ICONS AND ICONOGRAPHY IN THE WEST SYRIAC CHURCH

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Abstract: From an Orthodox perspective, the heresy condemned at the Second Council of Nicaea (the Seventh Ecumenical Council, 787), iconoclasm, is considered to be the last form of development of the heresies condemned at the previous six ecumenical councils, as it comes directly against the very scope of Christ's incarnation – human's transfiguration, and, finally, against the doctrine of salvation. Christ is the perfect human and, in consequence, those who follow and imitate Him, Virgin Mary and the saints, are His very 'icons' who reached the holiness by participation to Christ's divine life. In the context of the commemorative year 2017, dedicated by the Romanian Orthodox Patriarchate to the icon painters and iconography, it is interesting and quite new for the Romanian theological landscape to focus on the theology of icons and sacred art in the West Syriac Church, which had a parallel existence with the Byzantine Church (from 451 onwards, at least) and did not really take direct contact with the iconoclast movement. And yet, one can find the icons present in its cult and determinative, during the liturgical year. This paper will be dedicated to this subject, observing two directions – one dedicated to the theological base of the icons' usage in the cult and a second one presenting and analysing some concrete ancient icons and their connection with the annual liturgical festivals in the West Syriac Church.

Keywords: *Iconography, West Syriac Church, liturgical year, icon veneration, Iconoclasm.*

Icon is a concrete form of expressing the Christological dogma and, from an experiential point of view, is the apex of the theological

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anthropology. It is the expression of the new human, transfigured by divine grace, in the image of Christ, the perfect man, as pictured by St. Paul in the Letter to Ephesians: “until all of us come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to maturity, to the measure of the full stature of Christ” (Ephesian 4:13). The first icon is Christ Himself, He is the image/ icon of the Father and, in consequence, human is created in “the image of the image”/ in ‘the icon of the icon’ (of Christ). Therefore any transfiguration or sanctification is, in fact, a ‘christification’. The natural conclusion one may easily draw from this idea is that any Christological expressions which does not immediately reflect Orthodoxy has direct repercussion on iconology and, in consequence, on the veneration of icons.

1. Iconoclasm and the West Syriacs

Regarding the West Syriac or the ‘Monophysites’, as misleading they are occasionally called even nowadays, this accusation was quite present. The first evidence of that is the phrase given at the Second Council of Nicaea by Deacon Epiphanius: “Neither the Theopaschites, nor the impious Severus, Peter the Fuller, Philoxenos of Mabbug and all their many-headed, but headless (*Akephaloi*), *hydra*, accept icons¹. During the council, both Severus and Philoxenus “came under fire for their allegedly Iconoclast views”². Occasionally different authors repeated the same accusation regarding the Euthychians or Severans, indiscriminately, simply expressing the Monophysite ‘dogma’ – the manhood swallowed up in divine nature, so Christ is only of divine nature. Therefore any representation, any portrayal of Christ is impossible.

It is not superfluous to clearly evoke, by the sake of exactness, that the position expressed above is specific to Euthychians, condemned by both Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians, but not to Severan ‘Monophysites’, in particular West Syriacs who held that the incarnate nature of Christ was *one*, coming ‘from’ (*ek*) two natures, human and

¹ *Mansi XIII*, Paris-Leipzig, 1902, cols. 317-318.

² Sebastian BROCK, “Iconoclasm and the Monophysites”, in A. BRYER-J. HERRIN (eds.), *Iconoclasm: papers given at the ninth spring symposium of byzantine studies, university of Birmingham*, March 1975, Birmingham 1978, p. 53.

divine, in perfect union of the two³. In their theology, this maintains the reality of Christ's incarnation, while the existence of the two natures would separate the divine from the manhood in Christ, and so endangering the reality of incarnation and, in consequence, the possibility of human's salvation. Thus, in principle, one can assert the West Syriacs (and the 'Monophysite Churches', in general) did not reject Christ's portrayal or icon, on matter of Christology, as being of divine nature only⁴.

The well-known Syriac scholar Sebastian Brock⁵ tried to answer to some important accusations regarding this item, looking at different moments in their history, in the context of the Christological debates, as a permanent discussion in this religious community. I will evoke some of them at short. Firstly, he argues the example of Severus' alleged Iconoclasm, as designed by the Seventh Ecumenical Council, it was taken from a hostile Life of Severus authored by John of Gabala⁶. Severus' objection was on the depiction of the archangel Michael and of angels, in general, in purple and not in white, misleading, in his opinion, to a false image of their role. But it was not against their portrayals or iconographic representation⁷.

Secondly, the case against Philoxenos of Mabbug⁸ refers to the accusation that he forbade the depiction of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. Further, it is said he continued his action removing the paintings of angels and Christ's icons. Brock brings two strong arguments in his favour – firstly, an important number of Philoxenos' writings have survived in Syriac, but one cannot find anywhere traces of Iconoclast attitude; secondly, one should remember that Mabbug/ Hierapolis was

³ Opposed to the Chalcedonian definition, which shows the Incarnate Christ was 'in' (*en*) two natures.

⁴ See the combative attitude of Severus against Julian of Halicarnassus and the 'Phantasiasts' who held that the body of Christ was incorruptible and of heavenly origin (In *Vita Stephani*, PG 100, col. 1084).

⁵ Sebastian BROCK, "Iconoclast and the Monophysites", p. 53-55.

⁶ *Mansi XIII*, cols. 183-184.

⁷ One shall remember the icon of the paradise story had an important role in his conversion.

⁸ *Mansi XIII*, cols. 179/ (quoted from JOHN DIAKRINOMENOS, *Hist. Eccl.*) See also A. de HALLEUX, *Philoxène de Mabbug*, CSCO 233-234/ 100-101, Louvain, 1963, p. 88-90.

the place of the cult of Atargatis, for which the dove was an important symbol still present in his time. So it might be understandable a more intransigent attitude, not immediately connected with the Iconoclast tendencies.

The third well-known situation refers to two related items – the theology of Constantine V and Michael the Syrian's commentary on the Iconoclast Council of 754. Regarding Constantine's theology, from some texts preserved by his enemies, one learns he used a Severan Christology – Christ is 'out of two natures' and not 'in two natures'. Brock argues that the avoidance of the Chalcedonian terminology should be taken into account together with his apparent rejection of the term 'Theotokos' and of the cult of relics, that will create a more complete image of his position. Then, regarding Michael the Syrian there is the accusation of the apparent approval of Constantine and the Iconoclast Council of 754. In fact, the British scholar shows his approval of the council reflects more the condemnation of John of Damascus, a follower of Maximus the Confessor, an important opponent to Monothelism in the Dyothelite-Monothelite controversy, still present in the 8th century in Syria, and less against the condemnation of icon veneration, occurred in the council. Concluding, Brock clearly states:

“It is quite clear that Monophysitism played no formative role in the initial development of the Iconoclast ideology, since specifically Christological arguments are absent from the opening phase of the controversy. In fact it is almost as if the whole issue of Christology had been introduced as it were out of habit, simply because that had become the traditional battle ground for controversy”⁹.

A second point in this analyse refers to the presence of icons in the West Syriac spirituality during its history. One of the most famous icons is that of Abgar of Edessa. The Syriac 'Teaching of Addai' gives us the name of the author, Hannan, Abgar's emissary to Jesus¹⁰. There was no trace of disapproval, more, Athanasius bar Gumaye, a prominent West Syriac personality of the seventh century, had a replica of this

⁹ S. BROCK, "Iconoclasm and the Monophysites", p. 55.

¹⁰ G. PHILLIPS (ed.), *The Doctrina of Addai*, London, 1876.

icon¹¹. In the 4th century Ephrem the Syrian writes that the pictures of the great King (Christ) are in His temples¹². We shall mention also the image of the Paradise cycle from the life of Severus¹³ which had a role on his conversion, the presence of the image of Saint Sergios on the banners of Ghassanid troops¹⁴, or the representation of the Magi¹⁵.

Among pictures of saints mentioned in texts we recall that St. John Chrysostom mentioned that the faithful loved their patriarch, Saint Meletios, so much they painted icons of him after his death, as a blessing¹⁶. In 502 Kavades, King of Persia, saw a picture of Christ (represented as a Galilean) in the treasure room of the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Amid (today Diyarbakir)¹⁷. Or, John of Ephesus (507-586) made reference to a deaconess, Euphemia, who arranged a kind of martyrium, where she put icons and pictures¹⁸. According to Abu Nasr Yahya ibn Garir (11th century), the Gospel, the cross and the picture of Christ and of some saints should be placed on the altar when celebrating the Eucharist¹⁹. Later on, in the 12th century, Sabirshô Bir Paulos observed in a 'Jacobite' church an icon of Christ and His Mother with the following inscription: "This is Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world. That is the Mother of God"²⁰; then, at the end of 13th century, the church and sanctuary of the famous monastery of Saint John Bar Nagare in Bartelli, near Mossoul (Iraq), were adorned with an iconography showing "the whole economy of salvation"²¹.

¹¹ A. CHABOT (ed.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, II, Paris, 1963, p. 475-477.

¹² *Hymnes sur la Virginité*, CSCO 223-224, 1962, 28/2 and 6.

¹³ In 487 the scholar Zacharia wanted to explain to Severus, the future patriarch of Antioch, the meaning of Christian salvation. For this purpose in the harbour of Beyrouth made a painting of Adam and Eve with their skin tunics after their expulsion from Paradise (ZACHARIAS SCOLASTICUS, *Vita Severi*, PO II, 49).

¹⁴ Mentioned by J. LEROY, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, Paris, 1964, I, p. 40.

¹⁵ In E. NESTLE, *Brevis linguae syriacae, Grammatica, Litteratura, Chrestomatia*, Leipzig 1881, p. 82 (*apud* S. Brock, "Iconoclast and the Monophysites", p. 56).

¹⁶ Severus Yacoub THOMAS, *Histoire de l'Eglise II*, Beyrouth, 1953, p. 328.

¹⁷ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien II*, p. 159.

¹⁸ S. BROCK and S. HARVEY distinguish between the two words in their translation in *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, London, University of California Press, 1987, p. 129.

¹⁹ Quoted by P. HINDO, *Disciplina antiochena antiqua*, Vatican, 1943. p. 304-305.

²⁰ *Chronicon anonymum ad annum 1234* CSCO 354/ Syri 154, p. 207/ 152.

²¹ Mentioned by P. HINDO, *Disciplina antiochena antiqua*, p. 315.

During the centuries West Syriac art progressed slowly within the environments of the Islamic world that prohibited sacred images. Thus, Syriac iconography found its way within the Gospels and Lectionaries rather than in external expressions in church and monastery buildings. Many of the icons found in the Syriac manuscripts demonstrate Byzantine influences in style and cultural forms, but also the other way around. The Syriac icon was rooted in the written word of God. There was also a practical value to this fusion. It was easy to hide the Gospel images when under attack. Churches were almost under constant siege being looted and pillaged in nearly every generation. The images of Christ could be written in lectionaries and gospel records and preserved under the protection of watchful monks and priests. I will recall three important manuscripts for their pictures – the famous Rabbula's Gospel (586), Wolfenbütel Gospel (633), Paris Bible (6th century).

Some preserved ancient mural paintings are also traces for a West Syriac iconography with its specific character. We evoke here the frescoes from Saint Moses the Black Monastery, near Nebek, in Syria²², the paintings of the churches of Saint George and Saint Sergius and Bacchus in Sadad, near Homs. The iconographic programme of Mar Musa al-Habashi Monastery in Syria shows an early composition: the event of Annunciation, Virgin Mary described as 'Mother of God', the four Evangelists, Elijah the Prophet giving his cloak to Elisha and riding off in his chariot, and other saints and martyrs. Interesting is that, in the image of the Final Judgement, Christ the Pantocrator is surrounded by the apostles Peter and Paul and the Prophet Moses, the latter one occupying the position of main intercessor; Adam and Eve are seen also as intercessors; the patriarchs Jacob, Isaac and Abraham hold in their laps a bunch of saved souls wrapped in their mantles; and the two archangels, Michael and Gabriel, call with trumpets to the souls to come up from their graves²³.

Thirdly, we shall also mention in this analyze the presence of

²² E. C. DODD, "The Monastery of Mar Musa al-Habasbi, near Nebek, Syria", in *Arte Medievale*, II ser. VI. I, 1992, p. 61-132.

²³ These paintings mirror the events and saints mentioned in the prayer of consecration of icons. For details see C. CHAILLOT, "Some Comments on the Prayer of Consecration of Icons in the Syriac Tradition", in *The Harp* 8-9 (1995-1996), Kottayam, p. 67-94 (here 81-82).

some West Syriac texts, responses to the Iconoclast Jewish accusation, as the dialogue between a Jew and a Christian, attributed to a stylite, named Sergius²⁴ (8th century) or the treatise of Dionysios bar Salibi (12th century), where one may find the reference regarding icon veneration as liturgical custom²⁵.

One may also consider an argument favorable to the cult of icons the absence of West Syriac polemical texts of this period against the Chalcedonian, focused, in particular, on this issue. And, finally, the presence of the cult of relics, considered closed to icon veneration in the classic Christian tradition²⁶.

2. The prayer of consecration of icons (*yuqno*)

The existence of a prayer of consecration of icons firmly supports the idea of icon veneration in the West Syriac Church. Sebastian Brock²⁷, Christine Chaillot²⁸ and Paul Krüger²⁹ have published an English, French, respectively, a German translation of this consecratory prayer (*qadish*). The ritual has three main parts – a prayer of the consecration of the icon, the unction and the public veneration.

I will describe at short each of this three parts. The first section, formed of a long prayer of consecration of the icon, can be divided into thirteen moments:

1. The prayer begins with a doxology addressed to the Holy Trinity and a supplication to Christ to keep the purity of body and souls of the entire congregation, including the celebrant, so that sanctification

²⁴ Edited by P. HAYMAN, CSCO/ Syr. 152-153.

²⁵ Edited by J. de ZWAAN, Leiden, 1906.

²⁶ See the commentaries of Philoxenus of Mabbug on the spiritual role of relics' veneration/ "Memra of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit", ed. by A. TANGHE, *Le muséon*, 73 (1963), p. 39-71 (here p. 69).

²⁷ "Prayer to Consecrate/Sanctify Icons and Depictions", in *The Harp* 8-9 (1995-1996), p. 86-94 (based on *Syrian Catholic Pontifical* edited by Tappouni, Sharfet, 1950).

²⁸ *Rôle des Images et Vénération des icônes dans les Eglises Orthodoxes Orientales-Syrienne, arménienne, copte, éthiopienne*, Geneva, *Contacts* 163, Paris, 1993, p. 88-95 (based on a manuscript copied in Diarbaker, 1906).

²⁹ "Der Ritus der Ikonenweihe nach dem westsyrischen Pontifikale theologische Deutung im Vergleich Zur byzantinischen Ikone", in *Ostkirchlichen Studien* 14, Band Heft 4 (1965), p. 292-304.

may be given to the community and to the icon to be consecrated; then it is immediately indicated the saint represented there (respectively Christ or Virgin Mary).

2. The '*enyana* (labour), an antiphon or a response, is a second doxology to the Holy Trinity, to Christ in particular, through the intercession of Virgin Mary, 'the burning bush', which does not consume itself; the 'vase' of her body welcomed the Planter of Eden, Christ, who entered through the closed door.

3. *Prumyon* (preface). The theme of this section is the Incarnation of Christ, who, full by His compassion, mysteriously came down from heaven into the Virgin's womb in order to offer salvation to all humankind.

4. *Sedra* (order, row) is a supplication dedicated to Virgin Mary, to praise her virginal motherhood. One may find a list of biblical metaphors describing the personality of the Mother of God:

“daughter of the heavenly King, well of life-giving water, abode of the Only-Begotten of the Father, path that leads to Eden, meeting place of all benefits, treasury of all blessings, the dew of the fleece of Gideon, the new jar of Elisha, the drop of rain for Ananias and his companions, unspotted birth-giver, star that has chased away darkness, torch that illumines the world, the one who causes the Sun of righteousness to dawn, offshoot of the fairest flower, closely sealed missive, root (that gives) the medicine of Life, hewn stone that crushed the serpent, finger with which the document of liberation was written, sling that slew Goliath, high hill of the prophet watchmen, candelabra for the minds of the apostles, diadem of the holy martyrs”.

The content of the prayer reveals the scope – the communion of the entire Church, from earth and heaven, by Virgin Mary's intercession, participating in the celestial marriage.

5. *Qala* (voice) is a hymn which again exalts the greatness of St. Mary, virgin and mother, who bore Christ, and praises God, the Creator.

6. *Gloria* and the evocation of Old Testament prophets and New Testament apostles. One may find here intercessions towards the prophets/ apostles to whom icons are dedicated. There is a lineage starting from the prophets, who announce the coming of Christ, then the Apostles, who followed Christ, and the saints, who imitated Him up to

eschatological times.

7. *Incense prayer*. The incense offered by the priests accompanies the prayer up to Heaven (see Psalm 140).

8. Every being and even every plant praises God in its own way: the martyrs with their lives offered to God, the people by their good deeds and the trees/plants with their fruits or perfumes.

9. The short sentence of the *zummarā* is sung: “Through David the Holy Spirit sung words of praise and salvation in the tent of the righteous”. The presence of the Holy Spirit is increasingly important.

10. Reading from the Book of Daniel (3:1-7) and/ or Ezekiel (10:1-9).

11. Reading of fragments from Psalm 150, intercalated with four responses. One asks for the *shekhina* (God’s glory) to reside in the icon and to consecrate it, as on the tabernacle over Moses, Aaron, Samuel, the prophets, the apostles at Pentecost and John the evangelist, in a continued charismatic succession.

12. The main prayer of consecration, addressed to God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and the Holy Trinity. The theology of the name, specific to the Semitic tradition, is also present here. In God’s name the people receive a good state for the souls and bodies, and, finally, salvation. The prayers before the icons must be accompanied by the observation of the Gospel’s commandments. The icon receives the intercessory role so that every prayer read before it will reach God’s place.

13. God being ‘the Holy of Holies’, sanctification comes from Him. There is an Epiclesis so that the Holy Spirit completes the ministry of consecration. The Trinitarian dimension is well visible.

The second section – the unction with oil³⁰. The icon is marked, imprinted and sealed in the name of the Trinity. The grace of God came over the Apostles, but also over the saints, humans’s intercessors. The prayer invites the people to commemorate and imitate them (14).

The third section is dedicated to public veneration (15-17), by

³⁰ In other Non-Chalcedonian traditions it is used myron. The argument for using here oil is that myron cannot be used on objects. Or, in other situations, myron it is used, except object made out of paper (according to the ordo of the Syriac Catholic Church used in Mossul eparchy, *Distribution of mysteries I*, Mosoul, 1964, p. 62-64/ Arabic).

procession around the church, indicating special songs for Virgin Mary/ the saints. It is highlighted the role of St. Mary in relation with Christ, who exalted her, and of saints, as Christ's followers.

3. The icons of Nativity and Crucifixion/ Resurrection

In the final section of my paper I will exemplify with the icons of Nativity and Crucifixion/ Resurrection and some liturgical texts corresponding to them, to show that the methodology is/was similar with the Byzantine tradition – the icon reflects the liturgical texts and the other way around.

The West Syriac liturgical year begins with the festival of Christ's Birth, December 25, a period prepared by six Sundays of Annunciation and lasts until January 6. It encompasses two important

festivals: that of Congratulation of the Mother of God, on December 26, as in the other Eastern liturgical traditions, and Christ's Circumcision, on January 1. For the Nativity festival, the evangelical readings at different times proclaim the whole mystery of the coming in the world of the Son and Word of God, as represented in the icon of the feast: at the Vesper John 1: the eternal existence of the Word of God; Luke 2: the birth of Christ and the good news to the shepherds, during the night prayer; Matthew 2: the announcement to the Magi, in the morning prayer. The different texts emphasize with a lot of lively and deliberately

Fig. 1: *Mardin Gospel Lectionary*, the Church of the Forty Martyrs/ formerly at Dayr Al-Za'faran, 13th century

contrasting images the mystery of the eternal Word of God incarnated.

One example:

“Your Son, the First and the Last, God and man, veiled and visible. You, who send rain and the dew on the ground, now the man’s daughter feeds You with the drops of milk; You who sit on a throne of glory and make moving all things, now crawl like a baby in Bethlehem”³¹.

The iconography of the festival takes over the information common to the Eastern as well as Western Christian tradition for the Christmas mystery: the child born is wrapped and placed in a manger; Mary lying contemplates the new born baby; Joseph in the corner, having a thinking attitude, watching suspiciously the scene. In the other corner two women wash the baby in a tub which is the baptismal basin. The angels, at the top of the icon, announce the birth of Christ to the shepherds and magi. All this information is reflected in the icons here (*Fig. 1* and *Fig. 2*).

Fig. 2: Wadi Natrun Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt, 13th century

In the liturgical hymnography one may easily identify the connection between Christ’s birth and the salvific act of crucifixion and resurrection, for Christ is brought up in the world in a sacrificial state. I will quote a liturgical text attributed to Saint Ephrem: “They brought and offered a suckling lamb to the Paschal Lamb, a first born to the Firstborn, a sacrifice to the Sacrifice, a transitional lamb towards the

³¹ Quoted by M. NIN, *Il soffio dell'oriente siriano. L'anno liturgico siro-occidentale*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2013, p. 48-49.

true Lamb”³².

As for the Holy Friday and Holy Saturday (*Fig. 3* and *Fig. 4*), the West Syriac liturgy highlights the descent of Christ to Sheol to save Adam and all human or hi apparitions to the Apostles or to the myrrophor women.

In the line of the typical genre of the dialogue and confrontation, in the Saturday morning service, the liturgical texts make a parallel between the Holy Friday and Holy Saturday: “Yesterday, on Friday, the suffering, the conviction, the cross, and today, Saturday, the

Fig. 3: *Fig. 1: Rabbula's Gospel, 6th century*

Fig. 4: *Ms. Kurkum, 13th century*

calm and the rest. Yesterday the scribes and priests were insulting you, today the dead in the dust are singing praise; yesterday the rocks were split, now the tomb is opened in the joy... Today the Sheol, as in April, brings its songs of joy and the dead are like the flowers that sprout... Today death is sad seeing Adam, first chained, now free”³³. The Holy Saturday morning service sings several hymns of St. Ephrem, where the poet praise the redemption brought by Christ:

“He flew and went down, the Shepherd of all: searched for Adam,

³² M. NIN, *Il soffio dell'oriente siriano*, p. 50.

³³ M. NIN, *Il soffio dell'oriente siriano*, p. 85.

the lost sheep, took her on his shoulders, and he climbed up... he sprinkled dew and the life-giving rain on Mary, the thirsty ground. As a grain of wheat felt down into Sheol, and then rose like a sheaf and new bread... From above, the power came down for us, from the womb of Mary, Hope shone for us. From the tomb, Life sprang up for us”³⁴.

4. Conclusion

The scope of this paper was to make an incursion into the West Syriac tradition regarding the presence of icons. In order to have a quite complete vision on that, the paper focused on three moments – firstly, a short retrospective of the historical relation between iconoclasm and West Syriac theology, secondly, a short analysis of the prayer of icon consecration, as a concrete argument for the cult of icons, and, lastly, an exemplification of the presence of icons in this specific Church tradition, by taking into discussion the icon of two of the main liturgical festivals –Nativity and Crucifixion-Resurrection – in parallel with some suggestive liturgical texts. The evident conclusion that came out from all these three moments is that the West Syriac Church is not iconoclast and was never so. It did not really take part to the Iconoclast dispute during history, this is why its iconology/ iconography has a quite independent way (with some influence of the Byzantine hermeneutics, but also the other way around), is not so developed as in the Byzantine world, and yet it is clearly marked by a deep liturgical and patristic perspective. Nowadays, this conclusion is sustained also by the adherence the Syrian Orthodox Church clearly shows to the cult of icons in the ecumenical dialogue. In particular, I will mention a fragment from the common declaration of the Oriental Orthodox Churches in WCC, within the Joint Commission of the Theological Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Oriental Orthodox Churches (Geneva, September 23-28, 1990):

“In relation to the teaching of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of the Orthodox Church (Nicaea 787), the Oriental Orthodox agree that the theology and practice of the veneration of icons taught by the Council are in basic agreement with the teaching and practice of the

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

Oriental Orthodox from ancient times, long before the convening of the Council and that we have no disagreement in this regard”³⁵.

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