the Patriarchate and the monasteries.

Ecclesiastical affairs were separated into spiritual and material. The Synod, which came to be called “Holy Synod,” took care of all spiritual affairs. It had a permanent and regular character and met three times a week. The president that summoned it was the Patriarch. Members of it were twelve metropolitans, according to their position in the *syntagmation*. A parallel form of the synodical institution, of clergy-laity texture, was up until 1923 the (ethnic) mixed council, which dealt with the material affairs of the Patriarchate. It consisted of four synodical metropolitans and eight lay people, and its president was the most senior of the metropolitans. For the most

important affairs of the Church and the Christian nation (*genos*) the two bodies (making up 20 members) met jointly under the presidency of the Patriarch. This ceased to exist in 1923, and thus the participation of the laity in the government of the Church became a dead letter. Since then, the only regular body is the permanent Holy Synod, which has different synodical committees, consisting of clergy and some lay-people.

Finally, apart from the cathedra of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, we can mention again the eparchial synod of Crete, the Metropolis of Thessalonica (up until 1924) with the somewhat peculiar institution of the ecclesiastical archdiocesan council of Thessalonica that functioned during 1917-1920 and the eparchial synod of the sacred Archdiocese of America, North and South (1922-1931 and 1979-the present).

There are also the cases of election of hierarchs, which were done apart from the cathedra of the Patriarchate in other parts of the world by local conferences of hierarchs. They took the form of eparchial synods, and occurred in Venice, the Peloponnese, Walachia, Moldavia, Mytilênê (Lesvos) and elsewhere.

The Ecumenical Patriarch had the juridical authority, which, due to the privileges that had been recognized as his, extended not only to spiritual but also to secular matters. It was exercised through the endêmousa synod and the other forms of the synodical system.

d) Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction

After the fall of the city, the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate covered a wide area. All Orthodox Christians within the Empire and others outside of it were under the Patriarchate, leaving out those of the ancient Patriarchates and the Church of Cyprus. This jurisdiction covered the areas of the Balkans, the Ionian and the Aegean islands, Asia Minor and parts of Russia. The independent Archbishopric of Tirnovo seems to have become a province of the Patriarchate after the Synod of Florence (1439). Beginning with the year 1448, the Metropolitan of Moscow was appointed by the Russian State. The elevation of that Church to the rank of a Patriarchate was the decision of the Great Synod in Istanbul (1593), presided over by the Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II. The Patriarchate continued to send Metropolitans to the Ukraine. Financial difficulties and the

need for protection should be accepted as reasons for the subjection of the independent archdiocese of Pech (1766) and Ochrida (1767) to the Patriarchate. In the nineteenth century, the era of the rise of nationalism in the Balkans, new Orthodox Churches were reestablished following the example of the newly established States. This continued in the twentieth century. The Ecumenical Patriarchate bestowed by means of patriarchal and synodical Tomes (acts) an autonomous, or autocephalous, or even a patriarchal status to those Churches. The exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece in 1922 left the Patriarchate with hardly any members in Asia Minor. But with the continuous immigration of Greek Orthodox Christians to the Americas, Australia, and Europe and the establishment there of new dioceses, exarchies and communities depending on the Patriarchate, the jurisdiction of the Great Church of Christ was extended all over the world. Thus, geographically speaking the Patriarchate enhanced its ecumenical status.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Patriarchate delegated for a period of time (1908-1922) the government of the Greek Orthodox in the Diaspora to the Church of Greece. It resumed its responsibility with the foundation of the Archdiocese of North and South America and the Metropolis (Archdiocese 1954-1963) of Thyateira (and Great Britain since 1964) in 1922. In 1923 the Ecumenical Patriarchate granted autonomy to the Churches of Finland, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, and Latvia-Lettonia, which continued to be under its jurisdiction.

5. THE HIERARCHY AND THE CLERGY

Metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops were the highest ecclesiastical leaders in their dioceses. In this third order of the priesthood, the episcopate, we see an evolution from the lower to the higher administrative level. The bishoprics that depended on metropolitans eventually acquire the name of archbishoprics and some are directly promoted to the rank of metropolises. In the Ecumenical Patriarchate we see the emergence of titular hierarchs. These were bishops, and sometimes metropolitans, who usually acted as assistants to the Patriarch and were employed in the service of the sacred archdiocese, the *gerontes* and the other metropolitans of the Ecumenical Throne. In the nineteenth century the deans of the Theological School and of the Great School of the (Christian) Nation (*ἡ Μεγάλη τοῦ γένους*

Σχολῆ) were promoted to titular metropolitans. The names of these Metropolitans were not entered into the *syntagmation*. Manuel Gedeon considers Matthew of Myrea as the first titular Metropolitan, but the Metropolitans Gennadios of Hêlioupolis and Paul of Sweden have questioned this opinion.

Clergy serving the communities came from the ranks of the people and, therefore, fully participated in the conditions of life that applied during those times. After the captivity much illiteracy was developed. As a result all those chosen for the ranks of the clergy were those that had had the greater possible education. Parish clergy were usually married, but there were also monastic clergy serving in the parishes. The maintenance of the clergy was based on the contributions of the Christians, the celebration of various religious ceremonies, payments of free or regular dues and personal work.

6. INTER-ORTHODOX RELATIONS

Since the eleventh century the Ecumenical Patriarchate possessed primacy or seniority of honor amongst the other sister Orthodox Churches and the Patriarch of Constantinople was regarded first among equals. This primacy of honor does not have a mere theoretical or academic character, because in point of fact it comprises certain rights and duties that are recognized to it by the ecumenical synods, history and generally the praxis and the traditions of the Church. The right of the Ecumenical Patriarch to take the initiative in matters pertaining to the relations between the Orthodox and other Christians or to matters of Pan-Orthodox character has been always recognized by the Orthodox Patriarchs and the Leaders of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches.

More particularly the Ecumenical Patriarch has the following specific rights and duties: 1) to hear appeals by the clergy under him and by all the rest of the Orthodox Churches; 2) to initiate any inter-Orthodox correspondence on one or more important issues of inter-Orthodox or inter-Christian, or even international texture; 3) to summon broader or pan-Orthodox synods, as well as to preside over them and to specify the place, the time and the manner of their operation; 4) to grant autonomy, autocephaly and patriarchal status to ecclesiastical regions previously being under him provided that these regional churches have the prerequisites that are needed for the said ranks and that the unanimous opinion of the other sister Orthodox

Churches is in place; 5) to deliberate on issues of exceptional nature that are the concern of one or more Orthodox Churches and are related to faith, ethics, ecclesiastical law, administration, etc., either directly from the Phanar, or through the dispatch of patriarchal exarchs or exarchies; 6) to name on a permanent basis hierarchs of the Ecumenical Throne that reside abroad as exarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate; 7) to consecrate the holy Myron and to send it to the sister Orthodox Churches as a sign of the spiritual ties that exist between them and the Ecumenical Patriarchate; 8) to recognize new saints that fought the good fight not only within the boundaries of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but also outside it, following an application on the part of the Church concerned; 9) to take precedence in con-celebrations with other patriarchs and leaders of autocephalous Orthodox Churches; 10) to establish stravropegiac monasteries.

Until the nineteenth century the Ecumenical Patriarch took care and at times interfered in matters of external and internal concerns of other Churches. It was through the Ecumenical Patriarch that other Patriarchs came into contact with political leaders and civil authorities. Furthermore the Patriarchate of Constantinople helped the other sister Orthodox Churches in their struggle against proselytism and the expansionary tendencies of the Western Churches. It also intervened in matters of ecclesiastical justice, election, resignation or dismissal of other patriarchs and hierarchs of the other patriarchal thrones, as well as in matters of canon law and dogmatic nature or faith.

On the other hand, patriarchs, hierarchs and other clergy and monks of other Orthodox Churches, sojourning in Constantinople participated many times under different capacities in the endêmousa and in other synods of the Patriarchate of this city and got thus involved in the internal governing of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

All of the above should not be regarded as an attempt of the Patriarch of Constantinople to acquire a *de facto* primacy of power over the other Orthodox Churches, but rather as an endeavor deriving from his duty to help the other Orthodox Churches in their difficulties.

The arrival of a great number of Orthodox people in various parts of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought into the bosom of Orthodoxy a new phenomenon and situation, that of the Orthodox diaspora. This matter received three solutions during the stages of its development: a) organizing ecclesiastically all

Orthodox living outside the boundaries of the local Orthodox Churches under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in accordance with Canon 28 of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451); b) organizing various Orthodox jurisdictions, under their mother (local Orthodox) Churches; and c) organizing indigenous Orthodox Churches.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate issued two important documents. The first document, issued in 1908 under Joachim III, yielded the canonical ruling right of spiritual oversight over the Orthodox diaspora to the Church of Greece. The second document, issued in 1922 under Meletios IV (Metaxakês), revoked the validity of the previous document (of 1908) and restored the perennial canonical order, i.e. the spiritual ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate over the Orthodox diaspora.

One can draw a long list of pan-Orthodox or other synods held in Istanbul during this period. The Ecumenical Patriarchate recognized the Church of Russia as a Patriarchate in 1589/1593; and gave autocephalous status to the Church of Greece in 1850; it gave autonomy to the Church of Serbia in 1831, raising it to autocephaly in 1879, and patriarchal status in 1922; it gave autocephaly to the Church of Rumania in 1885 and patriarchal status in 1925; it gave autocephaly to the Church of Bulgaria in 1945 and patriarchal status in 1961. In 1990 (March 3) the Ecumenical Patriarchate declared the Church of Georgia autocephalous and was granted patriarchal status. The Patriarchate also recognized the autocephaly of the Church of Poland in 1924. In 1937 the Church of Albania was declared autocephalous by the Ecumenical Patriarch Benjamin I and in 1992, thanks to the initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate this Church was reconstituted following the persecution to nearly total extinction that she had suffered since 1976. The Church of Czechia and Slovakia was declared autonomous in 1923 and Autocephalous in 1998. Other autonomous Churches under the Ecumenical Patriarchate are the Church of Finland (1923), and the Orthodox Church of Esthonia (1923 and 1996).

The famous correspondence initiated by Joachim III (1902-4) constitutes a good beginning in inter-Orthodox relations during the twentieth century. Matters that needed to be studied together were connected with: a) the inter-relations of the Orthodox Churches, b) the (common) calendar and c) the relations of the Orthodox to the Western and to the ancient Oriental Christians.

A second important event of inter-Orthodox character was the pan-Orthodox conference that was summoned in Constantinople by Patriarch Meletios IV (Metaxakês) in 1923. This Conference led to decisions on correcting the Julian calendar, on the marriage of priests and deacons after ordination, on second marriage due to death of a widowed priest or deacon, certain other matters of canonical nature, the celebration of the 1600th anniversary of the first Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea, etc.

7. MONASTICISM

Monasticism continued to exist during this period as well. Apart from the payment of certain taxes, monasteries enjoyed the respect of those in government. Monastic life was regulated in accordance with the rules of St. Basil the Great and other masters of Eastern monasticism. Apart from the ancient systems, the coenobitic and the eremitic, there is now a great development of the idiorrhythmic system of governing monasteries, especially since 1400. Monasteries are called royal (patriarchal), stavropegjac and eparchial.

The most important center of monasticism during this period is the Holy Mountain, which constitutes an autonomous brotherhood. Up until 1912 it was under the Ottoman state. Since then, it has remained part of the Hellenic Republic. The highest spiritual authority of the Holy Mountain is the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The Great Church of Christ exercised her canonical duties and rights that are derived from her spiritual jurisdiction, respecting the self-governing status of the Holy Mountain. On the other hand the Holy Mountain in its turn offered much to the Mother Church. It constitutes the most important chapter of her history, as a living expression of Eastern monasticism. It gave the Church patriarchs, bishops, teachers, authors, preachers and confessors. The Holy Mountain was an ecclesiastical embassy of the Church of Constantinople for the other Orthodox Churches. It is also the most important treasury of Eastern Orthodox Monasticism for the Great Church.

There were monasteries in almost all regions of the Ottoman Empire and outside it. According to R. Janin in 1453 there were 18 monasteries and approximately another dozen, the existence of which cannot be clearly documented. These monasteries included, that of Pammakaristos, as well as the other patriarchal churches, such as that of the Zôodochos Pêgê in Balouklê and those in the Princes Is-

lands: the Divine Transfiguration in Ptôtê, Christ the Savior the Theokoryphôtês in Antigonê, the Holy Trinity and the All-holy Theotokos Kamariôtissa in Chalkê, Christ the Savior and St. Nikolaos in Pringêpos, the Forerunner in Sôzopolis by the Black Sea (up until 1623), the monastery of Mavros Môlos (up until 1713), the All-holy Theotokos of Soumela in Trebizond, the Honorable Forerunner in Kastoria, St John the Theologian in Patmos, the Mega Spêlaion and the Hagia Lavra in Peloponnese, the Meteora in Thessaly, the Divine Transfiguration of Vtateoi in Thesalonica, St. Anastasia in Chalkêdikê. In the *Syntagmaion* of 1902 there were altogether 72 stavropêgiac monasteries that belonged to the Ecumenical Throne.

The Ecumenical Patriarch had the right, which was derived from his seniority of honor, as before, to establish stavropegiac monasteries mainly within the territory of his jurisdiction and to renew or to grant anew this status to existing monasteries. The Ecumenical Throne, as well as some Metropolises of the Throne, had property and institutions with churches in them in various parts of the world, the so-called *metochia*. The nineteenth century saw in Romania the so-called monasteries issue. Since the general regulations (1860) there was a monasteries committee in the Patriarchate, which dealt with issues relating to the operation of the sacred monasteries.

8. DIVINE WORSHIP

Worship at this period lost its external magnificence. Few churches remained in the hands of Christians and those built on the foundations of the old were made of wood, lacking a dome. From the middle of the eighteenth century and especially in the nineteenth century, thanks to the prosperous position of the Greek Orthodox and the permission of the authorities, many new churches were built and others rebuilt from the old. Church bells started again to be heard. Newly built churches were of the basilica or the cross-type with domes.

Holy sacraments and religious services were continuously being conducted. In the first centuries immediately after the captivity the liturgy was performed during the night. This stopped in the nineteenth century. Preaching was done where and whenever there were men able to do so. Many names of eloquent preachers fill the catalogues of this period. Preaching became more regular after the foundation of theological and ecclesiastical schools. Byzantine church music was influenced by the Turkish and later the European music. Several pa-

triarchs tried to establish schools of Byzantine music in the Phanar. Several cantors of the Patriarchate are among the most famous experts of this music. The church calendar is being enriched with the addition of neo-martyrs and confessors, and by bringing back feasts from the past. At the pan-Orthodox congress of Istanbul (1923) the Ecumenical Patriarchate introduced in its ecclesiastical life the new or Gregorian calendar, but without changing the celebration of Pascha.

9. PHILANTHROPY

During these years, in which help was badly needed by almost all church members, the Patriarchate took the lead in the sphere of philanthropy, by establishing different houses, helping the poor and the sick, and freeing the captives. Mention of the first hospital in Istanbul is made in 1520, but hospitals in the modern sense were founded in different parts of the city in the eighteenth century. In 1836, with the construction of the new hospitals in Baluklê outside the walls, all former hospitals were moved to this new site, where they still exist and are efficiently run to this day.

In the sphere of ethnic philanthropic institutions Germanos IV founded the orphanage (1853-1863), which in 1903 was transferred to Pringêpos (1915-1916). Later on it moved to the Commercial School in Chalkê (September-12 December 1916), to the Theological School of Chalkê (1916-july 1918), to Prôtê for girls (1918-1919), again to Pringêpos (-1964). The orphanage for girls was founded in 1904 in the monastery of Christ in Prôtê through the donations of George Siniosoglou and Syngros. In 1919 it was transferred to the building of the former Commercial School of Chalkê. In 1942 it moved to Pringêpos to the same building with the orphanage for boys (-1964).

The world of philanthropy was pursued not only at the patriarchal center, but also in the eparchies and throughout the world.

10. ECCLESIASTICAL-THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

After the capture of Constantinople (1453) education in general continued to bear its ecclesiastical character. The period up until the middle of the nineteenth century is known in education as the period of theocracy. After that time, through the foundation of universities, education took on a secular and humanistic character (second period of ethnicities). During the first period, the first centuries of captivity,

the Christian nation was accused of illiteracy. A careful consideration, however, of existing life conditions, schools, men of letters, published and unpublished literature, puts to question this accusation. Besides, about the end of the seventeenth century a literary renaissance emerges which is extended to all spheres.

Clergy and theologians in general received their education either in grammar or secondary schools, where education was mostly based on ecclesiastical books and teachers were either priests or monks. In secondary education, theological courses formed a part in the regular curriculum. The most famous of all the secondary schools was the Patriarchal school or academy, founded by Gennadios Scholarios. Monasteries continued to serve as centers for learning either in general or in an organized way through ecclesiastical schools that were established within their grounds (e.g., the Athonias Academy, 1753, the Patmias Academy, 1713). Education in general remained under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and was reorganized during the twentieth century. Under Gregory VI (1836) an educational and spiritual committee was formed that was charged with the inspection of books and schools. Education was greatly assisted by the Hellenic Philological Association of Constantinople (1861). At the time of World War I, Greek schools within the Ottoman Empire were put under the direct supervision of the Turkish Ministry of Education.

During the first centuries after the captivity theological schools disappeared from the ecclesiastical scene. The vacuum was filled by the higher schools, monasteries, and the ecclesiastical cathedrae and up to a point by the universities of the West. There was, however, a notable production of theological literature, which, of course, could not be compared to that of the earlier Byzantine centuries. On the other hand it can be claimed that during the second half of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate, with the Phanar at its center and the environment of the theological school of Chalkê, witnessed a significant theological movement, which continues to the present time.

There were various currents and factors that influenced the development and growth of theology in the Ecumenical Patriarchate: a) political change; b) relations between Roman Catholics and Protestants with the Ecumenical Patriarchate; c) new ideas and new systems that came from the West; d) the literary renaissance that emerged

between the middle of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century; e) the appearance of strange doctrines, theological discussions, disputes, schismatic tendencies and actual schisms; f) the presence of monasticism; g) the foundation of theological schools around the middle of the nineteenth century, when theology begins to take on a scientific (academic) character; and finally, h) the commencement of theological discussions and dialogues on a new basis between Orthodoxy and the Churches of the West around the middle of the nineteenth century, including the appearance of the ecumenical movement since the beginning of the twentieth century, etc.

The main feature of our theology after the captivity, as was the case with the later Byzantine period, is its attachment to the tradition and to the traditional forms. Up until the sixteenth century it is possible to talk about the continuation of Byzantine theology, which is marked by a flourishing of polemical theology against Latin dangers.

In the seventeenth century the presence of the Protestants also becomes felt within Orthodox circles. Thus, several new works make their appearance, which positively expound the Orthodox viewpoints and polemically oppose Protestant doctrines. Nevertheless Orthodox theologians of this period are by and large unconsciously influenced by Latin and Protestant theologies. At the same time, however, Orthodox theology begins to acquire a more scientific (academic) character. There is also a tendency to purge this theology from Western influences. The need to preserve from falling into oblivion important ecclesiastical events led to the production of works of ecclesiastical history. In the practical sphere it was the sermon and the composition of lives of saints and *synaxaria* that were particularly pursued.

A polemical or antirrhetical character marks Orthodox theology during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but this does not imply that other theological branches are completely neglected. The composition of teaching manuals begins to appear in order to cover the needs of the theological schools.

During the twentieth century Orthodox theology turned to new directions, especially to purging itself from the new elements that had intruded into it during the years following the captivity and the restoration of the ancient patristic theology. This, however, does not mean that theological advances made in the West were ignored. Inter-Church and Inter-Christian contacts, and especially the ecumenical movement, forced Orthodoxy to feel the need to reconsider her own

self-consciousness and to take appropriate measures in order to express her own position.

The more recent history of Orthodox theology can be divided into two periods, that preceding and that following the year 1840. An important turning point for the Ecumenical Patriarchate was the foundation of the Theological School of Chalkê in 1844 by Patriarch Germanos IV. This School met the needs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate by training academically educated priests for the Patriarchate and the other sister Churches. Besides, it gave expression to the new theological currents within the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

The theologians of this period are the same persons as in Byzantine times, with the only exception of the Byzantine emperor. There is a long series of Orthodox theologians and theologizing clergy, monks and lay people, who cultivated the various branches of theological science.

The libraries and the archives, with their publications and manuscripts, of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, of the Great School of the (Christian) Nation, of the Metochion of the All-holy Sepulcher, of the Hellenic Philological Society, of the Monasteries of the Holy Trinity in Chalkê, of the Holy Mountain, of Patmos, etc., constitute a few of such examples.

At the same time presses appear in the context of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which greatly enhance the theological letters. We meet such presses in Venice (end of the fifteenth century), in Rome (beginning of the sixteenth century), Iassi (1639), Bucarest (1690), Moschonêsia, Smyrna, Kydôniai, Chios, etc. The most notable of them all was the patriarchal press that was founded by Cyril Lukaris and operated only for a little while (1627-1628). Patriarch Samuel Chantzerês reconstituted it (1767) and so did again Patriarch Gregory V (1797) and Patriarch Joachim III (1880-1923).

Here we should also mention the known academic and theological periodicals of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, namely: "The Ecclesiastical Truth" (*Ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*) which comprised volumes 1-43 (1880-1923); "The New Pastor" (*Ὁ Νέος Ποιμὴν*), volumes 1-5 (1919-1923); "The Regeneration" (*Ἡ ἀναγέννησις*), vols. 1-3 (1919-1922); "The Ecclesiastical Affairs or Ecclesiastical Bulletin" (*Τὰ Ἐκκλησιαστικά, or Τὸ Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Δελτίον*), vols. 1-6 (1869-1871); and "The Ecclesiastical Review" (*Ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις*), 5 periods, 5 tomes (1871-1885).

PART III THE TURKISH REPUBLIC (1923-1990)

I. CHURCH AND STATE

After the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued to pursue its task as a religious and spiritual establishment. The external rights that were accorded to it by the Ottoman Turks ceased to exist. In other words, there was a return to the situation before the captivity. The exchange of Turkish and Greek populations meant that from that period onwards Roman (Greek) Orthodox Christians would only exist in the city of Istanbul and the Aegean Islands of Imvros and Tenedos, corresponding to the Turkish Moslem Turks of Western (Greek) Thrace.

According to the regulations of the Turkish state all the citizens of the Turkish Republic are considered equal before the Law. Minorities are no longer considered to be ethnic but religious groups. The state granted certain privileges for the operations of religious and educational institutions of minorities not to their religious authorities but directly to the communities. Within the Turkish Republic the Ecumenical Patriarchate is regarded as a public institution bearing the form of a Free Church in a people's state, which is religiously neutral, and the members of which are by majority Moslems. Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) paid visits twice to Ankara (1949-1952) to the Presidents of the Republic and to other political leaders and received the President Adnan Menderes (1952) at his See. Patriarch Demetrios (1972-1991) visited Prime-minister Turkut Ozal twice in Istanbul (1988) and once in Ankara (1989) when he served as President. Patriarch Bartholomaios visited President Süleyman Demirel (1992).

On the other hand, the Eparchies of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Europe, Asia, Australia, New Zealand and America, exist as free churches within states of the same type or bear the image of free churches in states which ascribe official status to either the Roman Catholic or the Anglican or the Lutheran Church, or acknowledge ethnic churches, i.e. Greece, Finland and Cyprus.

2. MISSIONS

The appearance of the Ecumenical Movement, which has involved the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the other Orthodox Churches dur-

ing the twentieth century and from its beginnings in the nineteenth century, is connected with missions. This is because the pursuit of missions was the initial factor in the birth and formation of the ecumenical movement. The missionary zeal began to be strengthened in the schools of theology operating under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, i.e. those of Chalkê (1844), St. Serge in Paris (1926), Holy Cross in Boston (1937) and St. Andrew in Australia (1986).

The topic of missions was examined in three conferences of Orthodox Theology that met in Athens in 1936 and 1976 and in Thessaloniki in 1988.

A contemporary phenomenon of external mission is the appearance of Orthodoxy in Uganda and more widely in East Africa, Tanzania, Kenya and other parts of Africa, which is of particular fraternal interest to the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the local Church of Alexandria.

As far as the Church of Constantinople is concerned the missionary activities of the Sacred Archdiocese of America are particularly notable. These activities concentrate and offer help to the missionary Churches of Africa, Alaska, Korea, Mexico and Latin America.

Another organization that is particularly concerned with missions is *Syndesmos*. This is an international organization of collaborating Orthodox Youth Movements that enjoys the blessings of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Missions are one of the topics introduced in the agenda of the forthcoming Pan-Orthodox Synod at the pre-synodal meeting of Rhodes (1961).

We are not in a position to say much about the cooperation of the Orthodox with other Christian Churches on the subject of missions. The missions of the Westerners were connected with proselytism of Orthodox Christians. Thus the Orthodox Churches with the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the helm have been accustomed to making reactions against such activities.

In the correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904) there is ample talk about such activities on the part of the Westerners and the need of vigilance on the part of the Orthodox faithful. The same message was repeated in the 1920 Encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In almost all the meetings of Orthodox with other Christians and within the Ecumenical Movement and the World Council of Churches, the Orthodox have pointed out the proselytism pursued against them. A

result of this was the publication of certain ecumenical texts on this issue (New Delhi 1961 and 1971). Orthodox interest and reaction at the preparatory stage for the incorporation of the International Missionary Council into the World Council of Churches (New Delhi 1961) was quite intense. The new Department and later Sub-unit of the International Mission and Evangelism also comprised an office for Orthodox Studies and relations, whose Secretary was Ion Bria, and at present George Lemopoulos of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This Office was responsible for organizing Conferences on Orthodox Missions and publishing relevant materials (Neapolis, Thessalonica, Greece 16-24 April 1988). Theme: "Your Will Be Done." The Ecumenical Patriarchate was active in the establishment of an Orthodox Missionary Station in Athens in 1989 for the facilitation of the Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Cyprus, Greece and Finland.

3. ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

a) *The Patriarch, etc.*

The Patriarch continues to bear the same official title, "...(*Name*)... by the mercy of God Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch."

From 1923 onwards, when no mixed council existed any more, the election of the Patriarch is carried out by the endêmousa synod, which comprises all the metropolitans resident in Constantinople under the presidency of the hierarch who is first in seniority (1923). After the election, the ecclesiastical installation or enthronement of the Patriarch takes place. The political installation is no longer observed.

The seat of the Patriarch continues to be the Patriarchate at the Phanar, where the patriarchal church of St. George is located (1599). The Patriarchate functions like a monastery. The entrance is like the capital Greek letter Π in shape with three gates, one on each side, leading through the east gate to the patriarchal church and through the west gate to the patriarchal house. The center gate, where Patriarch Gregory V was hanged in 1821, remains closed, bearing on the inside the icon of the martyred Patriarch. The Patriarchate up until the fire of 1941 was divided into three great buildings or departments: a) The department of the patriarchal and synodal halls and offices of the serving staff, b) The department of the patriarchal special envoy, and c) The department of the former ethnic council with its various branches.

The first department, housed in the center of the wooden patriarchal edifice, was burnt down in 1941. The architect Aristeides Pasadaios restored it to the exact shape externally, thanks to the donations of the late grand benefactor Panagiotes Angelopoulos. The inauguration (*engainia*) took place on Sunday, the 17th of December 1989, during the patriarchal term of office of Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios. The patriarch's summer residence is at the sacred monastery of the Holy Trinity at Chalkê. Ruling patriarchs also had and continue to have their own private residences or retreat quarters.

The Patriarch receives a regular salary. He continues to wear the same traditional ecclesiastical garb as religious leader within the Turkish Republic, alone enjoying the privilege of appearing publicly in this way even outside sacred church buildings and other sacred places (1935).

b) The Synodal Institution

After 1923 a permanent and regular synod (*holy and sacred synod*) continued to exist around the Patriarch. Up until 1941 it held its meetings at the small *synodikon* of the patriarchal office and since 1941 at the new *synodikon*, which was constructed for that purpose at the Ecumenical Patriarchate. When the Patriarch resided at Chalkê, the sacred and holy synod met there at the Theological School. Up until the time of Patriarch Photios II (1929-1935) it met three times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and subsequently once a week, every Tuesday, and also exceptionally on other days. The Patriarch continues to be the one who summons and presides over it. The members of the holy and sacred synod are the metropolitans of the hierarchical registry (*syntagmation*) who are active within the Turkish Republic. They must be Turkish citizens, twelve in number, or more on certain exceptional occasions, as for instance during the time of Patriarch Demetrios, when the number of the synod's members was fifteen (26 March 1985). This synod continues to have the same jurisdiction since 1923. The ethnic permanent mixed council no longer exists. Thus, the laity does not engage directly in the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. There are also synodal committees, which are linked to the synod. These committees consist of clergy and lay members and are chaired by a Metropolitan who is first in order among the members of the committee. The Patriarch is the natural chairman of all these committees.

At present there are twenty-three committees in operation.

The endêmousa synod continues to operate even after 1923. This synod meets on two occasions; first, when the ecumenical throne is widowed and second, on special occasions when serious matters arise.

There are also synods, or other bodies with synodal character at the various eparchies of the patriarchal throne, as for instance, the local archiepiscopal (metropolitan) or mixed councils, consisting of bishops and lay members, either of mixed character, or even of clergy-laity conferences. There is the synod of the hierarchs of the autonomous Church of Finland, which is in operation. There is the eparchial synod of the Church of Crete, which continues to operate on the basis of the new Law 4141/25 February 1961. There is the charter of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, which was issued by the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the 29th of November 1977 and re-introduced the institution of the synod as an eparchial synod of this Archdiocese.

Finally, the Ecumenical Patriarchate also put in operation the institution of the sacred hierarchical meetings (*synaxeis*) of certain ecclesiastical regions in its jurisdiction, under the presidency of the first among the region's hierarchs, i.e. a special patriarchal exarch, or the Patriarch himself. Such hierarchical meetings are the following: a) the two meetings of the metropolitans of the Dodecanese and of the patriarchal exarch of Patmos at Rhodes, the first one in 1971 under the presidency of Metropolitan Spyridon of Rhodes, and the second in 1978 (5-7 February), under the presidency of the patriarchal exarch Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon; b) the four hierarchical meetings of the European hierarchs of the ecumenical throne, i.e. 1) the 1-3.2.1976 meeting at Chambésy under the presidency of the patriarchal exarch Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon, 2) the 24.9.1987 meeting at Chambésy under the presidency of Patriarch Demetrios, 3) the 16-17.10.1989 Phanar meeting at the Phanar (Istanbul) under the presidency of Patriarch Demetrios, and 4) the 18.12.1989 meeting at the Phanar under the presidency of the same Patriarch.

During the twentieth century the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which enjoys seniority of honor among the sister Orthodox Churches, made use of the duty and right of taking the initiative for summoning a pan-Orthodox or ecumenical synod, which was finally named "*The Holy and Great Synod of Orthodoxy*." The most important stages specified for this synod, under the initiative and participation of the

Ecumenical Patriarchate, were as follows:

1. The patriarchal and synodical encyclical of 1902 and the documents related to it, during the office of Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904).

2. The pan-Orthodox conference of Constantinople summoned in 1923 under Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios IV.

3. The preliminary meeting of the Holy Orthodox Churches that was summoned on Mount Athos in 1930, under Ecumenical Patriarch Photios II.

4-7. The four pan-Orthodox consultations – the three that were summoned in Rhodes (1961, 1963, 1964) and the fourth that was summoned in Chambésy (1968) – under Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras.

8. The first inter-Orthodox preparatory committee meeting of the Holy and Great Synod that was summoned at Chambésy in Geneva (1986) under Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios.

9-11. The three pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conferences that were summoned at Chambésy in Geneva (1976, 1982, 1986) under Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios.

12. The second inter-Orthodox preparatory committee meeting of the Holy and Great Synod that was summoned at Chambésy in Geneva (1986) under Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios.

Although adequate steps have been taken and various gaps have been bridged, the Orthodox Church continues to move on the path of preparation of this Great Synod.

Finally, synodal procedures include the collaboration of local Orthodox hierarchs, which is expressed by the establishment and organization of local conferences, usually under the initiative of the local hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, who preside over them as exarchs of the ecumenical throne. Such Conferences are:

1) The Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in America (1943/1960).

2) The Inter-Orthodox Episcopal Committee in France (1967).

3) The Permanent Council of Canonical Orthodox Churches in Australia (1980).

c) Ecclesiastical Offices or Titles (“Offikia”)

During this period the ecclesiastical titles that are given to the la-

ity lost their real character and became honorary. Apart from certain exceptions, only the clergy and some lay members that work at the patriarchate have such titles or offices, which correspond to their ecclesiastical ministry. Patriarchal ecclesiastical titles are granted to Orthodox believers who belong to the patriarchate, or to metropolitanates of the ecumenical throne and to other Orthodox Churches. Under Patriarch Athenagoras such titles were also given to non-Orthodox. In our days, their number, which rises to hundreds if not thousands, has increased considerably in comparison with the past. It would be valuable if a comprehensive catalogue could be composed with all the names, like those of M. Gedeon and V. Th. Stavrides.

d) Eparchies

The Ecumenical Patriarchate comprises today the following eparchies: There are four active eparchies in Turkey, i.e. those of Chalcedon (Gerontic), Derkoi (Gerontic up until 1977), Princes Islands, and Imvros and Tenedos – There are also several other active metropolitans who bear titles of the metropolises of the hierarchical charter (the *syntagmation*) for Turkey, although they have no flocks.

There are the eparchies of the Throne in Greece, the so-called eparchies of the New Lands, which are administered for the time being by the Church of Greece according to a patriarchal and synodical act that was issued in 1928. The Metropolitans of these eparchies commemorate the name of the Archbishop of Constantinople in their sacred services.

There is the semi-autonomous Church of Crete, which consists of the sacred Archdiocese of Crete (which was a Metropolis up until 1969), and its seven Metropolitanates.

There are the Metropolitanates of the Dodecanese.

There are the various eparchies in the world wide Diaspora:

The Sacred Archdiocese of North and South America (1922 – made Gerontic on 21 October 1975 and renamed Archdiocese of America in 1996), comprising eparchial and assistant Bishops.

The Sacred Archdiocese (Metropolitanate) of Australia, founded in 1924 as a Metropolis and renamed Archdiocese in 1959, comprising assistant Bishops.

The Sacred Metropolis of New Zealand (1970).

The Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira (and Great Britain – was a

Metropolitanate during 1924-1954 and 1963-1968), comprising assistant Bishops;

Central Europe was a Metropolis during 1924-1936 and 1950-1951. A great section of the Sacred Archdiocese of Thyateira was taken away to form the Metropolitanates of France, Germany and Austria (1963), Belgium and Sweden (1969), and Switzerland (1982). The above European eparchies, apart from that of Sweden, have assistant Bishops.

There is the sacred Archdiocese of the Russian Orthodox émigré communities of Western Europe (1931-1965 – autonomous in 1971) with Assistant Bishops (Eulogij, Vladimir, Georgij, Georgij).

There is the permanent Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the World Council of Churches in Geneva (since 1955), which was led successively by Iakovos of Melita, Emilianos of Selybria, Georgios Tsetsis).

There is the Autonomous Archdiocese of Finland (1923) comprising metropolitanates (bishoprics up until 1972) and bishops.

There is the Autonomous Archdiocese of Estonia and Metropolis of Latvia and all Lettonia, which were incorporated into the Patriarchate of Moscow (1945) after the annexation of their lands by Russia. The same Patriarchate, ignoring the autonomy of the Metropolitanate of Czechoslovakia that was granted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1922) granted this Church without any canonical basis the status of autocephaly (1951), which was not recognized.

There is also under the Ecumenical Patriarchate the monastic community of the Holy Mountain of Athos and the patriarchal exarchate of Patmos. There are also the stavropegiac monasteries of St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria in Chalkêdike and of Vlatades in Thessalonike, of St. John the Forerunner in Essex (England), of the Entrance of the Theotokos in Alabama (USA), of St. John the Forerunner in Melbourne (Australia).

The year 1926, after the changes in the body of the hierarchy, the number of hierarchs, including the Patriarch, the metropolitans, the archbishops and bishops reached 117. In 1957, it was about 110. In 1966, it became 105. Finally in 1985, it reached 133. Thus the number of hierarchs is a little over 100 and that of the clergy about 6,000. The total number of the faithful that belong to the Ecumenical Patriarchate is about five million.

4. INTER-ORTHODOX RELATIONS

The Ecumenical Patriarchate continues to hold the same position in the seniorities of honor within the canonical structure of the Orthodox Church.

As regards the organization of the Orthodox Churches, which were previously placed under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the following can be said: The Patriarchate recognized the autocephaly of the Church of Poland in 1924, raised the autocephalous Church of Romania to patriarchal status in 1925, granted autocephaly to the Church of Albania in 1937, lifted the schism of the Bulgarian Church in 1945, granting it at the same time autocephaly, and raised it to patriarchal status in 1961. The Church of Russia confirmed the autocephaly granted to the Church of Poland by the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1924) through her own act in 1948, thus joining the other Orthodox Churches who had been in agreement with this from the beginning. The Church of Russia restored the independence of the Church of Georgia in 1917, which had been abolished in 1811 by the Russian Tsar. On the 3rd of March 1990, thanks to the initiative of Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios, the Church of Georgia (Iberia) was declared autocephalous and was granted Patriarchal status through a patriarchal and synodal tome. In 1998 the Ecumenical Patriarchate granted autocephaly to the Church of Czechia and Slovakia, which had been made autonomous in 1923. In 1996 The Ecumenical Patriarchate through a patriarchal and synodical act reactivated the autonomy of the Estonian Orthodox Church, which had been originally granted in 1923, but became inactive after WWII when Estonia was annexed by the U.S.S.R. In 1999 at the request of the clergy-laity congress of the Estonian Orthodox Church the Ecumenical Patriarchate elected and enthroned the present Metropolitan Stephanos (formerly bishop of Nazianzus) of Tallin and All Estonia.

As it appears in the diptychs that are currently used, the Ecumenical Patriarchate recognizes the Orthodox Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, Metschete & Tbilisi and the autocephalous Churches of Cyprus, Greece, Poland, Albania and Czechia & Slovakia.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate summoned various pan-Orthodox conferences.

a) The pan-Orthodox conference of Constantinople in 1923, un-

der Patriarch Meletios IV, the decisions of which have been already mentioned.

b) The preliminary committee meeting of the Holy Orthodox Churches in the Holy Mountain, during 8-23 July 1930, under Patriarch Photios II, which specified the agenda of the future pro-synodal meeting.

c) The first pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961) under Patriarch Athenagoras, which dealt with the agenda of the future pro-synodal meetings.

d) The second pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1963) which deliberated on the issue of sending or declining to send Orthodox observers to the Roman Catholic Council of Vatican II (1962-1965), and on the inauguration of "dialogue on equal terms" with Rome.

e) The third pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1964), which dealt with the dialogue of love with Rome and the institution of inter-Orthodox theological committees for the inauguration of theological dialogues with parallel theological committees of Anglicans and Old Catholics.

f) The fourth pan-Orthodox consultation of Chambésy in Geneva (1968), which dealt with the dialogues with Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Old Catholics, Post-Chalcedonians, Lutherans and with the World Council of Churches.

g) The first meeting of the inter-Orthodox preparatory committee of the Holy and Great Synod, which met at Chambésy in Geneva in 1971 and heard preliminary communications on the six topics of the agenda constructed by the first pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961): 1) divine revelation, 2) the laity, 3) fasting, 4) impediments to marriage, 5) the calendar issue, 6) economy.

h) The first pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy in Geneva (21-28 Nov. 1976), which dealt with the process of the preparation of the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church and especially with the following topics: 1) revision of the agenda of the Holy and Great Synod, 2) examination of the methodology pertaining to the preparation of the synod concerning the particular topics of the agenda, 3) The state of the relations and dialogues of the Orthodox Church with other Churches and with the WCC and the appointment of an inter-Orthodox committee for the dialogue with the Lutherans, and 4) examination of the issue of a common date for the celebration of Easter by all Christians.

i) The second pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy in Geneva (3-12 Sept. 1982), which worked on three out of the ten topics of the agenda that was specified by the first pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference (1976) – 1) impediments to marriage, 2) readjustment on the ecclesiastical regulations on fasting on the basis of demands made by contemporary science, and 3) The calendar – and also on the topic (outside the agenda) raised by the Church of Bulgaria as to the possibility of ordaining bishops from the ranks of monks who simply received the prayer of *rasophoria* and not the *megaloschêma*.

j) The second meeting of the inter-Orthodox preparatory committee of the Holy and Great Synod, which met at Chambésy in Geneva during 15-23 February 1986, and heard preliminary communications on the following topics: 1) readjustment of the ecclesiastical regulations on fasting, 2) relations of the Orthodox Churches to the rest of the Christian world, 3) Orthodoxy and the ecumenical movement, and 4) contribution of the local Orthodox Churches to the establishment of the Christian ideals of peace, freedom, brotherhood and love among the peoples and lifting of racial discriminations.

k) The third pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy in Geneva (26 October—6 November 1986), which worked on the following four topics of the formerly agreed agenda: 1) regulations pertaining to the operation of pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conferences, 2) introductory communication of the special committee for the construction of the daily order and the preparation of the topics of the fourth pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference, i.e., i) Orthodox diaspora, ii) autocephaly and the way it is declared, iii) autonomy and the way it is declared, and iv) diptychs.

Apart from these inter-Orthodox events, the Ecumenical Patriarchate organized the pan-Orthodox celebrations of the Millennium of the Holy Mountain (1963) and marked with panegyric celebrations the following:

a) The 1600th anniversary of the First Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea (AD 325-1931).

b) The 1500th anniversary of the Third Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus (AD 431-1931).

c) The 1500th anniversary of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (AD 451-1951).

d) The 1600th anniversary of the Second Ecumenical Synod of

Constantinople (AD 381-1981).

e) The 1200th anniversary of the Seventh Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea II (AD 787-1987).

On 27-28 February 1987 celebrations were conducted at the Phanar on the Millennium of the Baptism of the Russians.

On Sunday 17 December 1989 the Inauguration (*Engainia*) of the new Patriarchal House was celebrated.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was represented (through the Theological School of Chalkê) in three pan-Orthodox theological conferences (Athens 1936, Athens 1976 and Boston USA 1987) and in all the important celebrations or anniversaries that were observed by the sister Orthodox Churches.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate officially received from 1923 onwards the patriarchs and leading hierarchs of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The Ecumenical Patriarchs traveled abroad:

Maximos V (1946-1948) traveled to Switzerland (19 May – 3 August 1947).

Athenagoras (1948-1972) visited the three Patriarchates of the East (1958), the Holy Mountain and the Church of Greece (1963), Jerusalem and pope Paul VI (1964), the Orthodox Churches of Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria, and also the Church of Rome, the Church of England and the World Council of Churches (1967), Sofia in Bulgaria, and Austria for health reasons (1969) and died before visited Russia and the USA as he had planned.

Demetrios continued the example of his predecessors. He visited Switzerland for reasons of health (4 October – 9 December 1982, and 9 July – 9 August 1986), the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Sacred Monastery of Sinai and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (22 May – 6 June 1987), the Churches of Russia and Georgia (18-30 August 1987), the Churches of Serbia and Romania (11 –21 September 1987), Chambésy (unofficially, 21-28 September 1987), the Churches of Greece and Poland (13-22 November 1987), the Churches of Czechoslovakia and Finland (21-30 June 1988), the Sacred Monastery of St. John at Patmos for its 900th anniversary (25-28 September 1988), and Zurich in Switzerland (privately, 24 June – 13 July 1989).

Bartholomaios visited the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Russia, Serbia, Romania (multiple), Bulgaria (multiple) and Georgia; the Churches of Greece, Poland, Albania, Czech and Slovak Republics, Finland, Crete (twice); Mt. Athos, the Monastery

of St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai; His Holiness the Pope at the Vatican; The Roman Catholic and Evangelical Churches in Germany; His Holiness Patriarch Paulos of the Church of Ethiopia; His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. George Carey and the Anglican Communion; The Lutheran Church of Sweden; the 1000th Anniversary in Norway; The Orthodox communities and missions in Korea; His Eminence Bishop Hans Gerny and the Old-Catholic Church in Switzerland; the World Council of Churches; the Conference of European Churches; the Lutheran World Federation; the Alliance of the Reformed Churches; The Orthodox Patriarchal Center of Chambésy; the Sacred Monastery of Xenophontos on the Holy Mountain of Athos on its 1000th anniversary; the Greek Orthodox Community of Venice on its 500th anniversary; the Ancient Patriarchal See of Antioch; the Archdioceses of America (Twice), Canada, Thyateira and Great Britain, Imvros and Tenedos, Sweden and All Scandinavia, Germany Italy, The Dodecanese, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Hong Kong, Australia, New Zealand and Leros and the list goes on. Patriarch Bartholomaios is perhaps the Patriarch of communications, inasmuch as he has already traveled in a short period of time more than any other of his predecessors. Apart from his ecclesiastical visits, the list of his visits to countries and political leaders is even lengthier. The list of the official visitors, political and ecclesiastical leaders who visited the Patriarch at the Phanar is most impressive.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has been the spiritual supporter of the International Orthodox Youth Movement *Syndesmos* (1953), which has held general assemblies at the Ecumenical Institute in Bosse (1948), Serves near Paris in France (1953), Bier in France (1954), Kefissia of Athens in Greece (19-23 September 1956), Thessalonike in Greece (4-7 September 1958), Beirut in Lebanon (September 1961), Kuopio in Finland (30 July – 6 August 1964), Rattvik in Sweden (21-27 July 1968), Boston in the USA (18-24 July 1971), Valamo in Finland 7-10 August 1980, Kastelli of Crete in Greece (14-19 August 1983), Effingham in England (17-24 August 1986), Boston in the USA (26-30 June 1989).

The problem of the Orthodox Diaspora continues to be serious and to project the three aforementioned solutions. A new development in this area has been the formation of the Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas (1943/1960), the Inter-Orthodox Episcopal Committee in France (1967) and the Permanent Council

of Canonical Orthodox Churches in Australia (1980) are similar church bodies.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, as well as other Orthodox Churches, did not recognize the autocephaly that was granted by the Church of Russia to the Russian Archdiocese (Metropolia) in America (1970) which came to be known as Orthodox Church in America (OCA).

5. HIERARCHY – CLERGY – MONASTICISM

The jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate comprises metropolitans and archbishops (metropolitans or leading hierarchs of semi-autonomous or autonomous churches). Apart from the hierarchy of the Sacred Archdiocese of America, where the institution of active bishops made a return since November 29, 1977, all bishops within the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople (Crete 25 September 1962, Finland 1 February 1972) are now titular and serve as assistants to the Patriarch and the metropolitans or archbishops. The institution of titular metropolitans is also present in today's Church.

The election of all hierarchs belonging to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, apart from the metropolitans of the Church of Crete, takes place in the Phanar. From 1935 onwards, all the clergy within the Turkish Republic with the exception of the Patriarch wear civilian clothes outside church edifices.

The same canonical prerequisites, as before, continue to apply to those who enter holy orders. Clergy are free to choose the marital or the celibate life before they are ordained.

Monasticism in the Ecumenical Patriarchate presents the same image as it had at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Ecumenical Patriarchate has a broader committee on monasticism and a special committee on the Holy Mountain of Athos. All monasteries in Constantinople and the Islands continue to be as before, apart from the Byzantine monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos Kamariotissa at Chalkê.

There are several patriarchal and stavropegiac monasteries abroad, as it was previously noted (in the chapter on *eparchies*).

The Holy Mountain of Athos has come, since 1912, under the political dominion of Greece, but its highest spiritual authority continues to be the Church of Constantinople. The monks live today in sacred

monasteries, *scêtes*, *kellia*, *kalyvas*, *hêsychastêria*, and *kathismata*. There are 20 sacred monasteries, out of which 17 are coenobitic and 3, *idiorythmic* and also 17 are Greek and 1 Russian, 1 Serbian and 1 Bulgarian. In 1963 the Ecumenical Patriarchate celebrated the Millennium of the Holy Mountain of Athos. In 1988 it celebrated the 900th anniversary of the establishment of the sacred monastery of St. John the Theologian at Patmos and the 1000th anniversary of the Holy Monastery of Xenophontos on Mount Athos.

There are also eparchial monasteries, as well as *metochia* of other churches or monasteries within the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

6. DIVINE WORSHIP

From 1963 onwards repairs of church buildings have been undertaken within the territory of the Turkish Republic. Outside Turkey magnificent church edifices have continued to be raised according to Byzantine or modern prototypes, as is the case in the USA and in Europe. The inner decoration of these edifices is in the hands of specialist iconographers (hagiographers).

The celebrations of holy sacraments and other sacred services (*acolouthies*) follow by and large the rubrics of the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople. The divine preaching is cultivated, more or less, by the graduates of Chalkê and of other Theological Schools. Byzantine music still holds the ground in the Phanar and in most places throughout the jurisdiction. Particular care is taken in the Ecumenical Patriarchate for the continuation of this characteristic and great tradition and, therefore, an "Association of lovers of Byzantine music" has been in existence since 1953.

The patriarchal synod has continued to canonize new feasts and saints. Such canonizations include:

a) Under Patriarch Benjamin (1936-1946): the feast of the translation of the holy relics of St. Gregory Bishop of Assos in Lesvos on the 20th of October 1936;

b) Under Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) the following: St. Nicodemus the Hagiorite on the 31st of May 1955; St. Cosmas the Aetolian and St. Nectarios of Pentapolis on the 20th of April 1961; St. Arsenios from Paros on the 20th of June 1967; St. Raphael the abbot, St. Nicholaos the deacon and St. Eirene the virgin martyr from Lesvos,

and St. Pelagia of the sacred Monastery of Kechrovounion in Tenos on the 11th of September 1970;

c) Under Patriarch Demetrios (1972-1991) the following: St Lydia from Philippi on the 2nd of October 1972; St. Anthimos (Kouroukês) the monk from Lexourion of Cephalonia on the 30th of July 1974; the Saints, George, Angeles, Manuel and Nicholaos from Melampi of Rethymne in Crete on the 14th of April 1981; St. Eugenios Hieromonk the New from Aetolia on the 1st of July 1982; St. Nicholas Cabasilas from Thessalonica on the 20th of July 1983; the Saints, Emmanuel, Theodore, George, Michael and another George from Samothrace on the 17th of May 1985; St. John of Carpathos on the 20th of August 1985; St. Panages (Typaldos-Matsias) the priest from Lexourion of Cephalonia on the 4th of February 1986; St. Arsenios the Hieromonk from Farassa of Cappadocia on the 11th of February 1986; St. Silouan the Hagiorite on the 26th of November 1987; St. Maximos the so-called Greek, the Illuminator of the Russians, on the 31st of May 1988; St. Eustathios Archbishop of Thessalonica on the 10th of June 1988; St. Alkison Metropolitan of Nicopolis on the 10th of June 1988; St. Nicholaos the New in Metsovon of Epirus on the 28th of November 1988.

d) Under Patriarch Bartholomaios (1992-) the following: St. Savas the New of Kalymnos, on 6/7 February 1992; St. Christodoulos and St. Anastasia the Martyrs of Achaia, on 14 August 1992; St. Anthimos the Hieromonk of Chios, on 14 August 1992; the 150 Fathers of the Sacred Monastery of Daou Pentelê who were martyred, on 14 August 1992; St. Nicholas Planas of Naxos, on 23 July 1992; St. Makarios Kalogeras the Hierodeacon of Patmos, on 4 March 1994; St. Rostislav, the Great Illuminator of Moravia, on 15 October 1994; St. George the Hieromonk from Neapolis of Asia Minor, on 9 January 1995; St. Athanasios the Hieromonk of Patmos, on 9 January 1996; Osios Xenophon, founder of the Holy Monastery of Xenophontos on the Holy Mountain of Athos, on 24 November 1997; St. Joachim the Monk of Vatopedi from Ithaca, known as "Papoulakês," on 19 March 1998; The four Holy Martyrs Andrianos, Polyektos, Platon and Georgios, on 5 May 1998; The six Holy Martyrs Dorotheos, Sarantês, Iakôvos, Seraphim, Dêmêtrios and Vasileios, on 5 May 1998; The Holy Mothers of our Holy Fathers, Basil the Great, and John Chrysostom, Emmeleia and Anthousa, on 1 December 1998; St. Theophanes, Bishop of Peritheôrion, on 11 April 2000; St. Dionysios the osiomartyr of Vatopedi, on 11 April 2000; St. Hierotheos, Bishop

of Turkey (Hungary), Illuminator of Hungary, on 11 April 2000; St. Stephen I, King of Hungary, on 11 April 2000.

The Patriarchate also sanctioned a religious annual celebration to be observed on the 1st of September for the Protection of the Environment (1st September 1989).

The consecration of the holy Myron (Chrism) occurred in 1928 by Patriarch Basil III, in 1939 by Patriarch Benjamin, in 1951 and 1960 by Patriarch Athenagoras, in 1973 and 1983 by Patriarch Demetrios.

7. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

The task of organized philanthropy within the context of the Turkish Republic continues to be pursued. The various philanthropic institutions are not directly under church rule but under the Orthodox community. Thus, the Baloukles hospitals, with geriatric, psychiatric, and other updated departments, continue their invaluable work. The same must be said about the medical clinics operating within the grounds of some parishes, particularly that of the Holy Trinity of Peran (founded in 1947). As regards the orphanages, that for girls was transferred in 1942 from the Commercial School of Chalkê to the building complex of the Orphanage for boys in the island of Pringepos. In 1964 this building complex was evacuated as deemed dangerously exposed to the hazard of fire. The orphans were housed in the sacred monasteries of Christ the Savior and of St. Nicholas in Pringepos and attended classes at the city school of the community of Pringepos. Other Christian institutions of social concern in the territory of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Turkish Republic include the summer camp of "The working youth of Christ" and "The Paidopolis of Christ," both of which are situated in the island of Prote. In addition to these, there is in operation in each organized church community a "Sisterhood for the poor" (*Philoptôchos Adelphotês*), free meal services and various associations for the youth and the rest of the community.

Such philanthropic community structures also exist in each eparchy of the Ecumenical Throne and in some places there is greater innovation and variety of services.

8. ECCLESIASTICAL-THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

In the sphere of education and within the context of the Turkish Republic the Orthodox population was granted certain rights, which

relate to their communities and not to their ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, there are Orthodox community-schools, which include in their syllabi various Greek classes, along with the compulsory Turkish classes in language, history, geography and history of the Turkish state, sociology and military studies. Each community sustains a primary school. There are six secondary schools (of the type of gymnasium/lyceum), three for boys and three for girls (not all in operation): the Gymnasium/lyceum of the *Sacred School of Chalkê*, the *Great Scholê tou Genous*, the *Zographeion*, the *Joachimion School for girls*, the *Zapeion* and the *Kentrikon Parthenagôgeion*.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate sustains both in the center and in the vast territories of its eparchies various ecclesiastical and theological institutions, which cultivate theological education and assist greatly in the fulfillment of the educational objectives and aspirations of the Great Church.

There are in the first instance ecclesiastical seminaries for the training of clergy under the direct supervision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in various parts of the world, such as the *Athonias Ecclesiastical Academy* in the Holy Mountain of Athos, the *Patmias Ecclesiastical Academy* in the Island of Patmos, the *Ecclesiastical School of Chania* in Crete, the *School of St. Anastasia* in Chalkêdikê which has been discontinued and various others within the eparchies of the New Lands in Greece.

There are in the second instance several Theological Schools at University level, such as that of Chalkê in Constantinople (1844-1971), that of St. Serge in the city of Paris in France (1962-), that of the Holy Cross in the Hellenic College in Brookline (Boston), Massachusetts USA (1937-), that of St. Andrew in the sacred Archdiocese of Australia (23 February 1986). There is also in Thessalonica, the Metropolis of the New Lands, a School of Theology within the Aristotle University of the city.

Three additional educational Institutes were founded under Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972): a) The Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at Chambésy, near Geneva in Switzerland (1966), b) The Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies within the Sacred Monastery of Vlatades in Thessalonica, Greece (1968) and c) the Orthodox Academy at Gonia in Kissamos of Chania, Crete (1968).

There are two Libraries at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Turkey, one at the Phanar, which has been renovated, and the other at Chalkê,

which continues to be maintained and enriched with new acquisitions, books, periodicals, series of monographs, etc. There are additional libraries in the eparchies of the Ecumenical Throne and in the sacred monasteries under its jurisdiction, as well as in the Theological Schools that have been mentioned. Equal significant are the archives of these ecclesiastical and educational centers.

Under Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) the patriarchal press was revived and operated for a number of years (1951-1964). This press was responsible for the periodicals of the Throne and for various reprints and new prints, which exceeded one hundred.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate published two periodicals during this period: 1) *Ὁρθοδοξία*, vols. 1(1926)–38(1963), which was a continuation, as it were, of the earlier periodical *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, vols. 1(1880)–43(1923), and 2) *Ἀπόστολος Ἀνδρέας*, which was a patriarchal weekly news release run under Patriarch Athenagoras during the years 1951-1964. These two periodicals ceased to be printed at the center. Their tradition was taken up by eparchies of the Ecumenical Throne outside Turkey.

The periodicals published in the eparchies of the Ecumenical Patriarchate during this period are as follows:

- Ἀπόστολος Τίτος (Herakleion, Crete)* 1 (1951)ff,
- Ἐκκλησία καὶ Θεολογία (London)* 1(1980)-(),
- Δελτίον (Stockholm)* 1 (1976)ff,
- Ἐνημέρωσις (Geneva)*, 1(1985)-(),
- Ἐπίσκεψις (Geneva)* 1(1970)ff [in Greek and in French],
- Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς (Thessalonica, Greece)* 1 (1917)ff,
- Κληρονομία (Thessalonica)* 1(1969)ff,
- Orthodox Herald (London)* 1(1965)ff,
- Ὁρθόδοξος Μαρτυρία καὶ Σκέψις (Paris)* 1(1976)ff,
- Orthodox Observer (New York)* 1(1934)ff,
- Ὁρθόδοξος Παρουσία (Bonn)* 1(1981)ff,
- Phronêma (Sydney, Australia)* 1(1986)ff,
- SOP (Rome)* 1(1979)ff,
- Στάχυς (Vienna)* 1(1981)ff,
- Synodika (Geneva)* 1(1976)ff,
- Texts and Studies (London)*, 1(1982)-(),
- The Greek Orthodox Theological Review (Brookline, MA USA)* 1(1954)ff,
- Θησαυρίσματα (Venice)* 1(1962)ff.

The pursuit of orthodox theology is in the hands of the patriarchs, the hierarchs of the Throne and several among the clergy, the monks and the laity pursue orthodox theology, apart, of course, from the professors of the aforementioned Theological Schools of Chalkê, St. Sergius, Holy Cross, St. Andrew and the University of Thessalonikê. The characteristics of this theology can be summed up by means of the following concerns or themes: a) identification and projection of the basic orthodox theological principles which lie at the center of the historic heritage of Christian faith; b) delineation of church-state relations from a variety of forms; c) seniorities of honor within the Orthodox catholic tradition; d) recovery of orthodox self-consciousness and doctrine from inauthentic, outside influences; e) attachment to the Holy Tradition and the Fathers of the Church; f) theological appraisal of the conciliar tradition in the Church; g) projection of the traditional orthodox spirituality of the Holy Mountain and of the other monastic centers of the Church; h) pursuit of irenic, as opposed to polemic, theological discourse; i) closer, critical examination of the of theological developments in the West and throughout the world; j) closer evaluation of new ideas and philosophical systems in other religious contexts and in technological developments.

9. INTER-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

a) General comment

The Ecumenical Patriarchate pursued during this period new or continued and enhanced old relations with the other Churches. This is in line with the theological concerns and themes that were mentioned above, but is also due to various old and new factors. Such factors include, a) changes in church-state relations, b) the ecumenical or supra-ethnic and universal character of the patriarchate, c) the new manner of operations in the patriarchate and its eparchies, d) the spirit of consistency and firmness in the line pursued, e) the presence of many well trained and able persons, f) the right to taking initiatives in inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian affairs and issues of the Church of Constantinople as the most senior Throne in the Orthodox family, g) the sense of duty in maintaining Orthodox unity.

b) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ancient Oriental Churches

During the twentieth century relations between the local Ortho-

dox Churches and each one of the ancient Oriental Churches present a notable development. It all began with friendly contacts through personal relations of the faithful of the two Churches, and moved on to exchanges of all kinds of meetings, involving even the top hierarchs of the Churches, publication of official texts that bore the character of common confessions, communiqués or announcements, exchanges of professors and students, and composition of relevant scholarly works by the theologians of the two traditions.

Contacts with the Armenians became cordial and fraternal at the center, and have developed through exchanges of regular visits of the two patriarchs and of other personalities, or through mutual exchanges of church buildings and of other means. The Catholicos of Etsiamzin Vasken I paid an official visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1961, and Emilianos of Meloá (now of Selybria) visited Vasken I at Etsiamtzin on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1962. Further visits of hierarchs of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to this Church followed suit afterwards.

Regular correspondence has been sustained between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Syro-Jacobite Church of South India. Several members of that Church have visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In 1956 the then Bishop of Melita Iakovos (now formerly of North and South America) visited this Church on behalf of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and in 1961 the representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the New Delhi Assembly of the WCC were received at Malambar in India.

In 1959, during his pilgrimage to the Middle East, Patriarch Athenagoras visited the Syro-Jacobite Patriarch Ignatios-Iakovos III in Damascus and the latter returned this visit at Constantinople in 1963. The present Patriarch Mar Ignatios Zaka paid an official visit to the Phanar during the tenure of Patriarch Demetrios. Students from these Syro-Jacobite Churches of India and Syria have been welcomed at the sacred patriarchal Theological School of Chalkê.

Patriarch Athenagoras also visited on the same occasion the Patriarch of the Copts Cyril VI, and in October 1972 Patriarch Cyril VI's successor, Shenuda III, visited the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios – first occurrence of such an event in the history of the two Churches. Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople returned this visit during his journey to the Churches of Alexandria, Sinai and Jerusalem (22 May–6 June 1987).

In 1956 Bishop Iakovos of Melita visited Ethiopia after Malambar. Patriarch Theophilos of Ethiopia visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1971. Many students from the two Churches of Malambar and Ethiopia studied theology at Chalkê.

The inter-Orthodox committee that met on Mount Athos in 1930 specified the nature of the relations from both sides in a spirit of love.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, through its 1951 patriarchal encyclical for the celebration of the 1500th Anniversary of the Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451-1951), spoke with much love about these Churches.

Such positive mutual relations are reflected in the catalogue of the first pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961). On that occasion the official observers of these Churches entered into unofficial conversations with the Orthodox delegates. The same Churches sent representatives to the celebrations of the Millennium of the Holy Mountain (1963) and to the 900th Anniversary celebrations of the Sacred Monastery of Patmos (1988). The third pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1964) turned with much love and honorable attention to these Churches.

Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras' encyclical letter of 9 June 1965 to the Orthodox Churches marked a significant and positive step in the relation of the two families of Churches because it called for the inauguration of an official theological and ecclesiastical dialogue. In this same spirit the fourth pan-Orthodox consultation that met at Chambésy in 1968 decided (no 4) to institute an inter-Orthodox theological committee for the study of the common points of faith and the differences between the two Churches and their future meeting by means of a similar Eastern-Oriental committee.

Ecumenical Movement Conferences from 1920 onwards offered the opportunity to the representatives of the two Churches to meet privately and to collaborate with each other. Four unofficial theological consultations between representatives of the two Churches took place within the context of the World Council of Churches (WCC): a) Aarhus, Denmark (1964), b) Bristol Great Britain (1967), c) Chambésy, Switzerland 1970, and d) Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1966.

On the other hand, in January 1965 the Addis Ababa consultation of the Primates of the ancient Oriental Churches ascribed priority to the relations of the Oriental with the Eastern Orthodox Churches, in

the presence of visitors and delegates from the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and stipulated the appointment of a special committee for mutual relations. This committee met three times: 1) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1971, 2) in Antelias, Lebanon in 1967 and 3) Atsana, Lebanon in 1972.

Meantime, the counterpart committee of the Eastern Orthodox Churches also held plenary meetings twice, first in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1971 and secondly in Chambésy, Switzerland in 1979. The first meeting decided that the preparatory stage of the dialogue with the Orientals had come to an end, that the Orientals should be asked to appoint a theological committee like that of the Eastern Orthodox so that the dialogue may be officially and jointly undertaken and that a three-member committee be commissioned to prepare the theological dialogue. Actually the Orientals responded at the Atsana meeting (1972) by appointing a three-member Oriental committee to deal with the preparation of the dialogue. The three member committees of both Churches met jointly twice, at Penteli in Athens Greece in 1973, and at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia in 1975.

The first plenary meeting of the joint committee for the theological dialogue of the two Churches took place from 10 through 15 September 1985 at Chambésy in Geneva, Switzerland. The meeting evaluated the materials that had been already and unofficially produced as to their usefulness and also discussed matters of procedure. It was determined that the next meeting would study the topic, "Towards a common Christology."

The second plenary meeting of the same kind took place at the sacred Monastery of Abba Bishoi in the Nitrian desert, Egypt, from 20 through 24 June 1989. It dealt with three themes: Christological terminology, a common text and appointment of a joint committee for pastoral issues.

The third meeting took place at Chambésy in September 1990 and produced an "*Agreed Christological Statement*." On that basis it decided to recommend that steps be taken for establishing ecclesiastical union between the two families of Churches.

c) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Roman Catholics

Relations between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople (Orthodoxy) during the twentieth century can be divided into two periods:

a) the period up to the time of Pope John XXIII and Patriarch Athenagoras and b) the period that follows after that time.

During the first period no official relations between the two Churches existed. One could see formal, and sometimes more fervent relations of local representatives of these two Churches, either theologians or simple believers. Sometimes there were conferences that brought together members of these Churches, and even common theological writings and other related statements made their appearance. Theologians of the Church of Constantinople attended classes in Roman Catholic Schools. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, however, was obliged to find ways of combating Roman Catholic proselytism of Orthodox Christians.

In the catalogue of topics of the meeting of the Holy Mountain in 1930, the relations between the two Churches are characterized as relations of resistance and defense.

The twentieth century saw the light of papal encyclicals that were addressed to Orthodox, or others that referred to matters of common interest with the Eastern Christians.

The presence of Orthodoxy (especially of the Ecumenical Patriarchate) in the ecumenical movement, from 1920 onwards, was followed with much attention and was often interpreted by Roman Catholic authors or circles as a witness to the Roman Catholic Church.

The restoration of relations between Roman Catholics and Orthodox and the speedy developments that occurred in this area is a contemporary phenomenon, which has startled many Orthodox on-lookers. It has become customary to see pope John XXIII (1958-1963) and Patriarch Athenagoras (1948-1972) as the starting point of this change, which has not ceased to develop to the present day. The reasons usually adduced for this change include, the concurrence of enlightened church leaders and of others concerned with church relations, or the general tendency of the Western Church towards renewal, or the signs of the times, or the movement of the Holy Spirit.

In 1952 Patriarch Athenagoras of Constantinople made, for the first time in history, an official visit to the headquarters of the papal apostolic legate in Constantinople who also returned the visit in the same official way. Since then similar official visits have been mutually exchanged in Constantinople, in Rome and elsewhere. The climate of relations between the two Churches changed for the better especially after the exchange of messages between John XXIII (Christmas

1958) and Athenagoras (New Year's Day 1959).

Collaboration between the two Churches grew more during the tenure of Paul VI (1963-1978), and regular correspondence was exchanged between them. The meeting of Paul VI with Athenagoras in the Holy Land in January 1964 has gone down as a great historical event. A notable follow up of this historic meeting was the visit to the Phanar (from 2 through 4 April 1965) of Augustine Cardinal Bea, president of the secretariat for unity (and of the pontifical council since 1989). The other notable event in the relations of the two Churches, is the lifting of the anathemas of 1054 "from the memory and the midst of the Church," both in Rome and in the Phanar on the 7th of December 1965. The pinnacle of these developments was the exchange of visits on the highest level, i.e. the visit of Pope Paul VI to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the return visit of Patriarch Athenagoras to Rome in 1967, and also the visit of Pope John Paul II (1978-) to the Phanar in 1979 and the return visit of Patriarch Demetrios to Rome in 1987.

Thus, the custom was established to have annual regular visits from the Phanar to the Vatican on the 29th of June, the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, and from the Vatican to the Phanar on the 30th of November, the Feast of St. Andrew.

We may now turn to the broader relations between the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox Church in general, including, of course, the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

During the proceedings of the Central Committee of the WCC in Rhodes Greece (19-27 August 1959), which was hosted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, an unofficial meeting took place, on the 21st of August, between the Orthodox delegates that were present there, under the presidency of Metropolitan Iakovos of Philadelphia (later of Germany), and certain Roman Catholic clergymen who were there in their capacity as observers or representatives of the press. The Roman Catholic Church had just begun, from pope John XXIII onwards, to change its attitude (from negative to positive) towards the ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches.

The four pan-Orthodox consultations of Rhodes (1961, 1963, 1964) and Geneva (1968) raised the issue of the relations of Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy. This issue appeared in the list of topics of the Agenda of Rhodes I (1961). Rhodes II decided that the Roman

Catholic Church should be invited to participate in a dialogue “on equal terms” and that each one of the Orthodox Churches will be free to send observers to the Roman Catholic Council of Vatican II (1962-1965), or to refuse to do so. Rhodes III repeated the same proposal, which was finally executed through a visit to Rome of a special patriarchal delegation consisting of Metropolitan Meliton of Elioupolis and Theirai (later of Chalcedon) and Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra (14-15 February 1965). Consultation IV of Geneva (1968) spoke about the dialogue of love and of the necessity of preparation.

The Patriarchate began to send official observers to the Vatican II Council (1962-1965) from its third session (1964). It must be said that this Council was particularly important for Roman Catholic and Orthodox relations. Among others, this Council set up the Secretariat (Pontifical Council since 1989) for the promotion of Christian unity (1960/1965) which is the coordinating institution on matters of unity.

All these developments led to the inauguration of an official theological dialogue between Roman Catholics and Orthodox. It all began with an Encyclical Letter of Patriarch Demetrios, dated 4 November 1974, to the leading Hierarchs of the Orthodox Churches, which proposed the institution of a special inter-Orthodox technical theological committee that would undertake the task of the dialogue. In December 1975 the Ecumenical Patriarchate announced to the Church of Rome through Metropolitan Meliton the formation of an inter-Orthodox technical committee for the preparation of the theological dialogue with Rome. In response to this the Pope appointed a Roman Catholic committee (1976) to serve in this task.

The arrival date of Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon to Rome happened to be the 10th anniversary of the lifting of the anathemas between the two Churches (1965-1975). On this occasion a ceremony was observed both in capella Sistina in Rome and also in the Phanar on Sunday the 14th of December. At the ceremony in Rome the pope welcomed the patriarchal exarch, Metropolitan Meliton, by going on his knees and kissing his feet – an unprecedented act which was indicative of the new attitude of the old Rome to the new Rome!

The first pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference (1976) that met in Geneva decided to activate the inter-Orthodox technical committee that had been already appointed for the dialogue. This committee met at Chambésy (near Geneva), in July 1977, in November 1977 and in June 1978. Meanwhile, the relevant Roman Catholic commit-

tee also met in Rome in October 1976 and in May 1978. The joined coordinating group that was formed out of the two committees met in Rome from the 29th of May through the 1st of June 1978 to examine the decisions reached by the two committees and concluded with the submission of a plan for the inauguration of the dialogue.

The first joined committee meeting for the dialogue between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Church met at Patmos in Rhodes from the 29th of May through the 4th of June 1980, thus inaugurating the official dialogue between the two Churches. The president of the Orthodox Committee was and continues to be Archbishop Stylianos of Australia. The topic for discussion was, "*The Mystery of the Church and the Eucharist in light of the mystery of the Holy Trinity.*"

The second joined committee meeting met at Munich in Germany from 30 June through 6 July 1982 and examined the topic that had been previously determined for it, and decided that the topic for the third meeting of the joined committee would be, "*Faith, Sacraments and Unity.*"

The third meeting of the joined committee took place at Ghonia of Chania in Crete, Greece, from 30 May through 8 June 1984. The topic of the discussion was the one that had been predetermined: "*Faith and Communion in the Sacraments.*" The Sacraments of initiation and their relation to the unity of the Church, led to the next topic, "*The sacrament of ordination in the context of the sacramental structure of the Church and especially the importance of the apostolic succession for the sanctification and the unity of the people of God.*"

The fourth meeting was at Bari in Italy, from 29 May through June 1986. The committee continued the study of the topic of "Sacraments, and Unity," and discussed the topic of "The sacrament of the priesthood in the sacramental structure of the Church." Other topics discussed on that occasion were those of "Proselytism" and "Uniatism."

The fifth meeting was at the sacred Monastery of Valamo in Finland from 19 through 27 June 1988. On this occasion a common text was issued on "*The Sacrament of Priesthood in the Sacramental Structure of the Church.*" The next topic agreed for discussion was that of "Ecclesiastical and canonical consequences of the sacramental structure of the Eucharist." At the same time a sub-committee was appointed to examine "Uniatism." They met in Freising in 1990, for

their 6th session, and rejected Uniatism as an unacceptable “model for union,” and denounced its illicit proselytism and other activities. Meanwhile June 1990 marked the Pan-Orthodox decision to interrupt temporarily the Dialogue with the Vatican until the resurfaced problem of Uniatism was satisfactorily dissolved. In November 1991 the newly elected Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew warned boldly in his Salutation Address to the Roman Legates at the thronic feast of the See of Constantinople (St. Andrew’s) that the Bilateral Dialogue between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism run the risk of being totally abandoned. On 15 March 1992, the Sunday of Orthodoxy, an unprecedented *Synaxis* of the Orthodox Patriarchs and the Heads of the Autocephalous Orthodox Churches took place in Constantinople and issued a momentous *Message* which denounced Roman Catholic Uniatism and Protestant Proselytism in the new (post-Communist) Eastern Europe. In 1993, the 7th Meeting of the Joint Commission of the Dialogue took place at Balamand (Lebanon), but the Balamand Statement was unclear and did not settle the crisis, which has continued unabated to this day. The latest meeting of the Joint International Commission, held at Mount Saint Mary’s College and Seminary in Emmitsburg, Maryland USA during July 9 through 19, 2000, did not deliver any Common Statement of rapprochement of these Churches.

Theological dialogues were also conducted on a narrower level between local Roman Catholic and Orthodox (Ecumenical Patriarchate representatives) committees in the USA, Germany, France, Switzerland, and elsewhere.

Collaboration in the sphere of theological study was expressed in various ways, especially in joined authorship and publications, exchanges of students, joined committees or associations, and institutes of either joined character or unilateral, stemming from one of the Churches, as well as conferences, symposia, meetings and consultations, and cooperation on the practical level.

An act of good will is the return of sacred relics on the part of the Roman Catholic Church to Eastern Churches to whom these relics originally belonged. These include the relics of St. Andrew to Patras (1964), of St. Savva to Jerusalem (1965), of St. Titus to Crete (1966), of St. Isidore to Chios (1967), of St. Nicholas (in part) to the sacred Archdiocese of America (1972), of St. Cyril (in part), the illuminator of the Slavs to Constantinople and Thessalonica (1974) and of St. Demetrios to Thessalonica (1980).

d) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Old Catholics

During the Lausanne 1st Assembly of the World Council of Churches (1927) the Orthodox delegation, under the chairmanship of Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira, held a meeting with the Old Catholic delegation. The Old Catholics briefly explained their doctrine concerning the church, the priesthood, the creeds, the sacraments and the honor paid to the icons. Furthermore they confirmed that they had already removed the *Filioque* clause from the creed. Thus, a decision was made to form a joined doctrinal committee from the two Churches to continue this dialogue.

The inter-Orthodox conference of the Holy Mountain (1930) described the relations of the Orthodox Church with the Old Catholic Church as relations in a spirit of love.

The joined doctrinal committee with representatives of the two Churches that had been formed in Lausanne was constituted and met its first meeting through the initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Bonn of Germany on 27-28 October 1931. The topics that were discussed were: Doctrinal standards of the Old Catholic Church, creeds, Holy Tradition, the canon of Holy Scripture, the canons, the marriage of the clergy, customs and legislations, the meaning of the term church, sacraments, eschatology, veneration of sacred icons, sacred relics, fasting and apostolic succession.

A matter of special concern to the Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in particular was certainly the sacramental communion that had been agreed between Old Catholics and Anglicans in 1931.

In the list of topics that were discussed at the first pan-Orthodox conference in Rhodes (1961) the issue of the relation between the two Churches was presented in a positive way. The third pan-Orthodox conference in Rhodes (1964) decided to proceed immediately to the formation of an inter-Orthodox theological committee and to the commencement of discussions with a similar counterpart committee from the Old Catholic Church. The inter-Orthodox committee met three times, in Belgrade (1-15 September 1966), in Chambésy of Geneva (16-24 October 1970) and in Bonn (22-30 June 1971). The Old Catholic (Union of Utrecht) counterpart committee met twice, in Bonn (19-20 April 1971) and in Lucerne of Switzerland (1974).

The joined stirring theological committee of Orthodox and Old Catholics met for the first time in Penteli of Athens, Greece (5-14 July 1973) and subsequently in Lucerne (1974) where it declared that the preparatory stage of the theological dialogue between the two Churches had reached its completion. After that, the work of the joined theological committee of the two Churches made steady progress. They held seven meetings, the 1st and the 2nd at Chambésy during 20-28 August 1975 and 20-23 August 1977 respectively), the 3rd in Bonn during 24-28 August 1979, the 4th at Zagorsk in Moscow during 15-22 September 1981, the 5th at Chambésy during 3-10 October 1983, the 6th at Amersfoort in Holland during 30 September – 5 October 1985, and the 7th, which declared the conclusion of the dialogue, at Cavalla in Greece during 12-19 October 1987. The Orthodox co-chairmen of this joined theological committee were Metropolitan Irenaeos of Germany and Metropolitan Damaskênos of Switzerland. The momentum for the dialogue was preserved through mutual declarations, correspondence, visitations, regional theological meetings, scholarships, and composition of relevant literature.

e) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Anglicans

The first Metropolitan of Thyateira Germanos Streinopoulos (1922-1951), being both an ecclesiastical diplomat and theologian, achieved much in the sphere of relations between Orthodox and Anglicans. The same hierarch represented the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Anglican celebrations in London of the 1600th anniversary of the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (325-1925).

From 1930 onwards relations between the two Churches bear the seal of the joined theological discussions pursued in 1930/1931, although they go through various phases due to different historical circumstances. This has meant cordial and fraternal contacts, as well as mutual efforts towards understanding one another.

The inter-Orthodox committee that met on the Holy Mountain of Athos in 1930 spoke of Anglican/Orthodox relations as “*relations in a spirit of love.*”

Ecumenical Patriarch Photios II sent Orthodox representatives to the 7th Lambeth Conference (1930) under the leadership of Metropolitan Germanos. This delegations contacted serious theological discussions with the Anglicans, as a result of which the Ecumenical

Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a mixed Anglican-Orthodox doctrine commission to carry on the dialogue. This commission that met at Lambeth during 15-20 October 1931 and whose Orthodox co-chairman was Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira, ascertained that there were both points of agreement and disagreement between the two Churches.

These contacts were continued and progress on certain points was achieved at two further consultations, one between Anglicans and Romanian Orthodox (Bucharest 1935) and another between Anglicans and Russian Orthodox (Moscow 1956).

In 1939 the Archbishop of Canterbury Cosmo Gordon Lang visited the Ecumenical Patriarchate and was welcomed by Ecumenical Patriarch Benjamin, thus establishing a first contact of this type between the two Churches. From then on Orthodox representatives from the Ecumenical Patriarchate attended all Lambeth Conferences. Lambeth VIII (1948) was attended by Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira and Archimandrite Emilianos Timiadis (now Metropolitan of Selybria), Lambeth IX (1958), by Metropolitan Athenagoras (Cavadas) of Thyateira and the Bishop of Melita Iakovos (now former-Archbishop of the Americas, North and South), Lambeth X (1968) and XI (1978), by Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis) of Thyateira, Lambeth XII (1988) by Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Metropolitan John of Pergamos.

Notable visitors to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople were: the archbishops of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher (1960), Michael Ramsey (1962) and Robert Rancy (1982). Their visits were reciprocated by visits to London of the Ecumenical Patriarchs, Athenagoras I (1967) and Demetrios I (1987). At the visit of Archbishop Michael Ramsey to the Phanar (1962) the subject of re-constituting a joined Anglican-Orthodox doctrine commission was duly discussed.

Anglican-Orthodox relations were also discussed in pan-Orthodox consultations. At the 1st pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1961) the subject was given a positive response. The 3rd pan-Orthodox consultation of Rhodes (1964) decided positively on the re-constitution of the mixed Anglican-Orthodox doctrine commission. The decision was communicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a patriarchal delegation, consisting of Metropolitan Meliton of Elioupolis and Theirai (later Metropolitan of Chalcedon), Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra and Archbishop of Thyateira and Gt. Britain

Athenagoras Kokkinakis, which visited London (17-20 February 1965). The 4th pan-Orthodox consultation of Chambésy (1968) and the 1st pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy (1976) took further positive decisions on the subject.

The inter-Orthodox theological committee for the preparation of this dialogue met on four occasions, at Belgrade during 1-15 October 1966, at Chambésy in Geneva during 1-7 October 1970, at Helsinki in Finland during 7-11 July 1971, and at Chambésy during 7-11 September 1972. The Anglican counterpart committee met twice in its full constitution, in Jerusalem during 15-19 September 1969, and at Heyworth Heath in England during 26-30 July 1971.

The 4th inter-Orthodox theological committee that met at Chambésy in 1972 declared the closure of its preparatory work, and thus made possible the immediate summoning of the mixed Anglican-Orthodox sub-committee, during 11-14 September 1972, which had the task of determining the procedure to be subsequently followed.

The 1st meetings of the mixed Anglican-Orthodox theological commission were held at Oxford in England during 6-13 July 1973 and determined the topics to be discussed and the subcommittees, which were assigned the elaboration of these topics.

The 2nd round of meetings of the full commission was held at Moscow in the USSR, during 26 July – 2 August 1976. On this occasion an agreed text was issued and the Anglican members of the commission agreed that the *Filioque* addition to the Creed should be removed.

A 3rd round of talks of the mixed commission were held at Cambridge in England during 25 July – 1 August 1977. A 4th session was held at Athens, Greece, during 13-14 July 1978 and dealt mainly with the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood, which was going to be on the agenda from then on.

The 5th session was at Llandaff in Wales during 14-21 July 1980, the 6th at Chambésy in Switzerland during 20-27 July 1981 and the 7th at Christ Church College Canterbury in England during 12-19 July 1982, the 8th at Odessa in the USSR during 13-19 September 1983 and the 9th at Dublin in Ireland during 13-20 August 1984 where an Agreed Statement was issued with three sections.

The Orthodox-Anglican dialogue retained a positive character in spite of difficulties under the guidance of all three of its Orthodox co-chairmen, Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis) of Thyateira and

Gt. Britain, Archbishop Methodios (Fouyas) of Thyateira and Gt. Britain and Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamos.

It should also be noted here that a regional Orthodox-Anglican dialogue was sustained for some time in the USA along with other similar regional dialogues with Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Reformed, Southern Baptists and others.

f) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Protestants (Lutheran and Reformed)

The inter-Orthodox correspondence that was exchanged under Ecumenical Patriarch Joachim III at the beginning of the 20th century (1902-1904) also referred to the issue of Orthodox-Protestant relations and to the proselytism that had been pursued by Protestants amongst Orthodox. The Orthodox brought this particular issue of proselytism to the forefront of discussions that were held in the context of the ecumenical movement from 1920 onwards. The ecumenical movement created a new atmosphere of understanding and cooperation between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Protestants and this led to the formation of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, which brought the two together, especially at Athens in Greece (1959) and at Montreal in Canada (1963).

Relations between these Churches were cultivated on the practical level through aid and support offered by the Evangelical Church of Germany to the Orthodox of Germany and to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and through the regional communications of the eparchies of the Ecumenical Throne with the local Lutheran Churches. Among these Churches of the Lutheran Confession, the first to establish closer relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate was the Church of Sweden. It all began under the Lutheran Archbishop of Uppsala Nathan Sönderbom (1914-1931) and continued under Archbishop Gunnar Hultgren (of Uppsala), who paid a visit to the Ecumenical Patriarchate during 4-8 February 1963 – an event that took place for the first time in history.

Eight sessions of theological discussions between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Evangelical Church of Germany were held during the twentieth century. The 1st session took place at the Phanar in Istanbul during 16-19 March 1969 and comprised introductory papers from the Evangelical side on the themes, dialogue of faith and

love, and Pneumatology. The 2nd session was at Arnoldstein in Germany during 4-8 October 1973 and dealt with the topic of Soteriology. The 3rd was at Chambésy in Switzerland during 2-5 October 1973 and dealt with the topic of anthropology. The 4th was at the Freidebald Academy near Bonn during 6-10 October 1975 and dealt with the theme of the Eucharist. The 5th was at the Sacred Metropolis of Germany in Bonn during 20-25 February 1978 and dealt with the topic "*Eucharist and Priesthood.*" The 6th met at Stapelage in Germany during 2-7 October 1981 and discussed the topic "*Gospel and Church.*" The 7th met at Cavalla in Greece during 3-11 October 1984 and discussed the theme "*Gospel and Divine Eucharist.*" The 8th met at Hovenbart in Pforzheim of Germany from 28 September through 7 October 1987 and discussed the topic "*the operation of the Holy Spirit in the experience of the Church.*" The 9th was held at the Academy of Crete in Chania, Greece, from 26 May through 4 June 1990 and dealt with the topic "*Life by the power of the Holy Spirit.*" The Orthodox co-chairman of these discussions was Metropolitan Augustinos of Germany.

The autonomous Orthodox Church of Finland, which is under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, has been in dialogue with the Lutheran Church of Finland officially since May 1989. The dialogue of Orthodox and Lutherans in the USA began in 1967 and continues to operate to this day.

The topic of relations between Orthodoxy and Lutheranism (Protestantism) was first mentioned at the Conference of the Holy Mountain (1930) and was characterized as a matter of self-guarding or defense. It was included in the agenda of the 1st pan-Orthodox consultation in Rhodes (1961) and was discussed again at the 4th pan-Orthodox consultation in Chambésy, Geneva (1968). The 1st pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference that met at Chambésy during 21-28 November 1976 decided to set up an inter-Orthodox committee for the preparation from the Orthodox side of the official theological dialogue with the Lutherans. Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon, together with Metropolitan Damaskenos of Switzerland, visited the General Secretary of the World Lutheran Federation (founded in 1923/1947) Dr. Mau at his headquarters in Geneva and announced to him the pan-Orthodox decision. This was an important event in the development of the dialogue between Orthodoxy and Lutheranism, but it presupposed earlier mutual visits of representatives of the World

Lutheran Federation and the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Phanar and to Geneva respectively (24-27 March 1967 and 4-8 May 1974). The inter-Orthodox preparatory committee met three times, at Sygtuna of Sweden during 4-9 November 1978, Hanover of Germany during 16-26 September 1979, and Island during 6-13 September 1980. The Lutheran counterpart committee met at Chambésy during 30 April – 4 May 1978, and at the Orthodox Academy of Crete, near Chania, during 4-10 March 1980.

The 1st joined meeting of Orthodox and Lutherans that marked the beginning of the official theological dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Lutheran Federation, took place at Espor in Finland during 27 August – 4 September 1981. The theme of the meeting was, “*Participation in the mystery of the Church.*” A sub-committee met in the following year in Athens during 27 March – 2 April to probe deeper into the topic “*What is Church (?)*.” The 2nd joined meeting took place at Limasol in Cyprus during 23-29 May 1983 and the 3rd at Allentown Pa in the USA during 24-30 May 1985 and issued a common statement on “*Divine Revelation.*” The 4th joined meeting was at the Orthodox Academy of Crete in Chania during 28 May – 2 June 1987 and discussed the topic “*Scripture and Tradition.*” The 5th met at Bad Segeberg in Germany during 1-8 September 1989 and discussed the topic “*The Canon and inspiration of Holy Scripture.*” The 6th joined meeting was held at in 1991. The Orthodox co-chairman of this dialogue was Metropolitan Emilianos of Selybria.

g) Dialogue with The World Alliance of Reformed Churches

The topic of relations between Orthodoxy and the Protestants, which was brought up at the Holy Mountain Conference (1930) and at the 1st Pan-Orthodox Consultation in Rhodes (1961), included the Reformed Churches. The Reformed Churches have held discussions with the Orthodox at various times, as for example in the USA with SCOBA (Standing Conference of Orthodox Bishops in the Americas), or in France and Switzerland.

The commencement of an official dialogue was requested by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) from the Ecumenical Patriarchate through the then permanent representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Geneva Metropolitan Emilianos of

Selybria. The next step was the visit of Dr. Thomas Torrance, Professor of the University of Edinburgh and Moderator of the Reformed Church of Scotland, to the Phanar (8 March 1977) – the first visit of its kind in the history of the two Churches. On this occasion Dr. Torrance handed over a letter from the WARC, dated 18 February 1977, to Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios of Constantinople, through which an official proposal was made for the commencement of a theological dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the above-mentioned Alliance.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate responded positively to this request and a round of preliminary discussions began under the chairmanship of Metropolitan Chrysostom of Myra between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Alliance. The first meeting was held at the Phanar in 1979 and its character was preliminary. Two further meetings were held in Geneva (1981, 1983) and dealt respectively with the topics, “*Authority in the Church*” and “*The Holy Trinity*.” After these preliminary meetings the Ecumenical Patriarchate decided to broaden the dialogue to a pan-Orthodox level and took the necessary steps to bring this about. The inter-Orthodox preparatory committee for this dialogue, and the mixed committee, met at Chambésy in Switzerland during 2-6 March 1986 and decided to invite the Orthodox Churches to send representatives for the official commencement of this dialogue.

The first official meeting of the mixed theological committee met at Leunberg in Switzerland during 7-11 March 1988 and dealt with the following topics: a) Church description of Orthodox and Reformed families, b) Evaluation of the local dialogues held hitherto between Orthodox and Reformed, and c) Contributions to the theme: The Dogma of the Holy Trinity on the basis of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. The last topic led to the decision to pursue the dialogue on the basis of the Nice-Constantinopolitan Creed. Accordingly meetings followed on a regular two year basis: in 1990 in Minsk, in 1991 in Geneva, in 1992 in Kappel Am Albis (near Zürich), in 1994 in Limassol, Cyprus, in 1996 in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1998 in Zakynthos, Greece, and in 2000 in Pittsburgh, USA. The results of these discussions have been Agreed Statements on the Trinity (1991), on Christology (1994), on the Church as the Body of Christ (1998). The Dialogue is continued with discussions on Baptism and the initiation sacraments.

h) The Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Ecumenical Movement

The Ecumenical Patriarchate participated in the ecumenical movement in a number of ways. An important device was the issuing of encyclicals on certain occasions, which promoted policy on this matter. We have already mentioned the correspondence of Patriarch Joachim III (1902-1904). Patriarch Joachim's first encyclical (1902) referred to, i) the relations of the Orthodox Churches among themselves, ii) the relations of the Orthodox with Roman Catholics and Protestants, and iii) the problem of the calendar. The local Orthodox Churches responded positively and made special reference to the Old Catholics and the Anglicans. The patriarchal response (1904), which was written as a follow up to the responses of the Churches to the first encyclical, specified further the broad policy lines of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on this matter and as such it was of particular importance.

The second encyclical to all the Churches of Christ (1920) of Dorotheos of Bursa, *locum tenens* of the Ecumenical Patriarchal throne, constitutes a sort of constitutional charter concerning the Orthodox stance to the ecumenical movement. This encyclical was worked out by the professors of the sacred theological school of Chalkê, and comprises the presuppositions for the desired cooperation and the plan for its implementation. The importance of this encyclical lies in the fact that it was sent out to all Christian Churches before the ecumenical movement went under way, and actually represents an important initiative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate which was taken up and came to fruition in a number of ways in the development of the ecumenical movement.

A third encyclical was issued by Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras in 1952. There are two parts to it, the first one elaborating on the necessity of cooperation and the second one indicating the way forward. This encyclical specified in an official way the stance of the Church of Constantinople and of Orthodoxy in general towards the World Council of Churches (1948ff).

On the 25th anniversary from the founding of the WCC (1948-1973) the Ecumenical Patriarchate sent its 4th encyclical (*Fourth Diangelma-Declaration*), signed by Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios (1973). This text expressed deep appreciation for the work of the Council and especially for the persons who worked in it with dedica-

tion for all these years. It included, however, certain points of critique and reappraisal concerning the place, the purpose and the pursuits of the Council in the common journey of the Churches towards unity. This patriarchal encyclical was regarded as most significant and met with wide publicity by being translated into various languages.

The 5th encyclical (*Mênyma-Message*) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the WCC (1948-1988) constitutes the natural continuation of the previous one (the *Diangelma-Declaration* of 1973). In this encyclical (1988) Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios referred again to the importance of the work of the Council, but also to the need to harmonize the vertical with the horizontal dimensions of the multifaceted activity of the Council in the context of the common Christian witness to the world. The *Message* of this encyclical also interpreted the pan-Orthodox conviction, which had been expressed during the third pan-Orthodox consultation (Geneva, November 1986), that the Orthodox Church, being conscious of the fact that she constitutes the agent of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and bears witness to Her faith and tradition, occupies a central place in the ecumenical movement. Looking ahead towards the future of the Council and the dialogue, which is carried out in the context of the Faith and Order Commission, this encyclical underlines that every union of Churches should be based on the common faith and confession of the ancient undivided Church. This *Message* constitutes one more indication of the ecumenical care of the Church of Constantinople and of her firm resolve to promote Christian unity.

Other factors exerting various influences on the relations of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the ecumenical movement are those mentioned above in connection with the bilateral theological dialogues and with the various inter-Church movements. The history of cooperation in this area is full of significant developments.

It was early on in the twentieth century when the Ecumenical Patriarchate began to be involved in one of these areas, the area of the Christian youth movement. The occasion was the international conference of the world Christian student federation that took place in Istanbul in 1911. Patriarch Joachim III of Constantinople gave his blessing to this event and sent the then Dean of the Theological School of Chalkê, Germanos Strenopoulos (later Metropolitan of Seleucia and subsequently of Thyateira), to address the conference. The Patri-

archate continued its cooperation in the area of the Christian youth movement within the context of the WCC. This led to the formation of the Orthodox youth organization *Syndesmos* (1953) which has been supported by the Ecumenical Patriarchate ever since.

Another area of activity that became a factor in the advancement of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's involvement in the ecumenical movement was that of publications. Apart from the contribution of the patriarchal press (-1923, and 1951-1964), there have been significant contributions by the publications of the sacred Archdioceses of America, Thyateira, and the rest of the new Metropolises founded by the Patriarchate in the course of the twentieth century, and also of the Patriarchal Institutes that have been established in various parts of the world.

In the area of confessional or ecclesiastical unions, the Ecumenical Patriarchate contributed by taking various initiatives in calling within its territories pan-Orthodox and other conferences, which dealt with the issues of inter-Christian relations and generally the ecumenical movement. We have already mentioned the pan-Orthodox conference of the Holy Mountain (1930), the three of Rhodes (1st 1961, 2nd 1963, 3rd 1964), the 4th of Chambésy (1968) and those that have been preparing the way for the Holy and Great Synod of Orthodoxy.

The agenda of the 1st conference of Rhodes (1961) included the articulation of the topic of the ecumenical movement in a positive way. This was reaffirmed by the 4th conference (1968), which followed after the entry of all the Orthodox Churches into the WCC. The 1st pro-synodal pan-Orthodox conference of Chambésy (1976) expressed the same line of thought supporting the contribution of the Orthodox Church to the efforts of the ecumenical movement (the WCC). The same positive tone was echoed in the decisions of the two Geneva conferences of 1986, i.e. a) that of the 2nd (15-23 February 1986) and b) that of the 3rd inter-Orthodox preparatory committee for the...Synod (28 Oct – 6 Nov 1986).

A new pattern of inter-Orthodox cooperation vis-à-vis and within the WCC was the inter-Orthodox preparatory consultations for the 5th General Assembly of the Council (Nairobi, Kenya 1975). These consultations were summoned through the cooperation of the Orthodox offices in the Council along with the Orthodox working group in the WCC, in Geneva and in the local Orthodox Churches. This pattern has been followed to this day.

As regards the position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and of the entire Orthodox Church on organizational unions of Churches or confessions one needs to consider those bilateral dialogues that have been mentioned above which have concluded with such recommendations, e.g. the dialogue with the Old Catholics and the dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Such recommendations suggest that this matter is under development.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate, either by itself, or through its eparchies or dioceses in the various parts of the world, has participated in local councils of Churches, in Europe since 1959 (CEC), as well as in Czechoslovakia (now Czech and Slovak Republics), Finland, Great Britain, the USA, Canada, Australia, etc.

In the same manner the Ecumenical Patriarchate has been involved in all similar kinds of ecumenical activity: study circles of ecumenical issues, study travels, aid, attendance of religious services of other Churches, information media, church music events, special occasions of common prayer, literary activities, etc.

The contribution of members of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the sphere of literature relating to the ecumenical movement is not small. There are original compositions or studies, translations of official texts and reviews. Apart from the various Orthodox ecclesiastical and theological periodicals, which incorporate relevant materials, there are journals that carry a specifically ecumenical character, as for example the *Monthly Bulletin of the Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the WCC* in Geneva (1956-1962), or the *Bulletin of Current Ecumenical Events Enêmerôsis (=Information)* that has been published by the Permanent Delegation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the WCC in Geneva (1985ff).

As regards missions, we have already mentioned the contacts of the Ecumenical Patriarchate with respect to this matter in the chapter on missions.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate has participated in the activities of the "World Association for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Churches" since 1920. It sent Metropolitan Germanos of Seleucia to the Conference of Baetemberg, who was elected to the central committee and organized a similar local council in the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which has continued this particular activity.

By issuing the encyclical of 1920 and engaging in the activities that followed thereafter, the Ecumenical Patriarchate pursued a pio-

neering line in the ecumenical movement, and came to be regarded as one of the Churches that founded this movement. Cooperation in this area has been continuous and consistent from the beginning, as well as modest and appropriately restraint. This is quite extraordinary if one considers the political and other historical changes that took place and the obstacles that emerged on the way. This cooperation has been full and unwavering on matters relating to the organizations of "Life and Work" and the "Association for International Friendship," but restrained through the promotion of particular terms in the movement of "Faith and Order."

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was represented at the two world conferences of "Life and Work" that were summoned in Stockholm (1925) and in Oxford (1937) by Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira, chairman of the Orthodox delegation and vice-chairman of the executive committee, and also by Archimandrite Michael Constantinides (later Archbishop of America) and the Russians from Paris, Metropolitan Eulogij and professors Serge Bulgakov, Leon Zander and George Florovsky.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate was also represented at the preparatory conference of "Faith and Order" that met in Geneva in 1920, by Metropolitan Germanos of Seleucia (later Metropolitan of Thyateira), chairman of the Orthodox delegation (from then on and until his death in 1951 – and of the head of the patriarchal delegation thereafter) and archimandrite Constantine Valiades. Germanos of Seleucia was elected member of the continuation committee and one of the four official vice-presidents. The patriarchal delegations at the two pan-Christian conferences of "Faith and Order" were as follows: at Lausanne (1927), Germanos of Thyateira, and the Archimandrites Michael Constantinides (later Archbishop of America), Theologos Paraskevaides, and Constantine Valiades; and at Edinburgh (1937), the same Metropolitan and the Archimandrites Michael Constantinides and Athenagoras Kavadas (later of Archbishop of Thyateira), together with the Russians, Metropolitan Eulogij and the professors Serge Bulgakov, George Florovsky, Cassian Bezombrazov (of Katania) and Leon Zander. The Ecumenical Patriarchate was also represented at the two subsequent international conferences of "Faith and Order," within the WCC, i.e. those of Lund (1952) and Montreal (1963).

The Church of Constantinople is one of the three Orthodox

Churches (apart from those of Cyprus and Greece), which participated in the WCC from the beginning. She was represented at the six General Assemblies of the Council: Amsterdam (1948), Evanston (1954), New Delhi (1961), Uppsala (1968), Nairobi (1975), Vancouver (1983), and in the various Commissions and activities of this Council.

Since the foundation of the WCC (1948-) one of the presidents of the Council was a hierarch of the Ecumenical Throne: Germanos of Thyateira (1938/1948-1951), Athenagoras Kavadas of Thyateira (1951-1954), Michael of America (1954-1958), Iakovos of America (1959-1968). Hierarchs of the Patriarchate also served as Vice-presidents of the Executive Committee and the Central Committee, Meliton of Chalcedon (1954-1958) and Chrysostom of Myra and now of Ephesus (1983ff). Various members of the Patriarchal delegations have also served at the secretariat and other services of the Council in Geneva. In this connection the following historic events should be also mentioned:

a) The establishment of an office of permanent representation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the center of the Council in Geneva under the directorship of: 1) Iakovos of Melita (later of America) 1955-1959, Emilianos of Calabria (later of Selybria) 1954-1958 and Grand Protopresbyter George Tssetsis (1985-).

b) The assistance of the Council to the Great Church of Christ at the 6-7 September 1955 riots, through the visitation of an official delegation of brotherly solidarity, consisting of representatives of member-Churches of the Council (7-14 November 1955).

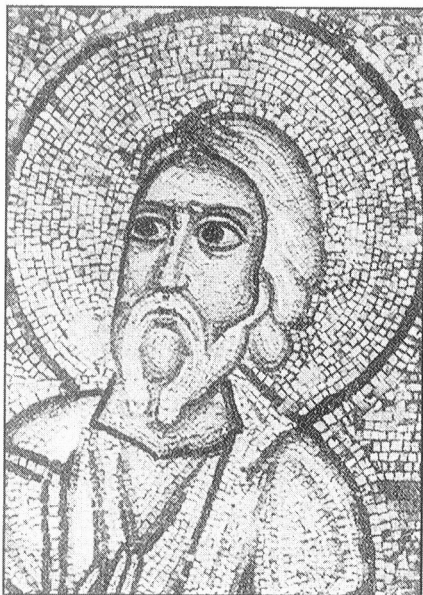
c) The summoning of meetings of the central committee of the WCC in territories of the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Rhodes 1959, and Crete 1967). Other bodies of the Council also met at different times in patriarchal territories, as, for example, the executive committee of the Council that met in Istanbul in 1987.



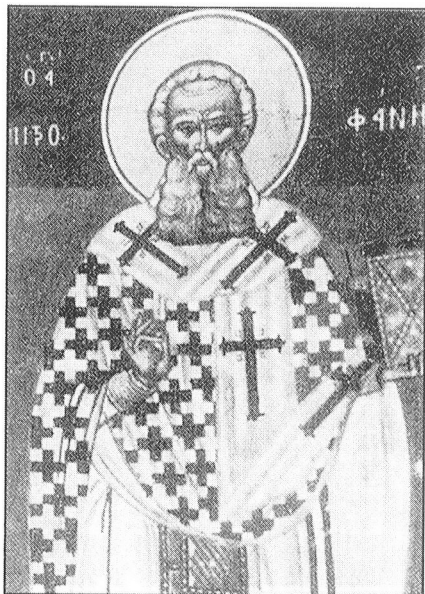
The Synaxis of the Holy Patriarchs of Constantinople
From Prof. Stavrides' book *The Archbishops
and Patriarchs of Constantinople*, Athens 2000.

The patriarchal portraits given in the following pages
are taken from the same volume.

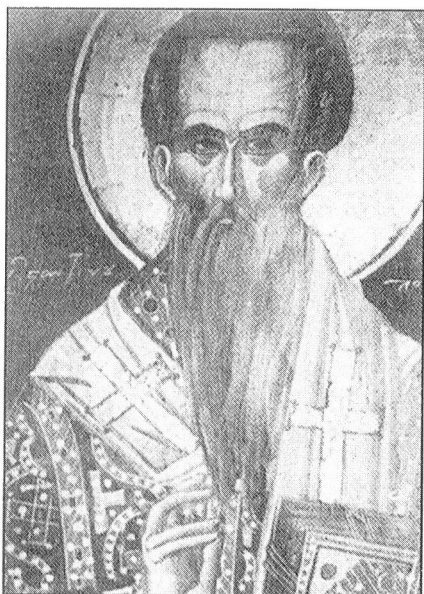
PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE



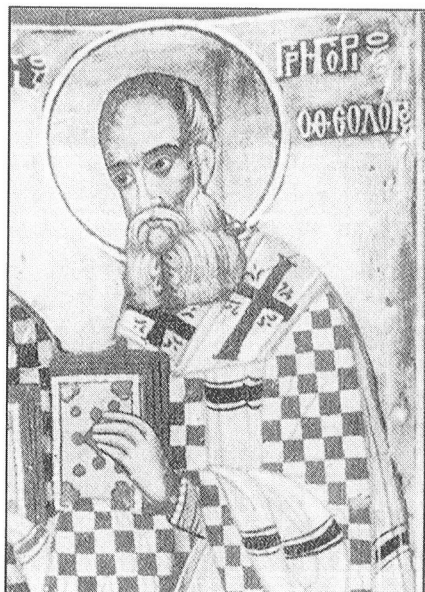
Andrew the Apostle



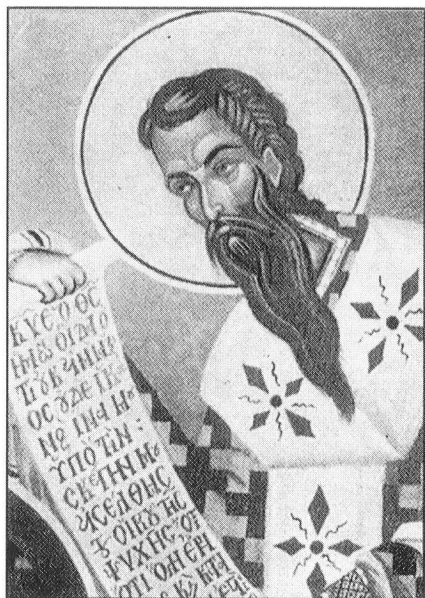
Metrophanes (315-325)



Paul (340-350)



Gregory the Theologian
(379-381)



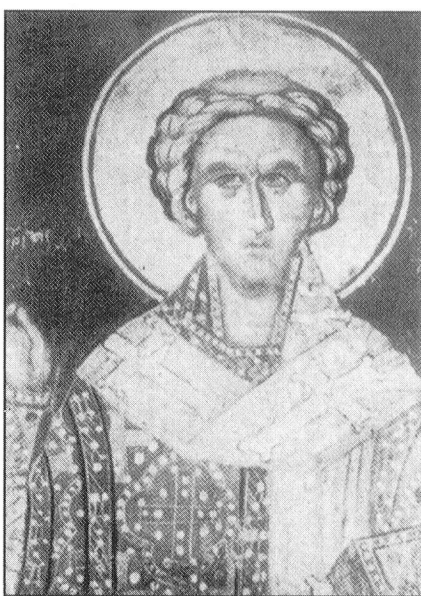
Nectarios (381-397)



John Chrysostom (398-404)



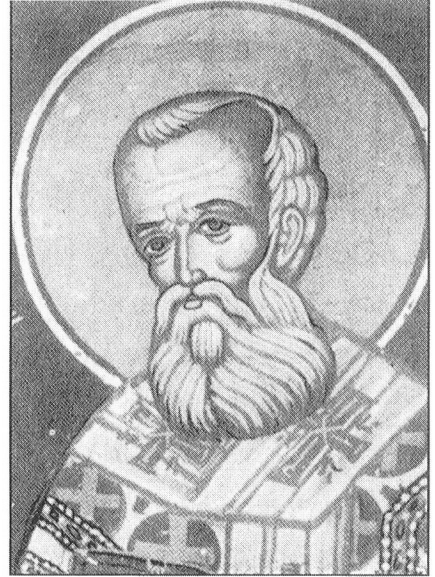
John IV (582-595)



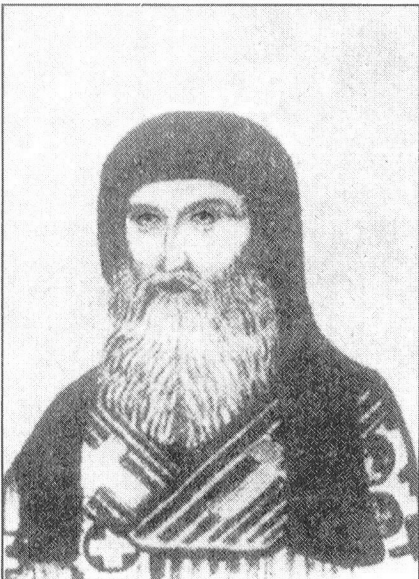
Germanos (715-730)



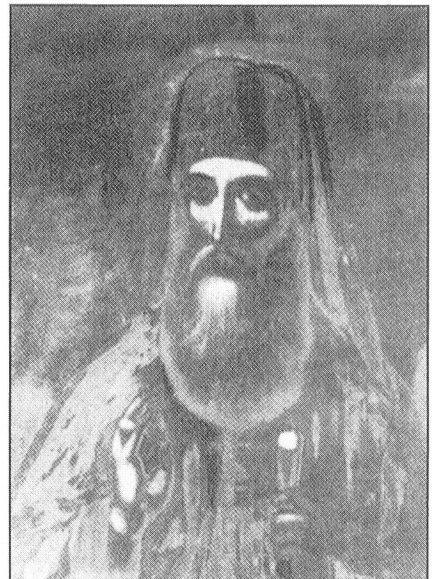
Gennadios II (1454, 1464)



Nephon II (1486, 1498)



Jeremias (1522, 1545)



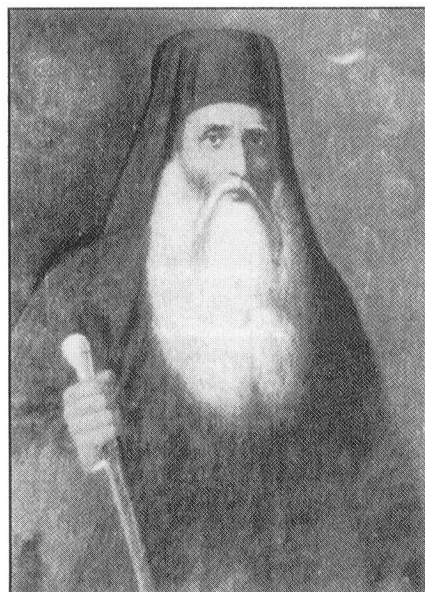
Jeremias II (1572, 1595)



Cyril Lucaris (1612, 1621, 1638)



Athanasios III (1634, 1652)



Jeremias III (1716, 1733)



Cyril V (1748, 1757)



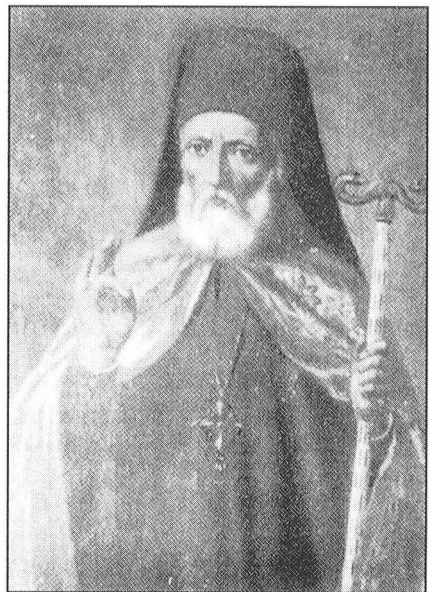
Seraphim II (1757-1761)



Samuel (1763-1774)



Gregory V (1797, 1821)



Eugenios II (1821-1822)



Anthimos III (1822-1824)



Chrysanthos (1824-1826)



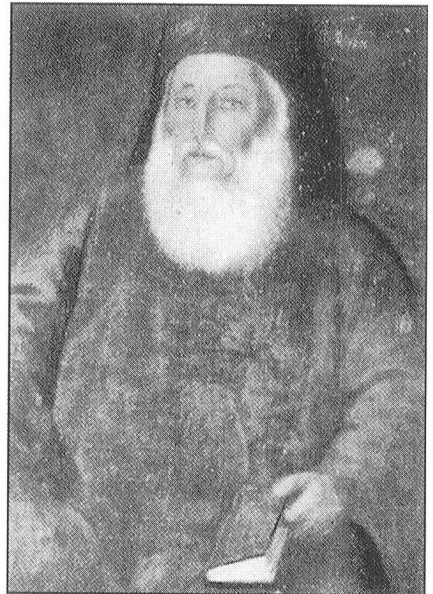
Agathangelos (1826-1830)



Constantios (1830-1834)



Gregory VI (1835,1871)



Anthimos IV (1840, 1852)



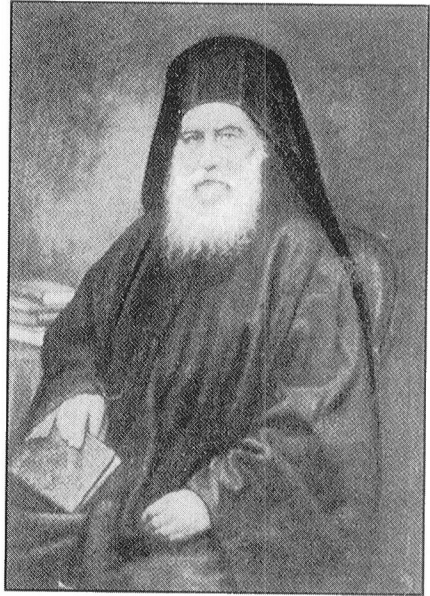
Germanos IV (1842, 1853)



Anthimos VI (1845, 1873)



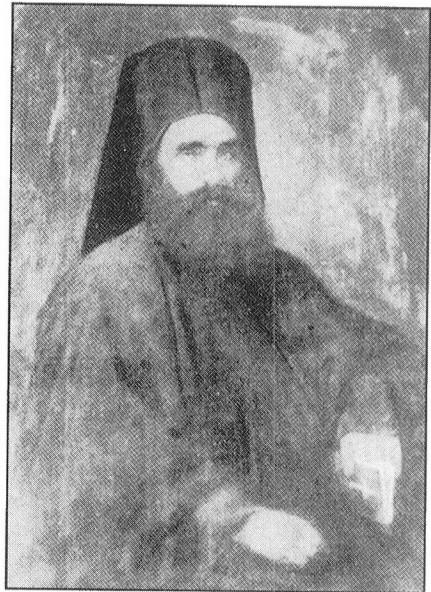
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Joachim II (1860, 1878)



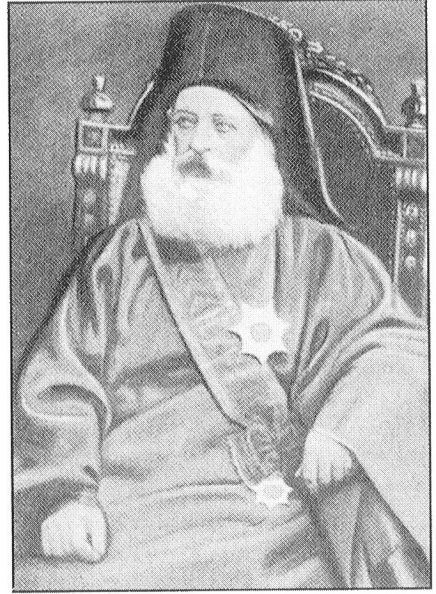
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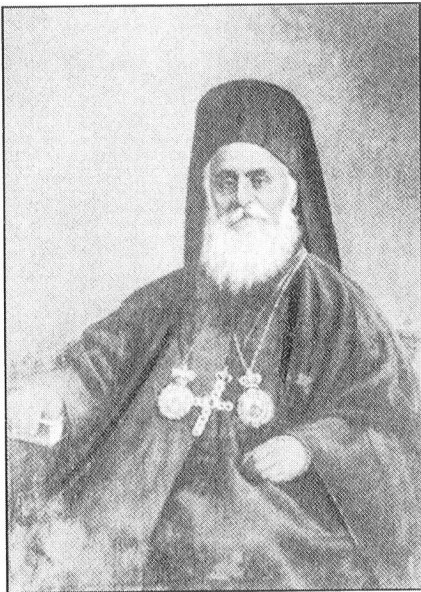
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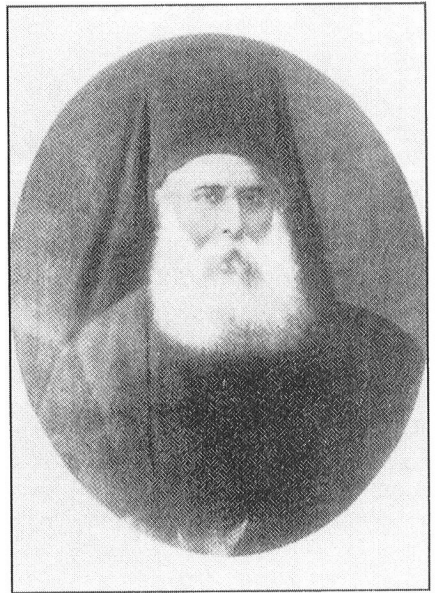
Dionysios V (1887-1891)



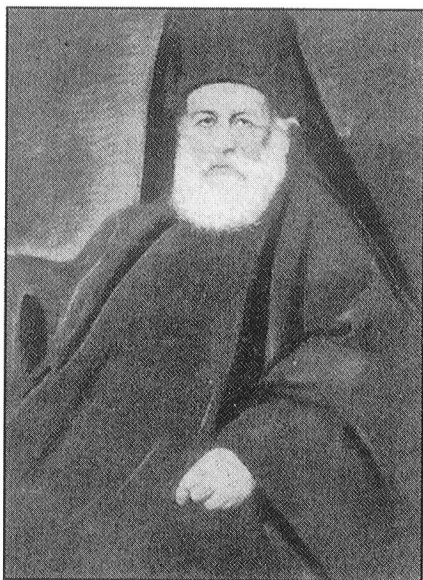
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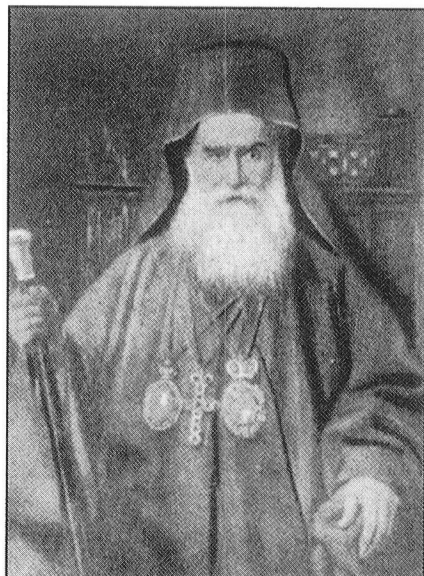
Anthimos VII (1895-1897)



Constantinos V (1897-1991)



Germanos V (1913-1918)



Locum Tenens
Dorotheos of Brousa (1918-1921)



Nicholaos of Caesarea (1921)



Meletios IV (1921-1923)



Gregory VII (1923-1924)



Constantinos VI (1924-1925)



Basil III (1925-1929)



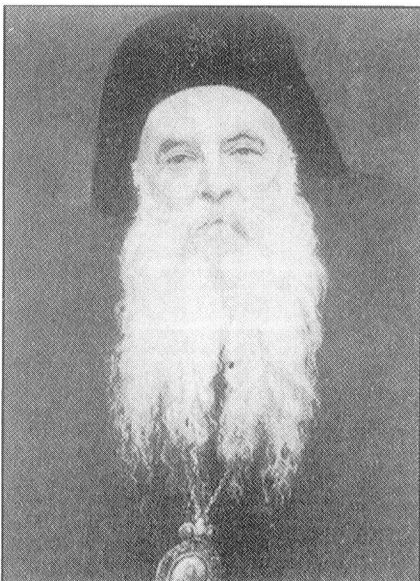
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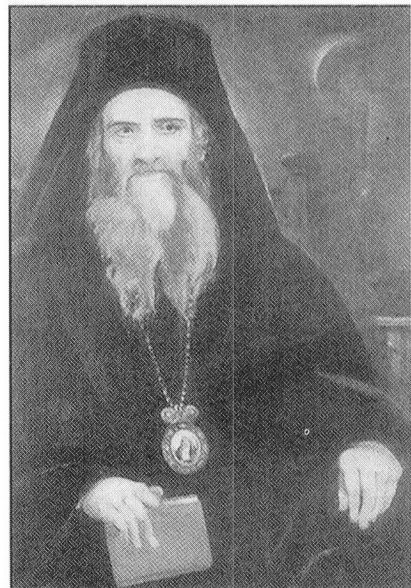
Benjamin (1936-1946)



Maximos V (1946-1948)



Athenagoras (1948-1972)



Demetrios (1972-1991)