KOINONIA

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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

THE RECENT CORONATION of King Charles III was extraordinary in so many ways. One striking moment was when the Greek Choir sang Psalm 71 to during the exchange of swords. The haunting sound of Byzantine chant filling the ancient Abbey was a reflection of the King's paternal heritage, his late father, Prince Philip, having been born a prince of Greece and baptised in the Greek Orthodox Church.

At the same time the chant took us back to Byzantium, and a world in which Church and State were united in the person of the Emperor. Ever since Constantine I called the Council of Nicaea in 325, Orthodox faith has accorded the temporal ruler a key role as a secular counterpart to the spiritual leadership of a patriarch. The precedent set by Constantine was followed by those who came after with councils being summoned by an emperor who participated in the proceedings. Leo I (reigned 457-474) was the first to be crowned in a Christian ceremony at Hagia Sophia by Patriarch Anatolius – a ritual that was later imitated in courts all over Europe.

By a quirk of history, it is only the United Kingdom that still crowns a sovereign in the context of an explicitly Christian service. Other Christian monarchies and rulers have largely been de-sacralised. Even if they still have a nominal religious affiliation, no other gives the sovereign a role such as 'Defender of the Faith' or 'Supreme Governor' of the national church. At his Coronation, King Charles took an oath to 'maintain the Protestant Reformed religion established by law'. Such oaths and titles are reminiscent of the Byzantine emperors and their special role as protectors of the Church and upholders of doctrine.

Moreover, whilst remaining a distinctly Church of England service, the Coronation was remarkable for its ecumenical features[1]. At the last Coronation in 1953 the only other denomination to take an active part in the service was the presentation of the Bible by the Moderator of the Church of Scotland – and that was controversial at the time! This time, the Holy Oil of Chrism for the Coronation was blessed by His Beatitude, Patriarch Theophilus III of Jerusalem alongside Anglican Archbishop Naoum in a special service at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In the Coronation service itself, Orthodox, Catholic and Free Church clergy joined with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in pronouncing a Blessing on the King. The visuals of this benediction as they gathered around the throne sent a powerful message of unity. In this way, the King was able to respect the diversity of Christian faith, as he consecrated himself and the whole nation to God.

This edition of *Koinonia* comes with apologies for being delayed, but it contains the usual interesting mix of articles by a range of authors, both Anglican and Orthodox. We are pleased to print the text of the Constantinople Lecture from last November, delivered by Archbishop Angaelos, Coptic Archbishop of London, in which he mentions the resumption of ecumenical talks between the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches - a development for which we must all give thanks with joy. You will also find the second half of an excellent article by the renowned scholar Paul Avis, discussing Anglian polity from an ecumenical perspective. There is a fascinating article by Katie Kelaidis, discussing historic barriers between the Church of England and Orthodox Christians as a result of a misunderstanding of 'Greekness', so often seen in the west through the prism of classical Greece. Owen Dobson has written about the unique experience of welcoming the Ecumenical Patriarch for a special service at his church in London. One of the pilgrims on the most recent AECA pilgrimage, Brian Curnew, gives an account of the visit to Tur Abdin and other areas in Eastern Turkey, demonstrating the importance of such pilgrimages to all involved. Finally and, as usual, this edition concludes with a book review, but rather than an academic work, this review is of a cookbook with an Orthodox flavour. I am grateful to Alan Trigle for not only reading the book but also tasting the recipes with such dedication and enthusiasm!

I am sad to say that this is my last occasion as Editor of *Koinonia.* It is a role I have undertaken for over a decade. Since I edited the first edition in the

[1] There were, of course, distinctive interfaith elements also, but it is the ecumenical features that are of particular interest in this context.

latter half of 2012, it has been a great joy and privilege to bring together articles from such an interesting selection of people who truly believe in the importance of ecumenism. In that first editorial I said that I hoped to 'provide a mix of news, articles and reviews that reflect the varied interests and scholarship of the membership and which will challenge, stimulate and provoke discussion'. Whether I have done this or not I leave to your judgement, but I have tried to ensure a better gender balance of contributors and encouraged articles from young authors as part of forming a new generation of ecumenists with a vision for the unity of the Church.

I continue to pray for the work of the AECA and its mission to 'prepare the way for an ultimate union between them [Anglican and Orthodox Churches] in accordance with Our Lord's Prayer that "all may be one".

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Contributors

ANBA ANGAELOS is the Coptic Orthodox Archbishop of London who has served in the UK for many years. He also has a particular role for representing the Coptic Church at an ecumenical level and among a number of honours has been awarded an OBE for 'services to international religious freedom'.

PAUL AVIS, is a priest in the Church of England ands 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.

KATHERINE KALAIDIS is a research fellow at the Institute for Orthodox Christian Studies, Cambridge, and director for research and content at the National Hellenic Museum in Chicago.

OWEN DOBSON is an Anglican priest, ministering as an assistant priest in the parish of St James', Sussex Gardens.

BRIAN CURNEW is a retired priest of the Church of England.

ALAN TRIGLE is an Anglican priest working as an assistant in the parish of St Nicholas Chiswick, in west London. He serves as Treasurer of the AECA.

News and Notices

Constantinople Lecture 2022

On Thursday 24th November 2022 the AECA held its annual Constantinople lecture at St John the Evangelist, Notting Hill. This year's speaker was His Eminence Archbishop Angaelos, OBE, who is the Coptic Orthodox Archbishop of London. The evening began with Evensong, led by Fr Alan Trigle, the Treasurer of the AECA. Fr William Taylor, Chair of the AECA, welcomed everyone to the event. His Eminence spoke about 'The Church: The strength of its witness and brightness of its light' and the text of the lecture is reproduced in this edition of Koinonia. After the talk, the Secretary of the AECA thanked His Eminence for his inspiring talk. Fr Alan Trigle presented a picture to His Eminence from the summer AECA AGM, taken in front of the Serbian Orthodox Church of St Sava, in London. This picture was a gift from the Photographer of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain Mr. Alexios Gennaris. The event concluded with a reception, where those present had the opportunity to enjoy Syrian food together.

Constantinople Lecture 2023

This year's lecture will take place on Thursday 23rd November at St Sophia's Greek Orthodox Cathedral, London by kind permission of His Eminence Archbishop Nikitas of Thyateira and Great Britain. The Lecturer is the Rev'd Canon Dr James Hawkey, Canon Theologian of Westminster Abbey who will speak to the title 'Anointed with the oil of gladness: Ecumenical possibilities in a new reign'. Vespers will be at 5.15pm, followed by the lecture and then a reception. To register interest or attendance please email the Secretary, Dimitris Salapatas, at gensec@aeca.org.uk no later than Monday 20th November. There is no charge for the reception, which is open to all attending the lecture.

Annual Meeting and Dinner

The AECA holds its annual meeting on Thursday 22nd June at St Sava's Serbian Orthodox Church, London. Vespers is at 6pm, followed by the AGM, drinks and dinner. Dinner is £30 per person (students £15), although it is possible to attend Vespers and the Meeting only. To attend email the Secretary, Dimitris Salapatas, at gensec@aeca.org.uk with any dietary requirements by 19th June.

AECA Anglican-Orthodox Reception

The AECA held its annual Orthodox Reception at Westminster Abbey in October 2022. The evening began with Choral Evensong, followed by a reception at the Jerusalem Chamber, by kind permission of the Dean of Westminster. Speakers at this year's event were the Revd Ccanon Dr Jamie Hawkey (Canon Theologian of Westminster), The Revd Dr William Taylor (Chair of AECA), The Bishop of Southwark, the Rt Revd Christopher Chessun (Anglican President of AECA), His Eminence Archbishop Zenon of Dmanisi (Georgian Orthodox Church), His Grace Bishop Hovakim Manukian (Armenian Church) and Fr Yohannes Sibahtu of the Eritrean Orthodox Church, and Fr Yohannes Sibahtu of the Eritrean Orthodox Church. The speakers all pointed out the difficult times regarding Christian persecution, the assistance the Christians need abroad and in the UK and reiterated the importance of our friendships between Christians from East and West.

Photo: Rose Collis

AECA Pilgrimage to Romania

THE AECA is pleased to announce our 2023 pilgrimage taking place from 1-9 September, led by Bishop Jonathan Baker (Bishop of Fulham) and Fr Mihai Novacovischi (Rector of the Romanian parish, Birmingham). Full 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.

Metropolitan John Zizioulas

It was with great sadness that, in February, we heard of the passing of John Zizioulas, Metropolitan of Pergamon (Greek Orthodox Church), who was also one of the most influential theologians of our time. As an individual who studied and worked in Greece, the United States and the UK, he was able to speak across spiritual and cultural divides. Much of his life was dedicated to ecumenical endeavour, serving on various official dialogues and on the World Council of Churches. Members of the AECA will wish to join in praying and giving thanks for his life of faith and his contribution to the thought and unity of the Church. *May he rest in peace and rise in glory.*

John Zizioulas (1921-2023)

Constantinople Lecture 2022

'The Church: The strength of its witness and brightness of its light.'[1]

ANBA ANGAELOS

GOOD EVENING ALL: Fathers, sisters, and brothers. It's always wonderful to be introduced by a friend, because they are always so kind and gracious. And there is no one more kind or gracious than Father William Taylor [Chair of the AECA], who is very much a valued bridge between the Church of England here, the Anglican Communion generally, and our Oriental Orthodox churches – and indeed, both families of orthodoxy.

I'm very blessed and privileged to be here for this Constantinople Lecture. And this year particularly because it is sandwiched between two visits to Constantinople. I was at the Phanar with his All Holiness the Ecumenical Pat-

[1] The Constantinople Lecture from November 2022 has been kindly transcribed from an audio recording by co-editor Hanna Lucas, and reflects the text as delivered on the evening with only slight editing for publication. Photo courtesy of Alexis Gennaris.

riarch only two weeks ago; and will be with His All Holiness again in Turkey, Constantinople next week. The first visit was to visit his All Holiness and seek his blessing to try to restart the international dialogue between our two families of orthodoxy. And I am pleased to say that by God's grace this will be recommencing with a preparatory meeting next year, and we are blessed to be able to host that meeting and, hopefully, both families will come together to restart the dialogue.

Next week's visit is a preparatory set of lectures about the Creed. Now we know that 2025 brings the seventeen-hundredth anniversary of the council of Nicaea. And so next week we are speaking about the Creed, and it will be a blessing to be able to share some thoughts on that. The reason I share that is because it speaks to the richness of our Church. And I'll get into trouble from some for saying that, but I speak about the One Church of God—fragmented as it may be at the moment. Distressed and broken sometimes; divided, and yet the Body of Christ still. Now, of course, as I say often, I don't think anyone here does ecumenism because it's incredibly 'cool'. Because in many people's eyes it probably isn't. We do it because we believe—I do it because I believe—in the notion that what we have (cliché as it may sound) in common far exceeds what separates us. And so, we must work on that commonality, and must work on that ability to *be* together and to stand together. Not just for our own unity, but for the world.

We always use John 17 to speak about our own unity. But in actual fact, John 17 also speaks to the presence of the Church of God in the world: 'That we may be one' and 'That all who see us may believe'. With the ecumenical life of our churches, we must endeavour always to not just show ourselves as broken, not just show ourselves as vulnerable, not just show ourselves as weak, but to show ourselves for the truth that is the Body of Christ. That truth is that we have as our head the Incarnate Word. Our Lord never lied to His disciples and does not lie to us today. He says that in the world we will have tribulation, but He reassures us, and says, 'but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world'. The tribulation has been overcome. The suffering will be there. The challenges will be there. The persecution will be there. But we, as His Body, live in the victory of His promise. We live in the victory of His resurrection and the hope of His coming again as one flock, under one shepherd. The Church is glorious. The Body of Christ is glorious.

Only two years ago, we couldn't have done this. We couldn't have been in one place. We could not have shared these thoughts. We could not have gathered. We could not have worshipped together. Because we were separated.

We were, one of the unfortunate words of this decade, we were 'isolating' and 'isolated'. And in that time, at a time when there was a growing movement that kept saying that we, as Church, were irrelevant; fewer and fewer people were considering themselves as Christians; and so therefore there must be something dire. In the midst of that, we saw more people going to church, seeking church. And going to church looked different. At some stages during that time, it meant congregating in smaller numbers. At other times, it meant looking through our devices and monitors. But we found that people found strength in the church.

There is no doubt that the world is filled with darkness at this stage. We only need look at our daily news feeds. We only need look at the news yesterday. The worst day of bombing in Ukraine. Yesterday was a day that was designated as 'Red Wednesday', it's a day in November when we remember persecution of Christians in particular, and persecution of people of faith and religion and belief as a whole. And I was at the Ukrainian Catholic cathedral last night speaking to a group there and seeing the very real pain that was experienced by a community. And yet, seeing what the Church could do. The Church was able to gather people from all Christian backgrounds together in one space to hear the word of God and to hear the testimony of a bishop who had come from Nigeria to speak about his people.

He spoke of the resilience of those people. He spoke of the strength of those people. And I could relate. For even in our situation in Egypt, we have had fourteen-hundred years of dealing with Islam. Sometimes calmly, sometimes with great distress and conflict. But always witnessing to our Lord Jesus Christ. Always living in the hope of the resurrection and the strength of His promise that the gates of Hell shall not overcome. And that is the hope we have today.

Unfortunately, Christianity looks different to different people. And a few weeks ago, when we were looking at leadership challenges in our own parliament there was around-the-clock news from in front of the Houses of Westminster. And some of you may have seen a gentleman who would constantly pop up on our screens because he would stand right behind the person being interviewed with a sign that was telling us that 'the end was near' and that we must believe in Jesus or we were all going to burn in Hell. Now, I'm sure that that gentleman felt, believed, that he was witnessing to our Lord Jesus Christ. I am sure he believed that he was being faithful. But all that did in my mind is build towards a picture, a mode of Christianity, that is eccentric, that is exclusive, and that is ungracious in the eyes of many. And yet that is not the

Church. The Church has always practiced graciousness. From the experience of my own church, I will give you three examples.

There are three major pillars of the Coptic Orthodox Church: One is theology. The ecumenical councils of the early centuries. The three we will accept: Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus. Where much of the faith of the church was reiterated and confirmed in the face of heresies. And out of those came the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, which started in Nicaea, finished in Constantinople, which spoke about the presence of the Incarnate Word and Who that was in the world, as well as the Holy Spirit. It defines our faith until today. We recite this Creed together. Fathers like Athanasius, Cyril, Dioscorus, who contributed not only to theology—because we can stand back from theology and think 'this is quite lofty, it doesn't mean anything. How does it impact people?'—well, it does impact. It impacts because it does not just speak of philosophy or theory. It speaks of God among us, and us with Him, and what that means on a daily basis. And so through those Councils, through teachings of the Church, through the Apostolic Holy Tradition, those teachings presented hope to the world and love, reiterating time and time and time again, that the world was not alone. That although we have fallen, our God took flesh to come to us and reconcile us to Himself. That we may no longer be living in exile. We were no longer slaves, we were sons and daughters. There was no longer a partition, a separation; we were once again invited and welcomed into unity with our God who created us to be always with Him. That is an incredible contribution of hope; an incredible contribution of promise.

As much as the world says it does not need God, we know that eight of every ten people in the world—eight of every ten people of the world—will define themselves as having a faith or religion or belief. That is a massive proportion. And Christianity is a large part of that. So, although we are told that in a secular world, with secular thoughts, we are becoming irrelevant, the story of promise and hope continues to be one that resonates on a daily basis. We must never make knowledge of God 'theology'. Understanding of God floats above the hearts and minds of people. But it must always speak *to* the hearts and minds of people; that they may know that in Him is life, and life eternal.

The second contribution is that of monasticism. If Christianity was irrelevant, why would millions of men and women around the world be consecrating their lives into monastic communities, both contemplative and service, closed in monastic settings or serving in the world, to serve the world either by prayer or through diaconal services? That is a gift to the world. I look around this holy place and I see lots of ecclesiastical regalia, I see colours, I see people

who are lay and clerical preachers. I see servants of God. And with each and every one of the people here, that presence of God extends through your, our, day to day engagements. That's incredibly important.

God didn't want us to be isolated. At times He took His disciples into sacred spaces to pray, and at times he took them into the world and said, '*you* go feed them'. At times He retreated into prayer on mountains, and at times He went onto other mountains to preach. He went to where there was sickness, where there was poverty, both material and spiritual. He went where there was death; even going into the tomb Himself to bring life out of that tomb for the whole world. So, the gift we have in our holy orders is a gift to the world. And it is a gracious and generous gift. If we were to look around just this group of people, just here, and consider how many people are served through *you,* each and every one of those people has been exposed to our Lord Jesus Christ. Because you have reflected that light, *His* light, *His* presence, into the world to someone or multiple people at a time when they needed to see Him and feel His presence.

The third contribution is that of martyrdom. Unfortunately, the word 'martyrdom' has been hijacked. Thankfully less so now than in the past. But the hijacking has been because some call themselves 'martyrs', but they take lives rather than giving of their life. The martyrs of our tradition, Christian tradition, the martyrs of my church, are people who paid the ultimate price, who made the ultimate sacrifice because they believe. And again, not because they believe in a 'theory', a lofty hypothesis, an 'opium of the people', but because they believe that our God is God and He loves the world and He loves us. And they would never denounce that teaching or understanding. They would never step back from it. They would never leave it alone. Many of you will know that the calendar of the Coptic Orthodox Church starts in 284 AD. And that is because that was the beginning of the reign of Diocletian, under whom we had suffered the greatest wave of persecution and loss of life. And yet the Church is still here. The world can still look to the Church.

We should never as Christians be arrogant. We should never flaunt the fact that we are strong, because, actually, our strength is in Him. Our power is in Him, our resilience is in Him, our hope is in Him. So, what we do is we reflect *Him*; and we give thanks for Him; and we continue to follow Him and follow His footsteps that we may continue to be a reflection of His light in the world. Until today, there is still martyrdom. In our own church, only a few years ago, we saw an iconic image of twenty-one men in orange jumpsuits being paraded along a beachfront in Libya. They were made to kneel. They were

slaughtered like lambs. And yet, they proclaimed their faith with graciousness and courage. Instead of becoming the victims, they became the heroes. No one remembers the masked men, but they remember those twenty-one men in orange jumpsuits kneeling in front of them. No one remembers men with knives. They remember men kneeling and praying and uttering the word of our Lord Jesus Christ. Quite literally to their very last breath. No one remembers the threats, but people remember these men proclaiming their faith, not necessarily in words but in their deeds, and the way they lived the last moments of their lives.

Because you see that is the Church. You know, sometimes we are told that Orthodoxy is out-dated; we need to modernise - and in some things we do. The vehicle of presenting the faith needs to be relevant and accessible. Otherwise, it just makes no sense. And yet, the core of our faith, if we look at these twenty-one men, twenty of them were Coptic Christians from Upper Egypt. Simple men who had travelled to Libya just to earn a living to support their poor families. And one of them, their Ghanaian friend who decided to join them and die with them. And a beautiful completion of this story is the twenty were re-patriated to Egypt and there was a grand cathedral built and they were lying there, and they continue to lie there. But even from the beginning of the design of that cathedral, a twenty-first space was laid out, for Matthew. And after a few years he, too, was repatriated and is now lying with his brothers. You see, that is the Christian story. A story of strength and resilience. A story of kindness and courage.

Of course we are going to face persecution. And I'm very thankful to a very dear friend and brother in the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Williams, who made a clear distinction between persecution which is faced by some of our churches out of this country in places that we all know, and the challenges we face here as Christians. And he made the point then of saying, we can't call what we face here persecution because that diminishes what they are going through; It diminishes their experience. And so, what we must do is remember, take these examples to heart and understand that we are not alone. We are with the omnipotent God, who has—to quote one of the old-time favourites—the whole world in His hands. But we are also with one another. And with the cloud of saints who have preceded us, and over time with those who will come after us, as the Church struggling and the Church glorious, in that fellowship that through us do all we can to live today as one.

I was very honoured to accompany His Holiness Pope Tawadros II to the Vatican nine years ago to be received by His Holiness Pope Francis to mark

the fortieth anniversary of the Christological agreement signed between the late Pope Paul VI and the late Pope Shenouda III which spoke of a common Christology, and which has become the foundation of many of our Christological agreements since then. That was the first time we had heard Pope Francis use the term 'ecumenism of blood'. But I really hope that we don't have to die together to understand that we *belong* together. This is why initiatives like this that bring our churches together allow us to live a common life and have a common witness, a shared witness. To have fellowship, to have partnership, even if we don't agree on everything—and there are some things we may never agree on. But should that stop us journeying together? Should that stop us proclaiming together? Let's face it. Even the disciples who followed our Lord and were covered by His dust—you know, one of the greatest compliments and hopes that someone could bestow upon you in ancient Jewish culture was, 'may you be covered by the dust of your rabbi'. Because if you imagine walking through dusty roads, you generate dust. So that plea was 'may you always be so close to your rabbi that you are covered by the dust of his feet as he journeys and serves and teaches'. We are. And even His disciples who were covered by His dust didn't always see eye to eye.

Some will think they were quite a dysfunctional group. And yet, in the fullness of time when they were gathered in one place with one accord, in the fullness of that time the room was filled as if with a mighty rushing wind and cloven tongues of fire appeared on each and every one of them. And the doors burst open, and they went out and they preached. And three-thousand souls came to our Lord on that one day. That is the advantage, that is the blessing, that is the benefit, of being in one place with one accord. Physically, as we are today, but also metaphorically in our ministries. It's very easy to continue to flag what we have that separates us. That is simple. Anyone on the tabloids can do that. Any prophet of doom on social media can do that. But that is not our place. Our place is to proclaim the Triune God victorious, and to proclaim His Body, struggling through the world, yet empowered and enabled by Him. Liberated through His crucifixion and given life through His resurrection. That is what we have to share. That is what we have to proclaim.

Far too often the Church is seen as an institution that goes hat-in-hand asking for things. But people don't see the other side, where the Church is constantly giving of itself. In its ministry, in its teaching, in its example, in its life. People don't see that. People don't understand that intrinsic to our existence, living in the world is being 'in the world but not of the world'. In the world, within the world, serving and touching lives and giving of ourselves, but not of

the world because we are of a higher calling. Not a calling that is grandiose, or arrogant, or proud; but a calling that is selfless, a calling that says that there is no greater love than one should lay down his life for his friends—and then turns to the whole world and says, 'you are my friends'.

The world needs us. The world needs us individually, and it needs us collectively. Individually in our own person, individually in our churches, in our communities; but collectively through the binding of all of that. The world needs us because it goes through challenges that have no solution but God Himself. And we don't have a solution, except for God Himself. So when we grant a solution, when we give a solution, all we are saying is, 'this is what we have experienced; this is what we live; and so we are here to share it with you. Join us. Join us. Enjoy it. Be hopeful in it and be reassured by it'.

I remember travelling recently and being approached by someone who said, 'um, sorry, if you are dressed like that, I'm assuming you are an Orthodox clergyman'. And I said, 'Yes'. And they said, 'We feel so sorry for you that you are enduring so much persecution—after they heard that I am a Coptic Orthodox Christian—You are enduring so much persecution, and we are praying for you'. And I said, 'Please pray for us, but by no means feel sorry for us'. Because the actual fact with every temptation, as the scriptures tell us, there is grace and there is a means of escape. Many people say, 'you know, these wonderful martyrs, I couldn't do that'. Well, they probably thought the same thing. What we can count on is the grace that is given at the time of need. And we don't have to be at the edge of a sword. We don't have to be facing death to receive grace. Because that grace is given to us by God. Because He wants to give it to us. He wants us to live powerfully, not for ourselves, but so that freely while we receive, freely we give to the world and that power that we have received, that hope that we have received, that joy and that promise we have received, we can then share with the world.

We are seeing incredible rates of persecution of Christians around the world. Some of you may have heard of the Truro Review, some years, back that was commissioned by the then Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt and was then carried out by a very dear brother and friend, Bishop Phillip Mounstephen, now Bishop of Truro. And that report looking at Christian persecution around the world, persecution of Christians, in the context of freedom of religion and belief, found that eighty percent of all religiously motivated persecution fell on Christians.

We had our annual meeting of the Anglican Oriental Orthodox International Commission, that I am blessed to be co-chair of. We have other fathers

here and member of it as well. And one point that I made when we were discussing the council of Chalcedon, I was saying that we must never let that happen again. Chalcedon was not just a split in theology. It was the reason that many of our churches faced persecution for centuries after that. Because the Body of Christ was divided, and part of the Body of Christ were left vulnerable. And that vulnerability was abused. And we see the trajectory of churches and peoples change. Why? Because we became separated. Sisters and brothers, what we do not want is that in one hundred years, when someone stands in this place and speaks to the people who are there then, for that person to be saying 'our sister and brothers one hundred years ago, because of their separation, have made our position even worse today'. We don't want to be party to that. And so, we must do all we can in our shared ministry, in our shared mission. We must do all we can to resolve whatever we can and to graciously accept what we cannot change. But continue to journey together, and to witness together, to the hope of our God.

I am so very thankful to the Anglican Eastern Churches Association, to Father William, and all those who support it so wonderfully at every level. I'm very thankful to all of you for being here and being a manifestation of that unity; being a promise that that unity will continue; being a very clear message to everyone who sees that we will continue to journey together. We may not be one in every aspect, but we are one with our Lord as the head of the Body which is the Church. Let us continue to journey. Let us continue to feel that love, to express that love, to share that love, and to reflect that love into the world. That in doing that—something we all teach our children when they are very young, a verse that we all know, and yet that means more and more—that 'they may see our good works and glorify our Father in heaven'. That is the importance of this light. The church that is light in the world, the city on a hill, the lamp on a lampstand, the Christian in the public space, the deeds, the words, the actions of kindness and graciousness, the bestowing of blessing and love, the granting of forgiveness and reconciliation, and the manifestation of an image of God that walks in every street. That in the words of St. Paul, 'it may no longer be us who live, but Christ who lives in us'. That people may see us, and see *through* us, to see Him; and be invited by Him, be blessed by Him, and be sanctified by Him. Glory be to God forever

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

PAUL AVIS

Anglican Ecumenism [1]

THE WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, held in Edinburgh in 1910, which was addressed by the then Archbishop of Canterbury Randall Davidson, marked the beginning of the global ecumenical movement in its institutional form.[2] Anglicans, especially from Britain and North America, have been among the leaders of the movement for Christian unity to the present day. Anglican churches have been able to enter into various degrees of relationship with other churches by means of formal ecumenical agreements, following extended theological dialogue. The long-running Anglican – Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) in particular has stimulated theological work by Anglicans – some of it being quite critical of what their fellow Anglicans on ARCIC have signed up to!

Anglican ecumenism is guided by the Lambeth Quadrilateral.[3] The Quadrilateral is, in effect, one of the doctrinal standards of Anglicanism, albeit a minimalist one, which should be set alongside the formularies that have canonical authority. Its four articles are intended to comprise the essentials that

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[1] For a theological framework see Paul Avis, *Reshaping Ecumenical Theology* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2010). See also Paul Avis, 'The Origins of Anglican Ecumenical Theology, the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral, and the Question of Anglican Orders', in A. Melloni and Luca Ferracci (eds), *A History of the Desire for Christian Unity*, Vol. 1: *Dawn of Ecumenism* (Bologna and Leiden: Brill, 2021), Chapter 12.

[2] *Brian Stanley,* The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910 *(Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009)*.

[3] J. Robert Wright (ed.), *Quadrilateral at One Hundred: Essays on the Centenary of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral 1886/88 – 1986/88*, *Anglican Theological Review*, Supplement Series No. 10 (Cincinnati, OH: Forward Movement Publications/London and Oxford: Mowbray, 1988). John F. Woolverton, 'The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral and the Lambeth Conferences', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Anglican Self-understanding and Ecumenism: Papers for the Anglican Consultative Council, Nigeria, 1984 (Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, 1984), pp. 95-109.

Anglicans would insist on in any reunion of the churches and serve as a minimum platform for serious dialogue by Anglicans. 1. *The Holy Scriptures* of the Old and New Testaments, as "containing all things necessary to salvation", and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith. 2. *The Apostles' Creed*, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith. 3. 'The two *Sacraments* ordained by Christ himself (Baptism and the Supper of the Lord (ministered with unfailing use of Christ's Words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by him. 4. *The Historic Episcopat*e, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of his Church.

Following the initiative of the 1920 Lambeth Conference's 'Appeal to All Christian People', Anglican ecumenism took an incremental step forward in the 1931-32 Bonn Agreement for inter-communion between the Church of England and the Old Catholic Churches of the Union of Utrecht (1889). The Old Catholic Churches are in communion with all the Churches of the Anglican Communion. The doctrinal and liturgical affinity between Anglicans and Old Catholics is palpable. The Anglican Communion as a whole is also in communion with the United Churches of South Asia (which are also related to the world families of their other constituent traditions), the Philippine Independent Church and the Mar Thoma Church in South India. The Bonn Agreement is minimal in content, simply affirming mutual ecclesial recognition and safeguarding each church's autonomy. Since then, ecumenical dialogues and the agreements that result from them have become more rigorous and sophisticated. The Anglican Communion has also had a dialogue with the Baptist World Alliance and there was a parallel process in England (both of these dialogues followed an innovative method) and with the global Methodist, Lutheran and Reformed families of churches.

The Meissen Agreement of 1991 between the Church of England and the Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD) is another pioneering agreement and has set the pattern for agreements of mutual acknowledgement and mutual commitment (though it does not provide for canonical communion) that has been followed elsewhere, including the 2003 Covenant between the Church of England and the Methodist Church of Great Britain.[4] On the other hand, the Porvoo Agreement of 1996, between all four British and Irish Anglican Churches and the Nordic and Baltic Lutheran Churches (which are ordered

[4] http://www.churchofengland.org/about-us/work-other-churches/europe/the-meissen-agreement.aspx.

in the historic episcopate) is an agreement for ecclesial communion (*communio in sacris*) and has created a large family of national churches, catholic and reformed, across Northern Europe.[5]

In the USA the long-running Methodist-Episcopal Dialogue has achieved a degree of mutual recognition, in the concrete form of 'eucharistic sharing' but as yet no breakthrough leading to the incorporation of the bishops of the United Methodist Church (UMC) into the historic episcopate and thus a united or common ordained ministry with the Episcopal Church (TEC). However, this interchangeability with the episcopate of TEC was achieved in the case of Lutheran bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ECUSA) in 2001 through the *Called to Common Mission* agreement.[6] All ELCA bishops since then (with a few exceptions) have been ordained in historic succession. The two churches have continued to develop their collaboration, especially in local mission. A similar agreement for 'full communion' was attained between the Anglican Church of Canada and the smaller Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCC) through the Waterloo Agreement in 1999.

Anglicans in theological dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches

(a) The Roman Catholic Church

Following the Second Vatican Council's Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, the Roman Catholic Church established theological dialogues with the major Christian communions, including the Anglican Communion through the Anglican – Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC).[7] The Commission's early reports, on 'Ministry and Ordination' and on 'Eucharistic Theology', achieved substantial agreement, as one would expect, as did the report on on justification and the life of grace in the Church.[8] But extensive work on authority in the Church, with its focus on papal primacy, in both the earlier and

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[5] For the text of the *Porvoo Agreement* and further information go to http://www.porvoochurches.org/

[6] http://www.episcopalchurch.org/page/agreement-full-communion-called-common-mission

[7] Anglican – Roman Catholic International Commission, The Final Report (London: CTS/SPCK, 2002); Adelbert Denaux, Nicholas Sagovsky and Charles Sherlock (eds), '*Looking Towards a Church Fully Reconciled: The Final Report of the Anglican – Roman Catholic International Commission 1983-2005* (ARCIC II) (London: SPCK, 2016). The ARCIC reports can be found at http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/ecumenical/dialogues/catholic/arcic/.

[8] *Salvation and the Church* (1986).

more recent phases, has not proved entirely convincing, particularly in the two contentious areas of papal universal jurisdiction and infallibility in faith and morals. The work of ARCIC on the Blessed Virgin Mary was not enthusiastically received on the whole by Anglicans – not because Anglicans do not reverence Mary as *Theotokos* (they do), but because of the rather slippery method employed by ARCIC to massage the Marian dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church and ARCIC's failure to grasp the nettle that the dogmas are *de fide*, truths necessary for salvation, which is the biggest stumbling block to agreement for Anglicans. Now in its third phase, ARCIC has been working on the theme of the Church local and universal, and how moral teachings are formulated in that context.[9] It is fair to say that Anglicans have been disappointed with regard to the fruits of dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. The genuine theological progress, charted for example, in Walter Cardinal Kasper's *Harvesting the Fruits*, has not been allowed to make any significant formal difference to the relationship between the two world communions, though the relationship has improved informally.[10] Contrary to the clear evidence of Anglican eucharistic liturgies and ordinals, it is still commonly assumed by Roman Catholics at all levels of that Church that Anglicans do not believe in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist and do not have a sacramental understanding of Holy Order. Although not all lay people may have an adequate grasp of the theology (and how is that different to the laity of the Roman Catholic Church or of the Orthodox Churches, for that matter?) such is in truth Anglican doctrine.

(b) The Orthodox Church

Theological dialogue between Anglicans and Orthodox is of long standing and shows genuine theological convergence and some consensus. Both the Anglican and Orthodox world communions are made up of self-governing churches with a shared tradition, held together by elements of synodality and primacy. There are striking similarities between the Anglican and the Orthodox ecclesiologies. During the twentieth century Anglican Orders were recognized by several Eastern Orthodox Churches. International conversations have been running for nearly half a century. They have progressed through the Moscow statement

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[9] *Walking Together on the Way: Learning to be the Church — local, regional, universal, the report of ARCIC III* (London: SPCK, 2018).

[10] Walter Kasper, *Harvesting the Fruits: Basic Aspects of Christian Faith in Ecumenical Dialogue* (London and New York: Continuum, 2009).

of 1976 and the Dublin statement of 1984 to the substantial joint theological treatise *The Church of the Triune God* which was launched by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, and the Ecumenical Patriarch, Bartholomew I, at a joint service in Westminster Abbey in 2006.[11] In 2014 a significant Christological agreement was signed between the Anglican Communion and the Oriental Orthodox Churches.[12] The work of the International *Commission* for *Anglican–Orthodox Theological* Dialogue continues; its current work programme is in the field of theological anthropology.

Anglicans and the sacramentality of the Church

The argument of the study by the Saint Irenaeus Joint Orthodox-Catholic Working Group, 'Serving Communion: Re-thinking the Relationship between Primacy and Synodality', presupposes a particular understanding of the Church, namely its sacramental nature. In this perspective the Church is seen as a divinely ordained, grace-filled and Spirit-endued communion (*koinoinia*, *communio*, *sobornost*). As a communion, the Church is united in the grace of the sacraments under the pastoral ministry and oversight of its bishops. This communion is not confined to the Church on earth at any given time, but extends beyond death to embrace all within the Communion of the Saints (*communio sanctorum*). The Church's nature and its unity, as the body of Christ, is most fully and gloriously expressed in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist which is a foretaste of the heavenly banquet, the messianic feast. Do Anglicans share this understanding, this exalted appreciation of the Church? Unquestionably they do. The sacramentality of the Church is not such a prominent theme in Anglican ecclesiology as it is in Orthodox or Roman Catholic ecclesiology, but it is definitely present. Anglican theologians have drawn on Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox theology and liturgy for several centuries, to the extent that today Anglican liturgies and Anglican ecumenical agreed texts reflect a fully sacramental understanding of the Church.

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[11] Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue: *The Moscow Statement Agreed* by the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission 1976 with introductory and supporting material, ed. Archimandrite K. Ware and The Revd Colin Davey (London: SPCK, 1977); Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue: *The Dublin Agreed Statement* 1984 (London: SPCK, 1984); *The Church of the Triune God: The Cyprus Agreed Statement* of the International Commission for Anglican-Orthodox Theological Dialogue 2006 (London: Anglican Communion Office, 2006).

[12] The Christology statement can be accessed at http://www.anglicannews.org/media/1416821/Anglican-Oriental-Orthodox-Agreed-Statement-on-Christology-2014.pdf

For more than a century, influenced by Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology, Anglican theologians have spoken of the Church of Christ in explicitly sacramental terms. The Roman Catholic theologians who are identified with the concept of the sacramentality of the Church, which came to fruition in the teaching of Vatican II, include Otto Semmelroth, Yves Congar, Henri de Lubac, Karl Rahner and Edward Schillebeeckx. Developing certain nineteenth-century insights and precedents, *particularly* those of Johann Adam *Möhler and Matthias Joseph Scheeben, they* spoke of Christ as the sacrament of God (or of our encounter with God) and the Church as the sacrament of salvation. However, long before the flowering of the *Nouvelle theologie*, the sacramentality of the church was being taught by leading theologians of the Church of England. In the year that Otto Semmelroth was born (1912), we find William Temple (1881-1944), later Archbishop of Canterbury, expounding the sacramentality of the church. 'The church on earth is a sacrament', Temple asserted, 'an outward and visible sign of the Church Universal.'[13] As Temple immediately makes clear, the slightly incongruous but not unprecedented, phrase 'the Church Universal' is not meant to refer here, as it might seem, simply to the present worldwide society of Christians, but to the Communion of Saints, the fellowship of the living and the departed, the union of the church militant and the church triumphant. Thus Temple adds, 'of this spiritual Communion the Church as visibly organised on earth is a sacrament'.[14] Moreover, Temple is clearly reaching towards a concept of Eucharistic Ecclesiology (see below). Temple states that the sacramentality of the church 'is expressed in the one great rite of the Christian Church, the Rite of the Holy Communion, that is of the Communion of Saints' (accordingly Temple then proceeds to illustrate his point from the Holy Communion service of The Book of Common Prayer, 1662).[15] Temple was still promoting the doctrine of the sacramental character of the Church as Archbishop of York in 1941. Since Temple's ultimate vision was of a sacramental universe, and he believed that the Church was the climax of God's sacramental creation, it could hardly have been otherwise.[16]

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[13] William Temple*, 'The Church',* in B. H. Streeter (ed.), *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought*; By Seven Oxford Men (London: Macmillan, 1912), pp. 337-359, at 342-343.
[14] Ibid p.347.
[15] Ibid p.343.
[16] William Temple, *Citizen and Churchman:* The Archbishop of York's Lent Book, 1941 (London Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1941), p. 43; cf. id., *Nature, Man and God:* Being the Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Glasgow in the Academical Years 1932-1933 and 1933-1934 (London: Macmillan, 1934), 'Lecture XIX: A Sacramental Universe'.

The Anglican philosopher-theologian and close friend of William Temple, Oliver Quick (1885-1944) was working on similar lines and introduced the concept of Christ as the sacrament of God. Quick affirmed in 1927 that 'the life of Jesus Christ' is 'the perfect sacrament'.[17] Quick also asserted that 'the Church as an organised society is sacramental'.[18] Just as Christ is set apart in holiness to represent all humanity and to include it in his saving work, so the Church is set apart in holiness to represent human society and to include it in its totality with a view to its redemption. Quick's view of the sacramentality of Christ and of the Church is based more on their roles in the saving purposes of God (salvation history), than on the ontological, incarnational approach that was dear to Temple, though Quick certainly affirms that also. So Anglican theology is no stranger to the concept of the sacramentality of the Church, which is derived from the sacramental identity of the incarnate Jesus Christ.

Anglicans and Eucharistic Ecclesiology

Related to the theological concept of the sacramentality of the Church is the whole area of Eucharistic Ecclesiology. It derives from a strand of modern Orthodox theology, pioneered by Nikolai Afanasiev and further developed by Alexander Schmemann, John Meyendorff, Dumitru Stăniloae, and John Zizioulas. Within Roman Catholicism it was developed a more centralising and hierarchical direction by some theologians, including Joseph Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI).[19] Anglican ecclesiastical polity is neither hierarchical nor centralising, so is the Anglican understanding of the Church an expression of Eucharistic Ecclesiology? Does de Lubac's celebrated equation, 'the Eucharist makes the Church' and 'the Church makes the Eucharist', resonate with Anglicans?[20] Is Eucharistic Ecclesiology substantially present within Anglican theology and liturgy, as it is within Orthodox and Roman Catholic theology? If the Anglican understanding of the Church is an expression of Eucharistic Ecclesiology and if Eucharistic Ecclesiology is congenial to Anglicanism, we can be

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[17] Oliver Chase Quick, *The Christian Sacraments* (London: Nisbet, 1927), p. 105.

[18] Ibid p.105.

19 Jerome Hamer, O.P., *The Church is a Communion* (E.T., London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1964); Paul McPartlan, *The Eucharist Makes the Church*: Henri de Lubac and John Zizioulas in Dialogue (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1993; new edition, Eastern Christian Publications, Fairfax, VA, 2006); Dennis Doyle, *Communion Ecclesiology: Visions and Versions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000).

[20] H. De Lubac, *Meditation sur l'Église* (3rd edn, Paris: Aubier, 1954), pp. 123ff.

assured of substantial common ground ecclesiologically between the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Anglican traditions.[21]

The foundational liturgical texts of Anglicanism speak of a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and of an actual communion of the Christian with Christ in the sacrament, and of a real communication of Christ's body and blood to the receiver. While only muted tones of eucharistic sacrifice can be identified in the classic BCP rite (1662), modern Anglican eucharistic liturgies clearly express a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, with the sacrifice of ourselves, in union with the self-oblation of Christ which culminated in the Cross. In addition to the liturgies themselves, the ecumenical agreements that have been approved in principle by the Lambeth Conference (or, for English Anglicans, also by the Church of England's General Synod) have a degree of authority. Particularly important among these agreed statements is the Statement (1971) and Elucidation (1979) on 'Eucharistic Doctrine' produced by the Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC), which was deemed 'consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans' by the General Synod in 1986 and by the Lambeth Conference in 1988. For the Church of England, the report of the first Doctrine Commission *Doctrine in the Church of England* (1938), which has a substantial section on the sacraments, remains worth consulting. A recent Church of England statement is the House of Bishops' teaching document, *The Eucharist, Sacrament of Unity* (2001).

In *The Eucharist: Sacrament of Unity* [ESU] the bishops of the Church of England restated some aspects of Anglican eucharistic doctrine in response to the statement of the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conferences of England and Wales, Ireland and Scotland *One Bread One Body* [OBOB] which invited responses from ecumenical partners.[22] OBOB offers an attractive exposition of the theology of the Eucharist in the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, but the document also reiterates that Church's restrictive rules for sharing Holy Communion with non-Roman Catholics. In essence, the Anglican bishops agreed with the theology of OBOB, but objected to some of the assumptions made about Anglican sacramental doctrine and strongly disagreed with the implications drawn from its eucharistic theology for eucharistic discipline

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[21] See the brief discussion in Paul Avis, *The Identity of Anglicanism: Essentials of Anglican Ecclesiology* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2007), pp. 81-108 (Chapter V: 'Anglicanism and Eucharistic Ecclesiology').

[22] *The Eucharist: Sacrament of Unity: An Occasional Paper of the House of Bishops of the Church of England* (London: Church House Publishing, 2001). One Bread One Body (London: Catholic Truth Society; Dublin: Veritas Press, 1998).

(hospitality). They did not dissent from the theology, but they disputed the consequences drawn from it. Neither the doctrine of the real presence nor the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice is at issue here. I cannot overstate the point that, although Anglicans do not normally employ the notion of transubstantiation and have other ways of affirming the presence of Christ in the sacrament, they do not believe that they hold a different eucharistic doctrine to that held by Roman Catholics. Provided that Anglicans are allowed to express these doctrines in ways that suit their tradition, language and concepts, remarkable ecumenical convergence can be discerned. In ESU the House of Bishops particularly endorsed five major affirmation of the eucharistic theology set out in OBOB. (a) That there is a sacramental identification of the Eucharist with the one full and sufficient sacrifice of Christ. (b) That, in the Eucharist, communicants are united sacramentally through the Holy Spirit with Christ's perfect self-offering and sacrifice to the Father. (c) That a sacrament is an effective 'instrumental sign', in the context of faith, of divine grace. (d) That, in the Eucharist, there is a true, real and personal communion of the Christian with Christ. (e) That, in the Eucharist, Christians are in communion with the saints and the faithful departed. Anglicans are not aware of holding any different eucharistic theology in essentials to that of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

Eucharistic Ecclesiology tends to be identified with the names of Nikolai Afanasiev and John Zizioulas within Orthodox theology and of Henri de Lubac and the early Joseph Ratzinger in Roman Catholic theology.[23] The doctrine of the mystical body of Christ is common to the Eastern and Western patristic traditions and is our shared inheritance. There are also scholars in other traditions who seem to have an affinity to eucharistic ecclesiology, though this has to be adapted, in some cases, to a non-episcopal polity: for example, the late Geoffrey Wainwright of the British Methodist Church. But what about Anglicans? Some twentieth-century Anglican theologians were moving along the same lines as these Orthodox and Roman Catholic scholars: they were on a trajectory that pointed towards a full Eucharistic Ecclesiology. I have already shown the relevance of William Temple and Oliver Chase Quick to Eucharistic Ecclesiology, in their articulation of the sacramentality of the Church; I will now briefly note a few more examples.

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[23] McPartlan, *The Eucharist Makes the Church*.

(a) *Charles Gore* (d. 1932), the leading Church of England – and Anglican – theologian and bishop in the first two decades of the twentieth century, was steeped in the writings of the Eastern and Western Fathers. Gore's writings, taken together, on the Incarnation, the Eucharist and the Church (*The Incarnation of the Son of God*, 1891; *The Body of Christ*, 1901; *The Holy Spirit and the Church*, 1924)[24] cumulatively amount to something close to Eucharistic Ecclesiology. For Charles Gore, the Church is indwelt by the risen, glorified Lord Jesus Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit and, for him, this truth makes the Church the extension of the Incarnation. The order of the Church reflects its nature as a divine-human mystery. The episcopate is divinely ordained and necessary for the validity of the Church's ministry and sacraments.[25] In his work on the theology of the Eucharist, more than a century ago, Gore avowed his intention to expound a catholic doctrine of the sacrament; and of course he did.[26]

(b) *Michael Ramsey* (d. 1988), Archbishop of Canterbury, owed an immense debt to Gore, whom he revered, and to William Temple. But Ramsey benefitted from the rediscovery of the theology of the Reformation in early twentieth-century European scholarship. Ramsey drew out Martin Luther's catholicity of intention in his own major work *The Gospel and the Catholic Church* (1936) which forged a creative synthesis of biblical and patristic theology, liturgical studies and Reformation insights. Ramsey promoted an Anglican reformed catholicism in continuity with both the Oxford Movement and the Reformers. Perhaps Eucharistic Ecclesiology is not fully developed in Ramsey, but the foundations are there in the conjunction of the three pillars of his ecclesiology: the gospel, the Eucharist and the episcopate.[27]

(c) *Lionel Thornton,* a monk of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, Yorkshire, the author of *The Common Life in the Body of Christ* (1942) among other major, innovative studies,[28] was a pioneer of the theology of *koinonia*,

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[24] Charles Gore, *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, 1891; *The Body of Christ*, 1901; *The Holy Spirit and the Church*, 1924: all published by John Murray (London).

[25] I wrote my doctoral dissertation on Gore and the theological controversies of his time; it was published in an abbreviated form as *Gore: Construction and Conflict* (Worthing: Churchman Publishing, 1988). See also the comprehensive account in James Carpenter, *Gore: A Study in Liberal Catholic Thought* (London: Faith Press, 1960).

[26] Charles Gore, *The Body of Christ*, p.vii.

[27] A. M. Ramsey, *The Gospel and the Catholic Church* (London: Longmans, 1936).

28 Lionel Thornton, CR, *The Common Life in the Body of Christ,* 3rd edition (London: Dacre Press, 1950).

mainly in terms of a dense figurative biblical theology. Thornton's premise is that the fullness of Christ is received in the Church, which is his Body. Thornton develops a highly realist doctrine of the mystical body: 'We are members of that body that was nailed to the Cross, laid in the tomb and raised to life on the third day.'[29] It is that body that we are united with in baptism and receive in Holy Communion. In *Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery*, Thornton developed a high view of the sacramental ministry of the bishop in Christian initiation.[30] He approaches a recognisable Eucharistic Ecclesiology.

(d) *John Macquarrie*, a foremost Anglican priest-theologian of the second half of the twentieth century, can also, I believe, be claimed as an exponent of Eucharistic Ecclesiology, though I doubt whether he ever used the expression in print. Macquarrie's approach unites Church, Eucharist and Bishop in a complex reality. He also integrates sacramental theology and ecclesiology. As he puts it: Jesus Christ is the sacrament of God; the Church is the sacrament of Christ; and the sacraments (Macquarrie accepts the seven sacraments of the pre-Reformation Church) are sacramental of the Church. But the incarnate Jesus Christ is sacramental of God in a unique and pre-eminent way, because his sacramentality is the source of the sacramentality of the Church and of the seven sacraments. The Eucharist, for Macquarrie, is the paradigm of all sacraments and constitutive of the Church as a gathered assembly; it is *par excellence* the sacrament of *corpus Christi*. It is the sacred banquet, *sacrum convivium*, and an eschatological foretaste of heaven. Macquarrie speaks of the eucharistic sacrifice as an oblation, a representation to the Father and to the Church of the sacrifice of Christ. He holds a doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the consecrated elements, though also in the assembly and in the person of the presiding bishop or priest (he demurs at transubstantiation). He affirms that both the Church and the Eucharist can properly be called an extension of the incarnation.[31]

(e) *Rowan Williams* is the most notable exponent of Eucharistic Ecclesiology in the Church of England and the Anglican Communion today. Deeply versed

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[29] Ibid p.298.

[30] Lionel Thornton, CR, *Confirmation: Its Place in the Baptismal Mystery* (London: Dacre Press, 1954).

31 The main sources for this aspect of John Macquarrie's thought are: *Principles of Christian Theology*, 2nd edition (London: SCM Press, 1977), pp. 447-486 (Chapter 19); *Theology, Church and Ministry* (London: SCM Press, 1986); *A Guide to the Sacraments* (London: SCM Press, 1997), pp. 34-44 (Chapter 4).

in Patristic theology, especially that of St Augustine, and in modern Orthodox thought, Williams' theology presupposes – without making an issue of it – a kind of Eucharistic Ecclesiology, in the form of the conjunction and interaction – the inseparability – of the Eucharist, the episcopate and the Christian community. Williams often does not show his working or take space to set out the basics within the theological field in which he is working; he launches out at a higher level of reflection. But when he is discussing the theology of the Eucharist, the role of the bishop, or the nature of the Church as a society and community, his approach is manifestly that of Eucharistic Ecclesiology. He writes as follows of Christ as the sacrament of God and as the sacrament of a renewed and recreated humanity:

> 'Jesus, baptized, tempted, forgiving and healing, offering himself as the means of a new covenant, is himself 'sacrament': it is his identity that is set before us as a sign, the form of a new people of God. Just as the whole life of Israel is meant as a sign of God ... so the life (and death) of Jesus is a sign of God, showing how a human biography formed by God looks ... What leads us to say that Jesus' life is sacramental in a uniquely exhaustive way is that this life not only points to God but is the medium of divine action for judgement and renewal.'[32]

Williams puts it nicely: Jesus not only points to God, as though to another, but is himself the site, the *locus* of God's presence and action. As his body, the Church also, for all its failings, becomes the site, the *locus* of God's presence and action, though not of course the only or the exclusive arena of divine action and presence. The sacraments celebrated by the Church bring us into intimate contact with Jesus Christ. Sacraments are bridges to God in Christ, bridges built from God's side. And the Church can only celebrate the sacraments because it is itself sacramental of Jesus Christ.

Speaking personally, I see myself as working within the same tradition and trajectory as those I have listed above, especially perhaps Charles Gore and Michael Ramsey. I confess a debt to Metropolitan John Zizioulas' *Being as Communion* which helped to inspire my early essay in *koinonia/communio* theo-

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[32] Rowan Williams, *On Christian Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 204 (Chapter 13, 'The Nature of a Sacrament'). See also 'Sacraments of the New Society' (Chapter 14 in the same volume) and 'Authority and the Bishop in the Church', in Mark Santer (ed.), *Their Lord and Ours: Approaches to Authority, Community and the Unity of the Church* (London: SPCK, 1982), pp. 90-112 (Chapter 5).

logy entitled *Christians in Communion*.[33] The beautifully symmetrical theology of Zizioulas' *Eucharist, Bishop, Church* helped to shape my understanding of conciliar ecclesiology.[34] My recent study *Jesus and the Church: The Foundation of the Church in the New Testament and Modern Theology* culminates in the chapter 'The Paschal Mystery the Foundation of the Church'.[35] I regard Eucharistic Ecclesiology as one of the most creative developments in Christian theology during the past century. It is the ecclesiological norm. I look for no other.

Anglican Conciliarity

In order to describe the theology and practice of conciliarity or synodality in Anglicanism I need to define how I understand conciliarity or synodality. I understand conciliarity as a practice that seeks to order the life of the Church as a coherent whole, so that the whole Church is enabled to take responsibility for its life and mission. Conciliarity is an inherent dimension of the life of the Christian Church and various Christian traditions and Churches practise it in their own way. The energy that drives the conciliar life of the Church is a longing for true community – for cohesion, consensus and communion. In conciliarity, the Church is understood in a strongly realist or sacramental sense as the Body of Christ. Conciliarity invokes the authority which belongs to the whole body of the faithful and which is distributed throughout the body. That intrinsic authority comes into focus when the Church gathers together, in a representative way, to take counsel for its well-being and the advancement of its mission. Anglicanism is an inheritor of the history and principles of the late medieval Conciliar Movement, as these were further shaped by the Reformation's recovery of the biblical doctrine of the royal, prophetic priesthood of the baptised (1 Peter 2.4-10). Anglicanism is an expression of conciliar catholicism. It grounds conciliarity on the foundational sacrament of Christian initiation, holy baptism. In line with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, Anglicans

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[33] John D. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies in Personhood and the Church*, Foreword by John Meyendorff (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Orthodox Seminary Press; London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1985); Paul Avis, *Christians in Communion* (London: Geoffrey Chapman Mowbray, 1990).
[34] John D. Zizioulas *Eucharist, Bishop, Church: The Unity of the Church in the Divine Eucharist and the Bishop During the First Three Centuries*, trans. Elizabeth Theokritoff, 2nd edition (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2001); Paul Avis, *Beyond the Reformation? Authority, Primacy and Unity in the Conciliar Tradition* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2006).
35 Paul Avis, *Jesus and the Church: The Foundation of the Church in the New Testament and Modern Theology* (London and New York: T&T Clark), 2020.

affirm that, by virtue of their baptism, all Christians are incorporated into Jesus Christ's threefold messianic identity as our great Prophet, Priest and King.[36] But Anglicans go further than Vatican II explicitly did, in affirming that by their participation in this royal priesthood all the baptised are mandated to play their part in the governance of Christ's Church. The 1988 Lambeth Conference affirmed that baptism into the royal priesthood is the foundation of all ministry, lay and ordained. It is the royal priesthood of the baptised that makes it right in principle for suitably qualified lay people to participate, in a way appropriate to the lay calling, in certain councils and synods of the Church.[37]

Within an Anglican perspective, conciliarity provides the theological framework within which all the baptised, formed by word and sacrament under the oversight of their pastors into a community, discharge their share of responsibility for the life of the Church according to their various callings. Conciliarity provides the broadest context within which other expressions of oversight are located, like concentric ripples on a pond. The *collegiality* of bishops, with their special responsibility for doctrine, liturgy and ministry, is exercised within the broader reality of conciliarity. The *personal* dimension of ministry and oversight (including aspects of primacy) operates first within the sphere of episcopal collegiality and then within the broader sphere of conciliarity.[38] Conciliarity has particular implications in the areas of ministry and authority.

(a) *Ministry.* The Church's ministry is manifested in the *tria munera*, the three connected tasks that together constitute the Church's mission: proclaiming the gospel and teaching the apostolic faith; sanctifying the faithful through the sacraments; and governing and leading the people of God.[39] As Pope John Paul II put it, 'the entire pastoral ministry can be seen as organized according to the threefold function of teaching, sanctifying and governing'.[40] This threefold typology, derived from the triple messianic office of Jesus Christ as Prophet, Priest and King, is congenial to Anglican ecclesiology. However, Anglicans cannot accept a key aspect of the official Roman Catholic interpretation of this schema: the notion that fullness of sacramental grace is dependent on obedient communion with the pope,

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[36] *Lumen Gentium* 10-12.

[37] On the threefold messianic identity and the royal priesthood see further Paul Avis, *A Ministry Shaped by Mission* (London and New York: T&T Clark, 2005).

[38] *Bishops in Communion: Collegiality in the Service of the* Koinonia *of the Church*; Occasional Paper of the House of Bishops of the Church of England (London: Church House Publishing, 2000).

[39] E.g. *Lumen Gentium* 19-21.

[40] John Paul II, *Pastores gregis* (Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation on the Bishop, 2003), p. 7.

that the grace of the sacraments somehow flows down from its God-given matrix in the pope, to the bishops and thence to the priests and the lay faithful – so that in the last analysis (as Anglicans know to their cost as a result of the papal condemnation of Anglican Holy Orders and Eucharists in *Apostolicae curae*, 1896) there can be no fullness of priesthood or Eucharist apart from hierarchical communion with the pope. In Anglican ecclesiology, however, the grace of Orders and sacraments is given by the Holy Spirit in liturgical ordination, through the instrumentality of the episcopate; no higher earthly authority is required.

(b) *Authority*. The Churches of the Anglican Communion are self-governing but spiritually interdependent. So Anglicans cannot accept the claims of the Roman Catholic Church (as defined in *Pastor aeternus* of Vatican I) that the pope exercises a universal, ordinary and immediate jurisdiction, superior to the authority of the local bishop, over the whole Church, or that the pope can unilaterally define Canon Law. And, while Anglicans uphold the doctrine of the indefectibility of the Church of Christ (as did the sixteenth-century Reformers), they do not accept the dogma of papal infallibility (however guardedly expressed), or even the absolute infallibility of ecumenical councils (Article XXI of the Thirty-nine Articles states that councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in matters of faith), though the early councils are the highest authority in faith and order for Anglicans, after Scripture. The emphasis, in Anglican theology, since the time of Richard Hooker, has been on philosophical probability or moral certainly, an assurance of conscience that is sufficient to live by and act upon, rather than on irreformable and unchallengeable theoretical definitions.

The Conciliar tradition had several distinguishing characteristics. (a) 'The Church' meant the whole Church, not merely the clergy (it was not unusual in the Middle Ages for the clergy, the Church of Rome, or even the pope to be called the *ecclesia*). It is the whole Church (*tota communitas Christianorum*, in the Conciliarist Pierre d'Ailly's phrase), the congregation of the faithful (*congregatio fidelium*) that is the mediate source of divine authority. Authority in the Church comes to executive expression in a representative way through councils, above all through a General Council. (b) Conciliar thought recognised national identities and aspirations, not in any fully modern sense, but to an extent that was subversive of an undifferentiated idea of Christendom held together by a central authority. (c) Conciliar thought endorsed a kind of subsidiarity in affirming the role of lesser councils and synods; it held that conciliarity should be prac-

tised at every level of the Church's life. (d) Conciliar thought employed and valued academic contributions, sometimes giving scholars a voice and a vote in councils, and also gave a limited role to some lay persons, particularly the civil ruler. (e) Concilar thought invoked the common good (*status ecclesiae*) as the criterion of decisions and laws. Influenced by St Thomas Aquinas, it held that all law found its rationality in being suited to the nature of particular persons and their communities. Law is given to serve the common good, which takes priority over the good of individuals. Natural law, inscribed in the created order, and divine law, revealed in Scripture, are in complete harmony and point to the common good. (f) Above all, conciliar thought promoted four principles of acceptable authority: constitutionality, representation, sound learning, and consent. These three principles deserve separate underlining.

Constitutional principles

The three constitutional principles that are apparent in conciliar thought, as it has been received into the Anglican ecclesiastical polity, can be seen as explications of the old canonical principle, 'What affects all must be approved by all' (*Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbari debet)*. This dictum was defined by the Eastern Emperor Justinian, incorporated in Western Canon Law, invoked by the Conciliarists and was still current at the time of the Reformation, being quoted by Martin Luther on occasion. It is regarded as an unquestionable axiom of Western political thought (to look no further). (a) *Constitutionality* means that the scope and limits of authority are laid down, agreed and acknowledged by all concerned. Structures of authority need to embody checks and balances. There were no constraints on the late medieval papacy (unless the pope became an outright heretic, in which case it was recognised by the Canonists that he could be deposed by a General Council). There are no constitutional or juridical constraints on the pope's authority today. But limits on authority serve the interests and protect the rights of those who are subject to that authority. (b) *Representation* means that the authority of the whole body is exercised through its appointed representatives, since all the members of the body cannot physically come together for that purpose. A General or Ecumenical Council consists of the bishops of the *oecumene,* who are seen as representative of the whole body of the Church. (c) The principle of sound learning gives some assurance that the exercise of authority – and decisions taken by authority – will be marked by wisdom, sound judgement and knowledge of biblical theology and of the Christian tradition – not dictated by mere pragmatism,

convenience or sectional interest. (d) *Consent* means that the governed must agree as to how they are governed and must have a say in it. Authority is constrained by the need to obtain, in general, the consent of those who are subject to that authority. Laws that lack general acceptance soon lose credibility and ultimately lack legitimacy. People cannot be ruled, for an indefinite period, against their will. Authority has to carry conviction and be persuasive if it is to be effective – and never more so than in today's cultural and social climate.

Like the Conciliar Movement, the Anglican Communion acknowledges national identities and aspirations in its notion of 'provincial autonomy' (each member Church of the Anglican Communion is self-governing) and it recognises the importance of cultural identity in its acceptance of the principle of inculturation, especially in the liturgy and various local traditions. While the autonomy of Anglican provinces *vis à vis* concern for the cohesion of the Anglican Communion as a whole has been the subject of much heart-searching over the past few years, there is a degree of continuity here with the national ambitions and resentments that helped to fuel the Conciliar Movement. The same recognition of national identities, traditions and responsibilities is an element in Orthodox polity.

Anglicanism and universal primacy

Anglicans acknowledge the principle of primacy, as complementing the principle of synodality, and practise it at all levels of Church life, but in a distinctive style. Primacy in Anglicanism is neither juridical nor coercive in character and does not present itself to the faithful as such. It works by other means: by leading and guiding; by personal example and spiritual character; by teaching and by reasoned persuasion. That is to say, in a word, by moral authority. Of course, where Church law has been broken, there are disciplinary procedures and sanctions, but they are a last resort. In the distinctive Anglican approach to questions of authority, the principles of primacy, collegiality and conciliarity are all honoured (though probably not as well as they might be); they are interrelated and mutually constrained.

As far as Anglicans are concerned, to be in communion with a universal primate is not a necessary mark of a true church – certainly not a condition of effective means of grace or of salvation. To believe differently on that point would invalidate one of the theological premises of the Reformation. Of course, Anglicans are expected and required to be in sacramental communion with their bishop. Nevertheless, Anglicanism is open in principle to the idea of

universal primacy, though to be acceptable to Anglicans the universal primate would have minimal executive authority. Anglicans also recognise that there is only one viable candidate for that position! When the Church of England's House of Bishops responded to Pope John Paul II's *Ut Unum Sint* (1995), in the document *May They All Be One*, they stated: 'We have no difficulty in accepting the need for all churches to be in visible communion with each other, nor with the ancient understanding that the Church of Rome and the Bishop of Rome have a particular responsibility for expressing and safeguarding the unity of the Church.' The Church of England's bishops added: 'Anglicans are thus by no means opposed to the principle and practice of a personal ministry at the world level in the service of unity.'[41] To end this essay on a positive and hopeful note, I would like to add – and I believe that most Anglicans would agree – that Pope Francis exhibits an understanding and practice of universal primacy that chimes to a large extent with Anglican ideals. His understanding of the ministry of the Bishop of Rome is not authoritarian or didactic; it is not legalistic or intolerant or oppressive. Francis prioritises personal example, compassion for the oppressed and excluded, biblical and traditional exposition of the faith in a fresh form for new times and challenges, drawing people together and widespread consultation.

[41] *May They All Be One: A Response of the House of Bishops of the Church of England to Ut Unum Sint* (London: Church House Publishing, 1997), § 48; 44.

Anglican Orthodox Humanism

Katie Kaleides

While the connection between Renaissance Humanism and the Protestant Reformation has been well-documented and discussed, the ways in which Western Europe's excitement over all things Greek shaped Reformation (and more broadly Early Modern) attitudes towards contemporary Greeks, and especially towards those Greeks' Eastern Orthodox Christian faith, is another matter entirely. Here we seek to begin this conversation as it relates to the English contexts, focusing on how a view of the Greeks built out of the frequently fantastical fodder of Classical Humanism shaped the image of contemporary Greeks and Greek Christianity during England's Long Reformation and why that vision proved unsustainable when it met with the realities of early Ottoman-era Greeks and the Orthodox Christian faith.[1]

This type of study might be interesting in its own right, a historical comedy about profound cross-cultural misunderstanding, but there is also a great deal of modern resonance. The post-Soviet era encounter between Eastern Orthodox Christians and Western Christendom has in many ways been shaped by a not all that dissimilar misunderstanding, wherein Eastern Christianity, and not infrequently Eastern Christians, become a type of Rorschach test for their Western co-religionists, who see in this simultaneously familiar and alien tradition just about anything they would want to see. And what they want to see, what they think they see, is oftentimes shaped by their own expectations of Greekness or Russianess, though unlike their forebears a few centuries ago, these expectations are driven by an imagined medieval past, not an ancient one. This parallel makes this kind of study of pressing relevance as we seek to elucidate the factors that guide not only contemporary ecumenical dialogue but contemporary geopolitics, both of which have fallen under pray to this kind of misidentification.

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[1] For the purpose of this article, we adopt the concept of "the Long Reformation," largely regarded as lasting from c. 1500 to c. 1800. This idea was first notably proposed in Tyacke, Nicholas, ed. *England's Long Reformation: 1500-1800*. Routledge, 2003. While it is true that there is considerable variation across this period of nearly three hundred years encompassing what is arguably the whole of the Early Modern period, it makes the most sense to use this period because it nearly perfectly makes on to the period of Ottoman control of Greek speaking lands (c.1453-1821), colloquially known in Greek as the *Turkokratia* (the Turkish rule).

Thus, the below is every bit as much about the ways in which the theologians of Reformation England failed to understand the Greek Christian East as it is about the ways in which Western Christians, theologians or not, still misapprehend their Eastern Christian brothers and sisters based on the weight of cultural expectations and imagined histories today. To this end, we will begin with an exploration of the construction of the "Greek" in Western Europe from the Renaissance onward. We will then explore what exactly educated people in early modern England knew about the Greek languages and Greeks themselves. More importantly we will focus on what imagined past they created out of this knowledge. Here we will pay particular attention to their knowledge of the patristic tradition and the ways that it was and was not connected to the ancient Greek world in the early modern English mind. Finally we will conclude with two case studies examining the theological and liturgical output of two Philhellene Archbishops of Canterbury whose lives and careers played pivotal roles in shaping Anglican theology and liturgy - Thomas Cranmer and William Laud.

Who Are the Greeks?

It is one of history's great ironies that modern Greek self-identity, a self-identity largely without reference to the ancient, pre-Christian past and instead focused on a nostalgic yearning for the Byzantine period and a shared Orthodox Christian faith, began to take on shape at the very instant that the figure of 'The Greek: Ancient Founder of Western Civilization Par Excellence' started to form in the mind of Western Europeans. This simultaneous but divergent understanding of what "Greek" signifies has shaped all subsequent interactions between modern ethnic Greeks and Western Europeans (not to mention their North American descendants), creating a complex web of competing tensions and understandings that simultaneously draw the two factions together and repeal them apart. Religion and religious identity has always been at the centre of this web.

The process described above did not begin with the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II on 29 May 1453, but rather started much earlier as the two halves of what had been the Roman Empire and what was "the Christian world" began to drift, and then run, apart from each other. Certainly by the devastation of the Fourth Crusade, the sense that the Greek-speaking East was apart, distinct, and at odds with the formerly Latin-speaking West had cemented itself at least in the minds of those in the East. In

his landmark *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204-1461*, Apostolos Vacalopoulos rightly argues that the modern sense of Greek nationhood began to emerge in following the Fourth Crusade's sack of Constantinople; and consequently, from its very origin, the modern Greek sense of self has been grounded in a sense of otherness in relation to the Latin West and the Muslim East.[2]

Then, with the collapse of the Eastern Roman Empire, most Greek-speaking Christians found themselves living under a Muslim Ottoman government that organised civic life around religious identity; consequently, Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians found themselves grouped together and defined not by language (which had been the defining characteristic of Greek identity since ancient times), but religion. Moreover, because of Ottoman law, it was possible for people to exit the Orthodox Christian millet via conversion to Islam, but not to enter it, because conversion to any non-Islamic religion was forbidden. Thus, it can be suggested that it is in the Ottoman period, with its stringent religious categorisation, Greek identity, which had been accepted by nearly all as fluid and changeable, based primarily upon language and values, in the Ottoman context, Greek-speakers came to see themselves as primarily united by their shared Orthodox Christian faith. In essence, the Greek experience of the Fourth Crusades was reinforced by the Ottoman period. From that dual experience emerged a fundamental understanding of self bound up in an identification with Eastern Christian Orthodoxy.

Likewise, beginning in the 13th-century and increasing rapidly after 1453, a number of Byzantine scholars found their way to Italy, carrying with them the Classical Greek literature and philosophy that had survived in the Eastern Roman Empire but had been lost in the Western one. They also brought with them the knowledge of the Greek language, which had been largely unknown in the Western Middle Ages. This infusion of Classical Greek culture into Western Europe served to hyperdrive the nascent Renaissance and inspired the re-creation and re-imagining of ancient Greek culture by Western Europeans.[3] This was a process, it should be clear, that was absolutely supported by those

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[2] Vacalopoulos, Apostolos, *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine Period, 1204–1461*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970.

[3] See, for example, Lamers, Han. Greece Reinvented: Transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy. Brill, 2015 and Plescau, Ionut Alexandru. "The Byzantine Influence on the Italian Renaissance." In *Rethinking Social Action. Core Values in Practice*, pp. 256-262. Editura Lumen, Asociatia Lumen, 2019.

very Byzantine scholars.[4] For example, Manuel Chrysoloras, a late Byzantine scholar who was seminal in introducing Greek language and culture to Western Europe, wrote the following to his emperor in 1414 (decades before Ottoman armies would enter Constantinople):

> 'Let us remember from what men we are descended. If someone would like, he could say that we descended from the first and age-old, I mean from the most venerable and ancient Hellenes (no one has remained ignorant of their power and wisdom). If you please, you could also say that we descended from those who came after them, the ancient Romans, after whom we are named and who we are now named and who we, I suppose, claim to be, so that we even almost erased our ancient name. Rather both of these races came together in our times, I think, and whether someone calls us Hellenes or Romans, that is what we are, and we safeguard the succession of Alexander and that of those after him.'[5]

With this kind of encouragement, not to mention their own desire for a usable past, Western Europeans adopted ancient Greek culture as their own mythic origin and sought to 'establish continuity with a suitable historic past' [6] vis-a-vi Classical Greece. In what Stathis Gourgouris has called history's first instance of the 'colonization of the ideal'[7] Western Europeans, beginning in the 15th and 16th centuries C.E., claimed the Classical Greek past as their own, setting

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[4] Whether or not there was a late Byzantine/early Ottoman reclamation of ancient Greek identity within Byzantine society remains a subject of intense debate. A debate that, due to the scope of this paper, it seems safe to regrettably sidestep.

[5] Cited in Lamers 2015, p. 32.

[6] Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 2012. p.1

[7] Stathis, Gourgouris. Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece. Stanford University Press, 1996, p 6.

around its parameters which frequently excluded modern ethnic Greeks, whose identity was being simultaneously shaped by Ottoman rule.[8]

The Knowing Greek (and Greeks) in Renaissance and Reformation England

Exactly how much Greek the learned of Tudor England knew and how well they knew it has been a subject of much debate. Furthermore, when we zoom out a bit to look at the whole of the Long Reformation it is certain that interest in and proficiency at the Greek language ebbed and flowed over the course of the nearly three centuries in question.

While traditionally the general consensus has been that, with regard to the 16th century, the Channel acted as a formidable barrier to the kind of Greek scholarship that flourished on the Continent during the period, in recent years several studies have sought to vindicate Greek scholarship in Early Modern England, suggesting that the English were not all that different than their European cousins with respect to their knowledge of the Greek language. There were undoubtedly a number of significant Greek scholars promoted into significant posts at both Cambridge and Oxford beginning in the reign of Henry VIII, including Sir John Cheke, John Redman, and Thomas Smith.

The best evidence we have for the knowledge of Greek during this period are the various Latin translations of Greek texts (this was after all the heyday of Latin composition in England). These translations reveal a knowledge of Greek that was available, if not frequently patchy. Interestingly, despite the Renaissance fascination with all things ancient, the most frequently translated works of Greek into Latin by English scholars were the Greek patristic writers

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[8] To this day, the tension between the ethnic Greek experience defined by longing for the Byzantine past and the trauma of the Ottoman occupation (which has had the consequence of tying Greek identity to Orthodox Christianity) and the Western European idealisation and adoption of the ancient Greek (pre-Christian) past remains at the heart of debates around Greek identity. This tension was not resolved, but further exacerbated by the creation of the modern Greek state. The Greek War of Independence, which began in 1821, freed large numbers (though not all) Greek Christians from the Ottoman Empire after four hundred years of Ottoman rule. It was an effort greatly aided by Western European and American Philhellenes inspired by the ancient past, but conflicts between the ethnic Greek fighters and the Philhellenes over issues such as where the capital city of the new country should be (Athens or Constantinople) and what time of government it should adopt (monarchy or a republic) highlight how differently each group understood what 'Greekness' means.

along with early Christian and Byzantine writers.[9] Moreover, it would appear that the most prominent and prolific translator of Greek Christian texts during this period was John Christopherson, the personal confessor of Mary I and a man who died under house arrest after preaching a sermon in which he declared that Protestantism is "a new invention of new men and heresies." For Chistopherson, the translation of Christian patrimony locked within the Greek language was of greater importance and merit than scholarship done on pre-Christian literature. He writes the following in an introduction:

> 'For if those who have combined into one even the scattered stories of poets, as Peisistratus did those of Homer, or who have restored them to a whole and published them (stories which, as it seemed to Cicero, soften the spirits and crush all the nerves of virtue), have illumined their name to some degree; then how much both glory and splendor must we bestow on those who pluck out of the darkness and place before the eyes of men not lying stories which, as Pindar will have it, entice the minds of men more by the various blandishments of their lies than true speech but true and proved histories wherewith the mind may be carried swiftly to the outstanding glory of virtue; and who publish not the dreams of mad philosophers, which lead some men into error, but the warnings of the faithful disciples of Christ, which can both purify the spots of vice, if any have stained the inner thoughts, and show the right path to virtue, by which we may rightly progress through faith to the blessed life.' [10]

There is much to suggest that Chistopherson saw his task as one of bringing the halves of the universal Church into dialogue with itself.

Considering Christopherson's motivations, that is if one were to extrapolate them out to others of the period, it might follow that the Reformers would be less inclined to indulge in forays with the Eastern Church. And, yet, even a brief survey of the data will quickly disabuse you of this notion. In fact, it is clear that Reformers were more interested in the Greek-speaking half of the Christian world than their Catholic adversaries. The reason for this is two-

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[9] Binns, J. W. *Latin Translations from Greek in the English Renaissance; Humanistica Lovaniensia* 27 (1978): 128–59, p. 132

[10] Cited in Binns, J. W. *Latin translations from Greek in the English renaissance*; *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 27 (1978): 128-159, p. 134.

fold: First, Classical Humanism was one of the intellectual impetus for the Reformation, as Greek learning led to the kind of intimate engagement with the Biblical text that made *sola scriptura* (or even *prima scriptura*) seem even vaguely plausible as a theological approach. Secondly, the existence of the Eastern Orthodox churches served as the most powerful practical counterexample in the argument against the notion that *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* did not mean *extra Romam nulla salus*; the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church was grander than the Church of Rome as the 'Church of the Greeks' (more on this choice of nomenclature below) showed.

The Continental part of this fascination has been much more studied than the English, though it is worth noting that here too there is yet much ground to cover. There has certainly been some, though delayed, scholarship on the correspondence between Lutheran theologians in Tubingen, Germany and the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Jeremiah II which occurred between 1578 and 1581.[11] The first English translation of the correspondence was, however, only published in 2005 and then by the press of a Greek Orthodox American seminary. In a similar fashion, the appearance of Eastern Christian liturgy and theology in the English Reformation has frequently been noted (particularly in the context of ecumenical dialogue) but seldom interrogated: What was the Reformers' aim in seeking out and including these echoes of the East?

Thomas Cranmer's Eastern Prayers

Studies of the Eastern Christian material in the work of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer encapsulate this phenomenon. There is undoubtedly a significant amount of scholarship on Cranmer's engagement with and inclusion of Eastern material into early Anglican liturgy.

However, less attention has been paid to why Cranmer may have sought out such material and what he thought if anything about the contemporary Christians who were the most direct heirs of Chrysostom, both linguistically and theologically. For example, George Sorka has speculated that since Cranmer "sought no definitive break with tradition but desired a degree of freedom

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[11] For more on this correspondence see, Stuckwisch, Richard. *Justification and deification in the dialogue between the Tübingen theologians and Patriarch Jeremias II. Logia* 9, no. 4 (2000): 17-28; Moore, Colton. *Wittenberg and Byzantium: Lutheran Incentives to Correspond with the Patriarch of Constantinople (1573–1581). Journal of Religious History* 46, no. 1 (2022): 3-23; and Janus, Richard. *The Wittenberg-Constantinople Negotiations in the 16th and 17th Century. A Form of Early Ecumenical Dialogue?. Synthesis* 5, no. 1 (2016): 158-161.

from formulaic constraints," he "would have found the Prayer of St Chrysostom historically interesting and liturgically quite useful.' [12] More importantly as Sorka points out, "Cranmer implicitly recognized that recourse to Christian authority existed outside of the sphere of Rome and that this authority could be claimed by the reforming English Church and defined accordingly'.[13] Finally, it is clear from Cranmer's writing that John Chrysostom was an ancient father whom he held in particularly high regard. For example, in his defense of the use of the venacular as a liturgical language, Cranmer contends that he will "here to say nothing, but that was spoken and written by the noble doctour and most morall divine, Saint John Chrysostome.' [14]

But what can Cranmer's comfort with and affinity toward Late Antique Greek Christianity tell us about his view of his Early Modern Greek contemporaries? What is most obvious to note is that while it very may be true that Cramner found in Chrysostom (and more broadly in the existence of the the wider Eastern Christian) Christian authority outside of Rome, there is no evidence to suggest that he possessed any desire to legitimize the English ecclesiastical project by formally uniting with that power. Unlike some German Reformers, for example, we have no evidence that Cranmer wrote to the captive Patriarchate of Constantinople. His interest with Greek Christianity was limited to its past existence with seemingly little comprehension that it had even survived into the present. In this way, Cranmer's attitude toward the Greek Church mirrors the common attitude of Early Modern Western humanists to Greek culture writ large. What was "Greek" was by definition something that belonged to the past. As such, "the Greek" might always be called upon to provide a source of legitimacy, authenticity, and antiquity to any project, but its ability to function in this way relied heavily upon the agreement that all things Greek be kept in the past.

William Laud: Greeks You Can Talk To

While it appears Cranmer did not seek out any living Greeks, his successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud most certainly did. It is probably not

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[12] Soroka, George. *An Eastern Heritage in a Western Rite: A Study of Source and Method for Archbishop Cranmer's Inclusion of 'A Prayer of Chrysostome' in the English Litany of 1544. Reformation & Renaissance Review*, vol. 7, no. 2-3, 2005, pp. 249–67, https://doi.org/10.1558/rarr.v7i2-3.249, p. 250

[13] Ibid. p. 252

[14] Cranmer, Thomas *The Judgement of Archbishop Cranmer Concerning the People's Right to, and Discreet Use of, the H. Scriptures* (London: John Taylor, 1689), p. 3.

a coincidence that the Archbishop of Canterbury most interested in the Eastern Church (perhaps save Rowan Williams) is also the Archbishop of Canterbury arguably the most fixated on the issue of episcopal authority and hierarchy. Laud's episcopalism speaks to an ecclesiology fundamentally concerned with issues of authority, continuity, and legitimacy all things associated with Greekness in the Early Modern period.

It is also a happy coincidence of history that Laud's period of influence and authority in the English church coincided with that of Cyril Lucaris in the Greek. Born in Crete (then under Ventiatian rule), Cyril Lucaris had an early life that was very much formed by contact with Western Europe, an education that left him much more willing and able to engage with Western Christians than many of his contemporaries. . He traveled extensively throughout Europe and studied in Venice, Padua, and Geneve. While in Geneva he came under the influence of Calvinist theologians. For the rest of his life, he would hold views, or at least entertain views, that were at odds with the normative position of the Eastern Orthodox Church, a fact that has earned him derision and dismissal by his co-religionists down through the centuries. It is unfortunate that Cyril Lucaris has been a victim of Orthodoxy's almost reflexive xenophobia and its consequent inability to wrestle with ideas perceived as "foreign" or worse "innovative" (quelle horruer!). He became Patriarch of Alexandria when he was only twenty-nine years old. It was during this period, that his possibly more Protestant views became more pronounced. For example, in a letter to Mark Antonio de Dominis, a former Catholic archbishop (whose own biography offers intriguing clues into the nuances of identity in Reformation/Reforming thought), Cyril Lucaris says the following:

> 'There was a time, when we were bewitched, before we understood the very pure Word of God; and although we did not communicate with the Roman Pontiff... we abominated the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, as opposed to the Faith, not knowing in good truth what we abominated. But when it pleased the merciful God to enlighten us, and make us perceive our former error, we began to consider what our future stand should be. And as the role of a good citizen, in the case of any dissension, is to defend the juster cause, I think it all the more to be the duty of a good Christian not to dissimulate his sentiments in matters pertaining to salvation, but to embrace unreservedly that side which is most accordant to the Word of God. What did I do then? Having ob-

> tained, through the kindness of friends, some writings of Evangelical theologians, books which have not only been unseen in the East, but due to the influence of the censures of Rome, have not even been heard of, I then invoked earnestly the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and for three years compared the doctrines of the Greek and Latin Churches with that of the Reformed... Leaving the Fathers I took for my only guide the Scriptures and the Analogy of Faith. At length, having been convinced, through the grace of God, that the cause of the Reformers was more correct and more in accord with the doctrine of Christ, I embraced it.[15]

Lucaris became Patriarch of Constantinople for the first time in 1620 and immediately began to demonstrate his affinity for the English church, sending a steady stream of gifts and letters to English scholars and churchmen, including William Laud. The friendship between the two is noteworthy because it is clear that they ultimately held opposing views. What seems to have united them is that each stood in opposition to his own tradition and so consequently seems to have understood the others situation as such:

> 'Difficult though it is to pin down and label that elusive clerical politician, we can at least say that, in the end, in doctrine and in discipline, his (Lucaris') ideas were opposed to those of Laud. Those who ultimately destroyed Laud accused him of deviating from the true faith of Calvin and selling the English church to Rome. Those who ultimately destroyed Cyril were the Romanising party in the Greek church, and they accused him of selling that church to the Calvinist.'[16]

Just as each understood the difficult position which they both found themselves in vis-a-vi there own traditions, it can be argued that each hierarchy continued to seek out the other because, despite the clearly stated position of each, they symbolized for each other via their cultural positions what they other man saw lacking in his own culture and tradition. Thus, in as much as Laud was drawn to the antiquity and legitimacy of Greekness and the Greek church; Cyril Lucaris sought out the English (and the Dutch) who seemed to possess

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[15] Cited in Hadjiantoniou, George (1961), *Protestant Patriarch,* John Knox Press (Richmond, VA), pp. 42–43

[16] Trevor-Roper, H. (1978). *The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Time of Charles I; Studies in Church History, 15*, 213-240. doi:10.1017/S0424208400009025

the spirit of freedom of inquiry and learning that he thought at been lost in the world of the Ottoman Greeks.

Beyond his relationship with the Greek Patriarch, Laud's fascination with the Greeks as a source of authenticity can be witnessed in his obsessive collecting of books in Greek. Unlike other collectors of his time, he was not just interested in Greek texts that were ancient and pre-Christian, but in the Greek Scriptures, the writings of the Church Fathers, and medieval Greek theology. With a touch of the logic of humanism, Laud seems to have reasoned that if one could access Greek texts in their original language one would have even greater access to the authenticity that was implicit in Greekness. Even for a man who had extended contact with a real, contemporary Greek bishop, whose beliefs and life would have defied his expectation, it can be said that he ultimately defaulted back to the powerful image of The Greek as a pervasive Western European archetype.

Conclusion

It is difficult to untangle fully what role cultural expectations about Greeks played in ecumencial engagement with the Greek church during the Long Reformation. What has been discussed here is for the most part cursory. But piecing together this puzzle is not merely an academic question. The ways in which cultural expectations and expectations of culture mediated and guided early modern ecumencial encounters are still at work today. These expectations are a lingering barrier to meaningful and productive ecumenical dialogue and understanding across Christian traditions. A future in which there is honest conversation between Christian confessions necessitates a look at how and why we have failed in the past. Encounters between Eastern Christianity and its Western counterparts remain weighted down by the baggage of expectation, prejudice and misunderstanding. There is what we expect to encounter and what we actually find and seldom do these two things align.

Ecumenical Evensong with the Ecumenical Patriarch[1]

Owen Dobson

Of the three chief pastors of the universal Church we pray for everyday at the altar – the Pope, the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury – His All-Holiness Bartholomew I, Archbishop of Constantinople New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch is the one I least ever expected to meet, let alone see sitting in the congregation for Evensong at St James's, Sussex Gardens, our ordinary Parish Church in Paddington, London, one Sunday evening last October! Even after the event, the Vicar and I were still somewhat incredulous, asking ourselves how on earth such an occasion came about.

[1] The visit to St James', Sussex Gardens in the Diocese of London took place on 23rd October 2022 during the Ecumenical Patriarch's pastoral visit as part of the celebrations of the centenary of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain.

The answer to that question is also the fruit of such a visit: friendship. What it sprang from, and what it has deepened, is the mutual recognition of fellow Christians as those with whom we share a familial bond, a ministry to the People of God and a mission to the world to proclaim that Christ is Lord.

It began with a pastoral visit, with the Parish clergy knocking on the door of Thyateira House, which sits within the Parish of St James's Paddington, after His Eminence Archbishop Nikitas had taken up the office of Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, to offer a neighbourly welcome. From that moment a warm friendship was formed between the Parish clergy and the Archbishop and his staff, with much hospitality shared, and conversations that very quickly moved from amiable small talk to deep reflections on the faith we share and the challenges we face.

When, as part of the centenary celebrations of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, the visit of the Ecumenical Patriarch was being planned, we dared to suggest that, as he was staying near the Church, there might be some opportunity for our people to receive his blessing (even if from a hotel window!) after a Solemn Evensong in honour of his visitation. Amazingly, when these suggestions were made to His All-Holiness, he expressed a desire to him-

self be present at Evensong as his official engagement with the Church of England on this visit.

The Right Reverend Jonathan Baker, Bishop of Fulham, presided over a splendid liturgy, offering our best in worship to Almighty God in the Anglican tradition. The Patriarch was greeted by choir and brass with *Ecce, Sacerdos Magnus* before taking his place on a throne in the nave, surrounded by his retinue of other senior Orthodox clergy. We were joined by representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and other clergy from the Diocese of London. The evening sacrifice of praise, using the words of the Prayer Book, were joined by Keble's translation of the ancient Greek hymn *Phos Hilaron,* and prayers were offered for the unity of the Church and for the Patriarch's ministry. The occasion had a particular poignancy for the Patriarch, as he had just celebrated his thirty-first anniversary on the Patriarchal throne. The Bishop of Fulham addressed the Patriarch in his greeting:

> 'In this time of great peril and challenge for Christians and for all people worldwide, it is marvellous to be able to come together and to thank you for all that you have been able to offer by way of leadership in our Lord's name over these three decades and more.'

But it was the Patriarch's words at the end of the celebration that we will most cherish. He recognised 'the Abrahamic hospitality' extended not only in that evening's events but in the Church of England's hospitality to Greek Orthodox Christians for many years, many of whom came to these shores as refugees. This hospitality and the recognition of one another, across our divides, as those whom Christ himself has called his friends, is surely the heart of ecumenism. The reception of so senior a Pastor of the universal Church could easily become a diplomatic nicety: what this was was a real and concrete manifestation of friendship in Christ, an embodiment of the prayer of Christ himself, and a sign of hope that, in the fullness of time, will be fulfilled. As the Patriarch reminded us:

> 'After all, this what Christ commanded us to do when saying that all will know you are his disciples, if we have love for one another.'

AECA Pilgrimage to Tur Abdin [1]

Brian Curnew

Tur Abdin in south-east Turkey is a high plateau of hills rising abruptly from the Syrian plain. It is between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, at the head of the Fertile Crescent which figures like few other places in history. For millennia the land over which you look from its rim has been subject to movements of people and changes of rulers. This land has been the setting for both confluence and conflict, involving peoples, faiths and cultures. Today you are looking into Syria, just a few miles from the wall of separation between it and Turkey.

The name Tur Abdin is Syriac. It means Mountain of the Servants of God. Already in the 4th Century the Monastery of Mor Augin, which looks out from that rim towards the plain, was established there. St Efrem the Syrian (d.373) was from nearby Nisibis. Through all the centuries since this has been the spiritual heartland for Syriac Orthodox Christians.

[1] The pilgrimage took place from 17–25 September 2022

This is different however from the way that Mount Athos is such a heartland for Greek and other Orthodox Churches. It is not 'apart' like that. Tur Abdin has been right through its history a land of cultivation and villages, Christian communities looking to and served especially by monasteries, some of which were set up as places of retreat, like Mor Augin, others focal points of gathering and community life. Preeminent amongst them Mor Gabriel, from the late 4th Century the place to which all Syriac Orthodox Christians have looked.

Tur Abdin was the destination, in September 2022 for the Association's Annual Pilgrimage, from 17th to 26th September. We were two dozen, mostly Anglican, preciously with Syriac fellow-pilgrims. Our leaders were +Christopher Chessun, Bishop of Southwark and Chairman of AECA, and Mor Polycarpus, Syriac Archbishop in The Netherlands. The pilgrimage, which had clearly taken a lot of arranging, owed a great deal too to Gabriel Malas and others. We also had an excellent Turkish tour leader, Volkan Akoluk.

As Fr. Hugh Wybrew reminded us, in his homily at our first Eucharist together, we were going to the heartland of another great Christian tradition alongside our own Latin/Western or indeed the Greek and other Orthodox Churches. Separate as it became out of the conciliar controversies of the 4th/5th centuries culminating in Chalcedon, the Syriac is a third tradition, with its own rich history, another great church out eastward of which we generally know too little - of its theology, of its spirituality and liturgy, its pattern of life. Something of this is expressed by the language of its liturgy and communities wherever they are now - which is Aramaic, in descent from the language of Our Lord himself.

In 2023 these communities are dispersed far from Tur Abdin and in many lands: consequence over the past hundred years of yet another phase of a repeatedly turbulent history. So came it, that we had as one of our leaders Archbishop Polycarpus, born like St Efrem near Nisibis, taking the name Augin when he became a monk, and ordained priest at Mor Gabriel and now Archbishop in the Netherlands - so, a local lad (if he will excuse my saying that) returning now a pilgrim amongst pilgrims.

So much, really, as introduction. I'm confident in saying that for all of us this pilgrimage has been a wondrous experience. We all came together at Diyarbakir on the Euphrates, whence we went to Sanliurfa , known in Christian history as Edessa, which has a new and excellent archaeological museum, a good way of entering into local history, and grasping its depth. The nearby Mosaics Museum holds Christian 3rd/4th century mosaics. As the claimed birth-

place of Abraham, this city is now primarily a place of Moslem pilgrimage. We went to a former Syriac church, first example for us of a place where over time Christianity has been displaced. The most intent among us would go seeking out such places, here and elsewhere, with many to report.

From Edessa we followed Abraham to Harran. Then on to Mardin, the modern provincial capital, for three nights. This was into the C20th a Syriac town, and there remain many families, and traders whom some of us met. At the Church of the Forty Martyrs we were welcomed warmly by the Archpriest. At three miles distance is the Saffron Monastery, of which he is also Abbot. This was our first monastic visit, to a place steeped in history, and active now as a place of gathering and community. We were there for The Divine Liturgy, Archbishop Polycarpus the celebrant, Bishop Christopher robed and assisting. I found it deeply moving. Then supper; our first experience of sit-down hospitality, which would be repeated over and over as we visited churches and their communities.

It is beside the point to trace our whole itinerary. From Mardin we went to Midyat, meeting-point of the roads of Tur Abdin, and where the old town is visibly Syriac. We stayed there four nights, and went out in every direction to villages, monasteries and their communities. Everywhere we were met by priests, monks and people of the communities, ready to gather with us in the churches for prayers, and afterwards for refreshments. There were always welcoming words, to which our bishop leaders replied. The joy and warmth of the welcome was marvellous. As we went we were also learning about those communities and the great challenges which these people themselves have faced. One sign of this was how, in this distant part of modern Turkey, our group's language skills were tested. None of us Anglicans spoke Aramaic, or more than a few words in Turkish. But did you speak French, German, Dutch, Italian, Swedish? If so, it could be used. Because our hosts might well themselves have lived in the diaspora, or do for some of the year, or have families whom they visit.

We were in some villages which had been deserted, when persecution or insecurity had driven their people away, escaping from the genocide which in 1915-6 involved Syriacs as well as Armenians, through to the 1990s when they were caught between the Turkish State and the militant Kurdish PKK. That since then the threat has receded, and the outlook of the Turkish government has changed in their regard, has enabled families to return and to be rebuilding communities. What we were seeing was further proof of the resilience of Syriac Orthodox Christians, as they continue to look from their diaspora to this

heartland of faith and community. The word awesome is overused, but I think in this instance apt. We went to Mor Gabriel, where we were welcomed and sat with The Archbishop of forty years, Mor Timotheos. He insisted then that we vary our programme to go with him to the patronal festival at a newly restored church of St Demetrius. We were expected in another community for the evening meal. It made a very long day!

Both places however were examples of the truly remarkable work of restoration in recent years. In 1999 a German, Hans Hollerweger published a fine well illustrated book, 'Tur Abdin'. Comparison of churches with their condition as he saw them shows what's been happening since. The renewal of the village where we ate began some twenty years ago when the exiled community learned of possible loss to non-Syriac settlers, and the first three families returned. None of this is easy, But signs abound of Resurrection.

What churches we did see, ancient, restored and modern - but with a great continuity of character and feel, built as they are for an ancient, continuing and expressive liturgy. I was impressed by their simplicity. They are not adorned visually like more familiar Orthodox churches. They are even austere; but they are places 'where prayer has been valid'.

On our last full day, Saturday 24th September, we wEnt to the Monastery of Mor Augin, on its high escarpment overlooking the Syrian plain. For decades it was deserted. Now there is community again, abbot and monk at its heart. It is ancient, its church we were told was restored in the 13th century, and looked it, albeit energy needed now is supplied by solar panels. No one from our group with whom I spoke wanted to leave. It could be our chosen place for a retreaT. From there we went to Mor Polycarpus's home village, nearby. That too was special. We had met his mother, father and brother already, but this was their - and his - home place. So then to Hah, and the Church of the Mother of God from the 6th century, of outstanding beauty, the church which Hollerweger had chosen, understandably, for his book's cover. We could not stay there long, but did not want to leave.

We were in Tur Abdin during the period of mourning for the late Queen, and her funeral. On the morning we set out, Bishop Christopher was on BBC Radio, speaking of the long queue to her laying-in-state, and likening it to pilgrimage, of which the journeying is part as well as the destination. Because of the royal obsequies, he joined us a day late. How true his words, of this pilgrimage of ours: as we journeyed, the sharing in it, and about it, amongst ourselves and with people we were meeting. Isn't it another thing of pilgrimage,

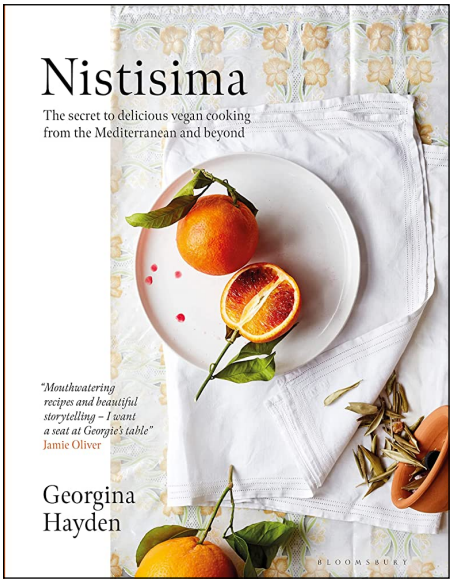
that you return from it changed already by the experience, but aware that there is still more (as we say today) to process, and indeed to learn, with opportunity.

So much went into its preparation. This I hope has been clear. We owed much to our leaders, to Volkan our Turkish guide, and to our two bishops. To each of them, great thanks. Bishop Christopher will permit me to say, I think, especially to Archbishop Polycarpus, whose presence with us made this pilgrimage unique. This was in fact his first return to Tur Abdin for twenty years. Even if other groups have the joy of travelling with him, as I hope they may, still it cannot be the same as the sharing of this reunion. Our two very pastoral bishops, I am sure remain in our prayers, together with the people we met.

Book Review

Alan Trigle

Nistisima, The secret to delicious vegan cooking from the Mediterranean and beyond. Goergina Hayden, Bloomsbury, 2022, 304 pp.



Within the Church of England the idea of fasting as a key part of the holy life and the attempt to draw nearer to God has all but vanished. In a reversal of the traditional cycle, Advent now coincides with the busiest party season of the year in the run up to Christmas, while the weeks after are often not a celebration but a "dry January". Some individuals and congregations may give up coffee or chocolate for Lent, but this is seen as pretty much optional. Observance of quarterly ember days is almost non-existent in my experience.

Within Orthodoxy of course, the practice is alive and well, although it follows rules that appear extraordinarily complicated to an Anglican eye. Essentially you require a calendar to tell you what products you should abstain from on any particular day; meat, dairy products, oil, alcohol. My understanding is that the various parts of the Orthodox tradition follow slightly different rules. Some may, for example, look down on their brothers and sisters from other countries who eat creatures with backbones in certain seasons. I even once saw a calendar published by a Ukrainian monastery which appeared to stipulate that one should eat caviar on Palm Sunday.

As ever, the differences can be played up if people are spoiling for a fight. When Photios the ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople goes through the errors of Rome as part of the dispute over the *filioque* clause, he includes in his list the fact that they do not observe proper fasting habits.

Likewise in this country under Henry VIII, the Convocation of 1536 noted that some were teaching "it is no synne or offence to ete white metes, eggs, butter, chese or flesh" during Lent and or other fasting days.

Quite apart from the spiritual aspect, following Orthodox fasting practices demands considerable organisational skills. You won't just feel hungry, you will have to know what you can and cannot buy for the next few days. Hence they force themselves into the awareness of the faithful on a daily basis and form part of the lived culture in a way that is entirely different from the post-religious society in which Anglicanism operates. Individual Greeks may or may not be religious, but they will have friends or family members who fast and they will be familiar with the concept.

This was the world in which Georgina Hayden grew up, as a daughter of Cypriot parents in London. The title of her book *Nistisima* essentially means "the fasting option". No publisher with an eye to their financial situation would attempt to sell a cookbook by boasting of its fidelity to an ancient tradition of self-deprivation, but in a cunning piece of rebranding the fasting option is here repositioned as vegan – a much more sellable option. This is not entirely successful, as vegans will balk at the use of honey, but Hayden admits that for her, to leave it out would not be right.

The author does not appear to be particularly religious herself, but she certainly seems to have absorbed the culture of Greek Orthodoxy at the knees of her grandmothers. For this book she has also done research into both other Orthodox traditions (e.g. Russian, Serbian, Romanian) and other countries around the eastern Mediterranean (e.g. Lebanon, Syria). In several instances she credits her recipes to individual priests or monks.

Some of the dishes are traditional, like *kibbet el Raheb* (monks' soup – essentially lentils and Swiss chard), which is normally only eaten on Good Friday and was supposedly eaten by Jesus and Mary. Some she freely admits are made up, like her *prassinopita* (celebration of greens pie, which reminded me distantly of *spanakopita*). Others are adaptations made easy for a western readership, as when she makes *bourekia* (little pies) with ready-made (vegan) puff pastry. Others again are credited directly to other cookery writers such as Alissa Timoshkina and Olya Hercules.

Because the book is about fasting food, the recipes are refreshingly simple. Unlike many of the things I see cooked on television or read in glossy coffee table cookbooks, this is food to be eaten at home, not food to impress jaded restaurant critics. The techniques she uses are straightforward, which throws the emphasis on the ingredients, largely vegetables and pulses. Occa-

sionally I raised an eyebrow at what I saw on the page, as with the pie crust pastry made from roast squash and bulgur wheat, but these recipes work. I also found I had most of what I needed in my cupboard already, and west London is well blessed with shops that can provide me with pomegranate molasses or dried rose petals; but even if you don't have access to one of these you can still make most of the dishes.

I cooked from this book almost every day in Advent; I doubt it made me any holier but it certainly made me healthier. I recommend it. By way of a taster, so to speak, here is her recipe for sweet and sour leeks (serves four):

> *Ingredients*: 3 leeks, 3 garlic cloves, 4 tablespoons olive oil, 1 tablespoon caster sugar, 2 sprigs thyme, salt and pepper, 1 lemon.
>
> *Method*: cut the white end of the leeks into 2cm rounds and slice the green end finely – rinse both thoroughly to get rid of dirt. Heat the olive oil in a saucepan on a medium head, add the sliced garlic and cook for 1 minute, then add the sugar and cook for another 2 minutes. Put in the leeks, thyme and salt and pepper and fry for 5 minutes. Then add about 75ml of water, cover, and turn the heat down to low. Cook for about 30 minutes, stirring occasionally to make sure it doesn't stick – you may need to add a little more water. Then remove the lid and turn up the heat to remove any water that's left. Squeeze in the juice of the lemon and serve.

Anglican and Eastern Churches Association

1 - 9 September 2023

A Pilgrimage to the Romanian Orthodox Church

Led by Bishop Jonathan Baker and Fr. Mihai Novacovschi

A Pilgrimage to the Romanian Orthodox Church

"In this pilgrimage of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association (AECA), we will experience the riches of Romanian Orthodox spirituality and life. We visit important monasteries and spiritual centres of Romanian Orthodoxy, often worshipping with the community and meeting and hearing from our hosts. Romania has beautiful natural environments in which we will have the opportunity to walk or relax. Romanian cuisine is famed for its quality, range and quantity. We will experience all of this and more, in the company of fellow pilgrims. The pilgrimage is led by Bishop Jonathan Baker, the Bishop of Fulham, together with Fr. Mihai Novacovschi, the Rector of the Romanian Orthodox parish in Birmingham. We look forward to welcoming you."

- Dr William Taylor, Chair, AECA

Programme

(subject to minor changes due to weather and/or traffic conditions, service schedules, etc).

1 September - Friday

Departure from Luton, Wizzair flight leaving 8.40, arriving in Iasi 13.55. Transfer to the hotel. Getting to know the City Center and visit the Metropolitan Cathedral. Accommodation in Iasi.

2 September - Saturday

The monasteries of Iasi: Galata, Three Hierarchs, Golia. Free time towards the end of the day, for a stroll or taking part in a service. Accommodation in Iasi.

3 September - Sunday

Orthodox Divine Liturgy in a church in Iasi. After lunch, departure to Neamt, passing by Probota monastery (UNESCO World Heritage List). Check-in, getting to know the area and visit one of the churches. Accommodation in Neamt.

4 September - Monday

Three monasteries in the Neamt region: Agapia, Sihastria and Neamt. Accommodation in Neamt.

5 September - Tuesday

Departure from Neamt to the Bukovina region. On the way we visit the monasteries of Rasca (UNESCO World Heritage List) and the church in Arbore (UNESCO World Heritage List). Accommodation in Putna.

6 September - Wednedsay
The monasteries of Putna and Sihastria Putnei. Free afternoon. Accommodation in Putna.

7 September - Thursday
The monasteries of Sucevita and Moldovita (both UNESCO World Heritage List). Accommodation in Putna.

8 September - Friday
Divine Liturgy for the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin. After lunch, we visit the monasteries of Humor and Voronet (both UNESCO World Heritage List). Accommodation in Gura Humorului.

9 September - Saturday
The monastery of Dragomirna and the Cathedral of Suceava. Departure to London at 19.35, Wizzair flight from Suceava to Luton, arriving at 20.55.

Price £850 GBP per person

What's Included?

- Accommodation in twin/double en-suite room at local hotels and or monastery guesthouses.
- Full board starting with dinner on 1 September and finishing with lunch on 9 September, except breakfast on the two days which start with the Orthodox Divine Liturgy.
- Guiding services.
- All the visits specified in the program.

What's Not Included?

- Flights to and from Romania.
- Travel insurance.
- Drinks during meals.
- Personal expenses.

Flights

We have chosen to fly to regional airports rather than to the capital, Bucharest, in order to minimise the time spent in the bus. www.wizzair.com

Departure - 1 September

Luton 8:40 — Wizzair flight W6 3652 — Iasi 13:55

Return - 9 September

Suceava 19:35 — Wizzair flight W6 3615 — Luton 20:55

How to Book:

1. Register your interest by email to officemanager@stjohnsnottinghill.com
2. Once you receive the confirmation that a place is available, please book your own flight tickets for the flights specified above.
3. Send the flight & travel insurance confirmations to officemanager@stjohnsnottinghill.com
4. Make a bank transfer of £850 to:
   AECA
   50118125
   20-71-74

There are 20 places available.
Please note - pilgrims are responsible for booking their own flights and travel insurance.

Useful Information

Insurance

It is a condition of booking that comprehensive travel insurance is taken out for the duration of the visit. Bookings cannot be confirmed without this.

Driving

This part of Romania has a tourist infrastructure that cannot be compared to that of the tourist areas of Western Europe. However, the amount of driving each day reasonable - the maximum distance covered in one day will not surpass 150km, with most days under 100km.

Mobility

There is a certain amount of walking (and a few flight of stairs) involved on a daily basis on this pilgrimage so please make sure you pack comfortable footwear. However, this is not a trekking holiday!

Entry requirements

UK and EU passport holders can currently enter Romania freely with no restrictions or other documentation required. Stays within the EU can be up to 90 days (can be spread over multiple visits) within any 180-day period. Please note your passport must be valid for three months after your return from Romania.

For the latest and most up to date travel advice including entry requirements please consult the Foreign & Commonwealth Development Office travel advice website:
www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice

Anglican and Eastern Churches Association

www.aeca.org.uk

Cover Photo:

Icon exhibited in the exhibition 'Icons on Ammunition Boxes' at St John's, Notting Hill, held in conjunction with the charity British-Ukrainian Aid.