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ORTHODOX ECUMENISM AND THEOLOGY : 1978-1983

A chronicle of events and scholarly publications
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CURRENT THEOLOGY

ORTHODOX ECUMENISM AND THEOLOGY: 1978-83

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The period covered in this survey of Orthodox theology, 1978 to the eve of the General Assembly meeting of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver 1983, has been a time rich in symbolic events and solid theological achievements for Orthodoxy.¹ A high-ranking Metropolitan, Nikodim of Leningrad, died in the arms of Pope John Paul I during a formal visit in a year that came to be known as the year of three popes. For the first time in history an Orthodox bishop preached at a liturgical service in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. The official international theological commission between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church met on the islands of Patmos and Rhodes and later in Munich, where for the first time since the Council of Florence a joint theological statement was agreed to. Official international dialogues were set up between the Orthodox Church and the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. An official consultation of Orthodox women held in Agapia, Romania, in 1976 came to be known during this period and encouraged Orthodox women to speak out on their role in the Church at other meetings. In this time frame celebrations among Orthodox and other Christians took place to mark the 1500th anniversary of the Council of Constantinople and the 1450th anniversary of Ephesus. At one celebration held at the Vatican Pope John Paul II, still recuperating from a gunshot wound, prayed in Greek with the Orthodox the text of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, pointedly omitting the *filioque*. These years have been a time of notable vitality in theological research, occasioned in part by bilateral consultations, especially in Western and Eastern Europe. Tensions and frustrations have existed especially in regard to preparation for the Great and Holy Council. Still, hopes are high. It has been a time of unparalleled progress in understanding and respect between Eastern and Western Christianity.

What is recorded here is a chronicle of events and scholarly publica-

¹ "Orthodox Ecumenism and Theology: 1970-78," *TS* 39 (1978) 446-85. For their help in the preparation of this new survey I wish to thank the librarians at the following institutions: Faculté de théologie (Louvain la Neuve), Monastère bénédictin d'Hevetogne, Pontificio Istituto Orientale (Rome), Centro pro Unione (Rome), St. Paul's University (Ottawa), Bibliothèque de théologie au Collège Brébeuf (Montreal), and the Canadian Centre of Ecumenism (Montreal).

tions during the last five years that show a renewed dedication to work for Church unity. What is reported is not only what the Orthodox have achieved alone but also what they have stimulated pre-Chalcedonian, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Protestant partners to contribute in dialogue with them.

I

ORTHODOXY AND ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE

Historical Studies

Later in this survey notice will be taken of some introductions to Orthodox theology. Here I mention recent historical studies that provide useful background information. A major scholarly reference work on the history of the Orthodox Church from A.D. 451 to the fall of Byzantium in 1453 has been published by the Munich professor H.-G. Beck.² More popular accounts of the history of Orthodoxy are available in the writings of Anastasios Kallis and Ion Bria, a Romanian Orthodox collaborator at the World Council of Churches.³ One excellent presentation on the origins and present status of Greek Orthodoxy has been published by a Greek-American professor at Stockton College, N.J.⁴ In France the prolific writer on Orthodoxy Olivier Clément has contributed a succinct account of Orthodox history for the multivolumed encyclopedia *2000 ans de christianisme*.⁵

On Byzantium, the New Rome, Jean Décarreaux has published a history and account which includes, almost in the tradition of H. V. Morton, vivid descriptions of the city.⁶ Two scholarly volumes on Byzantium that are also accessible even to the nonspecialists have been published in English.⁷ An Italian Catholic scholar, Vittorio Peri, has researched the religious impact of the Byzantine tradition throughout the

² Hans-Georg Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 1/D1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1980).

³ Anastasios Kallis, *Orthodoxie: Was ist das?* (Orthodoxe Perspektiven 1; Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald, 1979); idem, ed., *Philoxenia: Festschrift für Bernhard Kotting, gewidmet von seinen griechischen Schülern* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1980); *L'Orthodoxie hier et de main*, ed. Ion Bria et al. (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1979); M. Sesan, "De l'orthodoxie," *Theologia* 50 (1979) 122-31.

⁴ Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Understanding the Greek Orthodox Church: Its Faith, History and Practice* (New York: Seabury, 1982).

⁵ Olivier Clément, ed., "Un éloignement progressif," in *2000 ans de christianisme* 2 (Paris: Société d'Histoire Chrétienne, 1975) 7-39; "Connaissance de l'orthodoxie," *ibid.* 41-99.

⁶ J. Décarreaux, *Byzance ou l'autre Rome* (Paris: Cerf, 1982).

⁷ Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (New York: Scribner's, 1980); Harry Magoulas, *Byzantine Christianity: Emperor, Church and the West* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982).

world.⁸ One particularly useful feature of the book is an Italian translation of key ecclesiastical documents illustrating the growth of the Byzantine Church and the history of its troubled relationships with the Church of Rome. John Meyendorff of St. Vladimir's Orthodox School of Theology in New York, who was once associated with Paris' Institute of St. Sergius, has recently published two volumes to illustrate the Byzantine legacy in the Orthodox Church and its contribution to the rise of Russia.⁹ A French historian, a specialist in the relationship of Eastern and Western churches in the Middle Ages, has published two volumes of earlier studies on the role of Byzantium.¹⁰

One Orthodox theologian who grew up in America but is now professor in Thessalonika has argued that the historical tensions between Eastern Christianity with the West are not conflicts between the Old Rome and the New Rome, but were in fact arguments between Byzantium and the Church of the Franks. This view was given fresh presentation in his recent Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lecture delivered at the Holy Cross Orthodox School of Theology, Brookline, Mass.¹¹

Most of these historical studies focus almost exclusively on the Byzantine dimension of Orthodoxy. George Every's work broadens this scope to include other Orthodox embodiments, especially that of Syriac-speaking Christians.¹²

This survey does not attempt to give an account of contemporary patristic scholarship such as provided in this journal by Walter J. Burghardt.¹³ I note only a few recent patristic studies either because they have particular relevance for modern Orthodox self-understanding or because they are themselves the fruits of ecumenical co-operation. Several celebrations took place in 1979 to mark the 1600th anniversary of the death of St. Basil the Great. An ecumenical symposium in Regensburg that year explored Basil as saint of the one Church and published the

⁸ Vittorio Peri, *La 'grande chiesa' bizantina: L'Ambito ecclesiale dell'ortodossia* (Dipartimento di scienze religiose 16, Brescia: Queriniana, 1981).

⁹ John Meyendorff, *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1982); see also his *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantine-Russian Relations in the 14th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1981).

¹⁰ Jean Richard, *Orient et occident au moyen âge: Contacts et relations (XII-XV s.)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1976), and his *Les relations entre l'orient et l'occident au moyen âge* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977).

¹¹ John S. Romanides, *Franks, Romans, Feudalism and Doctrine: An Interplay between Theology and Society* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1981). See also Ephrem Meziani, "Vision orthodoxe de l'occident chrétien: L'Eglise orthodoxe des Gaules au IV^e et V^e siècles," *Messenger orthodoxe* no. 78 (1978) 11-35.

¹² George Every, *Understanding Eastern Christianity* (London: SCM, 1980).

¹³ "Literature of Christian Antiquity, 1975-1979," *TS* 41 (1980) 151-84.

lectures in a commemorative volume.¹⁴ From Toronto's Pontifical Mediaeval Institute a non-Orthodox scholar investigated Basil's understanding of Church and Church office.¹⁵ Others have described Basil as an ecumenical theologian or analyzed the structure of his fourth-century Church.¹⁶ Studies on Basil's theology of the Holy Spirit have also appeared.¹⁷

Another pertinent patristic undertaking by an American Benedictine was preparation of a new English version of Maximus the Confessor's *Mystagogia* (PG 91, 657-717), translated as "The Church, the Liturgy and the Soul of Man."¹⁸ The Orthodox Archbishop of Brussels, Basil (Vasilii) Krivochéine, published in association with the Benedictines of Chevetogne, Belgium, an investigation of Simeon the New Theologian (A.D. 949-1022).¹⁹

Several English Orthodox scholars have begun translation of the historically influential *Philokalia* ("love of the beautiful"), a collection of Eastern ascetical and devotional texts written between the fourth and fifteenth centuries, compiled by St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St. Makarios of Corinth, and published in Greek at Venice in 1782, re-edited in 1892 and again in 1957-63.²⁰ This florilegium, a guide to the contemplative life, became a valued patrology for hesychasm, the search for *hēsychia*, stillness or peace union with God, a virtue akin to the Western monastic *quies*. Two volumes of a projected five have already appeared. The introductions and glossary of technical terms are very

¹⁴ *Basilius Heiliger der einen Kirche: Regensburger ökumenisches Symposium 1979*, eds. A. Rauch and P. Imhof (Munich: G. Kaffke, 1981); Ernst Chr. Suttner, "Regensburger ökumenisches Symposium 1979 im Gedenkjahr des hl. Basilius (379)," *Christliche Osten* 34 (1979) 59-62.

¹⁵ P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Studies and Texts 45; Toronto: Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979).

¹⁶ Reinhard Hübner, "Basilius der Grosse, Theologe der Ökumene, damals und heute," in *Der Dienst für den Menschen in Theologie und Verkündigung: Festschrift für Alois Brems*, ed. R. M. Hübner et al. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1981) 207-16; Konstantin G. Bonis, "Basilius von Caesarea und die Organisation der christlichen Kirche im vierten Jahrhundert," *Theologia* 51 (1980) 7-21, 209-21, 425-35, 633-44; 52 (1981) 7-13, 209-16, 417-22, 625-30.

¹⁷ Pia Luislampe, O.S.B., *Spiritus vivificans: Grundzüge einer Theologie des Heiligen Geistes nach Basilius von Caesarea* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1981); Cyril Karam, "Saint Basil and the Holy Spirit: Some Aspects of His Theology," *Word and Spirit* 1 (1979) 137-64. (This new periodical is available from St. Bede's Publications, Box 132, Still River, MA 01467, USA.)

¹⁸ *The Church, the Liturgy and the Soul of Man: The Mystagogia of St. Maximus the Confessor*, tr. with commentaries by Dom Julian Stead, O.S.B. (Still River, Mass.: St. Bede's, 1982).

¹⁹ Basil Krivochéine, *Dans la lumière du Christ: Saint Syméon le nouveau théologien 949-1022: Vie, spiritualité, doctrine* (Chevetogne: Monastère, 1980).

²⁰ *The Philokalia: The Complete Text Compiled by St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St. Makarios of Corinth*, tr. and ed. G. E. H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, and K. Ware, Vols. 1 and 2 (London: Faber and Faber, 1979-82).

helpful. Olivier Clément has published a popular anthology in French of Eastern patristic writers which is enjoying much success among Francophone readers.²¹

Another patristic project underway will surely increase appreciation for the non-Byzantine traditions of Eastern Christianity, the series *Patrimoine arabe chrétien* initiated by Khalil Samir, S.J., of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome and supported by Neophytos Edelby, Greek Catholic (Melkite) Bishop of Aleppo, Syria. The volumes make available critical editions of little-known Arab Christian literature written between A.D. 700 and 1350, a corpus estimated at some 1000 works written by 200 different Christians. To date there have been published in Arabic: *The Lamp of Understanding* (ca. 950) by Sawirus Ibn al-Muqaffa'; *A Treatise on the Unity (of God)* (A.D. 941) by Sheikh Yahyā Ibn 'Adi; *A Treatise on the Existence of the Creator and on the True Religion* by Theodore Abū Qurra (d. ca. 800); and *A Treatise on the Incarnation and the Truth of Christianity* by Būlus al Būshī (fl. 1240). Several further volumes are currently with the printer. The work of preparing translations of these texts will be left to other scholars. However, even for those without a knowledge of Arabic, the lengthy introductions in French or English and the exhaustive bibliographies are invaluable. These Arabic Christian publications are available from the Pontifical Oriental Institute (Piazza S. Maria Maggiore 7, I-00186 Rome). Descriptions of this project have been published by its director, Khalil Samir, and also one by Henri Teissier, Archbishop of Alger.²² The journal *Islamochristiana* regularly publishes a critical bibliography of those early Arab Christian writers who participated in dialogue with Muslims about religion or learning. This journal is published at the Center of Studies for Muslim-Christian Dialogue (Piazza S. Appollinare 49, I-00186 Rome).²³

²¹ Olivier Clément, *Sources: Les mystères chrétiens des origines* (Paris: Stock, 1982).

²² Khalil Samir, S.J., "La tradition arabe chrétienne: Etat de la question, problèmes et besoins," in *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes* (Goslar, Septembre 1980) (Orientalia christiana analecta 218; Rome: Oriental Institute, 1982) 21-120; also his "La tradition arabe chrétienne et la chrétienté de Terre-Sainte," in *Tantur Conference on Christianity in the Holy Land*, ed. D. M. A. Jaeger (Studia oecumenica hierosolymitana 1; Tantur-Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1981) 343-432. See also Henri Teissier, "Une patrologie arabe," *Revue de l'Institut catholique de Paris* no. 3 (1982) 61-66.

²³ Adel-Théodore Khoury, "Apologétique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII-XIII^e siècle): Introduction et I^{re} Partie: Dieu, Trinité Sainte," *Proche orient chrétien* 29 (1979) 242-300; "II^e Partie: Jésus Christ, Fils de Dieu, Sauveur," 30 (1980) 132-74; "III^e Partie: La religion chrétienne," 32 (1982) 14-49. See also John Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," in *Byzantine Legacy* (n. 9 above) 89-114. On modern contacts between these two religions, see Martin Speight, "Christian-Muslim Dialogue in the United States," *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981) 201-10; "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien," *ibid.* 1 (1975) 125-81; 2 (1976) 184-249; 3 (1977) 255-86; 4 (1978) 247-67; 5 (1979) 299-317; 6 (1980) 259-99; 7 (1981) 299-307; Alexandre Popovic, "Les rapports entre l'Islam et l'orthodoxie en Yougoslavie," in *Aspects de l'orthodoxie: Structures et spiritualité: Colloque de Strasbourg (Novembre 1978)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1981) 169-89 (hereafter cited as *Aspects*).

Bibliography and Chronicles

For bibliographical material on Orthodoxy, the theologian is provided with a number of sources. The lengthiest ones are found in *Ostkirchliche Studien*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift*, and *Theologische Rundschau*.²⁴ Unfortunately, these bibliographies lack subdivisions, hence gathering data on a specific topic is a frustratingly slow process. A recent welcomed exception is the carefully indexed bibliography prepared by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) through computer data bases prepared from the bibliographies in *Religion Index One* and *Religion Index Two*.²⁵ The format, oversized computer pages, is rather clumsy, but it is an indispensable *instrumentum laboris* for any theological reference library devoted to Eastern Christianity. The bibliography uses the headings of the U.S. Library of Congress, which, as in other theological areas, require further refinement.

For material connected with the Orthodox bilateral conversations we are indebted to publications coming from Rome's Centro pro Unione (Via S. Maria dell'Anima 30; I-00186 Rome). In 1978 a member of the Center, James F. Puglisi of the Atonement Friars, produced a workbook of bibliographies on interchurch dialogues.²⁶ This workbook is now updated annually in the Center's bulletin. Its subcategories are regularly refined and aligned with those of the Faith and Order Commission. A new edition of this work is now in preparation.

The review *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines* produced recent bib-

²⁴ Horst Röhling, "Zeitschriftenschau," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27 (1978) 74-85, 223-34; 28 (1979) 62-71, 220-30; 29 (1980) 61-72, 214-26; 30 (1982) 60-72, 174-84; 31 (1982) 68-80, 223-33; H. Tretter, "Bibliographie," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27 (1978) 86-104, 235-80, 342-83; 28 (1979) 72-96, 231-80, 351-82; 29 (1980) 73-96, 227-72, 350-82; 30 (1981) 73-96, 185-208, 337-82; 31 (1982) 81-104, 234-80, 348-82; A. Hohlweg and Hormann-V. Stepski, eds., "Bibliographische Notizen und Mitteilungen," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 71 (1978) 130-299, 375-591; 72 (1979) 122-296, 368-573; 73 (1980) 129-322, 382-578; 74 (1981) 117-307, 369-591; 75 (1982) 86-312, 382-566; Bertold Spuler, "Die orthodoxen Kirchen," *Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift* 67 (1977) 67-105, 197-223; 68 (1978) 57-82, 173-98; 69 (1979) 65-87, 217-43; 70 (1980) 84-117, 233-61; 71 (1981) 1-24, 145-78; 72 (1982) 3-32, 163-90; 73 (1983) 3-26; Wilhelm Kahle, "Die Erforschung der orthodoxen Kirchen und der Kirchen des Ostens," *Theologische Rundschau* 45 (1980) 338-57; 47 (1982) 73-95.

²⁵ *Eastern Christianity: A Bibliography from the ATLA Religion Database*, ed. G. F. Dickerson and P. D. Petersen (Chicago: ATLA, 1982). Available from 5600 S. Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, IL 60637.

²⁶ James F. Puglisi, S.A., *A Workbook of Bibliographies for the Study of Interchurch Dialogues* (Rome: Centro pro Unione, 1978). Updated each year in the *Centro pro Unione, Bulletin* no. 15 (1979); 17 (1980); 19 (1981); 21 (1982). For 1983 there is projected an updated volume: *A Bibliography of Interchurch and Interconfessional Theological Dialogues*. See also Sever J. Voicu, "Ecumenical Dialogues: Bibliographical Problems and Forthcoming Publications," *Centro pro Unione, Bulletin* no. 22 (1982) 10-14.

liographical repertoires of American and Canadian publications, Byzantine studies in English translations, and a survey of pertinent dissertations.²⁷ This material also includes data beyond the specifically religious or theological. Byzantine scholars have published surveys about Eastern relations with Western churches for the periods A.D. 500 to 1500 and from 1453 to the present. For 1959 to 1974 there now exists a bibliographical study of relations between the Byzantine Church and the West.²⁸

Another source, being published behind schedule because of financial and staffing problems, is the *Internationale Oekumenische Bibliographie/International Ecumenical Bibliography* (the so-called IOB) begun in 1967.²⁹ In 1980 a single volume (Vol. 12-14) was published to cover material printed in the years 1973-75. Two further double volumes are announced: Vol. 15-16 (for publications printed in 1976-77) and 17-18 (for 1978-79). To my knowledge, these volumes have not yet been published. Thereafter the IOB will be absorbed by the theological bibliography published by the Center for Information and Documentation (THEODOK) at the University Library of Tübingen: (Universitätsbibliothek, Postfach 2620, Wilhelmstr. 32, D-7400 Tübingen, West Germany).

To understand the life of the Orthodox churches, one needs to be acquainted not only with recent publications but also with international events and encounters. Such events are reported in the various national or diocesan newspapers, but on an international scale the news service *Service Orthodoxe de presse* (14 rue Victor Hugo, F-92400 Courbevoie, France) and the publication of the Ecumenical Patriarchate's Center in Geneva *Episkepsis* (37 Chemin de Chambésy, CH-1292 Chambésy-Geneva, Switzerland) are indispensable. The latter publication appears in two separate editions, Greek and French. A recent addition to this kind of news service is the monthly publication of the Greek Orthodox community in Rome, *Notizie ortodosse* (Via Sardegna 153, I-00187 Rome). From a Roman Catholic perspective, detailed chronicles of Orthodox life

²⁷ Irene Vaslef, "Byzantium: A Bibliographic Repertory of American and Canadian Publications," *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines* 7 (1980) 72-77, 209-20; 9 (1982) 126-32, 305-15; Emily Albu Hanawalt, "An Annotated Bibliography of Byzantine Sources in English Translation," *ibid.* 9 (1982) 68-87; Alice-Mary Talbot, "Byzantine Dissertation Survey," *ibid.* 9 (1982) 88-125, 250-304.

²⁸ Deno J. Geanakoplos, "Important Recent Research in Byzantine-Western Relations: Intellectual and Artistic Aspects, 500-1500," in *Charanis-Studies: Essays in Honour of Peter Charanis* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1980) 60-78; Vasil T. Istavridis, "Bibliography of Church History (1453 to the Present)," *Theologia* 48 (1977) 400-418; Stephen Gero, "The Byzantine Church and the West: A Survey of Recent Research," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 69-82.

²⁹ *Internationale oekumenische Bibliographie/International Ecumenical Bibliography (IOB)* 12/13/14 (1973-75) (Munich: C. Kaiser; Mainz: Matthias-Grünwald, 1980).

and theology appear in *Irenikon* and in *Diakonia* (New York).³⁰ The Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity also publishes Orthodox and Catholic statements and events in its *Information Service* (or the French counterpart *Service d'information*).³¹

Publication of the annual *Yearbook of the Orthodox Church*, edited by Alex Proc, has now become irregular. Although annual publication was projected, the last issue I have been able to locate is the 1978 edition (available from Postfach 801425, D-8000 Munich, West Germany).³² The language of the title has alternated in the past year by year, from German to French to English. This yearbook is useful since it includes a detailed list of patriarchs, bishops, including their family names, and brief historical accounts of the origins of various Orthodox jurisdictions, etc.

Very recently several new journals have begun publication, such as *Christian Orient*, begun in 1980 by India's Thomas Christians (St. Thomas Apostolic Seminary, Kottayam 686010, Kerala, India), *Star of the East*, new series, an ecumenical journal dealing especially with the Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Christians (P.O. Box 98, Kottayam 686001, Kerala, India), *Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology*, begun in 1980, publishing articles in Greek and some English (Thyateira House, 5 Craven Hill, London W. 2), *Nicolaus*, begun in 1973 (Via Bisanzio e Rainaldo 15, I-70122 Bari, Italy), under the editorship of the Dominican S. Manna. This journal is particularly valuable for its publication of the annual Bari dialogues between Eastern and Western theologians.

Orthodoxy in Specific Countries

Greece

One useful way to remain informed on the concerns of modern Orthodoxy is to keep abreast of church life in individual countries where Orthodoxy has had a significant historical presence. Greece, where the Orthodox population represents almost 98 percent of the population, has

³⁰ "Chronique religieuse: I. Relations interconfessionnelles; II. Chronique des églises," *Irenikon* 51 (1978) 83-129, 216-68, 374-435, 521-77; 52 (1979) 69-144, 244-93, 374-423, 513-87; 53 (1980) 61-104, 209-77, 354-428, 513-81; 54 (1981) 87-140, 222-89, 374-429, 498-571; 55 (1982) 61-137, 214-81, 367-431, 519-81; Thomas F. Sable, S.J., "A Survey of Eastern Christianity," *Diakonia* 13 (1978) 63-79; 14 (1979) 41-53; 15 (1980) 64-73; 16 (1981) 29-39; 17 (1982) 63-79.

³¹ Secretariat for Christian Unity, "Relations with the Churches of the East," *Information Service* no. 37 (1978) 1-6; 39 (1979) 13; 40 (1979) 9-14; 41 (1979) 3-8; 43 (1980) 45-48; 44 (1980) 102-15; 45 (1981) 22-25, 27; 47 (1981) 116-22; 49 (1982) 56-60, 107-12; Secretariat pour l'unité des chrétiens, "Relations avec les églises d'orient," *Service d'information* no. 37 (1978) 1-6; 39 (1979) 14; 40 (1979) 10-15; 41 (1979) 4-8; 43 (1980) 52-56; 44 (1980) 112-25; 45 (1981) 23-26, 28; 47 (1981) 120-26; 49 (1982) 61-65, 115-20.

³² *Yearbook of the Orthodox Church*, ed. Alex Proc (Munich: Proc, 1978).

been the object of several studies recently.³³ Two events there have attracted special attention. First was the promulgation of a new constitution in 1975 which brought to an end the military dictatorship (1967-74) of the country. To modernize the Byzantine heritage of close Church and state relations, the Greek constitution attempted to work out a relationship somewhere between partnership (*synallilia*) and separation. While the Greek Church's request for privileged status was not fully complied with, Church and state are much more interrelated than in the United States.³⁴ New laws regarding the possibility of a civil wedding ceremony and regarding divorce will be noted later in the doctrinal section of this survey.

Another matter that has received attention was the establishment in 1979 of diplomatic relations between Greece and the Vatican.³⁵ The faculty of theology at the University of Athens protested this act because it implied that the pope legitimately exercises temporal power.

One study about Greece has focused on that specific group of Orthodox who separated themselves from the state Church of Greece, the so-called *Palαιοemerologitai* (literally, the "old calendarists").³⁶ Known also as the Church of True Orthodox Christians of Greece, a church which numbers in the hundreds of thousands, the group continues to reject the use of the Gregorian calendar. Separatist groups such as this one make the Orthodox hesitant to introduce changes in the liturgy, in the calculation of the date of Easter, or in fasting regulations, which might further disrupt the unity of Orthodoxy.

Within the confines of Greece are the monastic communities of Mount Athos, ecclesiastically under the supervision of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. The monks of the "Holy Mountain," a peninsula jutting out from the coast of Northern Greece, form a conglomerate of some 20 monasteries with a population of 1000 monks.³⁷ Excellent statistical information on these monasteries is now available. Consistently the monks of Mt. Athos have spoken out vigorously against ecumenical co-operation with the heretical Roman Catholic Church. For

³³ Xavier Jacob, "La renaissance de l'église grecque orthodoxe dans le monde," *Informations catholiques internationales* no. 542 (1979) 20-24.

³⁴ Athanasios Basdekis, "Between Partnership and Separation: Relations between Church and State in Greece under the Constitution of 9 June 1975," *Ecumenical Review* 29 (1977) 52-61. See also n. 232 below.

³⁵ For an account of the establishment of diplomatic relations, cf. *Istina* 25 (1980) 273-77.

³⁶ Chrysostomos, Archimandrite, "Palαιοemerologitai: An Overview of the Old Calendar Orthodox Church of Greece," *Diakonia* 15 (1980) 32-48.

³⁷ George I. Mantzaridis, "Mount Athos and Today's Society," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 225-36. See also E. C. Suttner, "Der hl. Berg Athos und die Rumanen," *Christliche Osten* 28 (1983) 16-17, 20-25.

instance, before the first official international consultation between Orthodox and Roman Catholics at Patmos/Rhodes (1980) all the superiors and representatives of the monasteries in Mount Athos signed a statement dated April 22 (April 6 according to the old calendar) of that year protesting Orthodox association with heretics.³⁸ Their request to meet personally with the Ecumenical Patriarch was rejected at first, but Patriarch Demetrios did meet with their representatives on October 13–16, 1981, chiding them for their “unjustified anxiety” that Orthodoxy was compromising its beliefs. The unecumenical stance of the Mount Athos monks and the tone of their public statements have been criticized by individual Orthodox theologians such as Elisabeth Behr-Sigel.³⁹ After the Ecumenical Patriarch stated in his Easter message (April 18, 1982) that he hoped one day that all Christians would someday celebrate Easter on a common date, the superiors of Mt. Athos responded on May 4 that they had grave doubts about a “common celebration of Easter with the heretics.”

Turkey

The difficult situation of the Orthodox community in Turkey, where now only one percent of the population of 45 million is Christian, has been reported in the media over the last decade. The situation is especially troubling inasmuch as the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople is located in a section of modern Istanbul known as the Phanar. In 1964 the Turkish government required the closing of the Orthodox printing press, causing the suppression of its journal. In 1971 the Orthodox theological school at Halki was suspended since it was not allowed to accept new students. Travel restrictions and heavy taxation of the Orthodox have worsened a situation that the Patriarch described as his people’s “Calvary” and “crucifixion.” The Orthodox population in Istanbul has been reduced very seriously to about 8000. Besides this Greek Orthodox community, there are also some 30,000 to 40,000 Syrian Orthodox and some 14,000 Armenian Christians in Turkey. Several recent studies attempt to explain the background to the Muslim attitudes towards Christians in that country.⁴⁰

³⁸ See *Irenikon* 54 (1981) 111–12, 531–32, 554–55; “Les moines de l’Athos et le dialogue avec Rome,” *Unité des chrétiens* 41 (1981) 31–32. The Athos text, “Announcement of the Extraordinary Joint Conference of the Sacred Community of the Holy Mount Athos concerning the Dialogue between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics,” *Diakonia* 16 (1981) 80–82.

³⁹ Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, “L’Athos et le dialogue avec Rome,” *Service orthodoxe de presse* no. 66 (1982) 12–14.

⁴⁰ J. Kerkhofs, ed., “L’Eglise en Turquie,” *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossiers* no. 13 (1981) 1–19; Franz Jockwig, “Christen in der Türkei,” *Christliche Osten* 28 (1983) 3–7; Hansgerd Gockenjan, “Die Türkei und ihre christliche Minderheiten,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 97–129; Xavier Jacob, “Les chrétiens de Turquie,” *Informations catholiques internationales* no. 565 (1981) 34–38.

Soviet Union

The status of Orthodoxy in the Soviet Union is a complex one requiring nuancing. Observers sometimes extrapolate from the religious climate in one part of that country to another. Political allegiances and geographical factors influence one’s assessment. For instance, a book on Russian Orthodoxy recently published in East Germany received high marks for its description of church life there but is criticized for downplaying persecution or political pressures under which Christians find themselves there.⁴¹ For a stunning visual record of traditional and modern Orthodoxy in the Soviet Union an oversized illustrated volume is available, in several languages, the collaboration between a West European photographer and Archbishop Pitirim (Nechayev), head of the department of publications for the Moscow Orthodox patriarchate.⁴²

One recent historical study has addressed the early years of Christianity in Russia.⁴³ But it is largely the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century religious scene that consistently receives attention. One such study investigates the life and writings of the nineteenth-century theologian Alexander Boukharev (1822–71), judged to have anticipated later developments in Orthodox religious thought.⁴⁴ Other historical studies include investigations on Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime which attempt to correct popular misconceptions about religious life then.⁴⁵ A Roman Catholic has studied the history of the Vatican relationship with Russia and Poland in the wake of the political changes in the first quarter of this century.⁴⁶ For the recent era the Paris-based journal *Istina* has devoted two issues to governmental and ecclesial institutions in Russia.⁴⁷ On this recent period the studies are numerous.

⁴¹ Hans-Dieter Dopmann, *Die russische orthodoxe Kirche in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Union, 1977).

⁴² *The Orthodox Church in Russia*, ed. Archbishop Pitirim, photos by Fred Mayer (London: Thames and Hudson; New York: Vendome, 1982).

⁴³ Ludolf Müller, “Problems der Christianisierung Russlands und der Frühgeschichte des russischen Christentums,” in *Aspects* 67–77.

⁴⁴ Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, *Alexandre Boukharev, un théologien de l’église orthodoxe russe en dialogue avec le monde contemporain: Introduction et lettres à Valérien et Alexandra Lavrski* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977).

⁴⁵ *Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime*, eds. Robert L. Nichols and Theofanis George Stavrou (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1978); see esp. Edward Kasinec, “A Bibliographical Essay on the Documentation of Russian Orthodoxy during the Imperial Era,” *ibid.* 205–28. Also: James W. Cunningham, *A Vanquished Hope: The Movement for Church Renewal in Russia, 1905–1906* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir’s, 1981).

⁴⁶ Edmund Przekop, “Unionsbemühungen und Unionsmethoden des Heiligen Stuhls in Polen und Russland, 1918–1939,” *Catholica* 36 (1982) 257–65.

⁴⁷ See *Istina* 23 (1978) 149–327; 26 (1981) 3–224; William C. Fletcher, “Backwards from Reactionism: The Demodernization of the Russian Orthodox Church,” in *Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union*, ed. Dennis J. Dunn (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1977) 205–38; William C. Fletcher, *Soviet Believers: The Religious Sector of the Population*

Those written by émigrés are highly skeptical of the alleged freedom of Orthodoxy in the USSR.⁴⁸ One writer tries to identify the distinctive character of governmental supervision over church life in the Soviet Union by comparing the Soviet situation to eight other Communist countries.⁴⁹

In 1975 there appeared first in Russian and then in French translation a "secret document" on religion in the USSR.⁵⁰ This administrative report was prepared by the then Vice-President of the Soviet Council for Religious Affairs (Mr. Fourvov) for a plenary meeting of the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Although its contents are not startlingly new, the report does present a graphic account of political interest of the party in what is going on in the Orthodox Church, especially in ecclesiastical appointments.

Russian theology, especially ecclesiology, has been the object of several recent studies.⁵¹ Accounts of church life in specific areas of the Soviet Union (Georgia, the Ukraine) and in neighboring countries (Bulgaria) are available.⁵² Regarding the neighboring Orthodox Church of Finland,

(Lawrence, Kan.: Regents Press of Kansas, 1981); Christel Lane, *Christian Religion in the Soviet Union: A Sociological Study* (Albany: State University of New York, 1978); James D. Moss, "The Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR," *Diakonia* 12 (1977) 71-80; 13 (1978) 176-84; *Die russische orthodoxe Kirche in der Gegenwart: Beiträge zu einem Symposium der deutschen Gesellschaft für Osteuropa Kunde*, ed. Wolfgang Kasack (Munich: Otto Sagner, 1979); Th. van der Voort, "La mia esperienza nel seminario di Leningrado," *Russia cristiana* 4, no. 3 (1979) 12-31, French: "Impressions sur la vie à l'académie de théologie et au séminaire de Léningrad," *Contacts* 31 (1979) 416-32; "L'Eglise orthodoxe russe: Autour d'un voyage," *Unité des chrétiens* no. 41 (1981) 1-41; E. Vauthier, "La Russie orthodoxe: Impressions de voyage," *Esprit et vie* 90 (1980) 2.

⁴⁸ Peter J. Babris, *Silent Churches: Persecution of Religions in the Soviet Dominated Areas* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Research Publications, 1978); Franz Hummer, *Bischofe für den Untergrund: Zur Praxis der Geheimbischofe in der katholischen Kirche* (Vienna and Munich: Herold, 1981).

⁴⁹ Philip Walters, "Christians in Eastern Europe: A Decade of Aspirations and Frustrations," *Religion in Communist Lands* 11 (1983) 6-24.

⁵⁰ *Rapport secret au Comité central sur l'état de l'église en U.S.S.R.* (Paris: Seuil, 1980). On this see *Istina* 26 (1981) 107-37. Also: Robert Hotz, "Geheimbericht zur Lage der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche," *Orientierung* 44 (1980) 99-101; Johannes Chrysostomos [Blaschkewitz], O.S.B., "Ein aufschlussreiches Dokument über die russische Kirche," *Christliche Osten* 35 (1980) 97-101.

⁵¹ Augustin [Nikitin], "Traditionen der russischen Theologie," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 12 (1981) 33-50; Alf Johansen, "Survey of Writings of Theologians of the Moscow Patriarchate on Ecumenical Themes," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 15 (1978) 291-300; Franz Jockwig, "Ökumenische und antiökumenische Haltung der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche," *Christliche Osten* 33 (1978) 4-12.

⁵² Gerd Stricker, "Chronik, aus der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche," *Kirche im Osten* 23 (1980) 134-56; 24 (1981) 156-80; 25 (1982) 154-63; Werner Volker, "Chronik, aus der bulgarisch-orthodoxen Kirche," *ibid.* 23 (1980) 125-34; 24 (1981) 151-56; 25 (1982) 151-54;

autocephalous since 1919 from the Russian patriarchate, a new study in English is available.⁵³

Romania

Another country with a strong Orthodox majority, Romania, is second after the Soviet Union in the number of church members. Because of its theological vitality it might be considered from that point of view the dominant Orthodox country today.⁵⁴ Romania operates two theological institutes for higher studies at Bucharest and Sibiu and has seven theological seminaries. For a Communist country it has a large number of journals, one published in French, though curiously it bears an English title: *Romanian Orthodox Church News* (Str. Antim Nr. 29, 70666 Bucharest VI, Romania).

Again it is difficult to generalize about Orthodoxy there. One fact hardly ever mentioned today is that prior to Oct. 21, 1948, Catholics numbered about one and a half million, half of whom were Latin Rite Catholics, especially among the Hungarian and German populations of Transylvania, and one half Byzantine Rite Catholics. This Eastern Catholic Church was suppressed by governmental decree in 1948 and its members were required to become part of the Romanian Orthodox Church.⁵⁵ Roman Catholics are often distressed by the silence of the

Peter Hauptmann, "Chronik, aus der georgisch-orthodoxen Kirche," *ibid.* 23 (1980) 160-70; 24 (1981) 183-90; 25 (1982) 166-68; Vasyi' K. Lypkiv's'kyj, *Die ukrainische autokephale orthodoxe Kirche: Erinnerungen des Metropoliten Vasyi' K. Lypkiv's'kyj*, ed. Rudolf Armstark (Das östliche Christentum N.F. 33; Würzburg: Augustinus, 1982); *The Ukrainian Catholic Church 1945-1975: A Symposium*, eds. Miroslav Labunka and Leonid Rudnytsky (Philadelphia: St. Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics, 1976).

⁵³ *Orthodoxy in Finland: Past and Present*, ed. Veikko Purmonen (Kuopio, Finland: Orthodox Clergy Association, 1981).

⁵⁴ "L'Eglise en Roumanie," *Pro Mundi Vita: Dossier Europe/Amerique du Nord* no. 4 (1978) 1-32; *L'Eglise orthodoxe roumaine dans le passé et aujourd'hui* (Bucharest: Institut biblique et de Mission de l'Eglise Orthodoxe Roumaine, 1979); *Orthodoxia* 33, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1981) 497-572, containing five articles, in Romanian, on the 100th anniversary of the Faculty of Theology, Bucharest; Radu Constantin Miron, "Chronik, aus der rumänisch-orthodoxen Kirche," *Kirche im Osten* 25 (1982) 145-51; Cesar Vasiliu, "A History of Theological Education in the Romanian Orthodox Church" (in Romanian), *Biserica Ortodoxa Romania* 99 (1981) 979-1017; Traian Valdiman, "Il 50° di patriarcato e il 90° di autocefalia festeggiati nella chiesa ortodossa romana," *Oriente cristiano* 16, no. 2 (1976) 5-20; Ernst Christoph Suttner, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte der rumänen* (Vienna and Munich: Herold, 1978); Cesare Alzati, *Terra romana tra oriente e occidente chiese ed etnie nel tardo '500* (Milan: Jaca, 1981).

⁵⁵ Ion Ratiu, "Les uniates en Roumanie," *Catacombes: Messager supraconfessionnel de l'Eglise du silence* 11, no. 132-33 (1982) 5. (Available: B.P. 98, F-92405 Courbevoie, France.) Also: Dumitru Staniloae, "L'Uniatisme en Transylvanie: Un phénomène définitivement disparu," *Romanian Orthodox Church News* 12, no. 1 (1982) 3-5.

Romanian Orthodox Church regarding this governmental decision. Recently there was founded a "Committee to Save the Romanian Uniate Church," but a Dominican writing in *Istina*, though sympathetic to the plight of that outlawed church, questioned the motives offered for the existence of that committee, namely, its role in preserving the "Latinity" of Romanian culture against further Slavization of the country.⁵⁶

Besides two useful background studies on earlier Romanian Christianity, there was recently published a comprehensive study of modern Romanian Orthodoxy by a professor at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.⁵⁷ While not blind to the troubles of the Orthodox Church there, the author, E. A. Pope, admires its remarkable coexistence with the Communist state. He admits that there are profound ambiguities, perplexities, and problems for churches in any Marxist state, but he points to the existence of its 10,000 priests and 12,000 places of worship. What he challenges is the assumption that the only true Christian life in Romania is found in the underground church. Another study, by Romanian Bishop Antonie (Plamadeala), attests to the generally harmonious relations between the Church and the government.⁵⁸

Special works have addressed the relations of the Romanian Orthodox Church with other Christians.⁵⁹ As will be noted later, the Orthodox there have theological conversations underway with the Evangelische Kirche Deutschland.

In the United States there are three separate Romanian Orthodox jurisdictions: the Romanian Orthodox Church and Canonical Episcopate of America (directly under the Patriarch of Romania), the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of the Western Hemisphere (under the Russian Synodal Church in Exile), and the largest and most influential, the

⁵⁶ J. Goia, O.P., "La création d'un 'Comité de salut de l'église roumaine unie,'" *Istina* 23 (1978) 328-30, with documents 330-36.

⁵⁷ Krista Zach, *Orthodoxe Kirche und rumänisches Volksbewusstsein im 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1977); Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andrei Saguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1977); Earl A. Pope, "The Orthodox Church in Romania," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 31 (1982) 297-310.

⁵⁸ Antonie [Plamadeala], "Church and State in Romania," in *Church and State: Opening a New Ecumenical Discussion*, ed. L. Vischer et al. (Faith and Order Paper 85; Geneva: WCC, 1978) 90-106; response 106-13.

⁵⁹ Cezar Vasiliu, "La chiesa ortodossa rumena e le sue relazioni con la chiesa cattolica negli anni del postconcilio, 1966-1976," *Oikoumenikon* [Rome] 18 (1978) 13-42; "Les relations oecuméniques de l'église orthodoxe roumaine," *Romanian Orthodox Church News* 7, no. 1 (1977) 48-58; no. 2-3 (1977) 34-72; no. 4 (1977) 9-29; Antonie Plamadeala, "Ecumenical and External Relations of the Orthodox Church of Romania, 1944-1979" [in Romanian], *Ortodoxia* 32 (1980) 159-70; E. D. Tappe, "Rumanian Orthodox Church and the West," in *Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1976) 277-91.

Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America, with more than 60,000 members now in full communion with the Orthodox Church in America.⁶⁰

Other Countries

In the last five or six years only a few publications treat specifically of Orthodoxy in the United States. One chapter by Constantelos on the history of the Greek Orthodox in the United States is informative. Also, an account of the establishment of a temporary Greek Orthodox settlement in New Smyrna, Florida (1767), first published in 1966, has been reprinted to coincide with the dedication of a shrine there.⁶¹

The Orthodox Church in America (the OCA) has encouraged historical research on the Alaskan mission, partly to emphasize that chronologically the original roots of Orthodoxy in North America were planted by missionaries from Russia and not from Greece. One volume by an anonymous author, first published in Russian in 1894 to mark the 100th anniversary of Orthodoxy's arrival in North America, has been reprinted and several monographs based on archival material from the Alaskan mission, including studies on St. Herman of Alaska and St. Innocent (Ivan Popov), early missionaries in Alaska, have appeared.⁶²

Other individual countries such as Albania, the Netherlands, Australia, and Armenia have been studied from the perspective of Orthodox or Ancient Oriental Church life.⁶³ The work of Jean Corbon, *L'Eglise des*

⁶⁰ Gerald J. Bobango, *The Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America: The First Half Century, 1929-1979* (Jackson, Mich.: Romanian American Heritage Center, 1979).

⁶¹ See Constantelos (n. 4 above) chap. 5, "The Greek Orthodox in America," 128-65; E. Panagopoulos, *New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1978).

⁶² *The Russian Orthodox Religious Mission in America, 1794-1837*, tr. Colin Bearne, ed. Richard A. Pierce (Kingston, Ont.: Limestone, 1978); Gregory [Afonsky], *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska (1794-1917)* (Kodiak, Alaska: St. Herman's Seminary, 1977); Barbara S. Smith, *Orthodoxy and Native Americans: The Alaskan Mission* (Historical Society Occasional Papers 1; Syosset, N.Y.: OCA, Dept. of History and Archives, 1980); Barbara S. Smith, *Russian Orthodoxy in Alaska: A History, Inventory and Analysis of the Church Archives in Alaska, with an Annotated Bibliography* (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Commission, 1980); Michael Oleska, "Orthodoxy in Alaska: The Spiritual History of the Kodiak Aleut People," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 25 (1981) 3-19; idem, "The Orthodox Mission in America," *International Review of Mission* 71 (1982) 78-87; Fern A. Wallace, *The Tides of Change* (Chilliwack, British Columbia: Synaxis [Box 404; Chilliwack, B.C., Canada], 1977); Paul D. Garrett, *St. Innocent, Apostle to America* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1979); I. Belewzew, "Missionar und Hierarch auf den Inseln der Aleuten: Zum hundertsten Todestag des Metropolitan Innokenti von Moskau und Kolomna," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1979) 33-47.

⁶³ Giuseppe Ferrari, "La chiesa ortodossa albanese," *Oriente cristiano* 18, no. 4 (1978) 7-36; Damiano Como, "Una diocesi della chiesa italo-albanese: L'Eparchia di Piana degli albanesi," *Oriente cristiano* 21, no. 4 (1981) 1-96; A. Apostolou, "Grieks-orthodoxe christenen in Nederland," *Het christelijk Oosten* 32 (1980) 99-108; C. Pauw, "Die Ostkirche in

arabes (Cerf, 1977), noted in the previous survey, has subsequently received enthusiastic support by Paul Ternant. His review may supplement two other shorter studies on the special character of Orthodox life in the Middle East.⁶⁴

Regarding Christianity in Egypt and Ethiopia, special attention must be given to the Coptic Church. Two new journals have been established for the Copts: *Coptic Church Review* (P.O. Box 1113, Lebanon, Pa., 17042, USA), founded in 1980, and *Le monde copte* (4 rue du Général Maunoury, F-77165 St. Soupplets, France), founded in 1977 to give voice to the 3500 Copts of French nationality. Gérard Viaud has published a valuable study largely on the Coptic liturgy, but in which he also provides a historical introduction on the origins of the Coptic Church and a chronicle of personages in the Egyptian Church going back to the earliest centuries.⁶⁵ Though this section is not critically sophisticated, it does underscore some commonly held perceptions that Coptic Christians have of their collective experience. One member of the Coptic Catholic Church completed a doctoral dissertation at St. Joseph University, Beirut, Lebanon, a careful analysis of sociological, attitudinal, even linguistic characteristics of modern Coptic Christians both pre-Chalcedonian and Catholic. His thesis is summarized at length in *Proche orient chrétien*.⁶⁶

Much of the recent writing on the Coptic Church is connected with the restrictions placed upon the Coptic Pope Shenouda III, who has been confined by the Egyptian government to the monastery of St. Bishoi in

Australien," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27 (1978) 174-200; H. L. N. Simmons, "Eastern Orthodoxy in Australia: A Forgotten Chapter?" *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 23 (1979) 181-85; Garabed Amadouni, *L'Eglise arménienne et la catholicité: Précis historique et oecuménique* (Venice: St. Lazare, 1978), available from Casa Editrice Armena, San Lazzaro, I-30100 Venice; F. Heyer, ed., *Die Kirche Armeniens: Eine Volkskirche zwischen Ost und West* (Die Kirchen der Welt 18: Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1978); Jan Willebrands, "Mekhitar et l'union des chrétiens," *Proche orient chrétien* 28 (1978) 3-17 (Mekhitar was founder of Armenian communities in Venice and Vienna); Karl H. Jung, "Chronik aus der armenisch-apostolischen Kirche," *Kirche im Osten* 23 (1980) 170-76; 24 (1981) 190-92; 25 (1982) 168-71.

⁶⁴ Ternant's review, *Proche orient chrétien* 27 (1977) 301-14; Photios Nikitopoulos, "The Survival of the Orthodox Churches in the Near East," in *The Finances of the Church*, ed. W. Bassett and P. Huizing (Concilium 117 [European editions 137]; New York: Seabury, 1979) 123-32; Ernst Chr. Suttner, "Die syrischen Kirchen des vorderen Orients," *Christliche Osten* 32 (1977) 93-98.

⁶⁵ Gérard Viaud, *La liturgie des coptes d'Egypte* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1978).

⁶⁶ Fadel Sidarouss, S.J., "Eglise copte et monde moderne," *Proche orient chrétien* 30 (1980) 211-65, short version: *Telema* 2, no. 3 (1976) 51-59. See also: Athanasios Abadir, "A propos du rôle oecuménique des coptes catholiques," *Telema* 4, no. 3 (1978) 41-50; Charles Richards, "The Copts of Egypt: Congregation or Community," *Clergy Review* 66 (1981) 19-23.

the desert of Wadi-el-Natrum.⁶⁷ His functions were to be performed by five bishops of the Coptic Papal Synod. In April 1983 an Egyptian high-court judge upheld the decree by the late President Sadat that stripped Shenouda of his administrative powers in the Church and abolished the five-man papal committee. What will be the next development in this confrontation between the Coptic Pope and the Egyptian government will depend on the personal decision of President Mubarak.

Also important for its role amid the Ancient Oriental Churches is the Church of Ethiopia.⁶⁸ Publications include a recent historical account of the Church in Ethiopia and a reflection by Archbishop Mathias regarding the persecution of Christians there. Also published recently is a top-secret document of the Ethiopian government, translated from Amharic into English, that outlines the role of the so-called DERG committee to oppress the Christian Church in that country.

Tributes to Orthodox Theologians

In this next section I wish to draw attention to another source of information about Orthodoxy, namely, tributes paid to recently deceased Orthodox churchmen. Several Orthodox theologians who died earlier in this century have been the object of special tribute: Vladimir Solov'ev (1853-1900), Sergius Bulgakov (1871-1944), and Vladimir Lossky (1903-58).⁶⁹ Other theologians have received high commendation: Paul Evdokimov (1901-70), Georges Florovsky (1893-1979), Archbishop Athenagoras Kokkinakis (1909-79), Lev Gillet (1892-1980), the Benedictine monk who later entered Orthodoxy and published under the name "A Monk of

⁶⁷ Randall Fegley, "The Plight of the Copts," *Commonweal* 110 (1983) 17-19; Subhi Labib, "Der koptische Patriarch in der Krise," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 31 (1982) 92-100; Reginald de Sá, O.P., "De situatie van de kopten in Egypte," *Het christelijk Oosten* 35 (1983) 23-35; Rodolph Yanney, "The Coptic Church under a New Persecution," *Coptic Church Review* 2 (1981) 139-40; Raef Marcus, "History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church under the Sword of Islam," *ibid.* 3 (1982) 153-55; Iris Habib el-Masri, *The Story of the Copts* (s.l.: Middle East Council of Churches, 1978), available from St. Mary and St. Anthony's Bookstore, 41-48 63rd St., Woodside, N.Y. 11377.

⁶⁸ Mathias, Archbishop, "Cry from the Ethiopian Churches," *Month* 15 (1982) 293-97; "Top Secret' Anti-Religious Directive" [Ethiopian regime's campaign vs. religion, with comments by Archbishop Mathias], *Month* 15 (1982) 298-300; Antonio Furfoli, "La separazione della chiesa d'Etiopia da Roma, nota storico-teologica," *Euntes docete* 34 (1981) 83-107.

⁶⁹ Mark Everitt, "Vladimir Solov'ev—A Russian Newman," *Sobornost* n.s. 1 (1979) 23-38; Barbara Newman, "Sergius Bulgakov and the Theology of Divine Wisdom," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 22 (1978) 39-73; special issue devoted to Lossky, *Contacts* 31 (1979) 111-238; R. G. Williams, "The Via negativa and the Foundations of Theology: An Introduction to the Thought of V. N. Lossky," *New Studies in Theology* 1, ed. S. Sykes (1980) 95-118.

the Eastern Church," Nicolas Zernov (1898–1980), Alexis van der Mensbrugghe (1899–1980), and Panayotis Bratsiotis (d. 1982).⁷⁰

The sudden death of Nikodim (Rotov), Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod (1929–78), received wide notice in the press because of the unusual circumstance of his death. Nikodim suffered a heart attack and died in the arms of Pope John Paul I on September 5, 1978, only shortly before the pope's own death.⁷¹ Nikodim has been hailed as one of the major ecumenical voices in modern Russian Orthodoxy.⁷² An unusual achievement of his career was his study of Pope John XXIII, prepared for a graduate degree in theology. This thesis, written in Russian, has been recently translated into German by a Swiss Jesuit, a text of 630 printed pages.⁷³

⁷⁰ Cho D. Phan, "The Eschatological Dimension of Unity: Paul Evdokimov's Contribution to Ecumenism," *Salesianum* 42 (1980) 475–99; Thomas E. Bird, "In Memoriam: Georges Florovsky, 1893–1979," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24 (1979) 342–50; E. L. Mascall and Rowan Williams, "Georges Florovsky (1893–1979)," *Sobornost* n.s. 2 (1980) 69–72; Kallistos Ware, "Archbishop Athenagoras of Thyateria (1909–79)," *Sobornost* n.s. 2 (1980) 58–68; Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, "In Memoriam: A Monk of the Eastern Church (Lev Gillet, d. Mar 25, 1980)," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980) 202–8; idem, "The Concelebrant at Clamart: Lev Gillet in the Year 1927–8," *Sobornost* n.s. 3 (1981) 40–52; Helle Georgiadis, "Obituary: Fr. Lev Gillet," *Sobornost* n.s. 2 (1980) 79–85; Olivier Rousseau, "Le 'moine de l'église d'orient,'" *Irénikon* 53 (1980) 175–95; David Balfour, "Memories of Fr. Lev Gillet," *Sobornost* n.s. 4 (1982) 203–11; Kallistos Ware, "Nicholas Zernov (1898–1980)," *Sobornost* n.s. 3 (1981) 11–32, with an addendum: "The Writings of Nicolas Zernov" 34–38; W. Jardine Grisbrooke, "Archbishop Alexis van der Mensbrugghe: Obituary," *Sobornost* n.s. 4 (1982) 212–16; on death of Panayotis Bratsiotis, at age of 93, cf. *Episkepsis* no. 267 (1982) 7.

⁷¹ Official letters of the Vatican on the occasion of his death, "The Death of Metropolitan Nikodim," *Information Service* no. 39 (1979) 17–20.

⁷² Christophe J. Dumont, O.P. "Il Metropolita di Leningrado e Novgorod, Nikodim: In Memoriam (1929–1978)," *Unitas* 33 (1978) 250–57; Karl C. Felmy and Fairy von Lilienfeld, "In Memoriam Metropolit Nikodim von Leningrad und Novgorod," *Kirche im Osten* 21–22 (1978–79) 292–301; Fairy von Lilienfeld, "Metropolit Nikodim von Leningrad und Novgorod: Erinnerungen an eine grosse Persönlichkeit der russischen orthodoxen Kirche," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 27 (1978) 511–18; Keith A. Nonemaker, "Metropolitan Nikodim and the Russians," *Brethren and Life* 26 (1981) 45–58; K. Rozemond, "In Memoriam Metropoliet Nikodim," *Het christelijk Oosten* 31 (1979) 42–46; Vladimir Rusak, "The Funeral of Metropolitan Nikodim," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* no. 11 (1978) 12–19; Reinhard Slenczka, "Die theologische, kirchliche und ökumenische Bedeutung von Metropolit Nikodim," in *Die russische orthodoxe Kirche*, ed. W. Kasack (Munich: O. Sagner, 1979) 33–46; Károly Tóth, Bishop, "The Theological, Ecclesiastical and Ecumenical Importance of Metropolitan Nikodim," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* no. 8 (1980) 61–66; no. 9 (1980) 57–62.

⁷³ Nikodim [Rotov], *Johannes XXIII: Ein unbequemer Optimist*, ed. R. Hotz, S.J. (Zurich: Bentiger, 1978). On this book see Alf Johansen, "Pope John XXIII and Metropolitan Nikodim," *Diakonia* 14 (1979) 62–68; Robert Hotz, S.J., "Östliche Korrektur eines westlichen Papstbildes," *Christliche Osten* 34 (1979) 16–23. See also Nikodim's comments on Orthodox observers at Vatican II: "Wie kam es zur Entstehung der russisch-orthodoxen Konzilsbeobachter?" *Orientierung* 42 (1978) 191–92.

In addition to these late Orthodox theologians one can also point to tributes paid to three non-Orthodox scholars whose lives were dedicated to promoting understanding of Eastern Christianity: Raymund Erni (1907–80), Johannes Chrysostomus Blaschkewitz, O.S.B. (1915–81), and Georges Dejaifve, S.J. (1913–82).⁷⁴

Finally, one living Orthodox theologian who recently celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday, Romanian Orthodox theologian Dimitru Staniloae, has been the subject of several studies.⁷⁵

Towards the Great and Holy Council

In 1968 a decision was reached by the Pan-Orthodox to convoke, at a date to be determined, a Great and Holy Council. A First Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference was held November 21–26, 1976, to study initial reports and recommendations prepared by the Interorthodox Preparatory Commission. The work of that first conference was described in the previous instalment of this survey.⁷⁶ Following that preparatory conference a series of informative articles, addressed principally to the Orthodox community, tried to explain the hopes for the forthcoming Council.⁷⁷ The Third International Conference of Orthodox Theologians, meeting in Brookline, Mass., August 28–31, 1978, chose as its theme "Theological

⁷⁴ Death of Raymund Erni (1907–80), *Catholica unio* 48, no. 4 (1980) 71–88; on J. C. Blaschkewitz, *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 323–24; on G. Dejaifve, see J. E. Vercruysse, "In Memoriam: P. Georges Dejaifve, S.J., 1913–1982," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 48 (1982) 269–83.

⁷⁵ Ion Bria, "Hommage au Père Dimitru Staniloae pour son 75ème anniversaire," *Contacts* 31 (1979) 64–74; Ion Bria, "The Creative Vision of D. Staniloae: An Introduction to His Theological Thought," *Ecumenical Review* 33 (1981) 53–59; István Juhász, "Dimitru Staniloae's Ecumenical Studies as an Aspect of the Orthodox-Protestant Dialogue," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 16 (1979) 747–64; Teofil Moldovan, "La teologia dogmatica ortodoxa de D. Staniloae," *Diálogo ecuménico* [Salamanca] 15 (1980) 137–47; Daniel Neeser, "The World: Gift of God and Scene of Humanity's Response: Aspects of the Thought of Father Dimitru Staniloae," *Ecumenical Review* 33 (1981) 272–82.

⁷⁶ Cf. *TS* 39 (1978) 451–54. For a more recent assessment, see A. Kallia, "Een stap verder op weg naar het panorthodoxe concilie: De eerste preconciliaire panorthodoxe conferentie," *Het christelijk Oosten* 30 (1978) 15–33.

⁷⁷ In chronological order: Stanley S. Harakas, *Something Is Stirring in World Orthodoxy: An Introduction to the Forthcoming Great and Holy Council of the Orthodox Church* (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1978); Gregorio Celada, "El camino hacia el sínodo panorthodoxo," *Nicolaus* 6 (1978) 253–87; Alexis Kniazeff, "La crise des structures et le concile panorthodoxe," in *Aspects* 97–109; Bartholomaios [Archondonis], Bishop of Philadelphia, "Notes sur le futur saint et grand concile de l'église orthodoxe," *Proche orient chrétien* 29 (1979) 3–16; Stanley Harakas, "Will There Ever Be a Great and Holy Council of the Orthodox Church?" *Ecumenical Trends* 8 (1979) 138–40; C. J. Dumont, O.P., "Vers un saint et grand concile de l'église orthodoxe," *Istina* 25 (1980) 164–75; Ion Bria, "Le concile orthodoxe et son contexte oecuménique," *Episkepsis* no. 246 (1981) 6–14; Damaskinos Papandreou, "Stato e prospettive del santo e grande concilio della chiesa ortodossa," *Oriente cristiano* 21 (1981) 34–48.

Reflections on the Forthcoming Holy and Great Council," a conference which served as a catalyst for theological reflection.⁷⁸ The Second Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference (Chambésy, September 3-12, 1982) gathered representatives from fourteen Orthodox churches.⁷⁹ From among the ten official items on the agenda of the proposed council this conference made proposals concerning marriage impediments, fasting regulations, the liturgical calendar, and the consecration of bishops. It is difficult for a non-Orthodox to assess that conference and preparations in general. Publicly there has been a generally favorable assessment by Orthodox who stress the preliminary, advisory nature of the conference. But privately some Orthodox have expressed exasperation that little progress has been reached because of the disparate background of the participating churchmen and because of undue fear that changes might rend the fabric of Orthodox unity. They point especially to the failure to reach consensus regarding reform of fasting legislation or changes in the method of calculating Easter that would allow for a date common with Western churches.⁸⁰ A Third Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference will be convoked to discuss other agenda items on the forthcoming council: relations of Orthodox to the Christian world, Orthodoxy and ecumenism, Orthodox contribution to peace, freedom, and the suppression of injustice. It is expected that the fasting issue will be reopened anew.⁸¹

Orthodox Ecumenical Activities

Before reporting on the numerous consultations underway, especially in Europe, between the Orthodox and other Christian churches, I wish to take note of recent publications that record and evaluate Orthodox attitudes to ecumenical co-operation in general. The standard reference

⁷⁸ *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24, no. 2-3 (1979) 95-263.

⁷⁹ Philippe Sabant, "Un petit pas vers la réunion d'un concile pan-orthodoxe," *Informations catholiques internationales* no. 579 (1982) 27-28, 61; Athanasios Basdekis, "Auf dem Weg zum panorthodoxen Konzil: Die II. pränokonziliare panorthodoxe Konferenz in Chambésy/Genf," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 32 (1983) 81-89. For a list of participants and conclusions, see *Episkepsis* no. 279 (1982) 2-20; *Irénikon* 55 (1982) 535-44; *Contacts* 34 (1982) 364-68.

⁸⁰ The Orthodox Center in Geneva sponsored a symposium in 1977 to study the question of the modern date for Easter: *Synodica 5: Congrès pour l'examen de la question d'une célébration commune de pâques par tous les chrétiens le même dimanche. Procès-verbaux et textes, Chambésy-Genève, 28 juin-3 juillet 1977*, ed. Secrétariat pour la préparation du saint et grand concile de l'église orthodoxe (Chambésy-Geneva: Orthodox Center, 1981). See also G. Larentzakis, "Das Osterfestdatum nach dem I. Ökumenischen Konzil von Nikaia (325): Die Rolle von Alexandrien und Rom," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 101 (1979) 67-78.

⁸¹ For a concise explanation of current Orthodox fasting regulations, see *The Service Books of the Orthodox Church 1: The Festal Menaion*, tr. Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware (London: Faber & Faber, 1969) 35-37.

volume of documents and official statements reached internationally by the Orthodox from 1902-75 is a work edited in co-operation with the World Council of Churches.⁸² For publications by Orthodox on general principles of ecumenism, I have noted ten studies appearing between 1977 and 1983.⁸³ Of special interest is a consultation held under the auspices of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, January 9-12, 1980, to explore the question "The Future of the Ecumenical Movement." The papers are largely the work of Orthodox, but some non-Orthodox participation is included. The consultation published a three-page final communiqué.⁸⁴

The "dialogue of charity" underway between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church must be assessed by all standards as the most significant of the ecumenical exchanges, if only on the basis of the size of the partners. The pace of these exchanges has steadily increased since 1965, when by mutual agreement the ancient anathemas between Constantinople and Rome were blotted out of memory. For the period 1958 to 1970, the most complete source of documentation remains the *Tomos Agapis*, previously noted in the last survey, at least for relations between the Vatican and the Phanar. Since the number of exchanges

⁸² *The Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical Movement: Documents and Statements 1902-1975*, ed. Constantin G. Patelos (Geneva: WCC, 1978). See also Chr. Papakonstantinou, "De ontwikkeling van de orthodoxe theologie in de jaren 1936-1976," *Het christelijk Oosten* 31 (1979) 175-87; Vasil T. Istavridis, "Die orthodoxe Mitarbeit in der ökumenischen Bewegung (1948-1978): Eine Problembeschreibung," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 27 (1978) 325-32; Jürgen Moltmann, "What Kind of Unity: The Dialogue between the Traditions of East and West," in *Lausanne 77: Fifty Years of Faith and Order*, ed. L. Vischer et al. (Faith and Order Paper 82; Geneva: WCC, 1977) 38-47.

⁸³ Stylianos [Harkianakis], "The Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Movement," *Australasian Catholic Record* 54 (1977) 107-18; A. Burg, "Gesprekken tussen de orthodoxie en de overige kerken," *Het christelijk Oosten* 30 (1978) 229-39; A. I. Osipov, "Quelques principes de la conception orthodoxe de l'œcuménisme," *Messenger de l'exarchat du patriarcat russe en Europe occidentale* no. 97-100 (1978) 23-34, German text: "Grundlagen des orthodoxen Ökumene-Verständnisses," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 8 (1978) 56-63; Philaret [Vakhromeyev], Metropolitan of Berlin, "Historische Zeugnisse einer ökumenischen Gesinnung," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1978) 37-56; Nicholas Lossky, "Orthodoxy and Ecumenism," *One in Christ* 17 (1981) 143-48, French in *Contacts* 32 (1980) 285-93; Nikos A. Nissiotis, "Ost und West in der Begegnung und Gemeinschaft der Kirchen," *Reformatio* 29 (1980) 483-96; M. Klimenko, "The East-West Dialogue: Thoughts of an Orthodox," *Diakonia* 16 (1981) 92-103; Nikos A. Nissiotis, "Visions of the Future of Ecumenism," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 280-304; Damaskinos Papandreou, "L'Unité dans la diversité: Le point de vue orthodoxe," *Documentation catholique* 79 (1982) 473-78; Nikos Nissiotis, "Ost und West in Begegnung: Erfahrung komplementärer Gegensätze," *Una sancta* 37 (1982) 142-51.

⁸⁴ *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981). The final communiqué is found on pp. 147-49. For the reactions of a Protestant participant, see Lewis Mudge in *Midstream* 19 (1980) 258-60.

and visits has increased dramatically, it is useful to use Hotz's careful chronological table for the years up to 1981.⁸⁵ A more recent collection of texts has been prepared by a priest in Athens, a member of the Byzantine Catholic Church of Greece, items mostly in Greek recording official statements between Constantinople and Rome, Greece and Rome, Crete and Rome.⁸⁶ Also available now in English is a collection of texts relating not only to the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Rome but indeed to many other Orthodox and Ancient Oriental Churches.⁸⁷

To understand the paradigmatic shift in Roman Catholic attitudes toward the Orthodox, we now have a valuable study of developments especially among French-speaking Catholics in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that concentrates especially on the career of the founder of Chevetogne, Dom Lambert Beaudouin, O.S.B., a person who suffered much disfavor and silencing for his advanced views.⁸⁸

For recent developments in Roman Catholic relations with Eastern Christianity, one can consult the collection of papers published by Vienna's Pro Oriente Foundation on local church, infallibility, and the future of ecumenism, issues discussed at meetings held in 1972, 1973, and 1976 but only recently published.⁸⁹

Studies on ecumenical dialogue between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism have been numerous between the years 1978-83. I have counted over forty such contributions.⁹⁰ Almost three fourths of these analyses

⁸⁵ Robert Hotz, S.J., "Les relations entre églises d'orient et églises d'occident: Repères chronologiques," *Pro Mundi Vita Bulletin* no. 86-87 (1981) 1-44.

⁸⁶ Paulos Grigorios Garó, *Poreia pros tén enotēta (Marche vers l'unité)*, 2 vols. (Athens: Possolatos, 1978).

⁸⁷ *Doing the Truth in Charity: Statements of Pope Paul VI, Popes John Paul I, John Paul II, and the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity 1964-80*, eds. T. F. Stransky and J. B. Sheerin (Ecumenical Documents 1; New York: Paulist, 1982) esp. 177-251 for a large number of texts, only 12 of which are in the *Tomos Agapis, Growth in Agreement: Reports and Agreed Statements of Ecumenical Conversations on a World Level*, eds. L. Vischer and H. Meyer (Ecumenical Documents 2; New York: Paulist, 1983). A third volume, on national consultations, is projected. The entire series will be translated into other European languages.

⁸⁸ Etienne Fouilloux, *Les catholiques et l'unité chrétienne du XIX^e au XX^e siècle: Itinéraires européens d'expression française* (Paris: Centurion, 1982).

⁸⁹ *Ökumene, Konzil, Unfehlbarkeit*, ed. Pro Oriente Foundation (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1979); contains papers from the 4th Theological Conference, May 4-6, 1972 ["Konzil und Unfehlbarkeit"]; the 5th Theological Conference, April 12-14, 1973 ["Die eine Kirche und die vielen Kirchen"]; and the meeting of the "Ökumenische Akademie, Jan. 25-26, 1976 ["Prognosen für die ökumenische Zukunft"], held on the tenth anniversary of the lifting of the anathemas.

⁹⁰ In chronological order the studies are: Hervé Legrand and Yves Congar, "Points de vue catholiques sur l'orthodoxie," in *2000 ans de christianisme 2* (Paris: Société d'Histoire Chrétienne, 1975) 95-98; P. Duprey, "Vers la restauration de l'unité chrétienne: Les églises en dialogue," in *Charistēria eis timēn tou Metropolitou Gerontos Chalkēdonos Melitōnos* (Thessalonika: Patriarchal Press, 1977) 257-71; J. Meyendorff, "Rom und die Orthodoxie—

Autorität oder Wahrheit?" *Catholica* 31 (1977) 352-68; Photios Nikitopoulos, "Presupposti per un dialogo teologico ufficiale tra la chiesa ortodossa e la chiesa cattolica romana: Presentazione di una relazione de Prof. Vlasios Pheidas," *Oriente cristiano* 13, no. 3 (1977) 2-10; Demosthenes Savramis, "Die nichttheologischen Faktoren der Perpetuierung der Trennung zwischen der orthodoxen und der römisch-katholischen Kirche," in *Die Einheit der Kirche*, ed. L. Hein (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1977) 53-68; Evangelos Théodorou, "Pronostics sur l'avenir de l'œcuménisme," *Proche orient chrétien* 27 (1977) 3-14; Charles Boyer, S.J., "Visibili progressi nei rapporti fra chiesa cattolica e chiesa ortodossa," *Unitas* 33 (1978) 81-88; Charles Boyer, S.J., "I rapporti tra la chiesa cattolica romana e la chiesa ortodossa," *Unitas* 33 (1978) 258-67; M. J. LeGuillou, "Les chances du dialogue entre l'église catholique et l'église orthodoxe," in *Aspects* 111-22; F. Bouwen, "Ouverture du dialogue théologique entre l'église catholique et l'église orthodoxe," *Proche orient chrétien* 29 (1979) 314-41; Hermenegild M. Biedermann, O.S.A., "Orthodoxe und katholische Kirche heute: Etappen des Gesprächs in den letzten 20 Jahren," *Catholica* 33 (1979) 9-29; Pierre Duprey, "L'Eglise catholique et le dialogue œcuménique: Aspects d'un effort," *Unité des chrétiens* no. 34 (1979) 5-8, reproduced in *Episkepsis* no. 212 (1979) 6-16; idem, "The Unity We Seek," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 16 (1979) 303-10; George Every, "Rome and the Christian East," *One in Christ* 15 (1979) 224-30; Gregor Larentzakis, "Das ökumenische Patriarchat von Konstantinopel zu den grossen Ereignissen der römisch-katholischen Kirche," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979) 186-96; Hans-Joachim Schulz, "Die inneren Bedingungen für den theologischen Dialog mit der orthodoxen Kirche," *Catholica* 33 (1979) 199-219; Gerassime-Chrysostomos Zaphiris, "A Problem and an Appeal: A Necessary Presupposition for the Beginning and the Success of the Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches," *Theologia* 50 (1979) 856-68; Miguel M. Garijo-Guembe, "Consideraciones sobre el diálogo entre la Ortodoxia y el Catolicismo," *Diálogo ecuménico* [Salamanca] 15 (1980) 159-200; Roger T. Greenacre, "Benedictines and Christian Unity," *One in Christ* 16 (1980) 283-98; Stylianos Harkianakis, *The Orthodox Church and Catholicism* (Sydney, 1980); B. Petrá, "La chiesa di Roma et la via verso l'unità nei documenti ortodossi del 'Tomos Agapēs,'" *Unitas* 35 (1980) 7-19; "Pour servir au dialogue entre orthodoxes et catholiques," *Messenger orthodoxe* no. 85 (1980) 1-68; Ekkart Sauser, *So nahe steht uns die Ostkirche* (Frankfurt: Knecht, 1980); Hans-Joachim Schulz, *Wiedervereinigung mit der Orthodoxie? Bedingungen und Chancen des neuen Dialogs* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1980); Raymund Schwager, S.J., "Orthodoxe und römisch-katholische Kirche: Chancen der Einheit," *Stimmen der Zeit* 198 (1980) 488-96; Nikolaus Thon, "Die Beziehungen zwischen der orthodoxen und der katholischen Kirche seit dem II. Vatikanum," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 11 (1980) 40-48; Hermenegild Biedermann, "Der orthodox-katholische Dialog: Sein gegenwärtiger Stand," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 3-21, also appears in *Christliche Osten* 37 (1982) 4-14; Georges Dejaifve, "Pour un dialogue avec les orthodoxes," *Etudes* 354 (1981) 255-62; *Dialog der Wahrheit: Perspektiven für die Einheit zwischen der katholischen und der orthodoxen Kirche*, ed. Anastasios Kallis (Freiburg: Herder, 1981); Edward J. Kilmartin, "Visions of the Future of Ecumenism," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 305-13; J.-P. M. [Jean-Pierre Manique], "Un évêque catholique déplore l'hostilité de son homologue orthodoxe," *Informations catholiques internationales* no. 566 (1981) 25-26; Nicodemos [Vallindras], Metropolitan of Patras, "Les conditions nécessaires au dialogue entre l'église orthodoxe d'orient et l'église d'occident," *Documentation catholique* 78 (1981) 986-94; Gerassime-Chrysostomos Zaphiris, "Der theologische Dialog zwischen der orthodoxen und der römisch-katholischen Kirche: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen aus der Sicht der Kirche von Griechenland," *Theologia* 52 (1981) 779-853, revised in *Ökumenische Rundschau* 32 (1983) 57-72; Johannes Panagopoulos, "Orthodoxie und Katholizismus im Dialog: Theologische Erwägungen und Perspektiven," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 303-22, Greek original in *Gregorios Palamas* 64

are written by Roman Catholics, indicating not only the greater size of that church but also in my judgment a stronger need on their part to sensitize their members to the need for change in attitude toward the Orthodox. These writings possess a striking similarity. They are mainly descriptive, nontechnical, optimistic about the future. Few address the historical roots for tension between the sister churches. These general articles, which should be complemented by studies on specific doctrinal issues cited later, would be improved if more attention were paid to attitudes of the laity toward the other church and if some sociological analysis were employed. The essay of Demosthenes Savramis on the nontheological factors that led to estrangement between East and West is particularly fruitful. His approach, which stresses the social, political, cultural, and psychological factors, might well become a model for future studies. Finally, a recent colloquium was held at Chevetogne August 23-27, 1982, to evaluate the bilateral and multilateral consultations underway between the Orthodox and other Christians.⁹¹

Attention has been paid to the personal contributions of church leaders such as the late Patriarch Athenagoras and Pope Paul VI.⁹² The visit of Pope John Paul II to the Constantinople headquarters of the Ecumenical

(1981) 68-89; Theodore Stylianopoulos, "Orthodoxy and Catholicism: A New Attempt at Dialogue," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 157-69, also in *Diakonia* 17 (1982) 4-20; E. C. Suttner, "Die Partnerkirchen im offiziellen orthodox-katholischen Dialog: Ihre Einheit und Vielgestalt," *Una sancta* 36 (1981) 333-45; J. M. Tillard, "The Fidelity of the Roman Catholic Church to the Faith of the Fathers," *One in Christ* 18 (1982) 131-40, French original in *Irenikon* 54 (1981) 307-19; Eleuterio F. Fortino, "The Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue," *One in Christ* 18 (1982) 194-203; H. M. Biedermann, "Im Umkreis des orthodox-katholischen Dialogs," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 31 (1982) 3-15; Peter Cho Dinh Phan, "The Orthodox and Roman Catholic Dialogue," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 58 (1982) 84-89; John F. Long, S.J., "Reflexions on the Orthodox-Catholic Dialogue," *Diakonia* 17 (1982) 21-39; Maximos V, "Vie de l'église: Où en sommes-nous?" *Lien* 47, no. 2 (1982) 32-33; Damaskinos Papandreou, "Les dialogues bilatéraux avec les autres communions chrétiennes," *Irenikon* 55 (1982) 451-70.

⁹¹ *Contacts* 34 (1982) 343-46.

⁹² Alja Payer, "Patriarch Athenagoras I: Ein Friedensbringer aus dem Osten (gest. am 7. juli 1972) zu seinem 10. Todestag," *Christliche Osten* 37 (1982) 75-83; Aristide Brunello, "Paolo VI e l'oriente cristiano: Principali atti e documenti del pontificato di Paolo VI riguardanti l'oriente cristiano," *Oriente cristiano* 18, no. 3 (1978) 7-50; Adalbert Frankes, O.S.B., "Paulus VI en de orthodoxe Kerk," *Het christelijk Oosten* 32 (1980) 77-98, French version in "Paul VI et l'église orthodoxe," *Proche orient chrétien* 30 (1980) 179-210; Franz Jockwig, "Papst Paul VI. und die Kirchen des Ostens," *Christliche Osten* 33 (1978) 111-21; Oreste Kéramé, "Ascension oecuménique de Paul VI," *Lien* 43, no. 6 (1978) 11-27; Neophytos Edelby, "Paul VI et Maximos IV," *ibid.* 29-35; Damaskinos Papandreou, "Ecclesiam suam: Une perspective orthodoxe," in "Ecclesiam suam: Première lettre encyclique de Paul VI. Colloque international, Rome 24-26 octobre 1980 (Brescia: Istituto Paolo VI, 1982), 55-63.

Patriarchate at the Phanar to confer with Demetrios (November 29-30, 1979) received wide coverage in the media and in theological journals.⁹³

The historic first meeting of the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church took place from May 29 to June 4, 1980, at Patmos and Rhodes. From the vantage point of history this will be hailed as a turning point that marks a new beginning. Some sixty bishops and theologians of the two communions from around the world attended. Inevitably the first meeting was largely ceremonial and exploratory. Some complaints were voiced that the Catholic delegation included "Uniates." But the delegates were seriously committed to Christian unity. The final communiqué, though not a theological statement, was an expression of hope for the future.⁹⁴ It became clear that theological exchange would have to take place in smaller working groups to deal with a series of questions on the Church and sacraments.

When the second plenary session took place June 30 to July 6, 1982, in Munich, the Commission discussed a text prepared by three subcommission groups and a co-ordinating team. By the end of the session they published the first agreed statement, one that will surely be discussed for decades to come: "The Mystery of the Church and of the Eucharist in

⁹³ For documentation and major speeches, see *Information Service* no. 41 (1979) 17-34; also *Episkepsis* no. 221 (1979) 1-19. For commentaries on the trip, see Gerassime-Chrysostomos Zaphiris, "Die römisch-katholische, interorthodoxe und interchristliche Bedeutung der Papstreise zum Phanar (29/30 November 1979)," *Theologia* 51 (1980) 692-721; Gregor Larentzakis and Justinus Greifeneder, "Der Besuch des Papstes Johannes Paul II beim ökumenischen Patriarchen Dimitrios I (29-30. November 1979)," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 29 (1980) 165-90; Thomas Fitzgerald, "A New Phase in Orthodox-Roman Catholic Relations," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 119-30; O. Clément, "La rencontre de Jean Paul II et de Dimitrios I," *Oecuménisme informations* no. 101 (1980) 6-10; "Le pèlerinage oecuménique de Jean Paul II," *Lien* 45, no. 1 (1980) 17-38.

⁹⁴ For reports on this meeting and the final communiqué, see *Informations catholiques internationales* no. 552 (1980) 9-11; *Episkepsis* no. 233 (1980) 1-25; *Documentation catholique* 62 (1980) 702-06; *Sobornost* n.s. 3 (1981) 86-92. For commentaries see Anon., "Ein Jahr theologischer 'Dialog der Liebe' zwischen Orthodoxen und Katholiken," *Catholica* 55 (1981) 167-71; A. J. van der Aalst, "De theologische dialog tussen de orthodoxe en de katholieke kerk. Patmos-Rhodos, 28 Mei-4 Juni 1980," *Het christelijk Oosten* 33 (1981) 153-71; Frans Bouwen, "Patmos-Rhodos 1980: Première réaction de la commission pour le dialogue théologique entre l'église catholique et l'église orthodoxe," *Proche orient chrétien* 31 (1981) 170-96; G. Caprile, "Alcuni importanti avvenimenti ecumenici," *Civiltà cattolica* 131/3, no. 3122 (1980) 167-79; André de Halleux, "Inauguration du dialogue théologique officiel entre les églises catholique et orthodoxe," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 11 (1980) 394-98; J. Madey, "Die orthodoxe Kirche Griechenlands und der offiziellen orthodox-katholischen Theologengesprache auf Patmos," *Ut omnes unum* 43 (1980) 117-22; J. M. Tillard, "Le point de vue d'un participant," *Eglise canadienne* 14 (1980) 51-52; G. Zavanera, "Commission catholique-orthodoxe pour le dialogue théologique," *Esprit et vie* 90 (1980) 620-23.

the Light of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity."⁹⁵ The text, dense and complex, cannot be analysed here in detail. Several general comments can be noted. The original French text tries to be sensitive to biblical and liturgical language. A new theological style is attempted to avoid Western scholasticism or Orthodoxy's theological, especially Palamite, language. The doctrinal perspective of the text is that of "Eucharistic ecclesiology" but one that is raised to a more nuanced level than when it was first formulated by men such as Afanassieff. The influence of two well-known modern theologians is evident: John Zizioulas (Orthodox) and Jean-Marie Tillard (Roman Catholic). Yet the text is not afraid to use new language or to stretch language to broaden the meaning of terms such as "sacrament" or "epiclesis." Initial reaction to the text, though sparse at this date, is positive.⁹⁶ Already subcommissions are at work on the next theme, which is faith in light of the sacraments of Christian initiation. A co-ordinating committee will meet on Cyprus in June, 1983, to draft a second text.

Besides these Orthodox and Roman Catholic international meetings, there have been conversations between specific patriarchates and Roman Catholics. One such theological conversation is underway between the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) and the Roman Catholic Church. To date, five meetings have taken place to discuss "The Social Thought of the Roman Catholic Church" (Leningrad, Dec. 9-13, 1967); "The Role of the Christian in a Developing Society" (Bari, Italy, Dec. 6-10, 1970); "The Church in a World in Transformation" (Zagorsk, USSR, June 4-7, 1973); "The Christian Proclamation of Salvation in a Changing World" (Trent, Italy, June 23-29, 1975); and specifically in the period covered by this survey, "A Comparison of the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic Teaching on Social Issues" (Odessa, USSR, Mar.

⁹⁵ For texts of the Munich statement, see: *Information Service* no. 49 (1982) 107-12; *Ecumenical Trends* 12 (1982) 1-6; *Origins* 12 (1982) 157-60; *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 26 (1982) 251-58; *Diakonia* 17 (1982) 176-87. Original French text in *Service d'information* no. 49 (1982) 115-20; *Documentation catholique* 79 (1981) 941-45; *Irénikon* 55 (1982) 350-62; *Episkepsis* no. 277 (1982) 11-18. Greek text: *Episkepsis* no. 277 (1982) 12-20. German: *Christliche Osten* 37 (1982) 172-78; *Una sancta* 37 (1982) 334-40. Italian: *Notizie ortodosse* 4, no. 38 (1982) 23-30; *Oriente cristiano* 22, no. 3 (1982) 11-20. Dutch: *Het christelijk Oosten* 34 (1982) 263-73.

⁹⁶ For an account written before the meeting, see: Hans-Joachim Schulz, "Katholisch-orthodoxer Dialog 1982 in München," *Christliche Osten* 37 (1982) 84-86. The meeting is described in: *Irénikon* 55 (1982) 366-72; A. J. van der Aalst, "De theologische dialoog tussen de orthodoxe en de katholieke Kerk, Tweede vergadering: München, 30 juni-6 juli 1982," *Het christelijk Oosten* 34 (1982) 248-62. Two theological analyses of the Munich text have appeared: André de Halleux, "Catholicisme et orthodoxie: Une étape dans le dialogue," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 13 (1982) 329-37; Dimitru Staniloae, "Le dialogue entre l'église orthodoxe et l'église catholique-romaine: Le document de la commission mixte de Munich," *Romanian Orthodox Church News* 12 (1982) 48-52.

13-17, 1980).⁹⁷ This fifth meeting had been delayed by the deaths of Metropolitan Nikodim and two popes. Although the meetings do not lead to publication of lengthy consensus statements, they have stimulated theological research and exchange. A sixth meeting will discuss "The Diaconal Function of the Church."

At national levels one can point to specific official dialogues in countries such as the USA, France, and Germany. Previously I reported on the six published consensus statements issued between 1969 and 1976 by the U.S. Eastern Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation under the joint chairmanship of Archbishop Rembert Weakland and Archbishop Iakovos. The statements of the dialogue, together with historical and doctrinal background, have now been published in a useful volume.⁹⁸ Since the publication of that book a seventh agreed statement has appeared on "The Spiritual Formation of Children of Orthodox and Roman Catholic Parents."⁹⁹ As of late May 1983 the consultation has met for twenty-six meetings; presently it is studying pneumatology and Eucharistic ecclesiology and has formulated an official joint response to the Munich text.¹⁰⁰ Also in 1981 an Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation of Bishops in the USA was established which meets twice a year to co-ordinate pastoral concerns affecting both churches.

In France consultations between the two churches are in progress.¹⁰¹ In 1978 the French Catholic Episcopal Commission for the Unity of Christians, under the presidency of Bishop Le Bourgeois, invited Orthodox theologian Boris Bobrinskoy to prepare a statement on how the Orthodox perceived the relationship between the two churches and what were the important and negative features of the present ecumenical climate. His comments are particularly insightful, and not only for France.¹⁰² He praised the modern Catholic Church for its stress on conciliarity, its spiritual renewal, the improved formulation of the Eu-

⁹⁷ For description of the meeting, see: *Istina* 25 (1980) 161-62; *Diakonia* 17 (1982) 80-83; *Documentation catholique* 77 (1980) 659-61; *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 6 (1980) 52-56; *Episkepsis* no. 229 (1980) 8-9; *Information Service* 44 (1980) 112-15; *Irénikon* 53 (1980) 63-72. For commentary see V. Ivanov, "The Fifth Theological Conversations of Representatives of the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches," *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 10 (1980) 40-46.

⁹⁸ Edward J. Kilmartin, *Toward Reunion: The Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches* (New York: Paulist, 1979).

⁹⁹ *Origins* 10 (1980) 347-48.

¹⁰⁰ 1983 *Catholic Almanac*, ed. F. A. Foy and R. M. Avato (Huntington, Ind.: OSV, 1983) 316-17, contains a list of meetings which differs from the official enumeration (as found in Kilmartin) because it omits the first meeting, Sept. 5, 1965. Hence the almanac's numbers for these meetings should be increased by one.

¹⁰¹ *Unité des chrétiens* no. 40 (1980) 33-34; 42 (1981) 45; 44 (1981) 46.

¹⁰² Boris Bobrinskoy, "Interpellations orthodoxes aux évêques catholiques en France," *Contacts* 31 (1979) 290-97; German text: *Christliche Osten* 34 (1979) 81-87.

charistic epiclesis, and the re-edition of patristic texts. He criticized what he deemed as hasty, even anarchical, changes in the liturgy. He spoke frankly about the Orthodox problem that some are drawn to their church by esthetic attraction to ceremonies. He also bemoaned Orthodox non-chalance, even indifference, to the needs of non-Orthodox believers.

A Joint Commission for Dialogue between the Metropolia of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church in West Germany now meets regularly. A meeting took place in Würzburg, March 19-20, 1982.¹⁰³ Also since 1979 there have been yearly unofficial meetings between Orthodox and Catholic theologians on a number of ecclesiological issues.¹⁰⁴

Before bringing this section on Orthodox and Roman Catholic relations to a close, it would be well to touch on the delicate question of the status of those Eastern churches already in full communion with Rome, the so-called "Uniate" churches. Some Uniate churches have a longer, more independent existence than others. Some have been more successful in resisting "Romanization." Historical and doctrinal studies on these churches are still badly needed. Two authors have recently explored the motives of the Vatican in its policy toward Eastern Catholic churches, especially in the Middle East.¹⁰⁵ Two Italian Catholics, Fedalto and Manna, have explored important areas of historical research.¹⁰⁶ Other historical studies treat churches in India and the Ukraine.¹⁰⁷

Besides these historical studies, several brief analyses of a doctrinal nature about the Uniates have been prepared. At the 1982 meeting of the Faith and Order Commission in Lima, Jean-Marie Tillard discussed the problems in a very open way.¹⁰⁸ His remarks can be linked with conclu-

¹⁰³ See *Episkepsis* no. 270 (1982) 2-3; Albert Rauch, "Katholische Kontakte zur Orthodoxie," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 28 (1979) 69-75; Athanasios Basdekis, "Die orthodoxe Kirche und die innerdeutsche Ökumene," in *Philoxenia* (n. 3 above) 39-49.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Imhof, "Ostkirchliches Institut Regensburg," *Geist und Leben* 55 (1982) 304-5.

¹⁰⁵ Constantin G. Patelos, *Vatican I et les évêques uniates: Une étape éclairante de la politique romaine à l'égard des orientaux (1867-1870)* (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 65; Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1981); idem, "Aux origines dogmatiques de l'uniatisme: Un texte ignoré," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 73 (1978) 334-48; Joseph Hajjar, *Le Vatican, la France et le catholicisme oriental (1878-1914): Diplomatie et histoire de l'église* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1979).

¹⁰⁶ Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in oriente* 1 (2nd ed.; Verona: Mazziana, 1981); *Hierarchia latina orientis* 2 (1976); *Documenti veneziani* 3 (1978); S. Manna, *Chiesa latina et chiese orientali all'epoca del patriarca Giuseppe Valerga (1813-72)* (Naples, 1972).

¹⁰⁷ J. Madey and S. T. Erackel, *The Future of the Oriental Catholic Churches* (Tiruvalla, Kerala: Santinilayam; Paderborn: Ostkirchendienst, 1979); Johannes Madey, "Ukrainische Kirche enthält ihre Synodalstruktur zurück: Die ekklesiologische Bedeutung des ukrainischen Synode in Rom," *Christliche Osten* 35 (1980) 75-80.

¹⁰⁸ J. M. Tillard, "Eglise catholique-romaine et églises unies," *Irénikon* 55 (1982) 19-24; shorter version in *Istina* 27 (1982) 125-27.

sions of Emmanuel Lanne, who points to a post-Tridentine concept of primacy affecting the Uniate churches.¹⁰⁹ One Eastern Catholic hierarch, Elias Zoghby of Baalbeck, Lebanon, does not hesitate to label some forms of Uniatism as a caricature. In his book *Tous schismatiques?* he states flatly: "I love the Roman Church, I love Orthodoxy just as much. I would gladly give my life to render witness to one or the other."¹¹⁰

Another situation that highlighted Orthodox sensitivities about Uniates was publication of a letter written by Pope John Paul II to Cardinal Slipyj on March 19, 1979, concerning the mission of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. This letter, not above criticism for its lack of clarity, created a furor among the Orthodox. On instructions from the Moscow Synod, Metropolitan Juvenal wrote to the Pope (September 4) to state Orthodox objections. His letter, in turn, was answered for the Pope by Cardinal Willebrands (September 22). Other Orthodox objected to the text in strong language. Some Vatican observers were convinced that this misunderstanding could have been avoided had there been more communication among the various Roman congregations.¹¹¹

Besides the dialogue between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics, major exchanges have also continued between the Orthodox and the Ancient Oriental or pre-Chalcedonian churches, the other members of the World Council of Churches, the Anglican Communion, the Old Catholics, the Lutherans in the two Germanies and in Romania, as well as with the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

The Ancient Oriental Churches have met "unofficially" with the Orthodox at Aarhus (1964), Bristol (1967), Geneva (1970), and Addis Ababa (1971). On the basis of a common understanding about the nature of their Christological differences, the two churches are now preparing for "official" consultations. An Interorthodox Committee for Dialogue with the Ancient Oriental Churches met in Chambésy, Feb. 7-11, 1979, to plan this new stage. Given the difficult political developments in the Coptic and Ethiopian churches, there may be a long delay before these consultations begin. A detailed and hopeful assessment of what has already been achieved was published by an Orthodox metropolitan and

¹⁰⁹ Emmanuel Lanne, "La conception post-tridentine de la primauté et l'origine des églises unies," *Irénikon* 52 (1979) 5-33.

¹¹⁰ Elias Zoghby, *Tous schismatiques?* (Beirut: Heidelberg Press, 1981).

¹¹¹ For documentation see *Messenger de l'exarchat du patriarche russe en Europe occidentale* 27, no. 101-4 (1979) 6-17; *Documentation catholique* 76 (1979) 503-5, 973-79; *Irénikon* 52 (1979) 532-39 and observations 539-44. See strong critique by Oliver Clément in *Le monde* [Paris] (Aug. 11, 1979), "Jean Paul II et les orthodoxes." See also Marguerite Demlotte, "L'Eglise catholique ukrainienne," *Istina* 27 (1982) 354-58, and ibid. 364-77. For further Orthodox critique, Jean Besse, "Retour à Pie X?" *Messenger orthodoxe* no. 83 (1979) 57-59, and his "Le double langage de Rome," ibid. no. 85 (1980) 59-63.

by an Ancient Oriental archbishop.¹¹²

As reported in the last survey, consultations have also been underway between the Ancient Oriental Churches and the Roman Catholic Church between 1971 and 1976. A fourth meeting, Sept. 11–17, 1978, also held in Vienna, treated the theme of papal primacy, and the complete acts of the consultation were published in English.¹¹³ In the United States since 1978 the pre-Chalcedonian Churches have been in official conversations with the Roman Catholic Church, meeting usually twice a year.¹¹⁴

World Council of Churches

After the fifth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC), Nov. 23–Dec. 10, 1975, Patriarch Pimen and the Moscow Synod wrote to Bishop Edward Scott, Moderator of the WCC Central Committee, and to Philip Potter, General Secretary, March 3, 1976, in which they promised continued support for the challenge of Christian unity and expressed appreciation for the dedication of the WCC staff. At the same time they registered unhappiness about specific developments in the WCC manifested at Nairobi and earlier. They felt that the WCC was departing from its goal of being only a "council" and was trying to act as a superchurch. The Russian Orthodox expressed concern about an exaggerated "verticalism," especially within the Faith and Order Commission, that had led to uncritical acceptance of liberation theology and practical support in some countries for specific political options. The Synod felt that meetings of the WCC were not the place for public manifestos on religious liberty. Regarding liturgies and prayer services at the assembly, the Orthodox noted "an artificial creation of an atmos-

¹¹² Chrysostome Konstantinidis, Metropolitan of Myra, "Le dialogue entre l'église orthodoxe et les églises de l'ancien orient: Appréciations et perspectives," *Proche orient chrétien* 30 (1980) 14–57, original Greek in *Theologia* 51 (1980) 22–48, 222–47; C. J. Dumont, O.P., "Quelques réflexions à propos de la conférence du Métropolitain de Myre," *Proche orient chrétien* 30 (1980) 58–74; Methodios Fouyas, "De dialoog tussen de orthodoxe Kerk en de oud-oosterse Kerken," *Het christelijk Oosten* 30 (1978) 240–53. On the Chambésy meeting, cf. *Episkepsis* no. 204 (1979) 4–13.

¹¹³ *Fourth Ecumenical Consultation between Theologians of the Oriental Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church*, Vienna-Lainz, Sept. 11–17, 1978, *Wort und Wahrheit*, Supplement no. 4 (Vienna: Herder, 1978); H. M. Biedermann, O.S.A., "Eine ökumenische Begegnung: Vierte altorientalisch-katholische Konsultation in Wien," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27 (1978) 312–26; Brian McNeil, "Catholic and Orthodox Dialogue in Vienna, 1978: Some Lessons for England," *Clergy Review* 64 (1979) 298–300; Johannes Madey, "Die ökumenischen Beziehungen zwischen der katholischen und der koptisch-orthodoxen Kirche seit 1973," *Catholica* 35 (1981) 141–53.

¹¹⁴ *Ecumenical Trends* 7 (1978) 161–65. For a list of the meetings and themes, consult the *Catholic Almanac*.

phere of exaltation which some tended to regard as the work of the Holy Spirit."¹¹⁵

These misgivings about the WCC are shared by other Orthodox believers and not just by those in the Soviet Union.¹¹⁶ A series of consultations, therefore, were set up under WCC auspices to air these problems. One of the first consultations was an Orthodox meeting at the monastery of New Valamo, Finland, from Sept. 24–30, 1977, to prepare a report for the WCC on "The Ecumenical Nature of the Orthodox Witness."¹¹⁷ Important statements are made here about the local church and about the churches' mission in the modern world, the latter section largely the work of Prof. Nicolai A. Zabolotsky of Leningrad. The report speaks of the sins of individualism, rationalism, consumerism, racism, militarism, deprivation, and exploitation of all forms. It states that the Eucharist has a dynamic that requires a "liturgy after the Liturgy," leading the worshiper to assist the poor and to promote peace and justice.

In 1978, also in co-operation with the WCC, a meeting was held in Basel to discuss Orthodox theological education, especially in an ecumenical perspective.¹¹⁸ A joint meeting of WCC delegates and representatives of the Orthodox churches met in Sophia, Bulgaria, May 23–31, 1981, to consider how the WCC might be more attentive to Orthodox concerns.¹¹⁹ Finally, from Feb. 5–9, 1982, the Orthodox met in Damascus to discuss what might be the specific Orthodox reaction to the theme of

¹¹⁵ For text of this letter, see *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 4 (1976) 8–16. See comments of E. Lanne, *Irénikon* 49 (1976) 181–204, and his "V Assemblée del consiglio ecumenico delle chiese: Le chiese ortodosse a Nairobi, 23 nov.–10 dic. 1975," *Oriente cristiano* 16, no. 1 (1976) 13–28.

¹¹⁶ Philippe Sabant, "La difficile participation des églises orthodoxes [au conseil œcuménique des églises]," *Informations catholiques internationales* no. 556 (1980) 48–50; Kallistos Ware, "Orthodoxy and the World Council of Churches," *Sobornost* n.s. 1 (1979) 74–83; Charles Boyer, S.J., "Gli ortodossi, il CEC e il dialogo cattolico-ortodosso," *Unitas* 34 (1979) 81–83; W. Owsjannikow, "Zwei Dezennien russische orthodoxe Mitarbeit im ökumenischen Rat," *Stimme des Orthodoxie* no. 3 (1982) 40–44; Gerassime-Chrysostom Zaphiris, "Die Abweichungen in der Zielsetzung des Weltkirchenrates und die Position der orthodoxen Kirche Griechenlands," *Theologia* 51 (1980) 260–75; J. A. Hebly, *The Russians and the World Council of Churches: Documentary Survey of the Accession of the Russian Orthodox Church to the World Council of Churches* (Belfast: Christian Journals, 1978), available from 760 Somerset St. W., Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

¹¹⁷ *New Valamo Consultation: The Ecumenical Nature of the Orthodox Witness* (Geneva: WCC, 1978); George S. Bebis, "Valamo Consultation," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 167–74.

¹¹⁸ *Orthodox Theological Education for the Life and Witness of the Church: Report on the Consultation at Basel, Switzerland, July 4–8, 1978* (Geneva: WCC, 1978).

¹¹⁹ *The Sophia Consultation: Orthodox Involvement in the World Council of Churches*, ed. T. Sabev (Geneva: WCC, 1982). See: *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 25 (1981) 191–206; *Romanian Orthodox Church News* 11 (1981) 50–53.

the Vancouver General Assembly of the WCC. A special Orthodox volume has been prepared on the theme of "Jesus Christ the Light of the World."¹²⁰

In the last survey mention was made of the International Orthodox/Anglican meeting in Zagorsk-Moscow, July 26–Aug. 2, 1976. A series of meetings has continued despite tensions brought on by the ordination of women in the Anglican communion. These meetings are not well publicized and it is difficult to determine whether they are preparatory or plenary sessions. A chronicle by someone who has attended these consultations is greatly needed. I have recorded meetings held on priesthood, saints, and the Church (Cambridge, 1977), the *filioque* and ordination of women to the priesthood (Pendeli, Greece, 1978), the Church and churches, intercommunion and the Trinity (Llandaff, Wales, 1980), and the Church, Trinity, and worship (Canterbury, 1981).¹²¹ These meetings normally approach too many themes simultaneously.

Dialogue is also in progress between the Orthodox and the Old Catholic Church. These well-documented meetings have led to several important consensus statements, unfortunately too little known. Four meetings have taken place over the last eight years: (1) on the Trinity, revelation, and tradition and the canon of Scripture (Chambésy, August 20–28, 1975); (2) on the essence of the Church and on the Mother of God (Chambésy, August 23–30, 1977); (3) on Church unity and local churches, and on the limits of the Church (Bonn, August 24–28, 1979), and (4) on four themes: authority of and in the Church, the infallibility of the Church, Church councils, and apostolic succession (Zagorsk-Moscow, September 15–22, 1981).¹²²

The many meetings that have taken place between the Orthodox and

¹²⁰ For the full text of the Damascus meeting, see *Jesus Christ the Life of the World* (n. 161 below). For shorter accounts see *Star of the East* 4, no. 1 (1982) 6–20; *Episkepsis* no. 267 (1982) 9–13.

¹²¹ For a recent assessment of the 1976 Moscow Meeting, see Kallistos Ware, "Le conférence de Moscou de 1976," *Istina* 24 (1979) 7–43. For the 1978 meeting, cf. *Episkepsis* no. 195/1 (1978) 13–17 and the official minutes in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 61 (1979) 620–44. See also *Irénikon* 51 (1978) 389–95. For the 1980 meeting, cf. *Episkepsis* no. 244 (1981) 8–14; 257 (1981) 10–14; *Documentation catholique* 79 (1982) 52–64. General assessments: Nicholas Stephen Weber, "Reflections on Orthodoxy and Christian Fellowship in England," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980) 128–39; C. Davey, "De dialoog tussen orthodoxen en anglicanen," *Het christelijk Oosten* 32 (1980) 251–74.

¹²² For English texts of the second meeting (1977), see *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 3 (1978) 58–62, French in *Episkepsis* no. 173 (1977) 10–15. For the third meeting (1979), see *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 4 (1980) 46–48, French in *Episkepsis* no. 215 (1979) 12–15. For the fourth meeting (1981), see *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 4 (1982) 45–50, French in *Episkepsis* no. 259 (1981) 10–16. On these consultations see also: Werner Kuppers, "Orthodox-alkatholischer Dialog," *Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift* 68 (1978) 29–47; 69 (1979) 244–60; P. J. Maan, "De dialoog tussen oud-katholieken en oosters-orthodoxen," *Het christelijk Oosten* 33 (1981) 250–65; 34 (1982) 3–17.

the Lutheran Church in the last two decades have been carefully listed and classified by a study prepared at the WCC. Several historical and doctrinal studies on their significance are available.¹²³ To mark the anniversary of the publication of the Augsburg Confession, several historical studies were undertaken. Of special historical interest are initiatives taken in the 16th century by the Ecumenical Patriarch to send an observer, Demetrios Mysos, to Wittenberg to investigate the Lutheran "innovations." Also there took place between several Tübingen Lutherans and the Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremiah II an exchange of correspondence on the Augsburg Confession. This exchange of letters between Constantinople and Tübingen has been published in English translation to mark the anniversary of that credal statement.¹²⁴

In this decade, after an official visit of Lutherans to the Ecumenical

¹²³ *The Orthodox Church and the Churches of the Reformation: A Survey of Orthodox-Protestant Dialogues* (Faith and Order Paper 76; Geneva: WCC, 1975); Daniel F. Martensen, "Eastern Orthodoxy on Lutheran Agenda," *Lutheran World* 23 (1976) 166–99; Wilhelm Schneemelcher, "Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum: Ekklesiologische Aspekte des lutherisch-orthodoxen Dialogs," in *Kirche im Spannungsfeld der Politik: Festschrift für Bischof D. Hermann Kunst*, eds. P. Collmer et al. (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1977) 235–48; Athanasios Basdekis, "Dialogues théologiques bilatéraux entre le patriarcat oecuménique et l'église évangélique d'Allemagne," *Episkepsis* no. 214 (1979) 13–17; idem, "Die theologischen Gespräche zwischen der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland und der Orthodoxie: Versuch einer Standortbestimmung," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 27 (1978) 223–53; R. Rusam, "Solidarisch mit der Gemeinde: Was Lutheraner mit den Orthodoxen verbindet," *Lutherische Monatshefte* 19 (1980) 471–73; Fairy von Lilienfeld, "Identitätsfindung im Dialog: Ueberlegungen zu den lutherisch-orthodoxen Gesprächen," *Una sancta* 35 (1980) 139–53; Karl Christian Felmy, "Die orthodox-lutherischen Gespräche in Europa: Ein Überblick," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 29 (1980) 504–18; Gunnar Hering, "Orthodoxie und Protestantismus," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, Beiheft 31/2 (1981) 823–74; Athanasios Basdekis, "Die Darstellung der orthodoxen Kirche in den deutschsprachigen Konfessionskunden der Gegenwart," *Theologia* 52 (1981) 319–43; Augustin [Nikitin], "Im Lande der Gletscher und Geysire: Zur Vorbereitung des theologischen Dialogs zwischen den orthodoxen und lutherischen Kirchen," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 4 (1981) 45–57; Augustin [Nikitin], "Geschichte des Dialogs zwischen Orthodoxie und Luthertum in Russland: Erstes Auftreten des Luthertums in Russland," *ibid.* 7 (1981) 49–64; Heinz Ohme, "Brücken zur Orthodoxie: Fortsetzung der theologischen Gespräche der EKD mit dem ökumenischen Patriarchat und der russischen orthodoxen Kirche," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 31 (1982) 102–4.

¹²⁴ George Mastrantonis, *Augsburg and Constantinople: The Correspondence between the Tübingen Theologians and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople on the Augsburg Confession* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982); Anastasios Kallis, "Confessio Augustana graeca: Orthodoxie und Reformation in ihrer theologischen Begegnung 1559–1581," in *Confessio Augustana und Confutatio der Augsburger Reichstag 1530 und die Einheit der Kirche*, ed. Edwin Iserloh (Münster: Aschendorff, 1980) 668–72, discussion 673–76; Theodor Nikolaou, "Zur Diskussion über die Confessio Augustana aus orthodoxer Sicht," *Una sancta* 36 (1980) 154–60; A.-M. Botton, "La confession d'Augsbourg et les églises d'orient," *Unité chrétienne* no. 59 (1980) 53–58; Augustin [Nikitin], "Das nizanisch-konstantinopolitanische Glaubensbekenntnis im Kontext der Confessio Augustana," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 12 (1981) 51–60.

Patriarch Demetrios in 1978, and after several preparatory meetings, there was begun the first official meeting of the Joint Orthodox and Lutheran Commission that met first in Espoo, Finland, August 27–September 4, 1981. Although this meeting did not receive the same attention as the Orthodox/Roman Catholic dialogue, it is still rich in promise.¹²⁵

Further conversations are underway, such as those between Constantinople and the West German Lutherans, the Evangelische Kirche Deutschland. Besides the three meetings previously noted in the last survey, a fourth meeting devoted to the study of the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the epiclesis of the liturgy, was held at Friedewald, Oct. 6–9, 1975. A fifth meeting discussed the Eucharist and priesthood at Bonn, Feb. 20–25, 1978, and then a sixth on Gospel and Church in Detmond, Oct. 2–7, 1981. These conversations have been carefully edited and published.¹²⁶

Also noteworthy are the so-called "Arnoldshain Conversations" begun in 1959 between the Russian Orthodox Church and the West German Lutherans (EKD). Previously I reported on the fourth, fifth, and sixth meetings, but since then a seventh meeting was held in June 6–10, 1976, on the theme "The Sacrifice of Christ and the Sacrifice of the Christian" at Arnoldshain/Taunus, Germany. The eighth meeting, on "Hope for Humankind's Future in the Light of God's Promise," met in Odessa, October 10–13, 1979. Then at Schwanberg Castle, near Würzburg, October 12–17, 1981, the group discussed the "Sacrament of Holy Orders and Apostolic Succession." Except for the most recent meeting, the acts of the meetings have been published and a number of commentaries have appeared.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ *Istina* 27 (1982) 325–29.

¹²⁶ For the text for the fourth meeting, *Die Anrufung des Heiligen Geistes im Abendmahl*, and for the fifth meeting, *Eucharistic und Priesteramt*, see n. 222 below. To date, the acts of the sixth meeting on Gospel and Church have not yet been published.

¹²⁷ For the acts of the seventh meeting, *Das Opfer Christi und das Opfer der Christen*, see n. 222 below. The acts of the eighth meeting were published as *Die Hoffnung auf die Zukunft der Menschheit unter der Verheissung Gottes: Ahtes theologisches Gespräch zwischen Vertretern der russischen orthodoxen Kirche und der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (10–13. Oktober 1979, Odessa), ed. Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, Aussegnamt (Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau 41; Frankfurt: O. Lembeck, 1981). On the ninth meeting, see *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 2 (1982) 59–66; *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1982) 36–41; *Episkepsis* no. 268 (1982) 6–7. For evaluations of these conversations, see A. Osipov, "Contemporary Dialogue of the Russian Orthodox Church with the Evangelical Lutheran Churches (1959–1979)," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* no. 6 (1981) 59–61; 7, 65–73; Fairy von Lilienfeld, "Das VI. theologische Gespräch zwischen der russischen orthodoxen Kirche und der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (Sagorsk 26.–29.II.1973)," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 23 (1974) 243–47; K. C. Felmy, "De Gesprekken van Arnoldshain," *Het christelijk Oosten* 31 (1979) 229–39; Heinz Joachim Held, "Im Dialog mit der russischen orthodoxen Kirche: Zum VIII. Gespräch zwischen der russischen

In East Germany exchanges known as the Zagorsk Conversations have been held between representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Federation of Evangelical Churches (Bund der evangelischen Kirchen). Up until 1981 four meetings had taken place on these themes: (1) Orthodox and Protestant dialogue in the context of the ecumenical movement and the Church in a socialist society (Zagorsk, July 8–11, 1974); (2) the kingdom of God as a present and future reality (Erfurt, Sept. 12–16, 1976); (3) the Church as a locus of sanctification (Kiev, Oct. 1–4, 1978); (4) following Christ in service to one's neighbor and the world (Güstrow, May 10–13, 1981). Various communiqués and evaluations have appeared in print, as well as some of the talks, but the acts are not available.¹²⁸

The Orthodox Church of Romania and the West German Lutheran Church have also met three times officially up to the year 1982. The topics discussed have been wide-ranging: "Scripture, Tradition, and Credo Affirmations" (Goslar, West Germany, Nov. 19–23, 1979); "The Sacraments of the Church in the Augsburg Confession and in the Orthodox Creeds of the 16th and 17th century" (Jassy, Romania, Oct. 24–26, 1980); "Penance and Confession in Faith and Life" (Hüllhorst, Westfalen, May 28–June 3, 1982). These meetings have stimulated research and exchange but have not yet had extensive impact.¹²⁹

Orthodoxie und der EKD in Odessa, Oktober, 1979," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 29 (1980) 350–58; Heinz Joachim Held, "Auf Wegen der Versöhnung: Die Reise einer Delegation des Rates der EKD in die Sowjetunion," *ibid.* 31 (1982) 494–501.

¹²⁸ On the Zagorsk conversations, see L. Borgmann, *Begegnungen mit der russischen orthodoxen Kirche: Ein Bericht* (E. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1978); Christoph Demke, "Rückschau und Ausblick auf orthodox-evangelische Gespräche," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 4 (1981) 41–44; H. Goltz, "De Gesprekken van Zagorsk," *Het christelijk Oosten* 31 (1979) 240–54. Reports on the fourth meeting are found in: *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 7 (1981) 60–64; *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 7 (1981) 43–47; *Irénikon* 54 (1981) 425–27. See also Augustin [Nikitin], Archimandrite, "Zagorsk-IV Conversations in the German Democratic Republic," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* no. 10 (1981) 69–74. Several speeches from that fourth meeting have been published: G. Haufe, "Der Ruf in die Nachfolge (Mark. 10. 17–31): Sagorsk IV," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1981) 55–63; Michael [Mudjugin], "Die Nachfolge Christi im Dienst am Nächsten und an der Welt," *ibid.* 8 (1981) 42–61; Heinrich Rathke, "Nachfolge Christi im Dienst am Nächsten und an der Welt (Römer 12, 1–2, 3–8, 9–21)," *ibid.* 9 (1981) 43–53; Konstantin Jephimowitsch Skurat, "Weg zur geistlichen und sittlichen Vervollkommenung (Mark. 10, 17–31; Rom. 12, 1–2; Phil. 2, 5)," *ibid.* 10 (1981) 49–64.

¹²⁹ The texts of the first two meetings have been published. See *Die heilige Schrift*, n. 149 below; and *Die Sakramente der Kirche*, n. 213 below; to date, the acts of the third meeting have not been published. For general overviews of these conversations, see: István Juhász, "Gespräche zwischen der rumänischen orthodoxen Kirche und der reformierten und lutherischen Kirche in Rumänien 1964–1975," *Kirche im Osten* 21–22 (1978–79) 3–2–11; Heinz Ohme, "Theologische Gespräche zwischen der rumänisch-orthodoxen Kirche und der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland," *Kirche im Osten* 25 (1982) 171–75; D. Radu, "The Dialogue between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Evangelical Church in Western Germany" [in Romanian], *Biserica Ortodoxa Romana* 98 (1980) 1098–1107.

Finally, plans for official dialogue between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches have been sketched following a meeting of Reformed delegates at Constantinople. A preliminary meeting was held in Geneva, Feb. 15-18, 1981, to set the stage for the future.¹³⁰

II

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS

In the second section of this survey I report on publications by Orthodox and other Christians concerning nine theological issues: the nature of theology from an Eastern perspective (its history, sources, distinctiveness), Triadology (God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit), Mary as Theotokos in worship and doctrine, the Church (especially Eucharistic ecclesiology), councils and related questions (authority, "economy," canonical traditions, reception, consensus, diaspora, autocephaly), the divine mysteries or sacraments, women in the Church, liturgy as well as icons and spirituality, and finally reflections on moral issues confronting the believer.

The Character of Theology

Writers often prefer to reflect on the Orthodox way of life rather than on Orthodox theology as such. Still, there has been some explicit reflection on the nature of theology, especially in two recent treatises, both by Romanians, expositions of the faith in a systematic fashion.¹³¹ An earlier volume on theology by the late Vladimir Lossky (1903-58) is still popular and has been reprinted.¹³² In the last instalment of this survey I took note of John Meyendorff's *Byzantine Theology* (1974), a work generally serviceable, especially if read in the light of some critical reviews.¹³³ The British Orthodox theologian Kallistos (Timothy) Ware, now bishop of Diocleia, published an introductory study on Orthodox theology.¹³⁴ Likewise, Metropolitan Emilianos Timiadis in his detailed commentary on the Nicene Creed shows how faith and theological reflection can advance hand in hand.¹³⁵ Western readers wishing to understand Orthodox the-

¹³⁰ T. F. Torrance, "World Alliance of Reformed Churches: Official WARC Delegation to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Istanbul, 26-30 July, 1979," *Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology* 1 (1980) 197-211. See *Episkepsis* no. 247 (1981) 7-15.

¹³¹ Dumitru Staniloae, *Teologia dogmatica ortodoxa*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Biblical and Orthodox Missionary Institute, 1978), and summary in *Irénikon* 54 (1981) 472-84 (D. Ciobotea); Ion Bria, *Dictionary of Orthodox Theology* [in Romanian] (Bucharest: Biblical and Orthodox Missionary Institute, 1981).

¹³² Vladimir Lossky, *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1978).

¹³³ See, for example, *Orientalia christiana periodica* 44 (1978) 195-97 (G. Podskalsky).

¹³⁴ Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (London: Mowbray, 1979).

ology can also consult two works, one by the Orthodox Nikos Nissiotis, the other by the Anglican A. M. Allchin.¹³⁶ A volume of essays published in honor of Archbishop Iakovos also contains several contributions that clarify the distinctive traits of Eastern theology.¹³⁷

On the history of Orthodox theology several new works have appeared, one by Kallistos Ware again, and two scholarly treatments, contributions to the *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte*, covering the periods from A.D. 691 to 1439 and 1500 to the present day.¹³⁸ George Maloney's history of Orthodox theology since the fall of Constantinople is somewhat idiosyncratic and needs to be corrected in some sections, but for the beginner willing to take into account various emendations it makes an appropriate starting point.¹³⁹ This summer at the Orthodox Ecumenical Center at Chambésy there has been held (May 28-June 20, 1983) the Fourth Theological Seminar, this time on "Theology in the Church and in the World."¹⁴⁰ Finally, two Orthodox scholars have outlined from a historical perspective what they see to be the role of the theologian in the Church today.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Emilianos Timiadis, *The Nicene Creed: Our Common Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982). See also Damaskinos Papandreou, "What Belongs in a Future Ecumenical Creed: An Orthodox Answer," in *An Ecumenical Confession of Faith?* eds. H. Kung and J. Moltmann (Concilium 118 [European editions 138]; New York: Seabury, 1979) 55-58; John Breck, "The Troparion Monogenēs: An Orthodox Symbol of Faith," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 26 (1982) 203-28.

¹³⁷ Nikos Nissiotis, *Interpreting Orthodoxy: The Communication of Orthodox Beliefs to Christians of Western Church Traditions* (Minneapolis: Light and Life, 1980); A. M. Allchin, *The Kingdom of Love and Knowledge: The Encounter between Orthodoxy and the West* (New York: Seabury, 1982).

¹³⁸ *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia: Trends and Prospects*, Essays in Honor of His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, ed. Demetrios J. Constantelos (Brookline, Mass.: Hellenic College, 1981); François Coester, "Bulletin de théologie orthodoxe," *Etudes théologiques et religieuses* 53 (1978) 555-63; Miguel M. Garijo-Guembe, "Boletín de teología oriental," *Diálogo ecuménico* 17, no. 58 (1982) 219-39.

¹³⁹ Kallistos Ware, "Christian Theology in the East, 600-1453," in *A History of Christian Doctrine*, eds. H. Cunliffe-Jones and B. Drewery (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978) 183-225; Klaus Wessel, "Dogma und Lehre in der orthodoxen Kirche von Byzanz," in *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte*, ed. Carl Andresen, 1: *Die Lehrentwicklung im Rahmen der Katholizität* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1982) 284-403; Reinhard Slenczka, "Lehre und Bekenntnis der orthodoxen Kirche: Vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart," in *Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte* 2: *Die Lehrentwicklung im Rahmen der Konfessionalität* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1980) 499-559.

¹⁴⁰ George Maloney, S.J., *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453* (Belmont, Mass.: Nordland, 1976), critically reviewed in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 20 (1976) 249-50.

¹⁴¹ For a description of the program, see *Episkepsis* no. 288 (1982) 2-3.

¹⁴¹ John Romanides, "The Theologian in the Service of the Church in Ecumenical Dialogue," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 131-51; Demetrios [Trakatellis], Bishop of Vresthena, "Suggestions for Our Theological Task Today and Tomorrow," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 25 (1981) 183-90.

How Orthodoxy perceived theology's method and its relationship to philosophy as early as the 14th and 15th centuries in Byzantium has been thoroughly studied by a Jesuit professor from Frankfurt, Gerhard Podskalsky; his companion volume studies theology in the years 988–1237 for the Kiev Rus'.¹⁴² Two Orthodox systematic theologians have discussed doctrinal theology's relationship to patristic writings.¹⁴³ Among Catholics the most carefully researched studies on the differences in theology between East and West are those of Yves Congar, the fruit of several decades of reflection.¹⁴⁴ Also instructive, if not for the breadth of its views, at least for its description of typical Orthodox objections to the West's a priori theorizing and its "load of metaphysics," is an essay by G. Barrois.¹⁴⁵ Finally, a rare Orthodox reflection on how pastoral theology can enrich doctrinal theology has been formulated and a new study prepared on sophiology in Paul Florensky (1882–1943).¹⁴⁶

Special attention has been given to contrasting the East's negative or apophatic theology as opposed to the West's affirmative or kataphatic theology.¹⁴⁷ On the influential Palamite Orthodox theology, Maloney

¹⁴² Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz: Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* (Byzantinisches Archiv 15; Munich: Beck, 1977). See also his "Orthodoxe und westliche Theologie," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, Beiheft 31/2 (1981), Akten, XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien, 4.–9. Oktober, 1981, 513–27; and his *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' 988–1237* (Munich: Beck, 1982).

¹⁴³ Christos Yannaras, *Person und Eros: Eine Gegenüberstellung der Ontologie der griechischen Kirchenväter und der Existenzphilosophie des Westens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1982); Maximos Aghiorgoussis, "Christian Existentialism of the Greek Fathers: Persons, Essence, and Energies in God," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 15–41.

¹⁴⁴ Yves Congar, "Unité de foi, diversité de formulation théologique entre grecs et latins dans l'appréciation des docteurs occidentaux," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 54 (1980) 21–31; "Pour le centenaire du concile de 381: Diversité de dogmatique dans l'unité de foi entre orient et occident," *Irenikon* 54 (1981) 25–35, 61; and his *Diversités et communion: Dossier historique et conclusion théologique* (Cogitatio fidei 112; Paris: Cerf, 1982) esp. 71–152; "Regards vers l'orient." See also Wacław Hryniewicz, O.M.I., "Le mystère de la divinité humaine: Signification herméneutique d'une notion de l'anthropologie orthodoxe," *Istina* 25 (1980) 350–64.

¹⁴⁵ Georges Barrois, "Two Styles of Theology and Spirituality," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 26 (1982) 89–101.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph J. Allen, "The 'Being in Act' of Theology," in *Orthodox Synthesis: The Unity of Theological Thought*, ed. Joseph J. Allen (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1981) 97–113. See also Robert Slesinski, "La sofologia di Pavel Florenskij e la sua attualità oggi," *Unitas* 37 (1982) 250–66. A work of Paul Florensky which dates from 1914 has been recently translated into French: *La colonne et le fondement de la vérité: Essai d'une théodicée orthodoxe en douze lettres*, tr. Constantin Andronikof (Paris: Age d'Homme, 1975).

¹⁴⁷ J. Hochstaftl, *Negative Theologie: Ein Versuch zur Vermittlung des patristischen Begriffs* (Munich: Kösel, 1976); Georg Galitis, "Apophatismus als Prinzip der Schriftauslegung bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern," *Evangelische Theologie* 40 (1980) 25–40;

devoted his Marquette Lectures to providing an appreciative endorsement. This same distinctive Palamite theology was explored sympathetically in a special issue of the *Eastern Churches Review*.¹⁴⁸

How to establish theology's legitimate use of the Bible has been the aim of several essays, some of which were prepared for ecumenical exchanges between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Evangelische Kirche Deutschland, at a meeting in Goslar, 1979. On the same topic the Romanian journal *Ortodoxia* devoted nine articles in one issue to the use of the Bible in theology and in Church life as seen by John Chrysostom and Basil the Great as well as contemporary thinkers. In Prague, September 12–18, 1977, at an international symposium on the role of the Bible, several Orthodox presentations were given. These studies regard the Bible first and foremost not as a tool for theology but as an inspiration for liturgy and devotion.¹⁴⁹ When compared to the extent of English, French, and German scriptural commentaries by Roman Catholics and Protestants, Orthodox commentaries remain sparse. The Orthodox hesitate to employ the historico-critical method of exegesis or to analyze the New Testament from a *redaktionsgeschichtlich* perspective. One biblical commentary prepared by an Orthodox exegete

Nicholas Gendle, "The Apophatic Approach to God in the Early Greek Fathers with Special Reference to the Alexandrian Tradition," *Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology* 2 (1981) 701–57; 3 (1982) 323–95; Nikolai Medwedew, "Apophatische und kataphatische Theologie im System der orthodoxen Dogmatik," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 2 (1979) 54–63.

¹⁴⁸ George Maloney, S.J., *A Theology of Uncreated Energies* (Milwaukee: Marquette University, 1978); *Eastern Churches Review* 9, no. 1–2 (1977); George Mantzarides, "Tradition and Renewal in the Theology of St. Gregory Palamas," 1–18; Iltyd Trethowan, "Irrationality in Theology and the Palamite Distinction," 19–26; Rowan D. Williams, "The Philosophical Structures of Palamism," 27–44; Kallistos Ware, "The Debate about Palamism," 45–63; Gabriel Patacsi, "Palamism before Palamas," 64–71. See also A. J. van der Aalst, "Het palamisme: Geschiedenis en methode," *Het christelijk Oosten* 30 (1978) 175–96; 31 (1979) 20–41; George Every, "The Study of Eastern Orthodoxy: Hesychasm," *Religion* [London] 9 (1979) 73–91.

¹⁴⁹ *Die heilige Schrift, die Tradition und das Bekenntnis: Eine Dokumentation über das 1. theologische Gespräch mit der rumänischen orthodoxen Kirche* (Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau 42; Frankfurt: O. Lembeck, 1982); Heinz Ohme, "Die heilige Schrift, die Tradition und das Bekenntnis: Anmerkungen zum ersten theologischen Gespräch zwischen der rumänischen orthodoxen Kirche und der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 29 (1980) 230–34; *Ortodoxia* 32 (1980) 204–354; Paul Fueter, "The Bible in the Orthodox Church: Report from the Prague Seminar," 12–18 September, 1977, [1], *Scripture Bulletin* 9 (1978) 37–38; Savas Agourides, "The Bible in the Orthodox Church," *ibid.* 10 (1979) 11–16; Lavrentije Trifunovich, Bishop, "The Orthodox Church and the Role of the Bible," *International Review of Mission* 70 (1981) 158–60; Michail Evdokimov and Dumitru Staniloae, "La lecture de la Bible dans l'église orthodoxe," *Contact* 30 (1978) 340–54; H. M. Biedermann, "Bibelverständnis der Ostkirchen," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 31 (1983) 122–41.

for nonspecialists and college-level students is instructive in this regard.¹⁵⁰

In regard to the meaning of tradition, the Orthodox, besides the Goslar papers, have prepared several important studies. The contribution of John Meyendorff to this topic was hailed by the late Jesuit Georges Dejaive as proof that an older static perspective has been overcome. Orthodox theologians now speak of a dialectic between tradition and renewal.¹⁵¹ Several historical studies, too, have traced the notion of *paradosis* in the Church Fathers. But it is specifically a misguided appeal to tradition that receives a scathing attack by Alexander Schmemmann. He blames the Orthodox hierarchical and theological establishment for insensitivity and blindness and criticizes some Orthodox theology as "better and better equipped to fight heresies defeated some fifteen centuries ago," a theology suffering from a "rhetoric made up of a mixture of unshakeable optimism, obligatory triumphalism and amazing self-righteousness." Orthodox loyalty is misplaced when it attacks the West as "totally corrupt, heretical and sick beyond repair."¹⁵²

Triadology

Triadology, or the mystery of three persons dwelling in the one God, has not received much doctrinal attention in the last several years. Still, two Orthodox, one a Russian monk, the other a Polish professor, have addressed Triadology specifically, albeit briefly.¹⁵³ Romanian Orthodox

¹⁵⁰ George Cronk, *The Message of the Bible: An Orthodox Christian Perspective* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1982).

¹⁵¹ John Meyendorff, *Living Tradition* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1978); Georges Dejaive, "Tradition vivante et orthodoxie," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 45 (1979) 397-404; John Meyendorff, "Does Christian Tradition Have a Future?" *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 26 (1982) 139-54; Jannuari Iwlijew, "Die Rolle der Tradition und die Artikulation des Glaubens in der Welt von heute," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 4 (1982) 45-48; 5, 37-48; Georgios D. Metallinos, "Der 'Dialektik' von Tradition und Erneuerung im orthodoxen Verständnis," *Orthodoxe Rundschau* 13 (1981) 4-11; Constantine Scouteris, "Paradosis: The Orthodox Understanding of Tradition," *Sobornost* n.s. 4 (1982) 30-37; Viorel Mehedintu, *Offenbarung und Überlieferung: Neue Möglichkeiten eines Dialogs zwischen der orthodoxen und der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie 40; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1980); J. B. Bauer, "Das Verständnis der Tradition in der Patristik," *Kairos* 20 (1978) 193-208; Konstantin G. Bonis, "Tradition' aus orthodoxer Sicht: Ein Versuch," in *Traditio-Krisis-Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht: Festschrift Winfried Zeller*, eds. B. Jasper and R. Mohr (Marburg: Elwert, 1976) 425-32.

¹⁵² Alexander Schmemmann, *Church, World, Mission: Reflections on Orthodoxy in the West* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's 1979) 19, 11, 207.

¹⁵³ Hillarion, Moine, "Voie royale de l'église orthodoxe: La confession de la Sainte Trinité," *Messenger de l'exarchat du patriarche russe en Europe occidentale* 30, no. 109-112 (1982) 73-103; Jerzy Klinger, "Quelques problèmes liés à l'enseignement sur la Sainte Trinité dans la théologie orthodoxe du XXème siècle," *Contacts* 28 (1976) 95-126.

D. Staniloae has had a collection of his studies translated into French as *Dieu est amour*, a book that qualifies as a basic Triadology.¹⁵⁴ In German an important investigation on the divine "energies" has been published that provides a clear account of why the Palamite system is popular among the Orthodox for describing God's life *ad intra* and *ad extra*. Several other studies contrast Eastern and Western approaches to the imminent and economical Trinity.¹⁵⁵ Roman Catholics such as Yves Congar have traced the usage of attributing to God the Father the description "absolute source of the divinity"; Mary Fatula has pointed to difficulties of the processional model connected with the expression *tamquam ab uno principio*.¹⁵⁶

Christology as such has not received close attention in the last five years among Eastern Christians. Some notable exceptions are contributions explaining the Christological concerns of ecumenical councils, one by a bishop of the Ancient Oriental Church and another by a Romanian Orthodox theologian.¹⁵⁷ Another Orthodox essay has compared classical Christology with the theological horizon of Rudolf Bultmann.¹⁵⁸ Orthodox circles in France have reissued a volume by Bulgakov first published in 1933 in Russian on the Incarnate Word from a sophiological perspective.¹⁵⁹ Beyond that, there are two other Christological studies, one by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch Ignatius IV (Hazim) on Jesus' resurrection and modern man;¹⁶⁰ finally, a collection of Orthodox background studies for the Vancouver World Assembly meeting on the appointed theme "Jesus Christ the Light of the World."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁴ Dumitru Staniloae, *Dieu est amour* (Perspective orthodoxe 1; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1980).

¹⁵⁵ Dorothea Wendebourg, *Geist oder Energie: Zur Frage der innergöttlichen Verankerung des christlichen Lebens in der byzantinischen Theologie* (Münchener Monographien zur historischen und systematischen Theologie 4; Munich: Kaiser, 1980); Chr. von Schonborn, "Immanente und ökonomische Trinität: Zur Frage des Funktionsverlustes der Trinitätslehre in der östlichen und westlichen Theologie," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 27 (1980) 247-64; Gerhard Richter, "Ansätze und Motive für die Lehre des Gregorios Palamas von den göttlichen Energien," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 31 (1982) 281-96.

¹⁵⁶ Yves Congar, "Le Père, source absolue de la divinité," *Istina* 25 (1980) 237-46; Mary A. Fatula, "A Problematic Western Formula (Tamquam ab uno principio)," *One in Christ* 17 (1981) 324-34.

¹⁵⁷ Methodios [Fouyas], "The Christology of the Ecumenical Synods," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 58 (1976) 148-63; D. Staniloae, "The Christology of the Synods," *ibid.* 130-37.

¹⁵⁸ G. Klinger, "La doctrine de la croix et de la résurrection de Rudolf Bultmann en confrontation avec la théologie de l'église d'Orient," *Istina* 25 (1980) 176-211.

¹⁵⁹ Serge Boulgakov, *La Sagesse divine et la théanthropie 1: Du Verbe incarné: L'Agneau de Dieu* [Russian original 1933] (Paris: Éditions Réunis, 1982).

¹⁶⁰ Ignace Hazim, *La résurrection et l'homme d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Desclée, 1981).

¹⁶¹ *Jesus Christ the Life of the World: An Orthodox Contribution to the Vancouver Theme*, ed. Ion Bria (Geneva: WCC, 1982).

Most writing about the Divinity has centered of late on the mystery of the Holy Spirit. Here the output is vast. Historical works have addressed the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Gregory of Nyssa and in Basil of Caesarea.¹⁶² Heavily influenced by his study of the Greek Fathers and recent Orthodox contributions, Yves Congar's pneumatology attempts now to form a synthesis.¹⁶³ The role of the Spirit in the liturgy and prayers of the Syrian Antiochian Church is the topic of another line of research.¹⁶⁴ Then too, to mark the anniversary of the second ecumenical council, Constantinople (381), several studies on its teaching on the Holy Spirit have appeared.¹⁶⁵ A wide variety of pneumatological studies, too vast to summarize, has been published in our time frame.¹⁶⁶ In addition, two international congresses have encouraged reflection on the Spirit of God, one held at the ecumenical center of Bari, April 22-24, 1980, on the Holy Spirit and the rites of Christian initiation, and a theological convocation on pneumatology under Vatican auspices, in Rome, March

¹⁶² Martien Parmentier, "Saint Gregory of Nyssa's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 58 (1976) 41-100, 387-444; 59 (1977) 323-429; 60 (1978) 697-730. See also the study of Basil's pneumatology by Luislampe cited in n. 17 above.

¹⁶³ Yves Congar, *Je crois en l'Esprit Saint 3: Le Fleuve de vie (Ap 22.1) coule en orient et en occident* (Paris: Cerf, 1980).

¹⁶⁴ Johannes Madey, "Der von dir, Vater, ausgeht und von deinem Sohne nimmt": *Der Heilige Geist im Beten der syro-antiochenischen Kirche* (Oecumenismus spiritualis 3; Padborn: Bonifacius, 1980).

¹⁶⁵ Franco Bolgiani, "La théologie de l'Esprit Saint: De la fin du I^{er} siècle au Concile de Constantinople (381)," *Quatre fleuves cahier* 9 (1979) 33-72; André de Halleux, "La profession de l'Esprit-Saint dans le symbole de Constantinople," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 10 (1979) 5-39.

¹⁶⁶ Emilianos Timiadis, "The Centrality of the Holy Spirit in Orthodox Worship," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 60 (1978) 317-57; Georges Khodr, "Vision orthodoxe du Saint-Esprit," *Service orthodoxe de presse*, Supplément no. 68 (1982) 1-14; Charles Lee Graves, "The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Sergius Bulgakov," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 60 (1978) 810-91; 61 (1979) 257-342; L. Hodl, "Ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist, die heilige katholische Kirche: Zum ökumenischen Verständnis des 3. Glaubensartikels," *Catholica* 36 (1982) 195-214; Yves Congar, "Méditation théologique sur la troisième Personne," *Proche orient chrétien* 29 (1979) 201-11; Boris Bobrinskoy, "Esprit et sacrements selon les Pères," *Service orthodoxe de presse*, Supplément no. 60 (1981) 1-12; James P. Mackey, "The Holy Spirit: Relativising the Divergent Approaches of East and West," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 48 (1981) 256-67; Constantine N. Tsirpanlis, "Pneumatology in the Eastern Church," *Diakonia* 13 (1978) 17-26; P. O'Leary, "The Holy Spirit in the Church in Orthodox Theology," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 46 (1979) 177-84; Marie-Vincent Leroy, O.P., "La théologie du Saint-Esprit," *Revue thomiste* 82 (1982) 101-19; Winfrid Cramer, "Der Heilige Geist und die Taufe Jesu in armenischen Glaubensbekenntnis," *Oriens christianus* 65 (1981) 40-61; Olivier Clément, "Quelques approches de la théologie et de l'expérience du Saint Esprit dans l'église orthodoxe," *Contacts* 31 (1979) 241-68, also in *Aspects* 7-29; idem, "Je crois en l'Esprit Saint," *Contacts* 34 (1982) 28-46.

22-26, 1982, whose acta to my knowledge have not yet been published.¹⁶⁷

Regarding the *filioque* a considerable amount of material has been printed. Some of these studies address specific points of historical background.¹⁶⁸ Also under sponsorship of the World Council of Churches, two consultations of the Faith and Order Commission were held to resolve the divergences between East and West regarding the *filioque*. These meetings (Oct. 26-29, 1978 and May 23-27, 1979), held at Klingenthal near Strasbourg, led to the publication of the background papers and a remarkable "memorandum" which records a consensus statement addressed to Church leaders.¹⁶⁹ This memorandum is one of the most important and balanced statements ever produced on this thorny issue and should be required reading at least for clergy and theology students. One statement in the memorandum, largely inspired from the Orthodox theologian Staniloae, asserts: "the Son is indeed not alien to the procession of the Spirit, nor the Spirit to the begetting of the Son—something

¹⁶⁷ Salvatore Manna, O.P., "Le symposium de Bari sur 'Le Saint-Esprit et les sacrements d'initiation chrétienne,'" *Episkopsis* no. 231 (1980) 10-13, and the longer text in *Oriente cristiano* 20 (1980) 97-107; J. Robert Nelson, "Arrivederci, Pneuma. (Special Report: International Theological Congress on Pneumatology, Rome, Mar. 1982)," *Christian Century* 99 (1982) 667-69; Stefano Virgulin, "Il congresso romano internazionale di pneumatologia," *Unitas* 37 (1982) 88-93; Cesare Casale-Marcheselli, "'Credo nello Spirito sancto': Congresso Internazionale di Pneumatologia, Roma, 22-26 marzo, 1982," *Asprenas* [Naples] 29 (1982) 163-77.

¹⁶⁸ André de Halleux, "Cyrille, Théodoret et le 'Filioque,'" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 74 (1979) 597-625; Alasdair Heron, "The *Filioque* Clause," in *One God in Trinity*, eds. Peter Toon and J. D. Spiceland (Westchester, Ill.: Cornerstone, 1980) 62-77; Dietrich Ritschl, "The History of the *Filioque* Controversy," in *Conflicts about the Holy Spirit*, eds. H. Kung and J. Moltmann (Concilium 128 [European editions 148]; New York: Seabury, 1979) 3-14; Michael A. Fahey, S.J., "Son and Spirit: Divergent Theologies between Constantinople and the West," *ibid.* 15-22; Theodore Stylianopoulos, "The Orthodox Position [on the *Filioque* Question]," *ibid.* 23-30; Markos A. Orphanos, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit according to Certain Fathers," *Theologia* 50 (1979) 763-78; 51 (1980) 87-107, 276-99, 436-61, 739-42, with summary in Greek 743-47; Markos A. Orphanos, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit according to St. Photius," *Theologia* 50 (1979) 47-68 [in Greek, with English summary 69-70]; D. Staniloae, "The Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and His Relation to the Son as Foundation of our Divinization and Adoption" [in Romanian], *Ortodoxia* 31 (1979) 583-92, English text in *Spirit of God* (cf. next footnote) 174-86; Placide Deseille, "Saint Augustin et le 'Filioque,'" *Messenger orthodoxe* no. 85 (1980) 33-49, also in *Messenger de l'exarchat du patriarche russe en Europe occidentale* 30, no. 109-12 (1982) 59-72; B. Schultze, S.J., "Zum Ursprung des *Filioque*: Das *Filioque* und der römische Primat," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 48 (1982) 5-18; Hans-Jürgen Marx, *Filioque und Verbot eines anderen Glaubens auf den Florentinum: Zum Pluralismus in dogmatischen Formeln* (St. Augustin, Niederpleis: Steyler, 1977).

¹⁶⁹ *Spirit of God, Spirit of Christ: Ecumenical Reflections on the Filioque Controversy*, ed. L. Vischer (London: SPCK, 1981), French: *La théologie du Saint Esprit dans le dialogue oecuménique* (Paris: Centurion, 1981).

which has also been indicated in eastern theology when it has spoken of the Spirit as 'resting upon' or 'shining out through' the Son, and insisted that the generation of the Son and the procession of the Spirit must be *distinguished but not separated*" (15). The memorandum recommends the common liturgical usage of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed and its original form without the *filioque* addition and parallels the recommendation of the international consultation between Orthodox and Anglicans July 13-18, 1978, at Pendeli, Greece.¹⁷⁰ Besides this historical and ecumenical material, there are a number of systematic and doctrinal studies that advance common understanding.¹⁷¹ Two Orthodox writers have also commented on the so-called charismatic movement that has affected many parts of the world-wide Church.¹⁷²

Mary as Theotokos

Doctrine related to Mary the *theotokos* or God-bearer has recently been reviewed in works by Orthodox and Catholics in dialogue with them.¹⁷³ The Romanian Orthodox journal *Orthodoxia* devoted an entire

¹⁷⁰ Text in *Episkepsis* no. 195/1 (1978) 13-17; acta in *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 61 (1979) 620-44.

¹⁷¹ Methodios [Fouyas], "The *Filioque* in Ecumenical Perspective," *Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology* 3 (1982) 1061-96; Boris Bobrinskoy, "Le 'Filioque' hier et aujourd'hui," *Contacts* 34 (1982) 7-27; Giovanni Marchesi, S.J., "La questione del 'Filioque' oggi," *Civiltà cattolica* 133/4, no. 3180 (1982) 533-47; Hegumen Boniface, "The *Filioque* Question," *Diakonia* 15 (1980) 74-81; G. Bray, "Filioque and Anglican-Orthodox Dispute," *Churchman* 93 (1979) 123-36; Edward Every, "The *Filioque* Question," *Sobornost* n.s. 1 (1979) 42-49; Germain Leblond, O.S.B., "Point de vue sur la procession du Saint-Esprit," *Revue thomiste* 78 (1978) 293-302; Jean-Miguel Garrigues, *L'Esprit qui dit 'Père!': L'Esprit-Saint dans la vie trinitaire et le problème du Filioque* (Paris: Téqui, 1981); André de Halleux, "Pour un accord oecuménique sur la procession de l'Esprit Saint et l'addition du 'Filioque' au symbole," *Irénikon* 51 (1978) 451-69; F. Rouleau, "A propos du Filioque: Un document: Instruction pastorale de l'épiscopat catholique de Grèce," *Quatre fleuves* cahier 9 (1979) 73-78. This last article contains excerpts from a pastoral letter (May 31, 1973) of the Greek Catholic bishops requiring the omission of the *filioque* addition.

¹⁷² Athanasios Emmert, "Charismatic Developments in the Eastern Orthodox Church," in *Perspectives on the New Pentecostalism*, ed. Russell P. Spittler (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976) 28-42; Ivan Pančovski, "An Orthodox View [of the Charismatic Movement]," in *Conflicts about the Holy Spirit*, eds. H. Kung and J. Moltmann (Concilium 128 [European editions 148]; New York: Seabury, 1979) 107-13.

¹⁷³ Michel-Philippe Laroche, *Theotokos: Marie Mère de Dieu dans l'expérience spirituelle de l'église orthodoxe* (Paris: Presence, 1981); Tadros Y. Malaty, *St. Mary in the Orthodox Concept* (2nd ed.: Alexandria: Coptic Patriarchate, 1979); John Maximovitch, *The Orthodox Veneration of the Mother of God* (Kodiak, Alaska: St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 1978); Placid J. Podipara, "The Mariology of the Church of the East," *Christian Orient* 2, no. 4 (1981) 165-82; Johannes Madey, *Marienlob aus dem Orient: 'Zu dir nehmen wir unsere Zuflucht alle Tage.' Aus Stundengebet und Eucharistiefeyer der syrischen Kirche von Antiochien* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1982); Lothar Heiser, *Maria in der Christus-Verkündigung des orthodoxen Kirchenjahres* (Trier: Paulinus, 1982); Vladimir N. Lossky, "Das Dogma von der unbefleckten Empfängnis," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 9 (1978) 57-64

issue with seven essays to Marian devotion.¹⁷⁴ Also, as we noted, the Orthodox/Old Catholic dialogue published an important statement on the "Mother of God" at its meeting August 23-30, 1977.¹⁷⁵ This text draws heavily from patristic and conciliar sources. Several sections seem aimed specifically at Roman Catholics when, for example, it notes:

In calling her [Mary] blessed, most holy, immaculate, most pure, most honorable, most glorious and holiest of all, the Church professes through God's grace the relative sinlessness of the ever Virgin when the Holy Spirit came down upon her, relative because in essence only Jesus Christ our Saviour is absolutely without sin. The Church does not know the recent dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the bodily assumption of the Mother of God. However, she celebrates the Mother of God's entry into eternal life, the public glorification of her Dormition . . . Although in the hymns of the Church the Mother of God is called the Mediatrix (*mesitria*), she is never referred to as co-mediatrix or co-redemptrix, since she is only our Intercessor in prayer.

Church and Eucharistic Ecclesiology

In the past five years no other doctrinal theme has been studied by the Orthodox more diligently than the Church. I take note first of the historical investigations. These studies focus primarily on nineteenth-century Russian ecclesiology, especially Eucharistic ecclesiology in the tradition of Afanassieff and Bulgakov.¹⁷⁶ Among the Orthodox doctrinal

[original dates from 1934 with some updating in 1954]; Giuseppe Ferrari, "Presenza della Madre di Dio nella preghiera orientale," *Oriente cristiano* 16, no. 2 (1976) 101-19; Athanasios Basdekis, "Die Gottesmutter: Marienverehrung und Marienfrommigkeit in der orthodoxen Theologie und Kirche," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 31 (1982) 424-42; Dmitry Grigorieff, "The Theotokos in the Orthodox Tradition and Russian Thought," *The Way*, Supplement 45: *Mary and Ecumenism* (1982) 22-29; Johannes Kalogirou, "Marienlehre und -verehrung in der orthodoxen Kirche auf dem Hintergrund der Christologie," *Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift* 68 (1978) 2-28; Nikolaus Thon, "Die allreine Gottesmutter Maria in der orthodoxen liturgischen Verehrung," *Christliche Osten* 32 (1977) 126-34, 164-71.

¹⁷⁴ *Orthodoxia* 32, no. 3 (July-Sept. 1980) 443-554.

¹⁷⁵ The text appears in English, French, and German in *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 3 (1978) 58-60; *Episkepsis* no. 173 (1977) 13-15; *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 12 (1977) 45-49. The wording of the three texts differs slightly, since Marian expressions used in vernacular hymns are cited.

¹⁷⁶ Paul Evdokimov, "The Principal Currents of Orthodox Ecclesiology in the 19th Century," *Eastern Churches Review* 10 (1978) 26-42; Vladimir [Sabodan], Rector of Moscow Theological Academy, "Die russische Ekklesiologie im Zeitalter der Ökumene," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1980) 49-63; 7, 48-64; Gerardo Cioffari, O.P., *La sobornost nella teologia russa: La visione della chiesa negli scrittori ecclesiastici della prima metà del XIX secolo* (Bari, 1978); André Joos, "Communione universale o cattolicità dell'assemblea: Elementi di ecclesiologia negli scritti del P. N. N. Afanassiev," *Nicolaus* 1 (1973) 7-47, 223-60; idem, "L'Eglise, (re)conciliation et conciliarité: Aspects de l'ecclésiologie de conciliarité dans les écrits de S. Boulgakov," *Nicolaus* 4 (1976) 3-97; Stanisław Świerkosz, S.J., *L'Eglise visible selon Serge Bulgakov: Structure hiérarchique et sacramentelle* (Orientalia christiana analecta 211; Rome: Oriental Institute, 1980).

studies on Church a comprehensive overview is provided by Metropolitan Damaskinos, who is one of the principal voices in the contemporary ecumenical movement.¹⁷⁷ Another good orientation is provided by Nikos Nissiotis, whose keynote address set the stage for the Second Congress of Orthodox Theological Colleges on "La théologie de l'église et sa réalisation."¹⁷⁸ Among the twenty presentations at the conference it is not always clear whether "de l'église" should be understood as a subjective or objective genitive, theology done by the Church or theology concentrating on the Church. In the latter sense the two most insightful papers are those by the Bulgarian T. Koev (215–229) and the American Greek-Orthodox T. Stylianopoulos (176–207).

Several bilateral meetings have treated Church, namely, the Orthodox/Old Catholic meeting in 1977 on the "Essence and Notes of the Church" and in 1979 on "Local Church," as well as the meeting in 1978 of the Orthodox/East German Lutheran Church.¹⁷⁹ Rich in contemporary studies are also the published acts of the First Theological Seminar held at Chambésy May 10–June 3, 1980, on Local and World-wide Church.¹⁸⁰ Individual Orthodox ecclesiologists have produced book-length studies such as D. Staniloae.¹⁸¹ John Zizioulas, whom Yves Congar recently described as "one of the most original and most profound theologians of

¹⁷⁷ Damaskinos Papandreou, "Die orthodoxe Ekklesiologie und die eine Kirche Christi," in *Unterwegs zur Einheit: Festschrift für Heinrich Stirnimann*, eds. Joseph Brantschen and Pietro Selvatico (Fribourg, Switz.: Universitätsverlag, 1980) 820–35. See also George Dragas, "Orthodox Ecclesiology in Outline," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 185–92.

¹⁷⁸ *Procès-verbaux du deuxième congrès de théologie orthodoxe à Athènes, 19–29 août 1976*, ed. S. C. Agourides (Athens: E. P. E., 1978). The opening address is Nikos Nissiotis, "Theology of the Church and Its Accomplishment," *Ecumenical Review* 29 (1977) 62–76. German text: "Die Aufgabe einer Theologie der Kirche: Einführung in das Thema des zweiten Kongresses der orthodoxen theologischen Fakultäten in Athen," *Kerygma und Dogma* 23 (1977) 41–59.

¹⁷⁹ The texts of the Orthodox/Old Catholic dialogue in 1977 are published in *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 3 (1978) 60–62; *Episkepsis* no. 173 (1977) 10–13; *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 12 (1977) 42–49. The 1979 meeting, *Journal of Moscow Patriarchate* no. 4 (1980) 46–48; *Episkepsis* no. 215 (1979) 12–15. The dialogue between the Russian Orthodox and the East German Lutheran Church devoted its meeting of October 1–4, 1978, at Kiev to the theme "Church as Locus of Sanctification." Six of the background papers for that meeting have been published: Ernst-Heinz Amberg, "Die Kirche als Geschöpf der Gnade," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 2 (1979) 30–39; Michael [Mudjugin], "Die heiligende Wirkung der Gnade Gottes in der Kirche und durch die Kirche," *ibid.* 3 (1979) 33–55; Christoph Wetzlar, "Die Kirche als Ort der Heiligung," *ibid.* 4 (1979) 45–55; K. E. Skurat, "Die Kirche als Ort der Heiligung," *ibid.* 5 (1979) 41–50; Nicolai Zabolotsky, "Die Kirche als Bekenntnisgemeinschaft," *ibid.* 6 (1979) 48–64; Philaret [Vakhromyev], Metropolitan of Kiev, "Die Katholizität der Universal- und Lokalkirche," *ibid.* 10 (1980) 52–64.

¹⁸⁰ *Eglise locale et église universelle* (Etudes théologiques de Chambésy I; Chambésy-Geneva: Centre Orthodoxe, 1981).

¹⁸¹ Dumitru Staniloae, *Theology and the Church* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1980).

our age," has gathered several of his major studies into a volume, *L'Etre ecclésial*.¹⁸² Further Orthodox studies in ecclesiology are listed here in chronological order.¹⁸³ In light of the dominance of Greek and Russian Orthodox writers, it is especially useful to have ecclesiological studies by Hazim, from the Orthodox patriarchate of Antioch, and by a pre-Chalcedonian churchman, Mar Gregorios.¹⁸⁴ Besides these Orthodox studies, one needs to take note of what Roman Catholics have written about the Eastern Church. The late Swiss ecclesiologist Raymund Erni distinguished himself by interpreting triadological ecclesiology and producing a popular work on the Church from an Orthodox viewpoint, a book which I hope will be translated into several languages.¹⁸⁵ I also call attention to other ecclesiological studies on the Church from an Eastern perspective by Roman Catholics, including presentations at an international congress

¹⁸² Jean Zizioulas, *L'Etre ecclésial* (Perspectives orthodoxes 3; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981). Congar's remarks are made in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982) 88.

¹⁸³ Athenagoras [Kokkinakis], *Ecclesiological Problems* (London: A. V. Huckle, 1976), German text: *Ekklesiologische Probleme: "Kirche—ausserhalb von Grenzen" und anderes* (Wetzlar, 1977); Dan Ilie Ciobotea, "Die heilende Kraft der Kirche: Aus der Sicht der orthodoxen Theologie und Spiritualität," *Una sancta* 32 (1977) 195–203; Dimitrije Dimitrijević, "Die Gründung der Kirche und die Kennzeichen ihrer Einheit," in *Die Einheit der Kirche* 315–24; John Meyendorff, "Ecclesiastical Regionalism: Structures of Communion or Cover for Separation? Issues of Dialogue with Roman Catholicism," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980) 155–68, French text: "Régionalisme ecclésiastique, structures de communion ou couverture de séparatisme?" in *Les églises après Vatican II* 329–45; Stanley S. Harakas, "The Orthodox Vision of Visible Unity [and Orthodox-Anglican Relations]," in *A Communion of Communion: One Eucharistic Fellowship*, ed. J. Robert Wright (New York: Seabury, 1979) 168–83; Maximos Aghiorghoussis, "The Church as a Presupposition for the Proclamation of the Gospel," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 371–76; John D. Zizioulas, "Ecclesiological Issues Inherent in the Relations between Eastern Chalcedonian and Oriental Non-Chalcedonian Churches," in *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite?* 138–56; Jean Zizioulas, "Christologie, pneumatologie et institutions ecclésiales: Un point de vue orthodoxe," in *Les églises après Vatican II* 131–48; Ion Bria, "Ecclesial Unity in the Ecumenical Movement: Theology and Expectations," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 314–24; Thomas Hopko, *All the Fullness of God: Essays on Orthodoxy, Ecumenism and Modern Society* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1982).

¹⁸⁴ Ignace Hazim [Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch], "Une vision antiochienne de l'unité de l'église," *Proche orient chrétien* 28 (1978) 202–8; Paulos Mar Gregorios, "Ecclesiological Issues concerning the Relation of Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches," in *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite?* 127–37.

¹⁸⁵ Raymund Erni, "Pneumatologische und triadologische Ekklesiologie in ihrer Bedeutung für Struktur und Leben der Kirche: Ein Beitrag aus der Sicht der orthodoxen Theologie," in *Unterwegs zur Einheit: Festschrift für Heinrich Stirnimann*, eds. Joseph Brantschen and Pietro Selvatico (Fribourg, Switz.: Universitätsverlag, 1980) 803–20; *idem*, *Die Kirche in orthodoxer Schau: Ein Beitrag zum ökumenischen Gespräch* (Fribourg, Switz.: Kanisius, 1980). See also Hans Joachim Schulz, "Eglise locale et église universelle: Primauté, collegialité et synodalité," *Proche orient chrétien* 31 (1981) 3–22.

in Bologna (April 8–12, 1980) on local churches after Vatican II.¹⁸⁶

In dealing with each other, Orthodox and Roman Catholics have not felt self-conscious in using the expression "sister churches" to describe the special relationship between them. Several authors have recently explored the history of this term and its appropriateness.¹⁸⁷

The so-called Eucharistic ecclesiology which has dominated Orthodox theology since the thirties in a particular formulation by Nicholas Afanassieff (1893–1966) sees the Church as made up not of the sum of its parts but all of it present in each of its parts, just as Christ is totally present in each Eucharistic celebration. The Church is realized especially when gathered around its bishop at the liturgy. It is through the Eucharist and not through institutional ties that one local community strengthens its links with other Eucharistic communities. On this theology two major German studies have been published by H.-J. Schulz and P. Plank which in turn have stimulated reactions. A large number of other Roman Catholic studies have tried to explain this ecclesiological perspective, beginning with a study by an Italian Catholic, Bruno Forte, which shows the compatibility of Eucharistic ecclesiology with the teaching of *Lumen gentium*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Georges Dejaive, *Un tournant décisif de l'ecclesiologie à Vatican II* (Point théologique 31; Paris: Beauchesne, 1978); J. M. Tillard, "L'Eglise de Dieu est une communion," *Irénikon* 53 (1980) 451–68; idem, "Une seule église de Dieu, l'église brisée," *Proche orient chrétien* 30 (1980) 3–13; Theodore Pulcini, "Toward an Acceptable Byzantine Catholic Ecclesiology," *Diakonia* 15 (1980) 5–22. Essays from a symposium held in Bologna, April 8–12, 1980, are also helpful: *Les églises après Vatican II: Dynamisme et prospective*, Actes du Colloque international de Bologne 1980, ed. G. Alberigo (Théologie historique 61; Paris: Beauchesne, 1981).

¹⁸⁷ Jérôme Cornélis, "Les retrouvailles des églises soeurs," *Unité des chrétiens* no. 3 (1971) 7–14; Dimitri Salachas, "Schwester-Kirchen in Gespräch: Der offizielle theologische Dialog der orthodoxen und der katholischen Kirche," *Catholica* 34 (1980) 249–59; Yves Congar, "Eglise orthodoxe et église catholique romaine: 'Églises-soeurs' et conciles 'oecuméniques,'" in his *Diversités et communion* 126–41; Emmanuel Lanne, "Eglise soeur et église mère dans le vocabulaire de l'église ancienne," in *Communio sanctorum: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Jacques von Allmen* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1982).

¹⁸⁸ Bruno Forte, *La chiesa nell'Eucharistia: Per un'ecclesiologia eucaristica alla luce del Vaticano II* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 1975); Hans Joachim Schulz, *Ökumenische Glaubenseinheit aus eucharistischer Überlieferung* (Konfessionskundliche und kontroverstheologische Studien 39; Paderborn: Bonafacius, 1976), and lengthy analysis, Bernhard Schultze, S.J., "Ökumenische Glaubenseinheit aus eucharistischer Überlieferung," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 44 (1978) 273–308; Peter Plank, *Die Eucharistieversammlung als Kirche: Zur Entstehung und Entfaltung der eucharistischen Ekklesiologie Nikolaj Afanas'evs* (1893–1966) (Das östliche Christentum N. F. 31; Würzburg: Augustinus, 1980), and review, Bernhard Schultze, S.J., "Die Eucharistieversammlung als Kirche," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 31 (1982) 33–56. On Eucharistic ecclesiology see also Peter Plank, "Paralipomena zur Ekklesiologie A. S. Chomjakovs," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 29 (1980) 3–29; Paul Patrick O'Leary, *The Triune Church: A Study in the Ecclesiology of A. S. Chomjakov* (Fribourg, Switz.: Universitätsverlag, 1982); Albert Gerhards, "Die Eucharistieversammlung als Kirche: Zu einer Studie über die eucharistische Ekklesiologie Nikolaj Afanas'evs (1893–

Regarding the Church's mission and role in the modern world, Orthodox writers have published several works. Of special interest is the volume prepared in collaboration with the World Council of Churches and intended as a pastoral and missionary guidebook for Orthodox. The published material was prepared at the Fifth Pan-Orthodox Missionary Conference that met in Yugoslavia, September 20–25, 1980.¹⁸⁹

Only a few studies have addressed the origins and growth of *episkopé*, the pastoral ministry exercised by bishops.¹⁹⁰ A meeting of the Society of the Law of the Oriental Churches planned for 1983 in Freiburg will discuss the rights and jurisdiction of bishops. The topic of bishops has been overshadowed by the issue of the papacy. Although papal primacy is rarely an explicit topic in the bilaterals, still the topic is never far removed from Orthodox consciousness. Four Orthodox scholars have written on the papacy in the last few years.¹⁹¹ These works stress the

1966), *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 31 (1981) 186–92; Michael Kaszowski, "Sources de l'ecclesiologie eucharistique du P. Nicolaus Afanassieff," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 52 (1976) 331–43, summary of his thesis: *L'Eucharistie dans le système ecclésiologique du Père Afanassieff (1893–1966)*, doctoral dissertation, Faculté de théologie, Louvain la Neuve (Prom.: A. de Halleux), February 1976; Nicholas Lossky, "The Eucharistic Life: The Church as a Eucharistic Community at the Local Level," *Ecumenical Review* 31 (1979) 69–71; Michael [Mudjugin], "Das orthodoxe Verständnis von Kirche und Eucharistie in ihrer gegenseitigen Zuordnung," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 3 (1982) 51–63; John Zizioulas, "The Local Church in a Eucharistic Perspective: An Orthodox Contribution," in *In Each Place: Towards a Fellowship of Local Churches Truly United* (Geneva: WCC, 1977) 50–61, French text: "L'Eglise locale dans une perspective eucharistique," *Messenger de l'exarchat du patriarcat russe* 26, nos. 97–100 (1978) 35–48.

¹⁸⁹ Alexander Schmemmann, "The Problem of the Church's Presence in the World in Orthodox Consciousness," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 21 (1977) 3–17; *Go Forth in Peace: A Pastoral and Missionary Guidebook: Reports and Documents from the Orthodox Missionary Consultations 1974–1980*, ed. Ion Bria (Geneva: WCC, 1982); A. Yannoulatos, "A la redécouverte de l'éthos missionnaire de l'église orthodoxe," in *Aspects* 79–96; Leonidas Contos, 2001: *The Church in Crisis*, Patriarch Athenagoras Memorial Lectures (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1981); "Preaching and Teaching the Christian Faith Today," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 25 (1981) 123–32.

¹⁹⁰ Bernard Dupuy, "Aux origines de l'épiscopat: Le corpus des lettres d'Ignace d'Antioche et le ministère de l'unité," *Istina* 27 (1982) 267–77; Johannes Maslow, "Die Lehre des hl. Kyprian von Hirtendienst," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 1 (1978) 53–59; A. Osipov, "Die Bedeutung der apostolischen Sukzession für das Priester- und Hirtenamt nach der Lehre der Kirchenväter," *ibid.* 10 (1982) 61–64; no. 11, 46–52; Kallistos Ware, "Patterns of Episcopacy in the Early Church and Today: An Orthodox View," in *Bishops, but What Kind?*, ed. Peter Moore (London: SPCK, 1982) 1–24; G. H. Behawi, "The Bishop in the Coptic Church Today," *ibid.* 68–77.

¹⁹¹ Emilianos Timiaidis, "La primauté de Pierre dans l'ecclesiologie orthodoxe," *Istina* 23 (1978) 349–66; Anastasios Kallis, "Papsttum und Orthodoxie: Der Papst und die Kircheneinheit aus orthodoxer Sicht," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 30 (1981) 33–46; Damaskinos Papandreu, "Bleibendes und veränderliches im Petrusamt: Überlegungen aus orthodoxer Sicht," in *Dienst an der Einheit: Zum Wesen und Auftrag des Petrusamts*, ed. J. Ratzinger (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1978), 146–64; Damaskinos Papandreu, "Das Papsttum

basic equality of all local churches and argue that a bishop succeeds to all bishops, not to a specific apostle such as Peter or Andrew. Some primacy of honor is due to the bishop of Rome provided he is seen as *primus inter pares*. The Orthodox wish the See of Rome to recognize as legitimate the synodal structures of the East, where Rome's patriarchal function never existed. They hope also that Rome will someday admit the contingent character of the formulations at Vatican I on primacy and infallibility.

On the papacy Roman Catholics have also contributed reflections for the Orthodox.¹⁹² Here of special note are the works of J. Madey and others. Specific historical issues are addressed such as Rome's use of Irenaeus' text in *Adversus haereses* 3, 3, 2.¹⁹³ Spiteris has explored the theological, political, and social causes for antipapal attitudes in the Christian East in the 12th century.¹⁹⁴ Likewise, the Catholic authority on the Council of Florence, Joseph Gill, has published new material and reprinted earlier essays.¹⁹⁵

Councils and Conciliarity

On what constitutes a council as ecumenical there has been little systematic writing of late by either Orthodox or non-Orthodox. Studies on councils are largely historical investigations, such as Sieben's analysis of the idea of a council in the ancient Church.¹⁹⁶ Particular attention has been paid to the second ecumenical council, Constantinople (A.D. 381), on the occasion of its 1600th anniversary. Orthodox Bishop Peter L'Huilier of New York has described facts and fiction regarding that council, and Catholics have pondered its historical and present significance,

im Dialog zwischen der römisch-katholischen und der orthodoxen Kirche," *Una sancta* 34 (1979) 36-43; Gabriel Patasci, "Comment le catholicisme pourrait-il repenser les fonctions de la papauté dans l'église?" *Messenger orthodoxe* no. 86 (1980) 26-32.

¹⁹² Johannes Madey, "Der Papst: Das Problem zwischen Ost und West: Orthodoxe Theologen zu Fragen um Kirche und Primat," *Catholica* 32 (1978) 131-46; W. Beinert, "Der Papst—Hilfe oder Hindernis für die Einheit?" *Theologische Revue* 76 (1980) 1-12; A. Schmied, "Das Papsttum im ökumenischen Gespräch," *Theologie der Gegenwart* 21 (1978) 161-71.

¹⁹³ Norbert Brox, "Rom und 'jede Kirche' im 2. Jahrhundert, (Zu Irenäus, *adv. her.* III, 3,2," *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 7 (1975) 42-78.

¹⁹⁴ Jannis Spiteris, O.F.M.Cap., *La critica bizantina del primato romano nel secolo XII* (Orientalia christiana analecta 208; Rome: Oriental Institute, 1979).

¹⁹⁵ Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy: 1198-1400* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1979); idem, *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium (1204-1453)* (Collected Studies 91; London: Variorum Reprints, 1979).

¹⁹⁶ H. J. Sieben, *Die Konzilidee der alten Kirche* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1979), and his "Die früh- und hochmittelalterliche Konzilsidee im Kontext der 'Filioque' Kontroverse," *Traditio* 35 (1979) 173-207.

especially its creed.¹⁹⁷ Two major works have been produced on the Council of Constantinople, one which sees that council as providing a model for achieving *Glaubensbekenntnis* and *Kirchengemeinschaft*.¹⁹⁸ Orthodox editors have provided the acta of a very important consultation at Chambésy, April 29-July 25, 1981, the Second Theological Seminar. Some sixty professors and students took part in that seminar, which focuses on five areas: background material to the council; its creed; its dogmatic achievements, especially its pneumatology; canonical problems, especially those connected with its canon 3; and the implications of the council for today. Without exaggeration, this volume, which reaches almost 600 pages, is one of the major theological achievements of Orthodoxy in the last decade.¹⁹⁹

Rome also hosted a celebration from June 6-7, 1981, for the 16th centenary of the Council of Constantinople and the 1550th anniversary of Ephesus. On this occasion Pope John Paul II, still recuperating from gunshot wounds, made a brief appearance in St. Peter's to join with others in the recitation of the Creed (without the *filioque*). It was on this occasion that for the first time in history, on June 6, 1981, an Orthodox bishop, Metropolitan Damaskinos (Papandreou), preached at a service in St. Peter's.²⁰⁰

On the Orthodox notion of conciliarity or *synodikotēs* or *sobornost'* some studies appeared as part of the 1978 preparatory meeting for the Great and Holy Council.²⁰¹ Other specific councils have been studied.

¹⁹⁷ André de Halleux, "Le II^e concile oecuménique: Une évaluation dogmatique et ecclésiologique," *Cristianesimo nella storia* [Bologna] 3 (1982) 297-327; Pierre L'Huilier, "Faits et fiction à propos du deuxième concile oecuménique," *Eglise et théologie* 13 (1982) 135-56; Jan Willebrands, "Le concile de Constantinople de 381, 2^e oecuménique: Son importance et son actualité," *Irénikon* 54 (1981) 163-91; Eleuterio F. Fortino, "Il Simbolo niceno-costantinopolitano e l'unità dei cristiani," *Nuova umanità* (Rome) 5, no. 24-25 (Nov, 1982-Feb. 1983) 97-127.

¹⁹⁸ *Glaubensbekenntnis und Kirchengemeinschaft: Das Modell des Konzils von Konstantinopel (381)*, eds. K. Lehmann and W. Pannenberg (Freiburg: Herder; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982).

¹⁹⁹ *Le II^e concile oecuménique: Signification et actualité pour le monde chrétien d'aujourd'hui* (Etudes théologiques de Chambésy 2; Chambésy-Geneva: Centre Orthodoxe, 1982).

²⁰⁰ For documents on that event, see "Centenary Celebrations on June 7, 1981," *Information Service* no. 46 (1981) 51-58. The text of Metropolitan Damaskinos' historic homily at first vespers in St. Peter's is found *ibid.* 53-56.

²⁰¹ Maximos Aghiorghoussis, "Theological and Historical Aspects of Conciliarity: Some Propositions for Discussion," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24 (1979) 5-19; Lothar Waldmüller, "Das Konzil im Verständnis der Ostkirche," in *Synodale Strukturen der Kirche: Entwicklung und Probleme*, ed. W. Brandmüller (Donauwörth: Auer, 1977) 140-57; Adolf Lumpe, "'Concilium' als 'repraesentatio totius nominis christiani,'" *Annuario historiae conciliorum* 7 (1975) 79-81; J. Roche, S.J., "Conciles, empereurs et papes," *Proche orient chrétien* 28 (1978) 85-104.

Shortly before his death A. J. Festugière finished a complete French version of the acta of Ephesus and Chalcedon with careful indices and introductory material.²⁰² Chalcedon, important because it was the watershed between Orthodox and pre-Chalcedonian churches, was the subject of a special collaborative study under World Council of Churches' sponsorship, *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite?*²⁰³ Mention can be made, too, of a study on the "Eastern problem" connected with Lyons II.²⁰⁴

Regarding the institution of synods in the Church, little theological material has been published since the Society of the Law of the Oriental Churches met in 1973 on Crete to discuss "Synods according to the Sources and Their Application Today."²⁰⁵ On the *synodos endēmousa*, the institution whereby a patriarch must be assisted in the governance of his church through an ongoing synod of metropolitans, several authors have explained its origins and purpose.²⁰⁶ It should be noted that such a permanent synod differs radically in structure and authority from the Roman Catholic International Synod of Bishops.

Several studies explore the implications of the classical "pentarchy," the notion that the five historical sees of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople enjoy a hegemony in the Church.²⁰⁷ Another congeries of interrelated but separate issues includes authority, the principle of "economy" (*oikonomia*), canonical traditions, reception, and consensus.²⁰⁸ Other critical issues are the status of the Orthodox diaspora

²⁰² *Ephèse et Chalcedoine: Actes de conciles*, tr. A. J. Festugière (Textes, dossiers, documents 6; Paris: Beauchesne, 1982).

²⁰³ *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite? Towards Convergence in Orthodox Christology*, eds. Paulos Gregorios, William H. Lazareth, and Nikos A. Nissiotis (Geneva: WCC, 1981). See review by A. de Halleux in *Revue théologique de Louvain* 13 (1982) 221-24.

²⁰⁴ Burkhard Roberg, "Das 'orientalische Problem' auf dem Lugdunense II." *Annuaire historique conciliaire* 9 (1977) 43-66.

²⁰⁵ See TS 39 (1978) 459, n. 45.

²⁰⁶ Dimitri Salachas, "Il principio della struttura sinodale delle chiese orientali nella legislazione canonica antica," *Nicolaus* 6 (1978) 221-51; Cyrille Vogel, "Primaatité et synodalité dans l'église locale durant la période anténicénienne," in *Aspects* 53-66; Hermenegild M. Biedermann, "Die Synodalität: Prinzip der Verfassung und Leitung der orthodoxen Kirchen und Kirche," in *Die Einheit der Kirche* 296-314; Ulrich Mosiek, "Die Bischofssynode der lateinischen Kirche und die ständige Synode der unierten Ostkirchen," in *Ex aequo et bono: Willibald M. Plöchl zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. P. Leisching et al. (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1977) 367-74.

²⁰⁷ Christos Yannaras, "L'Institution de la pentarchie aujourd'hui," *Contacts* 31 (1979) 283-89; Michele Marella, "Roma nel sistema pentarchico: Problemi e prospettive," *Nicolaus* 4 (1976) 99-138.

²⁰⁸ On authority: Chrysostomos [Konstantinidis], "Authority in the Orthodox Church," *Sobornost* n.s. 3 (1981) 197-209, German text: *Ökumenische Rundschau* 31 (1982) 31-47; Kallistos Ware, "The Exercise of Authority in the Orthodox Church," *Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology* 3 (1982) 941-69, French text: *Irenikon* 54 (1981) 451-71; 55 (1982) 25-34; Konstantin Voicu, "The Attitude of the Orthodox Church toward Dissent," in *The Right to Dissent*, eds. H. Küng and J. Moltmann (Concilium 158 [European editions

(i.e., churches in countries not Orthodox by history) and autocephalous (independent) churches.²⁰⁹

178]; New York: Seabury, 1982) 19-23; Yves Congar, "Autonomie et pouvoir central dans l'église vus par la théologie catholique," *Irenikon* 53 (1980) 291-313; Ivan Žužek, S.J., "The Authority of Patriarchs outside the Patriarchal Territory," *Vidyajyoti* [Delhi] 45 (1981) 155-70, also in *Nuntia* 6 (1978) 3-33. On "economy": John H. P. Reumann, "The Use of *oikonomia* and Related Terms in Greek Sources to about A.D. 100 as a Background for Patristic Applications," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 60 (1978) 482-579; 61 (1979) 563-603; "Part II: The Evidence. 2. *Oikonomia* and Its Related Terms Applied to a Larger Household, in the State," *Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology* 1 (1980) 368-430; "3. *Oikonomia* and Its Related Terms Applied to Arrangements Generally," 2 (1981) 591-617; 3 (1982) 115-40; John Erickson, "*Oikonomia* in Byzantine Canon Law," in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, eds. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977) 225-36; Dimitri Salachas, "'Oikonomia' e 'akribeia' nella ortodossia greca odierna," *Nicolaus* 4 (1976) 301-39; Pierre L'Huilier, "Quelques précisions sur la notion d' 'économie' dans le droit canonique orthodoxe," in *Aspects* 43-52; Pierre Rai, "L' 'Economie' et le futur 'Droit canon oriental,'" *Lien* 47, no. 3 (1982) 7-13; B. Botte, "Oikonomia," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 94 (1980) 283-96; Ladislav Orsy, "In Search of the Meaning of Oikonomia: Report on a Convention [Society of the Law of the Eastern Churches, Thessaloniki, Sept. 22-27, 1981]," *TS* 43 (1982) 312-19. On canon law: Lewis J. Patsavos, "The Status of Canon Law in the Orthodox Church Today," in *Orthodox Theology and Diakonia* 103-14; Walter Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht 1.1: Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit* (Vienna: Österreich. Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1981); *Kanon: Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ostkirchen* 4: *The Church and the Churches: Autonomy and Autocephaly (Part One)* (Vienna: Herder, 1980). 5: *The Church and the Churches: Autotomy and Autocephaly (Part Two)* (1981), acts of the meeting held September 19-24, 1978. On the Society: Ivan Žužek, "The Oriental Canon Law Society Is Born (1969)," in *Ex aequo et bono: Willibald M. Plöchl zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. P. Leisching et al. (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1977) 375-83. On the canon law of Eastern Catholics: Emmanuel Lanne, "La révision du Droit canonique oriental et le retour aux traditions authentiques de l'orient," *Irenikon* 54 (1981) 485-97; Emmanuel Lanne, "Réflexions sur une éventuelle loi fondamentale de l'église," *Irenikon* 52 (1979) 163-99; Johannes Madey, "Ökumenische Fragen und Probleme im neuen katholischen Ostkirchenrecht," *Catholica* 36 (1982) 280-93; Joseph Khoury, "The Election of Bishops in the Eastern Churches," in *The Revised Code of Canon Law: A Missed Opportunity?*, eds. Peter Huizing and Knut Walf (Concilium 147 [European editions 167]; New York: Seabury, 1981) 20-27; Edmund Przekop, "Die Sakramente im Kirchenrecht der katholischen Ostkirchen," *Christliche Osten* 35 (1980) 120-26; Victor J. Pospishil, *Ex Occidente lex: From the West-the Law: The Eastern Catholic Churches under the Tutelage of the Holy See of Rome* (Carteret, N.J.: St. Mary's Religious Action Fund [719 Roosevelt Ave.], 1979); idem, *Compulsory Celibacy for the Eastern Catholics in the Americas* (Weston, Ontario: Ukrainian Catholic Women's League [135 La Rose Ave., Weston, Ontario], 1977). On reception and consensus: Emmanuel Lanne, "La 'reception,'" *Irenikon* 5 (1982) 199-213; Emilianos Timiadis, "Reception, Consensus, and Unity," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 47-61; Nikos Nissiotis, "An Orthodox Contribution to Consensus," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 17 (1980) 100-109; Emilianos Timiadis, "Consensus in the Formulation of Doctrine," *Mid-Stream* 20 (1981) 177-90.

²⁰⁹ Paul [Olmari], Archbishop of Karelia and All Finland, "Suggestions for Solutions to the Problem of the Orthodox Diaspora," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 23 (1979) 186-206, French text: "Suggestions en vue de résoudre le problème de la diaspora orthodoxe," *Messenger de l'exarchat du patriarche russe en Europe occidentale* 28-29, nos. 105-8 (1980-

The Church's Mysteries or Sacraments

Synthetic treatments of the Church's sacramental system have been rare of late. One welcomed exception, a model of ecumenical co-operation, is a common explanation of the sacraments for German-speaking communities where Orthodox and Catholic interact, a book produced by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Myra and a Roman Catholic professor.²¹⁰ Another exception is the study by a Swiss Jesuit who shows how Eastern sacramental theology has influenced Western theology and vice versa.²¹¹ On a more specific topic, the sacramental theology of Berdjaef has received special attention.²¹² The sacraments in general were on the agenda of a meeting of the Romanian Orthodox and the Lutheran Church of West Germany in Jassy (1980).²¹³ Finally, a Dutch Catholic provided

81) 33-50; C. Andronikof, "L'Avenir de l'orthodoxie en occident," *Messenger orthodoxe* no. 79 (1978) 3-24; J. Meijer, "Kun je orthodox zijn in het Westen?" *Het christelijk Oosten* 31 (1979) 99-113; Cyrille Argenti, "L'Avenir de la diaspora orthodoxe en France," *Contacts* 30 (1978) 312-14; Olivier Clément, "Avenir et signification de la diaspora orthodoxe en Europe occidentale," *Contacts* 30 (1978) 259-83, English text: "The Orthodox Diaspora in Western Europe: Its Future and Role," *Sobornost* ser. 7, no. 7 (1978) 576-87; Jacques Touraille, "Resplendit nouvelle Jérusalem: Notes sur l'église catholique et la diaspora orthodoxe," *Contacts* 31 (1979) 269-82; Chrysostomos, Archimandrite, "Cultural Paradosis and Orthodox America," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 25 (1980) 261-72; Johan Meijer, "Emigrantkerken in Amerika," *Het christelijk Oosten* 34 (1982) 3-17; Wilhelm de Vries, "De orthodoxe diaspora in Noord-Amerika," *ibid.* 94-105; Astérios Argyriou, "Nationalisme et supranationalisme dans l'église orthodoxe à l'époque turque," in *Aspects* 135-52; Johannes N. Karmiris, "Der Nationalismus in der orthodoxen Kirche," in *Die Einheit der Kirche* 404-10, English text: "Nationalism in the Orthodox Church," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 171-84; F. Thiriet, "Orthodoxie et nationalisme(s)," in *Aspects* 123-33. On autocephaly: C. G. Furst, "Einige griechische Stimmen zur Autokephalie," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 216-31; Fairy von Lilienfeld, "Das Problem der Autokephalie in der russisch-orthodoxen Kirche in den letzten 30 Jahren," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 232-39; Peter Plank, "Das Strukturprinzip der Autokephalie bei russisch-orthodoxen Theologen des französischen Sprachraums nach 1960," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 240-54; E. C. Suttner, "Zur ekklesiologischen Bewertung der Autokephalie in der rumänischen Orthodoxie," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 255-82; Brian McNeil, "Die ekklesiologische Bewertung der Autokephalie bei Dogmatikern und Kanonisten der orthodoxen Kirchen in Amerika seit 1961," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 30 (1981) 283-87; B. Plank, O.S.A., "Orthodoxe Aussagen zur Autokephalie in westlichen Veröffentlichungen seit 1961," *ibid.* 288-302.

²¹⁰ Chrysostomos Konstantinidis and Ernst Christoph Suttner, *Fragen der Sakramenten-pastoral in orthodox-katholisch gemischten Gemeinden* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1979).

²¹¹ Robert Hotz, S.J., *Sakramente im Wechselspiel zwischen Ost und West* (Ökumenische Theologie 2; Zurich: Benziger; Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1979).

²¹² Paul C. Murdoch, *Der sakramentalphilosophische Aspekt im Denken Nikolaj Alexandrovitsch Berdjaevs* (Oikonomia 14; Erlangen: AKU, 1981).

²¹³ *Die Sakramente der Kirche in der Confessio Augustana und in den orthodoxen Lehrbekenntnissen des 16./17. Jahrhunderts: Eine Dokumentation über das 2. theologische Gespräch mit der rumänischen Kirche in Jassy 1980* (Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau 43; Frankfurt: O. Lembeck, 1982); Dimitru Radu, "The Sacraments of the Church according to the Apostolic Tradition: An Orthodox Viewpoint" [in Romanian], *Biserica Ortodoxa Romania* 98 (1980) 1129-40.

a summary of the principal differences between East and West in sacramental practice beginning with the Middle Ages.²¹⁴

Orthodox practice in administering baptism and chrismation has been described in several articles; a Catholic liturgist has shown how the older sacramental practices must be retained among Byzantine Catholic believers. The effects of baptism in uniting communities not in full communion are of special concern. Prof. de Halleux of Louvain-la-Neuve raised the question whether a practice now generally frowned on of "rebaptizing" those who entered into Orthodoxy from Catholicism did not in fact rest on a Cyprianic, North African insight that baptism in one church did not automatically have "transfer" value. Much reflection still needs to be devoted to the practices of the sacraments of Christian initiation administered according to a different sequence, the Orthodox administering baptism, chrismation, and Eucharist to infants, unlike the Catholic sequence, baptism, penance, Eucharist, and chrismation (confirmation) spread out over a fifteen-year period.²¹⁵ These differences will be raised at the next session of the International Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation. The practices have been explored by two consecutive symposia at Bari on the rites of initiation in 1979 and 1980.²¹⁶

Sacramental reconciliation or penance will doubtlessly soon receive closer attention among Roman Catholics because it has been chosen as topic of the 1983 International Synod of Bishops. It would be highly instructive were an Orthodox *peritus* invited to address the Catholic bishops at their synod in order to describe Eastern practices. In 1977 the Orthodox Theological Society of America meeting in Brookline chose penance as its theme. Three papers delivered at the congress were published, one by the Greek Orthodox Bishop of Pittsburgh on postbaptismal sin, a second by a professor of canon law on changing penitential disciplines in the united and divided churches of East and West, and a third on the pastoral implications of the sacrament of penance.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ J. Meijer, "Sacramenten: Heen en weer tussen Oost en West," *Het christelijk Oosten* 33 (1981) 3-20.

²¹⁵ Wilhelm Nyssen, "Kommet und empfanget das Licht: Taufe und Firmung in der orthodoxen Kirche," *Internationale katholische Zeitschrift/Communio* 11 (1982) 409-26; George Bebawi, "The Crown of Life: An Orthodox Perspective," *Ecumenical Review* 34 (1982) 263-70; André de Halleux, "Orthodoxie et catholicisme: Un seul baptême?" *Revue théologique de Louvain* 11 (1980) 416-52, 548; Stefano Virgulin, "Giudizi ortodossi circa il consenso ecumenico sul battesimo," *Unitas* 33 (1978) 27-33, 169-76; Robert Taft, "On the Question of Infant Communion in the Byzantine Catholic Churches of the USA," *Diakonia* 17 (1982) 201-14; Cyrille Argenti, "La chrismation," *Contacts* 34 (1982) 99-125; Boris Bobrinskoy, "La chrismation: Une réponse," *ibid.* 338-42.

²¹⁶ *Oriente cristiano* 19 (1979) 108-12; 20 (1980) 97-107.

²¹⁷ Maximos Aghiorgoussis, "Sin in Orthodox Dogmatics," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 21 (1977) 179-90; John H. Erickson, "Penitential Discipline in the Orthodox Canonical Tradition," 191-206; Vladimir Stakhy Borichevsky, "A Pastoral Perspective on Sin and the Sacrament of Confession," 207-16.

Roman Catholics have shown interest in Eastern practices of reconciliation. One study is a survey of penitential practices among the Greek Orthodox from the 16th to the 20th centuries, a study by a Catholic published in the Orthodox series of the Patriarchal Institute at Thessalonika.²¹⁸ More restricted in scope is the research of a Dutch Catholic professor at the Pontifical Oriental Institute on *aphorismos*, excommunication and its removal according to the Byzantine *Euchologion*.²¹⁹ Penance and confession was the theme of the Romanian Orthodox and West German Lutheran Church at the meeting held in Reineberg, Hüllhorst, Westfalen, May 28–June 3, 1982. As of this writing the papers had not been published but they will doubtlessly appear in the *Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau* (Frankfurt: O. Lembeck).

Related to the question of sacramental reconciliation is reception into a sister church, as shown by Bishop Peter L'Huillier about how non-Orthodox have been received into full communion with the Orthodox. Alexander Schmemmann described the procedures followed to receive into Orthodoxy the monks of New Skete, New York, on Feb. 23, 1979.²²⁰

Partly because of its popularity as a topic for ecumenical bilaterals, the number of studies on the Eucharist is considerable. Contributions treat various themes such as the New Testament doctrine, the relationship of iconography to the Eucharist, and even the background to the azyme controversy of A.D. 1054.²²¹ The Orthodox have in dialogue with

²¹⁸ Angelo Amato, S.D.B., *Il sacramento della penitenza nella teologia greco-ortodossa: Studi storico-dogmatico (sec. XVI-XX)* (Analekta Vlatadon 38; Thessalonika: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1982).

²¹⁹ Frans van de Pavert, O.S.A., "Ausschluss und Wiederversöhnung in der byzantinischen Kirche," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979) 281–302.

²²⁰ Pierre L'Huillier, "Les divers modes de réception des catholiques-romains dans l'orthodoxie," *Message orthodoxe* no. 82 (1979) 15–23, English text: "The Reception of Roman Catholics into Orthodoxy: Historical Variations and Norms," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 24 (1980) 75–82; Alexander Schmemmann, "Réception dans l'orthodoxie de la communauté du Nouveau Skete," *Message orthodoxe* no. 82 (1979) 24–26.

²²¹ Theodore Stylianopoulos, "Holy Eucharist and Priesthood in the New Testament," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 113–30; A. A. Georgijewski, "Auferstehung der Toten und Eucharistie im Neuen Testament," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1978) 57–64; 7, 49–60; Hans-Joachim Schulz, "Die Eucharistiefeier im Spiegel der byzantinischen Ikonographie," *Christliche Osten* 37 (1982) 111–26 (with illustrations); Mahlon H. Smith 3rd, *And Taking Bread... Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Théologie historique 47; Paris: Beauchesne, 1978); Placide Deseille, "L'Eucharistie et la divinisation des chrétiens selon les Pères de l'église," *Message orthodoxe* no. 87 (1981) 40–56; Alexi van der Mensbrugghe, "Die Eucharistie in russisch-orthodoxer Sicht: Verkündigung-Opfer-Sakrament," *Kirche im Osten* 21–22 (1978–79) 260–69; Johannes Panagopoulos, "Eucharistische Existenz in dem einen Leib des Herrn: Ökumenismus in der Sicht der östlichen Theologie," in *Die Einheit der Kirche* 2–15; Michael [Mudjugin], "Die Eucharistie nach der Lehre der orthodoxen Kirche," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 5 (1978) 54–64; Gennadios Zervos, "La spiritualità eucaristica del sacerdote nella tradizione bizantina," *Nicolaus* 7

Lutherans explored the theological implications of the epiclesis, the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the offerings, Two meetings addressed the relationship of Eucharist to priesthood and the notion of the Eucharist as a sacrifice.²²² One of the recent Bari meetings, as a follow-up to discussions on Christian initiation, raised the question at the 1981 meeting "United in Baptism, Disunited in Eucharist?"²²³ Orthodox have commented on the various drafts of the "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry" text of the Faith and Order Commission reissued at Lima in 1982.²²⁴

Theological questions about marriage have produced useful Orthodox studies.²²⁵ In 1980 the Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation in the

(1979) 145–52; L. J. Shein, "Sergius Bulgakov's Sophiological Interpretation of the Eucharist," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 58 (1976) 101–13; C. Krijnsen, "Intercommunie: Teken van een middel tot eenheid," *Het christelijk Oosten* 30 (1978) 153–74; Kallistos Ware, "Church and Eucharist, Communion and Intercommunion," *Sobornost* ser. 7, no. 7 (1977) 550–67.

²²² *Die Anrufung des Heiligen Geistes im Abendmahl: Viertes theologisches Gespräch zwischen dem ökumenischen Patriarchat und der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland vom 6. bis 9. Oktober 1975 in der Evangelischen Sozialakademie Friedewald*, ed. Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, Aussenamt (Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau 31; Frankfurt: O. Lembeck, 1977); *Eucharistie und Priesteramt: Fünfter bilateraler theologischer Dialog zwischen dem Ökumenischen Patriarchat und der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland vom 20. bis 24. Februar 1978*, ed. Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, Aussenamt (Beitrag zur Ökumenischen Rundschau 38; Frankfurt: O. Lembeck, 1980). On these questions see also J. H. Crehan, "Eucharistic Epiklesis: New Evidence and a New Theory," *TS* 41 (1980) 698–712; Claude Lepelley, "Le Saint Esprit et l'eucharistie: La signification de l'épiclesse," *Quatre fleuves cahier* 9 (1979) 79–94; Hans-Joachim Schulz, "Orthodoxe Eucharistiefeier und ökumenisches Glaubenszeugnis," *Christliche Osten* 34 (1979) 10–15; Bernhard Schultze, S.J., "Die patristische Eucharistielehre im Gespräch evangelischer und orthodoxer Theologen," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979) 97–144; H.-J. Schulz, "Liturgischer Vollzug und sakramentale Wirklichkeit des eucharistischen Opfers," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 45 (1979) 245–76; 46 (1980) 5–19. For dialogue between the Moscow Patriarchate and the EKD, see *Das Opfer Christi und das Opfer der Christen: Siebtes theologisches Gespräch zwischen Vertretern der russischen orthodoxen Kirche und der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland vom 6. bis 10. Juni 1976 in der Evangelischen Akademie Arnoldshain*, ed. Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, Aussenamt (Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau 34; Frankfurt: O. Lembeck, 1979); Karl-Hermann Kandler, "Abendmahl und Heiliger Geist: Geschieht Jesu Christi eucharistisches Wirken durch den Heiligen Geist? Bemerkungen zu neueren bilateralen Lehrgesprächen über das Abendmahl," *Kerygma und Dogma* 28 (1982) 215–28.

²²³ The papers of the symposium are contained in *Nicolaus* 9 (1981) 243–422. On this meeting see *Unitas* 36 (1981) 132–34 and *Oriente cristiano* 21 (1981) 61–70.

²²⁴ Stefano Virgulin, "Considerazioni ortodosse circa il consenso ecumenico sull'Eucarestia," *Unitas* 34 (1979) 164–68.

²²⁵ Stephanos Charalambidis, "Le mariage dans l'église orthodoxe," *Contacts* 29 (1978) 52–76, English text: "Marriage in the Orthodox Church," *One in Christ* 15 (1979) 204–33; Elie Melia, "Le couple chrétien ou la conception chrétienne du couple: Un point de vue orthodoxe," *Revue de droit canonique* 31 (1981) 77–85; Alexandre M. Stavropoulos, "The

USA offered specific recommendations about the spiritual formation of children born of marriages where one parent is Orthodox, the other Roman Catholic. The Consultation urged that the decision on how children are to be raised in one of the two communions should not be reached mechanically, without consideration for the religious fervor of each parent.²²⁶

Recently the Orthodox Church in America (the OCA) published guidelines on the sacrament of marriage which deserve to be better known.²²⁷ Also in Marseilles, France, a mixed group of seven Orthodox and Catholic pastors, including the well-known Orthodox theologians Cyrille Argenti and S. Charalambidis, drew up a proposed wedding service for an Orthodox and Catholic party. The liturgy combines the central parts of the two ceremonies: the exchange of vows for the Catholic and the epiclesis of the couple through the crowning ceremony.²²⁸ Unfortunately the proposal has not yet received much attention.

In the United States the regularization of noncanonical marriages between Orthodox and Catholics has been a source of concern. In Boston Cardinal Medeiros and Orthodox Bishop Anthimos reached a joint decision about a convalidation process that would eliminate the necessity of the Catholic partner to have a Catholic ceremony.²²⁹ The agreement was a generous one, but the formulation of the text might have been considerably improved had the official Orthodox/Roman Catholic Consultation been asked to assist in its drafting.

Several years ago Orthodox theologian John Meyendorff proposed in his *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (1970) that in those unusual cases where an Orthodox couple cannot have its marriage performed with a crowning rite in the presence of a priest, the marriage could receive its ecclesial context by having the couple subsequently receive the Eucharist, an act that would transform the civil marriage into a sacramental one.

Understanding of Marriage in the Orthodox Church," *One in Christ* 15 (1979) 57-64; Alexandre M. Stavropoulos, "Mariage et famille dans la théologie et la pastorale de l'église orthodoxe," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 103 (1981) 238-46; Robert G. Stephanopoulos, "Marriage and Family in Ecumenical Perspective," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 25 (1981) 21-34; Lewis J. Patsavos, "Mixed Marriages and the Canonical Tradition of the Orthodox Church," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 243-56.

²²⁶ *Origins* 10 (1980) 347-48.

²²⁷ *Marriage and Family Life* (Documents of the Orthodox Church in America; Syosset, N.Y.: OCA, n.d.). See commentary by Paul Lazor, "A Review of Pastoral Guidelines on Holy Matrimony in the Orthodox Church in America," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 26 (1982) 173-83.

²²⁸ "La célébration liturgique des mariages mixtes entre fidèles catholiques et orthodoxes: Propositions pastorales," *Contacts* 32 (1980) 79-87.

²²⁹ "Boston Agreement on Orthodox/Roman Catholic Marriage," *Origins* 10 (1981) 734-35, also in *Ecumenical Trends* 10 (1981) 123-25.

This proposal was criticized by a Roman Catholic theologian, B. Franck, who urged that marriage would thereby be reduced to an ectoplasm of the Eucharist and would foster a sacerdotalization that would cloud the privileges inherent in the lay state.²³⁰

Considerable attention has been paid in theological writings to the Orthodox practice of allowing, in exceptional cases, divorce and remarriage.²³¹ Historical studies touch on specific questions such as marital indissolubility according to St. Basil, or the appropriateness of invoking *oikonomia* as justification for dissolution of marriages. One of the clearest summaries of the scriptural, patristic, and historical reasons that lead the Orthodox to permit divorce and remarriage is the work of a Catholic, C. J. Dumont, O.P. The East combines a lofty ideal of indissolubility with a realistic legislation that admits exceptions. Roman Catholics prefer to declare an annulment that states that a marriage in fact never existed. To the Orthodox this seems a legal fiction contrary to the intuition of many Christians who argue that a real marriage has died. Eastern theology argues that adultery is so incompatible with the nature of marriage that Christ allowed a person to regard a matrimonial bond as nonexistent after adultery. The Church is simply testifying to a cessation when it grants a divorce. Besides these issues the civil and legal directives on marriage and divorce in the new Greek constitution have been studied.²³²

By comparison with the centrality of ordained ministry in other bilateral conversations, the topic has received only meager attention in

²³⁰ B. Franck, "L'Eucharistie: Véritable sceau du mariage? Exposé et critique d'une proposition orthodoxe récente," *Revue de droit canonique* 31 (1981) 169-88.

²³¹ Lewis J. Patsavos, "The Orthodox Position on Divorce," in *Ministering to the Divorced Catholic*, ed. James J. Young (New York: Paulist, 1979) 51-61; Pierre L'Huillier, "L'Attitude de l'église orthodoxe vis-à-vis du remariage des divorcés," *Revue de droit canonique* 29 (1979) 44-59; C. J. Dumont, "L'Indissolubilité du mariage dans l'église orthodoxe byzantine: Fondements bibliques, patristiques et historiques," *ibid.* 31 (1981) 190-225; Richard D. Lee, "An Eastern Christian Overview on Sexuality, Remarriage and Divorce, Celibacy," *Diakonia* 15 (1980) 263-70; P. Rai, "Saint Basile et l'indissolubilité du mariage chrétien," *Lien* 44, no. 2 (1979) 58-66; Giuseppe Ferrari, "Dissoluzione del sacramento nuziale e applicazione della 'oikonomia' per seconde nozze secondo la teologia orientale," *Nicolaus* 5 (1977) 59-96; Maximos Hakim, "Die Stellung der melkitisch-griechisch-katholischen Kirche zur Ehescheidung," *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 130 (1982) 205-16; C. Vogel, "Application du principe de l' 'économie' en matière de divorce dans le droit canonique oriental," *Revue de droit canonique* 32 (1982) 81-100; Robert Hotz, "Katholiken und Orthodoxe—Dissens über das Ehesakrament," *Orientierung* 44 (1980) 260-62.

²³² Aristarchos [Mavarakis], Bishop of Zenoupolis, "The Law of Marriage and Divorce in the Church of England and in the Church of Greece since 1850 with Its Theological Implications," *Ekklesia kai Theologia/Church and Theology* 3 (1982) 481-922; Luigi Bressan, "Matrimonio e divorzio in Grecia: Collaborazione e dibattiti fra chiesa ortodossa e stato," *Unitas* 33 (1978) 93-122.

recent Orthodox dialogues. One Orthodox theologian has raised the question whether it would ever be possible to bring the Christian confessions to reach a consensus on the nature of priestly office.²³³ Still, two bilateral meetings involving Orthodox have touched on priesthood: the meetings between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the German Lutheran Church, February 20–25, 1978, and between the Russian Orthodox and German Lutherans, October 12–17, 1981, on the sacrament of holy orders and apostolic succession.²³⁴

Theological reflection on the role of the laity has been meager except for papers read at the third meeting of the Society of the Law of the Oriental Churches, in Ravenna, September 23–28, 1975, on the position of lay persons in the Church law of the Eastern churches.²³⁵

Women in the Church

One of the least known aspects of contemporary Orthodox thought is the importance given to the emerging role of women in Church and society. Orthodox opposition to the ordination of women and tensions with the Anglican communion on that issue often obscure the dramatic evolution of women occurring within Orthodoxy. Important historical studies and reflective essays by Orthodox have been written, of which the Western theologian without unusual library resources and linguistic skills is unlikely to be aware.²³⁶ A historic meeting took place from

²³³ Gerassimos Konidaris, "Zur Frage nach der Einheit der Kirchen: Ist ein Konsensus im Amt und in der Eucharistie in der ökumenischen Bewegung möglich?" *Theologia* 48 (1977) 865–76.

²³⁴ The 1978 meeting is described in *Episkepsis* no. 185 (1978) 4–13 and the 1981 meeting in *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* no. 2 (1982) 59–66 and *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1982) 36–41. Two papers from the latter meeting were published: Heinz Joachim Held, "Das kirchliche Amt und der Friede," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 8 (1982) 27–41; Michael [Mudjugin], "Die Apostolizität der Kirche, das Priestertum und der Hirten dienst im Lichte der Offenbarung," *ibid.* 4 (1982) 49–64.

²³⁵ *Kanon: Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für das Recht der Ostkirchen 3: The Position of the Laity in the Law of the Oriental Churches* (Vienna: Herder, 1977). See also Michel Evdokimov, "Théologien et théologien laïc dans l'église orthodoxe," *Quatre fleuves cahier* 12 (1980) 29–42.

²³⁶ Julie Anthony, "Women in the Greek Orthodox Church," in *Deliver Us from Evil: Essays on Australian Women and Religion*, ed. Barbara Thiering (New South Wales: Australian Council of Churches, 1978) 60–62; Chrysostomos, Archimandrite, "Women in the Orthodox Church: Brief Comments from a Spiritual Perspective," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981) 192–200; Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "The Image of God in Man: Is Woman Included?" *Harvard Theological Review* 72 (1979) 175–206; Augustin [Nikitin], "Die Stellung der Frau in der Kirche Christi," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 5 (1981) 45–59; Maria Barbara von Stritzky, "Der Dienst der Frau in der alten Kirche," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 28 (1978) 136–54; Angelik E. Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1 (1981) 233–60; Veselin Kesich, "St. Paul: Anti-Feminist or Liberator?" *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 21 (1977) 123–47; Evangelos Theodorou, "Das Amt der Diakonissen in der kirchlichen Tra-

September 11–17, 1976, in Agapia, Romania, with the encouragement of the World Council of Churches and with the blessing of Orthodox leaders that brought together representatives of the major Orthodox and Ancient Oriental churches. Present were women from the industrialized countries of Europe and North America and from Third World countries.²³⁷ Following that gathering, Orthodox theologian Elisabeth Behr-Sigel shared her reflections on the issue of women in Orthodoxy, ideas that had been maturing in her mind "souterrainement" for a long time.²³⁸ She recognized that not everywhere may Orthodox women state their convictions because of the political and cultural realities in some Eastern European and Middle Eastern countries. She challenged the notion that women can be facily assigned roles by appeal to "nature" or "tradition." She concluded that what has been done to women in the Church has often been a compromise between gospel affirmations and pagan attitudes. She blamed male monasticism for fostering fear of woman as temptress.

Prior to a follow-up meeting on women in the Church held again under World Council auspices, Orthodox reactions were solicited. One response came in a remarkable joint statement signed by 36 leading European Orthodox personages, men and women. The statement noted that the Orthodox Church "utilizes" women for executing tasks in the Church but rarely if ever encourages them to "conceive" of tasks on their own. Women are readily stereotyped, expected to provide catechesis for children but not to be associated with university teaching or seminary education. The response raises the possibility of restoring the ministry of deaconess provided it would not be an "archeological" reconstruction.²³⁹ A consultation was held on "Theological Anthropology: Toward a Theology of Human Wholeness (Female/Male)" in Niederaltaich,

dition," *Una sancta* 33 (1978) 162–72; Sophia Senyk, O.S.B.M., *Women's Monasteries in Ukraine and Belorussia* (Orientalia christiana analecta; Rome: Oriental Institute, 1983, in press).

²³⁷ *Orthodox Women: Their Role and Participation in the Orthodox Church*, Report on the Consultation of Orthodox Women, September 11–17, 1976, Agapia, Roumania, eds. Constance J. Tarasar and Irina Kirillova (Geneva: WCC, 1977).

²³⁸ Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, "La femme dans l'église orthodoxe: Vision céleste et histoire," *Contacts* 29 (1977) 285–326, and *Unité chrétienne* no. 53–54 (1979) 7–43. See also by the same author: "The Participation of Women in the Life of the Church," *Sobornost* ser. 7, no. 6 (1978) 480–92; "De plaats van de vrouw in de orthodoxe kerk," *Het christelijk Oosten* 31 (1979) 77–98; "Woman Too Is in the Likeness of God," *Mid-Stream* 21 (1982) 369–75. In part she draws upon Paul Evdokimov, *La femme et le salut du monde: Etude d'anthropologie chrétienne sur les charismes de la femme* (rev. ed. [original 1958]; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1980).

²³⁹ "Questions sur l'homme et la femme dans le peuple de Dieu," *Service orthodoxe de presse* no. 40 (1979) 12–16. On the Niederaltaich meeting, see "Consultation on Theological Anthropology: Toward a Theology of Human Wholeness (Female/Male)," *Greek Orthodox Theological Quarterly* 26 (1981) 147–49.

September 1-6, 1980. In preparation for another meeting, a group of Orthodox women prepared a public statement protesting discrimination and ineffective use of women in Church and society. Such views were taken into consideration at the meeting in Sheffield, England, 1981, on "The Community of Women and Men in the Church."²⁴⁰

In 1980, at the Fifth Theological Conversation between the Russian Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church (at which no women were present as delegates), a statement was released with some remarkable assertions. It admits:

Still, much remains to be done so that the dignity of women will be fully recognized and expressed in actual life without any discrimination . . . Still the two churches today consider as one of their main tasks that of facilitating, wherever possible, the access of women to posts of responsibility in the life of the church and inviting them to participate in the construction of peace and more just relations in society.

That same text then touches on the specific issue of whether women might ever be ordained to the priesthood. It presents a typical expression of Orthodox and Roman Catholic position: "Nevertheless the two churches do not see how it is possible to change a universal and uninterrupted tradition, continued from the Lord and the apostles, of not allowing the ordination of women to the ministerial priesthood."²⁴¹ When Orthodox and Anglicans met at Pendeli in 1978, they were unable to publish a joint statement but presented two separate ones explaining their differences on the ordination of women. Still, the meetings were not discontinued and the two churches are learning to live with tension.

The ministry of deaconess (whether conferred as an ordination or as a simple blessing) will doubtlessly receive closer attention in the coming years.²⁴² The reasons which theologians give for the exclusion of women from the presbyterate will need to be refined as Prof. Hopko in defense of an earlier article on the male character of the priesthood explained.²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, Marie Joëlle Dardelin, Irene Schidlovsky, "Réponse à l'enquête du conseil oecuménique des églises sur 'Hommes et femmes dans l'église' en vue d'un colloque international en 1981," *Contacts* 32 (1980) 246-55; idem, "Orthodox Tradition as a Resource for the Renewal of Women and Men in Community," in *The Community of Women and Men in the Church: A Report of the World Council of Churches' Conference, Sheffield, England, 1981*, ed. Constance F. Parvey (Geneva: WCC, 1983) 61-68.

²⁴¹ *Information Service* no. 44 (1980) 112-15, at 114.

²⁴² *Episkepsis* no. 195/1 (1978) 13-17; *Irénikon* 51 (1978) 389-95; *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 61 (1979) 620-44.

²⁴³ Thomas Hopko, "On the Male Character of the Christian Priesthood: A Reply to Criticism," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 21 (1977) 161-67; Kallistos Ware, "Man, Woman, and the Priesthood of Christ," in *Man, Woman, and Priesthood*, ed. Peter Moore (London: SPCK, 1978) 68-90; Kallistos Ware, "The Debate on Women Priests; Leave Well

Bishop Kallistos Ware has entered the debate on the ordination of women and suggested bluntly that the Church should "leave well alone" and not ordain women as priests. Along lines reached by the Vatican's decree *Inter insigniores* (October 15, 1975), Ware appealed to the constant tradition of the Church and the impossibility of a woman to represent symbolically the Incarnate Word. His formulation is stark: "For Orthodoxy, the maleness of the Christian priesthood is part of the God-given revealed symbolism that we verify in our living experience, even though it cannot be justified by logical proofs. This symbolism involves the deepest intuitive roots of our relationship with the Eternal" (104).

Liturgy, Icons, and Spirituality

This survey obviously cannot treat studies in the specialized field of Eastern liturgy but only those works specifically connected with liturgical theology. Several monographs on the Byzantine liturgy have appeared, one of which sees its force as *Glaubenszeugnis* and *Symbolgestalt*.²⁴⁴ Among the books cited is a reissuing of Dalmais's study on the liturgy first published in 1959 and a useful reference work by K. Onasch on Eastern liturgies and art with special reference to the early Church. Also mentioned is a new translation of the Byzantine liturgy for worshipers in the United Kingdom prepared by the late Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis), and a scriptural and liturgical commentary on the Orthodox calendar published by a "Monk of the Eastern Church" (Lev Gillet). Jesuit Edward Finn has prepared for non-Orthodox readers a brief description of the various Eastern liturgies. Other topics touched upon are the biblical vision of Orthodox worship, the outreach of liturgy and

Alone," *Tablet* [London] 237 (1983) 103-4; Erika Reichle, "Frauenordination aus ökumenischer Sicht," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 29 (1980) 89-96; Nicolas Lossky, "Femmes et hommes dans l'église: Une approche orthodoxe de la question des ministères," *Service orthodoxe de presse*, Supplément no. 66 (1982) 1-4; Deborah Belonick, "The Ordination of Women in Ecumenical Perspective," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 23 (1979) 205-6.

²⁴⁴ Hans-Joachim Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie. Glaubenszeugnis und Symbolgestalt* (2nd rev. ed.; Trier: Paulinus, 1980); Irénée-Henri Dalmais, *Les liturgies d'orient* (2nd ed. [1st ed. 1959]; Paris: Cerf, 1980); Konrad Onasch, *Kunst und Liturgie der Ostkirche in Stichworten unter Berücksichtigung der alten Kirche* (Vienna: Hermann Bohlaus, 1981); Athenagoras Kokkinakis, *The Liturgy of the Orthodox Church* (London: Mowbray, 1979); A Monk of the Eastern Church [Lev Gillet], *The Year of the Lord: A Scriptural and Liturgical Commentary on the Calendar of the Orthodox Church*, tr. D. Cowen (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1980); Klaus Gamber, *Orientierung an der Orthodoxie: Die Tradition der Ostkirche als Richtschnur in Liturgie und Verkündigung* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1981); Edward E. Finn, S.J., *These Are My Rites: A Brief History of the Eastern Rites of Christianity* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1980).

service to humankind, the need for liturgical reform.²⁴⁵

Studies on iconography are cited not for what they say about artistic value of icons nor as histories of Christian art, but as contributions to the theology of this incarnational expression of faith. Thon's work on the relationship of icons and liturgy is informative. Besides the reprint of an earlier work of the Orthodox L. Ouspensky, Roman Catholics have published serious works on the theology of icons, such as those by Galvaris, Schönborn, Sendler, Grabar, and Weitzmann. Several writers treat spirituality and icons together. Finally, on the development of the iconostasis a Russian-Canadian art historian has produced a major work in French.²⁴⁶ On the history of the iconoclastic controversy several

²⁴⁵ Savas Agourides, "The Biblical Content and Vision of Orthodox Worship and Spirituality," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 1-14; Athanasios Basdekis, "Grundfragen orthodoxen Gottesdienstverständnisses," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 28 (1979) 259-76; Ene Braniste, "Liturgiereform in der orthodoxen Kirche: Ihre Notwendigkeit, ihre Grenzen und ihre Aussichten auf Verwirklichung," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 27 (1978) 128-42; Robert F. Taft, S.J., "The Spirit of Eastern Christian Worship," *Diakonia* 12 (1977) 103-20; idem, "Thanksgiving for the Light: Toward a Theology of Vespers," *Diakonia* 13 (1978) 27-50; idem, "Sunday in the Eastern Tradition," in *Sunday Morning: A Time for Worship*, ed. M. Searle (Collegeville: Liturgical, 1982) 49-74; Arthur E. John Gonzalez and Matthew G. Chapman, "The Lex Orandi of the Eastern Church: Critical Addenda to Professor Davies' Assessment of Orthodox Worship," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 53-68, reaction to Horton Davies, *Christian Worship: Its History and Meaning* (New York, 1957); Emmanuel Lanne, "Les anaphores eucharistiques de saint Basile et la communauté ecclésiale," *Irénikon* 55 (1982) 307-31; Nikolaus Thon, "Gottesdienst ist zugleich Dienst am Menschen: Eine Betrachtung im Geiste des orthodoxen Liturgieverständnisses," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 6 (1982) 45-56; Johannes [Maslow], "Das Totengedächtnis nach orthodoxen Verständnis," *ibid.* 4 (1981) 58-64; 5, 60-64.

²⁴⁶ Leonid Ouspensky, *Theology of the Icon* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1978), and new French edition: *La théologie de l'icône dans l'église orthodoxe* (Paris: Cerf, 1980); Nikolaus Thon, *Ikone und Liturgie* (Sophia 19; Trier: Paulinus, 1979); George Galavaris, *The Icon in the Life of the Church: Doctrine, Liturgy, Devotion* (Leiden: Brill, 1981); Christoph von Schönborn, O.P., *L'icône du Christ: Fondements théologiques* (Fribourg, Switz.: Ed. Universitaires, 1976); Egon Sendler, S.J., *L'icône: Image de l'invisible: Eléments de théologie, esthétique et technique* (Collection Christus 54; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1981); André Grabar, *Les voies de la création en iconographie chrétienne: Antiquité et moyen âge* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979); Irénée-Henri Dalmais, "Icônes et liturgie: En marge de quelques ouvrages récents," *Maison Dieu* no. 142 (1980) 97-105; Kurt Weitzmann et al., *The Icon* (New York: Knopf, 1982); Yakiv E. Krekhovetsky, "The Holy Spirit and Icons," *Diakonia* 13 (1978) 3-16; Emanuel Banu, "Die Ikone in der orthodoxen Christenheit: Symbol and Realität," *Geist und Leben* 55 (1982) 436-50; Tomáš Špidlik, "L'icône, manifestation du monde spirituel," *Gregorianum* 61 (1980) 539-54; Constantine Cavarinos, "Knowing God through Icons and Hymnody," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 282-98; Lennart Rydén, "The Role of the Icon in Byzantine Piety," in *Religious Symbols and Their Functions*, Symposium, Åbo, Sweden, ed. Haralds Biezais (Stockholm: Almqvist, 1979) 41-52; Lothar Heiser, "Die Ikone und ihre Bedeutung für die orthodoxe Spiritualität," *Christliche Osten* 33 (1978) 76-84; Suzy Dufresne, "L'icône dans la pensée et la piété orthodoxe d'après le témoignage du monde byzantin," in *Aspects* 31-41; Hans Georg

studies have appeared to explain its causes and effects.²⁴⁷ English readers have been recently provided with two important new translations, "The Defense of Icons" by St. John of Damascus and the treatise on icons by St. Theodore the Studite (ca. 759-826).²⁴⁸

Several volumes of collected essays treat Eastern spirituality, as do the acts of a symposium held in Strasbourg in 1978.²⁴⁹ A monastery in France, the Abbaye de Bellefontaine (Begrolles-en-Mauges, F-49122 Le May-sur Evre), has begun the ambitious project of translating primary sources of Eastern monasticism and spirituality, an undertaking that will doubtless continue for decades.²⁵⁰ Thomas Špidlik, a Jesuit from the Pontifical Oriental Institute, has published a detailed annotated volume, a "systematic manual" on Eastern Christian spirituality.²⁵¹ Also available are studies comparing the meditation practices of East and West, studies on saints in the Byzantine tradition, attempts to bridge the gap between traditional Eastern spirituality and modern needs.²⁵²

Thümmel, "Eine Schrift über das Wesen der Ikone," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 10 (1982) 53-58; E. Vauthier, "Les icônes sont-elles inspirées?" *Esprit et vie* 90 (1980) 577-82; Nathalie Labrecque-Pervouchine, *L'Iconostase: Une évolution historique en Russie* (Montreal: Bellarmin, 1982).

²⁴⁷ David J. C. Cooper, "The Theology of Image in Eastern Orthodoxy and John Calvin," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 35 (1982) 219-41; Stephen Gero, "Byzantine Iconoclasm and Monachomachy," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 (1977) 241-48; Patrick Henry, "What Was the Iconoclastic Controversy about?" *Church History* 45 (1976) 16-31; Theodore Sideris, "The Theological Arguments of the Iconoclasts during the Iconoclastic Controversy," in *Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. J. Barker (Byzantine Studies 6:1-2; Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona State University, 1979) 178-92.

²⁴⁸ St. Theodore the Studite, *On the Holy Icons*, tr. Catharine P. Roth (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1981); St. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images: Three Apologies against Those Who Attack the Divine Images*, tr. David Anderson (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1980).

²⁴⁹ *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserm Gott überantworten: Studien zur ostkirchlichen Spiritualität: Fairy v. Lilienfeld zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Hauptmann (Kirche im Osten: Monographien Reihe 17; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982); *Festschrift für Fairy von Lilienfeld zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Adelheid Rexheuser and K.-H. Ruffmann (Erlangen: IGW, 1982); *Aspects de l'orthodoxie: Structures et spiritualité: Colloque de Strasbourg (Novembre 1978)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1981).

²⁵⁰ V. Desprez, "Chronique de théologie monastique et orientale: Spiritualité orientale et vie monastique: Les éditions de l'Abbaye de Bellefontaine," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 66 (1982) 591-610.

²⁵¹ Thomas Špidlik, S.J., *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien: Manuel systématique* (Orientalia christiana analecta 206; Rome: Oriental Institute, 1978). See also his *La spiritualità russa* (Rome: Studium, 1981).

²⁵² Georg Gunter Blum, "Meditative Praxis und Theologie: Aspekte östlicher und westlicher Spiritualität," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979) 17-30; Olivier Clément, *Le visage intérieur* (Paris: Stock, 1978); idem, *La révolte de l'Esprit: Réponses pour la situation spirituelle d'aujourd'hui*, en collaboration avec Stanislas Rougier (Paris: Stock, 1979); D. Staniloae,

On monasticism, one of the special strengths of Eastern Church life, no new work has appeared. The valuable historical study by the Anglican Chitty, recently reissued, remains the best account of the origins of Eastern monasticism. The rector of the Institute of St. Sergius has written an essay on consecrated virginity in Orthodoxy.²⁵³

Finally, two works that do not easily fit into fixed categories can be noted, one on the Eastern understanding of the world of nature, the other on the angelic world.²⁵⁴

Ethical Reflections

Especially in North America, the Orthodox continue to do original work in Christian ethics or moral theology. Leader here is a professor from the Holy Cross School of Theology in Brookline, Fr. Stanley Harakas, whose several essays explore the distinctive character of Orthodox ethical doctrine and whose two books, one on medical-moral ethics and one on social concerns, are major investigations.²⁵⁵ A noted expert on Orthodox philanthropy, Demetrios Constantelos, has recently written

Prière de Jésus et expérience du Saint Esprit (Théophanie: Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1981); Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, *Prière et sainteté dans l'église russe* (Spiritualité orientale 33; rev. ed. [first ed. 1950]; Bégrolles, France: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1982); Kallistos Ware, *The Power of the Name: The Jesus Prayer in Orthodox Spirituality* (Fairacres, Oxford: Sisters of the Love of God, 1981); *The Byzantine Saint*; Studies Supplement to *Sobornost* 5, ed. Sergei Hackel (London: St. Alban, 1981); Aleksei Osipov, "The Saints as a Sign of the Fulfilment of God's Promise to Man," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* no. 6 (1982) 77-80; 7, 69-77; Ekkart Sauser, "Der heilige Mensch im Leben der Ostchristen," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 91 (1982) 291-303; Giuseppe Ferrari, "La preghiera nella tradizione orientale," *Oriente cristiano* 16, no. 2 (1976) 84-100.

²⁵³ Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (reprint; Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's, 1978 [1966]); Alexis Kniazeff, "Le point de vue de l'église orthodoxe sur la virginité consacrée," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 95 (1981) 468-77.

²⁵⁴ Paulos Gregorios, *The Human Presence: An Orthodox View of Nature* (Geneva: WCC, 1978); Lothar Heiser, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie* (Sophia 13; Trier: Paulinus, 1976).

²⁵⁵ Stanley S. Harakas, *For the Health of Body and Soul: An Eastern Orthodox Introduction to Bioethics* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1980), reprinted from *Encyclopedia of Bioethics* 1, ed. Warren Reich (New York: Free Press, 1978) 347-55. See also his *Let Mercy Abound: Social Concern in the Orthodox Church* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1982); "Christian Ethics in Ecumenical Perspective: An Orthodox Christian View," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 15 (1978) 631-46; "The Centrality of Conscience in Eastern Orthodox Ethics," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 23 (1978) 131-44; "Reflections on the Ethical Dimensions of the Topics of the Great and Holy Synod," *ibid.* 24 (1979) 131-57; reply by R. M. Haddad, 158-64.

a popular overview of that topic summarizing his earlier technical studies.²⁵⁶

A consultation on Church and service to others took place on Crete in 1978, as part of the clarification by Orthodox of their role in the World Council of Churches.²⁵⁷ Other specific issues treated by Orthodox ethicists include human rights and the responsibilities of society to the handicapped.²⁵⁸ Historical studies are also addressed in essays that discuss the involvement of Arab Orthodox Christians and Russian Orthodox Christians.²⁵⁹ Finally, a new manual of moral theology that is now used in all Romanian Orthodox seminaries, a manual including sections on patriotism, love of country, peace, etc., has been reported by a Roman Catholic.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Demetrios J. Constantelos, "The Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church," in *God and Charity: Images of Eastern Orthodox Theology, Spirituality and Practice*, ed. Francis Costa (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1979) 75-87; Vigen Guroian, "Notes toward an Eastern Orthodox Ethic," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 9 (1981) 228-44; Christos Yannaras, *La liberté de la morale* (Perspective Orthodoxe 4; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1982).

²⁵⁷ *The Orthodox Approach to Diaconia, Consultation on Church and Service*, Orthodox Academy of Crete, November 20-25, 1978 (Geneva: WCC, 1980). See also *Martyria/Mission: The Witness of the Orthodox Churches Today*, ed. Ion Bria (Geneva: WCC, 1980).

²⁵⁸ Elisabeth Behr-Sigel, "Les droits de l'homme: La perspective historique dans les églises orthodoxes," *Unité des chrétiens* no. 37 (1980) 6-8; Stanley Harakas, "Human Rights: An Eastern Orthodox Perspective," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 19 (1982) 13-24; Olivier Clément, "Christianisme et droits de l'homme: L'Approche d'un chrétien orthodoxe," *Le Supplément* no. 141 (1982) 253-70; Vlassios Fidas, "Doctrine et développement historique des droits fondamentaux dans la tradition orthodoxe," in *Les droits fondamentaux du chrétien dans l'église et dans la société; Die Grundrechte des Christen in Kirche und Gesellschaft; I diritti fondamentali del cristiano nella chiesa e nella società*, Actes du IV^e Congrès International de Droit Canonique, ed. Eugenio Corecco et al. (Fribourg, Switz.: Herder, 1981) 669-81; Nicolai A. Zabolotsky, "Diaconia and the Social Responsibility of the Church," *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* no. 9 (1980) 68-77, German text: "Diaconia und der Kirche soziale Verantwortung," *Stimme der Orthodoxie* no. 1 (1980) 47-58; Stephen Plumlee, "The Handicapped in the Orthodox Church," in *Partners in Life: The Handicapped and the Church*, ed. G. Muller-Fahrenholz (Faith and Order Paper 89; Geneva: WCC, 1979) 109-14.

²⁵⁹ Nicolai A. Zabolotsky, "The Russian Orthodox Church and the Poor in the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *Separation without Hope: The Relation between the Church and the Poor during the Industrial Revolution and the Western Colonial Expansion*, ed. Julio de Santa Ana (Geneva: WCC, 1978) 60-86; George Khodr, "Social Action and Thought among Arab Orthodox Christians (1800-1920)," *ibid.* 111-26.

²⁶⁰ Ernst C. Suttner, "Ein neues Handbuch für den moraltheologischen Unterricht in den Seminarien der rumänischen orthodoxen Kirche," in *Ex aequo et bono: Willibald M. Plochl zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Leisching et al. (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1977) 385-95. The handbook in question is I. Zagrean, *Morale creștină: Manual pentru Seminarile Teologice ale Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* [Christian Morals: A Manual for the Theological Seminaries of the Romanian Orthodox Church] (Bucharest: Biblical and Orthodox Missionary Institute, 1974).

Conclusion

The vast amount of theological literature described in this chronicle is convincing evidence of impressive Orthodox activity during the last five years. The Orthodox Church is clearly committed to preserving its identity but also to sharing its religious convictions with sister churches, especially with the Church of Rome. Both high-level academic research by Orthodox and non-Orthodox and more popular works addressed to the nonspecialist are healing the wounds of division. Publications are almost completely free from polemics or stereotyping. Still, much of what is taking place nationally and internationally, especially in bilateral dialogues, is buried under a bushel. Shocking ignorance about the liturgical worship, the faith life, the intellectual traditions of the other still hinders understanding. Speaking only for Roman Catholic schools of theology and seminaries, I find it distressing to report neglect of Eastern Christian perspectives. No single remedy will suffice, but steps could be taken to broaden library acquisition of books and journals, to promote faculty and student exchange on a long-term basis, and to encourage Roman Catholics to learn to read Romanian, Russian, and modern Greek. More difficult ecumenical questions need to be discussed, such as the papacy, the relationship of Church and state, the origins and present vocation of the Eastern Catholic or "Uniate" churches, the safeguards for diversity. Perhaps in the coming decade we can look forward to a comprehensive volume on dogmatic theology written jointly by Orthodox and non-Orthodox authors that will gather up the fragments described in this survey.

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