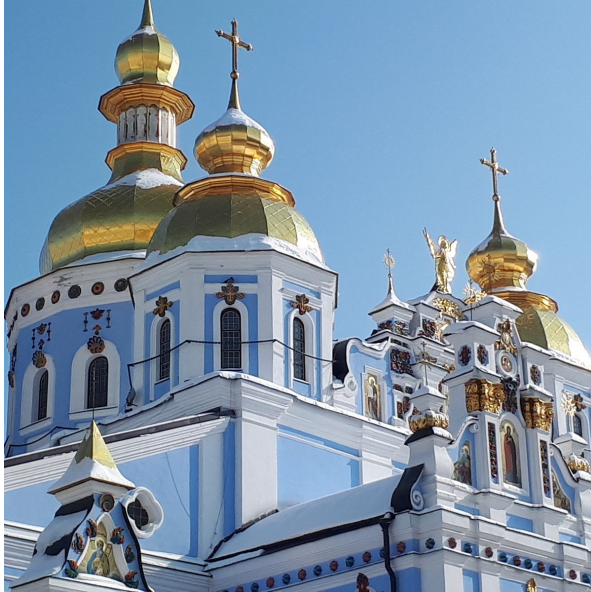


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Chairman of the Committee

The Revd Dr William Taylor

St John's Vicarage

25 Ladbroke Road

London W11 3PD

Tel: 020 7727 4262

email: vicar@stjohnsnottinghill.com

General Secretary

Dr Dimitris Salapatas

email: gensec@aeca.org.uk

Treasurer

The Revd Alan Trigle

email: alan.trigle@icloud.com

Koinonia

THE JOURNAL OF THE ANGLICAN & EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCIATION

Editorial

SO MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN on the ongoing invasion of Ukraine by Russia, and yet words fail to really express the sorrow and tragedy of this brutal conflict between Christian brothers and sisters. This situation is all the more painful for members of the AECA, many of whom will have close links and friendships with people from both nations. There are so many aspects of the conflict, but the religious facet is significant and has been constantly highlighted by Patriarch Kirill of Moscow himself who, in multiple pronouncements, has spoken of Ukraine as part of 'Holy Rus' and justified the aggression towards Ukraine in explicitly Christian terms, to the general consternation of virtually all other Christian leaders, east and west. Even those who deeply love the Russian spiritual tradition and Orthodox Church, such as Bishop Rowan Williams, have called on the World Council of Churches to expel the Russian Church from its membership, although this has not taken place thus far. No matter how hard one tries to sympathetically enter into the mind of the Russian Patriarch, or how much one appreciates the spiritual culture of Russia, his words ring hollow, sound absurd and appear devoid of any true Christian charity. We may even go so far to describe this justification of a terrible war as a perversion of the Gospel of Jesus Christ itself.

Anglicans and Orthodox share a comparable relationship to the state, recognising in the secular realm, a partner with whom to work in dynamic tension, sometimes co-operating for the good of the people and sometime speaking truth to power when necessary. The current situation reveals what happens when religion and the state develop an unhealthy relationship and the Church is no longer able to offer a Christian critique to political power. We have known for a long time that the Orthodox Church in Russia is beholden to the state, even perhaps corrupted by it, but the current crisis has brought that relationship to the fore. The Russian Church's alliance with and subservience to

the Russian state feels like a betrayal of the martyrs of the Communist era who gave their lives for their faith against an oppressive regime. The current regime may be led by someone ostensibly Christian, but Putin's actions belie his Creed and any future reaction against Putin may well rebound against the Church that has supported him so much.

Indeed, we might even say that Patriarch Kirill proclaimed war on Ukraine long before President Putin, when back in 2018 he cut ties with the Ecumenical Patriarch and much of the Orthodox worlds, following Patriarch Bartholomew's recognition of the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. For a long time, the Russian Orthodox Church has been a 'problem' for the Orthodox world, seeking to extend its reach not only over the Ukrainian Church, but over the whole of Eastern Christianity, and subverting the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate himself. The number of Orthodox Christians in Russia should certainly give it a significant place in the Orthodox world, but not in such a way that it overrides the ancient patriarchates whose authority relies on precedent and antiquity not sheer force of numbers, financial influence or geographical size.

If there is any good in the current situation, it is that it has finally brought to the surface tensions within Orthodoxy that have existed for a long time. Issues of ethnicity, language, nationality and autocephaly have bedevilled the Eastern Church for some time and can now be tackled more openly. In the midst of the Ukraine crisis Patriarch Bartholomew has also recognised the autocephaly of the Macedonian Church. Despite longstanding earlier opposition by the Serbian Church, the move has largely been largely welcomed after many years of bitter division. In a deeply moving joint liturgy, Patriarch Porfirije of Serbia spoke to Archbishop Stefan of the Macedonian Church saying:

“And now we bring you one more piece of good news – that the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church has unanimously met the pleas of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and has accepted and recognised its autocephaly ... We are sure that all other churches will receive this news with joy.” Archbishop Stefan responded with the words, “Let God allow that this act of love be eternal.”

This event of reconciliation and unity among Christians is a ray of light in the current darkness.

This edition of *Koinonia* reflects on some of these themes of authority, identity and power. The article by David-John Williams reflects on the concept

of Holy War in the Byzantine tradition. In the first half of a two-part article, Paul Avis discusses authority within Anglicanism - especially pertinent in the light of the upcoming Lambeth Conference this Summer. Demetris Salapatas' article marks the centenary of the the Greek Orthodox diocese of Thyateira as a visionary development and response to the diaspora beyond the traditional Orthodox homelands. Miriam Jones brings a linguistic perspective to issues of identity - an important issue for both Anglican and Orthodox Christians for whom the use of the vernacular in worship is integral to spiritual identity. We are delighted to include a report by the Syrian Orthodox deacon Yakub Uyanik who was supported by the AECA in coming to the UK to learn English and discover more about the Church of England. This edition also contains two book review articles, the first by Thomas Sharp bringing into dialogue two books about the role of women in the Church, and the second by Alan Trigle about the priest-poet John Donne whose spiritual life crossed ecclesial divides at a time of great religious turmoil.

Finally, I am sure those reading this edition of *Koinonia* need no reminding to pray for the people of Ukraine and the people of Russia too. We can feel so powerless in the face of terrible world events and yet as Christians we believe that prayer is fundamental and has the power to change every situation. Our Lord has given us a pattern of righteous action but, before action must come prayer, and we must never respond out of hatred or instinct, but ground all our words and actions in His love so that they may do His holy will. It is this walking with Christ in prayer and holiness that will one day bring together Orthodox Christians together across political divides, ecclesial boundaries and national borders. It is this which will bring the whole Church, eastern and western into unity.

*Our Lady of Vladimir,
Our Lady of Kyiv,
Mother of Christians,
pray for us all.
Amen*

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Contributors

DAVID-JOHN WILLIAMS is a Deacon in the Serbian Orthodox Church and Assistant Professor of History at the University of Saint Katherine, California. His research has a particular focus on the sharing of sacred space, sacred objects and holy people in the Byzantine Mediterranean.

PAUL AVIS, is a priest in the Church of England and has served the General Secretary of the Church of England's Council for Christian Unity from 1998-2011. He is currently Honorary Professor in the School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh, UK, and Honorary Research Fellow in the Department of Theology and Religion of the University of Exeter, UK.

DIMITRIS SALAPATAS is the Secretary of the AECA. He is a Religious Studies teacher in Secondary Education and a Subject Specific Lead Tutor at the National School of Education and Teaching, Coventry University.

MIRIAM JONES is a Deacon in the Church of England. She holds a PhD in Church History from the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

YAKUP UYANYIK is a Deacon in the Syrian Orthodox Church from eastern Turkey, and was supported by the AECA in coming to the UK to improve his English and encounter the Church of England.

THOMAS SHARP is Succentor at Southwark Cathedral and also ministers at St Hugh's church, Bermondsey. His doctorate focused on the work of Karl Rahner, and he is a co-ordinator of the Young Anglican Theology Project.

ALAN TRIGLE is a priest in the Church of England, Treasurer of AECA and has worked as a professional translator. He divides his time between London, where he is an assistant priest at Saint Nicholas' in Chiswick, and Oxford where he is undertaking a doctorate in the theology of Saint Augustine.

News and Notices

New ecumenical advisor for Church of England

The Rev'd Canon Dr Jeremy Morris has been appointed National Ecumenical Adviser for the Church of England. In his new role Dr Morris will manage the Church of England's ecumenical relationships at home and abroad and will work through the Office of the Archbishops to support the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in their ecumenical engagements. Jeremy Morris is a former Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge and Dean of Chapel of King's College, Cambridge. He is a specialist in modern religious history, including the Anglican tradition, the ecumenical movement, and arguments about secularization, and has taught theology and church history in Cambridge for over 25 years.

Pilgrimage 2022: Syriac Christianity in Eastern Turkey

THE AECA is pleased to announce our 2022 pilgrimage taking place from 17-25 September, led by Bishop Christopher Chessun (Bishop of Southwark) and Mar Polycarpus (Syriac Orthodox Archbishop of the Netherlands). The exciting programme visits the ancient Christian communities and churches of the region. We do hope you will consider joining us – details can be found at the back of this issue of Koinonia and on the website. Requests for brochures can be made to the Secretary.

New Anglican Chaplain and Apokrosarios in Bucharest

The Rev'd Dr Nevsky Everett, a recent contributor to this journal, has been appointed to the Anglican church of the Resurrection in Bucharest, Romania. Nevsky Everett was, until recently, chaplain of Keble College, Oxford, and has a particular academic interest in Syriac Christianity as well as Orthodoxy generally. His new role comes with ecumenical responsibilities of building further relationships between Anglicans and the Romanian Orthodox Church, and the AECA offers him our prayers as he begins his ministry in Romania.

Russian Holy War, Innovation or Byzantine Tradition?

DAVID-JOHN WILLIAMS

THE MANY ALARMING REPORTS of religious justification for the current war in Ukraine beg the question, can this spiritually destructive belief be found in the Orthodox tradition? Here I will try to demonstrate that such a position was not part of the Byzantine symphonia emulated by the current Russian State. Unfortunately, similar rhetoric fell on deaf ears when it was being used by Russian Churchmen during the Syrian Civil War. Sadly, it has taken the employment of such justifications against White, Christian, Europeans, to generate a suitable response when it was used against Middle Eastern Muslims.

On the 30th of September 2015 the Russian Church made a public statement confirming its support for Russian military involvement in Syria. The statement then referenced the destruction of Christian communities by terrorist groups within Syria and the traditional role of Russia as a protector of the Christian population of the Middle East. Imperial Russia certainly considered itself the heir to Byzantium and as such made efforts to exert control over the Christian communities in former Byzantine lands. The religious rhetoric used in the 2015 statement reads, “The fight against terrorism is a holy struggle/fight and today our country is perhaps the most active force in the world to combat terrorism”. The support of Byzantine Patriarchs for (broadly defensive) military campaigns waged by the empire was common. Several Patriarchs of Constantinople even allowed the melting down of precious liturgical vessels from the Churches of Constantinople to finance campaigns. Leo of Chalcedon (11th C.) is the only recorded exception and was excommunicated for his position. The use of religious rhetoric such as that quoted above was, however, confined to the battlefield. Many draw parallels between modern Russia and the Byzantine Empire, the most obvious being the level of cooperation between the Church and State. Another example is the role of the Russian head of state as a kind of sanctified autocracy. In the aftermath of the Volgograd bombings for example, the internet was abuzz with rumours of Putin’s (alleged) plan to annihilate Mecca in defence of Christianity in the same way that Emperor Nikephoros’s contemporaries believed he would. On Forgiveness Sunday 2022

the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church explicitly identified the war with Ukraine as a holy endeavour:

“And so today, on Forgiveness Sunday, on the one hand, as your shepherd, I call on everyone to forgive sins and insults, including where it is very difficult to do this, where people are at war with each other. But forgiveness without justice is capitulation and weakness. Therefore, forgiveness must be accompanied by the indispensable preservation of the right to stand on the right side of the world, on the side of God’s truth, on the side of the Divine Commandments, on the side of what the Light of Christ, His Word, His Gospel, His greatest covenants given to the human race, reveal to us.”

On the Sunday of St. John Klimakos he stated that Russian soldiers are “laying down their lives for their brothers [Ukrainians]”, paraphrasing John 15:13.¹ Baldric of Dol (1050-1130) used the same scripture to describe the capture of Jerusalem by the first crusade (1096-1099). Replace Jerusalem, its population under Muslim rule with Kyiv and its supposed Western/Nazi captivity and the intention is made clear. To understand how the rhetoric of the Russian Orthodox Church has come so close to that of the leaders and chroniclers of the Crusades, a movement that wreaked such devastation on the Orthodox East we will look for roots of religious violence and Holy War in the Orthodox tradition.

The first problem is the definition of Holy War, traditionally the requirements for a Holy War are three-fold; firstly, its declaration by a religious authority, second its offensive nature and lastly that the undertaking is spiritually meritorious to those who partake in it. The Byzantine worldview allowed no room for any of the three requirements. Byzantine war was always defensive, and the emperor had the sole authority to declare it. On the other hand, Byzantine spirituality emphasized spiritual warfare and therefore had a totally opposite concept of a holy warrior to the Latin west or Islamic world.² The three-fold definition of Holy War fits the crusades of the Latin west and Islamic Jihad.

1 the paradoxical assertion that Russian troops are dying for the good of Ukrainians is based on the pretext of the invasion, the de-Nazification of Ukraine and deliverance of Ukraine from sinister influence.

2 Byzantine military saints were venerated for their martyrdom and not because of military valour, see Walter, Christopher. *The Warrior saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.

Emperors as the source of Holy War

Did the emperor's position as head of the Oikumene give him the same authority as a Patriarch, Pope, or Caliph to declare a Holy War?³ Constantine Porphyrogenitos' (913-939) said, "The emperor's wars are God's work because all of his deeds are God's work".⁴ Does this mean that warfare is sanctified by the participation of the emperor? This reference is drawn from a military harangue by Emperor Constantine and does emphasize the unique position occupied by Byzantine Emperors. The statement itself indeed references the importance of obedience to an established order that the Byzantines believed was ordained by God. There are of course instances of emperors overstretching their imperial prerogatives and attempting like Leo III to be both "emperor and priest". Porphyrogenitos' words make clear that God anointed the emperor to do his will, which from the time of Constantine the Great was accepted as fact. Byzantium held an ideology based on the divine kingship of the Old Testament, this fact is well attested in court rhetoric through the entire Byzantine period.⁵ As the physical symbol of the empire the emperor could state uncontroversially that as the will of God and the emperor were one regarding the survival of the empire war could be seen to serve the will of God.⁶ There were however clear and enduring principles that dictated the conditions upon which war could be conducted. The emperor was not set above the church's teachings regarding killing as we clearly see in the excommunication of Theodosios (379-395) by Ambrose of Milan (340-379) after the emperor ordered the death of seven thousand Thessalonians.⁷ Another telling example of how well the emperors were viewed by contemporary Byzantines as personifying the will of God is the tiny number of saints among them. The small number of canonized Byzantine Emperors emphasizes the importance of their military role over the spiritual. The imperial will in Constantine's case was in accord with "the God of Justice" per Byzantine just-war theory.⁸ Obeying the precepts of just war enabled the emperor to carry out the will of God only by protecting the empire,

³ Kolbaba, Tia. "Fighting For Christianity." *Byzantion* 68 (Brussels, 1998), pp. 194-221.

⁴ *ibid.*, p.203

⁵ Munitiz, Joseph. "War and Peace Reflected in some Byzantine Mirrors of Princes." In *Peace and War in Byzantium; Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, edited by Timothy Millier and John Nesbitt, 230-42. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1995.

⁶ Dagron describes the lack of saints drawn from the rank of Byzantine emperors as "an embarrassment." Dagron, Gilbert. *Emperor and Priest*. p.149

⁷ Milan, Ambrose D. *Letter of St. Ambrose to Emperor Theodosius I*. Trans. H Romestin. Vol.

⁸ Dennis, George T. *The Taktika of Leo VI*. (Washington, 2010), p.37

ascending to the imperial office however did not mean a transformation of the human will into the divine or from layman to priest. Assigning an equal status to the Byzantine emperor and the pope based upon the Byzantine ideology of divine kingship diminishes the fact that Holy Wars are spiritual undertakings and not political. If Byzantium had engaged in Holy War then the church would have necessarily been its point of origin and not the state. The Byzantine church never offered a spiritual incentive for war. In fact the church forbid spiritual rewards for military services rendered to the empire.⁹ The incompatibility of spiritually meritorious violence with the Byzantine worldview and the inability of the emperor to impose such a reward are both demonstrated in the case of Nikephoros and Basil's canon.¹⁰ The Case of Nikephoros is anomalous and the only recorded time that a request was made for the recognition of fallen soldiers as martyrs. It is likely that Nikephoros was inspired to adopt the Islamic concept of a holy warrior in order to motivate his army. It has been argued that the opinion of the emperor was the popular one and that the view of the synod was unrepresentative.¹¹ Twelfth Century canonist Ioannis Zonaras has been used to show the supposedly enduring belief in meritorious violence. Zonaras is referenced because unlike any other Byzantine writer he calls Nikephoros' request *θεσπρεσιον* (a Holy Decree) despite his apparent lack of endorsement for the request in the rest of his work. Stouraitis believes that word was used sarcastically to emphasize its impiety.¹² In any case the denial illustrates that the emperor was not authorized to grant spiritual gifts and could not consecrate war without the consent of the church.

The Church as the source of Holy War

The Byzantine state differed from the Latin and Islamic worlds in its retention of a powerful administration that alone had responsibility for the military. The

9 Swift, L. J., *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service*. Wilmington, DA: Michael Glazier, 1983. "If it had not been for the patriarch and some high-ranking priests as well as some spokesmen of the senate, who opposed bravely by saying "how could those, who kill or die in war, be counted among the martyrs or be viewed as equal to them."

10 John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*, trans. John Wortley (Cambridge, 2010), p.263, He (Nikephoros) was pressing the patriarch and the bishops to agree to this doctrine but some of them vigorously withstood him and frustrated his intent. They produced in evidence the canon of [St] Basil the Great which requires that a man who has slain his enemy in battle to remain three years excommunicate

11

12 Stouraitis John, *Jihad and Crusade: Byzantine Positions Towards the Notions of Holy War*, *Βυζαντινά Συμμερίματα* 21(2002), 53-54

Byzantine Church had no authority to interfere in military matters and held those who transgressed this rule accountable through rigorously enforced canon law.¹³ The separation of the sacred nature of the Church and the profane duty of the imperium to wage war had meant that no Byzantine Patriarchs had pursued military ends as the Popes had done.¹⁴ Byzantine churchmen supported the military activities of the empire as envoys and by their presence at army encampments without ever taking part in combat. A prominent example of the role carried out by Byzantine churchmen is Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos (901-907, 912-925) by his letters of mediation with Symeon of Bulgaria (893-927). In these letters he appeals for peace between Bulgaria and Byzantium and reminds the Archbishop of Bulgaria that his obligation “beyond all else (was) to serve the cause of peace”.¹⁵ The mixture of the two spheres of society was considered abhorrent in Byzantium as witnessed by the damning accounts of Latin clergy participation in the crusades vividly described by Anna Komnene.¹⁶

The Byzantine understanding of violence

The main obstacle in attaching a religious meaning to Byzantine wars is that the Byzantines viewed war as a symptom of the fallen world a tragedy and always sinful. As a consequence of its perception of violence the Byzantines never developed a concept of meritorious killing, on the contrary Constantine

13 We have decreed that those who have been enrolled in the clergy or have become monks shall not join the army or obtain any secular office, Let those who dare do this and will not repent..be anathema, Chalcedon 7 RP 2;232

14 A clear statement defining the roles for the classes of people in Byzantine society is found in “Holy orders have been established for the worship of God...through whom all things came into being and are governed in the ways of goodness known to him alone. Legal institutions are established to bring about justice... laws and judges have been established to pronounce judgement .. to aid people in living together in peace.” Dennis, George T., ed. Three Byzantine Military Treatises, (Washington, 1985). p.13.

15 Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters. Trs. R. J. H. Jenkins, L. G. Westerink, Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1973. p. 82.

16 Comnena, Anna, The Alexiad, ed. E. R. A. Sewter. (London 2009), p. 285. Regarding the battle between Marianos and a priest defending count Prebentzas “The Latin customs with regard to priests differ from ours. We are bidden by canon law and the reaching of the Gospel, “touch not, taste not, handle not- for thou art consecrate’. But your Latin barbarian will at the same time handle sacred objects, fasten a shield to his left arm and grasp a spear in his right. He will communicate the Body and Blood of the Deity and meanwhile gaze on bloodshed and become himself “a man of blood”. Thus the race is no less devoted to religion than to war”.... “It was as if he were officiating at a ceremony, celebrating as though war was a holy ritual.”

Porphyrogenitos ridicules jihad in his *De Administrando Imperio* categorizing the belief “he who slays an enemy or is slain by an enemy enters into paradise” as “nonsense”.¹⁷ Constantine’s repulsion at the idea of meritorious killing is representative of the Byzantine perception of Jihad and violence for the entire span of Byzantine history. “If, then, it has been demonstrated that all murder, insofar as it is murder, is bad, it is evident that it is also not licit.”¹⁸ Niketas Byzantios’s (9th Century) dialogue with an “Agarene” is a polemical yet typically Byzantine explanation of the nature of killing (here murder). The segment above is a response to his Muslim correspondent’s letter explaining the Islamic belief in both licit and illicit murder. The criterion for licit murder according to the Muslim correspondent is the will of God.¹⁹ As discussed above Byzantines attributed the existence of violence to the fall and therefore the devil, to attribute any war or killing to the will of God would have seemed completely alien.

The motivation for warfare

The second characteristic of a Holy War is closely related to just war ideology common to both east and west. The Byzantines certainly held a concept of just war, Leo stresses that war can only be made when “The God of justice is on your side.”²⁰ Making war to pacify an enemy or to defend territory in the role of the non-aggressor was the only just cause. Appeals for divine assistance and thanksgiving in victory were frequent but do not indicate a religious motivation. Religious imagery was equally used in warfare with co-religionists as with other faiths. For example, Emperor Basil II (976-1025) made use of the highly revered Hodegetria icon as a shield while dueling the Bardas Phokas (878-968).²¹ The use of mercenaries, treaties and subterfuge were standard in Byzantium, consequently a knightly caste did not develop as in the west. An-

17 Porphyrogenitus Constantine, *De Administrando Imperio*, Trans. R. J. Jenkins (Washington 1985), p. 79.

18 Krausmüller, Dirk. “Killing at god’s command: Niketas Byzantios’ polemic against Islam and the Christian tradition of divinely sanctioned murder.” *Al-Masaq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 16:1, (Carfax, 2004), p. 167

19 Arberry, A. J., ed. *The Koran Interpreted*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996. p. 207: “Then, when the sacred months are drawn away, slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them, and confine them, and lie in wait for them at every place of ambush.”

20 VI, Leo. *The Taktika of Leo VI*. Translated by George T. Dennis. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010. p. 37.

21 Psellus, Michael. *Michael Psellus (1018-after 1078): Chronographia*. Translated by E. R. Sewter. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953, p. 132.

other important difference between the Byzantine wars and the Crusades is the lack of civilian participation on the Byzantine side compared to the mass involvement of western civilians. The lack of non-military involvement further weakens the argument of a religiously motivated Byzantine war. Byzantine military ideology made peacemaking the sole purpose of its wars; Leo's *Taktika* states that a general should "treat war as a physician treating an illness".²² Later in the same treatise Leo explains root of war itself:

"Out of reverence for the image and the word of God, all men ought to have embraced peace and fostered love for one another instead of taking up murderous weapons in their hands to be used against their own people. But since the devil, the original killer of men, the enemy of our race, has made use of sin to bring men around to waging war, contrary to their basic nature, it is absolutely necessary for men to wage war in return against those whom the devil maneuvers and to take their stand with unflinching resolve against nations who want war."

Leo identifies peace as the religious duty of 'all men' and though he asserts that war is inevitable consequence of sin he does not advocate war against others but rather stresses the necessity of self-defense. The identification of the enemy as "nations who want war" reflects the Byzantine view of the world, it does not refer to enemies as infidels to be destroyed or converted as in Holy War but reveals the pragmatic belief that those outside of the empire were all a relatively equally barbarian in Byzantine estimation. The requirements of defensive warfare were flexible in practice because the re-conquest of any of the land previously held by the Roman Empire was considered a legitimate target for liberation. Being under non-roman rule regardless of the duration did not disqualify a territory from Byzantine military defense.²³ The early Byzantine perception of the Crusades as a type of defensive war (at least in principle) accounts for the lack of polemics against the Latin theological element of the crusades when compared to that post 1204.²⁴ The Byzantine wars were imperial and though appeals for

²² VI, Leo. *The Taktika of Leo VI.*, p.33

²³ Stouraitis, Ioannis, 'Byzantine Approaches to Warfare (6th to 12th Centuries)', *Byzantine War Ideology Between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion*, ed. I. Stouraitis and J. Koder (Vienna, 2012), p.10-11.

²⁴ Kolbaba notes the lack of Byzantine complaint to Crusade indulgence prior to 1204 arguing the silence witnesses a familiarity with the idea of soldier martyrs. This point seems to be purely based on Nikephoros Phokas' request for the recognition of fallen soldiers as martyrs. Kolbaba, Tia. "Fighting For Christianity.", p. 216.

the protection of Christian sites or retribution for crimes against Christianity were common there is no evidence for a religiously motivated Byzantine war.²⁵

The Byzantine concept of Martyrdom

Those who argue for a type of Byzantine Holy War rely primarily on military harangues and chronicles while neglecting ecclesiastical sources. Aside from the very obviously charged speech of such documents the approach itself is detrimental to the argument because the most famous example of Nikephoros Phokas and the canon of St Basil reveals the separation between the imperial prerogatives and those of the church. Attributing more importance to military sources as, gives the false impression that the Byzantines held the same belief in spiritually meritorious warfare as the crusaders. This assertion is affected by a limited interpretation of the use of the word “martyr” in battlefield exhortations to incorrectly mean one who achieves sanctification through dying or killing in battle. Theophanes puts the following speech into Heraklios’ mouth before battle, “Brothers, do not be troubled by your enemies numbers for, God willing, one will chase thousands. Let us sacrifice ourselves to God for the salvation of our brothers. Let us take the Martyrs’ crown so the future will applaud us and God will give us our reward.”²⁶ According to Leo’s *Taktika*, the most important ability of a general is to exhort his troops so that they “despise death” unsurprisingly religious catechism is not mentioned in the same text.²⁷

The speech and more importantly the use of the word martyr itself reflect the literary style of heroic epics, the theme of noble sacrifice inherited from Hellenic literature should not be considered as purely Christian or even religious simply because the empire was. The Byzantines were very familiar with many types of martyrdom or “witness” through the lives of the saints, the example of the monastic renunciation, Christian marriage where the bride and groom are fitted with martyrs’ crowns and military saints. Martyrdom in its true sense is to the glory of God and never, even in the case of military saints in service to a prince. The fact that the most revered soldier martyrs were themselves martyred by the Roman military during periods of Christian persecution and not in battle reveals the precedence Byzantines gave to spiritual

25 Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises* Dennis states that religion in the Roman military should not be considered a specific feature of Byzantium’s Christian identity “nor should their wars be viewed as particularly holy or religious.”

26 Confessor, Theophanes. *Byzantine and Near Eastern History*, AD 284-813. P.19.

27 VI, Leo. *The Taktika of Leo VI*. P.21.

warfare. How those who heard Heraklios's speech encouraging them to "take up the martyrs crowns" interpreted it cannot be known in certainty.²⁸ From what we do know of the Byzantine understanding of martyrdom we can deduce that it meant a kind of heroic and praiseworthy deed in service to the empire as Saint Athanasios had written.²⁹ Given the religious significance of Heraklios' recovery of the cross and documented use of the word "infidel" to describe the enemy it is tempting to assign Heraklios' wars a religious character. Theophanes also recounts how Heraklios released 50,000 prisoners in thanksgiving to God for granting him victory. Setting free infidels whose destruction is pleasing to God is hardly a fitting sacrifice for one adhering to holy war ideology.

It is necessary at this point to acknowledge that Byzantine spirituality emphasized individual responsibility for participation in the Divine Energies as the main salvific path. In contrast to the Byzantine view, the western church held that the ecclesiastic body of the temporal church alone dispensed salvific grace. The authority of the heir of St. Peter to meter out salvation or martyrlic status to those who die in service to the church was easily justified by centuries of Roman Catholic theological development. Byzantine theology did not maintain that grace was only attainable through the visible head of the church and never accounted corporate salvation to the will of a hierarch. They never accepted that participating in the sinful enterprise of war brought them closer to divine likeness (theosis) regardless of what an emperor said before battle. Here we find a difference not only in the role of the Emperor to that of the Pope but also in the basic understandings of martyrdom and the spiritual life. How the Roman church arrived at the same conclusion as Byzantios' Muslim correspondent is beyond this investigation, but I suggest that this demonstrates the importance of a Holy War being promulgated by a religious authority.

The impact of the crusades on the Byzantine perception of violence is demonstrated by a shift in the attitude of canonical commentators, statements by churchmen and in the portrayal of military saints. The most clear and measurable change can be seen in the way the Byzantine church treated violence. The church had historically supported the empire's wars as an unavoidable ne-

²⁸ Confessor, Theophanes. *Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*. P. 19.

²⁹ Swift, L. J., *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service*. P. 95. "One is not supposed to kill, but killing the enemy in battle is both lawful and praiseworthy. For this reason individuals who have distinguished themselves in war are considered worthy of great honors, and monuments are put up to celebrate their deeds. Thus, at one particular time, and under one set of circumstances, an act is not permitted, but when time and conditions necessitate it, it is both allowed and condoned."

cessity and can be reasonably described as more or less passively complicit. The separation between the sacred nature of the church and the military prerogatives of the Empire had been clearly defined.³⁰ The belief that all violence was by its very nature sinful was widespread and reinforced by both ecclesiastics and emperors.³¹ The Byzantine concept of violence prevented the Church from offering spiritual rewards to soldiers as the Western church had.³²

Choniates

By the time of Niketas Choniates (1155-1216) the perception of violence in Byzantium appears to have changed significantly. Niketas though hostile to the Crusaders extolled their military prowess and berated the consistent cowardice of the Byzantine army. The worsening political and military situation of the empire during the 12th century transformed the traditional view of warfare as a means of bringing justice to a prerequisite for survival. The language used by Choniates indicates the need for urgent offensive struggle. It has been noted that the number of times the word attack is mentioned in Choniates' *Historia* compared to defense is overwhelming, reflecting Choniates' preoccupation with military matters.³³ In his role as governor of Phillipopolis, Choniates be-

³⁰ Dennis, George T., ed. *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985.p.13. "Holy orders have been established for the worship of God..through whom all things came into being and are governed in the ways of goodness known to him alone. Legal institutions are established to bring about justice.. laws and judges have been established to pronounce judgement .. to aid people in living together in peace."

³¹ Emperor Leo VI, *The Taktika of Leo VI*, trans Dennis, George (Washington 2010), p .37. "Out of reverence for the image and the word of God, all men ought to have embraced peace and fostered love for one another instead of taking up murderous weapons in their hands to be used against their own people. But since the devil, the original killer of men, the enemy of our race, has made use of sin to bring men around to waging war, contrary to their basic nature, it is absolutely necessary for men to wage war in return against those whom the devil maneuvers and to take their stand with unflinching resolve against nations who want war."

³² Pope John VIII (872-82) was the first pope to offer the remission of sins to those who died fighting Muslim raiders. This indulgence, unlike the crusading indulgence was offered to those defending Christian territory in Italy. Thatcher, Oliver J., and Edgar H. McNeal, eds. *A Source Book for Mediaeval History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.p. 512 "Those who, out of love to the Christian religion, shall die in battle fighting bravely against pagans or unbelievers, shall receive eternal life..we absolve, as far as is permissible, all such and commend them by our prayers to the Lord."

³³ Kazhdan, Alexander. "Terminology of War in Niketas Choniates' *Historia*." In *Peace and War in Byzantium; Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, edited by Timothy S. Millier and John Nesbitt, 220-44. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1995.

came acutely aware of the necessity of the military support that had been missing since the rule of Emperor Manuel. Choniates also demonstrates an understanding of the Crusading indulgence in his account of a speech given by Louis VII during the second crusade “Even though we be concerned about our going straight to the eternal mansions for God is not so unjust that he does not see the cause which had led us on this course and therefore not admit us into the virgin meadows and shady resting places in Eden, for we have abandoned our country and have chosen to die for him rather than to live.”³⁴ The speech is similar to that of Emperor Heraclius (575-641) in which battle is considered a martyric sacrifice, the religious language of the Louis speech is close to the Byzantine but states that the crusaders set out seeking a salvific death rather than to bring justice to an occupied territory.³⁵ Choniates goes on to give a favorable account of Frederick Barbarossa’s (1122-1190) Crusade in which he criticized Emperor Isaac (r 1185-1195/1203-1204) assigning him the changeable characteristics often attributed to westerners by Byzantine authors.³⁶ A large portion of Choniates’ praise of Barbarossa regards the crusading army’s military prowess that Choniates perceived as producing greater results than the Byzantine diplomacy had with the Turks.³⁷ He voiced his frustration with the apathy shown by the emperors toward Roman territories held by Muslims and the “ignominious”³⁸ military enterprises of the Romans. “Phrygia, Lykaonia, and Pisidia once subject to the Romans and now ruled by the barbarians who have taken them by the force of arms and exploit them, thanks to the slothfulness and unmanly housekeeping cares of Roman rulers who have been unwilling to labor and brave danger for the lands entrusted to their safekeeping.”³⁹ The absence of criticism for the crusade indulgence in Choniates is striking since he is

34 Choniates, Niketas, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry Magoulas. P. 40

35 Confessor, Theophanes. *Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*. Translated by Cyril Mango and Rodger Scott. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.p.19 “Brothers, do not be troubled by your enemies numbers for, God willing, one will chase thousands. Let us sacrifice ourselves to God for the salvation of our brothers. Let us take the Martyrs’ crown so the future will applaud us and God will give us our reward.”

36 Especially his “simple minded bewitchment” by Dositheos, Choniates, Niketas pp 221,222.

37 See the account of Barbarossa’s attack on Philomilion, Ginklarion and Ikonion. Choniates, Niketas, p 227,228

38 Choniates, Niketas, p. 225.

39 *ibid.*, p.43.

quick to point out the other religious errors that belonged to the Latins.⁴⁰ That Choniates believed that the Crusades could be just can be read in his eulogy of Barbarossa in which he undoubtedly describes him as a martyr. “He chose...to suffer afflictions with the Christians of Palestine for the name of Christ...following the example of the Apostle Paul, he did not count his life dear unto himself but pressed forward, even to die for the name of Christ. Thus the man’s zeal was apostolic, his purpose dear to God and his achievement beyond perfection.”⁴¹ Choniates interpreted the crusade as a parallel to the Byzantine just war, his own words regarding Barbarossa are very close to those found in the letter of Patriarch Michael Autoreianos (1206-1212). The theme of martyrdom for the protection of the Holy Sepulcher is echoed in Autoreianos’ letter with Constantinople the “new Jerusalem” replacing the old. Autoreianos and Choniates both agreed that the defense of Orthodox Christians offered a spiritual reward. Only after 1204 does he openly accuse the crusaders of the ill intent that Anna Komnene and Dositheos had assigned them “they were exposed as frauds...Seeking to avenge the Holy Sepulcher, they raged openly against Christ and sinned by overturning the Cross with the cross they bore on their backs, not even shuddering to trample on it for a little gold and silver.”⁴² Despite his negative final assessment of the Crusaders Choniates did not make a case against the crusade indulgence but instead empathized with them and demonstrated a common understanding of violence with them. It is convincing that Choniates was favorable to the ideology of the Crusade but as Anna Komnene (1008-1153) did before him he observed that there were two distinct groups within the crusading movement; those who were sincere in their martyric struggle and those who sought material gain.⁴³

Patriarch Michael Autoreianos

A great break in Byzantine ecclesiastical tradition came to pass in the form of an indulgence issued by Patriarch Michael Autoreianos in 1208. The indulgence

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.222. Regarding the Latins “Germans” and the Armenians “they agree with one another in most of their heresies... both use azyma in their divine liturgies, and both hold as lawful other perverse doctrines which are rejected by the orthodox Christians.”

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.229.

⁴² Choniates, Niketas, *O City of Byzantium*, Annals of Niketas Choniates, p. 316

⁴³ Comnena, Anna, p.. “The simpler-minded were urged on by the real desire of worshipping at our Lord’s Sepulchre, and visiting the sacred places; but the more astute, had another secret reason, namely. they might by some means be able to seize the capital itself, looking upon this as a kind of corollary”

appears to be almost identical to the plenary indulgence of the crusaders.⁴⁴ The indulgence is preserved in a single copy of a letter from Patriarch Michael Autoreianos and his synod of refugee bishops in Nicaea; no record of a similar case has come down to us.⁴⁵ Tellingly, neither Niketas Choniates nor George Akropolites (1220-1282) mention the incident, suggesting that the practice was short lived. The Nicaean Empire under Theodore Laskaris (r 1204-1222) ceased to continue many important 12th century traditions including the regular issuing of Chrysobulls, hyperya and employment of court rhetors. The absence of these staples of 12th century Byzantium gives the picture of an austere household government in Nicaea. Theodore II Laskaris (r 1254-1258), son of Theodore I remarked upon the emperors dislike for “refined words”, if Theodore I requested intervention by the church he would have certainly preferred it to be straightforward over theologically nuanced.⁴⁶ At first the letter does not differ much from the established tradition of exhortation by Byzantine clergymen to military authorities. The main body of the text stresses the importance of monarchy and the divine assistance offered to the Byzantines because of their “immaculate” orthodox faith. The tone of the letter is reminiscent of the correspondence of Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos (r 901-907 / 912-925) who by his unique position as regent and hierarch is a close parallel of the dependant relationship of Laskaris and Autoreianos. Autoreianos’ letter calls to mind the harangues of Emperor Heraclius more than we may expect of a Churchman but Nicholas had already set a precedent for clerical involvement in military matters. In 915 he (Nicholas) wrote to the governor of Longbardia to congratulate him for a recent victory and thank him for not disappointing him.⁴⁷ Again Nicholas advises his emperor to “train his men and be prepared.”⁴⁸ Even earlier though in more desperate circumstances Patriarch Sergios I (610-38) called for aid for Heraclius by asking all Bishops to contribute financially to the war effort. Considering the correspondence between the clergy we see little change in Byzantine attitude towards violence in the main body of Autoreianos’ letter. The advice and support offered by these bishops had a common limit, they consistently refused to honor soldiers as martyrs and banned military participa-

44 Killing in war was believed to be a sin exceptionally forgiven by God through Oikonomia but requiring atonement.

45 The Latin accusation that Patriarch Dositheos had stated that killing Latins was spiritually beneficial but there is no corroborating Greek source that relates specifically to this point.

46 Theodore II encomio

47 Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters. Trs. R. J. H. Jenkins, L. G. Westerink, Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1973.p.458

48 Nicholas I, *Letters*. P.336

tion by clergy.⁴⁹ In reference to clergy participation in warfare there are several examples of a strongly enforced policy of deposition even in cases of self-defense.⁵⁰ Additionally, when Nicholas discovered that clergymen had been drafted into the Byzantine army along the Bulgarian frontier he demanded their release explaining “to convert to common use anything whatever that has once been sanctified is culpable.”⁵¹ The reluctance to accord the sacrifice of a soldier a double dedication, one to state and one to God or conversely with a clergyman is found in Autorianos’ letter by the inclusion of the so called indulgence as a post-script apart from the body of the letter.

Παρ’ ὅου καὶ ἡμεῖς, τὴν μεγάλην δωρεάν τῆς αὐτοῦ δεξάμενοι χάριτος, συγχωροῦμεν ὑμῖν, τοῖς ὑπερμαχοῦσι τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ πεπλημμελημένα ὑμῖν, ὅσοις τῶν πατριδῶν προκινδυνεύουσι τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ λυτρώσεως ἐπισυμβαῖη καὶ θάνατος

“Having received from God the great gift of his grace, We forgive those trespasses committed in life those who die in the defense of our salvation and the liberation of our people.”⁵²

The meaning is clear, remission of sins for those who die fighting, a contrary view to the established position of the church and a potential endorsement of the crusader ideology of spiritually meritorious violence. Autoreianos informs Theodore that the letter was sent to the military authorities, suggesting that the indulgence may have been requested by Theodore to motivate his men. To introduce an alien and Latin practice at the time of the Latin occupation is perplexing, we have such conclusive evidence revealing the Byzantine understanding of Crusade ideology and such strong condemnation of the Islamic parallel that to imagine a scenario where Autoreianos dreamt up this indul-

⁴⁹ Specifically the seventh canon of Chalcedon. G.A Rhalles and M. Potles, *Συνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*. (Athens, 1852-59). Vol, 2, p.232 “We have decreed that those who have been enrolled in the clergy or have become monks shall not join the army or obtain ant secular office, Let those who dare do this and will not repent ..be anathema.”

⁵⁰ Demetrios, Chomiatianos Decisiones, p 324

⁵¹ Nicholas I, *Letters*. P. 467

⁵² Autorianos, Michael, Act,s ed.,Oikonomidès Nicolas. “Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos.” In: *Revue des études byzantines*, 25, 1967. pp. 113-145.

gence without consciously adopting a Latin practice is very difficult indeed.⁵³ Constantine Stilbes' (mid 12th Century) *Against the Latins* refutes plenary indulgences and repeatedly accuses Latins of conducting violence for the salvation of their souls⁵⁴ It is possible that the indulgence was intended to appeal to the large Latin contingent of Theodore's army alone.⁵⁵ Upon his Consecration as Latin Patriarch of Constantinople Thomas Morosini (1204-1211) had immediately anathematized and excommunicated the Latins who failed to accompany him on a campaign against Orestias in 1204. In 1210, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) excommunicated those who took up arms against the empire of Constantinople and her allies.⁵⁶ The Latin contingent was therefore thoroughly excommunicated by the Western Church and it is conceivable that Theodore wanted to ease their consciences with something more than just a higher rate of pay. Autoreianos' indulgence does not however, go as far as it first appears, specifically it does not offer the title of Martyr to the fallen, rather "remission of the sins of this life" an important distinction to the plenary indulgence of the Roman Church. Emperor Nikeporos Phokas (912-969) specifically requested the dead be recognized as martyrs and the speech given to Heraclius' by Theophanes refers to the crowns of martyrdom to be acquired in battle.⁵⁷ The phrase "sins committed in this life" could broadly reference the necessary act of killing in battle. Byzantine war ideology had consistently viewed killing in battle as a sin exceptionally forgiven by God through his grace and oikonomia. Interpreting the letter as a reiteration of the traditional Byzantine ideology

53 Angelov concludes that the remission of sins offered by Autoreianos was a true indulgence, identical to those issued by the popes and was a conscious adoption of crusader practice. Angelov, Dimiter. *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204-1330*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.p. 100.

54 Darrouzès Jean. Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbès contre les Latins. In: *Revue des études byzantines*, tome 21, Paris, 1963. pp. 50-100 "The massacre of Christians is seen favourably by their bishops and especially by the pope and they declare the killings a means of salvation for those who perform them."

55 Akropolites, George. *Opera*. Translated by A Heisenberg. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903. p. 16 Akropolites recorded the number of Latin Knights to be 800.

56 Haluscynski, Theodosios, ed. *Acta Innocentii* pp, III, 1198-1216 E *Registris Vaticanis Aliisque Fontibus*. 1944. No. 114, 345-8.

57 Confessor, Theophanes. *Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284-813*. Translated by Cyril Mango and Rodger Scott. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.p.19 And Nikephoros; Skylitzes, John. *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*. Translated by John Wortley. London: Cambridge University Press, 2012.p.263 (Nikephoros) was pressing the patriarch And the bishops to agree to this doctrine but some of them vigorously withstood him and frustrated his intent. They produced in evidence the canon of [St] Basil the Great which requires that a man who has slain his enemy in battle to remain three years excommunicate

being addressed to an army immediately strips it of the character of an indulgence and accounts for its simplistic language.

Canonists

During the crusades the Basilian view of warfare was challenged by the Canonists Zonaras (12th Century), Aristenos (Mid 12th Century) and Balsamon (+1199). Later we observe a kind of sanctified violence in the letter of Autorianos and in the execution of violence by St. Demetrius. The pressure of the crusading movement had forced all parts of society to reevaluate the role of warfare in Byzantium. The canonist Alexios Aristenos referred back to St Athanasius' (298-373) letter to Ammun "One is not supposed to kill, but killing the enemy in battle is both lawful and praiseworthy. For this reason individuals who have distinguished themselves in war are considered worthy of great honors, and monuments are put up to celebrate their deeds. Thus, at one particular time, and under one set of circumstances, an act is not permitted, but when time and conditions necessitate it, it is both allowed and condoned."⁵⁸ This letter was repeated and emphasized in order to present a lack of consensus in the Holy Fathers and specifically with the most influential Saint on this topic, Basil. Aristenos dishonestly presented the position of Athanasius as counter to Basil by only referencing the latter's recommendation of a ban on communion, insinuating that Basil held a contrary and pacifistic view. In reality both saints agreed on the nature and necessity of warfare. Alexis Zonaras went further than Aristenos by arguing that the Canon of Basil never predominated, he very specifically called the appeal to the Basilian canon a "last resort" suggesting its relative obscurity. "The saint [i.e. Basil of Caesarea] claims not in a demanding but only counseling manner that those who kill at war should refrain from the holy communion; it seems though to be a burdensome counsel the possible consequence of which is that the soldiers will be never in position to receive the holy gifts, even though they are being courageous and brave; ... For what reason should the hands of those who fight on behalf of the state and their brothers in order to avoid captivity or to free those captured be judged unclean? ... Thinking in that way, the older fathers did not regard those who killed at war as murderers, forgiving them because, as this saint also said, they were defending prudence and piety; Therefore, I believe that the spiritual legacy of Basil of Caesarea never predominated; it lasted though through time as an ec-

⁵⁸ Swift, L. J., *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service*. Wilmington, DA: Michael Glazier, 1983.p.95

clesiastical tradition...Because they could not convince him (Nikephoros), they used this canon as a last resort saying: How can we count among the martyrs those who die in war, whom Basil the Great forbade the receiving of the holy gifts for three years, because their hands were not clean?" There is no evidence to suggest the active enforcement of the Basilian canon. The impracticality of its implementation make it unlikely that it ever was but Zonaras deliberately pairs Basil with Athanasius again in order to reconsider the traditional Byzantine view of violence as represented by Basil. It is not clear what Zonaras meant by Ecclesiastical tradition but the statement suggests that those who held to the Basilian precepts were separate from the rest of Byzantine society. It also suggests that those belonging to the ecclesiastical tradition were more influential in the past because of the rigorous enforcement of punishments for those who conducted warfare contrary to the traditional Byzantine strictures defined by Basil and the *Taktika*. The repetition of Athanasius and the deprecation of Basil demonstrates that those who in the Twelfth century belonged to the ecclesiastical tradition of the Byzantine church were sympathetic to the idea of praiseworthy violence. If the deconstruction of the Byzantine view of warfare was a conscious effort to motivate an aggressive military resistance or was influenced by crusade ideology is hard to tell. It is conceivable that the beliefs of those outside the "ecclesiastical tradition" had spread and were adopted by a large portion of Byzantine society in a time when rationality and identity were strained and minimized in comparison to the need for survival.

Demetrius

In 1207, the death of the invading Bulgarian Tsar Kalojan was attributed to the the patron saint of Thessaloniki, St. Demetrius. The Thessalonian attribution of violent acts to a saint and the crusader belief of *Deus Vult* both make the will of God the motivating force for violence. The encomia of Demetrius that recall his are unique in orthodox hagiography and in some cases appear contrary to the writings of Basil and Leo.⁵⁹ The city of Thessaloniki, second of the empire was defined by the frequent attacks upon it, its patron saint Demetrius is an extraordinary example of the flexibility of the Byzantine attitude to violence in light of contemporary events. The power of Demetrius' cult also reflects the increased autonomy and confidence of Thessalonica as a city inde-

⁵⁹ There were two other popular military saints, George and Theodore though the literature surrounding Demetrius eclipses both, there are similarities between all three, in particular their martyrdom.

pendent of Constantinople.⁶⁰ Demetrius was not originally represented in iconography as a soldier but in the plain tunic associated with martyrdom. During the tenth century military saints began to be recognized as a separate caste and were adopted as the patrons of imperial and noble families.⁶¹ The high profile of the military under Basil II (958-1025) popularized the military saints, especially Demetrius to whom ten churches were dedicated in Constantinople.⁶² In the 11th century he was given the title *Stratelates* a term equivalent to “General” and later *Myrovlytes* meaning myrrh gushing in reference to his relics.⁶³ The earliest example of Demetrius’ intercession is an account of the defense of the city in 586 written by John of Thessaloniki in the mid 7th century. Despite Demetrius’ activity as a protector of the city from the 7th century on the earliest evidence of his portrayal as a military saint is not until the 11th century.⁶⁴ In the development of his status from martyr to General we see a microcosm of the wider change in attitude toward violence that happened throughout the empire in the 12th and 13th centuries.⁶⁵ How widely accepted the violent acts attributed to Demetrius were within the church is difficult to judge. George Akropolites for example reported that Kalojan died of pleurisy “though some attributed his death to the wrath of God.”⁶⁶ There is no discernable trend in the editing of the miracles but it is clear that some emphasized Demetrius’ moral courage and inspirational leadership over his violent punishments.⁶⁷

60 Eugenia Russell, *St Demetrius of Thessalonica, Cult and Devotion in the Middle Ages*. (2010) p. 9-18.

61 Walter, Christopher. *The Warrior saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003. 79.

62 *ibid.*, p.77.

63 “Demetrius’ ability to produce a substance by the same name as the sacramental oil of unction could be used as a challenge to patriarchal monopoly” Referring to Chrism that is produced once a year only by the Patriarchs of the Local Autocephalous Churches of Orthodox Christianity.

Ruth J. Macrides, “Subversion and loyalty in the cult of St. Demetrios”, *Byzantinoslavica* 51 1990, 189-97.

64 Walter, Christopher. *The Warrior saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.p 22.

65 The first recorded iconographic representation of Demetrius as a stratelates is dated 1108. *Lexikon der Christliche Ikonographie*, 6 (1974), p.43.

66 Akropolites 23

67 Lemerle, P. *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de saint D em etrius: Vol. 1. Le texte* (Paris, 1979).p 177-8

Conclusion

The sources indicate that there was an element of Byzantine culture outside of the “ecclesiastical tradition” that believed from the 6th Century that divine punishment in the form of physical violence was administered by one of God’s saints. It was standard practice that those at the very height of the Byzantine Church supported the emperor’s military role as the bringer of justice to the world. Choniates believed that warfare for the sake of Christ was not a sin that was immediately forgiven by *oikonomia* but meritorious. The violent acts of Demetrius far predate the coming of the Crusades and serve as an example of the reactive nature of Byzantine culture under external pressure. Demetrius’ interventions make the actions of Autoerianos seem less influenced by crusade ideology and more of a regression to basic Eusebian principles. The flexibility of war ideology was possible because the Christian empire had been established by violent means. Ultimately it is this fact, despite the efforts of Byzantine Church and State to correct and maintain the boundaries of the *Sacrum* and *Imperium* that makes religious rhetoric in support of violence and warfare possible. Finally, I would like to remind the patient reader that this examination has brought to light the consistent opposition of the majority of Byzantine churchmen to the recognition of meritorious violence or Holy War. Dissent in this case is obviously the more noble position but also a long-standing tradition to be emulated in any would be Third-Rome.

Synodality and Primacy in the Service of Ecclesial Communion: An Anglican and Ecumenical Perspective⁶⁸

PAUL AVIS

ISSUES OF AUTHORITY in the Church – where it is located and how it is exercised – are always controversial. Today they focus on the practices of synodality or conciliarity and primacy or leadership. These matters are currently under intense debate in the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, as well as in many Protestant traditions. This article takes its rise from the 2018 study by the Saint Irenaeus Joint Orthodox-Catholic Working Group, ‘Serving Communion: Re-thinking the Relationship between Primacy and Synodality’, and offers an Anglican and ecumenical response to the document. There is a great deal in this study text that an ecclesiological-minded Anglican can warm to and identify with and there is little, if anything, for such an Anglican theologian to disagree with. When the Ravenna Document, ‘Ecclesiological and Canonical Consequences of the Sacramental Nature of the Church: Ecclesial Communion, Conciliarity and Authority’, of the Joint International Commission for the Theological Dialogue between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, was published in 2007, I felt that it was a missed opportunity that there had been no Anglican participation, not even an observer from the Anglican Communion, at the meetings of the Dialogue, and therefore no formal way in which the resources and findings of the document could be fed into Anglican ecumenical and ecclesiological work. I was convinced then that much in that document would have proved acceptable to Anglicans and would also have enriched the Anglican understanding of the major areas that were covered in that document, namely: the sacramental character of the Church; the nature of ecclesial communion; the conciliar or synodical dimension of the church; and the way that the question of universal primacy was approached.

⁶⁸ An earlier, shorter version of this article was commissioned by the Editor of *Istina* and appeared, in French, in that journal: ‘La primauté et la synodalité au service de la communion: une perspective anglicane et œcuménique’, *Istina* LXV (2020), pp. 33-59. This is part 1 of this article and part 2 will be found in the next edition of *Koinonia*.

In this present article I will first outline the ecclesiology and the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England and of the Churches of the worldwide Anglican Communion. Then I will mention the series of dialogues that the Anglican Communion has with the Roman Catholic Church, with the Orthodox family of Churches and with various Protestant world communions. Next I will outline an Anglican position on a range of theological issues that are covered in the study by the Saint Irenaeus Joint Orthodox-Catholic Working Group, namely: the sacramentality of the Church and Eucharistic Ecclesiology; the nature of ecclesial communion; and how Anglicans understand the highly topical themes of synodality and primacy. I write as a catholic, though not a Roman Catholic, and as an orthodox Christian, though not an Orthodox.

Anglican ecclesiology and polity

For Anglicans, the Catholic Church (or as we Anglicans sometimes say, the Church Catholic) consists of all those local churches throughout the world who share (i) the Catholic faith (understood as derived from Scripture and expressed in the ecumenical creeds and the decrees of the early ecumenical councils) and (ii) the Catholic sacraments (understood as primarily the sacraments of Christian initiation: baptism, confirmation and reception of Holy Communion at the celebration of the Eucharist), and (iii) are served by the apostolic ministry of pastoral oversight. For Anglicans (though not only Anglicans), the term ‘the Catholic Church’ refers not to one church among others, but to the Body of Christ, constituted by the ministry of word and sacrament as duly and properly performed in every place and throughout history under the oversight of (normally) the bishop. This is the sense in which the Book of Common Prayer, 1662 (BCP) uses the expressions ‘Catholic Church’ (in the prayer ‘For all Conditions of Men’) and ‘universal Church’ (in the Prayer for the Church Militant). In the Prayer Book the Church is also said to be ‘the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people’ (second post-communion prayer) and is said to be made up of ‘all who profess and call themselves Christians’ (prayer ‘For all Conditions of Men’). The Prayer Book Collect for All Saints Day begins: ‘O Almighty God, who hast knit together thine elect in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of thy Son Christ our Lord ...’. Anglicans recognise all those who have been baptised with water in the name of the Holy Trinity, with the intention to do what the Church intends, as members of the Catholic Church (for example in the 1920 Lambeth

Conference's 'Appeal to all Christian People'). In their various ecumenical dialogues Anglicans insist that the threefold ministry in historical succession is necessary for the unity and continuity of the Christian Church, though officially they do not regard it as necessary in order for Anglicans to acknowledge the ecclesial authenticity of other particular churches in a way that falls short of entering into ecclesial communion (*communio in sacris*).⁶⁹

The Church of England

The Church of England is historically the mother church of most Churches of the worldwide Anglican Communion. It is the historic, territorial church of the English people and continues to be 'established' through recognition in the law of the land.⁷⁰ Like all churches of the Anglican Communion, the Church of England regards itself as both catholic and reformed, and as 'comprehensive', that is to say hospitable, tolerant and inclusive on the basis of the sacraments of initiation and the credal doctrines expressed therein. To correct a common misconception: the Church of England is comprehensive not in the sense that it allows its clergy to believe or to disbelieve anything, but in the sense that it allows one person to emphasise the catholic dimension and another to lay extra weight on the reformed aspect, while insisting all the while that these two main historical tributaries of Anglicanism can be – and should be – held together. The Church of England goes back to the Roman, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon forms of Christianity in Britain and has been significantly shaped by the sixteenth-century Reformation. The Church of England sees itself as continuous with the medieval English Church and therefore with the Church of the Fathers and the Apostles. It has preserved the catholic heritage of the pre-Reformation Church, including diocesan and parochial structures, cathedral foundations and the ancient threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, ordained in apostolic succession. Medieval canon law continued to be substantially operative until the mid twentieth century, alongside post-Reformation canonical material.

⁶⁹ For a recent example of this approach see *An Anglican-Methodist Covenant: Report of the Formal Conversations between the Methodist Church of Great Britain and the Church of England* (Peterborough: Methodist Publishing House; London: Church House Publishing, 2002).

⁷⁰ On church establishment see Paul Avis, *Church, State and Establishment* (London: SPCK, 2001).

It is important to the Church of England that its ordained ministry is sacramentally continuous with that of the pre-Reformation Church. However, it also believes that the form of the ministry can develop and that it needs to be reformed from time to time. That is the rationale for the fact that the Church of England has had women deacons since the late 1980s, women priests since 1994 and women bishops since 2014. Since the mid sixteenth century, the Church of England has had a vernacular liturgy and Bible; it has administered Holy Communion in both kinds; and the clergy of the three orders have been permitted to marry. Since Queen Elizabeth I (1558) the sovereign has been 'Supreme Governor' of the Church in temporal matters, though today the sovereign now has only a nominal role in church governance, which now rests on the integrated and collaborative responsibility of bishops, clergy and lay people working through the synodical structures.

The Church of England consists of 41 mainland dioceses – some early medieval, some created at the Reformation and some founded in comparatively modern times, each with its own bishop and cathedral. The dioceses are divided into two ancient provinces, Canterbury (much the larger) and York. The Diocese in Europe, which serves Anglicans in continental Europe through several hundred chaplaincies across vast distances, makes the total number of Church of England dioceses 42. The Diocese in Europe is not part of the 'established' legal framework of the Church of England, though the bishop's See is based in Gibraltar, which is sovereign British territory. In the Church of England both the stipends of the clergy and the upkeep of church buildings is the responsibility of the church itself; they are funded by voluntary giving by parishioners, augmented by some historic endowments and by grants from the national lottery for church repairs.

The Church of England is not a membership church and does not keep a membership list. It seeks to serve pastorally all who reside in the parish. In principle, it encourages all parishioners to participate in worship and to grow in Christian discipleship. Out of a total English population of about 56 million, just under a million worshippers are to be found in church on any given Sunday and about a million go to church at least once a month. At Christmas these figures more than double. On Easter Day there is a much larger congregation than normal, but not on the same scale as at Christmas. A much wider pastoral constituency is created by the huge number of Church of England schools and by the Church's ministry through the pastoral offices, especially baptisms, marriages and funerals.

The Church of England, like all churches of the Anglican Communion, is at the same time episcopal and synodical. Its governance is vested in 'the bishop in synod', with Parliament as a backstop for any major changes. Representative church government has been in place for more than a century (since 1919 in fact) and exists at every level, from Parochial Church Councils, through Deanery Synods and Diocesan Synods, to the General Synod. The bishops preside in their Diocesan Synods and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York jointly preside in the General Synod. The bishops collectively have a special responsibility for doctrine, liturgy and ministry (Holy Order), holding in their own hands the process of all synodical discussion of these areas. On sensitive matters the General Synod votes by separate Houses (Bishops, Clergy, Laity), so that in practice each House has a veto on policy decisions. The General Synod has legislative authority that has been progressively devolved from Parliament over the past century. When it needs to break fresh ground, it legislates by Measure, which needs Parliamentary approval, which is intended to safeguard the rights of the laity. Where it has existing legal competence it legislates by Canon. Both Measures and Canons receive the Royal Assent and become part of the law of the land. Twenty-six diocesan bishops sit in the House of Lords, the upper chamber of the UK Parliament. They see themselves as speaking for the needs of all the people of their dioceses, especially the poor and marginalised, and not merely representing practising Anglicans. Representatives of other churches and religions are appointed on an individual basis to the House of Lords.

For many years the parish system has been supplemented by chaplaincies: in schools (mostly independent schools), hospitals, prisons, the armed services and universities and colleges. Recently some thousands of 'fresh expressions of the church' have sprung up alongside parish ministry. These are experimental mission projects, sometimes independent of the parish, but sometimes actually sponsored by the parish, and always under the ultimate oversight of the bishop.⁷¹

⁷¹ On fresh expressions see the two reports *Mission-Shaped Church* (London: Church House Publishing, 2004) and *Fresh Expressions in the Mission of the Church: Report of an Anglican-Methodist Working Party* (London: Church House Publishing, 2012); Martyn Percy, *Anglicanism: Confidence, Commitment and Communion* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 121-34 (Chapter 8).

Theology and doctrine in the Church of England

Anglican theological method draws on various sources: the Bible, the diverse, ecumenical traditions of the Christian Church, theological scholarship and relevant non-theological disciplines.⁷² Primarily, Anglican theology acknowledges Holy Scripture as containing all things necessary to be believed or performed in order to attain salvation (Article VI of the Thirty-nine Articles). The creeds are held to derive their authority from scriptural warrant for their doctrine (Article VIII). The Apostles' Creed is recited at Morning and Evening Prayer and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed at celebrations of the Eucharist. Canon A5 of the Church of England states that the Church's doctrine 'is grounded in the Holy Scriptures, and in such teachings of the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church as are agreeable to the said Scriptures'. The Bible is read extensively and fairly comprehensively in Anglican services and lay Anglicans are encouraged to study the Bible for themselves. Anglicanism shares the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformers' conviction that the Bible, as well as the liturgy, should be available to all people in their own language.

The Bible is not upheld by Anglicans as a book of binding rules and precedents for every aspect of the Church's life. The English Reformers regarded the outward ordering and government (polity) of the Church as of secondary importance, compared with the gospel and the apostolic faith. They believed that a degree of freedom was given to the Church, under the civil ruler, to enact rules for its worship and governance that were not specified by Scripture. Richard Hooker (d. 1600), in his work *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*, reinforced this principle of freedom by grounding it in divine reason by means of which God providentially orders the universe through natural law. Nevertheless, Hooker believed that episcopacy was part of the apostolic pattern of the Church. This commitment to the ancient threefold ministry of the Church became, by the mid seventeenth century, a non-negotiable principle of Anglicanism. Thus, in Anglicanism, Scripture shows the way of salvation, but reason and tradition play their part in shaping the Church's governance and worship.

⁷² Paul Avis, *In Search of Authority: Anglican Theological Method from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2014); id., *The Vocation of Anglicanism* (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016).

In Anglicanism, the word ‘tradition’ is usually understood to refer to early or normative tradition – to the tradition of the Church Catholic, going back beyond the Reformation to the medieval and patristic Church. Anglicanism grounds the sacraments of baptism (with confirmation) and the Eucharist in Scripture; but it draws its use of the creeds, the Canon of Scripture and the historic episcopate from the tradition of the early Church. The catholicity of Anglicanism rests on a recognition that the Church is not only a mystical body that is known to God, nor simply a local *ad hoc* gathering of people for worship, but a visible ordered society that is both divine and human, spanning the globe and enduring through time.

The Preface to the Church of England’s Declaration of Assent (Canon C15) states that the ‘historic formularies ... bear witness’ to Christian truth. The ‘historic formularies’ are the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (1573), the Book of Common Prayer (1662) and the Ordering (ordination services) of Bishops, Priests and Deacons (1550/1662). Although in the mid sixteenth century the Church of England was aligned with the Lutheran and even more with the Reformed Churches of continental Europe and shared in the confessional culture of those churches,⁷³ modern Anglicanism is not confessional in character. Nor is it typically Protestant, though it is particularly akin to the Lutheran national Churches of Sweden and Finland, with whom it is in communion. The doctrinal authority of the Thirty-nine Articles is weak and the Church of England’s doctrine is to be looked for mainly in the liturgy, which is now Common Worship, with the Book of Common Prayer, 1662, an honoured part of the Anglican ‘inheritance of faith’, as a check on developments (according to the ancient principle *lex orandi lex credendi*).⁷⁴

The historic Ordinal has now been superseded in practice by the *Common Worship* Ordinal.⁷⁵ There is a difference of emphasis between the two (the latter has a more developed understanding of the diaconate, for example), but both books insist that ordination in the Church of England is by a bishop in

⁷³ The point is made frequently and forcefully in Anthony Milton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c.1520 – 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁷⁴ Paul Avis, ‘The Book of Common Prayer and Anglicanism: Worship and Belief’, in Stephen Platten and Christopher Woods (eds), *Comfortable Words: Polity, Piety and the Book of Common Prayer* (London: SCM Press, 2012), pp. 132–151 (Chapter 9).

⁷⁵ See *Common Worship Ordination Services (Study Edition)* (London: Church House Publishing, 2007).

the historical succession, with prayer for the Holy Spirit and by the laying on of hands, and this is common to the churches of the Anglican Communion. At the ordination of bishops, within the Anglican Communion, the metropolitan or another archbishop presides, accompanied by at least two (usually many more) other bishops, according to the Fourth Canon of the Council of Nicea. The Anglican understanding of ordination is sacramental in character. Ordination is to the ministry of the Church of God; gifts of the Holy Spirit are prayed for and believed to be imparted, together with authority to minister word and sacrament and to care for the church; and ordination is for life.

Another source of Anglican doctrine is the Canon Law of the Church. Each member Church of the Anglican Communion has its own Canons, though there is enormous common ground between them.⁷⁶ The Canons of the Church of England help to define its ecclesial identity. Anglican canon law normally points to statements of doctrine that are dispersed in other places, especially in the liturgy. The presupposition of all Anglican Canon Law is the catholicity of the Anglican Churches as part of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ (Canon A 1). For the Church of England, there are, of course, more modern doctrinal statements, including reports of the Doctrine Commission, the Faith and Order Commission and the House of Bishops. Ecumenical agreements, such as the *Final Report* of ARCIC I, containing agreed statements on ministry and ordination and on eucharistic doctrine, and the Porvoo Agreement (see below), contain substantial ecclesiological material. But there has been no substantial official statement of Church of England ecclesiology since the report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine, appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, chaired by William Temple (then Archbishop of York) and which published its findings in 1938.⁷⁷ Though obviously of its time, that report retains value as a distillation of Anglican theology.

The Declaration of Assent of the Church of England (Canon C 15) is made by deacons, priests and bishops when they are ordained to that order and

⁷⁶ Norman Doe, *Canon Law in the Anglican Communion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); *The Principles of Canon Law Common to the Churches of the Anglican Communion* (London: The Anglican Communion Office, 2008).

⁷⁷ *Doctrine in the Church of England: The Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine* appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (London: SPCK, 1938; new edition with an Introduction by G. W. H. Lampe, 1982).

on each occasion when they take up a new appointment. The Preface is a key statement of the Church of England's ecclesial and doctrinal identity:

'The Church of England is part of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, worshipping the one true God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It professes the faith uniquely revealed in the Holy Scriptures and set forth in the catholic creeds, which faith the Church is called upon to proclaim afresh in each generation. Led by the Holy Spirit, it has borne witness to Christian truth in its historic formularies, the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, The Book of Common Prayer and the Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons ...'

A Communion of Churches

The worldwide family of 40 self-governing Anglican churches (sometimes called 'provinces') in various nations of the globe has echoed Scripture and the Prayer Book in defining itself as a *communion* of churches.⁷⁸ To that extent, it is structurally or politically similar to the family of Autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The Anglican Communion is not constituted as a global church. It does not have a worldwide structure of oversight; its conciliar structures are advisory bodies. The member churches are self-governing – responsible for their own affairs, including their liturgies, laws and discipline. Any recommendation that say the Lambeth Conference or the Anglican Consultative Council addresses to the member churches has to be considered by the structures of governance of each church (the bishop in synod) before being implemented, or not, as the case may be.

The 1930 Lambeth Conference (Resolutions 48 and 49) gave a classical definition of the Anglican Communion, that is still valid in essence today:⁷⁹

⁷⁸ On the formation of the Anglican Communion see W. M. Jacob, *The Making of the Anglican Church Worldwide* (London: SPCK, 1997); Kevin Ward, *A History of Global Anglicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Mark D. Chapman, Sathianathan Clarke and Martyn Percy (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Anglican Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁷⁹ Roger Coleman (ed.), Owen Chadwick (Introduction), *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences 1867-1988* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1992), pp. 83-84.

‘The Anglican Communion is a fellowship, within the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church, of those duly constituted dioceses, provinces, or regional Churches in communion with the see of Canterbury, which have the following characteristics in common: (a) they uphold and propagate the catholic and apostolic faith and order as they are generally set forth in the Book of Common Prayer as authorised in their several churches; (b) they are particular or national Churches, and as such, promote within each of their territories a national expression of Christian faith, life and worship; and (c) they are bound together not by a central legislative and executive authority but by mutual loyalty sustained by the common counsel of the bishops in conference.’

The churches of the Anglican Communion are united as a communion by many common roots, in history, doctrine, liturgy, common conference, and so on. But constitutionally they are held together by four Instruments of Communion: the Lambeth Conference of bishops; the Primates' Meeting; the Anglican Consultative Council; and the office or ministry of the Archbishop of Canterbury. ¹⁸⁰ Here I will comment only on the first and last of these. The Lambeth Conference of Anglican bishops began in 1867. The most recent one was in 2008 and the next will take place in 2022. The Lambeth Conference is convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury approximately every ten years; it meets in his diocese and worships in his cathedral. In the past it has produced many resolutions, stating a view on some of the theological, ecumenical, social, ethical and missiological issues of the day. Its resolutions are not binding on the member churches, but carry considerable moral and pastoral authority. The Lambeth Conference is a salient example of Anglican conciliarity. It cannot make canons or legislate for the Churches of the Communion; its authority stems from the fact that it is made up of the chief pastors (bishops) of the Churches and also from the process of discernment and reception that its statements undergo. In that respect it is similar to the Second Vatican Council and the Orthodox Holy

⁸⁰ On the Instruments of Communion see <http://www.anglicancommunion.org/communion/acc/meetings/acc15/downloads/IASCUFO%20Complete%20Report%20to%20ACC.pdf> (beginning on p. 21). On the Lambeth Conference see Paul Avis and Benjamin M. Guyer (eds), *The Lambeth Conference: Theology, History, Polity and Purpose* (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017).

and Great Synod of 2016, both of which were pastoral councils that issued no new canons and pronounced no anathemas.⁸¹

The Archbishop of Canterbury is also regarded as an 'Instrument of Communion'. He (it is still 'he', but that could change in the future) presides in the other Instruments and is looked to by most member churches for moral leadership and pastoral guidance, exercised through the Instruments, and to moderate between opposing positions in situations of conflict. He has no canonical authority outside his own diocese and province (Canterbury) and cannot intervene in the affairs of another member church, however dire the circumstances may be, without an invitation. The role of the Archbishop of Canterbury is a salient example of a particular kind or style of primacy which is at work within Anglicanism, one that works by example, influence, sound advice and persuasion.⁸²

⁸¹ Paul Avis, 'The Conciliar Tradition and the Anglican Communion', in Paul Avis, Angela Berlis, Nikolaus Knoepffler and Martin O'Malley (eds), *Incarnating Authority: A Critical Account of Authority in the Church* (Munich: Utzverlag, 2019), pp. 15-52.

⁸² Paul Avis, 'The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lambeth Conference', in Avis and Guyer (eds), *The Lambeth Conference*, pp. 23-52 (Chapter 2).

Why Thyateira? Commemorating the Centennial of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain

DIMITRIS SALAPATAS

THIS IS A SIGNIFICANT YEAR for the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain. It celebrates its Centennial, since it was established on the 24th March 1922 by Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios IV and the Holy Synod in Constantinople. The changing world of the 19th and 20th centuries, whereby many Orthodox were migrating to western countries, made it imperative for the Mother Church to establish an organised ecclesiastical structure in the west that would cater for the spiritual needs of the Orthodox.

In the United Kingdom, there were already a number of churches which preceded the establishment of the Archdiocese of Thyateira, namely the Church of the Annunciation of the Mother of God, Manchester (1860); St Nicholas Church, Liverpool (1865); the Cathedral of the Divine Wisdom, St Sophia, London (1877); and St Nicholas Church, Cardiff (1903).¹ However, since its establishment, it is now the most thriving Orthodox Archdiocese in the UK, including more than one hundred and twenty churches and communities, whilst new communities are being established constantly.

An interesting question that arises when examining the history of this Archdiocese is why was it given a titular name? Why was it not called the Metropolis and then the Archdiocese of Great Britain only? It is noteworthy to point out that the Ecumenical Patriarchate has given titles of Ecclesiastical Sees that do not exist today, mainly from Asia Minor, to its Bishops and Metropolises around the world. This is to retain the memory and continuity of these Sees.

Observing the practices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, when establishing other Metropolises around the world, nowhere else do we see this practice, where an additional title is given to the geographical description of a Metropolis or Archdiocese; for example, we have the Archdiocese of America, Australia, the Metropolis of Germany and France etc. In this article, we are going to aim

¹ There were communities established in London before these dates, which do not exist today, namely the Dormition of the Mother of God (1677), the Chapel in Finsbury Circus (1837), the London Wall Church (1850) and St Stephen's West Norwood Cemetery (1837), which is the only one standing, but unfortunately, is no longer a Church.

and explain a number of hypotheses that come out of the research undertaken by the team of the Thyateira Project.²

According to the archival material from the Archives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople³, the Ecumenical Patriarchate seeing that there were many Orthodox (people and parishes) living in Western and Central Europe, outside of the jurisdiction of the Autocephalous Holy Orthodox Churches, deemed it necessary to establish a canonical Church with one Bishop who would be the spiritual father and shepherd, under one jurisdiction, under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. During the meeting of the Holy Synod on the 15th March 1922, a number of titles were discussed. The Metropolitan of Ankara, Gervasios, supported the view that the new Metropolitan should receive the title of Lugdunum, a region in Southern France. A famous Bishop of this See was St Irenaeus, considered to be a Church Father. However, the Ecumenical Patriarch supported the view that city titles are normally given and not regional ones. The Metropolitan of Caesarea, Nicholas, believed that the new Metropolitan should receive the title of Marseille, an ancient See, despite the centre being established in London. On the other hand, Metropolitan of Metron and Athyrion, Joakim, believed that the title has to have a link with Great Britain and the ancient name known to the Greeks, and so proposed the title of Bishop of the Kassiterides Isles. Additionally, Metropolitan of Neoceasarea and Kotioron, Polycarp, believed the title should be Bishop of London. However, the Ecumenical Patriarch saw that this would create issues, especially with 'our Anglican friends' and did not want to offend or create problems. Discussing a number of ideas, they concluded that the title could be Bishop in London and not Bishop of London, something that the Anglicans had also done in Jerusalem; therefore, there was a precedent for this. The Metropolitan of Rhodes, Apostolos, and the Metropolitan of Chaldias and Kerasountos, Laurentios, added to the discussion claiming that the title Bishop of Europe could stand.

² The Thyateira project aims to record the history, buildings, tangible and intangible cultural heritage assets that are associated with the Orthodox communities which run under the aegis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. It is a Project funded by the National Lottery Heritage Fund, supported by His Eminence Archbishop Nikitas of Thyateira and Great Britain, the University of Bristol and Alperton Community School.

³ We would like to thank His All-Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and Archimandrite Dr Agathaggelos, responsible for the Archives of the Patriarchate in Constantinople, for giving us access to the archives and for sending us the documents needed for the Thyateira Project and this paper.

On the 24th of March 1922, Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios IV, together with the Holy Synod established the 'Holy Metropolis of Thyateira and Exarchate of Western and Central Europe.' You will note that the official first title did not include the words Great Britain, because this was a wider jurisdiction, despite the fact that London was where the Metropolitan, initially Metropolitan Germanos Strenopoulos, was based. This of course was the case due to the ongoing good relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans, which were unofficially taking place from the 17th century and officially became more formal in the 20th century. The title given to the Metropolitan was: 'Most Reverend Metropolitan of Thyateira, highly honoured exarch of Western and Central Europe.'

The Metropolis as it was known then, was the first one to be established in the Western World. This fact could explain why the Ecumenical Patriarchate wished to give it a special title. This Metropolis was established on the 24th March 1922. The Archdiocese of America, for example, was established on the 26th April 1922. It seems that the Metropolis of Thyateira became an Archdiocese during the reign of Archbishop Athenagoras Kavvadas, in the 1950s.

Interestingly enough, even when examining the archival material from the 24th of March 1922, they do not state why the title Thyateira was given and not a title from another Asia Minor city. Therefore, a number of theories could be examined and evaluated in order to identify the reasoning behind this decision. This is an ongoing discussion; however, all the points have some specs of truth that could stand and explain the final decision by the Holy Synod in Constantinople.

One Biblical explanation for this name could be found in the Book of Acts 16:14-15: 'A certain woman named Lydia, a worshipper of God, was listening to us; she was from the city of Thyateira and a dealer in purple cloth. The Lord opened her heart to listen eagerly to what was said by Paul. When she and her household were baptized, she urged us, saying, 'If you have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come and stay at my home.' And she prevailed upon us.' Lydia, being the first woman to accept Christ in Europe could link with the first daughter Church to be established in Western Europe. Lydia could be considered a role model for our own lives. Since her baptism she worked hard to evangelise. Taking her example, the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, especially now, is endeavouring to re-evangelise and evangelise the people of the UK through a number of initiatives which have the full support and blessings of His Eminence Archbishop Nikitas.

It could in fact relate to Metropolitan Germanos Strenopoulos and his previous title. In 1912 he was ordained in the Church of the School of Theology in Chalki as titular Metropolitan of Seleukia.⁴ ‘The ancient city of Thyateira is referred to as Pelopia, Semiramis and Euhippa in various texts. The names Thyateira, Semiramis vs Pelopia were mentioned together in an inscription reported to have been uncovered near Akhisar. Stephanos Byzantios notes that Thyateira as a Lydia city used to be called Pelopia and Semiramis and that the city derived its name from the word Thygatera meaning ‘daughter’ and the name was given by the Syrian King Seleukos III who received the news of the birth of his daughter during a war.’⁵ Seleukos had established Seleukia, and the first Metropolitan of this newly established Metropolis was a titular Bishop of Seleukia.

The city of Thyateira, after which the Archdiocese was named, was one of the seven Apostolic Churches, and up to its decadence and abandonment, it had been a prominent Metropolis of the Christian World. ‘The glory and significance of the Thyateira can be assessed from an epistle of John to the local Christian Community in 68 A.D., in which Thyateira is ranked fourth in importance amongst the rest of the churches of the Apocalypse. The glory of Thyateira started to fade during the 3rd century A.D.’⁶ We could probably state that the naming of the Metropolis here was linked to the 1922 Disaster of Asia Minor, the same year the Metropolis was founded in Western Europe. Although the Disaster took place in Autumn, we could support the fact that over three millennia old Greek presence in Asia Minor was coming to an end, and this was evident even during March of 1922.

Examining the titular bishops of the 1920s, specifically the ones alive in 1922, it is evident that the other names of cities and towns from Asia Minor had already a Bishop. The one that was missing was Thyateira. Therefore, we could conclude that it was by luck, or a coincidence that it was named Thyateira, to preserve this ancient See in a new context and geographical area.

A hypothesis that could explain the link between Thyateira and Great Britain is the rediscovery of the name Thyateira. Many travelers from the West

⁴ Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios of Constantinople, ‘The Metropoly of Thyateira – Letter from the Oecumenical Patriarch,’ *The Christian East*, July 1922, Vol III, No.2, p.63.

⁵ Bey, Ragip, ‘Ancient City of Thayeira (Thyatira), <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=119733#:~:text=in%20the%20city%20of%20Thyateira%20is%20referred%20to%20as%20Pelopia,have%20been%20uncovered%20near%20Akhisar>, accessed 12.03.22, 13.20.

⁶ Calendar 2022- The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thayeira and Great Britain, p.90.

had travelled to Asia Minor to visit and research into the Churches of the Apocalypse. However, the city of Thateira was not visited by many, since they could not find where it was actually located. It was in the 17th century that the city of Akhisar was linked to the Biblical Thyateira. This was achieved by the English consuls, chaplains and merchants who were stationed in Smyrna. In 1671, the Revd Thomas Smith had visited the Churches of Asia Minor, including and specifically the Thyateira Church. However, it was 'left to Sir Paul Rycout, the consul of the British Crown in Smyrna, who was accompanied by the Reverend Dr. John Luke, chaplain to the factory in Smyrna, to discover the name of Thyatira engraved in an ancient pedestal of a pillar in the market-place of Akhisar.'⁷ Therefore, this link was established, between Akhisar and the Biblical Thyateira.

A good reason to give this Metropolis a titular name could also be the fact that it was not restricted within one Western European country, but was going to be a Metropolis with a wider jurisdiction. Therefore, a title such as Thyateira could be used as a title overseeing the geographical area of one or two countries, unlike the newer Archdioceses and Metropolises around the world, established by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

Interestingly enough, Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios, sent a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1922 explaining the establishment of this new Metropolis, which was published by the AECA journal of the time: We read in *The Christian East*:⁸

“Most Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, well-beloved by us in Christ our Lord, and highly esteemed Brother Lord Randall, may grace and peace be with your Grace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. We proceed fraternally to announce to your well-beloved Grace that a decree of our Holy Synod has established an episcopal jurisdiction for the administration of the Orthodox parishes scattered through Western and Central Europe under the style of the ‘Metropoly of Thyatira and Exarchy of Western and Central Europe.’ The famous capital of England has been fixed as the seat of this recently established metropoly, which is one of the metropolies of the Oecumenical throne, for other reasons, but

⁷ Meinardus, Otto, F.A., *The Greeks of Thyatira*, (Photron S.A., Athens, 1974), p.106.

⁸ Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios of Constantinople, ‘The Metropoly of Thyateira – Letter from the Oecumenical Patriarch,’ *The Christian East*, July 1922, Vol III, No.2, pp.63-64.

especially on account of our desire of a firmer complete union of the Orthodox and English Churches, which the Lord is plainly leading to union with each other. We have already chosen and established in this recently constituted metropoly a man of distinction, who for many years has presided over our Theological Academy of Halki-that is to say, the Metropolitan of Seleukia, Germanos, known also of your well-beloved Grace; who is now preparing to undertake the journey to London in order to assume the spiritual charge of the flock assigned to him. We earnestly hope that your Grace in your kind disposition will receive the Metropolitan of Thyatira and Exarch of Europe, Germanos fraternally on his near arrival, and will present him to the Lord Bishop of London and to all the other Bishops, so that they may recognise him as a Bishop with canonical authority of our Church, and may love him as a brother in Christ; of whom, praying for many years of happy life for your Grace, we remain with brotherly love, your esteemed Grace's brother in Christ and altogether devoted servant, Meletios of Constantinople”

Whichever the reason for naming this Metropolis, and later Archdiocese, to Thyateira, it is significant to highlight the fact that it is the only Archdiocese in the world, under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to have a title, in addition to its geographical title. This is due to its unique history and importance within the Orthodox world. It would be interesting if the Archdiocese of Thyateira could be seen as the continuation of the Biblical Asia Minor Church, referred to in the Book of Revelation, making the Church in the UK a Biblical Church. This relationship with the past could be the foundation needed in order to prosper on a Pan-Orthodox level in the British Isles.

Appendix

The document below is from the Archives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, sent to the Thyateira Project for the research on the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain. It is the opening page of ‘The Tomos of The Foundation of the Holy Metropolis of Thyateira and Exarchate of Western and Central Europe.’ ΚΩδ. Α'β'4, Ἀπρίλιος 1922, ἰνδ. ε' pp.198-201.

~~Μητροπολιτικὴ ἐκκλησία τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἁγίου~~

Τόμος τῆς ἰδρύσεως
τῆς Ἱ.Μητροπολιτικῆς θυσειῶν καὶ Ἰσαρχίας
ὑπώθητος Δυτικῆς καὶ Κεντρικῆς.

Περί τῶν ἐγγύς καὶ τῶν μακρῶν γὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρήσιμα ἢ τοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἑκκλησία ὡς μήτηρ φιλόσοφος προνοοῦσα, μέλημα ἑαυ-
τῆς καὶ τοῦτο ἀέρισχρῆς λογίζεται, τὸν ἠραμῶν μηδὲν ἀσυντακτον καὶ ἀσυ-
κροτήτων καταλείπει πρὸς τὴν καλὴν καὶ τοῖς ἀνάγκαις καὶ τοῖς περιστάσεσι συ-
ναρμονιάσει τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ πληρώματος διαμυθρήθησαν, δι' ἧς ἡ εἰς νομίας
τῆς σωτηρίας χειραγωγία ἀσφαλίζεται καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνεται.

Ἐπιθεὶ τοίνυν καὶ τῶν μακρῶν Δυτικῆς καὶ τῆς Κεντρικῆς ὑπώθητος ἑαυ-
τῶν ἰδίων τῶν Ἀστωμακίων Ἰσραὴλ Ὀρθοδόξων ἑκκλησιῶν ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ
πολιτικῶν ὀρθοδόξων περιστάσεων ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ἀνεγνωρίσθαι ἢ ἀνάγκη
τῆς εἰς ἴδιον ἑκκλησιαστικὴν ὑπὸ ἴδιον ἀρχιεραῖα καὶ ἀμείσον πνε-

The English language, Christian instruction and national identity: early medieval precedents and their early modern uses

MIRIAM ADAN JONES

WRITING IN THE EARLY EIGHT CENTURY, the Northumbrian monk and scholar Bede (c.672-735) summed up the ethnic and linguistic situation in Britain as follows:

‘At the present time there are in Britain, in harmony with the five books of the divine law, five languages and four nations – English, British, Irish, and Picts. Each of these have their own language; but all are united in their study of God’s truth by the fifth – Latin – which has become a common medium through the study of the scriptures.’⁹

For Bede, language and nationhood were closely connected, and each of the main people groups of Britain had its own language. But it was Latin that was the language of learning, used for the study of the scriptures and divine truths. This particular importance attached to Latin as a language for communicating the faith would remain in place for the better part of a millennium. Not until the modern period did English rise to prominence as an academic language, or become the primary liturgical language of the Church of England. But using English to communicate the faith was no modern invention: Bede’s own works testify to the use of English for Christian instruction, as do other early medieval sources. For Anglican apologists in the sixteenth century, this precedent helped legitimate the introduction of English as a language for the reading of Scripture and public prayer. What traces are there of the use of the vernacular as a language of Christian instruction in the early medieval church, and how was this medieval past perceived and put to contemporary use by those who stood at the cradle of Anglicanism?

Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (completed in 731) tells the story of the spread of the Christian faith among the English kingdoms, and

⁹ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price, revised R.E. Latham, 45.

shows an interest at various points in matters of language and translation. Bede noted that interpreters assisted both the Latin-speaking Augustine and his companions on their mission to the early English kingdom of Kent, and the Irish-speaking Aidan in Bede's native Northumbria.¹¹ His account also indicates that the vernacular continued in use as missionary preaching gave way to ongoing pastoral care: he describes how King Ecgberht of Kent (d.673) was eager for a bishop "of his own race and tongue" so that he and his people could hear the Christian teaching "not through an interpreter, but by the tongue [...] of a kinsman and fellow-countryman" and so "be all the more perfectly imbued with the words and mysteries of the faith".¹² The *Ecclesiastical History* also celebrated the poet Caedmon's ability to compose English songs drawing on Biblical and theological material.¹³ Bede had himself, so he wrote in a letter to bishop Ecgberht of York, often provided English translations of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and recommended that these texts be recited often by clergy and laity alike, in order "to fix in the memory of all" the catholic faith which they set forth.⁵ After Bede's death, his community remembered that he had worked in his final days on a translation of the Gospel of John into his mother tongue, reaching the sixth chapter.¹⁴

The theological groundwork for this practice of translation had been laid in Bede's earlier exegetical work, particularly his commentaries on Genesis and Acts, in which Bede reflected on the significance of the events of Babel and Pentecost for understanding the place of languages in God's order. Linguistic diversity had originated in disunity and accompanied the spread of the descendants of Noah across the world and their separation into different nations: "Scripture has said that the sons of Noah divided the earth in their nations according to kindreds and languages and regions...".¹⁵ But this division was overcome by the gift of the Holy Spirit: "just as here [at Babel] the peoples were scattered from each other throughout the whole world and their languages separated on account of pride, so there [at Pentecost] on account of the

¹⁰ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 75, 147.

¹¹ Bede, *History of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I.N. Wood, 26-29.

¹² Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 248-249.

¹³ Bede, *Letter to Bishop Ecgbert*, ed. and trans. Christopher Grocock and I.N. Wood, 131.

¹⁴ Cuthbert, *Cuthbert's Letter on the Illness and Death of the Venerable Bede, the Priest*, trans. D.H. Farmer, 358-359.

¹⁵ Bede, *On Genesis*, trans. Calvin Kendall, 227.

merit of humility, with the diversity of languages made one, the peoples gathered from every nation which is under heaven re-echoed the praises and miracles of God with one single and undivided confession of faith.”¹⁶ Pentecost however did not undo the diversification of Babel, but transcended it: the apostles were graced with “the knowledge of all languages, so that, imbued with these, they might summon all peoples speaking different languages to the construction with one accord of that holy city; that is, the Church of Christ.”¹⁷ The miracle of Pentecost thereby “indicated that the holy church, when it had spread to the ends of the earth, was to speak in the languages of all nations”.¹⁸ The miracle of Pentecost was a warrant for the Church to use the languages of all peoples, including Bede’s own.¹⁹ Indeed, linguistic diversity was a sign of the Church’s catholicity, evidence that the mandate given to the disciples to “go to all nations” was being fulfilled.

Bede’s works, then, give two reasons why Scripture and liturgical texts should be available in English. The first was to facilitate communication, so that all can be instructed in the faith. Bede’s provision of an English-language version of the Lord’s Prayer and Apostles’ Creed indicates how central these texts were, for him, to the task of catechesis, and also reflects a context in which these texts could not be known and prayed unless they were translated into the vernacular.²⁰ The other reason was to give expression to the particular identity of the *Angli* within the church catholic – an identity which Bede himself did much to foster.²¹

Bede’s translations may have been a personal initiative, but in 747 a synod of the province of Canterbury stipulated that all priests should be able to

¹⁶ Bede, *On Genesis*, 228.

¹⁷ Bede, *On Genesis*, 231.

¹⁸ Bede, *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. Lawrence T. Martin, 29; cf. Tristan Major, *Undoing Babel*, 24.

¹⁹ Robert Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England*, 70; Kees Dekker, “Pentecost and Linguistic Self-Consciousness in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede and Ælfric,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 104 (2005), 345–72; Georges Tugène, *L’idée de nation chez Bede le Vénéral*, 55–58, 293–294.

²⁰ Sarah Foot, “Approaching the stony and barren hearts of the pagans’: The place of catechesis in the Anglo-Saxon missions,” in Steven Croft, ed. *Rooted and Grounded: Faith Formation and the Christian Tradition*, 97–98.

²¹ Patrick Wormald, “The Venerable Bede and the Church of the English,” in Geoffrey Rowell, ed., *The English Religious Tradition and the Genius of Anglicanism*, 13–32; Sarah Foot, “The Making of Angelcynn: English Identity Before the Norman Conquest,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6 (1996), 25–49.

explain to those in their care “in their own language” the Creed and Lord’s Prayer, as well as the words of the eucharist and the rite of baptism.²² Perhaps we may see a connection between this injunction and the complaint made by King Alfred, over a century later, that “there were very few ... who could understand their services in English.”²³ Alfred’s remark comes from his preface to the Old English translation of Gregory’s *Pastoral Care*, in which he stated his intentions to revive vernacular learning. He recalled that in the past, before the predations of the Vikings, “the churches throughout all England stood filled with treasures and books” but “[t]hey had very little benefit from those books, because they could not understand anything of them, since they were not written in their own language.”²⁴ He continued:

‘Then I remembered how the law was first found in the Hebrew language, and afterwards, when the Greeks learned it, they translated it into their own language, and all the other books as well. And afterwards in the same way the Romans, when they had learned them, they translated them all into their own language through learned interpreters. And all other Christian nations also translated some part of them into their own language. Therefore it seems better to me [...] that we also should translate certain books which are most necessary for all men to know into the language we can all understand...’²⁵

With these words, Alfred contextualized his own translations within a tradition of translation that was common to the whole church. Yet his primary argument for translation was that it would make Christian learning accessible to all. Behind this argument lay a sense that there was a “we all”, an English people bound together by their common tongue, and Alfred’s translations were one way he sought to promote this shared national identity.²⁶

22 Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, eds, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to England and Ireland*, vol. 3, 366. English missionaries to the continent used the vernacular for part of the baptismal liturgy, and I have argued elsewhere that this was likely also done at home in Britain: Miriam Adan Jones, “The Language of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England: The Case for Old English,” *Studies in Church History* 53 (2017), 39-50.

23 Alfred, Preface to the Translation of Gregory’s *Pastoral Care*, ed. and trans. Elaine Treharne, *Old and Middle English, c. 890-c. 1400: An Anthology*, 11.

24 Alfred, 13.

25 Alfred, 13.

26 Foot, “Making,” 29.

Similar themes are found in the works of another famous translator, Ælfric. Like Bede before him, Ælfric believed that the miracle of languages at Pentecost signified that the faith was to be communicated in the languages of all peoples. Like Alfred, he saw an apostolic precedent for the work of translation in which he, too, was engaged. For on the day of Pentecost the Apostles had not only praised God, they had expounded the meaning of Scripture:

‘Through the Holy Spirit the Holy Apostles were so instructed that they truly spoke with all languages of unknown peoples, and they could teach mankind in the world from the old books which they had not been able to understand...’²⁷

In the preface to his *First Series of Catholic Homilies*, probably written between 987 and 991, Ælfric rhetorically placed himself in the company of the apostles receiving the Great Commission:

‘Our Lord commanded his disciples that they should instruct and teach all people[s] these things that he himself taught [...]. Because of such commands it seems to me that I might not be guiltless with God if I do not make known to other people, or through my writings, the truth of the gospels...’²⁸

And just as he shared in their commission, he also shared in the gift of languages that allowed it to be carried out. His work of translation was, in a sense, a miracle: divinely inspired and divinely empowered.

‘Then it came into my mind, I believe through the grace of God, that I should translate this book from the language of Latin into English speech, not through the confidence of great learning [...] [but] I presumed, trusting in God, to undertake this composition [...] [...] I know very well that in this land there are many more learned men than I, but God reveals his miracles through whomever he desires: likewise, the almighty Creator performs his work through his chosen, not because he has need of our help at

²⁷ Dekker, 362.

²⁸ Ælfric, *Old English Preface to his First Series of Catholic Homilies*, ed. and trans. Elaine Treharne, *Old and Middle English, c. 890-c. 1400: An Anthology*, 119.

all, but so that we can earn that eternal life through performing his work.²⁹

Ælfric's reading of Pentecost provided theological justification for his translation efforts, but the primary motivation was his worry that "unlearned people" were at the mercy of less-than-orthodox teachers and authors. Because of this, he was grieved "that they did not know nor did they have the teaching of the gospels in their writing".³⁰ His own vernacular homilies, which explained the gospel lessons in English, provided the remedy for this situation.

In other works, however, Ælfric worried that translation carried its own dangers. The preface to his Old English translation of the first half of Genesis expressed a concern that "if someone foolish reads this book, or hears it read" they might take its descriptive elements as normative, or concentrate on the literal meaning of the text to the exclusion of the spiritual.³¹ These concerns about the uses to which his translations might be put by "foolish" people did not stop him from translating Scripture – he provided the translation of Genesis he had been asked for, as well as parts of Numbers and the book of Joshua – but he did paraphrase, summarize or omit the more scandalous elements of the original text.³²

All three of the authors surveyed here – Bede, Alfred and Ælfric – stressed the importance of the English language as a means of communicating the faith and giving Christian instruction to the English people. This view was shared by the 747 synod of *Clofesho*. It was evidently also shared by those who composed and transmitted Old English texts for use in liturgical settings: the surviving examples include blessings and rites for various circumstances such as illness or the loss of property, excommunications, trials, and royal coronations.³³ They also include, alongside the homilies of Ælfric, other collections of sermons and homilies. And although nothing survives of Cædmon's oeuvre except the small fragment of poetry quoted in Bede's *History*, there are

²⁹ Ælfric, 117, 119-121.

³⁰ Ælfric, 117.

³¹ Brandon W. Hawk, trans., "Ælfric's Preface to Genesis: A Translation",

³² Michael Fox and Manish Sharma, "Introduction," in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament* (Toronto, 2012), 7-8.

³³ Helen Gittos, "Researching the history of rites," in Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, eds, *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, 31-32; Helen Gittos, "Is there any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English," in Francesca Tinti, ed., *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, 78-80.

many Old English poems on Christian themes. The texts themselves, or their prefaces, often suggest that the reason for translation was to enable understanding for the unlearned, but in reality vernacular texts were not always and only meant for those whose Latin was wanting.³⁴ Another facet was the cultivation of a shared identity expressed through a shared language, rooted theologically in a belief that nations and their languages had an important part to play in salvation history. Both these themes would be taken up, in different ways, in the sixteenth century, as the leaders of the Elizabethan church pursued a vision of a united English people at prayer in the English language. In this, they were encouraged by earlier instances of Christian instruction being offered in English.

Following the English Reformation, English became the official liturgical language of the Church of England. As in the early Middle Ages, accessibility was a key concern: translation from Latin into the vernacular was needed to achieve the Christian education and formation of the people. The Elizabethan prayer book required that “all thinges shal be read and songe in the Churche in the Englishe tongue, to thende that the congregation may be thereby edified”.³⁵ Indeed, the Thirty-nine Articles stated that “It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people.”³⁶ The principle was expounded at length in the second *Book of Homilies*, first approved in 1563 and appointed to be read in churches where there was no licensed preacher.³⁷ The homilist’s argument for prayer and the celebration of the sacraments in the vernacular language relies on warrants in Scripture (particularly 1 Corinthians 14) and a range of ancient authorities, including Justin Martyr, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine.³⁸ The homily exemplifies the primitivism that marked the Church of England, which claimed to be restoring the faith of the early church that had become corrupted by later accretions.

These same texts also show an interest in promoting national unity and identity. A link between vernacular Christian instruction and national identity

34 Helen Gittos, “The audience for Old English texts: Ælfric, rhetoric and ‘the edification of the simple,’” *Anglo-Saxon England* 43 (2014): 231–266.

35 The Book of Common Prayer, Preface.

36 Articles of Religion, art. XXIV.

37 The Books of Homilies: A Critical Edition, ed. Gerald Bray.

38 The homilies are anonymous, but the homily on common prayer was possibly prepared by John Jewel (1523–1571), bishop of Salisbury.

is drawn explicitly in a sermon against rebellion added to the second *Book of Homilies* in 1571, occasioned by the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I in 1570.³⁹ The anonymous homilist stresses repeatedly that the Pope has no jurisdiction in England, and accuses the papacy of seeking to impose its "foreign" rule over the English kingdom, only gaining the support of the English population by keeping them ignorant in matters of faith. A case study is provided by the reign of John II (1166-1216), who faced opposition from his own barons as well as from France and from Pope Innocent III. "Now had Englishmen [...] known their duty to their prince set forth in God's word," asks the homilist, would they "have taken part, against the King of England and against Englishmen, with the French King and Frenchmen...? [...] would Englishmen have brought their sovereign lord and natural country into this thraldom and subjection to a false foreign usurper [i.e. the Pope], had they known and had any understanding in God's word at all?" The passage is thick with repetitions of the words "England", "English" and "Englishmen": a total of almost thirty occurrences in some two pages of text. Vernacular Christian instruction thus becomes an instrument not only of faith formation but of nation-building, offering protection against foreign influence.

The earliest generation of reformers in the Church of England had not wished to emphasize continuity with the medieval past, choosing instead to frame their reforms as a return to more ancient roots. However, under the leadership of Archbishop Matthew Parker (1559-1575), Anglican scholars began to identify certain resonances between their own faith and that of the early medieval period. Once such resonance was the medieval use of the "Saxon" language, which had set a venerable precedent for translators of liturgy and scripture into modern English.⁴⁰ The surviving English-language religious texts of the early Middle Ages were used as evidence that access to Christian learning had once been open to all: "so desirous they were of olde tyme to haue the lay sort edified in godlynes by reading in their vulgar tongue, that very many bookes be yet extant..."⁴¹ By collecting, editing and printing these early medieval texts – many from the libraries of dissolved monasteries – Parker and oth-

³⁹ The Books of Homilies.

⁴⁰ Hugh Magennis, "Not Angles but Anglicans? Reformation and Post-Reformation Perspectives on the Anglo-Saxon Church, Part 1: Bede, Ælfric and the Anglo-Saxon Church in Early Modern England," *English Studies* 96.3 (2015), 244-252.

⁴¹ Benedict Scott Robinson, "'Darke Speech': Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29.4 (1998), 1081.

ers aimed to reclaim this heritage and weave a narrative of the English church's history that would demonstrate that the reformed church of their own day had recovered a purity that the early medieval church had still possessed but the later medieval church had lost.⁴²

One strand in this tapestry was the translation of doctrinal and liturgical texts into the vernacular, which they argued was no Protestant innovation but rather the restoration of a much older tradition. Thus the first print edition of Old English texts, *A Testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord*, offered the text of a sermon by Ælfric on the Eucharist, but also featured Old English texts of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. These texts were meant to show that "it is no new thing to teache the people of God the Lordes prayer, and the articles of their belief in the Englishe tounge whereby they mought the better serue their God, and holde faste their profession of Christianitie", as a prefatory note states.⁴³ The same note cites as further evidence the canons of the 747 Council of Clofesho, as relayed by William of Malmesbury. Not mentioned here is Bede's *Letter to Egbert*, quoted above, but the text is found in a manuscript Parker owned, and the passage in which Bede writes about offering translations of the Creed and Lord's Prayer into English is highlighted in both black ink and the red pencil typical of Parker's circle.⁴⁴

The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed were key texts, but the vernacular learning available to the laity was to go beyond these. Anglican apologists were keen to point out that there was precedent for the translation of the whole canon of scripture, as well as other theological texts. In the preface to the Bishop's Bible, a translation of the Bible into modern English published in 1568, Parker linked his new translation with early medieval precedent.⁴⁵ Those who forbid the translation of the Bible, he wrote,

' ... be farre unlike their olde forefathers that have ruled in this realme, who in their times, and in diverse ages did their diligence to translate the whole bookes of the scriptures to the erudition of

⁴² Robinson, 1061-1083.

⁴³ A testimonie of antiquitie : shewing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord here publikely preached, and also receaved in the Saxons tyme, about 600 yeares agoe.

⁴⁴ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 359, f. 72v. On Parker's "red pen": Robinson, 1075-1076.

⁴⁵ Robinson, 1081.

the laytie, as yet to this day be to be seene divers bookes translated into the vulgar tongue, some by kynges of the realme, some by bishoppes, some by abbottes, some by other devout godly fathers.⁴⁶

Alfred and Ælfric are presumably among the translators here in view, though not explicitly named. A few years later, Parker financed the publication of an edition of the four Gospels in Old English, with the text of the Bishop's Bible printed in a parallel column as an aid to understanding. John Foxe, in the preface to this edition, wrote that while some thought their native tongue unfit to express divine mysteries, the translation of the Gospels into Old English had set a "profitable example" for modern translators.⁴⁷ Foxe, too, looked to Alfred for inspiration, citing his preface to the *Pastoral Care*:

'... he doth declare that the Hebrues had the law of God in their tongue, the Grecians had it turned into their tongue, and the Romans by their skilfull interpreters had it in their tongue, and all other Christian people, as he sayth, have some part of those things in their owne proper language: And thereupon he thinketh it meete that all bookes that be needful for men to know, to have them turned into the tongue which all men do know.'⁴⁸

The Old English gospels to which Foxe's comments are prefaced thus became a link in the tradition of scriptural translation that stretched from antiquity to Foxe's present. (Parker would publish his edition of Alfred's preface in 1574.) Latin was cast as one ethnic language among others, particular to the Romans, and on equal footing with the languages of all other Christian peoples. English, as "the tongue which all men do know" became the language of choice for the faith formation of the English people.

The realm of England, however, was not monolingual. The 1559 Act of Uniformity mandated that the Prayer Book should be used throughout England and Wales, where not only English but also Welsh and Cornish were

⁴⁶ Cited in Suzanne C. Hagedorn, "Received Wisdom: The Reception History of Alfred's Preface to the *Pastoral Care*," in Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles, eds, *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, 89.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'*, 159; Magennis, 251-252.

⁴⁸ Cited in Hagedorn, 90

spoken.⁴⁹ Linguistic diversity was found not only across regions but also in the migrant communities of Dutch, French and Italian speaking Protestants who settled in England in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ How to manage this multilingualism within a Church that was officially Anglophone? For many in the sixteenth century it made perfect sense that English should become the language of public life in all areas of English rule.⁵¹ But the theological principle that worship should be offered in a language the worshipers understood encouraged translation of the English liturgy into other languages. The first Welsh prayer-book appeared in 1567.⁵² On the other hand, the Irish Gaelic prayer book, when first commissioned in 1550, had been envisioned as provisional: “where the Inhabitants understand not the englishe tongue” they should “cawse the englishe to be translated truly into the Irishe tongue, unto such tyme as the people maye be brought to understand the englishe”.⁵³ And while some immigrants were allowed to use a liturgy in their native language, their children born in England were encouraged to attend their parish church.⁵⁴ These cases reveal the tension that might exist between the aims of Christian formation and the cultivation of a national identity.

For Matthew Parker and his circle, the early medieval past was primarily useful in demonstrating that translation itself was an ancient practice, not in elevating the status of English per se. The use of a specially cast type font for Old English letters, and the provision of parallel texts, served to highlight the obscurity of “Saxon” – presenting it almost as another vernacular altogether, rather than an earlier version of contemporary English.⁵⁵ Still, their efforts to collect and print Old English texts reveal how important it was for them to claim this early medieval heritage. In response to Roman Catholic accusations of novelty, Anglican writers of the sixteenth century suggested that it was the Roman church that had introduced a novelty by restricting the use of the ver-

49 David N. Griffiths, “The Early Translations of the Book of Common Prayer,” *The Library* 6.1 (1981), 2.

50 William Muss-Arnolt, *The Book of Common Prayer among the Nations of the World*, 116; Stefano Villani, “The Italian Protestant Church of London in the 17th Century,” in Barbara Schaff, ed., *Exiles, Emigrés and Intermediaries*, 217.

51 Felicity Heal, “Mediating the Word: Language and Dialects in the British and Irish Reformations,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56. 2 (2005), 265.

52 Griffiths, 2-3.

53 Evelyn Philip Shirley, ed., *Original Letters and papers in illustration of the history of the Church in Ireland during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, 40.

54 Muss-Arnolt, 116.

55 Robinson, 1081, 1083.

naacular, which had once been common. In the process, they sometimes tended to airbrush Bede, Alfred and Ælfric into proto-Anglicans. One element of their thought that was difficult to accommodate was a very different outlook on nationhood, born of a very different, and more fragmented, political context. Although Bede's exegetical writing offered resources for thinking theologically about languages as markers of national identity, these resources were not particularly useful in a context where the national character of the church was so intricately connected to royal supremacy, and royal rule was exercised over a realm of many language communities.

Today, Britain is not monolingual any more than it was in the sixteenth century, or the eighth. Accordingly, translations of the Church of England's new liturgies from *Common Worship* are slowly appearing. The principle that worship should be offered in the vernacular has long driven the translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, beginning in the sixteenth century and gathering pace together with Anglican global missions.⁵⁶ This commitment to vernacular translation is often presented as a Reformation principle, and it is.⁵⁷ But it may be helpful, particularly in ecumenical conversations, to recall that the concern with vernacular Christian instruction is older than the sixteenth century, and that those who advocated it then did so partly by appealing to the tradition of the ancient and medieval church. The medieval tradition may also offer helpful conversation partners in thinking theologically about the place of languages and ethnicities in the church: not as a reflection of the confusion of Babel, but of the harmony of Pentecost, signs of a diversity that need not contradict unity.

⁵⁶ Muss-Arnolt surveys over 200 translations.

⁵⁷ Colin Buchanan, "Issues of Liturgical Inculturation," in Davit Gitari, ed., *Anglican Liturgical Inculturation in Africa*, 15.

Placement from the Syriac Orthodox Church with the Church of England ⁵⁸

YAKUP UYANIK

MY NAME IS YAKUP UYANYIK and I'm a sub-deacon in the Syriac Orthodox Church. I studied Syriac theology and the Aramaic language in Mor Gabriel Monastery then at Mor Hananyo (Deyrulzafaran) Monastery, and Mor Augin Monastery. These monasteries are in Tur Abdin which is an area in the South East of Turkey. The meaning of Tur Abdin is the Mountain of Servants of God, in Aramaic. We are now a small community of Christians in Tur Abdin and we are still speaking Aramaic, the language of Jesus Christ.

Two years ago I tried to contact some organisations to help me with my English studies. At the end of August 2020, the Abbot of Mor Awgin Monastery contacted the UK Tur Abdin representative for Churches and Monasteries, Mr Gabriel Malas, asked if he could find support for me to improve my English so I can continue with my education. I thank Gabriel for his efforts, who helped with the co-operation of Fr William of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, which agreed to support me at English school to improve my English. I am very grateful for Fr William's kindness and the generosity of AECA, so that I could continue my studies, develop my theological knowledge and have new experiences in Anglican Churches. The AECA agreed to support me for three months in Oxford, followed by experience in an Anglican parish in London. By agreement, we extended this to four months. When I heard the news I was very happy and excited.

On the first of November I went to Oxford and started to study English language at King's Education. At the same time I was living at St Stephen's House with ordinands, joining prayers, learning theology and church music, which was a different, new experience for me. Before the Christmas break Fr. William Taylor the chairman of AECA and Vicar of St John's Notting Hill

⁵⁸ This placement, financially supported by the AECA took place from November 2021 to February 2022.

parish, invited me to London to stay in St John's, Notting Hill to continue my English studies and experience parish life there.

I came to Notting Hill and I experienced a lot of things. As a first welcome to London, AECA gifted me a ticket to the London Eye and thanks to Fr. William Taylor, he took me to Westminster Abbey, London Eye, St Paul's Cathedral and Canterbury Cathedral. They were amazing places in their history, architecture, and of them I found Canterbury Cathedral the most spiritual. I enjoyed and learnt many historic things from Fr. William about these places.

In the Parish, I had English lessons with a retired English lecturer Elizabeth Marden every weekday in the morning for about an hour and a half, and thanked her with a cup of Turkish coffee! I am grateful to her for the enjoyable lessons. I have joined parish meetings, morning and evening prayers, evensongs, Sunday Mass and helped in the church with any sort of work. In the same way I joined the Philippines Tagalog Mass, thanks to Fr. Larry, whose energy radiates to the whole church every Sunday. I met Iranian people in the Parish and I tried to speak with them in different languages such as Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic and English and at the same time I met people from different countries in St John's Church, where they all find a home.

In the wider church, I attended the meeting and lunch for Kensington clergy and spoke about the Tur Abdin, and spoke in the Kensington Deanery Synod about Christianity in Turkey. Ecumenically, I also attended the week of Prayer for Christian Unity Service in the United Reformed Church. I also joined the Syriac Orthodox Church here in London for their worship on St Stephen's day, which honours all who serve as deacons in the Church.

On one occasion I went to Darlington in the North of England to see my friend, and we took the opportunity of visiting the beautiful Cathedral of Durham. I also went to see the community of Franciscans in the Hilfield Friary in the south west of England, where I felt very at home, and where I had expected to stay for one night. Unfortunately when I got there, I had an antigen test, which proved positive! So I stayed there longer than expected, but it was a wonderful time there and, thanks to the community, who took care of me.

In the end mutually supporting students, clergy and researchers is very important to our churches to build bridges to connect with each other and to make the churches stronger. Thank God our churches do that. On my return to Turkey, I will see my lovely community in Tur Abdin and talk to them about my experiences and all the people I have met. In this way, when we meet each other, we know each other and understand each other better in our different churches.

In the same way, there is one more important thing for readers who might be interested in coming to Tur Abdin: McCabe pilgrimages will provide (17-25 September 2022) a nine day tour, led by the Rt Revd Christopher Chesun, Anglican Bishop of Southwark, and Mor Polycarpus Augin Aydin, Syriac Orthodox Archbishop of the Netherlands, to visit the Syriac Christians' 'second Jerusalem', the holy places in Tur Abdin and be blessed by experiencing the holy places there to continue the journey of knowing each other. At the end of my exchange visit, I gave a presentation on the Tur Abdin (with slides) in an open evening for all interested in the pilgrimage – both those who had already signed up, and those who were still considering it. The evening concluded with three Syriac Orthodox Christians singing the Lord's prayer in Syriac.

It was a wonderful time for me to be in Oxford and London, and I would like to thank AECA for giving me this opportunity. I was able to express my appreciation by cooking a traditional Syriac/Turkish dinner for the AECA Executive Committee. Thank you also to the staff and members of St John's Parish Notting Hill and all guests for their kindness, especially to Elizabeth Marden, Caroline Sterling and Rosemary Warcup.

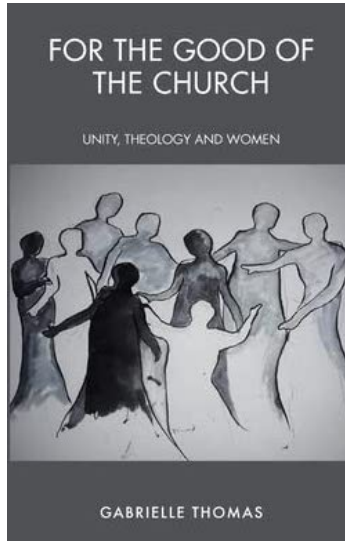
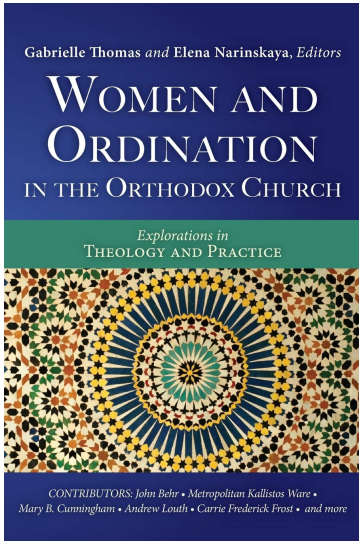
Beacuse of Covid travel restrictions, I was not able to come to the UK in September 2021 as planned. This meant that my studies were cut short at Oxford due to the Christmas break and I did not benefit as much as I would like to improve my English academically so I could do a Masters course in English. My wish was to be able to do a Masters course in the UK at some time, but I am realistic in accepting that it is very expensive and time is against me. Hopefully, as they say, as one door closes another opens. And as a student, when I finish my time here I will go back to Turkey to finish my studies in finance in the University of Istanbul in October. However Gabriel assured me

that there will be a supported place for me to do the Masters Course in Syriac Theology at our new (and the only) Syriac Theological Seminary, part of the University of Salzburg, Austria, living at the Beth Suryoye Theological Seminary. This was established in the last decade to preserve the Syriac Aramaic, the language of our Lord Jesus Christ. Please pray for me so I can follow and serve our Lord Jesus Christ. I hope to see you in Tur Abdin or Salzburg. God bless you all!



Book Reviews

THOMAS SHARP



Women and Ordination in the Orthodox Church, Gabrielle Thomas & Elena Narinskaya (Eds), Cascade Books, 2020, 232 pp.

For The Good of The Church: unity, theology and women, Gabrielle Thomas, SCM Press, 2021, 256 pp.

IN 2018, the Rev'd Dr Gabrielle Thomas, an anglican priest and theologian, was asked to contribute to a conference in Oxford exploring questions around the ordination of women in the Orthodox Church. This conference was organised by Women's Ministries Initiative, an education forum pioneered by Dr Elena Narinskaya. The two books reviewed here will be of interest to readers of *Koinonia* in that they provide a way in to the discussions of that conference, and invite Christians to explore the real possibilities of what has become known as "receptive ecumenism" for exploring questions of the ordination of women and for other ecumenical questions also.

In *For The Good of The Church*, Thomas presents her research between 2017 and 2019 in Durham on the experiences of women in various ecclesial contexts and the gifts they offer the churches. She uses as her methodological framework the concept of "receptive ecumenism", a concept developed in recent years by Prof Paul Murray and others. Rather than trying to forge agreement, receptive ecumenism asks the question, "What do we need to learn from another tradition to help us address difficulties in our own?" (11) Thomas notes that: 'To engage in receptive ecumenism is to encourage churches to pause and to be honest with themselves. It creates the space to admit that our churches do not function perfectly; rather, there are wounds and difficulties in each of our traditions that await the Spirit's transformation. This takes courage.' (12) This risky venture of listening and learning is grounded in what Paul Murray calls 'the sustained passion of love rather than frustration' (29). It is rooted in the virtues of love, hospitality, humility and hope 'that they may be one' (cf. John 17). In this, it holds great promise to move the cause of ecumenism forward, now that the low-hanging fruit of celebrating our doctrinal agreements has been well harvested.

In the first part of the book, Thomas shares anonymised quotes in which participants in the research share their experiences of being women in various ecclesial settings, the gifts and the wounds they received, as well as the gifts they bring. These are well worth spending time with. They are humbling, and it is a privilege to read these testimonies as well as Thomas' commentary.

In the four chapters of the second part of the book, Thomas brings these experiences into critical dialogue with particular churches. In chapter four, she reflects on the unequivocal critique by Roman Catholic participants of their church's teaching on the "genius of women", and develops this into helpful reflections on the difference between hospitality and mere entertaining. In chapter five, Thomas considers the views of Orthodox participants that the ordination of women in itself would not solve problems about the inclusion of women in the Orthodox Church. And she notes that this conversation is fraught in many parts of the Orthodox world, so that 'this journey [of receptive ecumenism] is risky both for those giving and those receiving' (115). Thomas then draws on her own research on the Cappadocians to offer Gregory of Nazianzus' theology of baptism and vocation as a ground for a discussion of the role of priest as theologian, healer and leader.

What is so impressive about Thomas' deployment of her theological learning is that she uses it to tease out and amplify the voices of the women in her research, rather than to move past them. We are able to hear both the ex-

periences of modern women in the Church and the theology of St Gregory in a way that invites new insight and creative dialogue. In chapter six, Thomas underlines the theme that the ordination of women in itself is not a panacea as she reflects on the policy of "mutual flourishing" of ordained women and those who cannot in conscience accept their ordination in the Church of England. Again, through Thomas' careful exposition of Thomas Aquinas' theology of grace and friendship, we are invited into profound reflection and prayer on the nature of mutuality, in ministry and in all aspects of life. In chapter seven, the theme of power (and particularly asymmetric power dynamics in church dialogues and discernment, which has run throughout the book) is given particular focus in the Methodist tradition. This chapter does not perhaps go so explicitly deep in terms of theological content, but the questions it asks are uncomfortable and necessary for all Christians in any part of the Church.

Aside from the rich and humbling questions it poses and useful recommendations it offers, *For The Good of The Church* is an effective primer for those interested in receptive ecumenism and practical ways to help people learn from one another. But it also provides a methodological basis for understanding the sort of dialogues which took place at the 2018 Oxford conference, and within the collection of expanded papers from that conference published as *Women and Ordination in the Orthodox Church*. The collection is presented in three sections.

In the first, entitled "Theological Anthropology", John Behr notes that a fundamental problem is uncertainty about 'how our existence as sexed and sexual beings relates to our common humanity' (3). He reframes human identity as something we take on 'when we voluntarily embrace the cross and our own death in Christ through the sacrament of baptism', and then locates this particularly, for sexed beings, in the overcoming of death by love in marriage so that marriage becomes a sort of martyrdom. This enables Behr to present marriage not as a safe locus for sex or the preservation of "family values" but rather 'transforming those who love with the martyric love shown by Christ into another state, neither male nor female but human, through martyrdom and in Christ' (12). It is a fascinating essay which blurs familiar truisms about the role of marriage, and challenges us to remember the call to be crucified with Christ in every state of life, but Behr is frustratingly careful not to say too much about what this blurring might mean for a Church which does envisage distinct roles for the binary sexes. Elizabeth Theokritoff, reviewing a book by Konstantinos N. Yokarinis, reprises many of the themes familiar to Anglicans on the inadequacy of gendered language in Christology, and suggests that Yokarinis' con-

clusion (that the church is entirely free to retain a male-only priesthood, but may not use "paratheological" arguments to do so) (38) is unlikely to please anyone. Elena Narinskaya presents a rich and disturbing narrative of the development of problematic interpretations of Eve's curse in Genesis 3. She notes that it is unclear where the use of Genesis 3 as a justification for female subordination came from and suggests that a reinterpretation is possible from within the tradition. Luis Josué Salés offers an example of a Christian community in antiquity that did ordain women to every ecclesiastical rank. The essays in this section are not really in dialogue, but do provide examples of different ways of asking questions about what it means to have sex or gender.

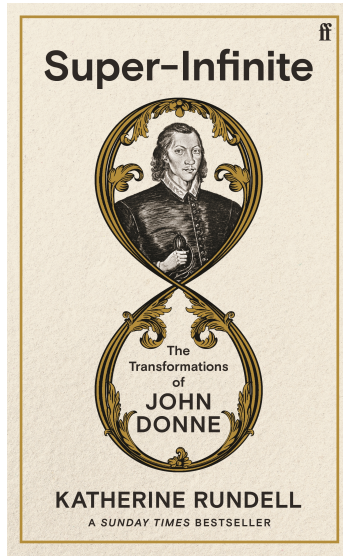
The second section of the collection, entitled "Diaconate and Priesthood", is rather more focussed. Kallistos Ware, with characteristic gentleness, charts the changes in his own views, leaving us in an uncomfortable place, not of uncertainty, but of ongoing discernment and a call to humility. Andrew Louth questions whether the tradition of ministry is as unchanging as is often assumed, reminding us that ordained ministry is only one part of the developing ministry of the whole Church. And also that the hierarchy should not be afraid or defensively reactive when it comes to arguments for the ordination of women, especially when those questions are asked by people in the Church. Sarah Hinlicky Wilson offers a presentation of Elisabeth Behr-Sigel's trinitarian case for the ordination of women, affirming the importance of individual personhood, rather than the categorical female. But Hinlicky Wilson also notes Behr-Sigel's problematic use of gendered symbolism. Mary B. Cunningham explores from a historical perspective the presentation of the Theotokos in Eastern traditions as priest. These are less explicit than in the West, and Cunningham presents them in their complexity, without simply using them as a "flat" or literal' (125) analogy to argue for the ordination of women. Kyriaki Karidoyanes Fitzgerald argues that the ordination rites for the female deacon 'enthusiastically affirms the priesthood of the deaconess' (130). Anglican readers might well read this essay bearing in mind the Church of England's move from ordaining women as deaconesses to deacons and then priests.

This theme is picked up in the final section, entitled "Implications for Contemporary Practice", as Carrie Frederick Frost argues that a flourishing female diaconate will lead a better discernment about the ordination of women as priests, in part because of the normalisation of women in liturgical roles, but also the increasing voice of women in the Church as members of the clergy, enabling a fuller and less fearful discernment (162). Paul Ladouceur attempts to move the debate into a pastoral realm. His critique of arguments for and

against the ordination of women is disarmingly levelling, but proponents of the ordination of women might be unconvinced by the ability of his pastoral / economic questions to push past the status quo. Gabrielle Thomas' essay on Gregory Nazianzen and the role of the priest is the source of her chapter in *For The Good of The Church* on the priest as theologian, healer and leader.

Neither the collection of conference papers presented as *Women and Ordination in the Orthodox Church* nor the research presented as *For The Good of The Church* are comprehensive treatments of the debate about the ordination of women in the Orthodox Church; nor do they provide a clear answer. What they do invite us to do is approach the debate in a new way, a less confrontational and fearful way, more hopefully and humbly, creatively and generously. In this sense, even if individual essays fail to convince the reader, or fail to go far enough, as a whole these two books have potential to contribute powerfully to the health and happiness of the Church, advancing a holier discernment about the ministry of women.

ALAN TRIGLE



A review of Super-Infinite: The Transformations of John Donne, Katherine Rundell
Faber, 2022, 352 pp.

ANGLICANISM HAS A RICH TRADITION of priest poets, from John Donne and George Herbert in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to R.S. Thomas and Rowan Williams in the twentieth and twenty-first. Herbert and Thomas both remained parish priests, whereas Williams and Donne held high office in the Church of England. The former was Archbishop of Canterbury from 2002 to 2012 and the subject of this book was Dean of St Paul’s cathedral from 1621 until his death in 1631.

There is rarely such a thing as a typical career in ministry, as examples in the wider church from St Paul onwards show us. Rundell’s title rightly indicates that the path taken by Donne might nowadays be politely described as “varied” or “stimulating”. On top of that he also wrote some of the most remarkable poetry in English, on subjects deeply profane (“To His Mistress Going To Bed”) as well as profoundly religious (the Holy Sonnets), and had a reputation for being one of the most powerful preachers in the country. He moved from being a Catholic to a Protestant, from relative obscurity to great prestige and

royal favour, and from a testosterone-driven youth to pious old age. Both his poetry and his life make him worthy of study.

Donne was born in London in 1572, within sight of where he would ultimately work and be buried. His father came from an old Catholic family that had lost much of its wealth over the past half-century or so because of its religion; his mother was related to the martyr Thomas More. There was still enough money to bring him up as a gentleman and he went to Oxford, even though this was not really a gentlemanly thing to do at the time, Rundell points out. After that he trained as a lawyer at Lincoln's Inn in London (where his fellows elected him Master of the Revels – in charge of putting on the parties).

It was not a comfortable time to be a Catholic in England: the author writes of a “constant, low-level, background thrum of terror”. At the lower end of the harassment, Donne's mother had to pay a fine in 1589 for not attending church. More seriously, eleven members of his family died in exile or in prison for their religion between the execution of Thomas More in 1535 and the death of his younger brother Henry Donne in 1593. Aged just twelve, Donne went along on a visit to his uncle Jasper Weston, a Jesuit priest, in the Tower of London. Fortunately, Weston had grown up with Queen Elizabeth; she granted his petition for mercy and deported him to France, so he avoided execution by hanging, drawing and quartering. Then in 1593 brother Henry was caught concealing a priest and died of disease in Newgate prison not long afterwards.

How and when Donne turned from Catholicism to Protestantism is, Rundell tells us, “the central boxing ring of Donne studies.” Unfortunately, Donne writes nothing about it. There are no agonising poems or anguished letters. We simply know that by December 1601 he had made the change, and from then on never looked back. A clerical career still seemed unlikely though; in 1596 and 1597 he took part in naval attacks on Spain. Through a friend he then wangled a position as secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (his friend's father, Sir Thomas Egerton). This was the period in which the Lothian portrait (see below) captures him as a fashionable dandy.

At this point Donne made a massive, career-ending error; he married Anne More, a young lady in his patron's household, without her father's permission. Father-in-law and boss were both furious and sacked Donne, hence the notorious pun attributed to him: “John Donne, Anne Donne, undone” (which makes clear the pronunciation of his name). Long years of poverty and living on the charity of friends followed; a sharp downwards bump into cold reality. Three of their children died before their tenth birthdays, two more were stillborn. Anne herself finally died delivering a twelfth (stillborn) child in

1617. The poet of love had plenty of opportunity to taste the bitterness of what life can offer. In fact he was so familiar with gloom that he wrote a 300-page book on suicide, which was never published in his lifetime (not least because suicide remained illegal in this country until 1961).

Rendell offers a very succinct analysis of the way Donne eventually managed to move out of obscurity and poverty: grovelling. In particular he flattered wealthy ladies, George Herbert's mother among them. For those living under a monarchy, of course, the best person to grovel to is the ruler. Donne dedicated a two-volume work of 1610/1611 to James I. In it he argued that anyone refusing to swear the oath of allegiance brought in as a way of hunting out recusants (i.e. Catholics) after the gunpowder plot of 1605 was committing suicide. This meant they were not a true martyr but a deluded pseudo-martyr (the title of the work). The king loved it, and in 1614 encouraged him to prepare for ordination, which duly took place the following year. The promotion to Dean of St Paul's in 1621 Rundell ascribes to his now proven homiletic skills in front of the king. His cultivation of the court favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, surely also helped. Donne had finally made the big time. He even had enough money to buy a Titian. He remained in his post until his death in 1631. Shortly before dying he posed for an artist in his shroud. This drawing served as the basis for the memorial statue to him, which was one of the few items to survive the great fire of 1666 and still stands in the cathedral today.

Donne is a major figure, and there is no shortage of books on him. R.C. Bald's biography of 1970 is a standard, and John Carey's *Life, Mind and Art* published in 1981 enjoys a great reputation. (The author acknowledges Carey as an inspiration, and he contributes a blurb on the back cover: "Fascinating and incisive: spellbinding.") Rundell describes her book as both a biography and an act of evangelism. She wrote her doctorate on Donne and steers her way confidently round the various scholarly controversies and the black holes in his life. She also knows the wider historical background well, and demonstrates this sometimes to the point that she cannot resist putting in juicy stories which are ultimately of little relevance. It is gruesomely entertaining to be reminded of poor George Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury who killed a gamekeeper by accident in 1621, but the incident had no discernible impact on Donne's appointment to St Paul's.

At the same time, her enthusiasm for his work is infectious and constantly sends us running back to look at the poems, which is a good thing. Her tone is certainly lively: she says *Pseudo-Martyr* is "so dense it would be swifter to

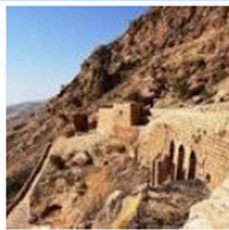
eat it than to read it.” Even though she is now primarily an award-winning writer of children’s books, she has a good claim to be one of the eggheads of her generation, having won an Examination Fellowship to All Souls College, Oxford - but this is certainly not a dusty work. If anything, Rundell is sometimes obtrusively present, sharing her views on topics like perceptions of beauty in older women or fashion choices which are, shall we say, peripheral to Donne. She also serves as a written confirmation of the rule of thumb that anyone who went to Oxford will tell you they did within five minutes of meeting you; Rundell never misses an opportunity to remind readers that she is deeply familiar with the city.

This book is a call to read Donne’s poems (not so much his sermons), so it seems fitting to end with one of his best-known, Holy Sonnet XIV:

*Batter my heart, three-person'd God, for you
As yet but knock, breathe, shine, and seek to mend;
That I may rise and stand, o'erthrow me, and bend
Your force to break, blow, burn, and make me new.
I, like an usurp'd town to another due,
Labor to admit you, but oh, to no end;
Reason, your viceroy in me, me should defend,
But is captiv'd, and proves weak or untrue.
Yet dearly I love you, and would be lov'd fain,
But am betroth'd unto your enemy;
Divorce me, untie or break that knot again,
Take me to you, imprison me, for I,
Except you enthrall me, never shall be free,
Nor ever chaste, except you ravish me*



McCabe
PILGRIMAGES



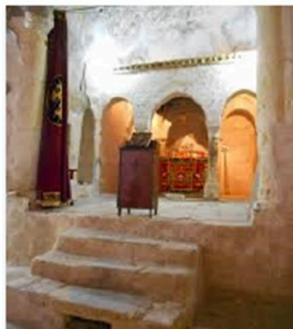
Syriac Christianity in Eastern Turkey with the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association

17-25 September 2022

A nine day pilgrimage to Tur Abdin, Eastern Turkey
led by The Rt Revd Christopher Chessun, Bishop of Southwark
& Mar Polycarpus, Syriac Orthodox Archbishop of the Netherlands



DAILY PROGRAMME



Saturday 17 Sept | **DIYA RBAKIR**

We meet at London Heathrow. Turkish Airlines flight TK1980 to Istanbul departs at 11:30 and arrives at 17:20. Transfer to flight TK2610 to Diyarbakir departing at 19:30 and arriving at 21:40. Overnight at the Hilton Garden Hotel in Diyarbakir (no dinner).

Sunday | **SANLIURFA & HARRAN**

Drive to Sanliurfa (ancient Edessa) for a city tour including Balıklı Göl (sacred carp) in the old town, the Church of St Petrus/St Paulus (Reji Church) and the Archaeology Museum, one of the best in Turkey. In the afternoon we drive to Harran. Dinner and overnight in Sanliurfa at the Hilton Garden Hotel.

Monday | **MARDIN & DARA**

We drive to Mardin where we visit Ulu Cami, Zinciriye Madrese, the Mardin Museum as well as the Church of 40 Martyrs (Kirklar Church). Dinner and overnight in Mardin at the Hilton Garden Hotel for two nights.

Tuesday | **MARDIN**

Today we visit Deir ul Zaferan, one of the most important centres of the Syriac Church, as well as the recently excavated historic town of Dara.

Wednesday | **MIDYAT**

We drive towards Nusaybin (Nisbis) where we visit St Jacob's Church (Mor Yakup). Continue to Midyat where we spend four nights at the Turabdin Hotel.

Thursday | **MOR AUGIN**

Today we visit Mor Augin, one of the oldest Syriac churches, and Mor Melke as well as the village of Haberli, once home to over 25 churches and schools which produced a wealth of priests and bishops. Mor Dodo, the most impressive building here, is a fortified Syrian Orthodox church dating back to the 7th century.

Friday | **MOR GABRIEL**

Today we visit Mor Gabriel, the world's oldest surviving Syriac Orthodox monastery believed to

have been built 1,600 years ago.

Saturday | **HASANKEYF & KAFRO**

Located on the Tigris River, Hasankeyf has a fascinating history with plenty to see. It's considered to be one of the oldest sites of Mesopotamia. The cliffs that surround the city contain thousands of caves as well as rock cut churches and mosques and ancient cemeteries.

We visit the village of Kafro which, according to tradition, had its origins before the birth of Christ. During the Assyrian genocide, its entire population fled to the nearby monasteries and it was abandoned for many years until the population slowly returned in the latter half of the 20th century.

Sunday 25 September | **DEPARTURE**

Transfer to Mardin Airport. Turkish Airlines flight TK2675 to Istanbul departs at 10:25 and arrives at 12:55. Connecting flight TK1971 to London Heathrow departs at 14:50 and arrives at 16:15.





A PILGRIMAGE TO THE SYRIAC CHURCHES OF EASTERN TURKEY WITH THE ANGLICAN AND EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCIATION

17-25 September 2022

We are delighted to be leading this pilgrimage to the holy places of south-east Turkey. This area has played an important part in Christian history. After the First World

War, Turkey became a mainly Muslim country, but we will visit the flourishing Syriac church of Tur Abdin, an area which after decades of decline has shown signs of dynamic growth.

We will share in the life of two monasteries, with their classical Syriac worship, as well as visiting towns and villages where Syriac Christianity is central to people's lives. We will also see the ancient cliff-side Monastery of Mor Augin, re-opened after decades of being abandoned.

We shall stop at many holy places, to pray and to reflect, listening both to the voice of history and to the people we encounter along the way. There will be formal times of worship, but also space to be still.

TOUR INFORMATION

The cost is £2,195 per person sharing a twin/double room with ensuite bathroom.

This pilgrimage is on half board; breakfast is included daily and dinner at our hotels with the exception of arrival and departure days.

Flights are with Turkish Airlines from London Heathrow and all airport taxes and charges are included.

We will be accompanied by a local guide/tour manager throughout and will travel by private air-conditioned coach.

All entrance fees to sights mentioned are included as well as tips to guide, driver, hotels and restaurants.

Not included Travel insurance - includes COVID-19 cover and is £73 per person aged up to 75 years at the time of purchase and £137 per person aged

76-90. A special feature of this policy is that you do not need to declare medical conditions (see back page). We require all travellers to have adequate cover for the trip and you may choose to have annual or another suitable insurance.

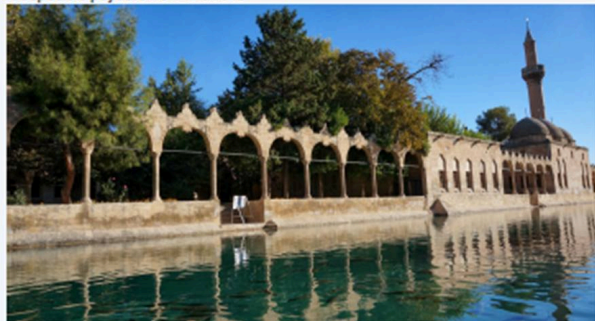
The single room supplement is £445 but please read 'Travelling Alone' overleaf if you would like to share.

Any special requests should be noted on the booking form.

A deposit is payable now with the

balance payable eight weeks prior to departure. Your final travel information will be sent two weeks before departure.

A Turkish visa is required for this trip. This is available online for \$20/£16. The process is very straightforward but can be done on your behalf for a fee of £25. Full details will be sent with your final invoice.



TO MAKE A RESERVATION

To reserve your place, please complete the booking form and send it with a deposit of £200 plus the relevant insurance premium, to the tour organiser. Cheques are payable to 'McCabe Pilgrimages' but if you prefer to pay by card, please make a note on the booking form and McCabe staff will contact you to take payment over the phone.

Revd Andrei Petrine
38 Claremont Road
Basildon
SS15 5PZ

Tel : 07723 026925
Email: pater@me.com

OUR PILGRIMAGE

THE McCABE EDUCATIONAL TRUST

The McCabe Educational Trust is an independent registered charity with the aim of helping inspiring people we meet on pilgrimage. As 'the haves' encounter the 'have nots' the Trust has become a practical tool for one to help the other. McCabe Pilgrimages invite all travellers to become partners in this work. A £15 voluntary donation to the Trust's work is added to every pilgrim's invoice and all money raised in this way is given in full to the projects the Trust supports. This scheme is voluntary and confidential with nobody put under any pressure to participate.

A TURKISH VISA IS REQUIRED

A visa is required for this holiday and has to be purchased in advance from the Turkish Embassy website www.evisa.gov.tr/en. The McCabe office will advise and assist with this. Do check that your passport is valid for at least six months beyond the duration of this tour. If you need a new passport apply early as there can be considerable backlogs at the passport offices. No inoculations are required but we advise you to consult your doctor regarding your own personal requirements.

TRAVELLING ALONE

Many of our passengers travel alone and object to expensive single room supplements. McCabe Pilgrimages will accept individual bookings on a 'guaranteed share' basis. We charge the basic price and accommodate you with a person of the same sex also requesting shared accommodation. If we do not find someone to share with you, you will be accommodated in a single room at only 50% of the usual single room supplement. For single travellers who do require single accommodation this should be requested when booking and, if available, the normal supplement will be payable.

TRAVEL INSURANCE

Our policy includes COVID-19 cover. A special feature of the policy recommended by McCabe is that you do not need to declare medical conditions or call a medical screening service. Most pre-existing health conditions are covered as long as your doctor agrees that you are fit to travel.

We have arranged a holiday insurance policy underwritten by AWP P&C SA and administered in the UK by Allianz Global Assistance which is a trading name of AWP Assistance UK Limited, AWP Assistance UK Limited is authorised and regulated by the Financial Conduct Authority. AWP P&C SA is duly authorised in France and the United Kingdom and subject to limited regulation by the Prudential Regulation Authority and the Financial Conduct Authority. McCabe Travel Ltd is an Appointed Representative of Global Travel Insurance Services Ltd who is authorised and regulated by the Financial Conduct Authority (firm reference 305686) being permitted to advise and arrange general insurance contracts. Our status can be checked on the Financial Conduct Authority Register by visiting www.fca.org.uk or calling 0845 606 9966.

The policy has been specifically designed so that it covers all McCabe holidays; protecting you in full if you have to cancel and providing you with the very best and most effective protection if you are unfortunate enough to require medical attention whilst away. Standard exclusions apply and are listed on the summary document which is available on request. Please check that you are not affected by the Main Health Exclusions. You will not be covered for any ongoing tests or treatment of an undiagnosed condition, or for any terminal illness, or if you claim as a result of a condition arising within the past twelve months. If you have a medical condition, you must obtain verbal confirmation from your medical practitioner that there is no reason why you should not travel and you must ensure that this confirmation is recorded in your notes.

Note that you will be required to pay an excess of £1,000 on any claim that results directly from a pre-existing medical condition.

A full policy wording will be sent to you with confirmation of your booking, or ask us and we will send you a summary now. Full details are also on our website. If you would like more information or are unsure of any details, please call Global Travel Insurance Services Ltd for further advice on 01903 235042. This insurance is only available to persons who are permanently resident in the UK.

AITO QUALITY STATEMENT

McCabe Pilgrimages is a member of the Association of Independent Tour Operators. The Association represents Britain's leading independent tour operators and encourages high standards of quality and service. McCabe abides by the Association's Code of Conduct and adheres to the AITO Quality Charter which can be viewed on www.aito.co.uk. Visit the website to find out more about the Association or call 020 8744 9280.

This pilgrimage is ATOL protected by the Civil Aviation Authority.
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McCabe
PILGRIMAGES

11 Hillgate Place London SW12 9ER Tel: 020 8675 6828
Email info@mccabe-travel.co.uk www.mccabe-travel.co.uk

Pilgrimage Secretary

Andrei Petrine

email: a.petrine@mac.com

Editor of Koinonia

Stephen Stavrou

email: stephenfrancisstavrou@gmail.com

Assistant Editors

Thomas Sharp, Hana Lucas, David-John Williams, Demetris Salapatas

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www.aeca.org.uk

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St Michael's 'Golden-domed' monastery, Kyiv.