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THE LIMITS TO THE EXTENSION OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CONSTANTINOPLE PATRIARCHATE OVER THE "DIASPORA"

Professor S. Troitskiy

The great temptation of worldly power, which was the last and the strongest temptation with which the Devil tempted our Lord (Matthew 4: 3-10), has not been unknown to His followers. Church representatives who by force of circumstances were placed above others, and this is especially true of the five ancient patriarchates, were frequently subjected to the temptation of power. Only the communing conscience of the Church, enlightened from above, put a limit to this alien spirit. Thus, at the beginning of the 5th Century the Carthaginian Council condemned the attempts of the popes to subordinate the Carthaginian Church. Some time later the Third Ecumenical Council condemned in its eighth rule the aspiration of the Antioch patriarchs to subordinate the Church of Cyprus. It is stated in the decision of the Council, "Do not trespass the laws; do not allow the desire for worldly power to creep in disguised as the performance of divine service, so that the freedom which Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of all mankind, conferred upon us with His own blood may not disappear gradually and imperceptibly."

However, not everyone always remembered this warning of the Ecumenical Council. "Gradually and imperceptibly" the desire for worldly power crept into the Church of Rome, the most important autocephalous church which fell away from the Ecumenical Church. Nor did the Church of Constantinople, the next most important autocephalous church, (Fourth Ecumenical Council, 28), remain unaffected by this temptation. Throughout its history the Church of Constantinople had frequently tended to place itself above the other autocephalous churches, thereby transforming its preeminence in honor, inherited from the Roman Church, into a preeminence in power. However, to the great benefit of the Orthodox world, this tendency, unlike the aspirations of Rome, appeared only in individual acts of the church and at times in the theories of some church politicians. Such, for example, was the theory of the "transference

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of scepters." While they never became church dogma, these acts and theories produced no slight harm to the Orthodox Church. The separation of the Western Church from the Eastern Church, which led to such disastrous consequences for the entire Christian world, was the responsibility not only of Rome but also of Constantinople. Repeated persecution of Slavic patriarchs, the Bulgarian schism, and the Antioch schism are some, although far from all, of the results of this state of affairs. The external decline of the Constantinople Church on the one hand, and the rise of the Russian Church, on the other, curtailed the spread of these tendencies. But no sooner did the Russian Church find itself in trouble than the "nebulous desire for world power" again asserted itself within the Constantinople Church and it once more endeavored to "overstep the limits placed by the fathers and the Councils."

This tendency appeared in the form of a newly-invented theory of compulsory and exclusive subordination to the Constantinople Church of the Orthodox diaspora, i.e., the entire orthodox "dispersion" (Basil the Great, Rule 85), which the Greeks understood to include not only separate individuals but also all Orthodox congregations and even eparchies located outside of the boundaries of countries in which there were Orthodox autocephalous churches.

For example, the Constantinople Patriarch Photius II, claiming the subordination of the Budin Eparchy to the Church of Constantinople, wrote to Varnava, the Serbian Patriarch, on 30 May 1931: "Your Excellency and our dear sister, the Serbian Church, are cognizant of the general view of our Patriarchal See on the canonical position of Orthodox churches, parishes, and settlements in diaspora, outside the limits of the Orthodox autocephalous churches. All such parishes, irrespective of nationality, must, from the ecclesiastical point of view, be subordinated to our Holiest Patriarchal See."

The same theory may be found in the epistle of Basil III to the Warsaw Metropolitan Dionysius of 12 December 1925, and in numerous other acts of this patriarchate since 1922. The originator of this theory was Kitiyssakiy, a fervent Panhellenist. Later, its proponents were the Metropolitan of Athens, the Metropolitan of Constantinople (1921-1923) and, after 7 May 1926, Patriarch Meletius of Alexandria (Metaxakis 1871-1935). This theory did not remain on paper but was vigorously put into practice by its founder and his successors to the Constantinople Chair. Thus, in 1922 the patriarchate opened four eparchies in America, and an exarch with the apocalyptic title of Metropolitan Fiatirakiy [?] was appointed for Western and Central Europe. In 1923 an Archbishop of Paris and of all Czechoslovakia was appointed and an order (tomos) was issued re-establishing the Archbishopric of Cyril-Methodius under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The Finnish, Estonian, and Polish churches were also placed under the same jurisdiction. In 1924 the Metropolitan of "Hungary and Exarch of Central Europe in Budapest" [sic] was appointed and a bishop was designated in Paris. The Polish Church, while it was proclaimed autocephalous, continued to be subordinate to the Church of Constantinople. Two eparchies were established in Australia, and attempts were made to close the Russian Patriarchate and to subordinate the Russian Church to the Constantinople Patriarchate. In 1925 the head of the Polish Church received the title of "Holiness" and, in 1929 the Bishop of Trakhiya [?] was sent to Poland, with extensive powers of control. In 1923 Bishop Adam of the Russian Church in America was subordinated to the Constantinople Patriarchate, and in 1931, Evlogiy, the Russian Metropolitan of Western Europe, together with the bishops subordinate to him, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople. In 1932 the question was raised of subordinating all eparchies and congregations of the Serbian Church located outside of Yugoslavia. Such is the long, though far from complete, record showing the application of the new theory concerning the jurisdiction over the Orthodox diaspora.

As soon as World War II ended and the position of the Russian Church

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improved, a reverse process got underway, that of the falling away of eparchies and parishes from the Constantinople Church and their return to the parent church -- the Russian Patriarchate.

A number of Russian Orthodox eparchies and parishes, both within and outside the borders of the USSR, have already reverted to the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate.

The question concerning the return of the Finnish and Polish churches to the parent church was also raised. However, in view of the fact that this question has not been finally settled and that a portion of the Russian diaspora in Western Europe considers itself subject to the jurisdiction of Constantinople even at present, as well as the fact that Greek church circles apparently have not repudiated their theory of the canonical character of the subordination of the entire Orthodox diaspora to Constantinople, it is imperative to examine this theory in itself and its application to the Finnish and Polish churches. With respect to the Polish Church, not only must the question of its dependence on Constantinople be examined, but also the right of Constantinople to grant it autocephalous status.

Supporters of the theory find it confirmed in three canons of the Canon Law of the Orthodox Church: (1) the second rule of the Second Ecumenical Council, (2) the seventh rule of the Third Ecumenical Council and, chiefly, (3) the 29th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council.

1. "In the second rule of the II Ecumenical Council," writes Patriarch Meletius to the former Metropolitan of Kiev, Antonius on 5 July 1927 (Pantenos, 1927, No 89, pp 514-516), "we read: 'Regional bishops must not extend their power over churches beyond their areas and must not mix up churches... If not invited, they must not leave the confines of their area for ordination or for any other church function. While observing the above-noted rule on church domains, it is also clear that the business of every region is to be administered by a regional council as is provided in Nicala.'" Patriarch Meletius concludes that, "on the basis of this rule, the bishops of the Russian Church have no right to interfere in the jurisdiction of a diocese outside the domains of their churches."

To begin with, the rule does not give any priority to the Church of Constantinople and does not even mention that church.

In the second place, if the rule contained only that part to which Patriarch Meletius makes reference, it would mean that no church, including the Church of Constantinople, can maintain missions outside its borders, which contradicts the commandment of the Church Founder: "Go and teach all peoples" (Matthew 28: 19; Mark 16: 15). Patriarch Meletius really cites only that part of the rule which is not relevant to the question, and purposely omits that part which gives all churches the right to have missions. At the end of the rule we read: "The churches of God of foreign peoples (ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἔθνεσι) should be governed in accordance with the established traditions of the Fathers."

It follows from this that the prohibition against extending the jurisdiction beyond church borders does not apply to missionary areas but refers to territories of other churches, and does not refer to territories outside these churches, i.e., missionary areas where the old order was to be maintained. What sort of an order was it? According to the authoritative interpreters, John Zonar and Feodor Val'samon, there existed no defined limits for autocephalous churches, and bishops of one church, especially those who were eloquent, could frequently visit the areas of other bishops to teach those who were converted to the faith and to affirm their conversion (Rules of the Holy Ecumenical Council With Commentaries, I M, 1877, p 85, line 86, Athenian Syntagma, II, 171, 172). Thus, the rule states the opposite of what

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Patriarch Meletius wishes to prove.

2. Patriarch Meletius and other Greek canonists call attention to the following section of the eighth rule of the Third Ecumenical Council: "Do not permit the God-loving bishops to extend their power over another eparchy which was never under their jurisdiction or that of their predecessors. Any bishop who has extended his power and subordinated another eparchy by means of coercion should restore the same." From this statement the conclusion is drawn that autocephalous churches, with the exception of the Church of Constantinople, have no right to send bishops beyond the borders of that nation in which their church is located, and consequently, the Russian Church cannot maintain its eparchies in Poland and Finland.

Assuming that the rule has this meaning, it is, first of all, incomprehensible why the Greeks make an exception for the Church of Constantinople when the rule establishes an order for all churches without exception and makes no mention that the Church of Constantinople is to be excepted. If the Russian Church is not permitted to have eparchies in Poland and Finland because they are located in foreign countries, then the Church of Constantinople also cannot have them because it is located in another country.

As a matter of fact, the rule does not touch upon the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction beyond state borders, but by defending the autocephalous status of the Church of Cyprus against the claim of the Church of Antioch, it merely decides the question of delimitation of jurisdiction of churches located in one country -- in Byzantium. "Read also the second rule of the Second Council," advises Val'samon in his commentary on the eighth rule of the Third Council, "the 28th rule of the Fourth Council and the 39th rule of the Sixth Council and you will learn how churches within the Roman Empire, with the exception of a few, were subordinate to the Constantinople See" (Rules With Commentaries, 135-136; Athenian Syntagma, II, 206). If we apply this rule to a wider international situation, the claims of Constantinople would be seen to deserve severe condemnation. The rule enjoins, "He who extends his power and forcibly annexes an eparchy shall return the same," and adds, "It is the will of the Ecumenical Council that every eparchy (i.e., autocephalous metropolis) shall preserve its rights in their purity and its freedom from coercion, in accordance with ancient custom." But the Church of Finland from its very foundation belonged to the Russian Church and had no connection with the Church of Constantinople. Likewise, all Orthodox eparchies in Poland have been subordinate to the Russian Church for over 100 years, whereas the church statute of limitations, according to the 17th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council requires only 30 years. It follows from this that the Church of Constantinople, which seized the Churches of Finland and Poland with the assistance of temporal power, must return these churches to the Russian Church. No new act is required by the Church of Constantinople for this because the cited rule of the Ecumenical Council states that all such acts of seizure must in the future be considered invalid in and of themselves without a special resolution. It is stated at the end of the rule: "If anyone introduces a resolution which contradicts that which was decided and agreed upon by the entire Holy and Ecumenical Council, it shall be considered invalid." Hence, it can be seen how unfounded is the reasoning of the portion of the Russian diaspora in Western Europe which is still under the jurisdiction of the Constantinople Patriarch because he issued no order abolishing this jurisdiction.

The transfer to the jurisdiction of the Constantinople Church was invalid because it occurred in violation of the 17th rule of the Sixth Ecumenical Council and without the approval of the central authorities of the Russian Patriarchate, for which, according to the rule, both the accepted and the acceptor should be deprived of their rank.

3. It is claimed by the Greeks that the principal proof of their theory

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is to be found in the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which actually makes reference to the rights of the Church of Constantinople. This rule first alludes to the third rule of the Second Ecumenical Council, which gives the Church of Constantinople equal honorary rights with Rome and then proceeds to define the limits of the powers of Constantinople:

"Therefore, the metropolitans of the regions of Pontus, Thrace, and Asia Minor, as well as the bishops of foreign peoples of the above-mentioned areas are to be appointed by the above-mentioned Holiest See of the Holiest Church of Constantinople."

Defenders of the new theory see it corroborated in the law of foreign peoples ('εν τοις βαρβαρικοις) which they interpret in a political and geographic sense, in the sense of an Orthodox diaspora located outside the borders of states where Orthodox autocephalous churches are to be found. It is claimed that this diaspora comes under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople. In order to show the fallacy of this interpretation of the 28th rule it is necessary to define the true meaning of the terms "diaspora" and "barbarians" as used in church writings.

The term "diaspora" -- "dispersion" -- is taken from the Holy Scripture. In the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 30: 3-4; Judith 5: 19; Job 7: 35, etc.) it refers to Jews and proselytes dispersed among pagans. In a similar sense the term "diaspora" is found in old Christian writings, for example, in the writings of St Clement of Rome (Min', Patr., gr. I, 200, C) and in the Clementines (Min', Patr., gr. II, 147, A). The word is also to be found in the New Testament with the same meaning. When Jesus Christ told the Judeans: "Where I shall be, there you cannot go," the Judeans said among themselves, "Does not He intend to go to the Hellenic dispersion and teach the Hellenes?" (John 7: 35; 12:20-29). More frequently, however, this term connotes Christians dispersed among non-Christians. The apostle James addresses his epistle to the "twelve tribes in dispersion" (1:1), i.e., Christians residing among Jews in dispersion. The apostle Paul addresses his first epistle to the "chosen newcomers to the dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" calling the newcomers Christians and the chosen ones. (1:1; Hebrews 11:13). The term is used with the same meaning in later Christian writings, for example, in the 85th rule of Basil the Great.

The term "diaspora," therefore, in no way has a geographic or political connotation but a confessional meaning, and it refers to a religious minority regardless of whether it resides within the boundaries of a given country or outside its frontiers. As we have seen, the apostle Peter uses the word diaspora in reference to Christians within the Roman State and not outside of it.

The term "barbarians" or "barbarian peoples" has a similar meaning in church writings. Among barbarians, Christianity spread later than it did among Romans and Greeks, so that Christians constituted a minority, a "diaspora." This made the adoption of the general church order impossible and that is the reason why the canons (for example, the second rule of the Second Ecumenical Council; 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council) give these people special instructions. The term, thus, did not have in church writings a politico-geographic meaning, but an ethnographic one. The word "'ο βαρβαρος" in the New Testament, refers to any person not speaking the State language, Greek or Latin, irrespective of whether he lives within the boundaries of the Roman State or outside of it. The apostle Paul writes to the Corinthians, "If I do not understand the meaning of words, I am a barbarian to the speaker just as he is a barbarian to me" (I Corinthians 14: 11). The apostle Paul preached to barbarians without crossing the frontiers of the Empire (Romans 1: 14). Because they spoke the Punic language, residents of the island of

Melite (Malta) were called "barbarians" in the Acts of the Apostles, even though they were Roman citizens. In later years the word "barbarian peoples," as the Book of Laws translates it, meant foreigners residing beyond the borders of the Empire, (see Justinian's Code, III, 36, 39; 85th rule of Basil the Great) as well as those residing within the Empire (see, for example, eighth rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council; epistle to Diogenes 5:4; Min' II; Socrates, Church History, IV, 33; Min', 67, 551, 554; Sozomen, Church History, VI, 37; Min', 67, 1404-1409). For the designation of barbarian states located outside the Roman Empire, the term "το βαρβαρικον" (i.e. μερος -- the barbarian world as opposed to the Greek world -- το ελληνικον) or "barbaricum" was used. This meaning of the term is used in the 63d (52d) rule of the Carthaginian Council, where it is stated that there were no Councils in Mauritania because this country "lies on the extremity of Africa and is adjacent to barbarian territory (τω βαρβαρικω παρακειται) (See E. Preuschen, Handwörterbuch zu dem N. T., Giessen, 1910, S. 99; E. A. Sophocles, Greek Lexicon, New York, 1900, p 298; Du Cange, Glossarium totius graecitatis, Vjatislaviak, 1891, sub v. βαρβαρικον; Beverginus, Synodikon, II, Oxoniae, 1702, annotationes, p 125)

In what sense then are the words "εν τοις βαρβαρικοις" used in the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, in the geographic or in the ethnic sense? The answer to this will determine the claim of the Church of Constantinople to exercise jurisdiction over all Orthodox eparchies and parishes located beyond the borders of states in which autocephalous churches exist. If in the 28th rule of the Ecumenical Council, the word "barbarian" has a politico-geographic meaning and signifies state boundaries, it is permissible to think that the Council had placed all the territory outside of the borders of Byzantium under the dominion of this church. On the other hand, if this word has an ethnic meaning and refers merely to the well-known non-Greek peoples among whom Christianity spread, all claims of the Church of Constantinople become groundless.

There can be no doubt that in the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council the word "barbarian" is used in an ethnic and not in a politico-geographic sense. This can be proved: (a) by the meaning of the word "βαρβαρικον," (b) by the context in which it is used, (c) by the second rule of the Second Ecumenical Council, (d) by the authority of the canonical interpreters, and (e) by historical evidence.

a. We have already seen that in order to designate countries in which barbarians predominate, the canons use the word "βαρβαρικον" and if the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council had those countries in view, the terms "εν τω βαρβαρικω" would have been used. Actually, however, the words "εν τοις βαρβαρικοις" were used, which means that the rule refers not to barbarian states but to barbarians or barbarian peoples residing both inside and outside the borders of the Empire.

b. In the 28th Chalcedonian rule we only find the adjective "βαρβαρικοις" and do not find the noun which the adjective modifies. However, in view of the relationship between this rule and that of the Second Ecumenical Council, which is mentioned at the beginning of the 28th rule, it is safe to assume that here, too, the noun "peoples" is understood, since the second rule of the Second Ecumenical Council speaks of "εν τοις βαρβαρικοις εθνεσι" (The Council alludes to the third rule, but the third rule of the Second Ecumenical Council is a continuation of the second rule and is connected with it by the particle "μεντοι.")

c. The Chalcedonian rule refers not to barbarian peoples in general but to specific peoples, to peoples of the "above-mentioned regions" (των προειρημενων διοικησεων) i.e., only barbarians in the dioceses of Pontus, Asia Minor, and Thrace. These dioceses, however, were within the

Byzantine Empire, even though they mentioned missions and eparchies outside the borders of the Empire. Hence, the rule does not pertain to state boundaries, but subordinates to the Bishop of Constantinople the bishops of the barbarians residing within the church domains of these three dioceses, regardless of whether these barbarians are within or outside the Byzantine Empire.

The history of the Church of Constantinople explains the motives behind such a decision of the Council. For a long time, the territory of the Bishop of Constantinople, which only recently became an important city, was very small and the bishop was only one among many eparchial bishops of the diocese of Thrace. In the meantime the third rule of the Second Ecumenical Council gave him a second place in the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church, placing him on the same level of dignity as the Bishop of Rome; and his high de facto position, as the bishop of the new capital of the Empire and as the person close to the emperor, made it possible for him to ordain both bishops and metropolitans in the three neighboring dioceses. Then came the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which by way of establishing an equilibrium between the status of dignity and the actual position of the Bishop of the New Rome, on the one hand, and the sphere of his jurisdiction, on the other, granted him through the ninth and 17th rules the same legal rights as were enjoyed by the heads of autocephalous churches, the exarchs. The Council also sanctioned the de facto subordination of the three neighboring dioceses, in the same way in which the First Ecumenical Council sanctioned the subordination of not one but several provinces to the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. The question of the subordination of missions was also settled in the same spirit. The supervision of a mission is usually within the province of the central authority of a particular autocephalous church. Inasmuch as the three dioceses were made subordinate to the Bishop of Constantinople and the authority of this bishop became the central authority for them, supervision of missions in the diaspora of these three dioceses were transferred to the Bishop of Constantinople.

d. All canonical interpreters, including Alexius Aristin, John Zonaras, Feodor Val'samon, and Matthew Vlastar' the originator of the alphabetical syntagma, interpreted the term "βαρβαρικοῖς" to mean barbarian peoples who were under the jurisdiction of these three dioceses. They emphasize the fact that barbarian peoples of other neighboring dioceses were not made subordinate to the jurisdiction of Constantinople by this rule but remained under the jurisdiction of other Orthodox churches. Aristin writes, "The metropolitans of Pontus, Asia Minor, and Thrace were subordinated to him, the Bishop of Constantinople, and were ordained by him, as were the barbarian bishops in these dioceses, since the dioceses of Macedonia and Illyria, Thessaly, Peloponnesus, and the entire Epirus, and the barbarian peoples in these dioceses, were then under the rule of the Bishop of Rome" (Athenian Syntagma, II, 286; Kormchaya [Pathfinder], 1816, p 73).

Zonaras writes, "The right of ordaining bishops of barbarian peoples residing in the above-mentioned dioceses is transferred to the Bishop of Constantinople because the remaining dioceses, i.e., those of Macedonia and Thessaly, Elis, and the Peloponnesus, and of the so-called Epirus and Illyria, were then under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Ancient Rome" (Athenian Syntagma, II, 283, 284).

Val'samon writes, "The bishoprics of the barbarians are the land of the Alani, Russia, and others, since the Alani belong to the Diocese of Pontus and the Russians belong to the Diocese of Thrace" (Athenian Syntagma, II, 285).

In Matthew Vlastar's syntagma we read: "The Bishop of Constantinople is also allowed to ordain bishops of barbarian peoples who border the

dioceses which are subordinate to him, such as the Alani and the Russians, because the former border the Diocese of Pontus and the latter the Diocese of Thrace" (E., 11; Athenian Syntagma, VI, 257).

We thus see that all ancient authoritative interpreters of church canon maintain that the Chalcedonian Council gave the Bishop of Constantinople only that right in relation to the diaspora which prior to the Council belonged to the dioceses composing the Church of Constantinople, i. e., the right to send bishops to the diaspora to serve the foreigners living in the dioceses. In addition, Aristin and Zonaras point out that in Europe the right of the Bishop of Constantinople to send bishops to the diaspora was limited to barbarians in the Diocese of Thrace, since the remaining dioceses were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

In view of the fact that the boundaries of the Diocese of Thrace extended only as far as Sardica, the present-day Sofia in Bulgaria, and that beyond it were Thessaly, Macedonia, and Illyria, which were then under the Bishop of Rome, the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople over the diaspora in Europe, according to the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, extended only over the diaspora west of Sofia. (See P. Leporskiy, History of the Thessalonian Exarchy Until Its Incorporation Into the Constantinople Patriarchate, St Petersburg, 1901.) With respect to the boundaries of the Church of Constantinople in Asia, Val'samon writes the following in his commentary on the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council: "Remember that the Pontus metropolitans are those bordering the Black Sea as far as Trapezius and inland; Asiatic metropolitans are those near Ephesus, Lycia, and Pamphelia and their neighborhood, but not in Anatolia, as some say. The Bishop of Antioch has the right of consecration in Anatolia" (Athenian Syntagma, II, 284). Hence, Sofia in Europe and Trapezius and Anatolia in Asia were the farthest points over which, according to the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople extended.

e. History demonstrates that while subordinating the three abovementioned dioceses and their diaspora to Constantinople, the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council in no way abridged the rights of other autocephalous churches, especially the extent of their jurisdiction over the "barbarian" diaspora. Thus, the Roman Church appointed bishops "in partibus infidelium" throughout nearly all of Europe except Thrace; the Church of Alexandria appointed bishops in countries south of Egypt; the Church of Antioch in the east appointed bishops in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; while for a long period after the Council the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople remained only within those boundaries within which prior to the Council the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace exercised jurisdiction. The Justinian Civil Code which was issued in 534, 83 years after the Fourth Ecumenical Council, confirmed the fact that at that time only two bishops in the diaspora were subordinated to the Bishop of Constantinople. (1, III, 36; Photeus' Nomocanon, 1, 20, VIII, 1; Athenian Syntagma, 1, 57 and 44; Kormchaya, 1816, Chapter 44, p 34) These were the Bishop of Scythia Minor, with the pulpit of Tomi, and the Bishop of Isavriya [near ancient Phrygia], with the pulpit at Isavropol'. The 30th rule of the Sixth Ecumenical Council refers to these churches as barbarian churches. By his 11th Novel, Justinian founded the following year (535) the new Autocephalous Church of the First Justinian in order to conduct missions among barbarians of the Balkan peninsula. The bishops of the provinces of the Mediterranean and Mipinsiyak [?] Dacia, Prevaliya, Dardanus, and Upper Ibania were subordinated to the archbishop of the new church. (Photeus' Nomocanon, 1, 5; Athenian Syntagma, 1 49, 44; Syntagma of Vlastar' E., II; Athenian Syntagma, VI; 239 Englichs, V, III, 4, published by Heimbach, 1, 134). Thus, this archbishopric included in its boundaries not only the territory of present-day Yugoslavia and Albania but also western Bulgaria. Meanwhile, it was the

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Pope of Rome and not the Patriarch of Constantinople who protested against the new autocephalous church because he contended that it infringed upon his rights. In 545, in his 131st Novel, Justinian restored the Pope's jurisdiction. (Chapters 2-4; S. Golubinskiy, Short Excerpts...on Churches, M., 1971; 108-110, Gruich, History of the Christian Church, Beograd, 1923, 1, 38; P. Leporskiy, ibid., 188-212, 250-253, 260)

At the beginning of the 7th Century, as a result of migrations of the Slavic peoples, the Archbishopric of the First Justinian was closed. But its metropolitans of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Larissa did not come under the Patriarch of Constantinople. They became independent and founded new bishoprics for the Slavic diaspora. (Gruich, ibid.)

The fact that the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople over the diaspora exceeded only slightly the frontiers of Byzantium is proven in the ancient registers of the eparchies of the Constantinople patriarchate, /in the writings of/ Epiphanius (Min', gr. 86, 1, 789), De Boor (Zeitschrift für Kirkengesch, 1891, XII), the so-called Leo the Philosopher (Athenian Syntagma, V, 474-475) and Nilo Doksopator (Min', gr. 132, 1097). It is true that the second register mentions a Gothic metropolis with eight eparchies, but as V. A. Moshin has argued, we are dealing here only with a plan and not an actuality. ("Eparchy of Gothia in Khazaria in the Eighth Century," Works of the Fourth Congress of Russian Academic Organizations, 1, 149-156.)

The register of Leo the Philosopher, as well as the above-mentioned canonical interpreters, includes the Russian Church in the metropolis of the Constantinople Patriarchate. In the first case, we have the latest interpolation, and in the second, an obvious anchronism because there is no reason to believe that Christianity existed on the territory of present-day Russia in the 5th Century. In any case, the Russian Church was at first subordinated to the Church of Constantinople, not on account of the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council but by virtue of the general principle that newly converted peoples are subordinated to the parent church which converted them to Christianity until they attain the prerequisite conditions for an autocephalous status. (See A. S. Pavlov, "The Theory of Western Papacy in Russian Literature," The Orthodox Review, December 1879, p 753)

Subsequent expansion and contraction of the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople were in no way connected with the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council and could be traced to altogether different causes. The expansion of this jurisdiction was due to political events which were favorable to Constantinople, but especially to the missionary zeal of Slavic teachers, while the contraction of this jurisdiction was due to political events unfavorable to Constantinople and the attainment by non-Greek churches of prerequisite conditions for autocephalous status. Thus, in 732 the jurisdiction of Constantinople extended as far as Dyrrachium (now Durazz), as is recorded by Val'samon and Vlastar' in the Athenian Syntagma, II, 285 and Athenian Syntagma, VI, 257, respectively. This occurred, however, only because Leo the Isaurian conquered Illyria.

Just as the extension of the jurisdiction of Constantinople over the diaspora was not viewed as the application of the 28th Chalcedonian rule, the contraction of this jurisdiction was not considered as a violation of the rule. The theory of the subordination of the entire Orthodox diaspora to Tsaregrad /Constantinople/ did not exist until it was originated by Patriarch Maletius in 1922. This can be seen, first of all, in two official canonical collections of the Greek Churches--that of Pidalion of 1800 and the Athenian Syntagma of 1852-1899, in which reference is made of the above-mentioned canonical interpreters but which contain no trace of this theory. This can also be seen in the brochure by Archmandrite Kallist published in

Alexandria in 1921 and entitled The Ecumenical Patriarchal See, Its Rights and Privileges With Respect to the Other Orthodox Churches, in which the author endeavors to expand the rights of the Church of Constantinople but says nothing of its alleged rights of jurisdiction over the entire Orthodox diaspora.

In addition to the three above-mentioned rules (second rule of the Second Ecumenical Council; eighth rule of the Third Ecumenical Council; and the 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council), the 17th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, the concluding part of which is repeated in the 38th rule of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, is also pertinent to the question of the limits of jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople. The Greek authors refer to these rules as the basis for the right of the Church of Constantinople to grant the Church of Poland autocephalous status.

These references may be found not only in the correspondence with other hierarchies but also in the decision concerning the autocephalous status of the Poland Church dated 13 November 1924. This decision asserts that the canons purportedly state that the ecclesiastical organization of a country must conform to the political and social organization. Hence, the conclusion is drawn that the Orthodox Church in Poland must receive its independence, i. e., autocephalous status, because Poland is an independent state.

Even if this assertion were true, it does not follow that the autocephalous status of the Polish Church was proper and legitimate, since a legal autocephalous status can only be granted by a legal authority, i. e., the parent church, which for the Polish Church happens to be the Church of Russia, because as we have seen, the claims of the Church of Constantinople to jurisdiction over the Polish Church are unfounded. But the assertion that there must be conformity between church organization and state organization is canonically and historically incorrect. If the canons had actually required this, the Church of Constantinople should have given to the Finnish and Estonian Churches, which were located in independent states, not autonomy but an autocephalous status.

It should be borne in mind that the two rules are not concerned with the delimitations of autocephalous churches but refer to the fixing of limits on eparchies and parishes within the autocephalous churches. In this way, the rules actually have no bearing on the question of church independence. Moreover, the idea that an independent state must have an autocephalous church is utterly foreign to the rules as can be seen from the fact that at that time not one but several autocephalous churches existed in the Byzantine state alone, and the canons of the Ecumenical Council (I, 6; II, 2; III, 8, etc.) sanctioned such a state of affairs.

At the outset, the Ecumenical Council indicated a totally different principal of church delimitation, namely the principle of time limitations. Eparchies and parishes had to preserve unchanged the old boundaries if these had existed at least 30 years. Disputes over boundaries were to be settled in the first instance by the Councils of the metropolis and in the second instance by the diocese metropolitan (exarch) or by the Bishop of Constantinople. "If, however, emperors should build new cities or contemplate building new cities, the distribution of church parishes (the term should be translated as 'eparchies') should follow a civil and political order."

Thus, conformity of church to political organization is a departure from the general rule of preserving old boundaries and is compulsory only when a new city is founded by state authority. Aristin explains this order in the following words: "If the emperor founds or contemplates founding a new city the neighboring bishop must not start a controversy and attract the city to his eparchy, but must conform to the civil and political order, so that the new city may have under its authority a bishop of the region or eparchy to which it is assigned and is made subordinate" (Laws With Commentaries, 214; Athenian Syntagma, C II, 263). Zonaras says the same thing. (Laws With Commentaries, p 213; Athenian Syntagma, II, 260-261) It is not difficult to explain in this

instance why an exception is made to the principle of time limitations. This principle is applicable only to cities which have been in existance for a long time and can in no way be applied to a newly founded city.

That the Chalcedonian Council passed no resolution on the necessity of conforming the church organization to the political organization is attested by the 12th rule and the proceedings of the Council. The 12th rule prohibits the coordination of the divisions of the metropolis with the new divisions of a province, while the Council proceedings show that when a dispute between two bishops over eparchial boundaries came up for consideration, the Council resolved that in the assignment of church areas, canons and church traditions have a greater significance than state acts (Proceedings of the Ecumenical Council, IV, 82-92). If, at times, the canons do take into consideration state borders, it is not done because of doctrinal necessity but only when it corresponds to church interest or church welfare. For example, the ninth rule of the Antioch Council, which established a parallel between the division of the church into metropolises and the division of the state into provinces, states: "Bishops of every metropolis should know the bishop who is the head of the principal city of the metropolis and who has in his charge the entire metropolis, because all consequential matters flow into the main city of the metropolis." Thus, what is prescribed is not conformity of church and state organizations as such, but only that type of coordination which is of benefit to the church. On the other hand, when the welfare of the church requires a departure from the form of state organization, the rules approve this departure. Not one but several provinces gravitated to such large centers as Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and for this reason the metropolis of each bishop embraced several provinces, frequently infringing upon the existing political organization. This was approved by the sixth rule of the First Ecumenical Council. The 28th rule of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, also motivated by church welfare, violated the principle of conformity by subordinating not one but three dioceses to the Bishop of Constantinople. Many similar examples could be cited. In later years conformity of the boundaries of autocephalous churches to state boundaries existed only when this was dictated by reasons of church welfare; otherwise this was not followed.

Church history confirms the fact that at times there were several autocephalous churches in one state, and at times one autocephalous church extended its jurisdiction over several states. In his commentary on the second law of the Second Ecumenical Council, Val'samon states that in ancient times (i. e., in the 4th Century) all metropolitans of eparchies (i. e., of metropolises) possessed autocephalous status (αὐτοκέφαλοι) and were ordained by their own bishops (Laws With Commentaries, 36; Athenian Syntagma, II, 171). Since nearly every province had a metropolis, and at that time there were approximately 100 provinces in the Roman Empire, there were nearly 100 autocephalous churches. At the end of the 4th Century, the metropolitans were united into dioceses or exarchates and later into much larger units called patriarchates. Nevertheless, there were never less than six autocephalous churches within the Greco-Roman state, and their boundaries never coincided with the frontiers of the state territorial units. For example, the three autocephalous churches of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Cyprus were located in the same eastern diocese. In modern times in Turkey, in addition to the four eastern patriarchates, the Serbian Church (until 1766) and the Bulgarian Church (until 1767) retained their autocephalous status for a long time. Three autocephalous churches and one autonomous church existed in Austro-Hungary. The churches of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Cyprus existed even longer in territory which was under the sovereignty of England. There are two autocephalous churches in the USSR -- the Russian Church and the Georgian Church.

On the other hand, some Orthodox churches extended their jurisdiction over the territory of several countries. The Rumanian Church not only extended its

authority over Western European states but also over a part of Byzantium and for a long time as far as the diocese of Thrace. By the 11th Novel, Emperor Justinian I freed the Church of the First Justinian in 535 from its subordination to Rome and gave it autocephalous status. The Russian Church, which was located in a great and independent country, was subordinate to the Church of Constantinople for several centuries. The Church of Constantinople retained its jurisdiction over the Ukrainian Church until 1685, notwithstanding the fact that, politically the Ukraine became a part of Russia in 1654. The Church of Constantinople extended its jurisdiction over Poland, Lithuania, Moldavia, Valachia, Serbia, Hungary, and the Ionian Islands which were under English rule (see Athenian Syntagma, V, 522-523). It has its eparchies today in Western Europe, America, and Australia. The Siberian Church maintained eparchies in America, Hungary, Italy, Albania, and Bohemia, and the Church of Alexandria maintained its eparchies in Abyssinia, Nubia, etc. Thus, the political independence of a state in which a particular Orthodox church is located does not predetermine the autocephalous status of the church. Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow, the greatest authority on Orthodox theology, maintains that "one church may have jurisdiction over many nationalities and many kingdoms" (Collection of Opinions and Testimonials, V, 694). Patriarch Tikhon wrote to the Rumanian Synod in his letter of 5 June 1918 (No 1396): "Another point of view is being formed which is based on merging church life with political life, which in their very nature are heterogeneous. The sword of the State cannot arbitrarily determine the boundaries of local churches."

It can therefore be concluded that the political independence of Poland does not, by itself, give the Russian Church located in Poland an autocephalous status. Church welfare and church interest should play the decisive role. The Russian Church may grant the Polish Church autocephalous status if it becomes convinced that the independence of the Polish Church will contribute toward its development and prosperity, and if, on the contrary, this independence will not create for it a danger of bias in favor of the Uniate and Catholic Churches within a country where the majority of the population belongs to the Catholic Church and where Catholic clergy is imbued with a hostile attitude toward "eastern schismatics." As everyone knows, Patriarch Tikhon and Metropolitan Sergiy more than once refused to recognize the autocephalous status of the Polish Church because of these dangers (see Patriarch Tikhon's letter of 23 May 1924 and Metropolitan Sergiy's letter of 24 September 1927, No 397).

Have these conditions changed since World War II? Certainly they have changed, but the reasons against autocephalous status have increased and become even stronger. On the one hand, there is a much smaller Orthodox population in Poland as result of the oppression of Orthodox in former Poland, the reverses of the war, and the assignment of new frontiers. On the other hand, a better relationship between the church authorities has been established in Russia, owing to which the central church authority can give more effective aid to an orthodox population which is scattered in a non-Orthodox country.

Thus, the laws of the Ecumenical Council (II, 2; III, 8; IV, 28 and 17), to which the supporters of the newly expounded theory of the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople over the entire Orthodox diaspora allude, do not in fact give any support to this theory. The root of this theory is not to be found in an effort to restore the canonical standards regarding jurisdiction over the diaspora but rather in the "ambition for worldly power" prohibited by the canons, which can so easily creep into the ruling church circles, and which seriously harms the cause of ecclesiastical truth, love, and peace and interferes with the successes of Orthodoxy in the [part of the] Christian world which has been separated from it. The sooner the conscience of the Ecumenical Church, which has been enlightened by the Spirit of God, condemns this papistic and anticanonical heresy, the better.

- E N D -

О ГРАНИЦАХ РАСПРОСТРАНЕНИЯ ПРАВА ВЛАСТИ КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЬСКОЙ ПАТРИАРХИИ НА «ДИАСПОРУ».

[illegible] искушение земной власти, [illegible] в самое тяжелое искушение, которым диавол соблазнял Господа (Мф. 4, 3—10), не осталось [illegible] и Его последователям. Особенно часто подвергались искушению [illegible] предстоятели Церквей, [illegible] обстоятельствами поставленные [illegible] других и прежде всего [illegible], и лишь просве[illegible] соборное сознание [illegible] этому чу[illegible] [illegible]. Так, в начале [illegible] Собор осудил по[illegible] [illegible] себе [illegible], а [illegible] [illegible] Собор [illegible] [illegible] правила [illegible] сво[illegible] [illegible] не упразднил [illegible] [illegible] Своих Господь [illegible] [illegible] голо[illegible] [illegible] Церков[illegible] [illegible]

Вел. пр. 85), под которым греки стали понимать не только [illegible] лиц, но и все православные приходы и даже епархии, [illegible] границ государств, в которых существуют Православные [illegible] Церкви.

«Вашему Блаженству и дорогой сестре Сербской Церкви, [illegible] напр. 30/V — 1931 г. Константинопольский Патриарх Фотий II [illegible]ху Сербскому Варнаве, претендуя на подчинение Констан[illegible] Церкви Будимской епархии, «известен общий взгляд нашего [illegible] го Престола по вопросу о каноническом положении правосла[illegible] ковных общин и колоний, находящихся в диаспоре и вне гран[illegible] вославных автокефальных Церквей, что все церковные общины, [illegible] бы то ни было народности, должны в церковном отношении быть [illegible] нены канонически Святейшему Патриаршему Престолу».

Ту же теорию находим и в послании Патриарха Василия III [illegible] скому Митрополиту Дионисию от 12/XII — 1925 г. и во [illegible] актах этой Патриархии, начиная с 1922 г. Творцом этой теории [illegible] горький вдохновитель Китийский, а затем Афинский Мелетий [illegible] стантинопольский (1921—1923), а после 7/V — 1926 г. Александрийский Патриарх Мелетий (Метаксакис 1871—1935), и теория эта [illegible] на бумаге, но [illegible] и успешно проводилась в жизнь [illegible] теории, так и ее применения по Константинопольской [illegible] в 1922 г. Патриархией были открыты 4 епархии: в Америке, [illegible] Западной и Центральной Европы с [illegible] (2, 10) Митрополита Фиатирского, в 1923 г. был [illegible] Пражский и всей Чехословакии и [illegible] [illegible] 1924 г. был [illegible] [illegible] Центральной Европы в Будапеште [illegible]

в применении ее к Церкви в Финской и Польской, причем в отношении Польской Церкви нужно рассм[illegible] не только [illegible] самостоятельности не Константинополя, но и о праве Константинополя [illegible] дать ей автокефа[illegible]

[illegible] колесе Православной Церкви защитники теории на[illegible] определение в трех канонах: в [illegible] правиле [illegible] Все[illegible], б) в восьмом правиле III Вселенского Собора и [illegible] правиле IV Вселенского Собора.

[illegible] правиле II Вселенского Собора, пишет Патриарх Мел[illegible] Киевскому Антони[illegible] от 5 XII — 1927 г. («Пантеон» [illegible]—516), мы читаем: «Областные епископы да не пре[illegible] за пределами своей области и да не сме[illegible] было приглаш[illegible] епископы да не переходят за [illegible] ради рукоположения или какого-либо другого [illegible]. При соборе нечто же вышеписанного правила [illegible] есть оно дело каждыя области благоучреж[illegible]. Сиесть, яко определено в Никее».

[illegible], делает вывод Патриарх Мелетий, [illegible] по своему праву пользоваться в епи[illegible]

[illegible] преимущества [illegible] о ней, в во-вторых, [illegible] Патриарх Мелетий [illegible] и Константинополя [illegible] что противоречило [illegible] патриарх» (Матф. [illegible] правило [illegible], которое [illegible]. А именно в [illegible]

[illegible] Церкви, когда правило устанавливает [illegible] и не упоминает [illegible] «автономии» в Польше [illegible] правила, то не мо[illegible] находится в [illegible]

[illegible] о церковной [illegible] Собора от пре[illegible] граничения [illegible] — в Ви[illegible] Собора, сомнет Вали[illegible] III Собора и IV Собора и [illegible] были Константи[illegible] Римской епиф[illegible] Прав. с. 135—136). Афинский [illegible] II Дом. [illegible] применять это правило и в более [illegible] масштабе, то претензии Константинополя [illegible] «Аще кто простер [illegible] за отдаст оную, [illegible] насильственно какую епархию себе подчинил, [illegible] дует правило и добавляет святому и Вселенскому Собору угодно, [illegible] бы в иная епархия (т. е. автокефальная митрополия) сохраняла в [illegible] те и без стечения принадлежащие ей права, по обычаю [illegible] утвердившемуся». Но ведь Финская Церковь с самого своего [illegible] принадлежала к Русской Церкви и Церковь Константинополя [illegible] никогда не имела к ней никакого отношения. / Точно также Рус[illegible] Церкви уже более ста лет были подчинены все православные [illegible] Польше, тогда как для церковной давности по 17 правилу IV Вселенского Собора достаточно 30 лет. Отсюда следует, что Константинопольская Церковь, захватившая при помощи светской власти в Финляндии и Польскую Церкви, должна возвратить их Церкви Русской. И для [illegible] даже не требуется никакого нового акта со стороны Церкви Константинопольской, ибо данное правило Вселенского Собора объявляет, что подобные акты захвата в будущем должны считаться недействительными сами по себе без особого постановления. «Ибо [illegible] предполагает постановление противное тому, что было определено [illegible] ся в иные правила, угодно всему святому и Вселенскому Собору, [illegible] будет оно недействительно». Отсюда же видно, насколько [illegible] рассуждение части русской диаспоры в Западной Европе, [illegible] подчинившейся определению Константинопольского Патриарха [illegible] основании, что нет его постановления об отмене этой юрисдикции.

Недействительным был переход в Константинопольскую [illegible] и потому, что на церковной соборе 17 правилу VI Вселенского [illegible] для рукоположений требуется со стороны митрополий [illegible] Подписано, за что, по правилу, должно быть лишен чина [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] подтверждение в словах правила [illegible] ("ὁ τοῦ βαρβάρου") и толкуют их в политико-[illegible] смысле, в смысле православной диаспоры, находящейся [illegible] где есть Православные автокефальные [illegible] по этому правилу, будто бы, только [illegible] Константинопольской Церкви. Чтобы [illegible] толкованием 28 правила, нужно [illegible] «диаспоре» и «варварье» в церковно-[illegible]

[illegible] — «рассеяние» взят из Священного Писания [illegible] 35, 3—4; Иудифь 5, 19; Нова 7, 5 [illegible] рассеянные между язычниками. В [illegible] в этом смысле и в древне-христианской [illegible] у св. Иоанна Рыльского (Житие, Потр., гр. 1, 209) [illegible] (гр. 2, 147, А). Встречается он в этом смысле [illegible] Кирилл Христос сказал пулям: «Где буд. Я, [illegible] Отцовым? Вы разрыли между собою: «tile дозет [illegible] ученик Божиим» (Ioan. 7, 35; ср. Ио[illegible]

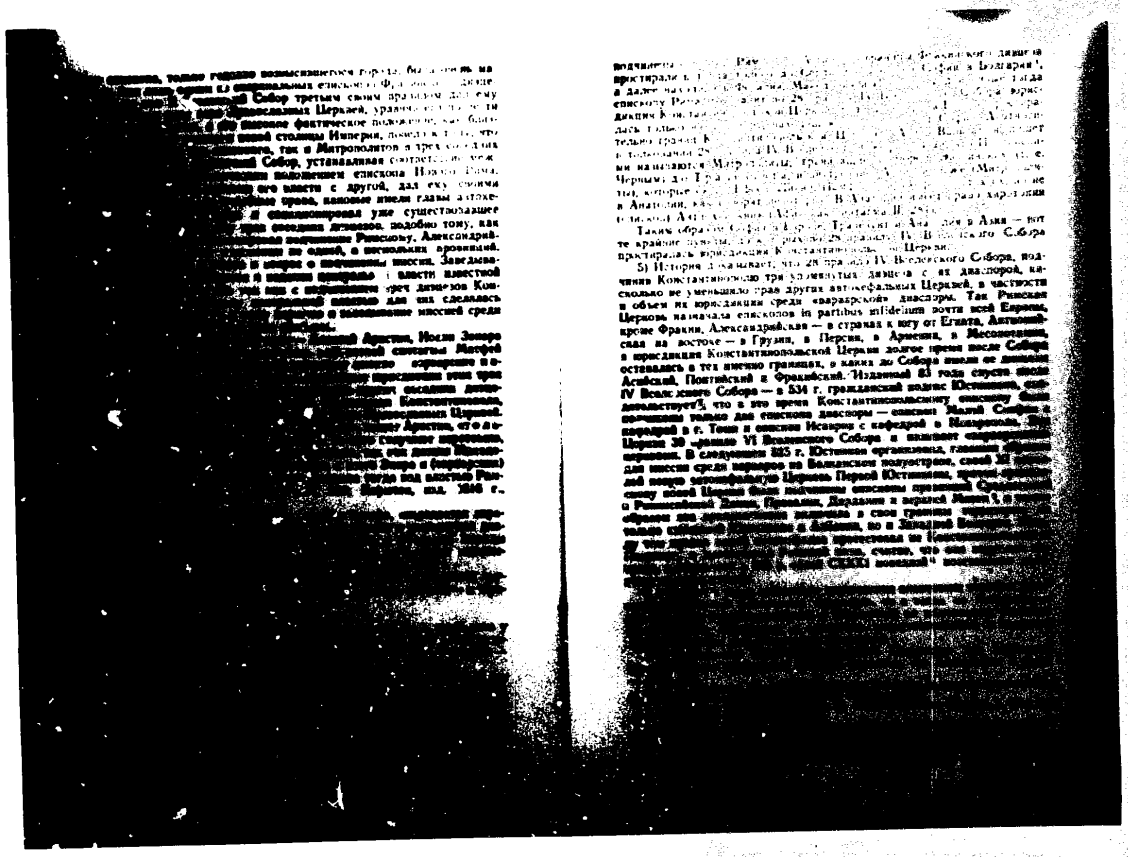
[illegible] варварский [illegible] конечно, нет Римской империи, употребляется термин [illegible] (т. е. «ἔθνος — варварский мир, в противоположность миру греческому) — т. е. «[illegible] или «barbarorum». Но такое [illegible] употребляется этот термин в 68-м правиле Карфагенского Собора, где говорится, что в Мавретании Собором не было [illegible] граница лежит на краю Африки и определена варварской [illegible] (barbaris).

В каком же смысле употреблены слова «варвары» (βάρβαροι) в 28 правиле IV Вселенского Собора, в географическом или этническом? В зависимости от такого или иного решения этого вопроса решается и [illegible] об основательности претензий Константинопольской Церкви на [illegible] над всеми православными странами и приходами, находящимися за пределами границ государств, в которых существуют другие автокефальные Церкви. Если слово «варварские» в 28 правиле IV Вселенского Собора имеет политико-географический смысл, означает государственные границы, то можно думать, что Собор подчинил этой Церкви всю территорию вне границ Византии. Но если это слово имеет смысл этнический и означает лишь известные нетреческие народы, среди которых распространилось христианство, то все претензии Константинопольской Церкви теряют под собою всякую почву.

Несомненно, слово «варварский» употреблено в 28 правиле IV Вселенского Собора в этническом, а не в политико-географическом смысле. Это доказывается, во-первых, значением самого слова «варвары», во-вторых, его контекстом, в-третьих, вторым правилом II Вселенского Собора, в-четвертых, авторитетом канонической толковательной и, наконец, в-пятых, историческими данными.

1) Мы уже видели, что для означения земель, где господствуют варвары, в каноне [illegible] употребляется слово «βάρβαρος», и если бы 28 правило IV Вселенского Собора имело в виду эти земли, то эти бы было сказано: «ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις». Между тем на самом деле здесь стоит [illegible] βαρβάρων, и значит говорится не о варварских государствах, а о варварах, о варварских народах, живущих хотя бы и в [illegible]

[illegible] Халкидонским правилом мы находим лишь [illegible] существенного, а [illegible] Но полностью смысл этого правила с [illegible] Собора, о чем говорится в начале 28 правила, [illegible] существенными «варварами», что [illegible] Собора говорится [illegible] о варварских [illegible]



и только тогда, когда это отвечает церковным интересам, благу Церкви. «В каждой митрополии, говорит, например, 34-е правило Антиохийского Собора, устанавливая параллельность церковно-[illegible] митрополии государственному делению на провинции, [illegible] ведёте епископа, управляющего главным городом [illegible], принимало на себя [illegible] всей митрополии, так как [illegible] период митрополии относится [illegible] гражданское устройство [illegible] соображения, которые [illegible] для блага Церкви [illegible]. Когда же благо Церкви требует [illegible] распределения, правила такое [illegible] — в Риму, Александрии, Антиохии [illegible] правилий и потому митрополии этих [illegible] нарушая соображения [illegible] отображается шестым правилом I Вселенского Собора. [illegible] III правило IV Вселенского Собора, опять-таки по мотивам церковным, подчинив не один, а три диоцеза Константинопольскому [illegible], нарушает границы гражданского. И подобных примеров в жизни [illegible] сколько угодно. И в более позднее время соответствие границ автокефальных Церквей границам государственным существовало [illegible], когда это диктовалось мотивами блага Церкви, а в противном случае оно нарушалось, и церковная история свидетельствует, что [illegible] в одном государстве существовало несколько автокефальных [illegible], а с другой стороны иногда одна автокефальная Церковь пре[illegible] свою территорию на несколько государств. Вальсамон в то[illegible] по поводу времени II Вселенского Собора приказано говорить, [illegible] (т. е. в IV веке) все Митрополиты епархии (т. е. метро[illegible] автокефальны (αὐτοκέφαλοι) и рукополагаемы были [illegible] епископами (Вал. к 9 правил. 66; Аф. С. В., [illegible] митрополии были почти в каждой провинции, в провинциях [illegible] Римское государство около сто, то и автокефальных было около сто. В начале IV века Митрополиты [illegible] или патриархи, а были и еще были другие [illegible] по тому мы чтим автокефальные Церкви в пре[illegible] было около 67 причем границы их [illegible] — Александрийская, Иерусалимская [illegible] Константинополь. В по[illegible] Г.Д. и Болгария [illegible] Иерусалимская Церковь —

Польш., Литву, Молдавию, Валахию, Сербию, Венгрию и [illegible] Англии Ионические острова (см. Афин. Синт. V, [illegible]), [illegible] имеет свои епархии в Западной Европе, Америке и Австралии. [illegible] Церковь имеет свои епархии в Америке, Венгрии, [illegible] Греция. Александрийская Церковь в Абиссинии и в [illegible] Иерусалимская самостоятельность [illegible] известная Православная Церковь, в чем она [illegible] автокефалии и вполне прав нынешний [illegible] Митрополит Московский Филарет [illegible] быть во многих национальностях, [illegible] Ответ. V, 694). «Иная точка зрения [illegible] Православному Синоду в своей грамоте от [illegible] на смешения церковной и политической [illegible] своему существу. Государственный [illegible] собственно определить границы исключения [illegible]

Из всего этого следует, что [illegible] ция сама по себе вовсе не [illegible] Церкви на автокефалии и [illegible] значение должно иметь [illegible] сия. Церковь может дать [illegible] к убеждению, что [illegible] тию [illegible] в умах или [illegible] сознания принадлежит [illegible] понятия [illegible] ствия. Или [illegible] него отношений [illegible] Церкви (см. [illegible] Митрополита Сергия [illegible]

Изменялись ли [illegible] ство? Конечно, да, [illegible] могло, говорящий [illegible] гонений хранил [illegible] и нового распределения [illegible] славного населения, так что [illegible] церковной жизни, что [illegible] установилась лучшая [illegible] власти, благодаря чему [illegible] лее действительной [illegible] христианского государства.

Такие образом [illegible] на которые ссылается [illegible] или Константинополь [illegible] сезон дела не [illegible] [illegible]

Даже если бы это утверждение было правильно, отсюда еще не следует, чтобы правильно и законно была автокефалия Польской Церкви, ибо мнимая автокефалия может быть получена только от законной власти, от Церкви-Матери, канонической для Польской Церкви, каковою была Русская, тогда как претензия Константинопольской Церкви на юрисдикцию над Польской Церковью, является, как мы видели, ложною. Но и самое утверждение тонет об обязательности совпадения церковного устройства с государственным, ибо оно не соответствует и канонистике, и историческим. Ведь, если бы канонисты любили этого, то Константинополь должен был бы [illegible] Эстонской Церкви, находившейся тогда в [illegible] не автономии, а тоже автокефалии. [illegible] мнение на то, что обе правила вовсе не [illegible] фальных Церквей, а говорят лишь о [illegible] внутри автокефальных Церквей и [illegible] отношении к вопросу об автокефалии. А [illegible] об обязательном соответствии [illegible] сущностью, видно из того, что в то время и [illegible] стве существовали по одной, а несколько [illegible] нонов Вселенских Соборов (I, 6; II, 2; III, 8 и [illegible] порядок.

Вселенский Собор в начале упоминает [illegible] церковного разграничения, а [illegible] ки и приходы должны сохранить [illegible] существовали не менее 30 лет, а [illegible] первой инстанции Собора митрополит, [illegible] Митрополит (Экзарх) или Конст[illegible] ской властью иным устроен или [illegible] деление церковных приходов (п[illegible] дует гражданскому и земному.

Таким образом [illegible]