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Eastern Churches News Letter

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*No responsibility can be accepted either by the General Committee or by the Editor for the views expressed by the contributors.*

## Eastern Churches News Letter

### EDITORIAL

It is the fate of the Spring editorial of this journal to be composed in the darkest days of the year, so that the issue can reach the readers with passable certainty by Easter. Such is the pace of modern communications that though our excellent printers are both quick and reliable in the work they do, neither we nor they can rely on the Post Office delivering proofs or parcels of completed issues in reasonable time without leaving a positively mediaeval wide safety-margin for all those transactions. Nevertheless, a surprising proportion of the activities of the second half of 1976 are likely to be still being worried over in the first half of 1977. And there of course, we of this Association part company with the *éminences grises* (or *pourpres*) of the ecclesiastical civil services, whose minds are so disjointed by the flying passage of time that they fail to notice or realise what is permanently of value, constantly needed, and left out of the Christian's life and faith at the peril of the soul. How largely these official views part company with those of thinking Christians may be seen by comparing the bland handouts from the ecclesiastical *Chinovniki* in both East and West with the excellent, clear-eyed and clear-headed reports on ecclesiastical life in Russia provided by Professor R. P. C. Hanson in *The Times* in the summer of 1976, or with the two fierce, but solidly documented articles in the latest issue of *Diakonia* by Fr. Maloney and Fr. Pospishil.

Not entirely surprisingly, the Western side of the Church has had a bad press from the East because of this flybynight mental habit of its official leaders. That the West *has* much to answer for no intelligent Christian would deny, but our Eastern brethren cannot be acquitted of a failure to recognise the essential solidity of Western Christianity that may at times be hidden behind the frontal mask presented by the self-advertising brigade. This failure is, moreover, exacerbated by their disinclination to look to the real practitioners of the Faith in the West in the past, and so in turn to fail to realise just how deep and how solid are the roots of Anglican Christianity. In the present issue the life of St. Chad will demonstrate that the Eastern brethren neither are nor were (as they so fondly imagine, to judge from the virulent and arrogant correspondence which has reached the Editor from Eastern sources in the last year or two) the only Christians in the world. To a world view shaped by the icy blasts of the northern edge of the habitable world, this overheated siege-mentality among professed Christians is both unattractive and, when compared with the actual teaching of the New Testament, ludicrous. It is certainly no less wrong than the butterfly-posturing



of the fashion-conscious officials of the Western side. When we bear in mind the perilous state of mankind as a whole, when we bear in mind that for those who profess and practise the Christian faith the world has reverted to the situation of the first days of Christianity, with Christians a *minority* surrounded by a massive majority of unbelievers and non-believers, largely apathetic to our religion, but also in considerable part actively hostile to it, then we should no longer be indulging our lower instincts by making such deplorable exhibitions of ourselves to the eyes of watching outsiders. The hostile mass media delight in nothing so much as the misreporting of the cavortings of the exhibitionistic fringe-Christians to the disadvantage of those who struggle to hold to their faith and its practice, and it is idiotic of both sides to pretend that one is better than the other. The examples of Chad and Bede *as well as* Simeon the New Theologian and Seraphim of Sarov are all there for our guidance and West and East alike neglect them at their peril. As for the first time in many years we celebrate and make memorial the same day of the great central act of our faith the Resurrection of Christ our Lord, let us make it our chance to make reparation to one another for all past arrogance and show ourselves to the unbelieving outside world for what we are, a scandal to the self-righteous and stuffy, and a derision to the fashionable, so that they may see us as Christians and not merely sub-Christian partisans of a moment's whim.

Lastly, but not least, spare a prayer for the three aged guardians of one of the oldest Christian shrines of Cyprus, men who never did harm to Greek or Turk, but *practised* their faith in their devotion, and are now in bewildered exile because of the small-minded nastiness of their political rulers. Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven, and theirs is a blessing denied to the officially-named Makarios.

B. S. Benedikz

#### THE GENERAL SECRETARY'S NOTES

The high-light of the autumn for the Greek Orthodox was the Silver Jubilee of the consecration of Archbishop Athenagoras II of Thyateira. About 750 of us sat down to a splendid banquet at the Grosvenor House in Park Lane. Amongst the guests from the Church of England were the Bishops of London; Fulham and Gibraltar; St. Alban's and Edmonton. Prelates of the other Orthodox Churches and Oriental Churches were present together with representatives of the Roman Catholic Church to wish His Eminence good health and God's blessing on his next twenty-five years.

A superb tribute book ("*Levkoma*") has been produced for the jubilee. I will quote part of the Introduction which aptly sums up the work and witness of the Archbishop:—

"Archbishop Athenagoras has already completed forty years in

Holy Orders of the Greek Orthodox Church. On 1 April 1934 he was ordained Deacon by Bishop Emilianos of Miletos, who was Dean of the Theological School of Halki, Istanbul, Turkey. He was subsequently ordained Priest on 16 June 1940 by the late Patriarch Athenagoras, then Archbishop of North and South America; and on 14 September 1950, he was consecrated Bishop by the late Archbishop Michael of North and South America.

Archbishop Athenagoras's *diakonia* has been long and varied, and closely connected with the Church of the Diaspora, where he served the Greek Orthodox people in Egypt, the United States of America and Canada. His election to the See of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain was made by the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate on 10th December 1963, and it was the reward and apex of his successful ecclesiastical ministry as Bishop in America.

"Archbishop Athenagoras's presence in Great Britain has brought an extension of the activities of this Archdiocese in its spiritual, administrative and social spheres. The Archbishop has organized Communities, founded Churches and guided Greek and Sunday Schools. He has established auxiliary societies of Ladies in each Community for the promotion of philanthropic activities; and he has worked tirelessly for the organization and spiritual welfare of youth in the Communities. In addition to his administrative, social and pastoral responsibilities, the Archbishop has also worked for the cultivation of ecclesiastical and theological studies. Expert in the use of the Greek and English languages, he has produced for us many distinguished pages in his beautiful theological works, and also in articles published in the magazine of the Archdiocese "*The Orthodox Herald*", which is issued bi-monthly. With his written, oral and religious publications, the Archbishop has set the mark of his personality upon the life of our Church in England and America, and generally throughout the entire Greek Orthodox world . . ."

A sad occasion was the death at the age of ninety-three of Archbishop Nikodim of the Russian Church Outside Russia, which occurred on 17 October 1976. Vladika Nikodim had been an officer in the Tsar's army, and he never lost his military bearing, for even in his nineties he always celebrated the Divine Liturgy with great dignity, standing bolt upright during the long services. He had been ordained late in life, and had always been under the jurisdiction of the Sremsky-Karlovsy Synod now seated in New York.

Many members attended the Vigil service on the eve of his funeral and the Solemn Liturgy at Emperor's Gate Cathedral on the day of his burial. His passing removes yet another figure from pre-



Revolutionary Holy Russia. The Archbishop is succeeded by Archbishop Anthony (Bartachevich), Archbishop of Geneva and Western Europe, who will continue to reside in Switzerland.

The new administrator of the Diocese of Richmond and Great Britain is himself of pre-Revolution stock. He was born in St. Petersburg in 1911, educated in Belgrade, and was ordained by Metropolitan Anastasii, the then head of the Sremsky-Karlovsky Synod, in 1941. In 1957 he was consecrated to the episcopate, becoming Archbishop of Geneva and Western Europe in 1962. His most notable work is connected with "Orthodox Action", much reviled by the Soviet regime for its success in circulating religious literature behind the Iron Curtain.

The death of a distinguished Orthodox layman also occurred in the autumn, that of His Royal Highness Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, the former Regent of Yugoslavia. The beautiful ceremony of the laying up of his Garter banner at St. George's Chapel Royal, Windsor Castle, was attended by some members of the Association.

Another loss to the Serbian Church and also a very great loss to the world of Byzantine studies was the death of Professor Georgi Ostrogorsky in Belgrade some months ago. Among Byzantine scholars and students as "The Emperor of Byzantinology", and his masterly *History of the Byzantine Empire* is one of the greatest works of scholarship in this field in our century.

After some delay the Assyrian Church, or Church of the East, elected a new Patriarch, Katholikos during their Holy Synod held at the Anglican Abbey of St. Paul, Alton, Hampshire. His Holiness Mar Dinka was consecrated as Patriarch (the Assyrians consecrate their Patriarchs even though they are often in episcopal orders) at the Anglican church of St. Barnabas, Pitshanger Lane, Ealing. His Holiness later spoke to the General Synod of the Church of England. Dr. Henry Cooper reports on this:—

"His Holiness Mar Dinka, Patriarch of the Assyrian Church (which disclaims the title of Nestorian) spoke to us in Aramaic. He told me that it was the same tongue in use in the First Century in Palestine. It was sonorous and expressive and beautiful and one could imagine Our Lord speaking it to His people . . ."

"... With the woolliness of so much religion to-day and the extraordinary idea that if it is spiritual it is not material also, it was a splendid reminder of how we are earthed in the soil of Judea and Galilee. After all, it was not long ago that it happened, a few generations, that is all. If some twenty men or women lived to be ninety-nine each, their lives would cover the whole Christian era. It was fitting that the Assyrians with their emphasis upon Our Lord's Humanity should bring this home to us, just as the other Ancient Oriental Churches will hardly let us forget the Divinity . . ."

Apparently the Assyrians have had a very bad time during the civil war in the Lebanon. Which reminds me that I received some weeks ago a request for information about the Orthodox Christians of the Patriarch of Antioch's jurisdiction, as little seems to be known of the fate of these Christians. Perhaps a reader may be able to provide some news about their present condition and their needs.

The annual festival of the Association was held this year at my own church of St. Silas-with-All Saints, Pentonville. The Mass was reasonably well attended and I think all who came were pleased with the luncheon, which my own congregation prepared. Unfortunately the cost of £1 per head did not cover the price of the food and the Association had to make up the deficit out of its own funds. The preparing of the meal, not to mention the buying of the food, etc. takes a great deal of time and one wonders whether it might not be more sensible to ask members to bring sandwiches on future occasions and ask the host churches to provide hot drinks. Alas inflation makes even the simplest meal a financial embarrassment!

In early June 1976 I made my fourth pilgrimage to Mount Athos, having as two special intentions the members of the Association and the needs of the Archbishop of Thyateira who had been very ill in the London Clinic at that time. Whilst in Athens I called on Archbishop Panteleimon, formerly of Thessaloniki. He spoke with affection of his many Anglican friends and asked to be remembered to those members of the Association who knew him. On (Anglican) Whit Sunday I went to Mass at St. Paul's and enquired of Archdeacon Skemp how Bishop James Virvos was. He told me that Bishop James was not at all well and would, he felt sure, welcome the prayers of all our members. In Thessaloniki I visited the new college of the Ecumenical Patriarchate up on the hill next to the site where St. Paul preached to the Thessalonians. Here Father Peter Webber is studying. Archimandrite Nectarios Skourtas met me off the bus in Thessaloniki and found a hotel for me before I began the dash from the government offices to the police station to collect the necessary visas for the Holy Mountain. Father Royston Beal, a member of the Association travelled with me to Athos, hence the "we" passages that follow.

On arrival at the last village before the Athonite peninsula, Ouranopouli, we called on Mrs Joyce Loch in her mediaeval tower built by the Emperor Andronicus II. This remarkable old lady remains the focal point for the whole village. Her name is legendary in the Chalkidi for it is to her that the Greeks, many from Asia Minor, have resorted in joy and in sorrow in sickness and in health for half a century. She lives serenely like Rapunzel in her tower and



when she cannot get to see the world she can always be certain that the world will go to see her. When we arrived she was re-plastering the grazed knee of a six-year-old boy for the third time that day. Her ten Turkish cats scabbled about in her knitting basket. We deposited some of our overloaded rucksacks with her, drank her delicious coffee, sampled the honey from the hives of the Russian skete of Chronitsa and waited in idyllic surroundings for the arrival of the boat for Daphni.

Eventually it sailed into sight and we bade farewell to the old lady of the Proosphorion Tower and set sail for the Middle Ages; nay, for the last bastion of Byzantium.

At Daphni an English Knight of Malta from the Foreign Office joined us, and we set off to Karyes to receive the precious Diamesterion, or permit signed by six abbots which would be our passport to shelter, food and drink during our four-day visit. Whilst the Fathers signed our documents we wandered a little way out of the village to look at the great Russian skete of St. Andrew. It is now very dilapidated and there was no sign of any Russian monks there, but we saw signs of life in the west wing and heard chanting. We discovered that there is a Greek seminary established in the monastery so that part of it is still inhabited, but it was sad to see the rest of this flamboyant edifice being reclaimed by the oleanders and the chestnut trees.

Our visas obtained, we walked through the village pausing at the general store to buy some nuts just in case we did not make the next monastery before supper. At Koutloumousiou we admired the church and the peaceful court-yard, chatted to a very friendly old abbot and then began the descent to Iveron where we spent the night.

The next day, fortified with ouzo, coffee and quince jelly, we set off for Stavronikita. Here there was a vast improvement on the state of the monastery (one of the poorest on Athos) since my last visit ten years before. The monastery is now coenobitic, and the monks who have gone there with their abbot from the rock monastery of Meteora in Thessaly have made the place live again. The reception room is beautifully restored with amusing frescoes showing weary pilgrims arriving at the door and being refreshed by the achondaris (guest master). The vineyard and the orchard and kitchen garden are well tended and here we saw great hope for the survival of the Holy Mountain.

Having missed the boat from Iveron to Vatopedi by half a minute we had set out to walk to Vatopedi—a long and exhausting haul over the ridge, but we should have missed this monastery had we gone by boat, so perhaps it was providential that we had lingered too long over breakfast at Iveron. After a pleasant walk through the green forests of chestnuts we arrived at Pantokratoros, where a cacophony of what sounded like ducks quacking greeted our ears.

On crossing the bridge over the stream to the monastery's farmyard we discovered that the din was being made by a huge colony of rather large frogs, who, together with some turtles, dived as one into the water. Nature was here in the raw, for a few minutes later a snake crossed our path as we ascended the rather rough terrain which lies to the south-east of the spectacular skete of the Prophet Elijah, another Russian community now reduced to one old monk.

We spent the night at Vatopedi where there was a large group of German Roman Catholic priests, who sang vespers in the church, evidence of the extreme liberalism of this monastery. It would have been unthinkable at the next monastery we visited, Esphigenou. Here as we approached by boat we could see the two great black flags flying announcing "Orthodoxy or Death". The community had been under siege conditions for some time during the period of the Colonels. Here great exception is taken to the overtures made to Rome by the late Patriarch Athenagoras. Esphigenou is the Éconne of the East and like Éconne not lacking in numbers. We found the monastery and gardens well appointed and, after a rather suspicious greeting from the monk at the jetty, a warm welcome from the archondaris. One could not help reflecting on how much more civilized traditionalists are than those who have felt the blasts of reform and the winds of change!

A short boat journey and a very easy walk through olive groves and along sandy paths brought us to the monastery of the Serbs in time for lunch. Chilandari is recovering again, slowly but surely, its past vitality. It was here that I was able to open a door and say "Timothy Ware, I presume" to Archimandrite Kallistos who was working with Philip Sherard and Geoffrey Palmer on a translation of the "*Philokalia*".

After lunch at this very hospitable monastery we set off to look around the many floors of what must be one of the tallest buildings on the mountain. In the salon and on the grand staircase it was gratifying to see that the Kings of Serbia had been kept up-to-date and that a very fine photograph of Crown Prince Alexander hangs in pride of place with those of his predecessors. Two pilgrims from Belgrade were particularly delighted to find this outpost of Old Serbia complete with pictures of its dynasty, for this house was founded by Stephan Dusan who extended the borders of the Serbian empire farther than it had stretched before or has done since.

On the way back to the jetty we passed the tower of the Serbian Queen who had been allowed to stay near her son when he renounced his claims to the throne and retired to be a monk at Chilandar. Nearby there was a reminder of the great beauty of Nature and the certainty of death, a meadow full of Madonna lilies and a charnel-house full of monks' skulls.

Crossing the peninsula we eventually found ourselves at the Russian monastery of St. Panteleimon, where a few young monks



were struggling to maintain the vast edifice. We were told that some new monks do come from Russia and that eleven were expected within a few weeks of our visit. The problem is that the life on Athos proves too tough for most of them and they return to Russia. During the last four years it appears that about three hundred new monks have been admitted to Mount Athos, some of these going to another monastery which is being renewed, Simonapetra. This helps to keep up the numbers, even though many monks would have died during the same period. However, it can, I think, be said that the position of many of the monasteries has improved during the last four or five years and one hopes and prays that the Holy Mountain—this unique feature of Christendom—will survive as a beacon of traditional monasticism within the Orthodox world and that its blessings may be shared by those outside its communion and fellowship.

John Salter

#### ASSISTANT SECRETARY'S NOTES

We shall be about to celebrate the Festival of the Holy Resurrection of Christ our Lord when these notes come into your hands. Throughout Christendom we shall all enter the Holy Season of Lent together this year, and shall therefore celebrate the Festival of Festivals our Lord's Resurrection from the dead. We greet all our readers with the Easter Greeting, "Christ is Risen". This combination is beautifully expressed in the Prayer Book Litany. "By the Mystery of thy Holy Incarnation; by the Holy Nativity and Circumcision; by thy Baptism Fasting and Temptation, by thine Agony and bloody sweat; by thy Cross and Passion; by thy Death and Burial by thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension and by the coming of the Holy Spirit". In this suffrage we have the wholeness of the Christian Faith in the person of Christ our Lord; the incarnate life of Christ is unfolded for us in the liturgical year of the Church, the saving power of God made known to us by His Son. In the Holy Orthodox Church the Baptism of Christ is celebrated on 6 January, the Festival of the Epiphany, the manifestation of the Divinity of Christ, the life of the blessed Trinity manifested at the Baptism of Christ, the voice of the Father, the command "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him," the Holy Spirit coming to dwell upon Christ. At this Festival the Orthodox bless the waters, so we are united in our Baptism with the Trinity, the life of Divine Nature which Christ gives to us, in which we are renewed. The glorification of man, which is also the glorification of the whole of creation, should, of course, be understood eschatologically. In the person of Christ, in the sacramental

reality of His Body and in the life of the saints, the transfiguration of the entire cosmos is anticipated; but its advent in strength is still to come. This glorification, however, is indeed already a living experience available to all Christians, especially in the Liturgy. The new life which we have through the Incarnation of the Divine Logos sets us free and we become sons of God and children of the Kingdom of God. We are called to be saints in the Household of Christ; the royal highway for us to follow is in Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life. No man can come to the Father except through Christ our Lord. In our time we must face this question of Christology. It is not isolated from Ecclesiology; Christ and the Church are one; when we speak of Christ we are speaking of the Church, and when we speak of the Church we are speaking of Christ. There are those today who speak of the Church as a human society, there are humanists, and those which stress only the Spirit, forgetting that the Christian faith is in the incarnate, suffering *and risen* Christ, at one with the Father in the Holy Spirit.

The Joint Orthodox-Anglican Commission in Moscow in August of last year expressed concern about the ordination of women to the Anglican priesthood. A resolution passed at the meeting said that "the Orthodox members of the Commission wish to state that, if the Anglican Church proceed to the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate, this will create a very serious obstacle to the development of our relations in the future." This Association, which was founded to foster Anglican and Orthodox relations with the view to the union of the two Churches, should take note of these solemn words, which are addressed to us all. As a Church Society we were founded to advance "the Christian Religion in particular by means of teaching the members of the Anglican Church and those of the Eastern Orthodox Church the doctrine, worship and way of life of the other". The question of women priests is not to be found within the doctrine of the Anglican Church. This is a theological question which must be seen as such. The Church of England is in communion with all her sister churches within the Anglican Communion, and we must ask the question: if Bishops in other parts of the Anglican Church admit women to the priesthood, will this mean that the Church of England will be in communion with churches that have women priests? The whole question shows quite clearly that there is no understanding of the theological nature of the Church, nor of the meaning of the priesthood within the Church. We must never forget that the Holy Orthodox Church is of the Holy and Undivided Church, and that she has kept unchanged an unchanging fidelity to the theology and method of government of the early centuries. It is not a question of keeping up to date, it is a question of keeping faithfully to the faith which Christ has given to His Church and which has come down to us



throughout the ages. There is an ever-growing need for more information to be given to our parishes about the Holy Orthodox Church. The real work for Christian union is still to be done in the parishes. The parish is the worshipping community, the Eucharistic Fellowship which must play its full part in the life of the Church, *it is the Church*. Every PCC should have information available about the Holy Orthodox Church and of our relations with her and so should the ecclesiastical synods. The work for Christian Unity is not something done in isolation by a few, it is part of the continuing mission of the Church. How many English parishes were able to pray for the meeting of Orthodox and Anglicans in Moscow in August last? because they were not informed of this meeting. We are the Body of Christ and each member shares in the building up of that Body, the Church should act in unity. The Eastern Patriarchs, in their response to Pope Pius IX in 1848, made it clear that the Church was not just the bishops and priests, but the whole body of the faithful. "Among us neither the Patriarchs nor the Councils have ever been able to introduce novelties because the defenders of the Faith is the body of the Church itself, that is to say the people themselves, who hold the faith to be without change for ever and that it be identical to the faith of the Fathers". According to the Christian Church *orthopraxy* ("right action") can spring only from *orthodoxy* ("right belief"). Orthodoxy is not originally a word describing the theology of a certain school, not the conservative attitude of one Church as opposed to liberal theology. It is the faith of the Church or the Church itself which is called Orthodox. And although the term means etymologically "true opinion", this does not mean "one opinion among others", but the true vision of God which He has of Himself, the truth contained in Him, His life by communicating His Word to us God transmits to us the very Mystery of His life".

I wish to express my grateful thanks to the Secretary of the Society of St. Willibrord for giving me permission to make use of parts of the Bishop of Fulham and Gibraltar's sermon in my notes.

On Sunday 27 June 1976 Metropolitan Anthony preached at Evensong at Dorney Parish Church. The Church was full for the occasion. After Evensong we all went over into the Vicarage Garden to have Coffee and to meet the Metropolitan and ask him questions. The visit was made known to the Deanery through the Deanery Synod, so that there were people from other parishes in the Deanery at the service in Church.

I attended the Divine Liturgy and the ordination to the Diaconate of Mr. Constantin Alecsa at the Romanian Orthodox Church in St. Dunstan's in the West on Sunday 28 November 1976.

Dom Cuthbert Fearon.

1) G. Khodre: Believing and living in Orthodoxy, *ECNL*, 29, 7 (repr. there from *Youth Bulletin of the WCC*).

#### ST. CHAD—PATRON OF MERCIA

St. Chad (Old English *Ceadda*) is the patron saint of Lichfield Cathedral Church, of the diocese of Lichfield, and of the ancient Mercian kingdom of the Midlands. For thirteen centuries his name has been honoured, and churches and colleges given his name in patronage, yet we know curiously little about him; enough to see something of what attracted so many, but not enough to see the man with a clear vision, though we can dispose of one false picture straight away. The smooth-faced character in mitre and cope or chasuble who is labelled "St. Chad" in stained-glass windows at York and Lichfield, or on plaster statues in the window-displays of insurance companies, is a complete misrepresentation of the Chad we find in history. For one thing, Chad would not have dressed up with such pontifical elaborateness, for another, this dress was not yet invented as episcopal attire in his day. The man who emerges from our sources is a very different person, and we do well to look at him now.

The first and most important source for the life of St. Chad is the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* written by the Venerable Bede around sixty years after Chad's death. Bede does not have overmuch to say about him, but from his scattered remarks there emerges a singularly attractive person, holy and humble, yet far from weak or irresolute. To Bede Chad was clearly one of the most important of the missionaries who Christianized England and united the church after the violent clash between the Celtic and the Roman orders of faith, and from him we get a number of details of Chad's career, especially of his death and of the early miracles at his tomb.

St. Chad first appears in Bede's story in A.D. 664-65 as the helper and successor of his brother, St. Cedd, who led a mission to the East Saxons and then founded the abbey of Lastingham in North Yorkshire. It is clear, however, from Bede's words, as well as from his curious silences, that it was not a young man who succeeded to the abbacy, but that Chad had already spent many years as a missionary. For, as Dean H. E. Savage<sup>2</sup> and Professor C. E. Whitting<sup>3</sup> make clear, his eventual tremendous success as a bishop was no flash in the pan, but built up on a foundation of solid, patient teaching over several years in Mercia before he obeyed his elder brother's call to come and rule over the monks at Lastingham. All that Bede says of him reflects a man set in his ways and mature in years and wisdom; without much stress we may assume that he was not less than forty years old when he came north, and will therefore have been born around 625 A.D. From a Welsh source we know that he was said to be the son of one Ceawlin of Caer Luitcoit (an old Celtic name for Letocetum, the Roman station at Wall, near Lichfield),<sup>4</sup> and one of four brothers, the others being Cedd of Essex and Lastingham, one of whose churches (Bradwell in Essex)



still stands as a witness to his labours, Celin and Cynebil, both priests and faithful supporters of their elder brother. Bede tells us also that St. Chad went as a youth to Ireland to study and perfect himself in the monastic life, taking with him as a companion a boy named Egbert (who died in 729 at the age of ninety), whom Bede names as a source for information on St. Chad. The next reference that we have is when the dying Cedd summoned him to Lastingham and bequeathed to him the direction of the house. In that time of uncertainty and upheaval it can be supposed with some reason that no man of Cedd's wide experience would have handed on so difficult a task to an inexperienced youth. Dean Savage reckons, in fact, that Chad must have been working as a missionary for at least twelve years by then, that he had been brought back from Ireland by his brother in 653 to assist with the East Saxon mission, and had then gone on his own initiative as a mission priest to work among the Mercians.<sup>5</sup> The evidence presented in the joint research of Dr. Savage and the Rev. Thomas Barns is cumulatively very strong<sup>6</sup>, and impels one to think that Chad would have been at least thirty years' old in 654, as ordination to the priesthood was at that period of the Middle Ages kept to that age, in accordance with the Old Testament ordinance (*Numbers* 4, 3); thus Bede himself, though made a deacon at the age of nineteen, did not receive priest's orders until he was thirty, and there is nothing in his narrative to suggest that his was an exceptional case. It is therefore perfectly understandable that when Chad returned to the scene of his former labour, a mere five years after, his intensive missionisation would bear fruit much more quickly and richly than if he had come as a stranger, however holy, for a mere two and a half years, however vigorously he might be backed by the powerful King Wulfhere, the reigning monarch of the day, who had obtained his services from Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury. By careful examination of ancient church dedications and ancient roads in Mercia, Thomas Barns showed one side of the possible reason in favour of a long period of missionary work there by St. Chad; by cautious and careful inference from the strange silences in Bede's otherwise warm and laudatory account of his life, Dean Savage has elicited the other side; between them they have shown what almost certainly did happen.<sup>7</sup>

In the middle quarter of the seventh century Mercia was a wild and chaotic country, divided between the conquering Angles who made of it the last fortress of paganism, especially during the reign of the warlike King Penda (626-55), who resisted the advance of Christianity with great stubbornness until he was slain by Oswy of Northumbria in the battle at the River Winwaed, and Christian Britons of Celtic origin, who lived in pockets of the woods of present-day Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Shropshire, Cheshire and South Lancashire, clinging to the Christian faith which was brought to them when Imperial Rome still governed Britain. Among them, and

among the stockaded townships in which their conquerors lived, Chad appears to have moved almost incessantly between the time before Penda's death and Cedd's summons to Lastingham, trudging along the roads that connected the disjointed parts of the realm of Kings Peada and Wulfhere, bringing the comforting message of the Christian faith to Briton and Angle and alike. That this notable missionary achievement was ignored by Bede, who is otherwise so anxious to say what he can to Chad's credit, has been explained by Dean Savage, and his explanation is not unreasonable, based as it is on Bede's recognisable preferences and prejudices. It must be remembered that in the same decade as paganism came to its end in Mercia, the Christianity brought from Celtic lands by Columba and Aidan and their followers, and that brought over by Augustine and his followers from Rome collided in real earnest. The most violent quarrel was over the manner of calculating the feast of Easter, but there were other, not less acrimonious points of dispute. In the end King Oswy called a synod of bishops and other theologians at Streoneshalh (modern Whitby), and settled the matter once and for all by declaring himself in favour of the Roman side, which henceforth prevailed in all seven English kingdoms. In the flush of victory of the Roman party came the foundation of the two great monastic houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow by Benedict Biscop; in them, the triumphal symbols of the party, Bede dwelt as a devoted and loyal disciple and teacher all his life from the age of seven. To him all churchmanship which did not stem from Roman roots must therefore have seemed reprehensible, and to one of his Anglian background Britons would be savages to be ignored, especially if they were heretical savages; it would therefore seem to him that any work done by Chad (who was Celtic-trained, we must remember) for the despised Britons was derogatory to his honour as a holy man of the Catholic Church: hence, it has been argued, the silences in the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>8</sup> It is not difficult to recognize the force of those who favour the ten year service in the backwoods of Mercia, certainly this is the most reasonable way to account for both the gap in St. Chad's life and for the extraordinary success of so very short an episcopate, as well as for the profound impact in the kingdom of his posthumous memory.

Whatever happened before, however, in 665 Chad emerged out of the backwoods and took up his place as Abbot of Lastingham. His long experience of Irish monastic life must now have stood him in good stead as he took over the much depleted community, ravaged by plague and greatly in need of wise and firm guidance. That he was successful (and the reputation he must have gained there) may be seen from the speed with which the masterful King Oswy of Northumbria hauled him out of the cloister and set him to govern the difficult see of York. For this was indeed to take over a difficult and delicate situation. After his utter rout at the Synod of



Whitby Bishop Colman, reigning bishop of the Northumbrians, had withdrawn to Ireland with all the clergy who supported him. Bishop Tuda, who was temporarily without a see, was then installed by Oswy as bishop of the Northumbrians, with his seat at Lindisfarne, but he died in the plague of 665, whereon Oswy and his son Alchfrith, sub-king of the southern Northumbrians, decided to move the bishop's seat back to the original place at York, where the missionary bishop Paulinus had set up his cathedral under King Edwin, since York was a place especially associated with the Roman succession rather than with the Celtic one from Aidan of Lindisfarne. The kings chose the hero of the Roman side at Whitby, the young theologian Wilfrid, to be the new bishop. Wilfrid, anxious to find a Roman succession without taint, obtained Oswy's permission to be consecrated in Gaul, and went over to be made bishop by his old friend Archbishop Agilbercht of Paris. Once over there, however, Wilfrid found French hospitality too tempting, and delayed so long that Oswy lost all patience and called Chad out of his monastery to take on the bishopric, sending him south to find a consecrator quickly.<sup>9</sup>

Chad duly travelled south, but found that the plague had made havoc of the southern episcopate. Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury had died, and his elected successor, who had travelled to Rome, had also died without being consecrated. The only bishop available was Wini of the West Saxons; to him Chad duly went, and was consecrated by him in 666. To keep to the rule of three consecrators, Wini summoned two British bishops, who still adhered to the Celtic discipline, abandoned by the Anglo-Saxons, but with whom he was evidently on good terms, and Chad clearly saw no objection in their presence, though they were to cause him trouble later. The episcopate once conferred, he seems to have lost no time in returning to the North, and begun work as Bishop of York.

In a huge, wild and difficult diocese Chad kept up a very high standard of pastoral oversight, earning the admiration of Bede, and even of Wilfrid's partisan biographer Eddius Stephanus. "His rule was of a high standard; his teaching was based upon the true and pure doctrines of the Church. In his own life he was humble, chaste and assiduous in study. He went everywhere on foot, after the example of the Apostles, preaching the Gospel in town and country, in cottage, in village and in castle, following the example of his master Aidan and his brother Cedd".<sup>10</sup> How far he was willing to go to reach isolated outposts may be seen from a single example. In the remote village of Middlesmoor, near Pateley Bridge in West Yorkshire, there was dug up in 1919 a stone cross of great antiquity; after much investigation its inscription was read as CROS SCE CEADA (St. Chad's Cross), showing that the association with the saint's preaching (for, from its appearance, this was a "preaching cross") reached back at least to the period between the end of the

tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, and was almost certainly no new thing then. Dean Savage's view, that in this lonely spot St. Chad found a small colony of British Christians and ministered to them, and that in return, in grateful memory of his services, the church which was built in the settlement was dedicated to him (or else had its preaching cross dedicated to him) has much to commend it; a single cross may be no proof in itself, but it is at least a valid indicator that the theory is at least possibly, if not probably, right, and Professor Whiting is over-cautious in his depreciation of it.<sup>11</sup>

Eventually, however, his quiet and loyal service was to be interrupted by yet another ecclesiastical crisis. Not, apparently, by the dilatory Wilfrid, who seems to have recognised that he was out of favour with the King and so settled down quietly out of Chad's way, leaving his gentle intruding brother in possession, but by a much more vigorous person, armed with an authority to which Chad obediently submitted. For the long vacancy at Canterbury was at last settled by Pope Vitalian, who consecrated the elderly and learned monk Theodore of Tarsus to the see, and sent him off to bring the muddled church in England into Roman order. Theodore arrived in England in 669, and started at once to make his authority felt. At York he questioned the validity of Chad's consecration, pronouncing it irregular because of the assistance of the two Celtic bishops; with the calm meekness that characterised his attitude to those to whom he considered he owed lawful obedience, Chad withdrew immediately from the episcopate. Theodore, clearly much impressed by him, a fact that Wilfrid's toady Eddius could not quite conceal, refused to let him go, and insisted on regularising the ordination. As Theodore had called Wilfrid in to take up his long-awaited post, Chad promptly and firmly withdrew to Lastingham so as not to embarrass him. Reading between the lines, there is not much doubt that Wilfrid, or his partisans, had seized the opportunity of Theodore's coming to create trouble, for Eddius's circumstantial account of the whole business has all the hallmarks of a "cover-up story";<sup>12</sup> Bede, who, though he tells us less than Eddius, is a cooler and more level-headed witness; clearly felt that there was nothing wrong with Chad's appointment to York, merely that his orders were irregular, and that Theodore's action had set this right.<sup>13</sup> Chad himself seems to have displayed his usual serenity and readiness to move on so as to leave the other worker in the field rather than be a cause of scandal between Christians.

The way out of the impasse was now provided by the appearance of another party. After the fall of King Penda and the murder of his son King Peada, Mercia had endured several years of anarchy until the Mercian nobles brought forward Penda's youngest son, Wulfhere, who reunited its disparate peoples and shook off the military overlordship of Oswy of Northumbria, becoming a Christian him-



self (very likely through the ministry of St. Chad, as we shall see). During these difficult years Mercian Christians had been served first by Bishop Diuma, a Celt, then by a second Celt, Ceollach, after him by Trumhere, an Anglian, all of whom were itinerants, and then by Trumhere's successor Jaruman, who set his episcopal seat in what was even in the 660's an ancient place of Christian heritage, Lichfield. In turn, Jaruman was deputed to go and re-Christianise the East Saxons, who, Bede says, lapsed after the departure of St. Cedd. While away at this work he died; as far as can be ascertained during the long vacancy at Canterbury. On Theodore's arrival, however, King Wulfhere asked him to provide him with a new bishop for his people, and Theodore, doubtless glad to find a way out of the awkward situation in Yorkshire, and knowing of Chad's long and successful labours in Mercia, must have realised in him he had the ideal man for the work, one not only godly and pious, but entirely welcome to king and people of all kinds.

The readiness with which Mercian Christians united under St. Chad's leadership is itself the best witness to the success of his earlier work. His predecessors, good men and holy, had all been in some way or other unacceptable to some section of their charge, either to the Anglians or to the Britons; now there came a man who was known to all for nothing but acceptable good, not merely a stranger brought in from outside, but one who was "one of us" to all men—a most important factor in the judgment of humanity, so essentially parochial in its outlook. The new bishop's zeal and exemplary devotion and humility are recorded by Bede in several short anecdotes; perhaps the best known is his desire to continue his lifelong habit of walking humbly on foot among his people, and Theodore's insistence, when he found out how large was the area that Chad had to cover, on giving him his horse. Indeed, we are told, the burly Theodore pressed his point so strongly that he lifted the tiny Chad up in his arms and deposited him in the saddle, whereon Chad bowed once more meekly to superior orders and accepted the horse for his work.

At Lichfield Chad appears to have set up a small family of disciples, whom he trained to take over work in the diocese, and from some of them have come the flashes of his personality which have survived to our day through being recorded by Bede. From one of them, Trumhere, afterwards Bede's own teacher of Scripture, we learn how Chad sublimated his natural fear of thunder through his faith in God, seeing in the violence of nature the mighty Lord speaking to remind men of their smallness and His infinite majesty. From another, Owini, we learn of the miracles attendant on his death, of how he was given warning of his imminent departure and, as weariness and a disease born of excessive strain caused by overwork took their last toll of him, how he gathered his spiritual sons around him and taught them devoutly and earnestly, preparing them

both for his own death and for their life after it. Then, on 2 March 672 he died in the little cell he had built for himself by what is now Stowe Pool, and was buried in the church of St. Mary in the town.<sup>14</sup> His body lay there until his successor, Bishop Hedda, built the first of the churches on the site of the present Cathedral Church, and moved his remains where, except for a few pieces (of which later) they still lie as dust.

When we remember that Bede was writing a mere sixty years after St. Chad's death, within the lifetime of men who had known him, and writing down the evidence of those who did know him, it becomes clear that Chad's sanctity had taken root in Mercia quickly and in no uncertain manner. Perhaps the most impressive—and most likely—of the miracles assigned to him and already recorded by Bede, is that of the healing of the madman who, having escaped from restraint, fled across the forest until he arrived at the little cell by Stowe Pool, where he blundered inside, and emerged later healed and sane.<sup>15</sup> For is it not both likely and understandable that the spirit of the good and gentle saint had created a healing peace within the house in which he lived his last days, and that this had served to cure the distresses and derangements of the fugitive's mind? Even at the lowest level of psychological consideration it is well known that environmental influences affect the human mind and spirit to a profound degree for good and ill, and the cure of the deranged man is a work entirely in character with the way in which St. Chad spent himself and was spent by God in the service of others.

There is ample evidence of the veneration which St. Chad enjoyed in Mercia during the Middle Ages; his feast day has been kept at Lichfield since Saxon times, and numerous ancient dedications of churches from Lancashire to Lincolnshire (which can be found by the curious in *Creckford*) are overt evidence to his popularity among his people. Moreover, the legends preserved from an early period, especially those relating to his instrumentality in the conversion of Wulfhad and Rufini, the sons of King Wulfhere, and in the penitence of their father after he had had them executed when enraged with them through the treacherous slander of a courtier (not an unlikely story, but one which suffers in its known form from a close likeness to the tale of King Earmannic of the Goths, known all over Europe since the fifth century A.D.), and his subsequent acceptance of Christianity, can be shown to have some basis in fact: King Wulfhere is recorded among the generous founders of the ancient abbey at Peterborough, said to have been his act of penitence, and his enthusiastic reception of Chad back as bishop of his peoples argues for rather than against a previous and beneficial acquaintance.<sup>16</sup> It is also notable how quickly the Norman bishops dropped their attempts to supplant the Saxon religious centre of Lichfield and became enthusiastic supporters of the veneration of St. Chad.



Bishop Hugh Nonant made his feast-day an official major feast in the diocese at the latter end of the twelfth century, Bishop Walter Langton built a fine and costly shrine for his remains as a part of the magnificent rebuilding of the Cathedral which he undertook, and at the time of his enthronement in 1398 Bishop John Burghull had him placed in the Calendar of English Saints in the Province of Canterbury;<sup>17</sup> here it is odd to note how Chad's own Province of York was laggard, as he was not taken into its calendar until the end of the fifteenth century. Not unnaturally, legends with no foundation began also to accumulate (some are now found as far afield as in a fourteenth century Latin manuscript at Gotha in East Germany), legends which persisted in being born as late as the terrible sieges of Lichfield in the Civil Wars, when the slaying of Lord Brooke by Dumb Dyott on St Chad's Day 1643, as he was about to order the Parliamentary guns to destroy the Cathedral, was attributed to St. Chad's intervention and so interpreted with more Royalist enthusiasm than common sense by Sir Walter Scott in his *Marmion*.<sup>18</sup>

The accumulation of much wealth into the Saint's shrine led the greedy commissioners of King Henry VIII to order its destruction in 1541. The precious metal and other valuables duly found their way partly into the King's Treasury and partly into the commissioners' pockets, but the bodily remains of the Saint were broken up. There is good evidence that some of them were smuggled away by a priest by the name of Arthur Dudley, prebendary of Colwich in the Cathedral, and that after hair-raising adventures these eventually came to rest in the chapel of the Roman Catholic owners of Aston Hall, whence they were transferred to the newly-built Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Chad in Birmingham. The greater part will, however, have been decently and quietly interred at the back of the High Altar at Lichfield (as were those of St. Cuthbert at Durham), where there is now a memorial plaque (set up in 1972) to remind the passer-by of the name of the man whose labours brought about the eventual building of this great house of God.<sup>19</sup>

It will be seen, even from this short account of St. Chad's life and works that he was not one who stormed into the limelight, seeking to impose himself by overbearing force upon others. He did not storm citadels or batter opponents like Olaf or Wilfrid, nor was he a spectacular martyr such as Thomas Becket, nor yet a furious rebuker of the intemperate such as Ambrose of Milan, nor yet a high and overbearing prince of the church such as Innocent III or Gregory VII. Yet rarely has a witness for Christ become so inseparably the Christian symbol of his region as Chad.<sup>20</sup> He laboured quietly, letting others make more noise, but his achievement was all the solidier and more enduring for it, for his was the labour of one steeped in the message of the Gospels, one who had set himself to follow the message which the Lord Jesus had read out

of the book of the third Isaiah in the synagogue at Nazareth:

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord"  
(*Luke*, 4, 18-19; after *Isaiah*, 61, 1-2).

Such a man was St. Chad; content to serve where he was called, and whomever he met, whether by preaching to the outcast Britons hiding in the woods of the West Riding of Yorkshire or of Staffordshire, releasing the princes of Mercia from their spiritual blindness, comforting and bringing to Christ their father, bringing healing to a madman's soul, or simply by giving to all men a living example of the real power of Christ through his presence, proclaiming the acceptable time of God in his living and his dying; not by chariots of fire or shattering displays of physical force, but by all the symbols of goodness and beauty that dominate the whole of Bede's description of him. It is not by the magnificent things of this world that we remember him, for Lichfield Cathedral's greatest treasure, the venerable book of Gospels named after him as "St. Chad's Gospels", was not written or illustrated until about fifty years after his death, and Bishop Langton's superb shrine has vanished into the mists of time, destroyed by vandals. It is rather by the example that he set, an example followed devotedly by Christians of all levels in Mercia over thirteen centuries, that his saintliness is seen. Along the long roads that he trudged in Christ's service year after year, Christians of Mercia travel today, following also the desire which is summed up in the collect in which he is remembered on his feast day each year: "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, by whose providence thy blessed servant Saint Chad was sent here to be Bishop of Thy Church; grant that we who have entered into the spiritual heritage which he left in this place may like him be inspired to devote ourselves wholly to Thy service, and ever to maintain the virtue of love and peace, one with another, and towards all the faithful; through the grace of Him who is the Prince of Peace, our only Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."<sup>21</sup>

This, St. Chad's last teaching to his disciples at Stowe Pool, is as valid for us today in 1976 as it was for them in 672; a true sign of his evangelical faith and catholic practice, and total devotion to Christ the Lord.

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## CHALLENGES TO EUROPEAN THEOLOGY

### Part II

#### THE HOLY SPIRIT IN ORTHODOX ANTHROPOLOGY

The *hypostasis* of each soul issuing from the womb is the work of the stain of original sin, since there is an organic link between parents and children. The *nature* or *essence* of the soul (which is the sum total of the characteristics of the personality) remains pure by nature since it is in communion with the Holy Spirit. The Spirit indwelling the soul provides the *hypostasis* with its own nature, namely, life, consciousness, free will, understanding and reason, all these being necessary to complete the human person or the divine image. The *hypostasis* is the creaturely aspect of the soul, whereas its *nature* is divine and directly related to the Spirit. It is the substratum or principle which individualizes each soul. It is this which distinguishes one soul from another. When we consider the doctrines which cause the greatest difficulty between us—for example, original sin and new birth—from this angle, in other words, when we respect this distinction between soul and Spirit in man and between *hypostasis* and *nature* in the soul, any incompatibility disappears.

It is impossible to base a sound theology on an erroneous anthropology. Orthodox theology is inseparable from Orthodox anthropology. A spiritual theology requires a spiritual anthropology, just as the eye is conditioned to light and the lungs to the surrounding air.

In Orthodox theology, redemption is seen as the renewed presence of the Spirit in the soul. When man is regenerated, he does not receive something alien to his true nature or something of which he has previously been totally deprived. Redemption is the gift which God gave in sending His Spirit into man's soul. But Adam's fall has not completely alienated the Spirit from man. Logic itself requires us to believe that the Spirit remains in man as the source of his life and intelligence. If before receiving Christ man possesses in himself the *logos spermatikos*, then we can equally say that he possesses the *pneuma spermatikon*.

When the New Testament speaks of the Holy Spirit offered to the believer, we are not to regard this Spirit as an incidental entity, added over and above man's own nature. Not even the most obnoxious sin can expel the Spirit in all His totality from man. There must always remain a trace of the Spirit to remind man of his origins and to make him capable of repentance. Were the Spirit completely to abandon the sinner, God could then expect nothing of him, and punishment would then have no real meaning. Hence the blasphemy against the Holy Spirit means that, despite the infinite presence of the Spirit of God within him, man persists in sin or unbelief.

By his new birth by the Spirit, the believer receives afresh the infusion of the Holy Spirit received at the beginning, at the creation. By his sin man has lost the fullness of this infusion of the Spirit. Thanks to the Blood of the New Covenant shed by Jesus Christ on Calvary, the Father again pours out His Spirit upon man. The words of the Risen Christ to his apostles, "Receive the Holy Spirit!", are usually interpreted by the Fathers of the early Church as a renewal of the first infusion of the Spirit. "It is a second insufflation", writes Cyril of Jerusalem, "because the first insufflation was overshadowed by sin."<sup>6</sup>

In the fourth century, Basil of Caesarea (330-379) teaches us that what is involved is a renewal of the first infusion: "the Logos who first breathed the Holy Spirit into man as the Creator, now once again breathes it into him as Baptizer"<sup>7</sup>. So too, Cyril of Alexandria affirms that "the Spirit who left us has been re-established by Christ who breathed his Spirit into his holy apostles, saying, Receive the Holy Spirit! What has been given us is a renewal (*ananeosis*) of this initial gift and of this insufflation."<sup>8</sup>

#### DISMISSING THE HOLY SPIRIT IN FAVOUR OF 'GRACE'

In the strict sense, the Orthodox Church does not have a doctrine of grace. But it does have a theology of the Spirit. It does not regard grace as something transmitted by way of the sacraments, as an impersonal power operating between God and man. Grace is a quality or attribute of God's nature and not an independent substance. It is a form of God's inner life turning towards the world, a



manifestation of that life outside God's own essence; it is an attitude of love, forgiveness and justification. God manifests His grace, therefore, but does not transmit it as some real independent substance. When St. Paul says: "It is by grace you have been saved" (*Eph. 2:5*), he is proclaiming the merciful love of God whereby the penitent sinner acquires the Spirit. 'Grace' is not self-explanatory, like some independent object, but refers to the Spirit offered to man by God's favour. It testifies to the forgiveness offered by God to sinful man. When Scripture says that grace is given or received, it means that man is able to receive divine pardon and mercy, not as something additional over and above his fundamental nature but in the measure in which he is in communion with the Spirit, the communion of one person with another.

"Grace" in the New Testament is not a new concept, associated solely with the expiatory death of Jesus. The creation is itself an expression of divine love and favour. Man exists by grace, (*chariti*) and not by nature (*physei*).

Grace is not therefore, an independent power by which the justification of the sinner is accomplished, but the Holy Spirit dwelling more abundantly in his heart. According to Diodorus of Tarsus: "The operation of the Spirit can itself be called the Spirit. We can also call the Spirit an operation (*energeia*). There is nothing objectionable in this<sup>9</sup>. John of Damascus likewise affirms: "the Spirit is understood in different ways." The Spirit descends into the world but His person is masked in its very epiphany. He manifests Himself only in His gifts. The metaphors used to express the nature of the Spirit are blurred and fleeting: breath, flame, perfume, unction, dove, burning bush, and so on. Simeon the New Theologian says: "None can utter the meaning of Thy Name, so ardently desired and so constantly proclaimed"<sup>10</sup>. His very origin is more enigmatic than that of the Son. Both issue from one and the same principle, the Father, but in two different ways: the one by generation, the other by procession or spiration. By constantly moving from the Persons to the unity of their Nature, and thereby avoiding any ontological primacy of essence over the hypostases and any idea of an impersonal essence which differs because of the internal relations arising within its bosom, patristic theology insists on the monarchy in God, the foundation of the unity, principle and final end, namely, the Father, the unique source of the hypostases.

The "divine names" known in theology as "attributes", *theiai idiotetes*, do not touch God's inaccessible and unknowable being but designate 'what surrounds the essence'<sup>11</sup>. The radiance of the eternal glory reveals itself in the divine energies; adapted to the world, these energies are what we call divine grace. This hypostatic procession must be distinguished from the energetic manifesting procession, which is externalized in the Spirit through the Son. Only in the case of the second of these processions can we speak of a

hierarchical order or *taxis* of the Divine Persons; whereas, in the essential existence of the Trinity in itself, in the revelation of the tri-hypostatic Subject, the Father is a Person only as the Son and the Spirit are Persons, without any hypostatic primacy over the other two. According to John of Damascus, both the Holy Spirit and his powers are referred to in the term "spirit"<sup>12</sup>.

The redemptive power received by man from God is in some instances called in Scripture "grace", and sometimes, simply, Holy Spirit. It is the Spirit as God, and not some impersonal power proceeding from God, who acts for the redemption of man. Whether we call it "grace" or "energy", we are always referring to the living personal presence and reality of the Spirit of God in man. To say that man exists by grace and not by nature is to say that man, pious or otherwise, lives in virtue of the Spirit in him. We could almost say that the Spirit is the oxygen which keeps the soul alive. When we say that man is saved by grace, we mean that he has been redeemed by Christ who breathed his Holy Spirit in abundance into the soul of man.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the charismatic movement in recent years is a movement to compensate for the neglect and oblivion into which the doctrine of the Spirit within us had fallen in the course of the centuries, particularly from the beginning of the dark ages when Christian thought in the West was distorted and theology rationalized.

#### IMPORTANCE OF APOPHATIC THEOLOGY

*Theognosia* is the mystic language of mysticism, a particular spiritual life and movement. Of course, mysticism is a more general phenomenon, met with even outside Christianity. There is such a thing as Indian mysticism, Buddhist mysticism, Islamic mysticism, Jewish mysticism. And each of these has its own special language.

Gregory of Nyssa (330-395), is a master of this Christian mystical language. He was very attached to it and always guided by it. In the whole of ancient Christian literature, no one spoke as he did—with such love, such tenderness and understanding—of the place of God in the soul and the dialogue of Christ with man. Gregory's ascetic writings, the biography of Macrina, the life of Moses, and above all the homilies on the Song of Songs, are all works which for all their simplicity delineate a profound Christian experience and personal relationship with Christ.

Gregory's mystical language reveals a characteristic condition and style of life, with God's fervent desire and unwearying efforts to bring the world to know Him emerging clearly. This, together with consistently mystical vocabulary, constitutes the particularity of mystical language.

Using this mystical language, Gregory reveals the inner experience of his encounter with God, and exteriorizes 'the sense of the presence



of God', to use his apt formula. The language is therefore one which describes highly tangible vibrations of the soul and extremely exceptional inner states. It is therefore above all an existential language revealing as it does the essence of his existence, his secret desires, the movements of his soul and his attitude to life, the world and God.

The presuppositions of this mode of life—the source of Gregory's mystical language—are theological: 1) The conviction that God is an incorruptible Being, attracting exclusively the human soul, 2) The conviction that God is "the chief, initial and unique good, as well as the wise and pure good". The notion of God as an incorruptible Being, most good and wise, recurs constantly. The mystic loves the incorruptible divine beauty, and the divine goodness and purity, 3) Faith in the incarnation of the Son "who identified himself with humanity in order that humanity in its turn should identify itself with Him and become divine". 4) The affinity between man and God, described in the Genesis passage, "God created man in His own image". Man was made, Gregory says, in such a way as to be able to participate in the divine goods. "... human nature had to be close to the divine nature, in order that this likeness should direct the human towards Him".

This affinity is real and deep, so that man's movement towards God is regarded as his natural state and mode of life. Admitting that his words are inadequate, Gregory speaks of his mystical experiences. 'Man rids himself of the domination of the senses... The mind, plunged into contemplation of the invisible world, tries to express what it has learned by the use of the reason. But the reason will find it very difficult to interpret these things because of the difficulty of describing the indescribable and because of the poverty of words! He does, however, speak of the contemplation and communication of the good, of the delight of what is desired, the fusion of God and the soul, of God present to the soul and the soul moving towards God. At first it seems that Gregory is speaking of what cannot be expressed in words and this raises the following question: What does Gregory mean by these terms? "Every effort to express in words is defeated, proved as it is to be inferior to the truth". Again, "the word will never be capable of effectively defining the truth and what it is searching for".

Gregory's mystical experience is the product of two factors, the human and the divine. God descends towards man and man is lifted up to God, without however being merged in God. The integrity of the human factor is preserved to the very end. Gregory's language does not therefore reflect a simple unilateral event as does the language of purely human mysticism. The mystic language of the Cappadocian school must express both mystic union and mystic difference at one and the same time. Thus, everything which Gregory says on the subject of the inadequacy of language etc. refers

essentially to the divine Being as Gregory experiences it. 'That which has no form but which is the greatest; being beyond all definitions of conceivable things, beyond body and blood, He is very far from us. How then can man conceive Him when the only instruments he has are his senses? Inexpressible in words is the beauty divine. But the fact that man has felt the presence of God, that he has contact with God and receives God, can only be revealed by symbols and images.

Gregory of Nyssa, a great dogmatic and mystic theologian, has a rich and varied mystical language. Expressions such as "love of the intangible", "ceaseless trajectory towards above", "ascent", "ascension", "scale", "contemplation", "divinisation", "taste for God" and so on, illustrate his unusual mystical experience and a state of blessedness which few of the elect have been worthy to experience, even for a moment.

Clearly the effort to communicate and describe such mystical experiences follows the experiences themselves. After he has been raised to unscalable heights and ceased momentarily to be a natural man, the mystic "falls back again into human weakness", i.e. he returns to his natural state. Then it is that he feels the need to speak, convinced as he is that his mystical experience was real communion with God and at the same time an extraordinary experience.

The true theologian is a 'hierophant' for he seeks to attain a whole series of truths contained in these hierophanies. Moreover, theology keeps its distinctive character as a salutary, saving discipline. Only those who are afflicted with spiritual myopia become incapable of grasping the hidden message. The 'rational' enquirer, working in intellectual concepts, is at one and the same time a hero and a victim of gnosticism. He glorifies his importance but falls and retreats, wholly disappointed and discontented in the face of the impenetrable, in face of the mystery. The brain is not the centre of the world, *axis mundi*. It must plunge into this sacred realm, and find its place in the sacred time. As the sole tool for theological study, scepticism finally leads to doubt, mediocrity, the over-emphasis of the human at the expense of the divine.

#### THE LANGUAGE OF THE FAITH

For most people, 'theology' means abstract reflection(s) on doctrine. Theology itself must accept its share of the praise or blame for such blessings or curses, and we do not lack suggestions as to the duties of theologians to the community in general. But few non-theologians have any idea of how theologians really work and think. Even if they consult a theologian, they cannot understand a single phrase in a theological essay. Between theologians and non-theologians there is a great gulf fixed, and this gulf cannot be crossed except after a



long preparation for and final initiation into the priesthood of "theology"!

Not surprisingly, therefore, (the) pessimists see a conflict between two languages: a humanist language which represents the current way of expressing ourselves and a religious language which preserves traditional modes of expressing (the) divine truth. But has there ever been a time when all people spoke the same language and accepted uniformity in describing the sacred? Confucius is said to have attributed all human problems to the "misuse of language".

Scientific discoveries may change the physical world but only language can change values and ideas. Civilization will finally be judged by our ideas of man's ultimate destiny and place in the universe. We can study doctrine only by studying its concepts and the language in which these concepts are formulated. Concepts are the bricks of which spiritual realities and mystical experiences reflecting (the) accepted doctrines are constructed and the birth of new dogma is heralded by the creation of new concepts and new words to express them.

Many doctrinal terms enter the religious sphere as technical terms—incomprehensible except to those who have formulated them, even when they are thought to represent the *consensus ecclesiae*. Thus, although many theological terms have been advanced, and accepted into the ordinary religious vocabulary, the consequence has been the abandonment of much of the reflective process of which they were simply an expression. To avoid misunderstanding them, we have to become better informed about their derivation and etymology.

Language is of primary importance even in the religious field. In fact, without language and the concepts it uses, it is difficult to imagine how theology would ever be born, even though a very primitive form of religious life could have developed without language. It has been suggested that a renewal of faith must be based on our capacity to communicate in language, rather than on any claim to be in possession of superior knowledge or wisdom. The ironical expression *homo sapiens* must be exchanged for the more exact description *homo loquens*.

No member of an orchestra can play without listening to the instruments around him. Before starting to teach our truths we should assess the receptivity and comprehension of our potential neophytes.

Narsai, the great teacher of Edessa (399), believed that the only affirmation we can make on the subject of God is the fact of His existence. 'Only the spirit can say that He is and what He is. But to seek what He is like—the door here is closed. His nature cannot be understood by those who scrutinize Him for they scrutinize Him in vain since the search for Him is unending. He has no limits and there is no limit to our scrutiny of Him. He wearies the man who

seeks what concerns Him. Desist, seeker! Do not weary yourself in scrutinizing what is hidden. Know your own nature and give glory to Him who constituted it. If you scrutinize, do so in the way appropriate to Him who is without limits, Him who is one equal Nature and three hypostases . . .'

He ends his examination of the mystery of God's existence on a note of believing and loving fear: 'Let us seek by faith alone in order that we may believe, even though this comes not by seeking but by love'.<sup>13</sup>

There are words and formulas which, ceaselessly repeated, present the appearance of incontestable truth. "Period of change" means challenging the tradition; "living the Gospel" means abandoning a hierarchical monarchical Church as the core of the community of the People of God. There is a confusion here. This contrast between the Church as the People of God and the hierarchical Church comes at a time when attempts are being made to enlarge the ecclesiological concept by the increased participation of the laity. This antithesis is a completely false one, for according to the Church Fathers, the Church is both the People of God and a hierarchical structure. To make a demagogic separation when in fact there is a luminous synthesis, is either an intellectual game or an attempt to exploit an inadequately informed public and in either case it is dangerous. The contrast produces only a caricature or a sham.

The Christian community is a eucharistic community, with its pastors and the bishop who continues the presence of the incarnate Christ. This is stressed by Ignatius of Antioch (35–107) when writing to the Smyrnaeans in defence of the bodiliness of the Risen Lord, in opposition to the Docetists of his time.

It is not the dogma which should be changed but its formulation. But even if we wish to introduce a new language, we must take great care, for some of the great verities of our salvation have long been attached to certain formulations and embodied in them. The philosophy of language is itself a philosophy of man and of society: structuralism. Because of this it treats man as if he were nothing more than the characteristics which elevate his culture above nature. Faith, being an aspect of culture, depends essentially on the ways in which characteristics (signs) acquire significant value. It is dangerous to make man's language dominate the language of God. In the end the faith is dissolved by the change in the structures of language.

#### DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF EAST AND WEST

The Orthodox Church, unlike the Church in the West, has always leaned towards more spiritual and abiding values, and shown a certain distrust of the world. This is the consequence of a strongly eschatological spirituality. This characteristic is clearly seen in the richness of Orthodox liturgical life, and in the refusal of the Orthodox Church to become too entangled in the problems of this world.



Spirituality has always turned its back on earthly elements, not wanting to control the various forms of secular power or be concerned with the problems posed by civil life, though in the eyes of a profane person it may seem to be a weak, head-in-the-clouds attitude remote from reality. The concrete events of history show that the Church has had enormous power to shape and influence the destiny of the nations into which it has been introduced. Orthodox spirituality is marked by a capacity to send out deep roots into the religious life of the people. Faced with unwelcome upheavals and changes, Christian believers find themselves in living personal communion with the realities of the world beyond. In this climate—dominated by Christ Pantocrator not by a suffering Christ, as in the West—the Church prefigures the triumph of the spiritual over the realities of this world.

Formulated and interpreted by the great Ecumenical Councils, the content of revelation finds living expression in inner empirical experience and not in theoretical sentimentalism. In the East dogma (to be preserved by a hierarchical authority) was not established in the form of a complicated and dialectic system. The clergy did not become a force to be reckoned with in the secular realm, acquiring special prerogatives and privileges. Orthodoxy is for this reason identified with the people and has become a people's church. No one who studies its history comes across any rivalry or conflict between Church and State, except in rare cases. The Church had no wish to become too minutely involved in matters affecting the economic and political life of a particular country. This policy restrained the spiritual forces so that they should not become alienated from God (autonomous) and possess social and political power. In view of those westerners who study these problems in depth, such an attitude should not be interpreted as a failure or as an evasion of life's responsibilities. Such an attitude does not stem from unfitness for power but from a determination not to seek power. The spiritual world of the East, attached as it is to metaphysical values, has not encouraged a development which would have made eudemonism, well-being, the supreme ideal and its achievement the task to be undertaken by the Church in economic life and the structures of society.

In the West, as we know from history, theology, sometimes overestimating its capacities, chose civil life as its field of operation and influence at all levels. It recognized no limits. In the East, on the contrary, two principles are applied: that of addition (*prolepsis*) and that of repulsion (*aposis*). These seem at first sight to be contradictory, but in the life of the Orthodox Church there was an inner relationship, a complementarity and solidarity. The earthly and the eternal meet in an equilibrium. Even in the Bible when it mentions an opposition between Christ and the world, it is clear that this opposition is not to be considered as the consequence of a diarchy

(twofold authority) or as based on gnostic dualism. It has to be interpreted theologically in the light of a profound Christology and soteriology.

Since the fall of man, since sin entered human life, the principle of repulsion is essential. Man is not now the same as when he issued from the hands of his Maker. Opposition becomes quite real in the domain of sin wherever demonic forces have established their empire. But where God's sovereignty and grace have been established these demonic forces do not prevail. For this very reason, the Church refused any compromise with gnosticism or with Nestorianism, which proposed an ontological separation between the divine and the human, between the sacred and the secular. Only in this way is it possible to maintain the theandric unity (of God and man). In rejecting the monophysite doctrine, humanity avoids the clerical conception which operates in a magical and authoritarian fashion. It is also the case that there was a different way of combating Pelagianism in the East than that adopted in the West. In fact the western struggle was unsuccessful, which is why this excessive confidence in man and man's pride gave birth later on to a disastrous humanism.

The Church in the East has more than once defined its attitude to the world. It keeps its distance from the world; from the world not as God's good creation but as perverted, destroyed, corrupted and menacing. In adopting this attitude, moreover, it shows itself well aware of its own condition following the disobedience of our forefathers. Such a distrust, flight, *anachoresis*, *apotaxis*, as well as such a distance, could only be justified by this knowledge. At the same time, Orthodoxy realizes the great mystery of the incarnation of the Logos, which by assuming the human element has liberated all mankind. By this incorporation of the human, Christ saved not only mankind but the whole world, the cosmos. In the Orthodox liturgy we find this conviction that Christ included the whole universe in his work of redemption. "Here, the incarnate Christ in a divine way renders incorruptible what has suffered admixture, by making it eternal" (*Canon of Holy Saturday*, Ode 5). It is in the Eucharist in particular that this offering of the whole world to God takes place, for this is the meaning of the word *anaphora*. But this offering has a further meaning. It means the world's turning back from its road to corruption, its turning in another direction towards the true source of its existence, where its final destiny is accomplished.

In Orthodoxy, anchorites, hermits, hesychasts, though abandoning the world (*fuge*), have described the joy which exists in the different world of the Risen Christ, in which everything assumes another dimension and another significance, thanks to the transfiguration brought about by God. From then onwards, the world



enters into a dialogue redolent with divine love, a dialogue with God. The great mystics called this love divine *eros*, *theios eros*. Filled with this inexplicable love, the monk feels himself at one with the material world, being transfigured in an ineffable light. In Orthodox iconography *homo terrenus* and *homo animalis* are transformed into *homo caelestis*. In other words, each human being is spiritualized, losing bodily weight and solidity. The material world is likewise restored to its original state by divine grace. Without abandoning the notion of the Fall and its consequences, the Orthodox Christian lives empirically in the mercy and philanthropy of God. Everywhere he sees the light and the glory of Christ the Victor. His conquest of fear and his conviction that a superior force exists in man constitute an eloquent sign of his relation to the mystery of the resurrection.

Man's relationship to wealth is seen in different ways. For the problem does not lie in the nature of earthly goods as riches, but in man's attitude to them. Wealth, like poverty, can pass. No one is saved simply because he is poor, nor is anyone lost simply because of his wealth. Clement of Alexandria (150-215) in his treatise *What rich man is saved?* tells us that "wealth is an instrument which can be used to promote justice and the common good"<sup>14</sup>. Athanasius of Alexandria adds that "wealth in itself is neither a good nor an evil, but is judged according to the intentions of the person who has it. Neither proverty nor wealth are condemnable."<sup>15</sup>

These reflections on riches from a spiritual standpoint were not crystallized into a detailed system or into a moral casuistry. Orthodox Christians understand their conduct in accordance with the monitions of the Spirit and their charismatic intuitions as being guided by the Holy Spirit. The East had no wish to establish a system of rules governing all the details of human life. Such a procedure would have produced a suffocating system in which man's individual initiative and personality would have been endangered. Such interferences have in the West provoked violent reactions. The present challenge (to the Church in the West) is inevitable. In the East, dogma has remained a sign pointing to the circumference of the circle within which the believer can live. In the East he can examine, study, search, but always taking these limits into account. In other words, Orthodoxy moves between two modes of reflection, the apophatic and the cataphatic.

#### CLOSER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE WAY TO RECONCILIATION

In these present times, characterized by a crisis of identity, with the conventional and institutional Church under attack, people often ask themselves what the Church of the future will look like in Europe. Everyone seeks to imagine it in accordance with his own preferences, stature and ideas. Some regarding the Word, the Scriptures, as the sole essential element, and interpreting even this

in their own favoured manner reject the authority and the sacraments of the Church.

Yet the physiognomy of the Church as described in the *Acts of the Apostles* is clearly that of a "visible community", a worshipping Eucharistic assembly, the Church of the saints, hierarchical in character, with a clear distinction between the laity and the ruling presbyters. Alongside charismata inspired by the Spirit, there is the authority of the apostles and pastors. The rule governing this Church in which charismata flourish within the good order established by the "elders" is the rule of love because it is the Church of Christ, of Him who loved the Church and gave Himself for her that He might sanctify her. To ensure this spiritual growth, Christ laid the foundation in the form of the mysteries, the Eucharist, the *raison d'être* of the *synaxis*, the gathering together of this *ekklesia*,—"congregation". She is the sacrament of salvation "God's household . . . the pillar and bulwark of the truth" commissioned to proclaim in the world "the mystery of our religion", the coming of the Son of God in the flesh (*I Tim. 3: 15*).

This Church has come down to us in the form of a living and uninterrupted Tradition. The efforts of all who desire to reform the Church so as to make it more capable of fulfilling its mission in a world in disarray must remain within this context. This continuity is not based simply on the Gospel but also on the mysterious, unbroken, intimate, sacramental bond between the incarnate God and His body, His people. This intimate relationship is already visible at the end of the first century in the letter written by Ignatius to the Christians in Smyrna in Asia Minor around about the year 105 A.D.: "Let that be considered a dependable Eucharist over which the bishop presides, or one to whom he commits it. Wherever the bishop appears, there let the people be, just as, wheresoever Christ Jesus is, there is the Catholic Church."<sup>16</sup>

One imperative need for Europe today and in the future is for the churches to close their ranks and to confront their theological positions with the Tradition continued unbroken throughout the centuries. It is essential to broaden our horizons, to go beyond a dialogue between two or three western members of one and the same family and to begin to include the other major partner in dialogue, namely, the Orthodox world. Such a broadening of the horizon would give us a new perspective, provide another dimension and make it easier for the two western theologies, Catholic and Protestant, to escape from their permanent polarization. Above all, it will lead to a considerable enrichment, infusing a spirituality, a deepened sense of mystery, an ecclesiological conception closer to the *koinonia ton ekklesion*, the "communion of saints".

—Emilianos Timiadis, Metropolitan of Calabria.



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KING'S COLLEGE LONDON  
CONFERENCE/VISIT TO CRETE

Report

1. From 1 to 22 September 1976, a party of 24 students, mainly members of University of London King's College, visited Crete for the purpose of gaining a better knowledge of the life and theology of the Orthodox Church. The party included a deacon and his wife, 10 recent graduates or equivalent (A.K.C.), 8 third-year and 4 first-year undergraduates. It was led by the Reverend C. J. A. Hickling, a lecturer in New Testament Studies at the College, and the Reverend Palamas Koumantos, of the Monastery of Simonas Petra on Mount Athos, who is a third-year doctoral candidate at King's. On arrival at Herakleion, the party was joined by Father Theonas, a monk of Father Palamas' monastery, Fr Basil Pennington O.C.S.O. of St Joseph's Abbey, Spencer, U.S.A. (formerly a *peritus* on behalf of the Cistercian Order at Vatican II), and the Reverend Gilbert Bartholomew, part-time lecturer at a seminary of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

2. The visit was made possible by generous grants from the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations, the Harold Buxton Trust, the Anglican and Eastern Churches' Association, and the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. Without this assistance it would have been impossible to carry out the programme arranged, and many participants would have been unable to contemplate the visit at all. The generosity of the subventions received, and the most helpful arrangements made on behalf of the party by His Eminence the Archbishop of Crete, His Grace the Bishop of Rethymnon, and the Orthodox Academy of Crete, were warmly appreciated and are here most gratefully acknowledged.

3. The first three days of the visit were spent in Herakleion, the next four days in Rethymnon, and the remainder of the time at the

Orthodox Academy, when a conference programme was carried out with some participation by Orthodox members (details are given below).

4. During the first week, both His Eminence the Archbishop and His Grace the Bishop of Rethymnon were extremely generous with their time. His Eminence received the party within a few hours of arrival, and this occasion was taken for the handing over of a letter of greeting from His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. This letter made a deep impression on His Eminence, who spoke in the warmest terms of his affection and regard for the Church of England. The following day, His Eminence gave the Anglican party lunch, at which he made a prepared speech, tracing the history of Anglican-Orthodox relations and expressing again his satisfaction at the King's College visit. At the close of his speech, which was translated by Father Palamas, His Eminence handed over to Mr Hickling a large icon for the Archbishop of Canterbury and a handsome book about Crete for the College Library.

On the last morning of the party's stay at Herakleion, His Eminence visited the residence in which he had arranged our accommodation in order to celebrate the Liturgy in the chapel of the residence. During the Liturgy he ordained a deacon, whose family invited the group to the party they gave afterwards. Later in the morning His Eminence rejoined the party for over an hour of questions and discussion, which he initiated with a question to the student group about current Anglican attitudes to the ordination of women. During this time, His Eminence read a prepared and illuminating reply to an earlier question from the group about the *filioque* clause in the Latin creed, and also gave statistics about the Church in Crete.

His Grace the Bishop of Rethymnon was also most generous in the amount of time he spent with the party. During the Liturgy which he celebrated at a recently refounded monastery of women near Rethymnon, he included in his sermon a passage in English, which His Grace speaks very well (he was formerly a parish priest in an orthodox parish in America), and afterwards spent an hour answering questions on both pastoral and theological subjects. During the party's later visit to the historic monastery at Arkadi His Grace again joined us for lunch, at which the Abbot of the monastery was our host. His Grace also personally conducted the group round an Old People's Home he has recently established, and introduced us to some of the staff.

5. Both at Herakleion and in the Diocese of Rethymnon a number of institutions run by the Orthodox Church were visited, including a parish Sunday School, a new Youth Centre, and a hostel for girls. The party was taken to several monasteries, in one of which we



were present at Vespers. During the stay at Rethymnon, the Bishop arranged for us to be driven to the remote mountain village of Myriokephalon for the Vespers of the patronal festival, after which we had a meal in the densely crowded main street and later watched the traditional Cretan dances. We returned for the Liturgy in the morning, special places being again reserved for us in the small church, and afterwards followed closely behind the Bishop in the procession of the village's miraculous icon of Our Lady. This was a unique opportunity to see the strength of Orthodox popular religion.

6. One of the monasteries visited was that of Kaliviani in the Diocese of Arkadias, where the Bishop of the Diocese has developed a very large-scale social work, with an orphanage, an Old People's Home, and extensive trade schools. The Bishop of Arkadias led the party in a tour of the buildings, and then made himself available for questions, in the course of which he revealed the extent to which the inspiration for this most impressive work had been derived from what His Grace had seen in Roman Catholic dioceses in France. The evening of this visit was concluded by an open-air dinner at a seaside camp run by the Diocese, at which—as on other similar occasions—the party presented His Grace with a book signed by all members as an indication of their appreciation of what had been done on their behalf.

7. On arrival at the Orthodox Academy of Crete at Gonia, near Chania, the party was welcomed by the Director, Dr Papaderos, and by the Bishop of Chania, himself a former student at King's College. His Grace later visited the party again, and was present during part of one of the conference sessions. He also arranged for us to be present at Vespers in a village celebrating its patronal festival, after which the party divided into three groups which were entertained most lavishly by, respectively, the parish priest, the President, and the Vice-President of the village community.

8. The party was joined at the Orthodox Academy by Sir John Lawrence, who took part in most of the remaining activities of the group, and gave two talks on the Orthodox Church in Russia. Sir John's extensive knowledge of Orthodoxy in Russia as well as elsewhere greatly enhanced the value of the visit.

By good fortune, our visit overlapped by one day with that of an ecumenical party of Roman Catholics and members of the French Reformed Church under the joint leadership of a Protestant Pastor and of the Rector of the Major Seminary at Chamalières. Where linguistic capacity made it possible, a considerable exchange of impressions took place.

For a much longer period, we were fellow-guests with the Predigerseminar of the Evangelische Landeskirche of Westphalia at Soest.

The Director of the Predigerseminar, Dr Helmut Flender, and several of his students who spoke English, were present at some of the conference-sessions, and a good deal of informal exchange took place.

9. The programme of the conference itself included the following papers, each of which was followed by a ten-minute written response by a member other than the lecturer.

Andrew Norman: "The Beginnings of the New Testament Church".

David Tudor: "The Concept of the Congregation in the Old Testament and at Qumran".

The Reverend C. J. A. Hickling: "The Charismatic Movement and the *Filioque*".

Robert Williamson and Ruth Jerome: "Church Music in the West".

Dr Lykourgos Angelopoulos: "A Historical Survey of Byzantine Music".

Faith Morgan: "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in the Anglican Church".

The Reverend Palamas Koumantos: "Some Neglected Aspects of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit from an Orthodox Point of View".

M. Bezgos: "Some Thoughts Concerning the Concept and the Reality of the Unity of the Church".

Geoffrey Catchpole: "The Little Congregation".

Zoe Pliakou: "The Church in Microcosm: Work with Small Groups".

The Reverend Nigel Bardsley: "Changing Patterns of Ministry in an Anglican Urban Parish".

The Reverend S. Theodoroglakis: "The Parish as Icon of the Trinity".

Discussion after almost all of these papers was lively, and led on each occasion to a series of questions being put to the Orthodox present, so that areas both of agreement and of divergence in the approach to doctrinal and pastoral issues were interestingly and often unexpectedly highlighted.

It should be added that the admirable facilities and relaxed atmosphere of the Academy, and above all the friendliness and helpfulness of the staff, contributed very greatly to the success of the conference. For those talks and papers which were given in languages other than English, simultaneous translation was available; projection equipment of high quality was used in illustrating the talk on Byzantine music and in showing an interesting series of slides of



Jerusalem which a member of the party, David Houlding, had taken during a recent visit to the Armenian community there; and all would agree that the evening sessions benefited considerably from the opportunity to slip down to the sea to bathe and sunbathe during the afternoon.

10. Excursions were arranged during the visit. We saw Knossos and the Museum at Herakleion under the guidance of a priest on the staff of the Archbishop. Later, we visited Phaistos and the spectacular gorge at Kourtalitikon, and walked the full length (18 km) of the even more remarkable gorge of Samaria; and on the last Saturday a boat trip was made to Menies, where there are the ruins of a temple of the Greek period.

11. In concluding, it must be said that the great success of this visit is largely owed to the very considerable efforts of Father Palmas. Not only did he accept responsibility for all the detailed planning of the whole three-week period, and carry out a good deal of administrative work while the visit was taking place; he was also worked very hard as interpreter everywhere we went; he burned a good deal of midnight oil in order to have summaries of papers available for the group; and, above all, bore the brunt of a continual stream of questions both theological and practical about orthodox belief and attitudes. The party of visitors is very much in his debt.

12. Names of participants.

The Reverend and Mrs	Pavel Kudlac
Nigel Bardsley	Faith Morgan
Christina Boggan	Ian Morter
Geoffrey Catchpole	Andrew Norman
Raymond Cuthbertson	Sylvia Paul
Keith Dove	Andrew Sloane*
Robert Evans	Jonathan Smith
David Hemingway	Fred Stevens
David Houlding	David Tudor
David Ingledew	Robert Williamson
Ruth Jerrome	Anne Wraight
	Paul Wright.

\*St. Edmund Hall, Oxford; Cuddesdon.

13. The visit was reported briefly in the Press in Crete.

C. J. A. Hickling.

'... AND NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET?'

For nearly two weeks in September 1973 I had the opportunity to travel in Bulgaria, Roumania and in Southern Russia, the Ukraine. It was sixteen years since I had visited Russia and five since I had visited any Communist country. In 1968 I was in Yugoslavia for a fifth visit and in Albania for my first visit. A fortnight before my visit to Skudari, the second town of that fascinating country, the Red Guards had burned the Catholic Cathedral with three Franciscan friars inside. The mosque had been badly damaged. I did not see the Orthodox Church. On my departure I was given a booklet in English decrying Soviet Revisionism. Although Albania was desperately poor in the world's goods, the students and army were busy arranging large boulders on a mountain side to read LAVDI HENVER HOXA or 'Praise to Henvver Hoxa', the dictator who seized power when the Italian forces were driven out during the last war. This pointless exercise was being performed in a part of the country lacking decent roads!

Bulgaria in 1973 was in many ways completely different from Albania in 1968. The Cathedral church of St. Alexander Nevsky in Sophia had not been burnt to the ground, but had had its magnificent domes regilded with real gold leaf. Every evening at 5, a priest and half a dozen young male singers, all with magnificent bass or tenor voices, gathered to sing Vespers in a side chapel of the "Nevsky Sobor". The service was better attended than Evensong or Vespers on a Sunday in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, the Brompton Oratory or Westminster Cathedral. Many tourists go to the Cathedral and stand reverently behind the Orthodox worshippers, the Catholic students from Warsaw crossing themselves in the Latin way, the visitors from other Orthodox countries in their fashion. I noticed young married couples lifting up their children to light candles at the icon of the Saviour and aged and bearded monks being greeted by schoolboys of 14 and 15 years of age. On a Monday morning I attended a packed church for the Liturgy sung by an old Metropolitan, who preached very eloquently in the middle of the service. At the door a priest aspersed the faithful as they entered, while two young nuns collected small change from our young student guide, who was an "atheist" but very knowledgeable about the faith of his fathers and who irrationally said "God bless you" in English when we left him at the end of each day! In the Bulgarian capital it was astonishing for us Westerners to find churches open so late at night, with people lighting candles, praying or merely dreaming and gossiping in the churches, or even having their babies blessed and baptized. Most London churches, Roman or Anglican would have been closed hours before this.

The Patriarchate is a modest building next to the Theological Academy, which also housed a good collection of icons. The Rila

monastery, which has stood, and still stands, for so much in the history of the Bulgars, is still occupied by 12 monks, but is a State museum. Nevertheless the church is in daily use and our guide even pointed out to us the burial place of King Boris II who was poisoned by the Gestapo. His grave was in the side chapel of St. Ivan Rilski, but the Bulgarians had begun to make his tomb a shrine—not only because he was as well-loved as George VI, but also because his body represented a symbol of something other than the ruling regime. The people placed flowers there and so the King's body was removed to another grave<sup>1</sup>. It was an age-old story—if you wish to kill the nation, first kill the King. There was here in this empty chapel in the Rila mountains a sharp reminder not only of the Nazi-Soviet pact but also of Cromwell and of the French Revolution. The monastery makes an unforgettable impression on all who visit it, for like the monasteries of Mount Athos it embodies the greatest tradition and cultural heritage of that almost vanished civilization of Christian Byzantium, nay even of all Christendom itself, and one was left reflecting on how Christian civilization had been brought to its knees three times by Germany through Attila the Hun, Bismarck and Hitler. Yet despite the history which had swirled around the walls of this fortress a handful of monks still preserved an outpost of the Kingdom of Christ in this lovely valley of Bulgaria.

Bucharest, the capital of Roumania, has a very different ethos from the Slavonic capital of Bulgaria. Here there is an even more Latin atmosphere than in Rome or Naples. Yet the country has the largest Orthodox population after Russia. Here again we found the churches being used by penitents and communicants long after nightfall. It was amazing to see young Orthodox Christians walking backwards down the steps of the churches into the rush hour crowds crossing themselves repeatedly as they bowed to the icons over the main porch. Only once have I seen such unself-conscious devotion among young people and that was at Fatima. No one appeared to think this behaviour strange. In the churchyards and at the wayside shrines in the towns and villages, lamps flickered and fresh flowers decorated the icons and crucifixes. "The Roumanian people are very religious" said our teenage girl who acted as guide. She was a Communist but she said this of her people with pride.

The Patriarchate of Roumania is a lovely building, with its own church, and obviously much wealthier than the Bulgarian. Here as an Anglican I was received very warmly by the Patriarch's secretary. The links between the Church of England and the Church of Roumania have been very close and the secretary had taken part in the Theological discussions in the 1930's which had resulted in Roumanian recognition of Anglican Orders, a recognition which

they shared with the Orthodox Churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Jerusalem and Cyprus.

Amongst the people I met in Roumania there was much sarcasm about the "protection" Russia affords her! Being Latins in origin rather than Slavs they do not share the Bulgarians' enthusiasm for Pan-Slavism, with Russia as the centre of the great Slavonic State. President Ceaucescu was referred to by some as "our dictator" and they deplored his interference in Chile, when he had only recently stated that nations ought not to interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign states! Yet the Church has won far greater concessions in Roumania than has any other Orthodox Church under Red domination. Roumania is Orthodoxy's Poland.

It is obvious that the Church alone will cause the break-up of a system which sees Utopia on earth in some remote future; for the Church's "Utopia" is outside time and space, and while she exists as a worshipping body within time and space, she will always bring to nought, or rather outlive, those who see "the State" and "the People" as the ultimate "End" of the individual.

Russia has not visibly changed from what she was 16 years ago. Again there are churches open, but not as *obviously* as in Roumania. In all three countries the way of life is like wartime England. There is very little in the shops apart from the basic essentials. I watched about 50 women in headscarves queuing for two hours for little green pears in Odessa. I watched a hard-faced "manageress" turning back Russian couples who wore communist party badges from the shops in which we were privileged to spend our U.S. Dollars.

In all three countries there is the cult of the dead of the last war. Bored girls in uniform with their stockings falling down, industriously picking their noses, were marched every 15 minutes to relieve another fed-up group at the War memorial in Odessa; a memorial erected to men killed when their parents were children. The cult of the dead is one way of keeping the Ruling Class in power, for many Communist partisans were killed by the Nazis, but what they fail to mention is the fact that the British troops and Greek monarchists had died in their thousands when Ribbentrop and Molotov were toasting each other with champagne and vodka!

T.V. is everywhere, naturally, because it can control the people so easily. Every home, however remote from the centres of activity sprouts that symbol of brain-washing, Eastern or Western—the T.V. aerial.

One could say that *civilization* on both sides of the Iron Curtain has been replaced by education, but not quite so much in Eastern Europe. There is among the people a *decency* of public behaviour, even a romantic behaviour pattern, which has virtually disappeared from cities such as London. In Bucharest when a boy meets his girl at the subway exit, he kisses her hand. In London he behaves



like an anthropoid ape de-lousing his mate. Nowhere does one have to gaze at the over-developed mammary glands of the middle-aged model as one has to endure on any trip past the bookstalls of the Charing Cross Road. Eastern Europe has no porn, but they do seem to have in other ways the worst of both worlds. Their own culture has become gelled from the time of the Communist take-over. Literature and painting have been suffocated; there is no Chopin or Chekhov to bring tears to the eyes of Polish countesses, and any contemporary composer or novelist, Eastern or Western, who tries to move the female tractor drivers or the wholesale grocers' wives has certainly got his work cut out.

Night after night our hotel was treated to the night howl of the current pop singer—exactly on schedule at 8.15 p.m. Eastern European Time—screaming "Lola! Oh! Lola!", a hit here some years ago. Sophistication there now is our slightly out-dated pop. They imagine this is what we want. As my Glaswegian neighbours, a man and his wife in the next room, were dragged off at 3 o'clock one morning to a Bulgarian Police Station for fighting, I thought that, perhaps, they were right. Once I believed that Tourism would break down every barrier which divides mankind, even the Iron Curtain. British Packet Tour behaviour abroad now convinces me it will be the cause of World War III.

John Slater

1) The summer palace at Varna now used for entertaining foreign heads of state and therefore not accessible to pilgrims.

#### EDITORIAL REQUIREMENTS IN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CITATION

As a result of having had an immoderate amount of trouble over a half-article in the present issue, out of which I have been unwillingly obliged to excise four short passages containing citations from the work of others because it was impossible to verify these references and to provide them in such a form as to make them verifiable by others, I am imposing the following simple, but firm rules on all references given in articles or reviews submitted to *ECNL*. If any contribution is sent which does not contain them in this form, it will be returned with a request to the author to prepare them in such a manner. The aforementioned unverifiable references have wasted a very great deal of the editor's heavily committed time, and, as I must conduct the editing in the little spare time I have from an exigent full-time job, I am not prepared to waste any more of it on such will-o'-the-wisp hunting. The readers of *ECNL* have a right to have citations presented in such a form as to enable them to look them up if they wish, and an editor is not so omniscient as to be

able to guess from half-hints what is the source for a possibly obscure original.

The simple "house rules" for *ENCL* references will henceforth be as follows:

- 1) For a reference to a monograph, give it in the order:

Author: *Title*, Place of Publication, Date of Publication, Page Number.

EXAMPLE R. J. H. Jenkins: *Byzantium: the imperial centuries*, London, 1966, 144.

- 2) For an edition of an older author:

Author: *Title*, Editor (Series Title (if any)), Place and Date, (Volume and) Page Number.

EXAMPLE: Georgios Cedrenos: *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB), Bonn, 1839, II, 371.

- 3) For an article in a book:

Author: Title (*in Author (Editor): Title*, Place, etc).

EXAMPLE: A. J. Warner: Mark Rutherford: the Puritan as novelist (*in B. S. Benedikz (ed): On the novel*, London, 1971), 34-45.

- 4) For an article in a periodical:

Author: Title, *Title of Periodical*, Volume no. (Date), Page no.

EXAMPLE: G. Podskalsky: Marginalien zu Byzantinischen Reicheschatologie, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 67 (1974), 351-58.

- 5) Biblical references may be given in brackets in the text as follows: (*Nehemiah*, 3, 7).

- 6) When making subsequent references to a work, *op.cit.*, and page no. will suffice after the author's name; when making further references to an edition, *ed.cit.*, plus page no. after the author's name is enough.

B. S. Benedikz.

#### NEWS AND CAUSERIE

##### MEETING OF THE COMMISSION FOR JOINT DOCTRINAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE ORTHODOX AND ANGLICAN CHURCHES IN MOSCOW

Seventeen countries and many nationalities were represented in the meeting of 36 delegates from eleven Orthodox and seven Anglican Churches, which took place in the Ukraina Hotel, Moscow, from 26 July to 2 August 1976. This was the latest and in many ways the most important of the meetings of the Commission for Joint Doctrinal Discussions between the Orthodox and Anglican Churches

which have been taking place together over the last five years. Never before have Orthodox and Anglicans conferred together so seriously or for so long a period. Never have the two Churches been so fully represented in joint discussions. Agreement has been reached, but only in limited areas. In some subjects this agreement goes little further than an agreement on a formula or word, as opportunity to discuss these subjects sufficiently thoroughly has not been found. In other subjects a deeper and firmer agreement has been reached. The talks have covered 1) The Church as a Eucharistic Community; 2) Inspiration and Revelation in the Holy Scriptures; 3) (in a more provisional way) the Authority of the Councils. In the course of the Conversation a significant Statement was made by the Anglicans, agreeing that the controversial "Filioque Clause", whatever the merits or demerits of its doctrinal content, has no place in the Nicene Creed. This was warmly welcomed by the Orthodox as a positive basis for further constructive discussions. On the subject of Inspiration and Revelation in the Holy Scriptures both Orthodox and Anglicans agreed that the understanding which they had achieved "offers to our Churches a solid basis for closer rapprochement". The Conversations made it clear, however, that there are still many differences to be settled and many divergent points of view to be reconciled before further substantial progress can be made; among these difficulties the subject of the ordination of women figures prominently. The following resolution was passed at the meeting: "The Orthodox members of the Commission wish to state that if the Anglican Churches proceed to the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate, this will create a very serious obstacle to the development of our relations in the future. Although the Anglican members are divided among themselves on the theological principle involved, they recognize the strength of Orthodox convictions on this matter and undertake to make this known to their Churches". Nevertheless the delegates on both sides would agree that during these Conversations the opportunity of growing into better acquaintance and understanding with each other has been a blessing for which they give thanks to God. The Commission intends to seek the permission of the Oecumenical Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury for the publication of the text of its Agreed Statement and some supporting documents. It also plans to continue its theological work over the next two years by preparing Reports in Sub-Commissions on the Ministry, the Church and the churches, and on the Saints and Icons, for presentation at its next full meeting in 1979. All the delegates were generously entertained by the Russian Orthodox Church under the leadership of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, and were happy to take part in the worship of the Church and to be allowed to see something of its life.

## THE OECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE

### Pan Orthodox Council Problems

Several themes to be considered by preparatory conference for the long discussed Pan-Orthodox Council have been announced. The first preparatory conference is to be held this autumn at the Oecumenical Patriarchate's Centre at Chambesy near Geneva. Among the questions to be dealt with are the canonical organization of Orthodoxy in areas where it is a religious minority; procedures for granting autocephaly (self-governing status) to Orthodox bodies; the relations among Orthodox Churches, their order of precedence and their relationship with the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Another question to be considered is that of a common date for the celebration of Easter. Currently, Western Christians usually celebrate Christ's resurrection earlier than most Eastern Christians, though occasionally (as in 1977) the dates coincide. The possibility of Orthodox priests marrying after ordination, or remarrying after the death of the priest's wife is also a likely topic. The announced procedure for the Chambesy conference is that it will set up a commission to draft reports on the different themes, to be examined by another preparatory conference. An earlier announcement said the preparatory conference would have to reach unanimous agreement on agenda and procedural details before the Council itself is due to meet. The Oecumenical Patriarch is to convene the conference formally, three delegates from each Orthodox Church being invited.

## ROMANIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

### New Anglican Chaplain in Bucharest

On 27 May 1976 the Reverend John P. B. Wynbourne arrived in Bucharest, appointed by the Bishop of Fulham and Gibraltar as Chaplain of the Anglican Church in Bucharest and Sofia. He is also the personal representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church. During his stay in Romania, Fr. Wynbourne will be a postgraduate student working on a study of the History of the Romanian Orthodox Church at the Theological Institute in Bucharest.

## THE CHURCH OF GREECE

### Theology and its application

The Second International Conference of Orthodox Theological Schools began here on 19 August with the celebration of Matins and



the Divine Liturgy in the Church of the Dormition of the Theotokos at Pendeli Monastery.

The first speaker on the programme of the conference was Dr. Nikos Nissiotis, Professor of Philosophy of Religion at the Theological School of Athens University. Dr. Nissiotis gave a general introduction on the overall theme of the conference, "The Theology of the Church and its Application". He explained that this wide theme was chosen so as to offer an opportunity to the participating theological schools (forty years after the convening of the first such conference in 1936) to obtain "a general review of the work of Orthodox theology as well as to consider its contribution to Orthodox ecclesiastical life and to project its real and dynamic presence in the contemporary world". The programme of the Conference had therefore been divided into three sections; 1) Theology as an Expression of the Life and Conscience of the Church; 2) Theology as an Expression of the Presence of the Church in the World; 3) Theology in the Renewal of the Life of the Church. These sections covered the two major facets of theology, the theological and practical, not as two separate facets independent from one another, but as parts of one indivisible whole. Orthodox theology could not ignore the changes that have taken place since 1936 in the societies in which the Orthodox Churches exist. Immediately after 1936 relations between various Christian Churches took a tremendous step forward with the creation of the World Council of Churches. This initiative was further strengthened through the entrance of the Roman Catholic Church into the ecumenical movement after the Second Vatican Council. Especially noteworthy were the developments and exchanges between the Vatican and the Oecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Secondly, we have witnessed the tremendous growth of Orthodoxy in areas other than those traditionally thought of as Orthodox. The Orthodox in those areas could no longer be called Orthodox of the diaspora; they had developed their own theological thought within the presuppositions of their new social and formative context. There were various trends within Orthodoxy, and this must not be characterized as a negative development, since Orthodox thought, in keeping with our ecclesiastical tradition, does not pursue a monistic confessionalistic stance. The various conditions under which the One Orthodox Catholic Church existed justify and require the harmonious co-existence of various theological modes of expression and development of thought. The major problem for Orthodox theologians was that they have excellent theological prototypes and a rich ecclesiology, but these were not put into practice. The third area of our conference work however, "will require self-criticism, sincerity, objectivity, the boldness to serve the Church, having in mind the preparation underway for the Pan-Orthodox Synod". "The question was: could Orthodox theology

today speak prophetically and in the language of renewal? **Metanoia** would be required to do this, not triumphalism".  
(Adapted from *Orthodox Observer*, by permission).

#### REVIEWS

Adalbert Hamman: *Jacques-Paul Migne: la retour aux peres de l'Eglise*. Paris, Beauchesne, 1975, Fr. 30.00.

In a journal which deals with the Eastern churches, whose constant appeal to and devotion to the Fathers of the Church is their hallmark, it is fitting that this biography of the extraordinary giant of Patristics should be noted, for it is thanks to Migne that these Fathers were made more accessible to the student than they had ever been before. Fr. Adalbert Hamman is, too, better qualified than any other living scholar to give a balanced assessment of Migne; the labour on the five volumes of his *Supplementum* to Migne's colossal *Patrologia Latina* has given him a closer acquaintance with his subject's way of working than anyone else has obtained, and in this book, modest in size but beautifully written and organised, he sets out to do so.

The Migne who materialises from Fr. Hamman's work is not entirely an attractive man, but no one can fail to end up with a most profound respect for his Auvergnat decisiveness, tenacity and courage. His own training in the basic learning of a priest appears to have been unbelievably sketchy—few portraits are as damning as Fr. Hamman's meticulously documented description of French seminary training in the first half of the nineteenth century. That this had been entirely reversed by the end of the century is very largely due to Migne's work. That the French cleric was able to educate himself in Patristics (and other theological necessities) without ruinous expense, and that learned institutions can now produce a text of an immense variety of Greek and Latin Fathers is also thanks to him; that scholars need only give *PG* or *PL* references for the whereabouts of the text to be known instantly, is his great gift to the world of scholarship.

What makes the reader gasp, even in our paper-festooned age, is the sheer *volume* of Migne's achievement. This under-trained country priest was nearly forty years' old before he turned to the great labours that have left his name as a commonplace among scholars. It would at first sight appear that he had no suitable training for serious theological work, but one invaluable gift he did possess in abundance, the flair of the skilful journalist. As a result of several years of clerical journalism he knew just what was possible with a press under one's own control and this, together with a burning desire to provide the Catholic Church with the munitions to oppose the onslaughts of the new German school of theology, was what drove him to begin the work.

Fr. Hamman leaves us in no doubt either as to the sheer magni-



tude of Migne's achievement, or of the difficulties which anyone investigating his life must encounter. The terrible fire of 1868 destroyed not only all Migne's unsold stock and works unfinished in the press, but also lost us for ever immense quantities of correspondence. From letters to other scholars, in particular his friend and collaborator Dom (later Cardinal) Pitra, it has nevertheless been possible to piece together a coherent and fascinating story, and Migne's final achievement may be seen to be all the greater when the difficulties with which he had to contend are set against it. Perpetual financial worries, a long and acrimonious wrangle with Archbishop de Quelen of Paris, which led at one stage to Migne's suspension *a sacris* (a penalty which the kindness of the neighbouring Bishop of Versailles negated), and constant struggles with dilatory editors and proofreaders, all these called in full measure for the qualities of doggedness and courage which he possessed in such abundance. Fear of the "Roman bogeyman" cause him to shrink from availing himself of the help of Orthodox scholars, with considerable loss to the Greek Patrology and, not least, there was the fire that destroyed his entire stock and put paid to the completion of the project. Between them these stresses put a fearsome strain on an unbelievably robust constitution; yet up to his death in 1875 Migne toiled on as editor and publisher, leaving behind him a total of 880 volumes printed and published in less than forty years.

There is no denying that this giant output has its grave defects. The multitude of printers' errors provoked the clerihew which, though cruel had much justice to it.

The Abbé Migne

Was very rarely seen

Reading proofs in his press,

Which is why his books are a mess.

The need for haste led Migne to use bad old editions as his copy-text, with the result that scholars have often had to wait over a hundred years for a text which did not have to be presented with lengthy caveats and explanations. The absence of a proper index to the *Patrologia Graeca* makes it exceedingly difficult to use in a detailed search. Also, even with Fr. Hamman's magnificent *Supplementum*, the *Patrologia Latina* is still a dangerous instrument for the unwary. The typefaces are depressing in the extreme, dull in the Latin and appalling to the eye in the Greek, and the wails of the world of Patristics scholars over the innumerable textual howlers are as the roaring of the sea.

Nonetheless, warts and all, Migne's achievement was stupendous, and our gratitude to him far outweighs the complaints. His name is graven in the history of Patristics in letters more enduring than bronze, and the story of his life has long been overdue. We now have it, superbly told by Father Hamman, and Western and Eastern

scholars are deeply indebted to him for this labour of love. He tells the tale in a robust, colourful way such as suits the flamboyant subject—but he is at all times scrupulous in his bibliographical annotation. It would help, however, if Fr. Hamman would explain what (p. 43) "comic-opera shields" are doing in the story?

B. S. Benedikz,

*A Bulgakov Anthology: Sergius Bulgakov 1871–1944.* Edited by James Pain and Nicolas Zernov. SPCK, 1976 £5.50.

Anthologies, almost by definition, can be rather hybrid things, each serving whatever purpose it may have been for which it was compiled. It may, for example, have been put together as a memorial volume, a personal selection by the editors of choice and representative pieces of a person or period. It may have been deliberately constructed to serve as a potted introduction to the life and work of a complex and prolific personality (or, again, period). Or the motive may be biographical, not to give a biography as such, but rather to offer a kind of portrait in words.

In the present volume, the first and last would seem to be the predominant motives. The book is not, in any sense, "a Bulgakov Reader" which would have involved a longer introduction, a fuller selection, and a more detailed and extensive commentary and critical apparatus. But it is not that sort of book. However there is sufficient introductory and biographical material for the book's purpose in Lev Zander's memoir of Bulgakov and Bulgakov's own autobiographical notes to set the scene.

Bulgakov was one of the foremost members and profound and formative thinkers of the brilliant group of Christian intellectuals who were forced into exile in western Europe after the Russian Revolution. He himself was reconverted from Marxism to Orthodoxy in the early years of the century, and while a Professor at the University of Moscow, was ordained priest in 1918—a strange and seemingly perverse step for an educated and enlightened person to take, especially at such a time. His secular studies had been in Law (inevitably for a Central European), Political and Economic Philosophy and Sociology, but as a Theologian, and in common with other Christian thinkers of the period, he was much indebted to the Russian religious awakening of the nineteenth century, to writers like Khomyakov, Solovev and, above all, Dostoevskii.

Undoubtedly Bulgakov is one of the most notable and remarkable of those who have interpreted the Orthodoxy of Russia to the west in the first half of the twentieth century. We can say now that Divine Providence placed them in the perfect position to do this, and it is worth remembering that this interpretation of Orthodoxy is the only one that most western Christians have received. However, Bulgakov and his fellow exiles would have understood their



ecumenical aspirations as only a part, albeit a vital one, of their dedicated service to Orthodoxy and the whole Church of God.

1917 represented a catastrophe for the Church of Russia as people had known it. However there were those, like Bulgakov, who thought that, whatever the suffering and tragedy of it all, it was not unmixed with blessing. They looked forward to the day, possibly none too far ahead, when the Church would re-emerge renewed and purified from the fires of tribulation and able, at last, to fulfil her mission to the whole wide world. In this context the years of exile were very precious. They were not to be wasted in regrets and re-cremination, but to be taken as an opportunity to prepare for the days of hope shortly to come. This was the motivation of Bulgakov's later theological work, and, in particular, of his ecumenical work without which the rest of the theological activity would have been incomplete.

Unfortunately, we now know that it has been decreed otherwise. The ransomed have not yet returned singing to Zion. Instead of a vigorous and rejuvenated Third Rome we have the established diaspora of Western Orthodoxy. Bulgakov looked to a time, not too far distant, when at least a limited *communio in sacris* would be possible between separated Christians. Now the ecumenical movement has become big, boring and bureaucratic business. Where Bulgakov was once hopeful and optimistic, Solzhenitsyn is sombre and despairing.

All of this could make a Bulgakov Anthology rather sad and nostalgic reading, but *lacrimae rerum* would only be a wanton indulgence. Instead we can marvel at the freshness and vigour of a first rate Christian mind that can cope charitably and firmly alike with Marx and Picasso. We would do well to pay serious attention to the sustained and reasoned critique of secularisation, though we could do with more material on Bulgakov's 'theology of Holy Wisdom' than the compass of the present book allows us to see. Will 'sophiatic' ever be the kind of 'in-word' that 'apophatic' has become? Above all, and of abiding value, is the marvellous doctrinal and devotional or ascetic material in the latter part of the Anthology. Times and circumstances change; the eternal truth does not. "What was the Emperor, the Peer of the Apostles, what even was Constantinople itself, the great City dear to God and to His Mother, compared to Christ Pantocrator and the glorious Courts of Heaven?"<sup>1</sup> But here on earth, too, the life of the Church continues in spite of all seeming disappointments and frustrations, and this life in the special respect of a growing understanding between Christians of East and West has been much enriched by the life and work of Fr. Bulgakov. It is right and proper that this tribute should have been paid to his memory.

W. H. Bates

<sup>1</sup> Sir Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilisation*, London, 1961, 300. "Autres temps, autres moeurs," but the quotation may not be altogether inappropriate.

T. E. Bird, E. Egan et al. (ed): *The Third Hour: Helen Iswolsky Memorial Volume*. New York, The John XXIII Foundation, 1976, US \$3.00.

With this, the tenth and last, there comes to an end a notable experiment in religious journalism. Dr. Helen Iswolsky, the remarkable daughter of a remarkable politician, whose memoirs she edited with the most scrupulous devotion, chose to take to the religious life, and to put her great abilities at the service of her faith. One of the expressions of this service was the quasi-periodical *The Third Hour*, of which she had published nine volumes at somewhat irregular intervals between 1946 and her death and the present volume, partly collected by her, and partly concocted by her friends and admirers, closes the series. It is a pity that as a memorial to a devout and active scholar there is so very little that one can say in its favour. The biographical reminiscences are of the worst of "in-group" pietistic sort, and most of the selection from past issues reeks of the sort of offensive Roman Catholic triumphalism which has nowadays been banished to Mgr Lefebvre's backwoods; a particularly notable example is the contemptuously patronising article by Dr. Fremantle on the trial of the Rev. Michael Scott in 1946, a contribution that should have been left buried in the obscurity of its original back number.

It is pleasant, therefore, to be able to exempt from this condemnation Professor Meyendorff's timely and heart-warming paper on the Holy Ghost, as well composed as it is helpful, Dr. Iswolsky's own solid paper on Solovev, and her profound analysis of the progress "From Commitment to Oblation". These are the sort of paper by which the editor of this unusual series ought to be remembered, and that is the standard which the editor of her father's nightmare of an archive and the penetrating analyst of the Russian Church in *Christ in Russia* would surely have preferred.

By modern standards of quality and cost, the volume is remarkably cheap and extremely well printed, though the coarse-screen process used for the photographs (obviously for the sake of economy) makes this reviewer wish that the editors had rather confined themselves to one portrait, and done that one well.

B. S. Benedikz.

