

METROPHANES KRITOPOULOS, PIONEER FOR UNITY.

BY

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I. Early Life.

«As soon as darkness fell, the members of the congregation sent Paul and Silas off to Beroea. On arrival, they made their way to the synagogue. The Jews here were more liberal-minded than those at Thessalonica: they received the message with great eagerness, studying the scriptures every day to see whether it was as they said. Many of them therefore became believers, and so did a fair number of Greeks». (Acts: 17: 10-12).

Any Christian who came from Beroea, or Verroia as it is now called, would be proud to remember this passage from the seventeenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. And would be very conscious of the apostolic foundation of the church there. He would also remember that it had existed continuously since the time of Paul and Silas, and that it was the place to which St. Gregory Palamas retired for five years in the fourteenth century. Metrophanes Kritopoulos, who was born there in 1589, would also have been aware, as he grew up, both of the sad state of the Greek Church since the Turkish occupation, and also of its amazing and tenacious persistence in the faith in spite of everything. He would dream, too, like every other Greek, of the day when the occupation would end, and Church and Nation would recover their former glory. In fact he was later to write, for the benefit of his friends in Germany, that 'they have taken from us all power and authority; they have deprived us of learning and the liberal arts; they have taken away all our wealth and good fortune. They have laid upon us heavy burdens that cannot be borne. Would that they were content with taxation only. But no, they compel us to provide horses and ships and provisions for their army and navy... Their rulers in town and country press us into their service, so that we spend more time on our masters' duties than on our own affairs. They take from us anything they fancy, a fine horse, or a good bull or goat or mule. Life under them is worse than death... Yet in spite of all that we suffer, the Church of Christ remains stead-

fast in the faith. She stands firm on the solid rock, which is Jesus Christ Our Lord. She holds hard to His teaching, and mocks and makes fun of tyrants or persecutors. The gates of Hades will never prevail against her, for she has such a strong foundation. Moreover, we await our deliverance, not from men (for 'vain is the help of man'), but from the Lord Himself, and that soon... For He will visit His Church and deliver her from the yoke of tyranny and slavery. He will restore her to her former condition, nay rather to a better state, as He blessed the end of Job more than his beginning.

'Yet how wonderful is God's love towards us. How amazing His wise purposes for us. For the AntiChrist, who has done so many terrible things to us, has not stopped the Church's worship, but allows her to fulfil her sacred duties no less than when Christians were kings. Patriarchs and Archbishops, Bishops and Priests, continue without hindrance to perform their proper functions¹.

Freedom of worship, as these last remarks show, remained the key to the survival of the Greeks, as a Church and as a nation, during the years under Turkish rule. That, and the administrative organisation which made them a separate, if second-class and subservient community. And one of the marks of their inferior status was that they were only allowed to build small and unobtrusive churches, as can be seen quite clearly in Verroia to-day, where there survive from this period innumerable little one-room chapels in side streets and back yards, and a Cathedral, the floor of which is some ten feet below ground level. As Paul Rycaut remarked later in the seventeenth century they were 'rather like Vaults or Sepulchres than Churches, having their Roofs almost levelled with the Superficies of the Earth, lest the most ordinary exsurgence of structure should be accused for triumph of Religion, and to stand in competition with the lofty Spires of the Mahometan Moschs².

Yet inside these humble buildings the Greeks found the focus of their hopes and dreams. Here, too, was fostered the consciousness of their identity as a separate, if suffering people. Here was the source of their strength as a community and as individuals. And it was in this atmo-

1. Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος. 'Ομολογία τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς. First published Helmstadt 1661, printed in Τὰ Δογματικά καὶ Συμβολικά Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας: ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου Ν. Καρμίρη. Τόμος β'. Ἀθήναι 1953. Chapter 23, page 558.

2. Paul Rycaut: The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches. London 1679. pp. 11-12.

sphere that Kritopoulos was brought up as a devout Orthodox Christian, in the Cathedral Church of Verroia; and there, at the age of twelve, after reading in public on Holy Saturday, he was made 'Proto-apostolarios' or 'First Epistle-Reader' by the Bishop³.

Verroia is an attractive small town, with its narrow streets and half-timbered houses that date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It stands half-way up the slopes of the mountains of Western Macedonia, overlooking the plain through which the river Aliacmon runs to the sea. It is some forty miles west of Thessalonica, which is still 'the big city' for its inhabitants. But Kritopoulos did not remain at Verroia for long. As he wrote in 1627 to Johannes Braun, one of his friends in Germany: 'I left Verroia with my uncle, my mother's brother, and we travelled to Thessalonica, and then to Mount Athos, which we now call the Holy Mountain. There, at the age of seventeen, I became a monk, and there I stayed for seven years, under my uncle's direction'⁴. We should not underestimate the importance for Kritopoulos of his monastic training on Mount Athos. Not least because it would have given him a thorough grounding in Orthodox theology and spirituality, which would be an immense strength to him during his long and often lonely years in Western Europe.

The reason he left Mount Athos is given in the next part of his letter to Braun; 'One day the Patriarch of Alexandria, who is now Patriarch of Constantinople, came on a visit to the Holy Mountain. And when he departed, I left my uncle, and went with him, desiring to further my studies and education; for the blessed Cyril is well-known as the wisest and most learned of men. Together we travelled to Moldavia, where we spent nine months and then to Wallachia, where we stayed a year. After that we made our way to Constantinople, but only remained there for a few days before journeying to Cairo by way of Rhodes and Alexandria. There his holiness received letters from England inviting him to send a Greek to study there, and he sent me'⁵.

Kritopoulos was 24 years old in 1643, when Cyril Loucaris took him under his wing, and the events he here describes covered the next four years, during which he was ordained probably deacon and certainly priest.

3. Ἰωάννης Ν. Καρμύρης: Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος καὶ ἡ ἀνέκδοτος ἀλληλογραφία αὐτοῦ. Ἀθήναι 1937. p. 71.

4. Ibid. p. 197.

5. Ibid. p. 197.

His travels and work with Cyril introduced the young monk to a far wider knowledge of political and ecclesiastical affairs than he had before. For Cyril Loucaris, perhaps the most brilliant Patriarch of that century, yet the most enigmatic character of them all, had long been deeply involved in what might be called international church politics.

A Cretan by birth, he had been educated in Venice and Padua. And after his ordination in Alexandtria, he had been sent to Poland to help the Orthodox there, at a time when the accession of a new king, who was a Roman Catholic, made it likely that attempts would be made, as in fact they were, to persuade or force his Orthodox subjects to become Catholics also.

This requires a little explanation. But ever since 1439, when the Council of Florence had agreed to re-union between Orthodox and Catholics, only to find that the Orthodox at home refused to ratify the decision; ever since then, and particularly after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Orthodox had been in a difficult and vulnerable position. They needed help, they needed education for their clergy. And Rome was still ready to give it. But in spite of the frequent friendliness between the members of the different churches, the Orthodox, like so many underdeveloped countries to-day, discovered that it was almost impossible to receive aid without strings attached. And further, after the Reformation, they found that they were drawn into the quarrels between the great powers - Catholic or Protestant - who wanted to use them as extra cards in the theological or political power game that they were playing with each other.

The effect on the Orthodox can be easily understood. At one end of the scale there was genuine gratitude for help received, friendship, and a desire for closer relations with Catholics or Protestants. But at the other, resentment, fear, and hostility; and worse, an unscrupulous use of foreign influence or financial aid to serve such ends as the securing of a bishopric or patriarchate; and an excessive compliance with a protector's demands in order to ensure continued support. Local politics became international politics. And the Orthodox, often divided among themselves, suffered as much at the hands of their friends as from their enemies. And all this while trying to survive as a Church and Nation under the Turks, who, being eminently open to bribes, made a handsome profit out of ruling their divided subjects.

Cyril Loucaris, after his experiences in Poland - the Orthodox majority submitted to Rome and he had to flee for his life - was 'profoundly

embittered against Rome and the Jesuits⁶. In 1601, at the early age of 30, he was elected Patriarch of Alexandria, a position he held until 1620, when he was made Patriarch of Constantinople. And from the first, he was concerned about the spread of Roman influence, not only in the north, but in Constantinople and elsewhere, including Egypt.

For most Orthodox, the Reformed Churches were still an unknown quantity. But Cyril in 1600 had chanced to meet Cornelius Van Haga, a Dutch traveller in the Levant, who soon afterwards was made Ambassador or the States General in Constantinople. They met again in 1602, and Cyril, now Patriarch of Alexandria, asked Von Haga if he could provide him with some books written by Protestant theologians; and these were later supplied from Holland.

In 1611 an Englishman, Edwyn Sandys, arrived in Egypt. Of the Greeks he wrote in his Memoirs that they 'retain wheresoever they live their Name, their Religion, and particular language...But now their knowledge is converted, as I may say, into affected ignorance, (for they have no schools of learning amongst them), their liberty into contented slavery, having lost their minds with their Empire.' In contrast to this general picture, however, here is how he describes his meeting with Cyril; 'The Patriarch of Alexandria hath here a house adjoining to a Church; which stands (as they say) in the place where Saint Mark was buried, their first Bishop and Martyr... The name of the Greek Patriarch now being, is Cyril, a man of approved virtue and learning a friend to the reformed Religion, and opposing the contrary; saying that the differences between us and the Greeks be but shells; but that those are kernels between them and the other'⁷.

Later the same year Cyril was in Constantinople, and again the following year, when he was made locum tenens of the Patriarchal Throne. On this second visit, he opened a correspondence, through Von Haga, with the Dutch theologian Uytenbogaert, a correspondence which developed into an exchange of theological views and information about each other's churches. In his second letter, written a year later, Cyril mentions the problem Sandys had noticed, the education - or lack of it - of the Greek clergy.

'I am the enemy of ignorance', he writes, 'and although I do not

6. Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira: Kyrillos Loukaris. London 1951. p. 11.

7. George Sandys: Relation of a journey begun Anno Domini 1610. London 1637. p. 115.

object to a simple and unlearned laity, because I know that men may be saved, although their minds are uncultivated; ... yet it is a great dissatisfaction to me that our Pastors and Bishops should be sunk in the darkness of ignorance. With this I reproach my countrymen, but without avail. And the Jesuits, taking the opportunity, have laid the foundation of a plan for educating boys at Constantinople, and have as undisputed success as foxes among poultry⁸.

It was not, however, to Holland that Cyril turned for help in educating his clergy, but to England, where James I was King, and George Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury.

Unfortunately the first two letters in the correspondence between Cyril and Archbishop Abbot have been lost; but the opening letter was probably written from Constantinople in 1612, and sent through the English Embassy there; and a reply received later that year before Cyril's visit to Mount Athos.

But it was only in 1615 - two and a half years later - that Cyril answered. As he explained, 'the reason for my great delay in replying to your letter was none of my own doing. In fact as was only proper, I was all ready to write to you, and to do all that you had commanded me. But it happened that I had to be away from Constantinople. I spent some time in Dacia - Wallachia and Moldavia, present day Rumania - and also went from there to help the nearly Christians in Poland, who are suffering from the tyranny of AntiChrist at the hands of the wicked Jesuits. Every day I hoped that I would be able to return to Thrace' - i. e. Constantinople - 'and there fulfil my duty towards you. Which I have now done, and I am sure you will not bear it amiss, but will bardon me; for you will understand what difficult times we live in, and what a great comfort it was to me to read and re-read your gracious letter.

The simple reason for this delay was that letters could only be sent through the Embassy in Constantinople; though, as we shall note later, even that postal or courier sevice was sometimes extremely unreliable.

It is evident from Cyril's letter that Archbishop Abbot, with King James's approval, had invited him to send some Greeks to study in England. And the Patriarch ends with these words; 'I am now in my way to Alexandria; and from there I shall choose and send to Your Grace

8. James Mason Neale. *History of the Holy Eastern Church: Patriarchate of Alexandria*; Volume II pp. 381-2. London 1847-73.

those whom I judge to be well-pleasing to Our Lord and useful in the ministry of the Gospel⁹.

Kritopoulos, as we learnt earlier, had accompanied Cyril on his journeys to the North. Cyril preached frequently in Iassy, Tergoveste, Bucharest, and elsewhere. He strengthened the Orthodox in their disputes with the Catholics. He also collected alms for the Church of Alexandria. On their return to Egypt in the autumn of 1615, the affairs of the Patriarchate kept him busy; and although he must already have determined to send Kritopoulos to England, he eventually decided to send him alone - though it was not in fact until 1617 that the latter began his journey.

So far Cyril's knowledge of the Reformed Churches was confined to friendship with individuals, correspondence, and reading. All this had made a favourable impression on him, and he knew now that he could count on practical help in strengthening, educating, and perhaps to some extent in reforming the Orthodox Church - particularly where ignorance was the underlying cause of its weakness. Later he was to further his aims by writing and publishing by re-organising the Patriarchal School at Constantinople, by arranging for the translation of the Bible into Modern Greek, and by planning for the production of a simple catechism. We must note, however, that all this led him to take an increasing interest in the theology of the Reformers; and this, combined with his political position, was what made his Orthodox contemporaries view him with suspicion, even if they did not belong to the pro-Roman party, who, with their protectors, were actively working for his removal. It is also the reason why historians, whether Orthodox, Catholic, or Reformed, present such different pictures of Cyril both as a theologian and as a national leader. We must remember, however, that in the early seventeenth century the Orthodox Church had not yet clearly defined her theological attitude to the Reformers: in fact it was Cyril's career which compelled her to do so. And we can perhaps understand how Cyril himself, reading, say, Calvin, would see this against the background of Orthodoxy, not necessarily as something entirely alien to, and discontinuous with, his own beliefs; but as something which would agree with some of what he believed, clarify or illuminate or develop other points, and challenge or contradict others. The real question was, which did what; I think it will become clear that Kritopou-

9. Τ. Π. Θ ε μ έ λ η ς: 'Επιστολή τοῦ Λουκάρεως πρὸς τὸν "Αββὸς in Νέα Σιών 8 (1909) pp. 30-33.

los was able to discriminate much more carefully than his master, and to see what agreement and what must remain disagreement. But then Kritopoulos had the greater advantage of living for a number of years in Western Europe, and so seeing what the Churches of the Reformation were like in practice as well as in theory.

There is a further point to add. Both Cyril and Kritopoulos began from the same rather static view of theology - the mark of a church which was forced by circumstances to conserve what she had received, in face of threats from Turkish rulers or Roman 'missionaries'. Indeed Cyril himself could write in his first letter to Uytenbgaert. That to the Eastern Church, innovations are novel signs and prodigies, to be dreaded rather than followed. She is contented with that simple faith which she has learned from the Apostles and our forefathers. In it she perseveres, even unto blood. She never takes away, never adds, never changes. She remains always the same; always keeps and preserves untainted orthodoxy¹⁰.

Any Orthodox, starting from this position, would tend to react in one of three ways to the Reformers, immediate rejection, careful assessment, or, as seems to have happened with Cyril, a too uncritical enthusiasm that was open to exploitation or misunderstanding. This was a particular danger for those, like him, who were first in the field, with virtually no precedents to go by, except the correspondence between Jeremias II and the Lutheran theologians at Tübingen, which began in 1573 and was discontinued in 1581. And a common rejection of Papal authority, even though it was the main point of disagreement between Constantinople and Rome, and so a strong link between the Orthodox and the Reformers, was by no means the whole of the matter.

Kritopoulos was despatched to England, with further instructions to return, if possible, by way of the Continental Reformed Churches, bringing with him as many books as he could acquire, both old and new. In sending him, Cyril hoped that his own knowledge and understanding would be increased, that his enthusiasm would be confirmed, even that some sort of unity might be achieved. Kritopoulos was also to do what he could to spread a knowledge of Orthodoxy in the Churches he visited, and to make what progress he might to strengthen the alliance against Rome.

On March 1st. 1617 Kritopoulos left Alexandria with a letter of commendation to Archbishop Abbot, which included the following

10. J. M. Neale op. cit. p. 367.

paragraph: 'Here then is a Greek, by rank a Presbyter, possessing a good knowledge of Greek literature, a child of our Alexandrian Church, of noble birth, and talents prepared to receive deeper learning. We trust that the progress he will make will be such as need not be repented of, if Divine Grace will breathe on him from Heaven, and Your Blessedness will lend him an assisting hand¹¹.

He was twenty-eight. And here is how he later described his voyages to the West: 'I wanted to say good-bye to my parents and my brothers before leaving for England, and to give them the opportunity of saying farewell to their departing son. So I travelled to Verroia by sea, by way of Cos and Chios, and many other islands, Mytilene and Patmos, and Melos and the Cyclades. After my visit to my family, I went to Constantinople, again by sea. And there I took a Dutch ship to the island of Zacynthos, where I boarded an English ship which went all the way to England without stopping at any other island, though we did go past several, Kephallenia, Ithaca, Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, and a few more small ones. On arriving in England, I was sent by the Archbishop there to the University of Oxford, where I spent five years before returning to London¹².

We have seen something of Orthodox attitudes to the Reformers, but what was their attitude to the Orthodox? What was in the minds of those who met Kritopoulos in England or on the Continent, or who lent their support to Cyril Loucaris?

In 1614 Sir Paul Pindar, the English Ambassador in Constantinople, wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton as follows: 'I am put in mind of an instance made unto me by the Dutch Ambassador here, to request your Lordship good means, if it might be, to get an Italian preacher, supposing... there were many... that manifested themselves to be of our religion, of whom I have heard Sir Henry Wotton had notice... It might perhaps be an occasion of much good. For here are many would come to our Congregations, but do not understand our prayers¹³.

And his successor, Sir Thomas Roe, was to write eight years later; 'The Patriarch of the Greek Church here' - that is, Cyril Loucaris - 'is a man of more learning and wit than hath possessed that place in many years, and in religion a direct Calvinist; yet he dare not show it;

11. Ibid. pp. 385-6.

12. I. N. Καρυπίτης op. cit. p. 197.

13. Public Record Office, London. State Papers 97 (Turkey) 7: 90-1.

but it were an easy work, upon any alteration here, to settle that Church in a right way¹⁴.

This desire to win the Orthodox to the Reformed Religion was in fact the Western approach to strengthening the alliance against Rome; and this motive lay behind the assistance given in education, the gifts of books, the theological correspondence, and so on. Though it was not in fact until 1628 that a Swiss Pastor, Antoine Leger, was sent to be chaplain to the Dutch Embassy in Constantinople, with the specific task of working with Cyril, since, as Haga put it, 'God has given many openings for the Gospel among a great number of Christians there'¹⁵.

And Archbishop Abbot himself, writing to Cyril in November 1617 to announce the arrival of Kritopoulos in England, could make the following ambiguous statement: 'Your Metrophanes is already entered on the books; and when he has come maturity, and brought forth fruit, then, as shall seem best to your prudence, and most for the advantage of your Church, he shall either take deep root amongst us, or be sent back to his native soil, and there again planted'¹⁶.

We shall see later how these motives affected the course of events in Constantinople and elsewhere. But it is important to notice at this stage how much the Reformers wanted to use such Orthodox as would agree with them to support their own position in their quarrel with Rome.

2. England.

Before going up to Oxford, Kritopoulos spent a short time at Gresham College in London, no doubt that he could begin to learn English. In the autumn of 1617 he arrived at Balliol, Archbishop Abbot's old college, where he found a fellow-countryman, Christopher Angelos, who, as Anthony Wood put it, 'did very good service among the young scholars in the University that were raw in the Greek tongue'¹⁷. The same author describes him as 'a pure Grecian and an honest and harmless man'¹⁸. He, like Kritopoulos, was a monk, but from the Peloponnese. He had been imprisoned by the Turks, but escaped, and

14. The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte. London 1740. p. 36.

15. Émile Legrand: *Bibliographie Hellénique. au dix-septième siècle.* Paris 1896. Vol. IV p. 352.

16. J. M. Neale *op. cit.* p. 289.

17. Anthony à Wood: *Athenae Oxonienses.* London 1691. p. 618.

18. *Ibid.*

eventually made his way to Oxford via Holland, Yarmouth, and Cambridge. In England he published, among other works, an account of his sufferings and of the state of the Greek Church, and an Encomium of Great Britain and its two Universities.

Edward Sylvester, a tutor in Latin and Greek at Balliol, acted as interpreter to Kritopoulos, though by the end of his course Archbishop Abbot could write that 'he hath attained unto some reasonable knowledge of the English tongue, not neglecting his studies otherwise¹⁹. In these studies, as King James wrote in a testimonial for him, 'he was diligent in reading the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and in all parts of Divinity²⁰. He also learnt Latin and improved his Greek, and was a frequent visitor to the Bodleian Library.

He made a great number of friends at Oxford, as well as leaving a favourable impression on his teachers; and during his last ten days there, in October 1622, he opened an Autograph Album - in Greek 'Philotheke' - which tells us where he went, who he met, and what they thought about him. In a way, it is a book of testimonials, but it is also a record of friendships made in England Germany, and Switzerland²¹.

The first entry is that of John Parkhurst, Master of Balliol and a Professor of Theology, who after quoting 'We have here no abiding city, but seek that which is to come', added, 'I write this in gratitude to the most excellent and erudite Metrophanes Critopoulus, a Greek, five years a student at Balliol College Oxford.' This was followed by Ralph Kettell, President of Trinity, and three Professors, of Theology, Medicine, and Astronomy. The last of these, John Bainbridge, included two lines of verse:

'Make this word true, Metrophanes, indeed,
Remember Oxford still, and so God speed.'

During the next few days Kritopoulos collected signatures from friends in Balliol, Christchurch, Trinity, All Souls, Magdalen, and Lincoln. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter and Regius Professor of Divinity, testified to 'our union in Jesus Christ'. John Rous, the librarian of the

19. J. M. Neale, op. cit. p. 413.

20. M. 'Πενιέρης: Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος και οι ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ καὶ Γερμανίᾳ φίλοι αὐτοῦ 1617-28. Ἀθήναι 1893. p. 24.

21. The Philotheke has never been published in its entirety, though Renieris quotes extensively from it in his biography of Kritopoulos. The original is in the library of the Theology Faculty of Athens University. All quotations are taken direct from there.

Bodleian, and Robert Burton, author of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy' also signed. So did Henry Briggs, the Professor of Geometry, and old acquaintance, as he explains: 'I write in remembrance of the friendship and goodwill, which began... five years ago in London at Gresham College, and which during the last two years has continued and grown.

Thomas Nurse quoted from Ephesians 2: 19: 'Now therefore you are no more strangers and Forreiners, but citizens with Saints and of the household of God'.

Christopher White wrote: 'The body of the catholic church is one. We seek to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace'. And added: 'In gratitude to the most upright of men, Metrophanes Critopoulos, from whom I learnt the reason why the Patriarch of Constantinople is called 'universal judge'.

Degory Whear inserted a prayer: 'May God grant you a safe journey, good health, and a mind forever firm in the true catholic faith.'

Richard Corbett, Dean of Christchurch, made this entry: 'The Jews seek for a sign, and the Greeks for wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified'. I Corinthians 1: 22. This wisdom of the Cross Metrophanes Critopolus, a man both upright and devout, learnt, taught, and confirmed, in his studies, his way of life, his teachings.

Lucas Holstenius, a German Scholar, who came to Oxford from Hamburg, and who was later to help Kritopoulos on the first stage of his journey on the Continent, wrote of their friendship together.

And the final Oxford entry came from the interpreter, Edward Sylvester, who dedicated a few lines 'To Metrophanes Kritopoulos, the most holy and devout and orthodox of monks, one of the most noble of Beroeans, a gracious and honpurable man, our beloved brother and friend'.

In June 1622 Kritopoulos wrote to a student friend of his, Matthew Turner, that 'the Archbishop has given me permission to visit Cambridge University; but I am then to return from there to Oxford again, and await His Grace's summons to London'²². This journey was made at the end of October, and in November he was duly sent for to Lambeth.

Here, however, a difficulty arose. It was Archbishop Abbot's intention to send him home to Constantinople by ship as soon as possible.

²². Τ. Η. Οεμέλης: Συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἀλληλογραφίαν τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου ὡς φοιτητοῦ τῆς Ὁξφόρδης in Νέα Σιὼν 9 (1809) pp. 291-6. The full text is in MSFfi 7 of Folio 36 of the 17th. century. in the Cambridge University Library.

Partly, no doubt, because of his suspicions of some of the Continental Churches. Yet Kritopoulos knew that Cyril Loucaris wanted him, if he could, to visit the continent on his way back to the Middle East. His problem was that he had no specific letter of authorisation from the Patriarch. Nor had he either money or sufficient commendatory letters to do this on his own.

On November 22nd. 1622 Archbishop Abbot wrote a letter which Kritopoulos should have taken with him to the English Ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Thomas Roe. It ends with these words: 'He is a learned man, and hath lived in Oxford University with good report, whereof he is able to shew letters testimonial, to the good contentment, as I hope, of that reverend man from whom he was sent'²³.

In a later letter, however, the Archbishop explained that 'by the ill counsel of somebody; he desired to go to the Court at Newmarket, that he might see the King before his departure'. And further that, eventually, 'writing a king of epistle unto me, that he would rather lose his books, suffer imprisonment, and loss of life, than go home in any ship, but that he would see the parts of Christendom, and better his experience that way, I found that he meant to turn rogue and beggar, and more I cannot tell what; and thereupon I gave him ten pounds in his purse, and leaving him to Sir Paul Pindar's care, I dismissed him'²⁴.

This was in July 1623. But the Patriarch was in no position to write letters to England that spring or summer, since in April he was deposed and exiled to the island of Rhodes, and was not restored to his throne until October. 'It is happy for the Greek your Grace hath bred in Oxford', wrote Sir Thomas Roe to Abbot, 'that he came not in this unseasonable time; yet I would have received him, though I believe he would have been a sad guest to see his church and her government bought and sold'²⁵.

The tragedy for Kritopoulos was that the letters which Cyril wrote after his restoration to him and to the Archbishop, which were accompanied by explanations from Sir Thomas Roe, never arrived in England - as is clear from the Ambassador's later correspondence with Abbot.

So Kritopoulos remained in England, awaiting authorisation from the Patriarch and a commendatory letter from King James I. The latter he received during 1623, the former, which probably came via Cyril's friends in Holland, not until March 1624.

23. J. N. Neale op. cit. p. 413.

24. Ibid. p. 414.

25. Sir Thomas Roe, op. cit. p. 146.

So it was an anxious time for him after he came down from Oxford. He did, however, enjoy the friendship of Thomas Goade, the Archbishop's chaplain, who described him as 'one in whom there seems to live again the spirit of St. Gregory and St. Basil'. And Kritopoulos wrote for him a series of 'Answers to Questions' about the Orthodox Church, its sacraments and services, its beliefs and customs and organisation²⁶. He also met other Greeks in London, including Nicodemus Metaxas, who was later to transport a Greek printing - press to Constantinople.

But Kritopoulos was often ill; he was upset by the Archbishop's displeasure; he was short of money; and it was only in June 1624 that he finally left England for Hamburg, with an additional letter of introduction to the family of his friend Lucas Holstenius.

3. Germany and Switzerland.

On arrival in Germany, Kritopoulos wrote to Holstenius: 'I reached your beautiful city - a truly wonderful place - on July 27th. I visited your friends with the introductory letters you had written for me, and I can hardly describe what a kind welcome they gave me'²⁷. This was an encouraging beginning to his three-year tour of Germany and Switzerland, when he was able, with his memories of England and the Anglican Church still fresh in his mind, to learn about the beliefs and practices of the churches of the continent, and to spread among them a deeper knowledge and understanding of Orthodoxy. It would take us too long to follow all his journeys in detail; so I want to pick out the places and meetings that were the most significant both for his purposes and for ours. Perhaps we should also admire his courage for undertaking such a journey at all, given the difficulties of travelling in the early seventeenth century, particularly during the Thirty Years' War which began in 1618; though Kritopoulos was fortunate enough to avoid the areas where fighting was actually taking place.

On these journeys and visits, his letters testimonial would undoubtedly have helped him, particularly the generous one from King James I, requesting his safe conduct wherever he went. And gradually, of course, the purpose of his travels, the rarity in the West of such a well-qualified spokesman for Orthodoxy, and the impression created

26. K. I. Δουβουνιώτης: Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος. 'Αθήναι 1915. pp. 50-60. I. N. Καρμίρης: 'Η Όμιλία μετά τῶν πρὸς Γάλλων Ἀποκρίσεων τοῦ Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου, 'Αθήναι 1948.

27. I. N. Καρμίρης: Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος p. 177.

by his attractive personality, all combined to increase his reputation in the Churches and Universities of Germany and Switzerland. He began his journey with difficulty; he ended it with the patronage of local rulers and a private carriage for himself and his interpreter.

But to return to the beginning. Kritopoulos was thirty-five when he left Hamburg and made his way to Helmstadt, which he reached at the end of September 1624, and where he remained for eight months.

Helmstadt possessed a notable university, which gladly welcomed Kritopoulos as its guest. He stayed at the house of Georg Calixtus, the Professor of Theology, who had visited all the churches of the West, and was deeply concerned for the unity of Christendom. In fact he had worked out a theological position which he hoped would lead to the reconciliation of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Roman Catholics, on the basis of the Apostles' Creed and the faith of the first five centuries, interpreted in the light of the Vincentian Canon - 'what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all'. It is easy, therefore, to see how ready such a man would be to welcome a representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople to stay and study at Helmstadt.

It was during his months there that Kritopoulos wrote a 'Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church'. In its preface he explained its origin; 'I have been so overwhelmed by the kindness and generosity shown me by the learned and distinguished professors of the celebrated Julian Academy, that I could not refuse their request that I should tell them about the Eastern Church, its present position under the intolerably cruel conditions of barbarian tyranny, and its presentation of the Orthodox Christian Faith. For some seem to question, and when reassured, to be amazed at the survival of the Church in the East, where AntiChrist reigns and persecutes her relentlessly²⁸.

The Confession is a long and important work, and is a very full summary of the faith and practice of the Orthodox Church written specifically for the benefit and enlightenment of Western readers.

Kritopoulos begins it with an extended exposition and defence of the Eastern doctrine of the Holy Trinity, in particular arguing against the Western teaching on the Filioque. He then writes on Creation, the Incarnation, and Predestination; and in the last of these gives a soundly-based corrective to some of the extreme Calvinistic views that were current at the time, reminding his readers both that 'God wishes all men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of his truth', and

also that 'that which is found in those who are chosen is... useless without God's further assistance and grace'²⁹.

On the Sacraments he writes that 'there are three sacraments which are necessary for salvation; Baptism, Communion, and Confession... and in addition there are certain other sacramental rites which are also called sacraments by the Church, because of their mystical and spiritual character, namely the Holy Chrism, which we receive immediately after Baptism, the Ordination of Priestess, first Marriage, and Unction'³⁰. He then describes these in detail, in particular defending the necessity for a proper preparation for Communion by Confession, the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, and infant Baptism, Chrism, and Communion. On the last point he argues rather gaily - no doubt remembering such conversations at Oxford and elsewhere - that 'if someone were to reproach us for allowing infants to partake of the Lord's Supper, it would be easy to silence him. For if our objector were one of the Anabaptists, I should use against him the texts 'Let the little children come unto me, and forbid them not', and 'If you do not eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you'... But if our objector were not an Anabaptist, I should use against him, to justify infant baptism and communion, the very texts which he would use against the Anabaptists to justify infant baptism. And so with God's help we should win the day'³¹.

Throughout the work Kritopoulos stresses the importance of the traditions and customs of the Church and he also makes a careful, and for his first readers, certainly an illuminating defence of such things as the veneration of Ikons and Relics, Prayers for the Dead, Praying to the Saints, and the Monastic Life. But perhaps one of the most interesting sections is that on the Church.

This begins on a cautious note: 'Some would wish to define the Church as a body composed of all those who have in any way believed in the message of the Gospel, whether they are Orthodox or heretics. Others would define it as including only the Orthodox and those who have a sound grasp of everything to do with Christianity.' But he then raises a difficult question, and in his answer to it shows that he would define the Church as 'visible' rather than 'invisible', and as 'Orthodox only' rather than 'all-inclusive'. 'Through strife and rivalry

29. Ibid. Chapter 4.

30. Ibid. Chapter 5.

31. Ibid. Chapter 9.

men have been divided into a number of different denominations, and have formed churches of their own. And each of these tries to give to itself the title 'Orthodox and Apostolic'. But suppose there were a nation which had never yet been brought under the yoke of the Gospel, but which wanted now to embrace Christianity. It would not know which of the Churches to run to. For the whole matter is so disconcerting, with each group thinking that they alone are God's servants, and that everyone else is of no account at all.

'And yet', he continues, gently championing Orthodoxy, 'God has not allowed his Church to become unrecognisable, but has placed upon her clear marks which may be seen by those who wisely wish to seek her... First, that she should agree with all the Church's teachers and shepherds; and also that her members should agree among themselves - which, he adds, is not true of other ecclesiastical bodies, whose leaders seem to write and speak much against each other. Second, that she should eagerly accept the traditions and witness of the countless trustworthy men of the past, without addition or subtraction... Third, that she should persecute no-one, but be persecuted by all; and yet never give in to persecutions, but firmly withstand them for ever, and with God's help overcome her persecutors... Fourth, and this is the clearest mark of the true Church, she should faithfully keep and hold on to the word of God, given through the prophets and Apostles, and entrusted to the Church's safekeeping as a great and heavenly treasure.' The word of God, he then explains, is both the written books of the Bible and the unwritten traditions of the Church³².

Although Kritopoulos was unable to get his Confession published, the Professor at Helmstadt were both grateful for it and favourably impressed by his stay with them. When he left there, in May 1625, seventeen members of the University signed his Album. Calixtus, in his entry, began: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek: for all are one in Christ'. And included his 'testimony in particular to our sense of kinship with the catholic and apostolic Church of Greece and the East.' Conrad Horneius, Professor of Theology and Logic, whose lectures Kritopoulos had attended and at whose house he had taken his meals, wrote of his 'fellowship with the catholic Church of the East.' And the commendatory letter given to Kritopoulos by the University described him as 'sent hither by the most Reverend Patriarch, that he might learn about our

32. Ibid. Chapter 7.

church which is both catholic, and reformed in accordance with Sacred Scripture and the most ancient teaching of the Fathers³³.

After Helmstadt, Kritopoulos travelled to Nuremberg, and stayed partly there, partly at its nearby University of Altdorf, from September 1625 to July 1626. On the way there he visited Wittenberg, which a Greek biographer of Kritopoulos has described as 'the Delphi of Lutheranism, and where another Greek, Zacharias Gerganos, had recently been a student. He also went to Berlin, where he eventually met Johann Berg, chaplain to the Elector of Brandenburg who like Calixtus had travelled widely, and was working for the unity of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches.

While at Altdorf, Kritopoulos was invited to deliver a speech, on Christmas Day 1625, in the presence of the University Professors, Senate, and students, and of the leading members of the city of Nuremberg. His aim in this was, he said, 'to increase still further the love and goodwill which you have for the Eastern Church and her sons, and to make it deeper and more lasting; as perhaps you do not clearly understand the way our Church looks at Christianity³⁴.

While at Nuremberg, Kritopoulos was able, at last, to get letters through to Constantinople, and to receive a reply from Cyril Loucaris. The Patriarch began by explaining that he had had no news of him since his departure from England, warned him against Papist attacks, urged him to collect as many books as possible, and ended with these words: 'They tell me that for safety's sake you are rightly making your way from Nuremberg via Strasbourg or Basle, and Tübingen, to Venice... We agree with them, but go as God directs you³⁵.

This was indeed the route he took, though Tübingen came first, and 'on the advice of many excellent people,' as he wrote to a friend, 'I was persuaded to spend the winter here³⁶. In fact he remained there from October 1626 to June 1627, with occasional visits to Stuttgart. At Tübingen he met, among others, Lucas Hosliander, Professor of Theology and Chancellor of the University, who was the last surviving member of the group of theologians who had corresponded with the Patriarch Jeremias II some fifty years before.

33. Ἀνδρόνικος Κ. Δημητρακόπουλος: Δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Μητροφάνους τοῦ Κριτοπούλου. Leipzig 1870. p. 13.

34. I. N. Καρμίρη: Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου Λόγος Πανηγυρικός ἔμα καὶ Δογματικός in Νέα Σιών 36 (1941) pp. 129-44 and 273-81.

35. I. N. Καρμίρης: Μητροφάνης ὁ Κριτόπουλος p. 181.

36. A. K. Δημητρακόπουλος op. cit. p. 23.

At Strasbourg, where he stayed during July and August, Kritopoulos was entertained at the house of Matthew Bernegger, historian, classical scholar, and mathematician; and there he wrote corrections to a Greek dictionary, and an interesting short grammar of Modern Greek.

Finally, in September he arrived in Switzerland, visiting Basle, Berne, and Geneva.

He was only three days in Geneva, but he was able to have some valuable meetings and discussions there. Only three months before, the Company of Pastors and Professors of the Church in Geneva had received letters passing on request of Cornelius Van Haga. This was that they should send a suitable chaplain to him, to work with Gyril, whom he described as 'of the Reformed Religion.' They were therefore particularly interested to meet Kritopoulos, who was accompanied and introduced by Christophe Luthard, Professor of Philosophy at Berne.

Luthard presented a letter from the Pastors and Professors of Berne, which explained that Kritopoulos 'had been as sent, as he affirms, by Cyril, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to visit and pay his respects to the Reformed Churches of Europe, and to seek the unity of these with the Eastern Churches. We request you,' the letter continues, 'our beloved brothers in Christ, to inquire more deeply and carefully into this proposal, provided that you accept it as genuine, and to advise us of your conclusions'³⁷. Luthard also added that at Berne Kritopoulos had subscribed to a number of their articles of faith³⁸.

Fortunately the minutes of this meeting - on Saturday 6th. October 1627 - have been preserved. They include Kritopoulos's statement that 'just before leaving England he had received letters from the Patriarch, instructing him to visit the Churches and Universities of Germany... so that by conversing at length with our scholars and reading our books, he might report to the Patriarch the doctrines which are preached and taught in our churches'³⁹. The minutes also record that 'he had certain proposals to do with the union and conformity of the Greek Churches with our own.' On this subject, however, the Company 'gave him to understand that since he had no express commission from the Patriarch to pursue this laudable design, but only to see and learn the teaching of our churches; granted, too, that this desire for unity

37. E. Legrand, *op. cit.* V. pp. 202-3.

38. *Ibid.* pp. 203-6.

39. *Ibid.*

was common to all; the Company could do no more than praise these plans, and hope that God would provide the means for their execution. Therefore, since he was about to return home, he must assure the Patriarch, and all others who share his feelings, that if they will show the way to reunion, we shall most gladly open our arms to welcome such a great and holy work⁴⁰.

Two days later, Kritopoulos was honoured by an audience with the Members of the Council. The records of this meeting show that he proposed three points to be discussed in relation to reunion. First, 'Whether or not the Word of God should decide all controversies. Second, whether, in the case of an obscure passage of Scripture, which cannot be explained by Scripture itself, one should have recourse to the Fathers of the Church. And third whether or not, in the matter of rites and ceremonies, there should be a certain degree of toleration, provided that there was nothing contrary to the Word of God and the edification of the Church.

'The Council, however, declared that it could do nothing but witness to their desire to establish such a union, but explained that their own church, being separate and alone, could not act without the consent of all the churches of Switzerland, Germany, the Low Countries, England, and elsewhere. They could however show to Metrophanes their liturgies and catechisms and they presented him with copies of these⁴¹.

In spite of their caution, the Company of Pastors and Professors of Geneva were genuinely pleased at Kritopoulos's visit, as they wrote to Cyril the following June, when Antoins Leger was sent by them to Constantinople. 'On the occasion of our beloved brother's journey to you, we feel it right to thank you for the visit paid to us by the most wise and learned Metrophanes Critopoulos, your monk from Beroea. He came to our Church and University after his travels in England and Germany, and while on his way to Italy. He addressed us officially in your name, and gave us your greeting of fraternal peace. We were very glad and grateful to see him, not least because he was so zealous in his study of Theology, and in his singular concern for the peace of the Church; and so eager for the renewal of the truth of the Gospel and for the extension of Christ's Kingdom⁴².

Kritopoulos returned with Luthard to Berne. And towards the

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid. pp. 206-8.

42. Ibid. IV p. 375.

end of October he set out for the journey over the Alps to Venice, which he reached on December 1st.

4. Venice of Alexandria.

Kritopoulos was fortunate, on arriving in Venice, to discover an old friend from Oxford, Matthew Styles, who was now chaplain to Sir Isaac Wake, the English Ambassador there. He also would be glad to be back among his own countrymen, for there was at Venice a flourishing Greek colony. Here, for several reasons, he remained for three years. Partly to await the arrival of the many books he had collected or been given in Germany. Partly because, being short of money, he didn't quite know how to get his luggage home. Partly because, like anyone who has lived abroad for a long time, he was rather reluctant to return. And this is the more understandable when we remember that he would be going back to the conditions of life under the Turks perhaps one could compare him to a coloured South African student returning home from abroad to-day.

A letter from Melchior Rinder, one of his Nuremberg friends, to Matthew Bernegger, who had given him hospitality, in Strasbourg, gives some account of his life in Venice. The letter is dated June 18th. 1629.

'Two months ago I heard from Paul Wunderlich, Metrophanes's companion, who writes that he is teaching Greek Grammar and Isocrates to the boys of the Greek School in Venice. The Senate pay him a salary of 300 thalers per annum, and have engaged him for three years, of which he has almost completed one. He also says that if it were left to his own decision, he would rather stay in Venice than return home. But he is continually receiving letters from the Patriarch, telling him to come back whither he wants to or not. So he must be on his way, though he makes no mention of any month or day. Wunderlich also writes that Metrophanes gave six sermons at the Greek Church during Lent; and that although up to then the Greeks, and especially the Archbishop, were not particularly favourable towards him, they now think a lot of him, and he is admired by everyone⁴³.

While Kritopoulos was in Venice, however, the situation for Cyril was becoming more and more critical. He continued to enjoy the friendship and protection of both Cornelius Van Haga and Sir Thomas Roe, but the enmity of the Jesuits and the pro-Roman Orthodox was increa-

43. Ibid. V pp. 214-6.

sing. We have already seen that Cyril was deposed in 1623, and on that occasion Roe wrote to Archbishop Abbot as follows: 'The same anathematised schismatic' - Gregory of Amassia, Cyril's usurper - 'with the help of his organs, hath, by the force of 40.000 dollars, suddenly surprised the good man, imprisoned and deposed him... His instruments have been the Jesuits, his patron the French Ambassador, a jesuited man. This wa know, that the Pope nourisheth a Greek Church in Rome, who are his emissaries in these parts... This man hath promised submission' (that is, to Rome)' or at least good correspondence with it; and the whole plot is, that by this means the metropolitan seats shall be, in a few years, filled with those of the Romish faction, and by degrees, that doctrine sowed in the church, and final obedience in the end. Your Grace may now see the universal practice of these engines; no Church shall be safe that is not theirs; Germany, France, Bohemia, hath lately felt it; Greece is now in project, and God defend thy little flock in England⁴⁴.

This was the overall plan; and though Cyril was later restored, the attacks on him continued. An attempt was made in 1626, as Roe again reported, to bring matters to a head, but they were forestalled. A Greek of the Roman obedience came to Cyril, 'and offered in the Pope's name a sum of money to relieve the present state of the Church, and a pension in the future; and desired nothing but a writing, conformable and satisfactory to the points of his instruction. The Patriarch came instantly to see me, 'Roe continues, ' and being fearful, and desirous to give some content, inclined to set down a symbol of his faith and doctrine, and that he had not changed from the ancient ways in government. But from this purpose I wholly dissuaded and altered him: I let him know it would weaken his reputation, and to give any account were a kind of submission; he could write nothing to satisfy them, if he did not come to the point to anathematise us...; and he could publish nothing which they would not confute... And they perhaps desired nothing more than some declaration under his hand, whereby to proceed against him (if contrary to their doctrine) either by practice, or scandal, or excommunication. I showed him other ways to get time, and to avoid the blame, to keep his assured friends, and not to provoke his enemies⁴⁵.

The Roman attacks on Cyril increased, however, and he decided

44. Sir Thomas Roe, op. cit. p. 146.

45. Ibid. p. 487.

in the end to write a simple catechism to prove his orthodoxy. Nicodemus Metaxas arrived in Constantinople with his printing press in June 1627, and with Roe's help and protection set it up and started work. So here was an opportunity for the Patriarch to get his catechism quickly published. As Roe himself reported, 'the Patriarch... sent a little treatise to the press, made by himself, being only a declaration of the faith and tenets of the Greek Church, without any mention of controversy, or censuring the opinions of others, principally directed to satisfy the world in divers calumnies spread by the Jesuits, that he had introduced new and dangerous doctrines, to the scandal of his own flock⁴⁵. A copy of this work is extant, but it was never printed, as the pro-Roman party bribed the Turkish authorities to order the seizure of the printing-press, which was carried out on January 6th 1628. Sir Thomas Roe took this as an insult to himself and to his Britannic Majesty, and secured the temporary expulsion of the Jesuits from Constantinople. The Venetian Bailo since Metaxas was a subject of Venice, secured the return of his property to him; but also persuaded him to discontinue its operation. For Venice, although a Catholic State, disliked the policy of Rome and the Jesuits, and was more concerned for peaceful co-existence between Orthodox and Catholics in Constantinople. The printing-press, with its output of anti-Catholic propaganda, was a source of trouble and disturbances, and these the Venetians wished to prevent. Cyril, however, still wished to have his catechism printed, and sent a Bishop to Venice in the hope that Kritopoulos could get it published there. But the Venetian authorities, probably suspecting that it might be the cause of further hostilities between the Catholics and the Orthodox, refused to allow its publication^{46a}.

Unfortunately for Cyril, Sir Thomas Roe left Constantinople in the summer of 1628. He had much valued both his friendship and his protection, and also his wise advice. In gratitude for what he had done, he gave him, for presentation to King Charles I, the famous Codex Alexandrinus, which remains one of the glories of the British Museum. But although the new English Ambassador, Sir Peter Wych, could write to the King that 'I have very good correspondence with this Patriarch, and do employ many times the authorities of Your Majesty towards the advancement of the Church's affairs;⁴⁷ yet he never became

46. Ibid. pp. 758ff.

46a. Κωνστ. Δ. Μέροζιος: Πατριαρχικά: ἐν: Πραγματείαι τῆς Ἀναδημίας Ἀθηνῶν. Τόμος 15. Ἀριθ. 4. Ἀθῆναι 1951. pp. 40-44.

47. Public Records Office: S.P. 97: 14: 260ff.

as close a personal friend as his predecessor had been, and Cyril was forced to rely more and more on his other protector, Cornelius Van Haga, who was joined that year by the enthusiastic young pastor, Antoine Leger.

Haga was the man who knew just how far Cyril's sympathies with the Reformers had gone. And at the same time as Cyril was under pressure from one side to declare his Orthodoxy, Haga was urging him to declare his Calvinism. The year before, Festus Hommius, a Dutch pastor in Leyden, had sent Cyril a Greek translation of the Dutch Confession of Faith and the Catechism of Heidelberg. And on September 30th. 1627, Haga wrote to Hommius saying how pleased the Patriarch was with the copy and that he entirely agreed with the contents. (He) announced that Cyril would soon edit a new catechism of the Greek Church with his, Haga's, help, and on his instructions, which 'was to be printed on the press.... which had been brought from England. On the 13th. of November, Cyril himself, sent a letter to Hommius, in which he hoped 'that he would soon be able to return (his kindness) by sending him his own Confession of Faith⁴⁸.

This is all rather mystifying, though it expresses hopes rather than actualities. At all events it is clear that Haga had plans to use Cyril's authority to prove to the world that the Reformed Churches had the theological support of the Orthodox in their dispute with Rome. It seems probable, however, that Cyril was still able to play for time on this occasion, and did not immediately comply with the Dutch Ambassador's wishes. He was in a difficult position however; for all the evidence points to his genuine agreement with Calvinism, yet he knew what capital his enemies would make of the sort of Confession of Faith the Ambassador wanted. Though neither Haga nor, later Leger seemed remotely aware of the adverse consequences, for Cyril, of such a publication. Meanwhile, the destruction of the printing-press forestalled any further action in this direction.

The departure of Sir Thomas Roe, and the arrival of Antoine Leger, however, raised the question again in an acute form. Cyril, if he was to retain their support, could not refuse his protectors' demands indefinitely. But it was precisely the fact that his protectors were Haga and Leger, with their views on the Reformation of the Greek Church, that turned Cyril's original plans for the education and instruction of

48. Keetje Rozemond: Archimandrite Hierotheos Abbatis. Leiden 1966. p. 28.

his flock into an international political issue. Leger had written to Geneva on his arrival that the two immediate needs of the Greeks were a translation of the Bible into Modern Greek, and 'a small Catechism and other elementary helps necessary for children'⁴⁹.

The Translation was begun in 1629. And the Confession of Faith written on Haga's instructions with Leger's assistance, and signed by Cyril, was printed in Geneva in March the same year. Its consequences were disastrous:

The Reformed Churches, throughout Europe, were of course delighted, and the next few years saw its publication, not only in Latin, the language of the first edition, but in Greek and French and English and other languages. Sir Peter Wych despatched a copy to King Charles I in April 1629, with an accompanying letter which began: 'I... present... the enclosed paper which is a true transcript from the original, under this Patriarch's own pen (not yet divulged) whereof (by a secret way) I got a sight, and this true copy. It serveth for good authority to the doctrine of the Church whereof Your Majesty is, next and immediate under Christ, supreme head and governor, so much denied by the Romish, who to allege antiquity for what they teach, promulge it to be the self-same with the Eastern Church'⁵⁰.

But if Cyril's friends were everjoyed, his enemies were furious, and the Orthodox bewildered. And one who suffered most from these events was Kritopoulos; for they brought to an end all his own careful work for reunion. Here was no careful assessment, such as he himself had made, of what the points of agreement and disagreement were between the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches. His master and patron had apparently gone completely over to the Protestants. And he, as his protégé, would now be tarred with the same brush. The political temperature had risen, and there was no hope of quietly waiting for a soundly based agreement on which to establish their union as allies against Rome.

Kritopoulos finally left Venice late in 1630 or early in 1631, and after visiting Cyril at Constantinople, returned to Alexandria. Here the Patriarch was Gerasimos Spartaliotis, a firm defender of his Church, who could write to Antoine Leger that he would only support his project for Greek Schools if all the teachers would be Orthodox. Gerasimos welcomed Kritopoulos warmly, and made him first 'Great Archiman-

49. E. Legrand, *op. cit.* IV pp. 380-2.

50. Public Records Office: S.P. 97: 14: 260ff.

drite of Alexandria', and then in November 1633 consecrated him Bishop of Memphis.

In January 1636 Kritopoulos wrote to Leger: 'I have much to say to you, particularly about the welfare of our Churches, supposing that after all there is some hope of our coming together one day; but we must lay aside all unseasonable objections, and stand firm by the Canon of the Church alone, That we may be one mind, and sincere in our profession of the saving truth of Christianity⁵¹. Two months later he wrote again, affirming his 'defence of that sound and saving doctrine, the foundations of which were laid down by the Prophets, which Our Lord Jesus Christ revealed, the Apostles preached throughout the world, the Doctors and Bishops of the Church proclaimed and handed on to their successors; and which all Orthodox Christians gladly accept and hold, and will hold undefiled to the end of the world. This doctrine, I repeat, this doctrine revealed by God, I shall defend to my dying day⁵².

On July 30th. 1636 the aged Patriarch Gerasimos died. And in August Kritopoulos was enthroned as Patriarch of Alexandria. So eventually Cyril Loucaris and Metrophanes Kritopoulos, patron and protégé, occupied the two major sees of the Orthodox Church. But not for long. Cyril's enemies had persisted in their attempts to remove him; they were temporarily successful in 1633 and 1634. But each time Cyril returned to the throne, Four years later, however, they finally and fatally achieved their purpose.

On June 23rd. 1638 Sir Pater Wych wrote to the Secretary of State: 'The good old Patriarch Cyril of the Greek Church, notwithstanding the Grand Signor had confirmed him before his departire, is displaced, upon an order that came from the camp; which arrived so suddenly as that poor old man was surprised and carried prisoner to the Castles towards the Black Sea-ward, and it is much feared he will be put to death. This hath been practised by the Archbishop of Varias,... who had once formerly done the like, but was soon after cast out again, and Cyril brought in⁵³.

A month later, the English Ambassador reported sadly: 'What was feared concerning the good old Patriarch is come to pass: and on the 27th. day of June towards evening, he was taken out of prison and put

51. B. Legrand, *op. cit.* IV pp. 448-9.

52. *Ibid.* pp. 491-4.

53. Public Records Office: S.P. 97: 16: 148.

into a boat, making him believe that he should be carried and banished to Rhodes, as formerly; but when he was at the end of the town, the Hangman who was close in the Boat laid suddenly hands on him, and strangled him, casting his body upon the sands⁵⁴.

Kritopoulos was in Constantinople at the time, 'much troubled and deeply affected by Cyril's unjust death', as Nathaniel Conopius, Cyril's Protosyngellos, wrote to Leger⁵⁵. On September 24th. Cyril Contaris, the new pro-Roman Patriarch, held a Synod which anathematized Cyril Loucaris and his works. Whether Kritopoulos actually attended it is not quite certain. At all events Cyril Contaris wrote to him in October requesting him to 'curse and anathematize the heresies of Luther and Calcin... and their follower Cyril Loucaris, who wrote these heretical articles⁵⁶. Kritopoulos eventually signed, as the records of the Synod show and as the Austrian Ambassador reported to Rome a month later: 'The Patriarch of Alexandria was forced against his will to sign the anathemas against Cyril's Confession⁷⁵. We can easily understand what this must have meant to him.

Soon afterwards he left Constantinople for Wallachia, and there he died in April 1639, a sick man, worn out, defeated by circumstances, his hopes dashed to the ground, his early promise unfulfilled. He was only fifty years old.

His story has a tragic ending. Yet his life and work remain, an example of truly pioneering work for unity in a difficult and dangerous age. Friendship, study, and a careful assessment of the basic points at issue between the churches; a willingness to learn, a willingness to teach; these are still essential in any work for unity, though travelling scholars have multiplied and official conversations are beginning to take place. The weakness of the proposed alliance between the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches in the seventeenth century was that it was an alliance against Rome. It can serve as a warning to any vision of unity that is limited to a few churches only, excluding others. Further, the political factors that so complicated the issue, and the rivalry between the leaders of the different churches, or of the same church - the struggle for power and precedence, the quarrels over jurisdiction, --

54. Public Records Office: S.P. 97: 16: 166.

55. E. Legrand, op. cit. IV p. 516.

56. G. Hofmann: Griechische Patriarchen und römische Papste; in *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. XXXVI No. 97, 1934.

57. Χρυσόστομος Α. Παπαδόπουλος: Κύριλλος Λούκαρις. 'Εκδοσις Β'. Ἀθήναι 1939 p. 150.

these may take different forms, but they are often still with us to -day, If reunion implies renewal, it also reminds us of the heart of the Gospel, sincerity, forgiveness: penitence, an love. And ultimately, it is only power of God, working through men in this way, which can break down the barriers between nations an classes and cultures and churches, even if his servants, like Metrophanes Kritopoulos, are crushed in the process.