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No responsibility can be accepted by the Committee or by the Editor for the views expressed by the various contributors.

Eastern Churches News Letter

EDITORIAL

The Council of Chalcedon

The Bishop of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich's 1993 Constantinople Lecture "The Council of Chalcedon, a step too far?" is printed later in this issue.

Several people asked me before the lecture what it was that the Council decided, and I think that some readers would like to see the Chalcedonian Definition – hardly material for a News Letter, but helpful in appreciating the Bishop's Lecture.

The translation I use, in the hope that no copyright problems will arise, is to be found in the section "Historical Documents of the Church" at the back of the Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. where it appears with the Athanasian Creed and the Thirty-Nine Articles.

Definition of the Union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Person of Christ

Council of Chalcedon, 451, A.D., Act V

Therefore, following the holy fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man, consisting also of a reasonable soul and body; of one substance (homoousios) with the Father as regards his Godhead, and at the same time of one substance with us as regards his manhood; like us in all respects, apart from sin; as regards his Godhead, begotten of the Father before the ages, but yet as regards his manhood begotten, for us men and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin, the God-bearer (Theotokos); one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, recognized in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being in no way annulled by the union, but rather the characteristics of each nature being preserved and coming together to form one person and subsistence, not as parted or separated into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten God the Word, Lord Jesus Christ; even as the prophets from earliest times spoke of him, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself taught us, and the creed of the Fathers has handed down to us.

Although you will not find the Definition in the English Prayer Book, at the time of the separation of the Church of England from Rome the Definition continued to be regarded as authoritative. Heresy, it was laid down in the Act of Supremacy 1559, was to be judged by

reference to the first four General Councils, and ever since the Definition has formed part of the doctrine of the Church of England; indeed in the Common Declaration of Pope John Paul II and the then Archbishop of Canterbury on 2nd October 1989 one of the features of the imperfect communion at present existing between Roman Catholics and Anglicans is "the Chalcedonian Definition and the teaching of the Fathers." The same four Councils are held to be authoritative by the Reformed Churches which subscribed to the Second Helvetic Confession of 1546, so when we visited Iona Abbey on our pilgrimages in 1981 and 1991 we were not in non-Chalcedonian territory!

Westminster Abbey

I recently visited Westminster Abbey after a gap of some years, and was pleased to see two large icons set against pillars in the nave, one of Our Lord and the other of the Virgin and Child. Am I wrong in thinking that the icons can only have been there for a few years? It was noticeable that some tourists had, if only for a short time, become pilgrims, because they were lighting lamps and placing them on the stands before the icons. At least the visitors are unlikely to ask, as they do in some cathedrals "Do they ever hold services here now?" Some cathedrals do have votive lights, of course, and I have the impression that the practice is a growing one. Can readers write and tell me of other instances of icons or statues with votive lights? St Paul's, Southwark and Chichester come to mind. This use of lights forms a link with the customs of the Orthodox Church, and is all the more to be cherished as a small demonstration of the common heritage of worship and spirituality shared by our Churches when the goal of unity seems, in today's circumstances, to be receding.

Constantinople

The Greek community in Constantinople is now, I read, reduced to 2000. The total population of Constantinople is now thought to be 10 million, to which 350,000 rural immigrants are added each year. The multi-ethnic atmosphere of old Constantinople is fast disappearing, and the only substantial non-Muslim minorities are now 60,000 ethnic Armenians and 223,000 Jews.

It was in 1461, only eight years after the fall of the city, that the first Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople was appointed, to be the civil as well as the religious head of the Armenian Community in the Ottoman Empire. The "millet" system as it was called also embraced Orthodox Christians (under the Ecumenical Patriarchs, of course) and I believe the Jewish and Syrian communities. I suppose that Archbishop Makarios, as ethnarch of Cyprus stood in the same tradition, much to the puzzlement and fury of Sir Anthony Eden and other British politicians of the '50s.

The Catholic Apostolic Church

It is unfortunate that the omission of the line containing the name of the reviewer of Father Columba Flegg's book "Gathered Under Apostles" might have led the suspicious reader to think that he had reviewed his own book in an attempt to boost its sales, because his

name appeared at the end of the following review! The reviewer was our General Secretary, Father Philip Warner.

Last year I bought a second-hand copy of the Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and even to my inexperienced eye there was a connection with the Orthodox East as well as the Latin West. The book had an influence on the compilers of the nineteenth-century Book of Common Order for use in the services of the Church of Scotland, thus linking two places under the patronage of St Andrew, Constantinople and Scotland.

FROM OUR ANGLICAN PRESIDENT

Tuesday 22nd February 1994 – a significant date in Anglican history, as eagerly awaited by some as it was dreaded by others. For on that day the General Synod of the Church of England finally approved the promulgation of Canons to amend the law so that women might be admitted to the priesthood. Sadly, many of those Anglicans who cannot accept that the Church of England had authority to proceed unilaterally in this way will now feel that they must join either the Roman Catholic or the Eastern Orthodox Church. Many more, however, will remain within the Church of England, hoping to continue their witness to the principles of tradition and catholicity.

Where does the Association stand in this new situation? Its history is a noble one since its foundation 130 years ago "to promote mutual understanding of, and closer relations between the Orthodox, Oriental and Anglican churches." This object is unchanged by the new situation and is given greater point and urgency by it.

Happily our Orthodox friends are most anxious that we should continue our long-established links and deepen our understanding of each other. In particular it is immensely encouraging that our Orthodox Patron, His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch, Bartholomaios I, specifically said in his address to the General Synod last November, "Discouragement has no place in the lives of responsible persons of faith there is not a more appropriate and more successful way to resolve differences and to grow in the Lord than through the divine gift of the dialogue of love in truth."

At this critical juncture in the history of our church we need the love and understanding of our friends more than ever. As we thank God for them we pray that we may draw ever closer with them to the Lord of the whole Church, to whom be praise and glory for ever.

Michael Manktelow

CHAIRMAN'S NOTES

Visit of the Ecumenical Patriarch to London

Members and readers will know that the Ecumenical Patriarch visited London from the 9th to the 13th November 1993 as the guest of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. Our Anglican President, Bishop

Michael Manktelow, Fr Salter and Fr Warner joined our Orthodox President, Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira, at the V.I.P. lounge at Heathrow airport to greet His All Holiness. On the 10th November the Patriarch addressed the General Synod of the Church of England and said that the dialogue with the Anglicans would continue despite the decision of the General Synod to ordain women to the priesthood. He expressed his joy at the warm relationship which had traditionally characterized Anglican-Orthodox contacts. During his stay at Claridges Hotel His All Holiness was visited by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Fr Beal and Fr Salter attended Solemn Vespers on Thursday 11th November at the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Bayswater. It was essentially a "Greek" evening as the visit of the Patriarch was not an official one, but Bishop Michael Kuchmiak, Exarch of the Ukrainian Catholics of Slav-Byzantine Rite in the United Kingdom, was given a place of honour at the right hand of Archbishop Gregorios. Other Catholic clergy from the Ukrainian Cathedral of the Holy Family in Exile, Mayfair, were also present and robed in the sanctuary. The Exarch Michael conveyed brotherly greetings from His Sacred Beatitude Cardinal Myroslav Lubachivsky of Lvov.

Uniate-Orthodox Relations in Romania

Pope John-Paul II is hoping that there may be an opening of dialogue between the leaders of the Orthodox Church in Romania and the Catholics of Byzantine Rite. Receiving a Romanian delegation in the Vatican the Pope stated: - "The troubles of the past will not prevent you invigorating your Church, if you give priority to the formation of new priests". The so-called Uniate Church in Romania has about a quarter of a million members, but was outlawed in the 1940s when the Communists seized power, and its churches were handed over to the Orthodox. Only a very small number of its properties have been returned to the Uniate Church since the demise of Ceausescu, and until this is rectified there would seem to be little sign of progress here or in the Ukraine for that matter, although one voice from the Uniate side has said that it is human relationships rather than property which should take priority if Christianity is to be a force for good in that land.

Our Sister Journal

I was delighted to receive the new "Eastern Churches Journal". In its new livery it continues the magazine "Chrysostom" which Helle Georgiades edited for years. Helle is the Editor Emeritus of ECJ, while Father Serge Keleher is the editor. Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia and Bishop Rowan Williams (Church in Wales) are on the editorial board as is Father Graham Woolfenden, one of our former servers at St Silas's, Pentoville in his Anglican days, and now a Roman Catholic priest, but, I believe, one who has permission to celebrate in the Slav-Byzantine Rite. He studied at the Russicum in Rome for some time and now lectures in liturgy at Cuddesdon College. For readers who would like to find out more the address is:-

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22, Binney Street,
London, W1Y 1YN

and for U.S.A. members:- Eastern Churches Journal,
P.O.Box 146
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Christian Solidarity Humanitarian Aid Mission to Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh

The Committee of the Association recently donated £250 to the Aid Mission and a member of the Association donated a further £50. The Aid Mission was led by Baroness Cox of C.S.I. and its objectives were:-

1. To deliver a consignment of medical supplies and food.
2. To assess the current situation with especial regard to future humanitarian needs, and the effects of the recent escalation of military offensives.
3. To obtain information concerning human rights.

The 46 tonnes of aid was transported by Hanover Aviation Ltd from Manston in Kent. It comprised 2 heavy duty ambulances, 2 complete surgical clinics, other medical supplies (including antibiotics, anaesthetics, analgesics, intravenous infusions, anti-gangrene drugs) and food (canned meat, flour, milk powder, dehydrated foodstuffs). The cost of the charter flight was paid for by the British Government's Overseas Development Administration, which also funded one of the two ambulances; the second ambulance was paid for by George Najarian and colleagues from the Armenian community in Boston, Massachusetts; Dorkas Aid International donated the 2 surgical clinics; Echo International donated £5,000 worth of medical supplies and provided a major part of the consignment of medicines; other donors of medicines, food and fund included Mr Len Gruber of 'ACTS' Mr T. Benyon; Ziller Harrod; representatives of the Armenian community in the United Kingdom. C.S.I. (U.K.) undertook the organisation of the mission and contributed £18,000 of medical supplies, including £3,000 of anti-gangrene drugs, for which there had been an urgent request.

On February 19th the delivery party were welcomed in Karabakh by the authorities and by Bishop Parkev Martirosian the Armenian bishop of Artsakh. Then the party flew by helicopter for a symbolic visit to a Christian centre. This was the very ancient church and monastery of Gandzasar. These buildings were constructed in the 11th century and form a magnificent complex, but have been the target of Azeri bombing. The church has, however, survived and the Sourp Patarag (Holy Liturgy) is regularly celebrated.

On the following Monday, February 21st, the party met many of the local people in the main square in Stepanakert and many of them had tragic personal stories to tell. For example:-

(i) A woman from the village of Maraghar which has been attacked by the Azeris in April 1992, who had perpetrated a massacre, sawing off the heads of 45 villagers in front of their families, killing others, and taking approximately 100 women and children as hostages. Her mother was one of those beheaded; her mother-in-law was thrown

under an Azeri tank and her son-in-law was also killed on that day. Another son has been killed in the war. She has now nearly lost her eyesight. But she wanted to express her "gratitude to people who come from the free world to help us; I have 2 children and I wanted them to see you and others who come to help us."

(ii) A teacher from Stepanakert, with one son, aged 17, who went to the frontier; he has been wounded, having lost one leg and now may lose the other leg. She wanted to say "thank you":- "Although we believe the British Government is supporting Azerbaijan because of oil interests, we know there are many good people in Britain. Thank you, thank you, thank you for your help. We need it, because Azerbaijan is asking the international community for help, and using foreign forces. They have said on Azeri radio and TV that Karabakh is their land and their property, and they are talking about distributing our land among their soldiers and giving away our property to those who fight best against the Armenians".

(iii) A woman with two brothers, aged 22 and 28, who have been taken hostage by the Azeris when they captured Mardakert: Manuel and Ashot Hovanissian.

Bishop Parkev Martirosian of the Armenian Apostolic Church informed the party that there had been previously 1,311 churches and monasteries in Karabakh. With the advent of Communism, 1,200 were closed in 10 years; by 1931, there was not a single church left open. This was Communist Party policy, exacerbated by the Azerbaijan government, which closed and/or destroyed buildings and also arrested and killed about 1,500 priests; by 1930, there were 300 left, then none. The seminary in Shushi was closed in 1923. Between 1918 and 1920, the Azeris killed about 30,000 Armenians and they took control of Shushi. Now there are 8 priests, including the Bishop himself. The church of the Creator, in which the party met the bishop, was closed in 1930; the Azeris have twice tried to destroy it and succeeded in shattering the dome in 1990, but "God has saved the church itself for us". The Azeris used it to store weapons - Grad missiles and tank rockets.

After 70 years of Communism the people are now very ignorant of theology and liturgy, but they have tried to keep the Christian faith. There are 400 active lay workers who are concentrating on the children's education in the faith. There are still many Christian believers and in the last 5 years over 40,000 people have been baptized. The Church has a house for the old and the lonely and a publishing house which has managed to publish 12 different books in the last 2 years.

The Bishop of Artsakh stated that the war was not at first a religious conflict, but a fight for human rights, including the right of Armenian Christians in Karabakh to know their own language, history, culture and to see their churches open. Now, there is a danger that with the Azeris using mujahadeen, they may internationalize the conflict and try to make it into a religious war. The bishop had met the Islamic religious leader of Azerbaijan three times - in 1989 after the Sumgait massacres; in 1993 in Geneva and again in 1993 in Moscow and he agrees it is not a religious war, but his view is not decisive. When

Bishop Martirosian was asked by the Supreme Catholicos Lord Vazgen I to represent the Armenian Church at the Conference on Peace and Tolerance in Istanbul he was refused a visa by the Turkish authorities on the grounds that it might be construed as political recognition of Karabakh. The bishop stressed that the people of Karabakh had not started this war and they did not wish to kill anyone, but were forced to defend their families and homes. Nevertheless the Azeris kept up their attacks and broke the cease-fires, thus forcing the people of Karabakh to fight back, with the resultant increase in bloodshed. The bishop said that the Christians continued to pray for the Azeris and asked for the prayers of others.

On Wednesday February 23 Caroline Cox and her party were received in the Catholicosate by His Holiness the Catholicos, who expressed gratitude to all who had helped and will help the Armenian people and to all who came on this mission, recognising that this work is not just a reflection of love for Armenia but that as Christians we must try to fight for freedom and truth wherever there is need. He went on to say:-

"Sometimes politicians put aside truth to pursue material gain and commercial interests. The history of our nation has shown that in the past, and especially after World War I, countries such as the USA, Britain and France forgot the Armenian tragedy of the genocide. I hope that from now on, Armenia and Karabakh will never again be forgotten.

Some people in the West believe that the political solution is to leave Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan. That kind of peaceful solution cannot be right. Western countries have deep interests in territorial boundaries; these are often self-interests, but it prevents them from supporting freedom and truth for Karabakh."

In conclusion Baroness Cox stresses that the need for constructive and effective peace initiatives is now more urgent than ever, with confidence-building measures which will assure all concerned that any peace process will bring not only peace, but also justice, for all concerned in this tragic war.

A message was received from the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Mountainous Karabakh thanking all those who had given aid:-

"On behalf of the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, we wish to thank you very much for the humanitarian aid which you have given to our people in these difficult days.

We are very grateful for your generous assistance which is badly needed, with the recent escalation of military attacks from the Azeris.

Due to the war and the blockades, the situation here is very serious, and we are especially grateful to all people who help us to survive.

We hope that soon there will be a peaceful solution to this war and there will no longer be need for humanitarian aid. Until then, we wish to thank you again for this assistance.

Without this aid, our people would have suffered even more than they have already”.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Service and Reception for Foreign Clergy

Both the General Secretary and I attended the annual reception at Lambeth Palace on the first day of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity (18th January). This was well attended and there were representatives of most of the Eastern Churches in communion with Constantinople, the Armenian, Ethiopian, Syrian and Roman Catholic Churches, together with clergy and laity from the Maronite, Mar Thoma and Continental Reformed Churches.

Friends of Mount Athos

Maria Andipa's delightful icon gallery was the venue for the party for the Friends of Mount Athos on 10th January 1994 at which Sir Steven Runciman was the guest of honour and at which Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia cut the cake. Father Maximos, who was on the Brittany pilgrimage, travelled up from Cambridge to be with us. He is a monk of the Grand Lavra.

The Nikaean Club

This club was, like the Constantinople Lecture, a brainchild of the Association, set up by Canon J. A. Douglas and Fr Fynes-Clinton and others. Both of those pioneers were staunch monarchists, so it was very gratifying that Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh were guests of the Nikaean Club on 2nd December 1993. The Queen and the Duke circulated among the guests and many members of the Association had an opportunity to meet her and Prince Philip.

A.T.J. Salter

OBITUARIES .

Sofka Skipwith

We hear of the death of Sofka Skipwith, one of the few remaining members of the emigration of Russians following the October Revolution of 1917. She was 86.

She was wrongly described in the *Daily Telegraph's* obituary as the daughter of Count Dolgorouky. She was in fact the daughter of Prince Peter Dolgorouky and his wife the Countess Sophy Bobrinska, her kinsman The Reverend Father Count Bobrinskoy being for many years a Parisian member of our Association. For a woman, who, at one stage, was being groomed as the consort of the Tsarevitch Alexis Nikolaevitch, she had led a most extraordinary life. I well remember when visiting Russia in July 1957 that it was thanks to Sofka that our party, led by Father Oswald Fielding-Clarke and his Russian emigrée wife, Xenia, (both staunch Christian Marxists), reached Moscow in the first place. She had preceded us in May and had begun to open up Russia to tourists. She had, however, fallen foul of the commissars in St Petersburg whilst trying to photograph the Old Dolgorouky palace,

in front of which lay certain restricted naval dockyards. When she was told she was not to take photographs of the docks and all that they contained in the realm of naval intelligence, she replied that she was taking a photograph of her ancestral home and that she was born a Dolgorouky. She was sharply saluted and told "I quite understand".

Sofka Dolgorouky was born on 23rd October 1907, but fled from Russia in 1919 via the Crimea along with the Empress Dowager, Maria Fedorova, and her suite. On the arrival of *H.M.S. Marlborough's* boat train at Victoria the reception committee consisted of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary and Queen Alexandra, the Empress Dowager's sister, with full military escort. When later in her late teens Sofka was asked if she wished to be presented at Court she replied that it was not necessary as the King and Queen had in fact come to meet *her!*

Sofka could have led, even on her limited means, a life entirely devoted to party going in London and Paris, and she did become one of the star socialites in the constellation of White Russian society, but the second world war changed a great deal of that lifestyle. She was caught up in Paris by the Nazi occupation and spent four years in internment in various German camps. While interned she learned of the death of her husband Grey Skipwith a Royal Air Force pilot (he was her second husband, her first having been Leo Zinovieff, whom she married in the Old St Philip's church in Buckingham Palace Road).

Her life had involved her in the rescue of Polish Jews when she worked with the French Resistance; as secretary to Lawrence Olivier; secretary to the Old Vic company; secretary to the theosophist Duchess of Hamilton and later secretary to the Chelsea Communist Party; her experiences of Nazism and Fascism having driven her to Marxism.

When Princess Fanny Dolgorouky, Sofka's great aunt by marriage, died she left approximately one fiftieth of the proceeds of the sale (to the Anglican Benedictines of Pershore Abbey) of Nashdom (Russian "Our House") to Sofka and other members of the family with the pious hope that they all might live together in peace and amity in what Sofka described as a "rather preposterous mansion near Taplow filled (like Versailles) with gilt, coronets and entwined monograms in every conceivable space". Some readers may recognize this "preposterous mansion" as Nashdom Abbey, where our late and much-loved Assistant Secretary, Dom Cuthbert Fearon, O.S.B., dispensed very strong tea and sticky buns in the parlour to visitors during his time as guest master, or as the Athonite monks would have it "Archondaris". Alas, Nashdom is no longer with us; its monks having moved to an older and less preposterous mansion in Berkshire away from the baroque heraldry and the bas reliefs of Fanny Dolgorouky. A world has vanished; and the death of Sofka, née Dolgorouky, removes another great and colourful and compassionate figure from the realm of the Russian emigration to these shores.

Archimandrite David

Father David the superior of the Russian community at Walsingham

died in the autumn after suffering from leukaemia. A convert to Orthodoxy, as one friend of his put it "he wore it rather well", there was none of that sort of Servant of the Sanctuary self-consciousness about Father David. He remained a very English Orthodox. Despite his change of allegiance and jurisdiction from the Russian Church Outside Russia to the Patriarchal Russian Church he never lost touch or friendship with his former colleagues and brothers. He always kept a photograph of Archbishop Nikodem of Richmond, the founder of the community, in the porch of the chapel at what had once been Walsingham's railway station and which Fr David's drive turned into a very passable pastiche of an Athonite kelia. Both Orthodox, Roman Catholics and Anglicans will miss him, particularly at the National Pilgrimage for he was always so pleased to see his friends and to make new ones. Just before his illness he wrote to me to say that work on the icons commissioned by the Association for the iconostasis in the Orthodox chapel in the Anglican Shrine church was progressing. Alas, his health broke down before they could be completed. It is hoped that another iconographer will complete his work.

May his memory be eternal.

A.T.J. Salter

Peter Lascelles

Few if any people whom I have met possessed such a spontaneous and unselfconscious humility as I found in Peter Lascelles. Those who did not know him well, and who were familiar merely with his humour and with his passionate concern for liturgical *minutiae*, could easily miss the fundamental seriousness of his character. Since his death people have told me that it was conversations with Peter which brought them back to Christianity after they had totally lost their faith. He was a person of great patience and compassion, who provided spiritual support and encouragement for a number of people in difficulty. True to the teaching of the Gospel, he performed his good actions in secret. I sometimes think of him as a Fool-in-Christ. May the Kingdom of heaven be his!

Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia

Father John Salter's obituary on Peter Lascelles (E.C.N.L. Spring 1993) gives a vivid account of his life, with its ecumenical richness and diversity. Some aspects could be explored further, including the last decade of his life. He had always been devoted to London, with its varied liturgical life, its lectures and concerts, all of which occupied his day from 6 a.m. to midnight. An added pleasure was the plethora of Greek Orthodox churches which had sprung up across London, during the late 1960's and 1970's under Archbishop Athenagoras II. He knew them all well and, with so many, could count on celebrations of feasts and dedications most weeks. Weekday liturgies were a special delight as, in the absence of official cantors, he could be asked to perform. He revelled in singing Byzantine chant with gusto and treasured any appreciation. Often, telephone calls were made to persuade priests to keep some minor or locally important saint,

perhaps with the promise that Peter would, himself, produce the required Proper.

Thus, during the week, he would expect to attend one or two Orthodox liturgies in the morning (often at Wood Green – a favourite church), then go to a midday concert or lecture at the British Museum or National Gallery, perhaps attend Evensong at Westminster Abbey or St Paul's, followed most regularly by going to the early evening Solemn Mass at Westminster Cathedral. A Dedication or Patronal Festival, at an Anglican church, would round off the day but, if not, a concert of Early Music would suffice. Weekends included the Saturday Vigil at one of the Russian churches; Sunday morning was often spent at the Armenian liturgy, and in the afternoon he first attended Solemn Vespers, at Brompton Oratory, followed by Evensong at All Saints, Margaret Street. Christmas and Easter, with several rites occurring at the same time, made for a punishing timetable.

This formal structure of church-going was underpinned, throughout the day, by the reciting of the Latin Divine Office and private prayers for the sick and departed. This demanding and dedicated life was carried out with a simplicity and humility, a sense of joy in his many activities and enlivened with an infectious and, at times, robust Yorkshire sense of humour.

His last day of activity, August 28th, was typical, despite increasing weakness. In the morning, he took a taxi to Ennismore Gardens for Pontifical Liturgy of the Dormition of the Mother of God (O.S.); at 1.00 p.m. he attended a lecture on *Mistras*, at the British Museum. Later, he took the train to Essex, to attend the Vigil of the Decollation of the Baptist (N.S.), at the Monastery of St John the Baptist, at Tolleshunt Knights. By this time, he could no longer walk but, with the help of policemen, city commuters and friends, he completed his programme.

After such a level of activity, his acceptance of a very limited earthly life was astonishing. He felt deeply that he was given grace to accept this change, and continued to show serenity and happiness. Before he died, he was received into the Orthodox Church, a matter of great joy to him and which can be seen as a fulfillment of his ecumenism.

At his funeral, at the Monastery of St John, in Essex, Archimandrite Kyrill (who had first met Peter many years before, at St Sophia, Moscow Road) read a letter from Peter, proclaiming his faith that Christianity is True and really works. In the congregation (as at his Memorial Service, at St Dunstan's in the West) were friends of many different rites and of all ages. All their lives had been touched and enriched in some way by Peter and, though the sense of loss was profound, it was possible to see that impact continuing, along with his affirmation of the Resurrection.

Bernard Heine

A Mass in memory of Peter Lascelles was celebrated during the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity at St Dunstan-in-the-West.

Father Dennis Pauley of St Silas's, Pentonville, gave the following address.

"Behold! What a joyful and pleasant thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity ..."

Here we are on the fifth day of the annual octave of the Prayer for Christian Unity, the feast of St Vincent, Deacon and Martyr, in fact the 1,690th anniversary of his martyrdom in Valencia (a martyr recognized by both the Eastern and Western Churches). Our friend, Peter, whom we particularly remember at this Mass paid but few visits to my flat at St Clement's, Barnsbury, but after an evening dinner and chat he would produce his capacious briefcase and extract his copy of the Roman Breviary and propose that we recite Nocturns of the following day. It was a luxury to myself living a solo existence (apart from the company of my St Bernard who could not master the Latin language) and to have a fellow pilgrim to join me in the office.

As a matter of interest I consulted the breviary to discover what we would have read last evening. It is fortuitous and astonishing that I found in the office words which most suitably provide a text for this address. It would have been Peter's turn to read in the Responsoy following the 7th lesson part of a Homily of Pope St Gregory the Great – these words "Behold, what a joyful and pleasant thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity ..." what better words during this octave of prayer for unity and combined with a memorial to someone who embodied in one person, without any schizophrenia, such a vast interest and active part in the interests of the unity of the Churches. His talents were many and thanks to his remarkable linguistic facilities were employed in active and articulate relationships with many other Churches. In my youth, and I'm speaking of more than six decades ago, we would have in the parish church, quite indistinguishable from Roman Catholic churches, extra masses during this octave, with Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, litanies and reparation and so on, and, when possible, visiting preachers. In those days, alas! our brethren of the Roman Catholic Church could not attend an Anglican church, or, indeed, a public meeting for Unity, and, as far as I can remember when attendance was eventually permitted, only the Lord's Prayer could be said in common. This, to a juvenile mind could not be comprehended. But I very soon learned. It was sad and disconcerting to learn that many Ecclesial Communionies or Communions were entrenched in their own traditions and would not countenance even polite conversation with fellow Christians of other persuasions; more than that there appeared to be an implacable hostility, indeed, something akin to xenophobia towards our fellow Christians, who had also been baptized into the universal family of Our Lord Jesus Christ. After decades of prayer and, happily, conversations, many barriers have been broken down, and it seemed to be that an age of euphoria had dawned; concessions hitherto unheard of have been made as we have all grown nearer to Christ in prayer so we have come together, not as aliens, but as friends; and the Divine desire "that they may be one" was hopefully to be fulfilled at least in some of the Churches.

Inter-confessional differences had already been resolved by some under harsh conditions, for example in the concentration camps of

World War II, where Bishops and laymen of one Church found themselves thrown together with Pastors and laymen of other Churches. The barbarity of man in this case worked toward the good and the unity of Christ's Body, the Church. For some, particularly in Eastern Europe former communists, sought a substitute for the comforting certainties once provided by the party, but often their past and bitter experiences bred an instinctive distrust of any authority which required of them a submission of will. Nevertheless, in Poland, a country with which I am well acquainted, and where the light of faith was not allowed to be extinguished even under the most dire circumstances, many who were not Christians in earlier days saw the need for truthful values and resolving all their doubts and fears became converted to the faith, very largely as a result of example, which I've always been taught is better than precept.

But what of we who are Anglicans? Do our conversations now about unity ring true or are they, on the contrary, hollow since we now have disaffection and dis-unity? The Lord only knows that our dear England needs a moral and united lead – a voice of authentic unity, as she was never before needed in such deep measure. The tragedy of the divided Church is as serious as the country in which much propriety has been thrown to the wind, where we see the general decline of courtesy, patience, fidelity, both marital and otherwise, stability and family life, culture and much else, to which our Christian Religion ought to address itself, but can a muted trumpet sound other than with uncertainty?

Naturally enough Churchmen, on both sides of the divide which has been imposed upon us, have been asked to live in charity and without acrimony – certainly to do otherwise would be to abandon the basic law of charity. In the past we could not expect to be united to other Churches just as we were: we had to pray with deep conviction that God would show us what we lacked and for courage to admit and amend our lives accordingly and to grow nearer to God and thus to one another. That, I feel sure, is what enabled Peter during his pilgrimage to participate fully in the liturgies of other Ecclesial Bodies and to enjoy the sincere friendship and confidence of so many people.

But what of ourselves in the future? "Getting back to basics" is a cry which has been bandied about. What it precisely means I have no idea; for us it means getting back to the Lord's will and purpose for us. The noted artist and craftsman, Eric Gill, wrote: – "The Lord is a singer, the created universe is a song of His, a little song, but big enough and loud enough for us – we are his notes in it".

Whenever something creative is achieved there is movement, as when the Spirit of God moved over the waters in creation. His created world around us is full of variety, which includes you and me, because there has never been and never will be another you or another me – we are unique. We are notes in God's song, and although we may only be a semi-quaver or two (perhaps in my case because of my diminutive stature – a semi-semi-quaver!) we are vital parts of that song – a song which ranges far and wide and beyond our horizons.

We humans are of the earth, earthy, and indubitably belong to His created world. It is a tremendous pity that in our world and indeed, within ourselves, we produce cacophony rather than harmony – sometimes beyond a few semi-quavers, followed by fortissimos. God plants within us gifts, talents – and, if we would but give ear to Him, inspires us to be creative with His will to produce new notes to perform – in other words, to show to those around us the harmony of charity, unity, truth and love, all the lessons which we have learned of Redemption, of the healing, which Christ alone can bestow.

Peter Lascelles was well aware of his God-given gifts and used them unsparingly in His service. He had, more than likely, read Père de Caussade's noted book *"The Sacrament of the Present Moment"*; these words fittingly describe Peter's life:–

"The more the senses distrust, rebel,
despair, the more faith tells them:
'It is God's will, He is well'
There is nothing that faith cannot
overcome: it triumphs over everything
and, however dark the clouds may be, it
breaks through to truth, holds fast to
it and never lets it go ..."

ATHENS 1994

The first official visit of an Archbishop of Canterbury to the Church of Greece since that of Lord Ramsey in 1962 was made by Dr George Carey in February this year. The snow which lay on the ripe oranges in the garden of the British Embassy not only showed how severe this winter has been but also seemed to symbolize relations between our two Churches – temporarily snowbound but potentially fruitful and warm.

Archbishop and Mrs Carey were accompanied by the new Bishop of Gibraltar in Europe, John Hind, who was paying his first visit to Athens; by the Archdeacon of the Danube and the Aegean (Geoffrey Evans); Canon Stephen Platten and Dr Richard Marsh from Lambeth; and myself. Arriving in the late afternoon of Thursday 10 February we were greeted at the airport by members of the Holy Synod led by Metropolitan Dionysios of Neapolis and Stavropolis, by the President and members of the Synodical Committee on Inter-Orthodox and Inter-Christian Relations, by the British Ambassador, and by representatives of the Greek Government. We were also quickly aware of the interest of the Media in our visit: while cameras clicked reporters were asking questions about Western recognition of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia based on Skopje, and about the perceived bias against the Bosnian Serbs. Even when we visited Delphi on the Saturday some reporters followed us, wanting to know whether the Archbishop had come to seek an answer from the oracle about women priests!

The real encounters, of course, took place indoors and beyond the reach of the Media. On the first evening an official call was made

upon His Beatitude Archbishop Seraphim of Athens at his Palace. Dr Carery began his speech by recalling the 7th Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek monk who had been educated at the school in Athens. Aged 66 when he was appointed in the year 668, he united the Church in England during his 22 years' primacy, teaching the faith and laying the foundations of our present system of parishes and dioceses. At that time the whole Church was one and undivided: moreover a priest from one end of the known world could be appointed to an archbishopric at the other end. The special affinity and friendship between the Churches of England and Greece developed further with Greek monks studying in Oxford in the Middle Ages and Philip Usher scholars studying in Greece in our own century. Englishmen fought alongside the Greeks in their war of independence and again in the second world war. But while friendships have been forged between individuals and groups there has also been the pain, misunderstanding and distress caused by the General Synod's decision to proceed with the ordination of women to the priesthood. In this new situation it has become more than ever important for the International Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions and the Pastoral Exchange of Anglican and Greek clergy to resume. The attitude of His All-Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch has been encouraging in that while making clear his disapproval and regret at the decision he has affirmed his commitment to the continuing search for unity.

It was a crucial meeting, which could have gone either way, but in what seemed a sudden flash His Beatitude responded warmly. Gifts were exchanged and the ice had been broken. Next morning Archbishop Seraphim returned the call at the British Ambassador's residence where Dr and Mrs Carey were staying, remaining for over an hour. Tougher talking then followed as the Archbishop's party visited the Holy Synod where the additional issues adumbrated related to the World Council of Churches, the Christian identity of Europe, the dangers of syncretism, and the conflict between evangelism and proselytising. Later that afternoon there was further discussion at the Theological School of the University of Athens where we met some of the professors and students. 6,000 of the latter study there for four years; they come from all over the world; many will become teachers while others will eventually be ordained.

Whilst a full programme, which included a call on the veteran President Karamanlis and a lunch hosted by the Greek Government, prevented our attendance at a celebration of the Holy Orthodox Liturgy, we were able to visit the fine monastery at Pendeli, north of Athens, and to have supper one evening at the picturesque convent of St Ioannis Prodromos ("Makrinos") near Megara. Here our hosts were Metropolitan Bartholomaios and the Abbess Makrina: sixty excited nuns proudly showed us their superbly embroidered vestments and regaled us with prawn soup, grilled sea bass, goats' cheese, creamy confections and oranges. There we knew the reality of our common faith and deep friendship which are greater than our differences.

Michael Manktelow



Pilgrims at Josselin



The Pardon of Notre Dame du Roncier, Josselin

The Orthodox Liturgy was concelebrated the next day, the Nativity of Our Lady (September 8th) by Bishop Paul, Protopresbyter Columba and Father Maximos, the deacon being Bishop Paul's deacon, Nicodème, in St Joseph's Chapel in the Church of St Armel, Ploërmel (the town founded by the 6th century saint). After lunch – most people seemed to have crêpes – we went to Josselin for the Pardon. The Chateau of the Ducs de Rohan dominates the town, through whose picturesque streets was taken in procession the statue of Notre-Dame-du-Roncier (Our Lady of the Brambles), the original image having been found by a peasant in the brambles early in the middle ages. Here we saw, but not in great numbers, the Breton costume which I remember was quite common 30 years ago.

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I was left with a remarkable mixture of impressions – medieval, baroque, Celtic, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Breton and French! Many memories of people and places the megalith of Carnac in the rain, the major domo of Rosenkavalier who led the procession at Josselin, monastic Compline at Landévennec, a bottle of calvados, (still unopened), and a glimpse of what our earthly pilgrimage should be comprised of – fellowship, devotion and laughter.

N. A. Harrison

SAINTED BRITTANY

We raise our hearts and bend the knee
 To God who sainted Brittany
 With lives of holiness and peace,
 To manifest the Lord's increase.
 We venerate St Anne the blest,
 The Theopromito, she's confessed;
 The mother of Our Lady Mary,
 Beneath a Breton calvary.

example, uncharacteristically as I have mentioned above, Our Lord is shown rising from the tomb above sleeping soldiers. I remember in particular the lavish ossuare at Saint Thégonnec where in the crypt was a life-sized depiction of the entombment of Our Lord with Our Lady, St Veronica, Joseph of Arimathea, St Mary Magdalene and others, and the church with its baroque cherubs on the sounding board of the pulpit.

It was on the Saturday that we arrived at the modern abbey of St Guénolé (the Welshman St Winwaloe) which stands overlooking the village and old abbey ruins at Landevenec.

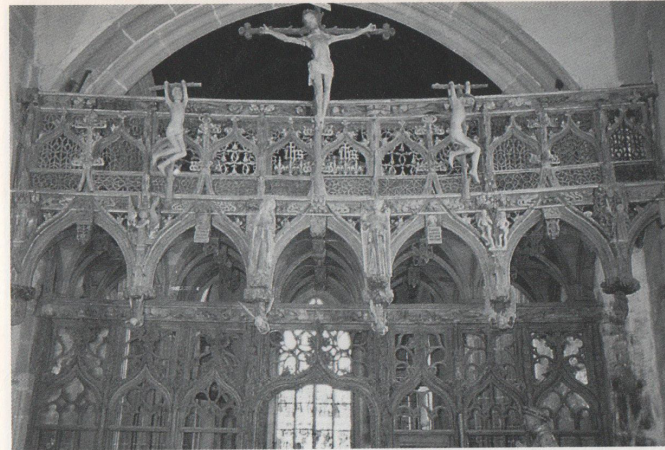
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In the afternoon we picnicked on the headland of Penhir Point on the Crozon Peninsula and then enjoyed a few hours at the beach resort of Morgat.

On Monday the theme of the Celtic Saints was taken up again. At Quimper, a charming town which was formerly the capital of Cornouaille (the equivalent of "Cornwall") and now the capital of Finistère (the "end of the earth") whose great Gothic cathedral is dedicated to St Corentin, the first bishop of the see (which is still in existence), and adviser to King Gradlon who is shown seated on horseback between the cathedral's spires. Legend has it that the king met the saint on the slopes of Menez Hom (a peak from which we had had a magnificent view) and when the townspeople of Quimper wanted a bishop, the king remembered the hermit he had encountered there.

Our other Celtic saint that day was the Irishman St Ronan, after whom the delightful (but touristy) town of Locranon was named. It is thought that the present chapel stands on the same spot as the saint's hermitage. The story goes that the body of the saint was brought back to the site by oxen wandering where they wished. A similar tale is told of the body of St Endelienta whose church at St Endellion was one of the highlights of our Cornish pilgrimage in 1987. Episodes from the life of St Ronan are shown in ten medallions on the pulpit, the costumes being Louis Quatorze, not Dark Age Celtic! Perhaps the rosary reredos is also out of keeping with the Celtic origins of the place but Brittany has been for very many centuries an integral and devout part of the Roman Church.

The following day, Tuesday, saw our departure from the Abbey, and our drive to the greatest of the calvaires, Pleyben, to the chapel of Notre-Dame du Crann (with its remarkable stained glass) and the chapel of St Fiacre, with probably the finest rood screen of our stay, where we sang the beatitudes. Then we reached our hotel near the town of Josselin where we were to stay for two nights, and where Bishop Paul gave an impressive devotional address after dinner.



The jubé in the Chapel of Saint-Fiacre



The calvaire at Saint-Thégonnec

Pilgrimage to Brittany

1993 was one of the years for a "home" pilgrimage, but the definition was widened to take in Brittany, for the language and people came from Britain, and the seven patron saints of the old dioceses of Brittany were all British. Our object was threefold, to visit places associated with the Celtic Saints, to see the "calvaires" which are such a feature of Brittany, and to take part in a "pardon".

It was an appropriate start to the pilgrimage for me in Portsmouth, because before meeting our fellow-pilgrims at the ferry terminal, my wife and I visited the Anglican Cathedral of St Thomas of Canterbury, which is the old medieval church with recently completed additions to give enough space for its current needs. There, in one of the new walls, were set stones from some of the holy places of Britain, including Iona, a prime site of Celtic Christianity.

Among the familiar faces at the terminal on 1st September was Bishop Michael Manktelow, who came to explain to us that because of other duties he could not accompany us as Anglican leader. Our chairman, Father John Salter, therefore filled that position. The Orthodox leader for the first few days was Protopresbyter Columba Flegg, and then from Monday 6th September Bishop Paul of Tracheia, an Englishman who is bishop in Nice of the Russian Jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

We left with Bishop Michael's blessing, and after a smooth overnight crossing arrived at St Malo, where I was pleased to see that I had remembered the thick defensive walls of the town from my visit as a schoolboy in 1951. A few of us bolted breakfast so that we could have a quick look at the former cathedral of St Vincent. Like so many French bishoprics, St Malo was suppressed by the Concordat between Napoleon and Pope Pius VII in 1802. Then we were off to Dinan to see the Flamboyant Gothic Church dedicated to St Malo, where we said prayers before an icon, and the Basilica of Saint-Sauveur, a mixture of Romanesque and Flamboyant Gothic architecture, started as a result of a crusader's vow, and containing a cenotaph with the heart of Bertrand du Guesclin, the 14th century Breton warrior who for his successful campaigns (against the English!) became High Constable of France. The town itself was a delightful place, and there we bought food for our picnic lunch, which we had in the countryside on the top of a hill by an ancient chapel of St Hervé, where we spoke to the priest who turned out to be an ardent teetotaler, much to the discomfiture of those who had bottles of wine in their hands. There were no instant conversions.

We were to learn of the thoughts and feelings of the Bretons from Father Pierre, who had served as a priest in the Church in Wales, and we were joined by him and his Welsh wife, Sylvia, after lunch.

We went on to our hotel in Landvisiou ("Lan" being the Breton equivalent of the Welsh "Llan") named after St Thivisiau.

The following two days started with a thick Breton mist. On Friday we first attended an Anglican Eucharist in the Church of St Michel-en-Grève at the water's edge, celebrated by Father Philip Warner, who organised the pilgrimage. The painting of Our Lady "Maris Stella"

behind one of the side altars is painted with almost Dali-like smoothness, and surrealism seems just round the corner, with our Lady hovering over the angry waves. A brief stay followed to give an opportunity to buy postcards (which is why my memory of the painting is so clear!) and we then drove along the Côtes d'Armor to Le Folgoët, a little village with a magnificent Basilica of Notre-Dame du Folgoët (Fool's wood) so called because a fool who could only say the words "Itron Gwerc'hez Vari" (Lady Virgin Mary) died, and from his grave a lily grew with the words "Ave Maria" in gold letters. The main feast of the shrine is on September 8th, and preparations were being made for the "pardon" (a celebration including a great procession).

From photographs the procession seems rather similar to that at Glastonbury or at Walsingham on Whit-Monday. The church itself looks odd, with one great belfry at one side and a small tower on the other. We saw the fountain outside the church where pilgrims drink water which comes from the spring under the altar.

Our next visit was to Saint-Pol-de-Léon which St Paul Aurelian from Cornwall made the first bishopric in Lower Brittany (the Breton-speaking area). In the former cathedral, we saw an extraordinary carved representation of a palm tree bending over the high altar to hold a hanging pyx.

We moved on to the Chapel of Notre Dame de Berven with its tall belfry and rood screen. Several rood screens (jubés) or rood beams have survived in Brittany, and particularly memorable were the naively carved and painted figures on the rood beam at Lampaul-Guimiliau and the much more sophisticated figures at St Fiacre. Berven had a more classical screen, almost as if designed by Sir Ninian Comper. The altarpiece was a fine composition of Our Lady surrounded by a Tree of Jesse.

Our last stop of the day was at the village of Bodilis, where the church, dedicated to Our Lady, was notable for the statues of the apostles in the porch, each bearing an article of the Apostles Creed, and the rood beam and baroque altarpieces.

On our third day calvaires came into their own. They form an essential part of the Enclos Paroissial (Parish Close) consisting of Entrance Arch, Cemetery, Church, Charnel house (ossuaire) and Calvaire. The three great crosses rear up above one or more friezes with locally sculpted scenes from the Passion of Our Lord, sometimes including the resurrection but not usually with the prominence with which Orthodox iconography (and theology) would have treated the subject.

Each calvaire was unique. Some were enormous and showed the pride which a village would take in outdoing its neighbour in devotion, for these were not just ornamental features but played an important part in the villagers' devotions. The priest would walk round the calvaire, indicating the episodes with a pointer and leading the people's meditations. A list of the calvaires which we saw – Tronoën, Guimiliau, Plougarven, Pleyben (the largest of all) Lampoul-Guimiliau, Saint Thégonnec – may recall to pilgrims some individual scenes which stay in the memory. At Guimiliau, for

example, uncharacteristically as I have mentioned above, Our Lord is shown rising from the tomb above sleeping soldiers. I remember in particular the lavish ossuare at Saint Thégonnec where in the crypt was a life-sized depiction of the entombment of Our Lord with Our Lady, St Veronica, Joseph of Arimathea, St Mary Magdalene and others, and the church with its baroque cherubs on the sounding board of the pulpit.

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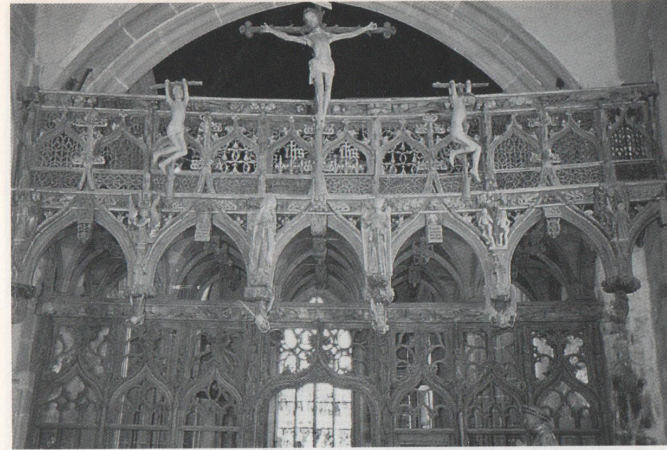
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 To God who sainted Brittany
 With lives of holiness and peace,
 To manifest the Lord's increase.
 We venerate St Anne the blest,
 The Theopromito, she's confessed;
 The mother of Our Lady Mary,
 Beneath a Breton calvary.

By the cross of Christ, at the Father's hand,
The Spirit's blessing showered the land.
The Breton saints, so we perceive,
St Gwenolé, St Pol, St Yves,
The humble of the land who pray,
To follow in the Master's way.
Their prayer is work, their work is prayer;
They celebrate creation's fare
And raise their eyes to the calvary
In the sainted land called Brittany.

Rosemary Radley

("Theopromito" means "Grandmother of God")

On a Breton Pilgrimage. A.E.C.A. Sept. '93

We are the very model of a party ecumenical.
We're Anglican and Orthodox and hope we're evangelical.
We're looking out for Calvaries and sites ecclesiastical
And lovely wooden carvings which are simple or fantastical.
Around the base of Calvaries are figures, lay and clerical,
Some of them are so well fed that they are almost spherical.
The medieval sculptors loved to show the diabolical,
We like their comic fancies but we're glad they're not historical.
Though tales of ancient miracles provoke us to feel critical
We need not take them literally, their meaning may be mystical.
The beauty of the churches makes the hardest heart feel lyrical,
We love the plain curved ceilings, but Baroque can be hysterical,
The scenes in coloured windows may be humourous or tragical
But sunlight sifting through them makes them uniformly magical.
We find we're welcomed warmly by the bretheren monastical
Though our worship differs somewhat we are plainly not fanatical.
Computing change can be a bore for those not mathematical
And finding somewhere dry to eat is sometimes problematical.
The food we find in our hotels is mostly economical
We have to look elsewhere to find adventures gastronomical.
The procession of the "pardon" past the chateau looks theatrical
Co-ordination of the prayers is both devout and practical.
The crowded street of St Michel makes fast ascent unpractical
But puffing slowly to the top makes some feel geriatric.
We find the Gothic of Bayeux astonishingly vertical,
When we look up, our heads spin round, we end up feeling vertigal.
Despite our varied interests we never get polemical.
We are the very model of a party ecumenical.

Betty Byrom

With apologies to W. S. Gilbert

CONSTANTINOPLE LECTURE

delivered at King's College, London
on December 7th 1993
by the Right Reverend John Dennis
Bishop of St Edmundsbury and Ipswich

THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A STEP TOO FAR?

As we look back with the hindsight of 1500 years of Church and World history, with all the divisions which have subsequently torn the Church apart into ever increasingly tiny parts, and human aggressions which have brought the world of many falling round their ears in chaos, it is difficult to assess the results of that great, and first great, act of separation. It is easy, of course, to look at the past with rose coloured spectacles, and ignore the many theological schisms which attacked the Church in the earlier centuries, but these were heresies which the Bishops of the Church managed to see off, and despite rocky waters the Church remained intact in its witness to the world. Here, at Chalcedon in 451 the first rend in the Body of Christ took horrendous effect, and from that day to this the Church has remained fragmented. "Father, may they be one, that the world may believe". How far is the world's failure to believe the result of the failure of the Church? It is a serious question, – for the Churches which broke away at that point were not heretics, – and *are* not heretics. Meshed into the thought forms of Greek Philosophy, "enculturised" to use the common jargon of today, the Council of Chalcedon was in one sense attempting to achieve the impossible in its quest to define the nature of Christ, God and man. Now I am not an academic theologian, and enculturate me in Greek philosophical thought forms and I am struggling, yet the attempt has the beauty of simplicity which has made the Chalcedonian Definition stand, almost unchallenged since then, speaking of the two natures, human and divine, in the person of Christ.

Was the failure to own the definition by what has these days become known as the Oriental Orthodox Family of Churches due to the politics of the day, or to a difference in theological perception and understanding? The answer to this speculation lies in accepting both as being partly true. The Armenian Bishops, for example, felt unable to be there for very political reasons, and therefore declined to accept a definition which they had had no part in yet the fact of the matter is that an acrimonious division then occurred, and the Churches of Egypt, Syria, Ethiopia and Armenia left the centre stage, continuing to own all the previous Councils of the Church, but not Chalcedon, and with a definition of the mystery of Christ's Divinity and Humanity which did not go beyond that of Cyril of Alexandria's formula in 449, at Ephesus, of "One nature united in the Word Incarnate."

As is usually the case, of course, it is the winners who write the history, and label their opponents, so "Monophysite" became the stick with which to belabour these "Separated brethren" of the Orthodox tradition. It is however also a label which they vigorously refute. It has taken a long time for the rest of the Church to wake up

to this difference without a difference, to the reality that it is words which not only define, but also limit, concepts, that truth can be circumscribed and offended against in the very attempt to define it. But if we have learnt this in the ARCIC process in our part of the Western Church, it can be and is something which the Eastern Church is also now very conscious of. Members will already be aware, no doubt, of the long series of "Pro Oriente" discussions between Rome and the Oriental Churches, which have resulted in a mutually acceptable Christological statement. They will be aware too of similar discussions, between the Oriental and the Eastern Orthodox, with a similar result. The recognisable and predictable difficulty which each community has in providing a process of reception should not cause us to devalue these two great achievements nor our own desire to make good use of them for our Anglican dialogue. Here we too have difficulty, however. I have for four years now been saying that there is no need for us to cover the same ground ourselves and re-invent the wheel, and that we should be making use of the work done by others. Yet, at both our dialogue in Egypt in '90, and here in England in '93, somehow no one felt quite able to cope with this challenge. Perhaps the group's membership, on both sides, was not adequately slanted enough to the academic. Now, however, at last, this year, we decided to ask our parent churches to set up a small group of theologians corporately to look at this issue, and report in time for our next dialogue in '95/6. I am afraid that we have to think in terms of many years, but I am confident that something is stirring here at last. Our problem is one of process, not of theology. We can stand as one, and we all acknowledge that at last. And well we should. However, we still know little of each other, either in history or in the present day. I am grateful for the invitation to give this lecture tonight, for I want to use it to paint a word picture for you of these brethren and sisters or ours in this particular branch of orthodoxy, who for over a thousand years effectively disappeared from our ken, in the West, and are still relatively unknown to almost all of our countrymen, and fellow churchmen, even though each one of them has a presence here in London, and even though these days they are full participants in the World Council of Churches and, here, of Churches Together in England. In 1988 when I personally became aware of them for the first time (for I am a recent convert) they had more observers at the Lambeth Conference that summer than any other group of churches worldwide. Distinctively and strikingly dressed in the onion shaped hats and heavy black woollen robes of their tradition, no one could be unaware of their presence.

But they represented communities of a tremendous and unbroken antiquity. As Churches of Nations, they feel themselves to be akin to us, and us to them, in a very sympathetic way, but their national identities predate ours to a period when our ancestors were still in woad. Where do we begin? Before all else of course, we must set them in their context of worship. If it is true that we can, as Anglicans, claim to be judged not by our credal statements, or their absence, so much as by our Worship, the same dignity must be afforded them. Set firmly in the Orthodox tradition, using the liturgies of St Basil St John Chryostom and St James, where holiness becomes incarnate behind the curtain, and timelessness

creeps into space and time, and we are at one and the same time in the third as well as the twentieth centuries – and at Our Lord's Supper as well – where no filioque is heard, but where the Spirit is tangible.

Let us look at the COPTS, the ancient Church of Egypt, sharing that country since that split with the Greek Orthodox See of Alexandria, rooted firmly in Egypt's soil, direct descendants of the Pharaohs and ancient Egyptians maybe, sons of the Desert Fathers, deep into a desert spirituality with the monastic life as an essential main stream. The Copts in Egypt of course predate Islam. One of the great surprises to visitors of today, who associate the lattice work of middle eastern screen design, for instance with the Muslim world is to discover its true Coptic origins, as they visit the ancient churches of Cairo. So too the removal of shoes, and the prostrations, and for that matter the rigorous disciplines of fasting. To read the stories of the early fathers can take me back to a memory of three years ago in the twentieth century desert, and see the tracks left permanently in rainless sand, as the monthly food and water run takes its supplies out to the hermits of today. Today's Copts are lively and strong. Every Wednesday in the crypt of his Cathedral in Cairo, His Holiness Pope Shenouda III gives his weekly lecture to a Hall packed with people, of all ages, 1,000 or more, with others hanging through the windows, and outside, as he expounds the word of God to them. Only a decade or two ago the four monasteries of the Wadi El Natroun were all but empty. It seemed that the tide of twentieth century materialism had swamped even this spirituality, yet today all have a new lease of life, strong and healthy in the hundreds of vocations they have to the celibate monastic life, and opening their doors to the steady flood of coachloads of the curious, and of the seeking.

There is a reason for this, of course, which is what, in all these positives, they experience as the negative pressures of Islam. Egypt's Government, I believe, works hard to preserve equilibrium and equality, in religious freedom between its Christian and Islamic Citizens; for every story you read of Christians imprisoned (and these are more likely to be pentecostalists than Copts) remember the imprisonments of Islamic fundamentalists. Yet our Coptic brethren undoubtedly feel themselves to be under pressure, and pressure can have the positive effect of driving people back to their roots of reviving faith. For this, we, like them, should be thankful. May I share something with you, though, which connects profoundly, I believe, with this?

There is, at least in the Coptic hierarchy, a deep unhappiness about the state of our own church. Anyone who attended the two lectures given by His Holiness Pope Shenouda last year, in the Coptic Church in London, which were billed as being about that Church, and its life, will remember how His Holiness instead focussed on two major themes: the Anglican attitude to homosexuality, and to women as priests. I fear that there is a deep misunderstanding which has by now virtually built itself into their attitude to us and, which is very difficult to counter. I am releasing no secrets when I say that the random selection of Bishop Bishoi and Bishop Jack Spong into the same working group at the last Lambeth Conference explains much. There is a genuine belief there, now, that we are suspect on homosexuality,

Bishops' statements notwithstanding. The Lambeth resolution, which, you may remember, was that when a man with several wives becomes a Christian, he should not, in the African context, be asked to send them away, has also led to a belief that we are in favour of polygamy. Thirdly there is their conservative view on our decision to ordain women. All this requires our prayers, and our sympathy for them. Some of us, no doubt, will hold their view on one at least of the judgments they make about us, in any case. But behind it all – and this is what I believe we need to be most aware of – is a profoundly differing view of the validity of scriptural criticism. I believe that today's Coptic leadership has become more profoundly fundamentalist than it has historically been, and it may well be that this is largely due to the pressures of Islam. As I have heard it said, "Muslims say to us, we are the people of the book. You cannot claim that. Your people, and especially in the West, do not believe your book." We in the West must seek to understand this. We can only hope and pray that our own pilgrimage to understand and proclaim the gospel in our own, now very different, culture, will also in the end be understood by our Coptic brethren, for we need their prayers also. Meantime I must warmly proclaim my profound gratitude for the warmth of their love; for their growing presence in this country and the diaspora; the personal affection which, in Christ, I have established with His Holiness, the delight of sharing in their Liturgy, be it in Egypt or London, the closeness of their lives to the Lord they seek to serve. I believe that the bonds of affection between our churches are strong, and will not be broken. But we must move on. In one sense we might describe the ETHIOPIAN Orthodox Church as a daughter church of the Copts. Only in recent decades have the Ethiopians had the right to appoint their own patriarch. Yet they are proud of a history which reaches back to the beginning. To meet them in friendship is to become vividly aware of at least three strands in their make-up. Strongly Orthodox firstly their links in sisterhood with the Copts are unchallengeable; yet secondly so are their Old Testament strands, (their Jewish strands, though no one would suggest Jewish blood).

Their fasting is Jewish; their dietary laws are so also; they practise male circumcision, and of course they look back proudly to their own Queen of Sheba, consort of Solomon for a night, whose son, they say, brought back the Ark of the Covenant to a safety with them which lasts to this day. And thirdly they are African. The uniquely Ethiopian feel, among the Oriental Orthodox, of liturgical dance, priests moving in a shuffling gait in unison, waving their sticks, chiming their sistra, to be beat of two tone drums, with an audience of the faithful standing under multi-coloured umbrellas against the sun's heat and with the ululations of the women ringing in ones ears. Here, we are in Africa. It should perhaps not surprise us that the Afro-Caribbeans, looking for their religious roots, should have focussed on Ethiopia, on the Lion of Judah, Hailie Selassie, for an African King to turn to, and deify. Rastafarianism of course has nothing to do, directly, with the Ethiopian Orthodox, but let us delight in the pilgrimage that some ex-Rastafarians have made into the Ethiopian Church, including the presence of such, here in London. Ethiopia is a country where Christians on the heights, and Muslims on the plains, have lived together in reasonable peace for centuries. Who can tell

what the future will hold, but their problems at the moment are not focussed on this issue?

In these past five years, I have had the great privilege of visiting Ethiopia three times. Once I went with the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, on a "state visit". This took us to Addis Ababa, the capital, and to the Patriarch. It took us also to Asmara, Eritrea's Capital, then a government enclave in rebel territory, to a refugee camp, to a food disbursement centre in the famine-torn north, to that great Anglican initiative, under our Chaplain at Addis Ababa, of the St Matthew's Orphanages (which still needs help in supporting its children, if anyone here feels inclined to enquire further, I can send details); to the Fistula Hospital in Addis, whose great pioneer has recently died; and, of course, centrally, to worship with the Ethiopian Orthodox in their ancient liturgical language of Ge'ez. Here we shared in the great festival of Timqat (Baptism, or Epiphany). Here the tabots, that ark, that stone, which must be in place on the altar for the liturgy to take place, were carried from their churches in procession, kept overnight in tents, and taken to waters, in the event we witnessed, a swimming pool, and blessed before the tabots are returned to their churches. The water was jam-packed with small boys thirty seconds after the blessing. It is a church of colour, movement, ceremony, holding, still, the hearts of its people. It truly is the Church of the people. Pass its ubiquitous round churches at any time of the day, and see the women standing on the veranda outside, facing through its walls to its central altar, in prayer. See the size of the crowds at its festivals, and above all, share in its liturgy. My other two visits, and here perhaps is a pointer to the difficulties this church currently faces, and why it needs our loving and prayerful understanding, were both to the enthronement of new Patriarchs. In 1988, Patriarch Merkorios was enthroned in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Addis. In a ceremony which lasted for five hours, but at which as a distinguished guest I was on occasion encouraged to sit for a while, followed by a further two hours of speeches and displays by the Sunday schools on the steps, I realised the wisdom of having limited my fluid intake earlier. Then in 1992 I was back again, this time to witness the enthronement of Abuna Paulos, an enthronement due not to the death of his predecessor, who is still very much alive, in, I believe, Nairobi, but to the massive intervening political changes in the country. Merkorios's enthronement was not without its difficulties. Was he truly patriarch, when the body of his predecessor's predecessor had never been found? The Copts did not think so, and could not recognise him, so sent no representative. But now Mengistu had been overthrown, King and patriarch's bodies had both been found. Tribal pressures were not without their influence. Merkorios's investiture was claimed by some to be invalid for reasons I will not go into, a new start was looked for, and Paulos returned from the USA to give it. I attended to represent His Grace the Archbishop, who thus from the Anglican point of view, recognised, and recognises, his patriarchate. Given the history, though, it is perhaps not surprising that the Ethiopian Church is currently in some political disarray. Here in London some will have read of the distress in the Ethiopian Church around Abuna Paulos's recent visit. Different groupings accepting or refusing his patriarch-

hate, police called out, and the peace disturbed. A similar course of events took place in the USA prior to his arrival here. We must be cautious, not making Western judgments about all this. Our history and our pressures, are different. But if we look back at the history of our own church in past centuries, we are not free of Archbishops vying for power. What would today's tabloids have made of the spectacle of the Primate of England and the Primate of All England each attempting to push the other, physically, off the Chair of St Augustine? Fortunately our Archbishops relate better these days. The Ethiopians will of course have to settle their own problems of leadership. We must pray for them; they are a devout people, a friendly people, and an upright and proud people.

And so to the SYRIAN Orthodox. Another Ancient Church, predating Islam by centuries, in a country now Islamic. This is a friendly Church with long links of trust with us. When I visited the Patriarch, Ignatius Zakka II in Damascus this last February, I was of course received with warmth, and great honour. I was taken to their seminary in the city, to meet the young, keen, prayerful young men there, not all aiming for the priesthood, but all destined to serve the Church in one capacity or another. Soon on the hills, some miles outside the city (though amongst the ubiquitous semi-suburban development of large owner-occupied houses which seems to afflict the whole world) a new seminary is due to open. I hope that our next dialogue with the Oriental Orthodox family may be allowed to take place there, in 1995/6. The Syrians are smaller in number. Though here in London, as elsewhere in the West, they too have a community. There is a seminary, a diocese, a monastery, in Hengelo, in Holland, whose Bishop I know well. And in New York there is a sizeable community whose Archbishop Samuel was the first to realise the possible significance of what are known as the Dead Sea Scrolls, and set out to recover them from the bedouin. He has a facsimile of them, which I had the privilege of seeing. These are the people who worship in Aramaic, the language of our Blessed Lord Himself. To hear the Lord's Prayer recited in Aramaic is a deeply moving experience. And it was in Istanbul that a few years ago a friend of mine overheard a member of the Syrian community, turning to his laggard of a daughter sitting in the back of a crowded bus, and said "Talitha, Cumi"! The Syrians of South India, whose first appearance in recorded history is when they sent a bishop to the council of Nicaea in 325, need to be acknowledged as a separate church within the Syrian and Oriental Orthodox Community. In Syria itself, now, the Syrian Orthodox live in an atmosphere of tolerance in what is of course an Islamic State, and are genuinely grateful for that climate. They, however, have a history of pain. Welcoming the Arab Conquest in the tenth century, as a liberation from "Byzantine" oppression, they did not find the peace they hoped for. In the Middle East, their people are scattered across the states bordering Syria itself: in Turkey; in the Lebanon; amongst the Kurds (and the fate of Syrian villagers in that area is a matter of great concern to the Patriarch). In the West, perhaps, they face more difficulty today from their name itself. Only a couple of years ago they ran into great difficulty in New York, when they sought planning permissions for a new Cathedral. The opposition seems to have been based on the simple fact that in

the minds of the New Yorkers, the word "Syrian" was then synonymous with "Terrorist".

This of course highlights the difficulty which these, our brethren, constantly experience in their relationships with the West. It is not only in New York that a blindness occurs. It is as if we westerners look at the Middle East, and simply look through the Christian presence there, as if it did not exist at all despite their long history there, despite their credal and existential brotherhood with us. It is a woeful, hurtful, and damaging ignorance. Let us look, if we may, at the Holy Land itself. At least that is a relatively safe description of it, holy to Christian and Muslim alike. The presence of Christians in that land is deep. Not only Oriental Orthodox, of course, but Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Protestant. Some of these, including ourselves, are Johnny-come-nineteenth-century-latelies, but others have been there from the beginning. How often do ignorantly inadequately unbriefed Christian pilgrims treat that Land and its sites as if contemporary Palestinian Christians did not exist. It can be, is deeply hurtful to them and damaging to us, too, in the false perceptions it creates. There has been a steady haemorrhage of Christians out of that land, over these recent years. On the whole, amongst the better educated, Christian youngsters could see no future for themselves there, and have voted with their feet into the Western World. I have heard it said that, at last year's rate, there would be none left in a quarter of a century. That of course will not happen, but we must hope that current more encouraging developments will lead to population growth again among the Christians. It would be sad indeed to have seen the Armenian quarter of Jerusalem becoming more and more denuded. My last visit to Jerusalem was now some years ago, in 1989, as part of a then British Council of Churches group to study the Intifada, as guests of the Middle Eastern Council of Churches. Others will have more recent memories and experiences, but I can claim one unique to me and Bishop Sam Pointz at least, which was the privilege of being spotted passing through the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, called over, robed as a Bishop, and included in a procession setting off to walk three times round the Tomb itself in a ceremony which happens so infrequently that it has probably not yet got round to its repetition. The Ethiopians, Copts, and Syrians of course all also have a place in, or on, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. And so this brings me to look with you, for a few moments, at our brethren of the ARMENIAN Church.

The Armenians are to a degree different from their brethren. Their history is different. Their absence at Chalcedon sounds depressingly familiar, for politically, they have so often been trapped in an enclave, as indeed they are now. Yet, they are more obviously European in their views, and their style. They are the only church worldwide, to my knowledge, whose bishops appear in public outside the liturgy dressed in a purple shirt, as I am tonight. Liturgically, they appear in a plethora of colours. Their Bishops wear Western style mitres, of a height and dignity which outdo even the Pope's. My one visit to Armenia, two years ago, took me, as a guest of His Holiness the Catholicos Vazgen, to Echmiadzin, the Vatican of that Church, just outside Yerevan, the Capital, to the seven-yearly blessing of the

holy oils, the holy muron, in an open air ceremony outside the Cathedral. Its deep roots in Armenian and Christian history as well as its links with the contemporary world were very evident. The oil, once blessed, was to be taken to the Armenian communities in Armenia, but also world-wide in extensive diaspora.

The experience of attending this ceremony was one of the most extraordinary and moving one that I have ever had. Not only was the whole of the Armenian Church at a lateral level represented there. All the Bishops worldwide appeared to have gathered together for this ceremony Festival, prior to taking the oil back to their own Dioceses for use throughout the next seven years. But also the Church was there, so to speak, vertically spanning back through time as well as space. The great vat of oil stood on a raised dais surrounded by the twelve Bishops representing the Apostles. Four of these Bishops in fact were the two catholici of Yerevan and Cilicia and the two Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople. They stood and stirred the vat of oil with what the Armenian Church claims to have been the spear with which Christ's side was pierced, no matter that there are several others in the world, and that didn't seem to matter that afternoon to me. St Gregory, The Illuminator, the great founder of the Armenian Church, their Augustine of Canterbury, if you like, was also present and his arm, now encased in gold, was also used to stir the pot.

The historical continuity was assured by the truth that a small quantity of oil preserved from seven years back had been added to the mixture as has always been so since the beginning, we are told. It was deeply moving historical and sociological act as well as a religious one binding the people together. There on the spectators' platform two or three seats in front of me, sat the President of the Armenian Republic and with him his Cabinet. The Government of a new nation which at the stage had only just declared its independence from the Soviet Union. Armenia has always been the Church of the people and even during the 50 or more years of Communist rule it has been sufficiently far away from the centre in Moscow to preserve a good deal of its independence. There was a tale I was told of Marxist building regulations preventing construction of new buildings, but for cultural reasons allowing the repair of old ones. This in Yerevan had led to the construction of at least one new building within the ancient shell of the old, thus preserving the letter but firmly contravening the spirit. Yet times have been hard and the Church had hung on in as the Russian and Georgian Church did. Now the President of the Republic is an ex-Professor of Theology at the Seminary at Echmiadzin. Now the Christian voice in government is heard much more clearly now the existence of the Armenian Church as the heartbeat of the people can be more fully recognised and applauded.

The history of Armenia is, of course, an horrendous one. Greater Armenia exists only now in the minds of historians, but Armenians suffered horrendous genocide from the Turks at the beginning of this century. It is a story which hardly bears reading about and could hardly be believed were it not for the evidence of the past. Hitler, it is said, used the world's indifference to the Turkish genocide as a

justification of his own holocaust. "Look at the Armenians and how quickly they were forgotten and how little the world did", he is said to have commented. "The world will soon forget what I am doing to the Jews." The state of Armenia now is small and landlocked and surrounded by hostile or otherwise preoccupied states. To the north, Georgia, fighting its own civil war; to the south Turkey with its long history of suspicion and misunderstanding and to the east, of course, Azerbaijan. There can be no doubt that the Armenians have received a bad Press on the west for the action which they have been taking and continue to take in Echmiadzin over the land island of Ngorno Karaback. I don't want to enter into political discussion here but I do want to point out that Nagorno Karaback has historically been home of Armenians for centuries. It was the Azerbaijanis who attempted to oust them before the Armenian Army moved in first to protect them and then to establish a land corridor between them and Armenia proper. Armenians feel as if they have caused to feel in the past that their story is misunderstood and their needs are not recognised. Be that as it may, a proud people have always taken their own defence into their own hands when they have had the power to do so.

The Armenians, as a Church, are of course scattered worldwide. They exist in diaspora widely in America, Australia and in this country. Archbishop Gizirian here in London at St Sarkis Church co-chairs the Anglican Oriental Orthodox dialogue with me, not only nationally but internationally. He is a friend and colleague and brother of mine. What is surprising perhaps is the fact that historically the Armenians have two national jurisdictions not one. The base of Cilicia is an historical accident. Its siting at Antelias in the Lebanon on the edge of Beirut is perhaps an historical misfortune, yet at my recent visit to His Holiness the Catholicos I was encouraged by the warmth of my welcome and by the evident vigour of the Church worldwide as can be seen in the existence of two thriving congregations of the two jurisdictions in New York. The presence of both Catholicos and both Patriarchs at the Blessing of the Holy Oils last year was the first time in living memory that they have so come together. We rejoice with them in the possibility and opportunity that this could happen.

You will have perhaps gathered by now that I regard all five of these Oriental Churches as my friends. I certainly regard them as our brothers and sisters in Christ and I believe that I have an opportunity and therefore a responsibility to make their presence better known amongst Anglicans so that we can pray with understanding and understand prayerfully. If they have weaknesses and I am sure that they do, I have not dwelt on them for it seems to me that one of the great pains of ecumenical encounter arises precisely when instead of comparing the best of the other with the worst of ourselves we do the reverse. We have flaws, we have beams in our own eyes. Let us see to them before we point at the speck in our brother's, if indeed it's there. Thank you for giving me the opportunity tonight to give this impressionistic and personal view of a family which contains millions of our fellow believers. May it nourish your prayers.

"PILGRIMAGE TO ORTHODOXY" – BUT OF WHAT KIND?

The decision of Anglican Churches to ordain women to their priesthood has not unexpectedly meant that a number of Anglicans, clergy and laymen, have had to 'consider their position' with the result that some have decided to remain where they are and continue what they see as their traditional witness though in difficult circumstances, whilst others have felt that they cannot sustain their present church allegiance because the ordination of women is perceived by them as apostasy. By no means all of the latter have taken or intend to take what is, perhaps, the easiest and most obvious step of submitting to the Roman Catholic Church. Those that have done so may, however, eventually find to their dismay that pressures in the Roman Communion to ordain women turn out to be in the long run as irresistible as they have proved to be within Anglicanism. After all, the Roman Church has the machinery to set in motion such an innovation very quickly – something not the case with Orthodoxy!

Some traditional Anglicans will no doubt find their way into existing 'continuing' Anglican Churches or create such bodies of their own, and this is fully understandable, though schism is always a matter for regret. Others will join one of the various canonical Orthodox jurisdictions and find their spiritual home within the beauty of the Byzantine rite and the timeless ethos of Orthodoxy, though this will or should prove for many of them to be a journey of considerable 'distance' from their Anglican past.

There are also a number in Britain who have been negotiating with the American Antiochian Metropolitanate to be received within that jurisdiction as a group, whilst retaining largely 'Anglo-Catholic' rites and practices such as Benediction of the Holy Sacrament – a distinctly un-Orthodox form of worship! This last option would appear to be the least tenable of all, and for a number of crucial reasons.

In truth, it is doubtful if Western-rite Orthodoxy is spiritually sustainable, except possible for a very short period of transition. Those seeking to adopt this position are faced with a choice of either using an existing Western rite slightly amended to meet some most basic and minimal Orthodox requirements, or to resurrect some ancient rite in use in the West before the time of the so-called "Great Schism" – something which has been termed "liturgical archaeology"! The obvious objection to either of these ploys is their lack of continuity with Orthodox spirituality, liturgy, and theology. In the former case, the use of a rite which has never been Orthodox in the past may suggest that those who would practise it are not really serious in their desire to become Orthodox, but are merely looking for some kind of Orthodox 'umbrella' under which they can carry on very much as before. This is NOT to become truly Orthodox! Those choosing the latter option ignore a thousand years of Orthodox worship and the theological influences upon it. Further, they are trying to revive the dead embers of a flame which may not have been fully Orthodox in the first place, since Western departure from Orthodoxy has its roots long before Schism. Both roads, in addition to ignoring the crucial concept of ecclesial continuity, imply a

rejection of Orthodoxy as it has continued throughout history to the present day: it is therefore right to enquire as to what sort of Orthodoxy such routes can possibly lead.

It must be appreciated that uniatism is a concept foreign to Orthodoxy. Indeed, one only has to look at the ecclesiastical situation as it exists in Europe today to see what poison uniatism has brought to the spiritual life of those nations, traditionally Orthodox, which have, at some time in the past, in part fallen victim to Vatican pressures backed up by military or civil force. The wishes of some Anglicans would appear to be to form what is in effect a uniate Church. Rome having clearly set its face against this as anything but a very temporary solution of their current problems, they seem to imagine that Orthodoxy, for which uniatism is anathema might come to a different conclusion.

Close examination of such Western-rite Orthodoxy as has existed in recent years would suggest that it is an unhappy path for Western Christians to take, involving all sorts of departures from strict Orthodox Tradition and, in the case of one group at least, failing to prevent the door being opened to totally unacceptable esoteric beliefs and practices. Uncanonical acts, such as multiple ordinations, have been introduced and attempts have been made to re-write Orthodox hymnography so as to accommodate those who wish to perpetuate Western and largely Protestant hymn-tunes. The use of Orthodox Christian names has been neglected. Again, we may well enquire as to what sort of Orthodoxy this is.

Proposals which involve the introduction of an Orthodox jurisdiction into a geographical area in which it has had no historical role will not only compound such problems as already exist as a result of a multiplicity of jurisdictions located in the same place, but could also be a cause of dissention between the historic Orthodox Churches, since they would inevitably involve further departure from canonical relationships between them. What is needed in the so-called "Orthodox diaspora" is a closer coming together of the different jurisdictions, which find themselves functioning side by side for historical reasons, and not the additional complication of further jurisdictions fishing in waters which are certainly not theirs.

It is important that any group claiming to be Orthodox has full canonical recognition from all the Patriarchates and autocephalous Orthodox Churches, in other words, that it is truly and fully a member of the worldwide Orthodox 'family'. If it does not have such recognition, it will be at best an anomaly and at worst outside Orthodoxy altogether. It is difficult to see how any Western-rite body, nominally under the jurisdiction of a patriarchate which is functioning outside its historic boundaries, will ever obtain such universal Orthodox recognition. The status of its members would be open to continuing challenge, its clergy would probably not be permitted to concelebrate with those of other jurisdictions, and its hierarchs might well not be invited to participate in local inter-Orthodox episcopal conferences. Those who are seeking to create this situation would do well to ask themselves precisely what sort of Orthodoxy they are attempting to set up and, more particularly into what sort of spiritual environment they are proposing to lead those

for whom they claim to be responsible pastorally. Is this not a journey into the wilderness rather than one into the safe haven of Orthodoxy?

In the last resort, one has to face the fact that the Orthodox Faith has been and is fully professed and proclaimed by those Churches which are of the Byzantine inheritance. Attempts to graft strange branches into this historic tree are unlikely to be successful and may well be wrong in principle, however well-intentioned. Those who seek to be Orthodox should not attempt to define Orthodoxy in their own terms. They will not find the spiritual regeneration for which they search unless they come to Orthodoxy as those who seek only the truth – no matter what the cost to themselves and no matter what preconceptions they may hold about their existing status within the Body of Christ. All spiritual progress demands sacrifice. Those who seek to minimize such sacrifice or avoid it altogether are still a long way from the Kingdom.

Columba Graham Flegg

THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX: OUR TRADITIONAL "WATCHMEN AT THE GATE" PART 2

by
Protopresbyter Dr Columba Graham Flegg

The outstanding political figure in the early days of the new state was not the King but the head of the Radical Party, Nikola Pasich. He was a bearded hero of magnificent presence, who had been a Serbian warrior during both the Balkan wars and the Great War of 1914–18, and was a firm believer in strong centralized government, a principle well in accord with those statesmen who had refashioned Europe at Versailles. Apart from a few interludes, Pasich's Radical Party was in power until the dissolution of the Yugoslav parliament in January 1929. The Croatians likewise had a strong leader, Stepan Radich of the Peasant Party, a party which became increasingly radical and intolerant as it gained a near-monopoly of popular support in Croatia. Pasich died in 1928, and Radich was assassinated in the Yugoslav parliament by a young Montenegrin deputy in June of that year. A political vacuum was thus created, which led to a state of chronic governmental paralysis. King Alexander, who was dedicated to the idea of Slav unity, suspended parliament and the constitution, proclaiming himself supreme ruler of the country; but he was a Serbian supreme ruler – even dictator – and, whilst this was resented even by some of the Serbs, it was anathema to the Croats who saw their only participation in government destroyed by the suspension of parliament. This animosity was seized upon by the Italians, who were at that time stirring up Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania against the Yugoslavia, whilst also pressing a claim for the Dalmatian coast. They enlisted the help of the Croat terrorist organization, the Ustashe, led by the fanatical fascist Ante Pavelich, who had been outlawed since 1929 and who, under Mussolini's patronage and also with support from funds provided by Admiral Horthy of Hungary, had been organizing terrorist activities against the Yugoslav state. Pavelich arranged for his agents to assassinate King Alexander and

the French Foreign Minister Barthou during the King's visit to Marseilles on 9th October 1934; for his part in this murder he was duly condemned to death at a trial held in Aix-en-Provence. In the following year, Mussolini with the blessing of the Roman Catholic Church, was to invade the Orthodox country of Abyssinia.

On the death of King Alexander, a nominal regency triumvirate was set up, though effective power lay with one particular member, Prince Paul, cousin of the late King. As a European war was again clearly impending, in order to solve Yugoslavia's internal problems he obtained an agreement between the Serbs and the Croats whereby the country was reorganized on a semi-national basis, Croatia being given the status of an semi-independent province. But, in order to appease the extreme Croat nationalists, its boundaries were extended so as to encompass many Serbs – of its populations of some four million, more than a quarter were Serbs. Thus, from the time of this embryonic period of Croatian independence, it was to include a large Serbian minority, a minority against which the Croats were to turn with horrific violence after the independent Croatian fascist Roman Catholic state – under none other than Pavelich – was established by Hitler in 1941. But this is to anticipate a little!

After the fall of France in 1940, Prince Paul – though sympathetic towards Britain especially – was forced to enter into negotiations with the Germans. His country was surrounded by Hitler's new German Empire and its allies – Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania – with Greece fighting for its life against a massive Italian invasion. Hitler, anxious to secure his Southern flank before his invasion of Russia, demanded that the Yugoslav economy should be harnessed to that of the Third Reich and that German troops and equipment should have freedom of movement throughout Yugoslavia, in return for which Yugoslavia was promised territory in the direction of Salonika. The Serbian people were outraged at the mere possibility of any such arrangement with the Germans – the spirit of Kosovo was aroused! On 27th March 1941, two days after the signing of a tripartite pact by Germany, Italy, and Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav army – then as later primarily Serbian – occupied police and governmental offices, and arrested Prince Paul and his Prime Minister, sending the former into exile in Greece, and declaring the young Peter as of age to be King. The entire regime was overthrown in an hour without a single loss of life! This new situation was not, however, at all to the liking of the Croat leader, Vladko Machek, who wished to do nothing to annoy the Germans, not least because the Fascist Ustashe were demonstrating openly in the streets calling for a total break with Serbia. After considerable hesitation and with reluctance Machek agreed to participate in the new Yugoslav government, provided that the negotiations with the Germans were reopened and that no action be taken to provoke them.

There was, however, a further problem which was to have disastrous military consequences. In view of the overwhelming superiority of the German army, it was clearly strategically desirable for the Yugoslav forces to concentrate defence in the mountainous regions of their country: Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. But the Croats and Slovenes not unnaturally demanded that the whole of

Yugoslavia must be defended – an obviously impossible task for the Yugoslav army! Nevertheless, for the sake of national unity, the army was, in fact, deployed along all the frontiers, that is, along the Albanian, Romanian, Hungarian, and Austrian borders, with the inevitable result once the Germans attacked. We should note particularly, that had the army not attempted to defend Croatia and Slovenia, the story might well have turned out differently: in essence the Serbs sacrificed themselves in a brave but hopeless attempt to defend the Croats and Slovenes.

In April of 1941 Hitler began his now expected assault, launching a vicious air attack – “Operation Punishment” – against Belgrade, which he declared should be “rubbed out of the map of Europe”. At the same time, thirty-three German army divisions attacked the thin lines of the Yugoslav defending forces. Accelerated by wholesale Croat defections from the Yugoslav army and quisling Ustashe militia operations conducted against its rear at the instigation of Pavelich, the main battle to defend Yugoslavia was lost in less than two weeks. King Peter fled to Britain. Hitler and Mussolini then divided Slovenia between themselves, and set up the independent Roman Catholic state of Croatia under Pavelich, substantially enlarging its territory at the expense of Serbia and Montenegro and also including Bosnia–Herzegovina within it – as a reward for the enthusiastic welcome given to the Nazis by the Croatian people. One of the first acts of this so-called (and for the first time) ‘independent’ Nazi satellite state of Croatia was to declare war on the Allies – and indeed Croatian forces were to fight with the German army at Stalingrad. The Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia was occupied by German forces in the North and Italian forces in the South (most of Dalmatia having been ceded by Pavelich to Italy); much of Vojvodina was annexed by Hungary, whilst Southern Serbia (which included many Macedonians) was divided between Bulgaria and Albania – the latter under Italian control since 1939. Serbia itself was occupied by Nazi forces. On 4th May 1941 Hitler declared that Yugoslavia no longer existed, and six days later the Serbian pro-democratic and royalist colonel, Drazha Mihailovich, with the support of the Serbian Church, hoisted the Yugoslav flag on the mountains of Ravna Gora in Serbia, declaring that the war against the Germans was to continue.

But what of the Yugoslav Communist Party and its leader, the Croat Josip Broz Tito? Not one word was uttered against the German invasion of his country when it occurred – indeed the Communists, like the Ustashe, did their best to sabotage the short-lived but heroic efforts of the Yugoslav army. We must remember that these were the days of the Hitler-Stalin pact! It was not until the invasion of the Soviet Union that Tito began to talk about a struggle against the occupying forces. At first, he was prepared to collaborate with Mihailovich, but at the same time insisting on retaining a separate military command. But such collaboration could not last: Mihailovich was intent on support for the Western Allies, the eventual defeat of Hitler and Mussolini, and the restoration of the Yugoslav democratic monarchy. Tito’s prime intention was the establishment of a Communist state, and, wherever his forces gained a foothold, he set up miniature Soviets, at the same time carrying out

mass executions of prominent anti-Communist citizens. Far from supporting Mihailovich’s forces when they attacked the Germans, Tito’s men would frequently harry their rear, so that it is not surprising that the successes of the royalist Serbs were not as extensive as Britain and her allies expected. The sad story of the Allies’ eventual desertion of Mihailovich in favour of Tito in the latter part of 1943 has now been made public with the accidental release of the relevant documents from security black-out – it is not a story of which Britain can be proud, still less is the action taken over the royalist Serbian forces which came under British control at the end of the war.

Although at first Communist news media in the West had reported Mihailovich’s successful local exploits against the Germans, acting on the instigation of Russia they began a campaign in the United States and Britain suggesting that he was collaborating with the Germans against Tito. Worse still, the Yugoslav Section of the British Special Operations Executive – the intelligence unit in Cairo responsible for collating information from Yugoslavia to pass to the British War Cabinet – came under control of one of the Communist “moles” who had penetrated the security services, Major James Klugmann, a former member of the group which had flourished at Cambridge University in the 1930s, which, as we now know, included Burgess, Maclean, Philby and Blunt. Indeed, there is considerable evidence to suggest not only that Klugmann may have been the notorious so-called “fifth man”, but also that he was the principal promoter and guiding light behind the Cambridge group. Klugmann saw to it that Churchill received a stream of disinformation about Yugoslavia, often attributing Mihailovich’s success to Tito and his forces. This misinformation appeared to confirm that it was the forces of Tito who were bravely fighting the Germans whilst Mihailovich and his Chetniks were dragging their feet and at times collaborating with the Germans and Italians. In fact, the truth was very much the reverse, as the testimony of the forty or so British and American officers attached to Mihailovich’s forces from October 1941 witnesses, as well as that of the many Allied airmen shot down over Yugoslavia who were hidden by Mihailovich’s men and later returned to their own forces by clandestine routes. But their testimony was ignored, for Communist sympathisers in MI6, in the Political Warfare Executive, and in the BBC (where Burgess headed the Special Talks Department) saw to it that only information favourable to Tito reached either the War Cabinet or the British public. Information injurious to Tito, such as his welcoming of many Ustashe into his partisans, was carefully suppressed. This conspiracy was aided by the fact that there were some so-called Chetnik forces, entirely separate from those under Mihailovich, who did collaborate with the Germans; in addition, from time to time, the forces of General Milan Nedich – the ‘Serbian Petain’ – were compelled to come to accommodations with those of the occupying power. Mihailovich was and remained a great patriot; his role in the war, however, was totally misrepresented, as the Americans were eventually to admit, when, two years after his judicial murder by the Communists in 1946, President Truman posthumously awarded him the Legion of Merit – an award kept secret until 1967. Today, a

monument in his memory is being erected in Minnesota on land donated by the Lutheran Church, though plans for one on federal land in Washington DC are still being opposed due to left-wing political pressure. As for Tito, it is not widely known that, following a German success against his headquarters at Dvvar in May 1944, he fled the country, going via Bari and then Vis to the Soviet Union and only returning with the advancing Russian army.

When we are confronted today with Serbian suggestions that there is another conspiracy of disinformation about Yugoslavia taking place, we should not shake our heads in immediate disbelief, but recall that precisely such a conspiracy was successful in the 1940s, and led to what one eminent historian has called "the greatest Allied blunder of World War II" – a blunder which was to sell a whole nation into subsequent Communist slavery. Indeed, the word "blunder" may perhaps be more properly expressed as "crime", for it was compounded by the forcible repatriation to certain death of the royalist forces in Allied hands, despite specific guarantees given to them that this would not be done and despite protests by the Americans. The details of this sorry affair – now known as "the Klagenfurt Conspiracy" – for which the political responsibility appears to lie with Harold Macmillan, have been exposed in recent years, despite strenuous attempts by the British authorities to suppress them, even to the extent of ministers deliberately misleading Parliament when awkward questions were asked in the House.

We must go a little back in time, however, to the position of the large Serbian Orthodox minority (of some 2,000,000) in the newly-proclaimed Roman Catholic state of Croatia. Pavelich, the Croatian leader was not only a fascist with a long history of terrorism but also a fanatical and racist Roman Catholic. One might have hoped that members of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy would have exercised a restraining influence on the Croatian government, but, sadly, the truth is that they did precisely the reverse. They saw the situation as presenting an opportunity for the elimination of the Orthodox schismatics (as they regarded them) and supported Pavelich in a horrific policy of violence, one element of which has been described as "convert or die". Indeed, Pavelich's Minister for Education and Cults – Mile Budak, a devout Roman Catholic – declared that his Government's plan for the Orthodox Serbs was: one third to be expelled, one third to be converted to Catholicism, and one third to be exterminated. "For the Serbs, Jews and Gypsies", he said, "we have three million bullets". It is reminiscent of the earlier words of the Turkish leader Abdul Hamid: "The way to get rid of the Armenian questions is to get rid of the Armenians" – words which preceded one of the worst genocides in history.

With the creation of the Croatian state, the Serbs were immediately deprived of their citizenship, all Serbian schools were closed, and the Cyrillic alphabet outlawed. Along with the Jews – of whom at least 30,000 were eventually exterminated together with 40,000 Romanies – the Serbs were forced to wear identifying armbands. But a major target in Croatia and throughout enslaved Yugoslavia was the Serbian Orthodox Church: of 21 bishops, 5 were murdered, 2 died of beatings, 2 died in internment, 2 were expelled from their dioceses,

Bishop Nikolai Velimirovich was imprisoned with Patriarch Gavriilo in Dachau concentration camp in Germany, and the Metropolitan of Dalmatia was imprisoned in Italy. The brutality meted out to the Orthodox hierarchy was appalling: for example, the 80-years old Metropolitan of Zagreb was tortured into madness, and the Bishop of Banjo Luka was shaved with a blunt knife so that the skin of his face was effectively flayed, his eyes were gouged out, his nose and ears were cut off, and fire was lit on his chest. One quarter of the priests were murdered, one half imprisoned; one quarter of the monasteries and a great many churches were destroyed. Of the Orthodox clergy in Croatia, one third were murdered, the remainder were expelled or fled.

Pavelich's henchmen were the Ustache, whose oath of membership included commitment to the extermination of Serbianism and the Orthodox Church, an oath administered in a ceremony which also included a blessing by Roman Catholic clergy – indeed, it was not unknown for the Croatian Cardinal Stepinac, who participated in the Ustashe Parliament, himself to bless Ustashe volunteers. Bishop Nikolai compared the atrocities committed against the Serbs at this time with those of the Spanish Inquisition, which burned more than 10,000 persons at the stake whilst more than 100,000 perished through torture and starvation – roughly the same number were killed at the notorious massacre of St Bartholomew in August 1572. But the truth is that more than seven times that number of Serbs were brutally murdered in Croatia in just four years – approaching one half of the total Serbian population of Croatia and more than a tenth of the total Serbian population of Yugoslavia – and, sadly, the complicity of the Roman Catholic Church has been proved beyond doubt. Some Roman Catholic clergy took an active part in the atrocities; the Franciscans, in particular, were quite prepared to carry guns and participate in the executions: gold stolen from the mouths, fingers and necks of murdered Serbs found its way into Franciscan coffers and at least one Franciscan became commander of one of the death camps. This is not, perhaps, surprising since it was well known that, if a Croatian family had a particularly unruly son, he was sent not into the army but into the Franciscan order! The bestial nature of the atrocities against the Serbs are almost beyond belief for this 20th century – indeed, there can be few instances throughout history of the horrors perpetrated against them. They were herded, along with Jews and Romanies, into concentration camps, most notably at Jasenovac – an area now covered by grassy fields under which are mass graves. Women were raped (often on Orthodox altars); men, women and children were tortured, dismembered alive, and their tongues, lips, and breasts or private parts cut off (often to be stuffed into their mouths); their eyes were gouged out, their skulls crushed; they were thrown into caves, over cliffs, and onto stakes; whole communities were slaughtered in mass graves which they had been forced to dig for themselves; Orthodox churches were razed to the ground or burnt down with their people locked inside; bishops were beaten and tortured (as already noted above); many clergy were decapitated, their severed heads publicly displayed and their unborn children cut out from the wombs of their wives and held

triumphantly aloft at knifepoint for the admiration of the Croatian spectators.

These atrocities were carried out in the name of creating a pure Catholic Croatian state: the specific claim was made that the Ustache principles were based upon the Roman Catholic faith. Thus, under the heading "Christ and Croatia", one newspaper stated: "Christ and the Ustache, Christ and Croatia, march together in history". Roman Catholic pupils and altars became the forum for the vicious Ustache racist propaganda. Indeed, one prominent Roman priest, Fr Ivan Raguz, repeatedly called for the killing of all Serbian children so that "not even the seeds of the beasts shall be left". A common clerical activity was to assemble all the children of a community and ask them to make the sign of the Cross: those who made it in the Orthodox manner were then shot – or worse. The French writer, Jean Hussard, records that many of the younger Catholic priests enlisted in the Ustache, gun in hand. Even the Roman Catholic nuns were happy to give the Nazi salute and to receive Ustache decorations.

The atrocities were often so horrific that the Gestapo were prompted to protest and to dissociate themselves from the Ustache activities. Along with the horrors there were the forced conversions of Serbs to Roman Catholicism; this followed a standard pattern – terrified communities were herded together before Roman priests whilst the Ustache stood around with their guns at the ready. Those who submitted were then allowed to work as labourers for the Croats, those who refused were immediately shot. Cardinal Stepinac gave Pavelich the place of honour at a Te Deum in his Cathedral, and declared his joy in the new Croatia, saying that he could "recognize the hand of God" in the Ustache activities on behalf of the Catholic Church and reporting triumphantly to the Pope on the forced conversions. Archbishop Sarich of Sarajevo composed verses in praise of Pavelich. The few Roman Catholic priests – mainly Slovenians, such as Fr Franja Zuzek – who protested against these conversions were tried and condemned to death.

There is no time to go into the horrendous details of any particular instance here – though much has been documented and many photographs exist – but it is worth quoting just one thing which typifies the whole situation: it is a report of an Italian official who visited Pavelich in his office. There was a wicker basket beside his desk, which appeared to be full of seafood. The visitor inquired of Pavelich if these were oysters from Dalmatia. "No", replied the Croatian Head of State with a smile, "they are a present from my loyal Ustache – 40 pounds of Serbian eyes". This was the condemned murderer regularly seen in the company of Archbishop Stepinac and the Papal Nuncio Marconi, and who, despite British Foreign Office protests, was twice received with formal ceremonial appropriate to a Head of State at the Vatican by Pius XII – once described by General de Gaulle as "the Nazi Pope"! As with Hitler's massacre of Jews, no adverse comment on Pavelich's reign of terror in Croatia was made by the Vatican. Far from it, Pius XII called him a "much maligned man", and, with the ending of the war, there came the opportunity for the Vatican to reward those who had been so fervent in cleansing the country of the hated schismatic Orthodox.

The Ustache war criminals, headed by Pavelich himself, were spirited away through Vatican channels to safe havens abroad – largely in South America – from which organized Ustache propaganda has been continued ever since. Thus, war criminal trials, in which the complicity of the Roman Church would inevitably have been made public before the eyes of the world, were avoided. The details of this have been well researched and published. Pavelich managed to disappear amongst the multitude of displaced persons in the British zone of Austria. He was spirited away in May 1946 to Italy, disguised as a priest, in vans carrying Roman Catholic church property, and once in Italy hidden in Vatican safe houses, moving about in cars with Vatican number plates to keep one jump ahead of the British and Americans seeking him as a war criminal. The details of this 'ratline' (as the Americans called it) were organized by a Fr Traganovich of the Croatian College of San Geronimo attached to the Vatican, with the approval of the Pontifical Commission and the active cooperation of the Assistant Secretary of State, Giovanni Martini (later Paul VI), who stated: "It is the policy of the Holy See that there should only be Catholics in Croatia". As Croatian representatives of the Red Cross, Traganovich was able to visit the prisoner-of-war camps, ostensibly to minister to prisoners, but actually to provide the Ustache with false identification papers to enable them to travel to Rome. They were eventually spirited away onto boats by another priest – Fr Drag-onovich – leaving Genoa for safe haven in Argentina, where they were employed by the dictator Peron (who had supplied 35,000 entry permits). As justification for this 'ratline', Fr Traganovic ominously stated: "We've got to build up a reserve on which we can draw in the future." "But surely", we may say, "all these Croatian atrocities are past history: it could never happen again" – couldn't it? Remember Fr Traganovich's words!

After the War, Tito kept federal Yugoslavia together through the Communist Party and the Federal army, though he gave considerable independence to Macedonia, creating a so-called independent Macedonian Orthodox Church in an attempt to weaken the Serbian Patriarchate. However, on Tito's death, the inevitable disintegration began, since the subsequent rotating Presidency proved largely ineffectual. With the ending of Communism in 1990, popular governments were elected in five out of the six Republics. In Serbia, the former Communist Slobodan Milosevich promised the Serbs peace and protection from their enemies, most notably the Albanian Moslems which Tito had encouraged to occupy the Kosovo area by force in the hope of weakening the Serbian Orthodox people and their Church by striking at their spiritual heart – a quarter-of-a-million Serbs, many of whom were butchered, were forced from their homes in the Kosovo area by the Albanian Muslims. The two opposition leaders (Vuk Draskovich of the Renewal Party and Vesna Pesich of the Reform Party – the former having considerable support in the cities and amongst the intelligentsia and the Orthodox Church) could not match the appeal of Milosevich, particularly in the country districts. Milosevich also had dreams of recreating Greater Serbia, thus recovering those areas which had been wrenched from the Serbs by Hitler and Tito – for the Serbs cannot possibly accept the present boundaries as just. In many ways, the present government of

Yugoslavia is the child of Albanian terror and Croatian racism and fascism.

In Croatia, the extreme nationalist, Franjo Tudjman (a former communist general), came to power with anti-Serbian policies not unlike those of Pavelich – indeed the Ustashe flag and insignia were quick to make their reappearance as Ustashe from North and South America returned to their homeland. Croatia and Slovenia unilaterally declared their independence in June 1991. But, once again, the principle that Croatia should be for Roman Catholic Croats only had already been heard. Some of Tudjman's first acts were to effect the dismissal of Serbian teachers from Zagreb University and the schools, to bring in discriminatory regulations against Serbian students and state employees, and to issue prohibitions against the Cyrillic alphabet. As with the Turks over the genocide of the Armenians, so the Croatians began to deny that the Serbian genocide of the last war had ever taken place. But much worse was soon to follow. The horrors of the Pavelich regime began to recur, though on a much smaller scale. It was not long before there were again attacks on Orthodox clergy, people, and property. Many individuals have been killed and their bodies mutilated; small communities have been massacred – for example, at Laslovo, Borovana-Naselja, and Siroka-Kula – some groups being herded together and burnt alive. Some 200 Orthodox churches, including two cathedrals, have been destroyed. It is not surprising that the largely Serbian national army, whose official role was to preserve the integrity of the Federation, moved in support of the Serbian irregulars who were attempting to defend the beleaguered Serbian minority in Croatia. In March 1992, Bosnia-Herzegovina also unilaterally declared its independence following a majority vote by its Croatian and Moslem populations, but totally against the wishes of its substantial Serbian minority. It was not long before conflict occurred there between the Serbs and the Muslims especially putting Sarajevo under siege – a situation complicated later by an invasion of forces from Croatia, which has territorial ambitions in Bosnia. With regard to Bosnia, it should be especially noted that in 1990 its President, Alija Izetbegovic, called for the conversion of the country into a fundamentalists Islamic state with all non-Islamic institutions outlawed.

However much we may disapprove of Milosevich's attempt to solve matters by force – and we must remember that the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy have condemned this and appealed for peace and the salvation of the nation – we must appreciate that, viewed from their own historical perspective, the Serbian people once again see themselves confronted by their two traditional adversaries, the Roman Catholics and the Muslims. The situation appeared even more menacing when the Roman Catholic governments of Germany and Austria rushed to recognize the independence of what is, to the Serbs, an illegal Croatian state (secretly armed by the Germans), and the Western Europeans (with UN backing) appointed Roman Catholics to investigate Yugoslavia's problems and arrange a cease fire. Germany's hasty public recognition of Croatia was designed to prevent a European mediating role being played for Yugoslavia as a whole. The European Community's subsequent recognition, following German and Austrian pressure, was against its own Badinter

report which had recommended non-recognition because of violations of human rights. Also for the Serbs, the possibility of Roman Catholic governments in Europe working with the Vatican to recreate the old Austro-Hungarian Catholic Empire, so hostile to the Orthodox, does not seem to them to be so far-fetched as it might appear to ourselves. The almost incredible one-sidedness of Western reporting (with only a few, though much to be welcomed, exceptions), and the many distortions of the facts with which the people of Britain and other Western countries are currently being brainwashed, would suggest to them that preparations for just such a conspiracy have already completed the important preliminary stage of infiltration into positions of powers within the press and broadcasting authorities. Certainly, the underlying reasons for so much biased reporting should be subject to serious independent investigation. It has been suggested also that the British Foreign office may not have proved to be immune to such infiltration processes.

Is there any possibility of solving this seemingly intransigent problem of Yugoslavia, involving as it does religious, ethnic, and cultural divisions? The Serbs believe fervently in the principle, "where there are Serbs, there is Serbia" – and the Croats similarly. This is one reason why the present state boundaries in what was Yugoslavia cannot be maintained – even Tito declared that they were for administrative convenience only. These boundaries must be redrawn in a way which recognizes both the injustices of the past and the genuine needs of the present, and it may be that there will have to be some UN-supervised movements of local populations to unravel the tangle of peoples who cannot live together in harmony – population mixtures are not compatible with nation-states! The policy of so-called 'ethnic cleansing' is an attempt to establish population distributions which are compatible with the nation-state principle. It is unfortunate that such a policy inevitably involves injustices and hardships. It must be remembered, however, that it was the Croatians who initiated it in the present situation and who carried it out to such horrific lengths during the 1940s. That the Bosnian Serbs have now followed suit is to be deplored, though it must be recognized that this cannot be laid directly at the door of the Milosevich government, which appears to have little control over the Serbs of Bosnia and none whatever over the various bands of unofficial militia (of all factions) against whom the major accusations of infringements of human rights have been levelled. Indeed, independent eye-witness accounts strongly contrast the situations in which the militia have behaved in an entirely unacceptable way with those involving the official Yugoslav forces. Further, it is abundantly clear that the Serbian Orthodox Church has formally deplored all acts of violence as well as distancing itself from the Milosevich government and its policies. To level accusations against Serbian Orthodox Christians, as some misguided persons have done, is a deplorable act of unjustified prejudice. That the whole Balkan problem needs urgent and sympathetic attention by the international community cannot be denied. There are many problem areas, any of which could give rise to a conflict which might eventually engulf the whole region: in Serbia itself there is Vojvodina with a Hungarian majority, Kosovo with an Albanian majority, and Sanjak with a Muslim majority. The

situation in Macedonia – a temporary creation of Tito – which has attempted to get its independence recognized and has formed an army, could involve Greece, Bulgaria, and Albania in conflict – it is Greece who has, for obvious historical reasons, so far effectively blocked that recognition. The Albanians want not only Kosovo but also the Western part of Macedonia, and Turkey could well be drawn in to assist the Muslims there. This is a dangerous ‘power-keg’ which must not be set alight, and the premature recognition of the independence of the Macedonian state could do precisely that.

Surely, it is now clear that the existing recognition of new states without appropriate national negotiations has been a much too hasty action on the part of the European powers. This has already shown up British double standards: whilst Mr Major’s government has recognized the unilateral declaration of sovereignty by states formerly part of the Yugoslav federation, it has at the same time refused national statehood to Scotland on the grounds that this is necessarily a matter for the other constituent and hence affected parts of the United Kingdom to consider. If this principle applies here, it should have been applied also to Yugoslavia. That all Yugoslavia is affected by the unilateral declarations of independence by the Croatians and others has been only too terribly demonstrated. Intervention in the situation by active Western forces is certainly not the answer, for it could never be seen by all to be ‘even-handed’ and it is to begin something which (in Lord Carrington’s own words) is a “totally unknown commitment”. History has proved again and again that the mountainous regions of Yugoslavia cannot be subdued – forcible intervention could well prove a European ‘Vietnam’. Even sanctions against Serbia are neither just nor will they prove practicable – Yugoslavia cannot be sealed off by land. Any attempt to disarm the Serbs by force must be unthinkable, since it would be in effect to hand them over to their enemies to be massacred. Only negotiation, hopefully with a changed Serbian government – one which can have the blessing of the Serbian Patriarch rather than his condemnation – and carried out on all sides with great patience and understanding in a true spirit of conciliation, can hope to succeed. Meanwhile, all that can reasonably be done to ameliorate the new refugee problem must be attempted. The whole tangled situation presents probably the most difficult task which the international community has ever faced, not least because there are those whose plans and intentions do not include a swift and just settlement.

Finally, we need to consider what all this history, present and past, holds for the prospects of reconciliation between the Churches of the East and the West – remembering particularly that any such reconciliation must include the willing cooperation of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Sadly, at the present time the situation does not look hopeful despite the goodwill which has been shown in recent years by a number of the Orthodox Churches. When we consider the revival of Roman Catholic Croatia and what it is now doing along with the present Vatican policy to support the Uniates in their acts of violence against Orthodox property and persons – regarding them as a spearhead against the Orthodox Churches in the various countries that were once behind the so-called Iron Curtain – together with the appointment of Roman Catholic ‘missionary’ bishops in traditionally

Orthodox countries, it is hard not to believe that there is not only the traditional ‘holy war’ being waged by Islam against Christianity, but also a ‘holy war’ being waged by one Christian Church against another. As so often has happened in the past, the Orthodox seem once again to be a target for Vatican expansionism, and it would appear that the Roman Catholics in the former Yugoslavia are not adverse to allying themselves with the Moslems for this purpose.

Historically, the Serbs have been the Christian watchmen at the gate to Islam – a role which they can no longer play, for Islam is now well established inside the ramparts of the Christian West. Again and again, however, they have also been the heroic guardians of the Orthodox Christianity which is so much a part of their history and culture: are we, whom they have traditionally regarded as their friends and allies and for whom they have made great sacrifices in the past, going to be led by the web of disinformation currently being propagated by our apparently compromised media to betray them yet again?

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[Note: A number of the above works include additional extensive references to primary and secondary sources.]

POSTSCRIPT

Since the completion of the above paper, reports have been received to the effect that forcible 'conversions' to Roman Catholicism of Orthodox children in Croatia are now once again taking place, most notably in the schools. More recently, reporting of events in Bosnia have shown how biased the Western media is against the Serbian people, especially in Germany. The Vance-Owen plan was clearly ill-advised: only a division of the 'country' on ethnic lines can provide the possibility of a stable future, and then only if each of the individual three areas (Serbian, Croat, and Moslem) are self-contiguous. Proposals to arm the Bosnian Moslem will only add fuel to the existing fire and must be resisted. The one-sided United Nations sanctions against Serbia are unjust and are the cause of the most serious hardship for the many refugees who have poured into Serbia itself, precisely people who are in need of U.N. humanitarian aid. Bombing of Serbian positions by N.A.T.O. aircraft would be to take sides in what is a civil war – something contrary to both U.N. and N.A.T.O. principles. The direct involvement of Russia within the terms of U.N. resolutions might do something towards restoring a more just balance of U.N. activity and give some confidence to the Serbs that, if they should make concessions, these would not be immediately exploited by their traditional enemies. Above all else, as this sad story continues to unfold, it is clear that politicians in the West and at the U.N. are in need of greatly improved briefing on the background to the present situation in Yugoslavia.

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Editor's Postscript

Since this article was written Greece's objections to the international recognition of Macedonia have proved to have been unavailing.

BOOK REVIEW

The Explanation by Blessed Theophylact, Archbishop of Ochrid and Bulgaria, of The Holy Gospel According to St Matthew. Translated from the original Greek. Chrysostom Press, House Springs, Missouri 63051 – 1992. Hard bound \$22.00 paper bound \$12.00

Writing in *The Arena* in 1983 Archimandrite Lazarus of the Russian Church Outside Russia's monastery of the Holy Trinity, Jordanville, New York State, quotes Bishop Ignaty Brianchaninov, a well-known spiritual director in 19th century Russia on this commentary on St Matthew's gospel: – "While reading the evangelists, the novice should also read *The Herald* (in Russian *Blagoviestnik* – the name given to the Slavonic and Russian translations of the Blessed Theophylact's commentary), that is, the explanation of the Gospel by Blessed Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria. The reading of *The Herald* is indispensable. It is an aid to the right understanding of the Gospel and consequently to the most exact practice of it. Moreover,

the rules of the Church require that Scripture should be understood as the holy Fathers explain it, and not at all arbitrarily. By being guided in our understanding of the Gospel by the explanation of the holy Fathers, we keep the tradition of the Holy Church"

The Explanation has never before been translated into any Western European language, yet Theophylact's works were known to Erasmus. It was his letters which were better known and which give the reader a vignette of life in the Byzantine Empire at the time when the Western Powers were waging their first Crusade. Blessed Theophylact was born sometime between 1050 and 1060 on the Greek island of Euboea, but soon moved to the Imperial Capital, Constantinople, where he became hierodeacon to the Ecumenical Patriarch serving His All Holiness at the Liturgy in the Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom. He combined his liturgical duties with the task of tutoring the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Comnenos's son-in-law, who was to become heir presumptive to the Imperial throne. Circa 1090 Theophylact was enthroned as Archbishop of Bulgaria at a period shortly after the dispute which had been one of the contributory factors to the Great Schism – namely the sphere of jurisdiction into which Bulgaria should fall – the Latin West or the Greek East. For this reason one is immediately interested in seeing how he interprets the Petrine Claims of Matthew 16 verses 18 and 19. No mention is made of Peter's successors in the so-called See of Peter, which strictly speaking is historically the See of SS. Peter and Paul, Antioch being the only historical See of Peter alone. Theophylact's commentary states "By 'keys' understand that which binds or looses transgressions, namely, penance or absolution; for those who, like Peter, have been deemed worthy of the grace of the episcopate, have authority to absolve or to bind. Even though the words '*I will give unto thee*' were spoken to Peter alone, yet they were given to all the apostles. Why? Because he said, '*Whosoever's sins ye remit, they are remitted*'. Also, the words '*I will give*' indicate a future time, namely, after the Resurrection." No mention is made here, thirty-six years after the separation of Constantinople and Rome, of the rôle of the Papacy, but only of the Universal Episcopate. There is not even an attack on the Roman Primacy, it is merely ignored completely. Compare this with the Gospel of St John Chapter 20 verse 23 where the Greek verb for *ye remit* is *aphete* i.e. the second person plural, which does not refer to one person but obviously to all the apostles to whom the power of the keys was given and upon whom, in Orthodox eyes, the Catholic Church was built. However, this work is not translated for controversy or, for that matter, academic use, but for *pious and thoughtful reading of the Holy Scriptures*. Having myself just completed a critical reading of St Matthew's Gospel it was refreshing to read a devotional study of this gospel from such a conservative source – Bishop Hilarion, Deputy Secretary of the synod of Bishops of the Russian Church Outside Russia and Hieromonk Ioanniky of the Skete of the Prophet Elijah on Mount Athos have been two of the guiding hands in preparing and revising the entire manuscript of Theophylact "*from theology to pronunciation*". This is the first volume translated from Theophylact's commentaries, but it is hoped that all his works on the New Testament will be eventually published, that is with the exception of the Book of the Revelation of St John the Divine, on which this extraordinary

eleventh century Archbishop of Bulgaria never seems to have worked. One is left amazed that a busy Primate could have found so much time to have commented on almost the whole of the corpus of the New Testament without the modern gadgetry of typing and printing to aid him, but only parchment and a quill pen.

A.T.J. Salter

NOTICE

The 1994-95 Directory of Orthodox Parishes and Clergy in the British Isles published by the Orthodox Fellowship of St John the Baptists is obtainable from Mrs R.B. Gesrand, 26 Denton Close, Botley, Oxon OX2 9BW at £3.35 post free per copy [£2.25 post free per copy for order of 6 or more] Prices for copies to be sent overseas on request.

1994 PILGRIMAGE TO ROMANIA

- Dates:** September 6th – 17th on flights in and out of Heathrow – Bucharest
- Places to visit:** Monasteries around Bucharest, Anglican Church (Among others) Metropolitan see of Tasi and Metropolitan Daniel Ciubotea Famous painted monasteries of Agapia, Voronet, Humor Monasteries of Putna, Neamt, etc Metropolitan see of Transylvania and Metropolitan Antonie Monasteries of Simbata (recently built and dedicated) and Cozia
- Cost:** (Provisional) Flights, full board accommodation in monasteries/guest houses, coach and visa: £500 per person. This is based on sharing twin bedded rooms, though in some of the monasteries the rooms will be singles, and this will become clearer once we book.

This will be a superb opportunity to see the changes in Romania and meet some of the Christians who are living through, and guiding, these changes.

**Apply to the General Secretary
Father Philip Warner
The Vicarage
St Mark's Road
Teddington
Middlesex TW11 9DE**

ANNUAL FESTIVAL

Saturday 1st October 1994

St Mary's, Bourne Street

London SW1

- 11.30 am Mass
Preacher: Father Andrew Midgley of the
Romanian Orthodox Church in London
- 2.00 pm Lecture and Annual General Meeting (in
the Undercroft)

(nearest Underground station: Sloane Square)

1994 CONSTANTINOPLE LECTURE

Tuesday 6th December at 6.00 pm

at St Dunstan-in-the-West

Fleet Street, London EC4

Lecturer: Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamum
followed by a reception

(nearest Underground stations: Chancery Lane and Temple)