

**E.C.N.L.**

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# The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association

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*Orthodox Patron:* The Œcumenical Patriarch  
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# Eastern Churches News Letter

## EDITORIAL

### *The Œcumenical Patriarch*

All Readers of this journal will know of the passing of His All Holiness the Œcumenical Patriarch Dimitrios on 2nd October 1991 and the unanimous election of Metropolitan Bartholomaios of Chalcedon (and formerly of Philadelphia) to succeed him. The funeral of Patriarch Dimitrios took place at the Cathedral Church of St George on 8th October in the presence of more than 2000 mourners, including Patriarchs of the various Orthodox Churches, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a delegation sent by Pope John Paul II. The late Patriarch was a man who had occupied the Œcumenical Throne since 1972 with great dignity and patience under often very difficult circumstances.

Our Orthodox President, Archbishop Gregorios, and delegations sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Pope (the latter unfeelingly including a Uniate) were present amongst the many church representatives as the new Œcumenical Patriarch – now the Orthodox Patron of this Association – was enthroned as the 270th successor to the Holy Apostle Andrew on 2nd November amidst echoing cries of "Axios". Patriarch Bartholomaios was born on the Island of Imvros on 29th February 1940. After completing his studies at the Theological School of Halki, he studied Canon Law in Rome and continued post-doctoral studies in Geneva and Munich. In 1972, after four years as a professor and Assistant Dean at Halki, he was appointed Director of the Patriarchal Office, while, at the same time, serving as Chairman of the Committee on Faith and Order of the W.C.C.. He faces not only the long-standing Turkish pressures against the Patriarchate but also the new pressures against the Orthodox Church currently being mounted by the Vatican through uniatism and other exploitation of the situation in Eastern Europe. His deep theological and spiritual knowledge, his moral stature, his linguistic skills (in Greek, Latin, English, French, German, Italian and Turkish), and his wide ecumenical experience promise much for his tenure of the Œcumenical Throne. We greet him as the new Orthodox *primus inter pares*, as our Orthodox Patron, and as a Christian leader upon whose actions and wise counsels much will depend in these difficult times in which we are now living.

### *A new editor for E.C.N.L.*

In this, my last editorial, I should like to welcome your Editor-elect, Neil Harrison, who will be taking over from me after this issue of *E.C.N.L.* He has been a member of the Association for a number of years and currently serves on the Executive Committee. I trust that he will have the support from the Committee, writers of articles, and



book reviewers which I have enjoyed for the last 12 years and for which I am most grateful, and that somehow he will find a way to encourage members of the Association to write more letters for publication. It is in this last matter that I have felt the greatest sense of failure, not least because I have always believed that lively correspondence pages are a good indication of a healthy journal. However, despite the occasional provocative editorial or other article and despite specific appeals for letters, the membership has seemed strangely passive when it comes to putting pen to paper, though there have been one or two somewhat rare exceptions. I find it hard to believe that virtually all the content of all the recent issues has met with the wholehearted agreement of readers. So, in asking you to support the new Editor, may I issue one final appeal for letters – on any topic covered by this issue or indeed on any topic of relevance to Anglican-Orthodox dialogue, of which surely there are many.

#### *The Vatican and Eastern Europe*

It would have been a heartening thing if, as I give up the editorship of this journal, I could have written of substantially improving East-West Church relations. Sadly, this is not the situation today: relations are soured by a number of issues, of which Roman Catholic proselytising in Eastern Europe, the often violent resurgence of unitiatism, and the murderous activities being enacted against our Serbian Orthodox brothers and sisters are three of the more important. In all of these, it is difficult not to see the hand of specific Vatican policy. It seems clear from the statements of the Russian Patriarch and other Orthodox leaders that the collapse of the Communist tyranny and the consequent relaxation of religious restrictions has been seized upon by the Roman Church (and some Protestant bodies) as an opportunity for making new inroads into areas which are clearly and by long tradition Orthodox. At the same time, the political and economic drawing together of Western European countries is being seen by the Vatican as an opportunity to claim that Roman Catholicism is, or should be, the 'official' religion of Europe. Indeed, there are those who are suggesting that elements in the present Serbian-Croatian situation provide evidence of a long-term strategy to revive the old Holy Roman Empire in a form based around Germany as chief wielder of the temporal economic 'sword', with the Papacy revitalising its claim to be the only body with the right to wield the spiritual sword. Far-fetched as this may seem to most of us today, a close study of the long history of European imperial aspirations should alert us to at least the possibility that some justification for such a view may well exist.

The whole concept of "unia" – the Roman Catholic "Trojan horse" – is unacceptable. It is a persistent barrier to ecumenical relations and contrary to the tradition of the Christian Church, for it is a calculated attempt to gain power by creating schism. Like all unacceptable principles, it leads to unacceptable actions. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that, amongst such countries as Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, the Uniates have mounted their attack against Orthodoxy, often resorting to the seizure of buildings by force (sometimes with the assistance of the

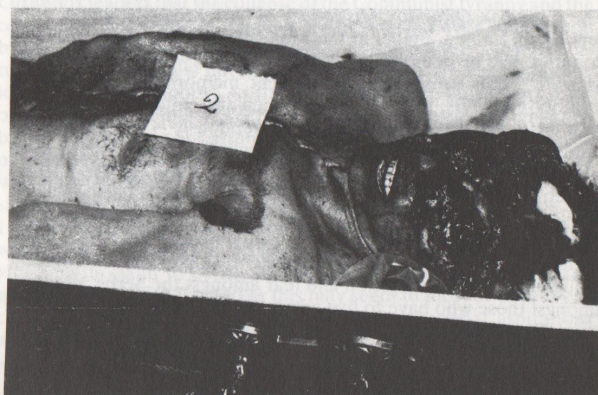
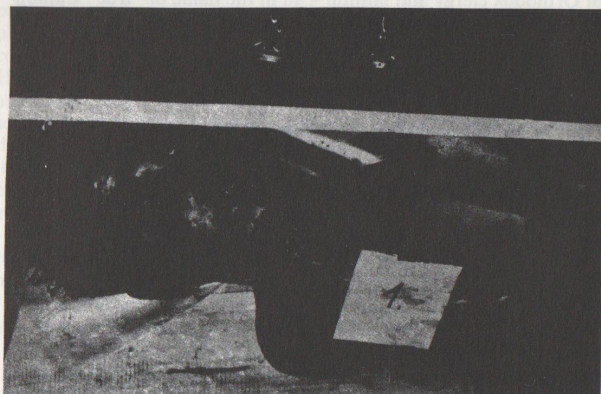
civil power), the desecration and even burning down of Orthodox places of worship, and physical attacks against and even the murder of Orthodox clergy and faithful – all in the name of "true" Catholicism. It is small wonder that the Orthodox Churches refused to send observers to the Synod of Bishops, convened in Rome by the Pope, to discuss "the re-evangelization of Europe". It is all too clear what "re-evangelization" means in such a context!

It is essential that political and religious problems should be seen in their proper historical context. If the history is neglected, any view taken of such problems becomes immediately superficial and hence unjust. If this is further compounded by a stream of biased media reporting and disinformation, all attempts at making a fair and just assessment are crippled from the start. Any Serbian Orthodox from Yugoslavia, for example, visiting Western European countries, including Great Britain, might be forgiven for coming to the conclusion that the majority of the media is run by a Croatian propaganda machine. There has been, however, at least one notable exception to this, namely the television programme (broadcast some few weeks ago) which revealed the significant part played by the Vatican in enabling Croatian war criminals to escape abroad to avoid arrest and trial after the 1939–45 World War. That one of the chief players in this unsavoury activity was later to become Pope is not without significance for any historian attempting to trace the aggressive attitude of the Vatican towards Orthodoxy in past years. The sad thing is that it is difficult not to perceive considerable evidence for the continuing of such policies today.

The *Canadian Orthodox Missionary* of November/December 1991 reports that a new chapel in the Monastery of All Saints of North America is to be dedicated to "The 700,000 New Serbian Orthodox Martyrs", thus providing a permanent memorial to the Serbian Orthodox martyrs, many of them women and children, killed along with Jews and Romanies – often horrendously – by the Roman Catholics and Ustashe in the 1940s. Many Serbs alive today have vivid memories, if in some cases only as children, of the horrors perpetrated in the Nazi Croatian puppet Roman Catholic State set up in 1941, a state which, as we should recall, declared war upon the Allies and was not a party to the eventual peace treaty. It is small wonder that the revival of an independent Roman Catholic Croatia should arouse great suspicion and fear amongst the Serbs, not least amongst those who have to live within the present Croatian boundaries. These boundaries, it must be appreciated, have no historical or moral justification – they were imposed by Hitler and later by the dictator Tito (a Croat), both of whom were determined to reduce the power and size of the historic Serbian Orthodox state, always a friend of the allied powers. It is a matter of considerable regret that Churchill, as a result of deliberately and maliciously distorted information from Communist infiltrators within British intelligence, was led to desert the Royalist Serbian resistance in December 1943 (see the notice of David Martin's book, p.48).

No settlement of the current dispute in Yugoslavia which accepts the present boundaries can be deemed a just one, nor is it right that Western European officials, or whatever eminence, given the task





Two of the many examples of current Croatian atrocities against the Serbian Orthodox: the mutilated bodies of Srdzan Cvetković (above) and Professor Mirko Lavandić (below), both tortured and murdered in Laslovo on 4th September 1991.

of seeking a settlement should be Roman Catholics, for such persons will not be perceived by the Serbs as being capable of an unbiased approach. The present Serbian fears have much to justify them, for they have already seen the dismissal of Serbian staff from Zagreb University, discrimination against Serbian students, destruction of a number of Orthodox Churches, attacks upon individual Serbian Orthodox Christians, sometimes the murder of whole families, and even mass killings in some towns and villages where mounds of bodies have been set ablaze by the Croats. All this is too well documented to be denied, as is also the evidence of assistance to the Croats from Germany – not only from individuals (especially the neo-Nazis), but also secretly via official sources. For example, the Serbians claim that their troops unearthed NATO supplies in the hands of the Croats which could only have come from the Germans. The orchestrated support in Europe for Croatia from largely Roman Catholic counties further convinces the Serbs that they are once more becoming victims of a conspiracy against the Orthodox of which the Vatican must be assumed to approve if indeed it is not a participator.

It is the religious rather than the political aspects of the present situation in Yugoslavia which should alert all those in the West who claim to be friends of Orthodoxy and are of specific concern to members of this Association. Unfortunately, however, the crucial decisions will be taken by politicians, and politicians in the main react only to public pressure. Such information as is available to them comes through intelligence channels, but who can be certain of its reliability? So long as public opinion in the West is directed by the present media disinformation, the Serbians will never get a fair hearing of their well-justified complaints. Recognition of the present Croatian state now involves the West in acceptance of a government which has adopted many of the same principles which governed the brutal policies directed against the Serbian Orthodox during World War II, principles which resulted in some of the worst atrocities of the War. The American *Diocesan Observer* claims that the persecutions of the Serbs in Croatia since 1990 is "all too reminiscent of the genocide of Serbs in [the] Croatia of 1941–1945". Some of the statements made by the Croatian President could easily have been uttered by the butchers of the 1940s.

There is, however, always some measure of truth on both sides of such international arguments, and many friends of the Serbs may feel some regret that use was made of the National Yugoslav Army in an attempt to impose a just solution by force. It is difficult, however, to see what other course was open in view of the urgency of the situation. What we in the West must do is to work and pray for a solution which is just to all – Serbian and Croatian alike. At the same time, we must be prepared to question what we are being fed by the media. Justice is inseparable from truth, thus first we must have access to the truth, and there seems to be strong evidence that we are not being presented with the truth, or at least not with the whole truth. How much credence to place in a conspiracy theory in which the Vatican is again alleged to be participating is extremely difficult to determine. It would help if the policies being pursued by Rome in the former Communist-governed Orthodox countries were less ag-



gressive. Just as the Northern Ireland question can never be solved with justice so long as the South has a claim to rule the North in its constitution, so the ecumenical problems of the Christian Church – of which the present difficulties in Yugoslavia are a part – can never be solved so long as the Papacy claims universal spiritual rule over the whole Christian Church.

[For a more extensive consideration of the present problems of Yugoslavia, see the Chairman's article, *Slavia Orthodoxa versus Slavia Romana*, p. 33.]

### CHAIRMAN'S NOTES

#### *Visit of Georgian Orthodox Seminarians to St. Dunstan-in-the-West:*

On 7th August last year Canon Ralph Mayland, the Canon Treasurer of York Minster, brought two remarkable young men to see us at St Dunstan's. They were Levan Abashidze and Nodar Ladaria, both seminarians at Tblisi, where once Stalin had studied theology. These two students had been full lieutenants in the Red Army, and both were atomic physicists and speak seven languages! One would, I thought, be hard pushed to find any theological institute in Western Europe or the U.S.A. with those sort of academic qualifications amongst its alumni. One of them is hoping to be ordained to the priesthood of his Church, and the other will pursue a career as a lay theologian. Both Levan and Nodar are eager to form links with Western universities and theological and other colleges, and to this end there has been formed in Georgia a group called *Alaverdi* which seeks to bring Georgia out of its seventy years isolation. This word summarizes the unique combination of Eastern and Western culture found in Georgia. It is a word used in Georgian toasts by the toast master (*Tamada*) to invite other guests to share their thoughts and feelings about the subject being toasted, and so carries with it the idea of mutual exchange and cooperation. In order to accomplish the aims of *Alaverdi* the Georgians have proposed the following programmes:

1. To carefully select and help send undergraduate Georgian scholars to study at universities in other countries, the selection of such students depending on their demonstration of academic excellence and their linguistic ability.
2. To help send post-graduate scholars and researchers to foreign universities. This would include both those who wish to study fields of interest common to universities world-wide (the Sciences and Humanities), and also experts in Georgian language and culture, who are able to lecture on these subjects.
3. To act as sponsors for the foreign students and scholars who come to Georgia, serving them in whatever way possible to help them pursue their studies and research there.

In order to fulfil these programmes the Georgian academics wish to develop the contacts which already exist between Georgian scholars

and institutions and those of other countries. Through this development it is hoped to initiate further exchanges and also find the financial resources necessary for Georgian scholars to study abroad.

Isolated for so many years from other cultures and ideologies and now flung dramatically onto the world stage, the Georgians hope that *Alaverdi* will enable their scholars to interact with those in the West so that there may be a mutual sharing of cultures and of academic pursuits.

Those of us who had planned to continue our pilgrimage to Georgia and Armenia in 1988, but could travel no further than Moscow, Kiev and St Petersburg, were very disappointed at not being able to visit this, the most ancient Christian Nation, but further feelers have been put out in that direction and His Eminence Bishop Vaktang Akhukdianj of the Catholicate of Georgia is eager that there should be a pilgrimage by Association members and friends to his Church, so that, when the political situation has cooled and life returns to normal, it is hoped to make that postponed pilgrimage to Tblisi.

#### *Azerbaijan:*

Harassment of the Armenian Christians still continues in Azerbaijan's enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, and, according to a report on the findings of Christian Solidarity International by Baroness Cox reported in the *Church Times* on 31st January 1992, it is feared that missiles of the Grad type Bn 21 may be used again on the Armenian population, one of the Armenian towns, Shaumyanovsk, having already been bombed. Following John Major's speech to the Security Council at the end of January on the intervention of U.N. troops before bloodshed actually occurs on a large scale, there may be some hope that the Armenians may not be annihilated.

#### *Visit of the Patriarch of Moscow:*

His Holiness Patriarch Alexis II of Moscow and All the Russias arrived in the United Kingdom in the last week of October 1991. His official visit began with the celebration of the Pontifical Liturgy at the Russian Patriarchal Cathedral of The Assumption and All Saints, Ennismore Gardens, Knightsbridge. During his visit he was received in audience at Buckingham Palace by Her Majesty the Queen, and was entertained to dinner by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Nikaeon Club at the Saville Club in Brook Street. The Archbishop also gave a cocktail party at Lambeth Palace for the Patriarch and his suite and the foreign clergy resident in London. His Holiness attended Evensong in Westminster Abbey and was greeted by the choir singing *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* before processing in his mantija (train) with the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Sacarium. Following Evensong a procession was formed to the Tomb of St Edward the Confessor, where incense was offered and prayers were said at the shrine.

Apart from the liturgical functions and receptions, His Holiness travelled to Oxford to learn something of the expertise of the Church of England in the field of Pastoral Ministry in schools, hospitals, and prisons – areas where the Russian Church in the Soviet Union had been forbidden to work for almost seventy years.



*The New Ecumenical Patriarch:*

In the summer in which the Turks invaded Cyprus, I was doing the locum in Constantinople for Father John Baccus, the Chaplain to the British Consulate General and Apocrisarios to His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch. On visits to the Phanar to greet Patriarch Demetrios, I discovered that His All Holiness was very amused that a priest with the surname "Baccus" should come from the Diocese of Olympia; this combination of Greek mythology and American Anglicanism struck him as extremely comical.

It was on visits to the Patriarchate that I got to know the then Metropolitan of Philadelphia, Bartholomew. He was the Foreign Secretary of the Patriarchate and spoke English and other languages very fluently. I lived in isolation, surrounded by barbed-wire, in the Anglican Rectory at Christ Church, the Crimean Memorial Church, where ironically the Anglicans had given hospitality to the Russian hierarchy who had fled the Revolution and were later to establish a Synod at Sremsky-Karlovtsy in Serbia. The Patriarch's suite was similarly isolated, but without the barbed-wire, in the Phanar. Christians in The City tend to hang together. I remember I had only been in the Rectory five minutes before the telephone rang and a voice said something in Turkish which I thought was "Hello"; so I said the same word cheerfully back again, not knowing until a member of the Consulate staff told me that it meant "infidel".

In these somewhat hostile surroundings it was a pleasure to entertain Metropolitan Bartholomew and Bishop Joachim to dinner on Anglican territory, and a pleasure to escort them to the docks to get the ferry across the Bosphoros, although less of a pleasure to walk back through the narrow streets in the dark on my own. It was here that I got to know the prelate who would later succeed Patriarch Demetrios on the Ecumenical Throne. The new Patriarch, who has retained his name Bartholomew, is a Turkish citizen, has served his military service in the Turkish Army, and speaks of "my country" meaning Turkey, for he has never lived abroad in foreign dioceses of the Great Church as did Patriarch Athenagoras. He is extremely well-informed ecumenically and is well-known at Lambeth and, indeed, in Rome. He is a relatively young man, humorous, highly intelligent, and extremely well-educated, and whilst Orthodox to his finger-tips, is on friendly terms with the Western Churches and with the Uniates. It is probably not known that the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) actually share their church in Constantinople with the Uniate Syrians, Uniatism in Turkey not having such strong political overtones as it has tended to have in Eastern Europe.

Because of His All Holiness' youth and his wide knowledge of other Churches he is likely to have a long pontificate which could bear much fruit not only for his Church but for all of Christendom. We wish Patriarch Bartholomew a long and peaceful reign and will continue to commemorate him in our Anglican diptychs along with the names of our own bishops. "Many Years!"

*Catholikos Karekin II of The Great House of Cilicia of The Armenians:*

It is not generally known that there are two Catholicoi of the Armenian Church – the Supreme Catholicos, Vazgen I, who has his

seat at Etchmiadzin in what was Soviet Armenia, and the Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, Karekin II, who is seated at Antelias in the Lebanon. Each has a certain autonomy and may be looked upon as a sort of Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama in Buddhist terms, or Archbishop of Canterbury and Archbishop of York in Anglican terms. Catholicos Karekin II is well-known to many of our members and some will have met him when he attended Solemn Evensong some years ago at St Dunstan-in-the-West. He has been a member of the Association for many years. Recently he sent me a copy of his latest book *In Search of Spiritual Life* (An Armenian Christian Miscellany). It is published in Antelias and consists of a series of sermon-type messages addressed to his flock in the Cilician Catholicate at Christmas, and concentrates on a particular theme within the mystery of the Incarnation. The second part of the book is composed of such pieces as lack unity of theme and method of treatment. They were not, as the author states, designed for a book in the sense of elaborations on a particular subject, but could best be described as the sub-title of the book "An Armenian-Christian Miscellany" – a kind of *Stromateis* to use a patristic term. The Catholicos writes that he has been fascinated for most of his life by the spirit and character of the Patristic literature in both the general Christian tradition and in the Armenian Christian literary heritage. He puts it thus:

Being mostly engaged in pastoral responsibilities, as Diocesan bishop and now as Catholicos, I discovered the special attraction of the literary legacy of the Church Fathers. What struck me very distinctively in this vast world of literary production was the fact that, generally speaking, the Church Fathers interpreted the Gospel message in the context of the life of the people of God. They addressed themselves to the particular situations of the people entrusted to their pastoral care. They faced the problems that arose in the concrete life of their people, who confronted conditions related to their environment of Judaic background, pagan religious cults, Graeco-Roman philosophies, popular beliefs and customs, social and moral behaviour, cultural traditions, manners and habits of life, gnostic and other heretical teachings, the Roman Empire's policies, inner dissensions and quarrels, etc.. They did not elaborate or develop a particular doctrine with a speculative, scholarly or scientific approach and methodology, as later, particularly in the Scholastic age, people began to engage themselves often with such great pride and sense of academic excellence.

Books such as the "Stromateis" of Clement of Alexandria and the Homilies of St Gregory the Illuminator (nowadays ascribed to St Mesrob Mashtots – 5th century) acquired a very special significance for me in this respect. Their writings provided me with such occasions of reading where I began to see even more clearly that their knowledge and study of the Bible were related to their concern for special needs of the people. Knowledge and pastoralia, science and service, learning and teaching were thus inextricably interwoven.

A. T. J. Salter



## OBITUARIES

### *George Otto Simms, Formerly Archbishop of Armagh*

In the early summer of 1955 I was at an Army ordinands' conference at the Royal Army Chaplains' Department headquarters at Bagshot Park, Surrey, when the Warden, the Revd Ivan Neil, announced one evening after Evensong that "Tomorrow will arrive the young and attractive Bishop of Cork". Sure enough the next morning, just after breakfast, the Irish Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross walked into the Common Room. He was good-looking but not in the Hollywood *matinée* idol fashion; his attractiveness lay in his personality, for he was a gentle and pleasant man with a concern for all those around him. He was then forty-five. We ordinands spent three days with him and I was not to meet him again for thirty-four years when he had reached the age of seventy-nine and had retired with his wife, Mercy, to a suburb of Dublin from where he led that unforgettable pilgrimage for the Association around the sacred sites of his beloved Ireland. His intimacy with those holy places and the Saints who had inhabited them was equal to none, whilst his knowledge of the Book of Kells made him an international authority on that manuscript.

He had built up over the years an enormous number of ecumenical contacts. One will never forget that wherever we went with him in Eire, whether it was to the great Cistercian Monastery or to remote pubs and hostels, he would be greeted by the Roman Catholic Community as if he were one of their own prelates; even the waitresses in the hotel at Birr knew him and did not hesitate to make themselves known to him. He was at home with every sort and every class of person, even with the formidable Lord Fisher of Lambeth! If there needed diplomacy between Lambeth palace and Trent Rectory, Archbishop Michael Ramsey would telephone George Armagh, when Lord Fisher had been writing to the papers about the Anglican-Methodist reunion scheme and other matters of a controversial nature, and say, "George would you go and pour oil on the Baron?" There was probably no one in the Anglican Communion who could have done it more gently and firmly than George Simms. To The Reverend Dr Ian Paisley, Moderator of the Free Presbyterian Church in Northern Ireland, he was "George Otto Simms", which is probably as near to a joke that that august doctor of the Church ever came to making. But it showed the affection in which George Simms was held, in that even Ian Paisley could be skittish with him!

George Simms, like many of his fellow churchmen in the Church of Ireland, was not an Evangelical or for that matter a Low Churchman. He had been an assistant priest at St Bartholomew's, Dublin, which was of a High Church tradition; he had also been a chaplain at Lincoln Theological College, which was firmly Tractarian. He, like Archbishop Gregg, represented as Gregg once put it "The Cistercian Tradition". I don't think either of them wore such Anglo-Saxon innovations as the mitre. Both were conscious of the great antiquity of their Church and rather regarded the occupants of St Augustine's throne as somewhat arrivistes in these Islands. He was probably happier in the South as Archbishop of Dublin, but he was able as

Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland to pour the same sort of mollifying oil on that troubled province as he had done at Trent Rectory. To his widow, Mercy, we offer our prayers and sympathy at his passing.

"A Great Priest, who in his days pleased God".

### *David Terence Williams, Priest*

It was Dom Cuthbert Fearon, O.S.B., the former Assistant General Secretary of the Association, who first introduced me to David Williams in 1957 when we were staying at Nashdom Abbey and Dom Cuthbert was guest-master. David was then a theological student at St Stephen's House and about to be ordained into the Church in Wales, having been brought up at the church where Archimandrite Barnabas was then an assistant priest many years ago. David had known those great Welsh scholar-priests the Harris brothers. Canon Harris had tutored him at Lampeter and Silas had also had a hand in his education in that David had read most of his writings, which were of the most ultra Anglican papalist type. Silas had been a friend of Fr Fynes-Clinton, and with others they had formed the Committee for Promoting Catholic Unity with the Holy See, which in 1933 caused a schism in the ranks of this Association. Despite being a suitable candidate for the sort of curacy which offered in the Clerical Vacancies column of the *Church Times* "Western Use" and "full Catholic privileges", David had a great affection for and interest in the Eastern Churches; he and his mother, Sylvia, came with us on our pilgrimage to the religious communities and the Patriarchate of Romania, the first foreign pilgrimage since World War II undertaken by the Association. It was whilst descending a mountain in the Carpathian range in Transylvania that David first gave signs of having very high blood pressure, and he was on the verge of collapse when we reached Pietra Neamt. He survived the attack and returned to London, where he combined a full teaching post in Hackney with being an honorary curate at my church of St Silas's, Pentonville. Here he put forward all sorts of ideas for young people and helped to bring a number into the worshipping life of the Church. His extreme Anglican papalism was combined with a burning desire to help the under-dog, and for a time he drifted into Marxism and gave up his ministry, ill health also making it impossible for him to celebrate Mass. He was struck down by a stroke which affected his legs, but he struggled back to teaching until a second and a third stroke rendered him incapable, and he had to enter a nursing home near his mother in Swansea. His life had come full circle, for in the church where he had known Archimandrite Barnabas and Fr Kenneth Gillingham, he returned again to the Sacraments until death came to him as a friend. To his mother, Sylvia, we offer our sympathy at the loss of a son in the prime of his life.

"Thou art a Priest forever ..."

### *Harold Mellish*

Harold belonged to the Anglo-Catholic Congress hey-day of the Catholic Revival in the Church of England. As a devout layman he



seemed to have known all the great figures of what he called "the Movement" – Viscount Halifax, Colonial Bishops dressed in fuschia, the great Frank Weston himself. He hoarded the newspapers of that period along with our predecessor periodical *The Christian East*. Harold was a 'Churchy' person and he would reminisce for hours about the battles of the past, and on first meeting him one would note his eyes light up with glee as one thought he was going to tell one that he had taken part in the last British cavalry charge at Omdurman in 1898, or had gone over the top at Gallipoli or the Somme; but Harold's battle stories would be about how "old Fr So-and-So" had gone over the top by introducing incense in some remote country parish and what mayhem it had caused between the Rectory and the Grange. He had been one of the earliest pilgrims to Walsingham and seemed to have attended almost all the Association's festivals since the outbreak of the Great War. Underneath his sacristy-mindedness, piety, and attention to detail at services of the Guild of the Servants of the Sanctuary, he was very much a practical Christian full of good works, shopping when almost blind for "my old ladies", who seemed always to be about half a century younger than he; but in his later years he only saw a blurr, so he probably thought them much older than himself. In his younger days he had been a keen scout and would often come up to Shropshire to camp in the grounds of Pitchford Hall. He was a great friend of the owner, Lady Grant, who had forsaken the largest half-timbered mansion in the Kingdom to live up a tree on account of her rheumatism. This style life-style was not as uncomfortable as it sounded as in the tree was a very large doll's house in which Queen Victoria had played as a child. Harold knew lots of eccentrics and became more eccentric himself as he grew older. Shropshire offered them in abundance, and I remember the last time I visited Pitchford there was a notice on the gate, warning "Please close the gate otherwise the Wallabies will get out". The small kangaroos one sometimes encounters in the Peak District of Derbyshire probably originate from a left-open gate in the middle of Salop. It was the sort of P.G. Wodehouse world that Harold enjoyed unashamedly. But his eccentricities never made him self-centred.

Harold would travel miles to support a priest who was short of servers, or of an entire congregation for that matter. He belonged to what is rather unkindly called in London's Anglican Catholic circles "Rent-a-Crowd", i.e. that group of Anglicans who attend Patronal Festivals throughout the Diocese, and then get sneered at by those clergy who have advertised their patronal festivals inviting them to attend. Harold did not mind being included in that devout group; in fact, he was almost their enrolling member, if not their founder. He found the Puritan reforms of Vatican II really more than he could cope with, and he was always pleased to attend Orthodox, Oriental, or Uniate Liturgies, where the hands of liturgical reformers had not destroyed what for him was "the numinous". He was as at home with the Copts or the Ethiopians as he was at Choral Evensong in Westminster Abbey, although, as his sight failed him, he came to attend churches where smells predominated and bells rang. As an ecumenist of the old school, he came to learn that the smelly churches of the Anglican and Latin West became fewer, hence his gravitation to the Orthodox and Orientals, although he remained to his death a

devout Anglican. His passing removes another old landmark from the Anglican Catholic scene.

"The zeal of thine house has eaten me up ..."

A. T. J. Salter

### THE SAINT-SERGE ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, PARIS – A CRY FOR HELP

The Academy of Orthodox Theology, Saint-Serge, in Paris (Ecumenical Patriarchate) has been a unique centre of teaching and research for Orthodox theology in the Russian tradition in Western Europe since its founding in 1924. Today it faces the most serious crisis of its existence – the prospect of imminent closure in June of this year unless some financial assistance is found. What follows is taken from a letter written by one of the British students there, and its content is endorsed by Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Great Britain, Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh, and Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia.

On 8th February 1991 Fr Alexei Kniazev died, having been Rector of Saint Sergius since 1965. It was my privilege to attend a conference of students there shortly before his death, and to have been examined by him on several occasions as part of the correspondence course organised by the Institute: the Formation Théologique par Correspondance – the "F.T.C.". On the occasion of the F.T.C. conference, Fr Alexei was host on behalf of the Institute to the Hegumen of a Greek monastery. Some two hundred students, teachers, and visitors gathered together in the refectory after the examinations. We listened to Fr Alexei address our guest in unforgettable words: "The life of monastics is prayer; prayer is the heart of the church – Father, priez pour nous! Again and again, pray for us." These were for me Fr Kniazev's last words. I can say that all of his heart was in that appeal. It was not a pious convention; it was not a simple act of courtesy; it was a desperate cry for help from one brother to another. That cry continues. During the last years of Fr Alexei's life, the Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe Saint-Serge, 93 rue de crimée, was struggling to maintain its own life: the life of its parish church, its role as Orthodox Academy for the whole of Western Europe and beyond, its witness to the profound vitality of the church in exile – simply, its own radiant life in Christ. Somehow we have continued.

At the end of last year Archbishop Georges (Wagner) in his capacity as present Rector of the Academy and Dr Constantin Andronikov as Dean issued an appeal to the students stating that Saint-Serge would have to finally close at the end of the current academic year unless immediate financial assistance was forthcoming. That is now the blunt reality: not a curtailment of its activities, not a reduction in overheads, these and other similar measures have already been fully undertaken. Teachers, internationally loved and respected throughout the interdenominational Christian world, have been working for Saint-Serge voluntarily for years: Fr Boris Bobrinskoy (Dogmatic Theology), Dr Oliver Clément (Church History), Fr Nicholas Koulomzin (New Testament), Father Fyrrilas (Patrology), and



many, many others. This year St Sergius stands at the threshold of death. If the Academy is to die within the will of God then, in tears and repentance, so be it! We give thanks for the wonders of the past and for the inconceivable riches of the future, whatever may come to pass. But if Saint-Serge should be dissolved unjustifiably through indolence, through our lack of love, through mere lack of communication, then how shall we stand before Christ?

Words fail me to convey the riches of the past. I can recommend the work of Donald Lowrie, *St Sergius in Paris*, S.P.C.K. 1954, and Fr Kniazev's own *De L'Academie d'Autrefois au Rayonnement d'Aujourd'hui*, Editions Beauchesne, Paris, 1974. I can point out that Fr Sergius Bulgakov was Dean of the Academy until his death in 1944, that the responsibility for translating his works into French was personally given to Dr C. Andrenokov, the present Dean, and that this priceless work is ongoing with undiminished vigour. The tradition is unbroken.

In its earliest years in the 1920s the Academy became the focal point for Russian Orthodox theology in exile. It was home for V.V. Zenkovsky, Georges Florovsky, Lev Zander, Nicolai Arseniev, and others. Its professors, in exile from the Revolution, responded to Metropolitan Evlogii's call. From Berlin, Prague, Sofia, Belgrade they came: Kartachov, Struve, Karsavin, N.N. Gloubokovsky ... After 1926 the plain truth is that much, very much, of the treasures of Russian Orthodoxy and spiritual life had been preserved from disarray. By the beginning of the 1930s the professional staff included:

Georges Florovsky	(Patrology)
G.P. Fedotov	(Hagiology and the Western Church)
Lev Zander	(Logic and Comparative Theology)
N.N. Arseniev	(Canon Law)
Cyprian Kern	(Pastoral Theology and Greek)
M.M. Ossorgin	(Rubrics)

The small haven on the hill in the rue de crimée was also an unparalleled opportunity for new life, new directions, and ecumenical dialogue. From celebrating the Holy Liturgy beneath the Ikon of the Mother of God in the Parish Church of Saint-Serge, Fr Bulgakov travelled to Lausanne in 1927 for the W.C.C. conference on Faith and Order. He spoke on August 6th, in the Aula of the University with the Archbishop of Upsala presiding, in the following words:

The Church is the fulness of the divine life: we are speaking of something which, like the gospel, falls within that fulness and is a part of it. The road to unity is the way along which we progress together from a minimum to a maximum, towards an ever-increasing appropriation of the fulness of life in God ...

Holiness is the goal and essence of the Church's life: the holiness of the manhood of Christ, actualised in the communion of saints. But we cannot separate the humanity of our

Lord from that of His mother, the unspotted Theotokos. She is the head of mankind in the Church; Mother and Bride of the Lamb, she is joined with all saints and angels in the worship and life of the Church. Others may not feel drawn, as I do, to name her in prayer. Yet, as we draw together towards doctrinal reunion, it may be that we are coming potentially nearer even in this regard.

The Church, again, has a rich and growing treasure of liturgical worship, a treasure which the Orthodox Church has guarded faithfully as an inspired well-spring of faith. She desires a great Christian unity in worship, but hopes for it not so much through the common acceptance of liturgical forms as through the energy of love, drawn out by the irresistible attraction of spiritual beauty ...

... the Church looks forward to new tasks and not only backwards towards tradition; its task is the consecration of all life, and the fulfilment of the 'earnest expectation of the created world'. The Spirit blows where it lists: it is for us to be ready to follow His guidance. We are now only at our beginning; we must be ready for new roads, for the opening up of new horizons. Let us invoke our Guide: Come, O Paraclete, and dwell in us!

*Proceedings of the World Conference, Lausanne, 1927, S.C.M., London, 1927, pp. 208-9*

That call for the energy of love, for new life and new roads, following an anamnesis of Christian tradition and the epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, goes out with undiminished reality and purpose for us today. I.T.O. Saint-Serge, our Orthodox Academy, has faithfully and lovingly preserved an immense heritage for the benefit of the West. It looks forward in hope while world history unfolds in staggering newness of life and opportunity. Appeals for assistance are being continually received at Saint-Serge from churches and scholars in 'decommunized' states in Central and Eastern Europe. At present the Academy cannot respond; its plans for cooperation with several European academies and seminaries are all put on hold.

Saint-Serge is now living with a third generation of scholars and professors who strive to represent 'the Way, the Truth and the Life' to an international community. It offers all three 'cycles' of academic degree - Ph.D., M.A., Licence en Théologie - with systems of full-time and correspondence courses. It is fully active as both a teaching and a research institute. At present there are fifty-four full-time students from sixteen nationalities, including Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Greek, British, Russian, Lebanese, Syrian, Zairean, Indonesian, and Japanese. The common language is French, which is used for all course work, although at first-degree level (Licence) it is necessary to read Greek, Russian, and Slavonic, with Hebrew as an option. In addition there are over three hundred students in the F.T.C. from all over the world, including representatives from the Roman and Reformed Churches, some of whom take regular examinations (oral, in the Russian tradition) leading to a series of diplomas.



Physically, the Academy is a small family of nineteenth-century houses standing on the side of a small hill in the 19th arrondissement near the Parc des Buttes. Our centre is the Parish Church which crowns the hill. Beneath the church are the seminar rooms and library. On the right side as you enter is the newer building which houses the refectory and student dormitories. The Church was bought by auction on 18th July 1924, the day of St Sergius, by Metropolitan Evlogii's representative, M.M. Ossorgin, for the parish. This was only possible through the many financial gifts which were sent from interdenominational groups acting in support of the emigrés. Since then Orthodox Offices have been celebrated every day by students of the Academy with members of the Parish. Here is the living heart of Saint-Serge: our church with its ikons and frescoes, the church where the Liturgy has been celebrated in a continual tradition by Metropolitan Evlogii, Fr Bulgakov, Bishop Cassian, Fr Alexei Kniazev, all of beloved memory. It is impossible to enter the grounds of Saint-Serge without feeling love and veneration. It has been built around an altar of great holiness; its life is in Christ; its work is for the consecration of all life. With humility and hope we ask for your prayers and assistance, for in the words of our present Dean, Dr C. Andronikov: "In present conditions the Institute can only last until June 1992, the end of the university year. If urgent help is not forthcoming, it will have to close down".

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## ANTIOCHENE CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM AND ARAB NATIONALISM – XII

### The Immediate Disciples of the Christ (continued)

*Yochanan (Ioanos) bar Zebedee (St John the Theologian/ Evangelist)*

The once widely accepted concept of the bifurcation of first-century Judaism into distinct systems of understanding and practice, termed respectively "Palestinian" and "Hellenistic", has been exposed by the latest textual discoveries and scholarship to be seriously flawed. It would appear that Greek was both more widely known – beyond the patois of the market place – and used not only in the Greek-speaking *diaspora* but also in Syria-Palestina itself, and in the case of Palestina especially in the Galilee and in the Holy City of Jerusalem. This revised understanding of the situation has consequently served greatly to diminish the significance of any linguistic or literary dichotomy which was once supposed to exist between the synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of St John. As there was no real tension in this period between the Judaism of the homeland and that of the communities abroad, so there was no divergence – at this time –

between the Christianity of the Greek-speaking Christian communities of the Hellenistic *diaspora* and the Aramaic and Greek-speaking communities in Judaea. Tensions and conflict were to arise later in both the Israel of the Messianic Expectation and the Israel of the Messianic Fulfilment, but they did not play a major role in the Apostolic period. There is, therefore, no way in which the Gospel of St John conflicts with that of Peter (as represented by John Mark, Peter's amanuensis), the one being "Greek" and the latter "Aramaic".

Yochanan and his elder brother Yakov were known among their intimates by the sobriquet "Boannerges" (the "sons of thunder"). The indications are that they were born in Julias (Bethsaida). Later, on the Kinneret Lakeside – Yochanan c. AD 15 – when the family fishing cooperative moved (for reasons of which we now have no knowledge) from Julias to Capernaum, the brothers established themselves in that important fisheries townlet along the coast. Their father was Zebedee, brother of Yochanan, himself the father of Shimun Butros (St Peter) and St Andreas Proklitos. The wife of Zebedee and thus the mother of Yakov and Yochanan (St James the Great and St John the Theologian) was Miriam Salome, according to an ancient tradition. (We are familiar with "Salome" as the name of a woman; it seems it could, rarely, also be the name of a man). This tradition asserts that the man Salome was the third husband of St Anne. (As in the Orthodox Church, which has preserved the Jewish tradition in this as in so many other ways, a person may marry no more than three times. "After that", said a Rabbi, "it is death". Incidentally, a couple for whom a *Git*, i.e. Bill of Divorcement, has been issued can never remarry.) The youthful Yochanan appears to have served the family cooperative at its business place in the Jerusalem fish market in the capacity of junior clerk and delivery boy to those august establishments which extended their patronage to the firm. These were located in the Upper City district. This activity may well have served to improve and extend his command of Greek, because it was within Sadducean circles that the most extensive and deep-seated Hellenization had taken place. He is identified with the "beloved disciple", and was the "Joseph" of the most immediate "family" of Our Lord's disciples. Almost alone, he was spared the agony of violent death.

When Christ was arrested in the Garden of Gethsemane of the Mount of Olives prior to Pesach (Passover) AD 33, two of His disciples followed the arresting party (which appears to have been a substantial force of Temple Guards and Roman troops): one was Butros bar Yochanan and the other his young cousin Yochanan bar Zebedee (St Peter and St John). At the Palace of Annas (High Priest Emeritus), father-in-law of the serving High Priest Caiaphas, Butros hung about the doorway but the other, young Yochanan, being "known unto the high priest ... went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest" (John 18; 15–16). He was so at home there that, on his say so, the portress allowed Peter to go in also. Why? It has been suggested that it was because he was known as the "man who brings the fish" to the noble household, "almost one of the domestic staff". Thus he was regarded as dependable, and another might be safely allowed entry on his guarantee. Butros was then betrayed as a



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Galilean by his accent, but not Yochanan it seems. Perhaps he had already adopted a "more-educated" Jerusalemite way of speech.

It is virtually impossible to deduce a reliable sequence of events in the three years of the Lord's public ministry. The Synoptists centre the ministry on the towns and topographic features of the Galilee. The Fourth Gospel is much more Jerusalem-centred. We know that the Lord went up to Jerusalem for the great Festivals, but how long he stayed there and how often he was there, it is hard to say. Perhaps he passed more time there and in Yehud (Judaea) than we commonly suppose. Certainly, the Temple Establishment and the Sadducean party were very aware of Him, of His Teaching, and of its effect upon the common people.

Yochanan, who began as a bucolic fisher-boy, evolved by one means or another into being the great Christian "rabbi" or spiritual "philosopher" and seer of the Apostolic age. He is, in effect, the proto-type of the Christian celibate and scholar-recluse. In many ways, more than St Anthony the Great, it is St John who is the pattern of the Christian monk. There is no shadow of evidence that he ever attended a Yeshiva, for it would seem that during what might have been important Yeshiva student years he was, first, engaged in fishing or fishery affairs, and (possibly) between fifteen and eighteen years of age (AD 30-33) he was the constant companion of the Lord. Following his close identification with the Person and Teaching of the Galileean, he would hardly have been welcome as a "mature student" in any traditional Yeshiva after the Ascension. He was briefly associated with St Paul and may have acquired some rabbinical knowledge from the great Apostle of the Gentiles, but he was with him for so short a period that it defies the imagination to suppose that he could have taken any part-time rabbinical studies very far. His Gospel certainly shows a clear familiarity with the rabbinical tradition; how he acquired it is not easily explained. Undoubtedly, in his close association with the Lord as a youth in his formative years, he was, of all the disciples, most mentally and spiritually susceptible to the Divine illumination to which he enthusiastically opened himself. He was the "Beloved Disciple", and something must be said about this expression and its implications.

One forms the impression that this eager, devoted young teenager presented the Lord with the most virginal slate upon which to inscribe the Word of Life. The Lord evinced a very special love for him, and to him He entrusted the care of His beloved Mother as He hung dying on the Cross. Often, within a family, a parent loves all his children yet has a special tenderness towards one of them, often the youngest or the one who has some handicap. Between two brothers, or between one brother and one sister, there may be a similar special fondness. What it is important to emphasize is that this affection is altogether devoid of sexual overtones or implications. In this post-Freudian age, the Anglo-Saxon world is so obsessed with the universality of the sexual element as the inspiration and actual or sublimated consummation of all human relationships and activities that the existence of love genuinely and totally devoid of physical desire seems incredible to many. Representatives of the "gay" community,

whose commitment to physical sex is obsessive and frenetic, give the impression that non-sexual love between members of the same sex is, in their opinion, impossible or at least self-delusory. Some have accordingly attributed a homosexual character to the recorded relationship between the Lord and the young John. Before them, the sexually obsessed heterosexual commentators, who could not believe in the perpetual virginity of the Lord, had had Him marrying St Mary Magdalene and establishing a dynastic line in Gaul. (This latter canard goes back into antiquity.) At the same time, it must be conceded that the British – it is much less true of the Americans – are encouraged to repress their emotions and not express their feelings in overt actions. Sons express their grown-upedness by refusing to embrace their fathers, insisting instead of shaking hands. For a man to weep is to be "sissy". Effeminacy from preparatory school (or should we now say primary school?) age onwards is an abiding fear of the young British male. The expression of affection between males (it has never been equally applied to relationships between women) in the form of physical contact, arms intertwined, hand-holding, embraces, kissing (especially in the form of the Slav "horror" of kissing on the lips) is not only alien but repugnant and embarrassing among the British, especially for Englishmen. These confused and contradictory elements in the modern Anglo-Saxon make-up can and do distort the understanding of some modern men in their essentially superficial scriptural commentary.

Love between men was rated higher than the love of men for women in classical Greece. Many modern classical scholars have found in this a justification for homosexuality. I am sceptical as to whether this "love" always or necessarily involved physical sexual activity. Clearly it did at times, but I do not think that genital contact was the essentially meaningful aspect of the relationship. The essence of the relationship was a form of close comradeship in battle, sport, drinking, philosophizing, and, yes, womanizing. Such "soul-mates" were far from being, of necessity, bed-mates, although, it is true that in Hellas homosexuality did not attract the opprobrium heaped upon it in the Teaching of God enshrined in the ancient Hebrew Scriptures. Homosexuality, like adultery, in the Bible attracts the death penalty. Extrovert expression of emotions is normal among people in the Middle East, although tactual expression of affection (except within a man's immediate family) by way of physical contact is strictly confined to members of the same sex. The sort of heterosexual social kissing that increasingly accompanies all social occasions in this country would seem outrageous and utterly depraved to a Saudi Arabian visitor.

It seems clear that the Twelve found nothing repellent or incongruous in the way the young John lay on the breast of the Master at the Last Supper (and probably on other meal-taking occasions also). Had there seemed anything untoward in the relationship, it seems certain that at least some of the observant servants of Torah among the Brotherhood would have withdrawn in horror and total disillusionment. Whatever the Pharisees seized upon as grounds for accusation of Jewish Law-breaking, none of them ever hinted at the Lord's being suspected of homosexual activity. That, I hope, dis-



poses of those who have besmudged the name of Christ and of him who was perhaps the greatest of the Apostles.

Any attempt at a personal chronology of any of the Apostles must always be highly speculative, often built upon "guesstimates" more than upon readily substantiable evidence. There have been a variety of mutually irreconcilable time-scale propositions put forward in respect of the life of St John the Theologian. The pattern that commends itself to me runs as follows. At some time before the Lord called him to His service, the young John, probably aged 12–13 years (AD 27–28), was sent to help in the family fisheries business in Jerusalem. Perhaps, when there, he stayed at the house of St Peter in the city. Between AD 30 and 33, the young John (Yochanan) was constantly at the side of the Lord as He travelled about, engaged in His Public Ministry. (This is indicated by John's detailed account of episodes in that Ministry in his Gospel record.) Whether John gave some time to the fisheries business during these three years we do not know, but clearly, even at the end, he was still well-known in the High Priest Annas's household. Perhaps, even when he was engaged full-time on fisheries affairs, he had only to spend specific periods of the year for the purpose in Jerusalem, returning home to Capernaum at other times. Certainly, there is nothing to suggest that he was not with the Lord in Galilee. The indications are that, having stayed limpet-like at the Lord's side during His Agony and Passion, he remained in Jerusalem, caring for the Lady Mary Theotokos until the time of trouble and rebellion – AD 66–70(73). In the face of what was clearly coming, the nuclear Christian Church withdrew to a city across the Jordan in the Decapolis, Pella (now in the Kingdom of Jordan). But St John did not go with them. Perhaps he was somewhat alienated by the intensely inward-looking Jewish character of the Jerusalemite community and wanted to set a distance between himself and them. Or, perhaps, he feared the vengeance of the Legions would reach out even to Pella and, to secure the safety of his Lord's Mother, he determined to retire much further afield. After some thirty-three years residence in Jerusalem after the Resurrection, probably in AD 65 or 66 when he would have been 50 or 51 years old, he departed, never (as far as we can tell) to return, taking with him the Mother of the Lord. They sought refuge in Ephesus, Metropolis of the Diocese of Asia and eventually the Provincial Capital of the Province of Asia (or Asiana). It was a very great city in its day, rivalling Smyrna as the greatest city of Asia. It was, of course, the cult centre of the earth-mother Goddess Artemis, the many-breasted epitome of fecundity, refined by Roman Hellenism into the chaste and fair Diana, Queen of the Hunt. As we learn from the Book of the Acts, it was a great pilgrimage centre. Being a port-city, travellers arrived by land and sea. Much of the prosperity of the city depended upon the "tourism industry" of pilgrimage. Pilgrims had to be housed and fed. The silversmiths (and probably other craftsmen also) were fully engaged in producing and selling cult objects. St Paul's message had aimed a body blow at the prosperity, perhaps the very life, of the city. It may seem a curious place of refuge for a good Jewish man, even a Hellenistic Judaean Jew; but what better place for a Jew to hide than in such a notorious pagan cult centre? He obviously kept a

low profile and did not go about proclaiming the Evangel, stirring up other riots. His task was to guard and cherish the Mother of God, and this he did until she had a premonition that her time was near. If, as appears likely, she died in Gethsemane rather than in Ephesus, no doubt St John travelled back with her to the Holy Land and stayed briefly with her until her Falling Asleep. He may not have returned to Ephesus at this time. He appears to have hidden himself on the island of Patmos during the Domitian persecution (AD 81–96) – this seems more likely than that he was sent there in penal exile. It was on Patmos that, in his early seventies, he wrote the Book of Revelation (c. AD 88). After some fifteen years on Patmos, judging it now safe to do so, he returned to Ephesus where he lived for nearly a quarter of a century more, dying at the advanced age of 103/105. This must have been somewhat later than the year AD 89 which I previously advanced; it must have been closer to AD 118–120.

Whilst there is much of participants' and onlookers' accounts enshrined in the Synoptic Gospels, none gives the impression of being such a personal, continuous, and complete record of the Lord's life and teaching as does the Fourth Gospel. It is compiled as a continuous personal memoir. It is not a compilation of bits and pieces of the memoirs and stories from "the many who had taken it in hand" to write down the story. It is much more Jerusalem-orientated than are the Synoptics. It is the product of an author who knew both Aramaic and Greek (to a fairly sophisticated if not, it is true, classical standard), who was familiar with Torahic Judaism and the Holy Tradition of Israel, who had some knowledge and grasp of the thought of Philo and the Alexandrians, of (perhaps) Jewish and non-Jewish Gnosticism, and of Syro-Persian religious traditions. The work was formulated, it would seem, during his Jerusalem years, but probably committed to papyrus or vellum in Ephesus during the last quarter century of his long life. It has the freshness of the first-hand account but displays the sophistication of a lifetime's reflexion on the events and Gospel of Christ.

The textual critics have mostly opposed the tradition of St John having been the author of the Apocalypse, the Gospel, and all three Epistles; but components of the Church's tradition should not be too lightly disputed or rejected. The tradition, in parts and not only as a broad whole, were most carefully cherished and passed down through the continuing life of the local churches. Evidence contradicting the tradition of the Church respecting the authorship of Scriptural works received into the New Testament Canon needs to be utterly irrefutable for us to accept the invalidation of individual scholars against the validation by the Church Catholic of the apostolic authorship of given books.

The Apocalypse was written, according to St Irenaeus (who had been a pupil of St John's disciple, St Polycarp) between AD 95 and 96. But St John was on Patmos during the persecutions of AD 81–96, which, according to my suggested timescale, means between his 66th, and his 81st years. Perhaps it was penned somewhat earlier, at least in its original draft, around the Patmos middle period, i.e. c. AD 88, when he would have been in his early seventies. We do, however, have a



problem about style and vocabulary in comparing the Apocalypse with the Gospel. It is unlikely that a man would change his style so radically between his early 70s and his 90s. The approaches of the two works differ, but the thoughts are not incompatible. It is simply that the mode of communication is radically different as, for example, between the same author writing prose and composing poetry. Indeed, in some sense, the works are complementary in their understanding of the divine revelation and its cosmic significance. Both were created by an Aramaic-speaker who also knew Greek. But the style of the Gospel is more polished. This suggests that in his most advanced years, when the Gospel was set down, St John had the benefit of an amanuensis who had a better, i.e. more educated, command of Greek than he. But St John's Aramaic thought-forms and constructions show through. (Something similar happened to me in Brazil when, with the help of a professional Brazilian Portuguese-translator, I produced a work on human resources management. We argued our way through my text, he putting it into "good" Portuguese, with myself insisting on keeping closely to a literal translation of the English turn of phrase at times to preserve the exact thought-form, which he grumbled "was not the way Brazilians would phrase it". The result, he said, was a readable work in Portuguese but one "clearly composed by a foreigner".) I think that this may explain the discrepancies between the Apocalypse, composed by St John himself in his more or less rough and ready Greek, and the Gospel having the benefit of a Greek-speaking scribe, possibly a Gentile Ephesian convert, whose own linguistic "polish" was hampered by St John's understandable insistence that his Aramaic idiomatic structures should be faithfully reproduced in the Greek Testament. (As an undergraduate, I assisted a famous Talmudic scholar, a refugee from Poland, to prepare his Ph.D. thesis in English on the comparison of Talmudic and Roman Law for his university examiners. Between my two very different experiences, I know how this process may work!).

When we come to the three Epistles attributed to St John, the similarity of style and content between the First and the Gospel is so clear that no serious doubt about a common authorship ought to arise. The fact that the two brief notes (the Second and Third Epistles) take a very different form is no more surprising than it might be to compare the text of Bertrand Russell's major work with a note he might have left out for his milkman! Differing circumstances produce differing styles of communication. Later writers, for whom the Church had already begun to become a distinctive institution, tended to understand St John's relationship to the "Seven Churches of Asia" as a "command"-type relationship, similar to that of St Paul over Churches of his foundation. I think this a misunderstanding: St John was not a ruler-figure but a father-figure. He was the Enlightened One, the *Starats*, to whom the leaders of the young, mostly Gentile, Churches looked for direction and guidance both spiritual and moral. Had St John been a more "public" sort of Christian leader, like St Paul, he would have, without doubt, attracted denunciation on all sides, not least in Ephesus, and paid for his "atheistic" activities with his life.

The Gospel according to St John is, for me, the greatest book of the Holy Bible. Not only is it the most authentic eye-witness account of the revelation of God in the public years of the Incarnation of the God-Man, it represents the record of an accurate memory upon the episodes and significance of which the author has meditated and reflected for some eighty odd years of a largely secret life spent in prayer and communion with the Companion of his youth and the Lord God of Israel, the Creator-Redeemer God, the Divine Logos of the Unknowable Godhead Whom He reveals to Man supremely, incomparably, and finally in the Incarnation of the Word made Flesh dwelling among us. The glory never tarnished for St John, who lived in its effulgence to his life's end. Through his prayers the great Shrine Temple of Artemis is reported to have collapsed (possibly through an earth tremor) and the church dedicated to him reputedly marks the place of his falling asleep in the Lord. He was the purest of Christian gnostics and the teacher of saints through the ages. Blessed be God for the witness of the Beloved Disciple.

(To be continued)

Andrew Midgley

## THE 1991 PILGRIMAGE TO IONA

### An Anglican's Perspective

"I am collecting material: gathering fuel for the future journey", said a hermit to his disciple on Mt Athos as they both looked westward over the sea to the setting sun in all its glory. This is what we found ourselves doing together during the week on Iona. We looked out over the sea, seeing the dark grey depths turn to a brilliant turquoise green and hearing only its gentle sound as it lapped the rocky shore. We looked out over the hills, first hidden in mists, next in diverse greens and browns, strikingly etched against the scudding clouds of the blue sky. We heard and felt both the gentle then strong winds from the north and east as they blew over this small Hebridean island just three miles long and not much more than one in breadth.

"Iona is a thin place: there is not much between Iona and the Lord" was the remark of a highlander quoted by Evelyn Underhill. This we found ourselves experiencing during this pilgrimage entitled "God and Nature". We were rediscovering "The power of God written in the world" (Alexander Munro), directed in our thinking by Bishop Kallistos and Bishop Michael as they spoke to us and other Iona Pilgrims in the great Abbey Church each evening. We meditated on the four elements of earth, air, fire and water. As we returned in the darkness to our several abodes, Iona spoke to us in silence of what we had heard, and throughout the following day.

The Liturgy of St John Chrysostom together with the daily celebration of the Scottish Episcopal Liturgy sustained us. Anglicans joined the Orthodox choir in heart and voice as we sang together the Cherubic Hymn: "Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim and sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity, put away all worldly cares". We had been welcomed as pilgrims by the Scottish



Episcopal Church in the Cathedral of St John the Divine in Oban in the United Diocese of Argyle and the Isles. We said with expectation the Itinerarium led by the Provost of the Cathedral, and there was a warm formality as greetings were exchanged by the Primus (from the College of Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church) and our own Anglican President, Bishop Michael. Bishop George of Moray, Ross and Caithness stayed with us and accompanied us on our pilgrimage. His masterly overview of church history in Scotland from 360–1991 made us realise our complete ignorance of the growth of Christianity in the Northern Kingdom. We felt ourselves close-knit in fellowship with the Episcopal Church as we prayed in the Diocesan Retreat House Chapel on the island using the Scottish Liturgy of 1982 as a vehicle for our worship. Bishop George and his wife were fellow pilgrims in very deed, not only sharing the light chores of the house but enlivening our meals and journeys with their humour and grace.

Any romantic view of Celtic Christianity which we held was immediately challenged by a historian's scholarly viewpoint which was presented to us in lecture and seminar by Dr Richard Sharpe, Reader in Diplomatic at Oxford. Bishop George had told us that there was a total lack of documentation in Scottish Church History, but the minutiae of Dr Sharp's research both astounded and fascinated us. Of particular interest were these points: St Augustine arrived in Kent only just before St Columba's death on 9th June 597. For him, the Celtic churches were to be a part of the Latin church: their customs were just *eccentricities* as in Spain and France. In this "age of the saints" Iona was linked to the Church of Ireland and West Scotland, the sea being the communication channel. We were thrilled to see a photographic reproduction of the Book of Kells on display in the Abbey Church. It is reputed to have been begun and perhaps completed on Iona before the Viking raids. We had seen the actual book in Dublin last year on our Irish pilgrimage. Dr Sharpe told us that it was *within* the Celtic Church that disagreement in doctrine and usage had been fought out. The battle had not been between the Celtic and Roman Churches. Even the work of the Venerable Bede was not sacrosanct! His account of Columba must be considered unreliable because he did not have first-hand information.

Sunday was the Feast of the Nativity of the B.V.M. In the Abbey Church we demonstrated our unity. It was an intangible unity which held us: we were very conscious of our several divisions, our personal exclusiveness. But mission was here. Our Lady, predestined, was sent forth under her own consent. Each of us had our own individual vocation which no-one else could fulfil. This was Bishop Kallistos' theme in his homily. The visits and work of Columba, Aidan, and all the Celtic saints were predetermined. We were reminded that nothing happens by chance: GOD has a special work for each of us. A schoolboy had concluded that we were each "an endangered species" after he had watched a TV conservation programme. So, on this Island of Saints, we were to think seriously about our individual role.

That afternoon, in mist, on quiet waters we moved out by motor launch to Staffa (Stafr-ey, the Isle of Staves or Columns). This

excursion provided a unique experience which related to Bishop Michael's thoughts on the previous evening – our relationship with the first element, earth. We enacted Lancelot Andrewes' claim that "to contemplate grass, herbs, waters, heavens, and any creatures was to him the greatest mirth". Our joy of the morning in Anglican and Orthodox worship became the joy and "mirth" of human fellowship. Then Anglican evensong, later in the day, presented wisdom, the holy wisdom of God (in Proverbs 8) as being born "when there was yet no ocean" – "before the hills I was born". So, as we approached Staffa, we felt we were present at the beginning of God's creation. We saw how He had "made earth's foundations firm". Beautiful hexagonal columns of black basalt surrounded Staffa and formed the entrance to Fingal's Cave. These had been created by volcanic activity, a process of intrusion not extrusion whereby the molten mass of basalt had never reached the surface and had thus cooled very slowly, enabling the crystals to form and assume such gigantic proportions. Staffa arose out of the sea in its sheer black uprightness. We did not see the great force of the Atlantic Ocean pounding this mass (or "mass of the earth's soil", v.26) and up into Fingal's Cave of the Hebrides Overture. Instead we saw the power of God in the sea's gentleness as it caressed the black rock. Climbing to the top of Staffa, we then wandered in its stillness and peace.

Then, an all-day visit to the largest island, Mull (the isle of mountains), renewed our contemplation of earth.

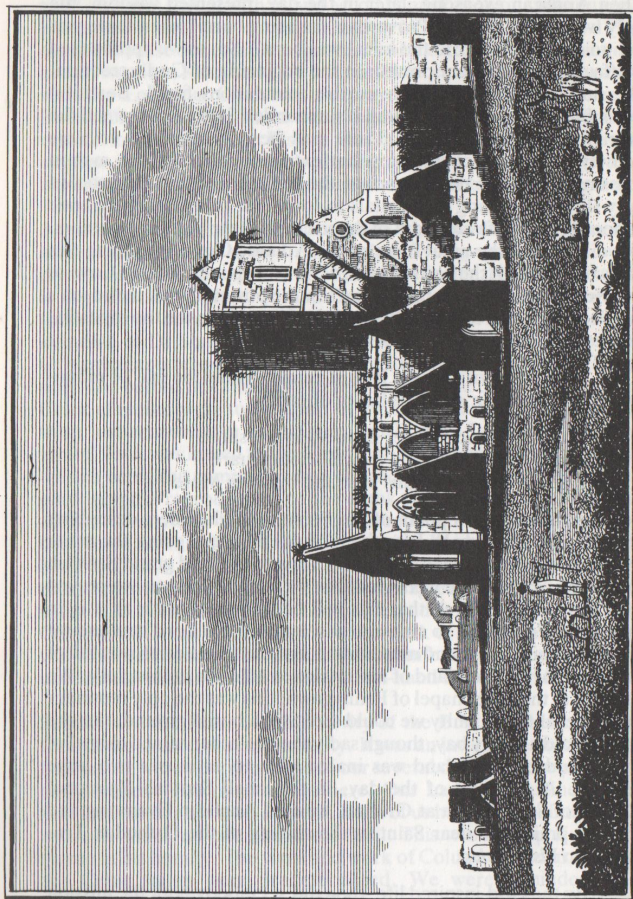
O'er the sound – water from Morvern shore  
Under Ardtornish and its walls foursquare  
The oak-wood-margins past and by Glen More

So rang the lines of a poem of the Western Highlanders describing the pilgrims' journey to Iona from Mull. We were going the other way from the bare treeless terrain of Iona to the wild grand Scottish landscape of Mull. We were glad that we were *in* earth as we prayed with the whole Church that His will be "done *in* earth as it is in heaven". We wanted to sing a new song unto the Lord because we were becoming more and more aware that the whole earth was full of His glory. Mull, the island of mountains, cradled us in this glory. We stopped at the little chapel of Pennygown: this was the only reminder of medieval Christianity we could see. Still a burial ground, the site overlooked a lovely bay, though sadly the one other ruined chapel of this period on this island was inaccessible to us in our two large coaches. At the end of the day, in the small Scottish Episcopal Church of St Columba at Gruline, we said Anglican Evensong and tried to praise the dear Saint in the singing of the Orthodox Troparion in his honour:

By the God-inspired life, thou did'st embody both the mission and dispersion of the Church, most glorious Father Columba. Through thy repentance and exile, Christ raised thee up, a light of faith, an apostle to the heathen. Wherefore, O holy one, cease not to pray for us, that our souls may be saved.

We certainly needed his forgiveness because we had had only one rehearsal in the coach'.





*Iona Abbey as it was in the 19th century before restoration.*

It was midweek when we all went on pilgrimage around St Columba's Isle, led by Dr Maxwell Craig, the General Secretary of Action of Churches Together in Scotland (ACTS). We walked together, Iona Community, Anglican, and Orthodox with no doubt many another pilgrim visiting the island. We set off from one of the ancient crosses, St Martin's Cross, positioned facing the Abbey Church for over 1200 years, a single piece of epidiorite whose tough carving and small ring (the Celtic ring of heaven and earth) have weathered the years. Maxwell Craig led us in prayer and scripture here and at other places made holy through the ages – for example, the bay of the oracle where St Columba first landed – or places sanctified because of man's essential need – for example, the source of the element water which supplied the island and the marble quarry which men had used for the creation of beauty. An early pause was at the ruined 12th-century Augustinian nunnery. Thanksgiving for the nuns' life of prayer had only recently been acknowledged by the MacLeod community. The Ross granite of the ruined nunnery flushed pink in the sunshine of the morning. The way was not easy. Our unaccustomed feet stumbled and slipped as we moved from rocky boulder to treacherous tuft of bog. We needed each other as we walked with pilgrims whom we had not met before. It did not seem strange for this disparate group to join in the free songs of the Iona Community, for around us was the spirit of Columba and there were no divisions. We were glad to rest and eat when we reached the tract of arable land in the middle west of the island called the Machair, where Columba's monks had toiled. The pilgrimage and circuit of the island was completed by the nimble "goats" who were rewarded by the wonderful view from Dun-I, the one hill of Iona, while the "sheep" took the "low" road home.

The Iona community were generous in their hospitality. The MacLeod Centre was available for our use and also the great Abbey Church which they shared with us and told us of its history. Excavations suggested that the site of the Columban church had been there. The base of a tiny chapel beside the west door of the Abbey was pre-medieval.

The week was not one of pure spiritual exercise. A few Anglicans did attempt the "total immersion experience". Their reward was a feeling of exhilaration, but they were left with an unanswered question: "Where was this warm gulf stream?" Our last optional excursion was a boat trip around Iona. This was a different view of the island. It was a blustery afternoon and, as the modern motor launch rose and fell in the swell of the Iona sound and the soft spray delighted and soaked us, we thought of the coracles of wicker and hide which had plied the Sound long before us. In the torrential rain of our departure we were given a view of the island which must have been so familiar to the Celtic saints. St Columba's church of wood and wattle shrouded in island mist would not have seemed so different to pilgrim eyes as the Abbey Church was to ours.

On our boat trip we saw the same white sands and tortuous rocky caves and inlets. The rocks seemed alive in their twisted formation stretching out in many different directions. These Archaean rocks had been formed on the sea bottom. No fossils were there because the rock predated the creation of life. And so we wondered at these



things. Then suddenly the 'plomp' of baby seals, escaping into the water, was heard as we disturbed their families basking on these cold ancient rocks. It brought us back into the 20th century with its urgent emphasis on the conservation of the earth's resources. Nature is viewed as of worth in itself. But Celtic prayers spoke of the presence of God in nature. The Spirit of God hovered over the surface of the water (Revised E.B.: Gen. 1 v.2). This is what we had been discovering. The wholeness and unity of God in nature where heaven joined earth in a perfect circle was no naturalistic religion. Bishop Kallistos' final words focussed on Romans 8 – for we are saved by the world; our relationships with each other are important, together with our interdependence with the world.

With this in mind we entered the penultimate day of our pilgrimage, joining together in the chapel of Bishop's House in the Orthodox Liturgy of the day. This was called the leave-taking of the Feast – the Feast of the Nativity of our most Holy Lady, Mother of GOD and ever-virgin Mary, which we had celebrated on the Sunday. It contained this prayer "Remembering our most holy, most pure, most blessed and glorious Lady, Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, with all the saints, *let us entrust ourselves and each other* and all our life to Christ our God". Relationships with each other, with God and His world were to be our lodestars.

The leave-taking of Our Lady in her Nativity heralded our leave-taking of Iona. We sang *St Patrick's Breastplate* at our last Anglican Eucharist and considered afresh these words, "Of whom all nature hath creation". The Scottish Liturgy re-iterated our theme: "You created the heavens and established the earth, you sustain in being all that is". The words of the Eucharistic prayer sent us out on our way, "That we may be kindled with the *fire* of your love and renewed for the service of your kingdom".

Frances Brown

### MALABAR INDEPENDENT SYRIAN CHURCH SUPPORT GROUP

St Thomas the Apostle is traditionally credited with bringing the Gospel to India in AD 52 and with founding seven churches in what is now the State of Kerala, before being martyred near Madras. The Church in Kerala grew, and at various times groups of Christians migrated from the Middle East, strengthening the Church and intermarrying with local Christians. Bishops were usually supplied from the Middle East, and the liturgical language of the Church was Syriac, the language that Jesus himself spoke. Hence the Church is a Syrian Church.

In the 16th century there began a history of foreign interference in the life of the Church leading to many divisions. At the Synod of Diamper in 1599 the Portuguese brought the whole community into formal obedience to the Pope, but a significant proportion renounced that allegiance in the late 17th century and resumed contact with

Syriac-speaking Christians in the Middle East. Bishops of the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite) Church came to Kerala and performed sacramental functions, including the consecration of Indian bishops.

Within the wider Syrian Christian family, the Malabar Independent Syrian Church (MISC) traces its origins to the late 1760s when the Syrian Orthodox Bishop Mar Gregorios consecrated a local Ramban (monk) as Mar Koorilose I. Following rejection by the then Metropolitan, in 1772 Mar Koorilose moved to the territory of British Malabar and lived in Thozhiyur where MISC began. An orderly succession of bishops has continued till this day and on occasion the MISC has provided bishops for the main Malankara Orthodox Church, for the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, and more recently for the Syro-Malankara jurisdiction. There are particularly close ties with the Mar Thoma Church, but the MISC has not accepted the liturgical and doctrinal reforms introduced by that Church in the 19th century. As the MISC is Orthodox in liturgy and doctrine, it has the respect and friendship of its larger sister Churches. His Grace the Most Reverend Joseph Mar Koorilose was consecrated Metropolitan in 1986. He is the fifteenth Bishop and the thirteenth Metropolitan of the Church.

MISC is a small Church with twelve parishes near Thozhiyur, where St George's Cathedral is. There is one parish in Madras, and members of the Church live in other parts of India and the Middle East. The Church runs four schools and a Mission hospital. In 1987 the first visit was made by two priests of the Church of England. The fellowship that developed resulted in a visit to the United Kingdom in 1989 by the Metropolitan which included a meeting with Archbishop Runcie. The Metropolitan expressed his willingness to extend eucharistic hospitality to members of the Church of England. Mar Koorilose returned to England in 1991 as a guest at the Enthronement of the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

A Support Group has been formed which aims to foster Christian fellowship between the two Churches. Thozhiyur is in a rural and quite remote part of Kerala. Although Kerala is a comparatively affluent State by Indian standards, the Church is located in one of the less wealthy districts. Within the concept of fellowship, the Support Group is there to provide some funds for the Church, but equally important are prayer, letter writing, and mutual hospitality. If you are interested in joining the Group, please write to:

The Revd Phillip Tovey  
10 Hardwick Park  
Banbury  
Oxon OX16 7YD

The annual membership subscription is £10.



## HISTORIC AGREEMENT BY REFORMED AND ORTHODOX ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY TRINITY

On 13 March 1991 there was issued in Geneva a "Joint Statement of the Official Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches" announcing that an "Agreed Statement on the Holy Trinity" had been reached. This brought to a successful conclusion discussions begun in 1977 when, on behalf of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, I visited the Ecumenical Patriarch and other leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church with the proposal that we should enter into a serious dialogue in the hope of reaching a definite theological consensus on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The intention was to cut behind the differences between Orthodox and Reformed Churches, in the East and in the West, in such a way as to provide a basis that is both evangelical and catholic for the witness of the Church in the world today. This proposal was eagerly taken up by the Greek Orthodox Church, and there followed a series of consultations between 1979 and 1983 which held out the promise of real agreement. So much progress was made that the Greek Church proposed that all fourteen Orthodox Churches in the Pan-Orthodox Communion be invited to participate. This was duly accepted by all and a mandate was given to a joint Commission of Theologians to work on the doctrine of the Trinity as set out in the Nicene Creed as it had been formulated at the Council of Constantinople in AD 371. These enlarged consultations took place in Switzerland and Russia, ending at Minsk in September 1990. This was followed up by a further session in Geneva when our "Agreed Statement on the Holy Trinity" was edited and published.

The very fact that such an agreement on the main content of the doctrine of the Trinity has been reached through official dialogue between Orthodox and Reformed Churches is itself an event of unique historical significance, for it overcomes the entrenched divisions of the Orthodox and Reformed Churches at points in the formulations of Christian theology where they have been divided in their interpretation of Holy Scripture and of the Nicene Creed. The Agreed Statement is informed by the belief that, while the Holy Trinity captures our minds, our minds cannot capture the Holy Trinity. Thus, although steps have been taken to clarify trinitarian language, the focus of attention throughout is on the reality of faith in the Trinity rather than specific theological terminology, which naturally must vary in different communions with different languages. What, then, are the main **significant features** of this doctrinal consensus?

(1) In formulating their agreement the two theological commissions insisted that the historic trinitarian formula "**One Being, Three Persons**" must be understood in a wholly personal way. It has often been held that while the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are personal, the one Being of God common to the three Persons is not. That unbiblical idea has been completely set aside. The doctrine of "One Being, Three Persons" does not rest on any preconceived idea or abstract definition of the divine Being, but on the very Being of

God as he names himself "I am who I am/I shall be who I shall be", the one ever-living and self-revealing God. That God is a fullness of personal Being in himself is made known to us in the Gospel through the one self-revealing act of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Thus in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity the "One Being" of God does not refer to some abstract divine essence, but to the intrinsically personal "I am" of God. Similarly the confession of the Unity of God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity does not presuppose some prior definition of the revelation of the three divine Persons to the One Being of God or vice versa; it rests upon the one self-revelation of God the Father which is given to us through Jesus Christ and his Spirit.

(2) Of far-reaching importance is the stress laid by The Agreed Statement on the "Monarchy" of God, or the one ultimate Principle of Godhead, in which all three divine Persons share equally, for the whole indivisible Being of God belongs to each of them as it belongs to all of them. This is reinforced by a deepened understanding of the way in which the three divine Persons indwell, interpenetrate, and contain one another, while remaining what they are in their distinctness as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Any notion of subordination in the Trinity is completely ruled out, as is any notion of degrees of Deity among the divine Persons, such as that between 'the underived Deity of the Father', and 'the derived Deities of the Son and the Spirit'.

(3) The doctrine of the one Monarchy of God which may not be restricted to one divine Person, together with that of the complete interpenetration of the three divine Persons in one another within the one indivisible Being of the Holy Trinity, puts our understanding of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father on a deeper and proper basis, as procession from the One Being of God the Father which is common to the Son and the Spirit. In proceeding from the Being of the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds from the one Being which belongs to the Son and the Spirit as well as to the Father. The Spirit proceeds from out of the mutual relations within the One Being of the Holy Trinity in which the Father indwells the Spirit and is himself indwelt by the Spirit. This approach is reinforced by the truth that, since God is Spirit, "Spirit" cannot be restricted to the Person of the Holy Spirit, but applies to the whole Being of God to which the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit belong. The effect of this is drastic and far-reaching! It transcends the rift between the teaching of the Western Church that the Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as the Father, and the teaching of the Eastern Church that the Spirit proceeds from the Father only. It sets aside any idea that the Spirit proceeds from the Person of the Father rather than from the One indivisible Being of God the Father on the one hand, and any idea that there are two ultimate Principles in God on the other hand as is held by the East to be implied in the "filioque" clause interpolated by the West into the Creed. Thus the procession of the Spirit is to be thought of not in any partitive way but only in a holistic way, as procession from the completely mutual relations within the one indivisible Being of the Lord God who is Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity.



(4) The Agreed Statement is also of considerable ecumenical significance in offering an approach to the doctrine of the Trinity which is neither from the Three Persons to the One Being of God, nor from the One Being of God to the Three Persons. As such it cuts across mistaken views of the doctrine of the Trinity according to which Western theology moves from the One Being of God to the Three Persons of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, while Eastern theology moves from the Three Persons of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit to the One Being of God. It is preeminently a statement on the dynamic **Triunity** of God as Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity.

This brief expression of the significant features of the Agreed Statement may appear rather formal on paper, but actually it has grown out of the historic and living experience of the Church in its worship and praise of the living God, in its continuing witness to the world, and in its concern for its evangelical mission to mankind. It is the hope of the Orthodox and Reformed Churches today that this Agreed Statement may promote a deeper appreciation of trinitarian doctrine today, and may provide the Church in East and West alike with a clearer grasp of the ultimate doctrinal foundations of its faith for the prosecution of its evangelical mission to mankind. It is a more severely theological statement than the more popular statement recently published by the BCC Study Commission on "The Forgotten Trinity", but they complement one another in their exposition and intention in a remarkable way.

Thomas F. Torrance

## ORTHODOXY AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM

The distinguished Roman Catholic priest Johannes Düsing, who for the past ten years has served in the "German School" in Jerusalem, loves Orthodoxy so much that he both knows her worship and hymnology perfectly and also has a burning desire for the removal of all obstacles which obstruct the union of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches. So, when he attended the enthronement of the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew, he fully understood the significance of the message in the words referring to the Pope in his enthronement address when the new Primate of the Church of Constantinople said: "We are sure that our brother in the West will use all his many powers to act with us towards the holy and sacred aim" which looks to "the reunion of all who believe in Him through the dialogue of truth".

Fr Düsing's sensitive heart was caused great sadness by the deeper meaning of this message. As he wrote in his circular letter to his friends all over the world, which was published in the periodical *KATHOLISCHE NACHRICHTEN AGENTUR* of 27th November 1991, "from these words of the Patriarch addressed to the Vatican's representatives seated before him (Cardinal Cassidy, Bishop Montersisi and Bishop Duprey) we could see clearly that the ecumenical

climate between the Orthodox and R.C. Churches has cooled in the present". This is a painful reality, the root cause of which is identified by Fr Düsing in the course of his letter, as we now proceed to note.

Fr John Düsing, referring to the coolness in the relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics which was hinted at in the enthronement address, added: "Some rightly speak of a critical point such as has not occurred in the last 25 years. For one, who in the same Church of St George in the Phanar in July 1967 and in November 1979 had been permitted to share with others the experience of the meetings of Patriarch Athenagoras and Pope Paul VI and then of Patriarch Dimitrios I and Pope John Paul II, the arrival at this critical point is a grievous matter. Certainly for the new Ecumenical Patriarch, who more than others in recent years has toiled for inter-Orthodox relations and who since 1987 has accompanied his predecessor on all his laborious journeys to the other autocephalous Churches ... the terrible events in the Ukraine and in Russia, in Romania and in Eastern Slovakia, are cause for great sorrow and concern. He knows that in the community of Orthodoxy as a whole, especially now during the latest preparations for the Great and Holy Council, the good will of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople is not enough to guarantee further advances in the theological dialogue between the Churches of the East and of the West, begun so hopefully eleven years ago and intended to lead to eucharistic communion between East and West. To use different words: the continuation of this dialogue is now in the greatest danger if the terrible problem of the Uniates, who constitute no 'model' for a union, as well as the question of our (sc. Roman Catholic) "missionary activity" within the territory of the Orthodox Patriarchates of Moscow and Bucharest, are not re-examined afresh and brought to a truly ecumenical solution. This was for many a great subject for prayer during the enthronement at the Phanar and also beside the tombs of the two Patriarchs Athenagoras and Dimitrios in Valoukli, where is the Monastery of the Life-giving Spring beside the walls of old Constantinople".

It is truly a ground for hope that there are Roman Catholics who see the reality so objectively and in an Orthodox way.

From *Ekklesia*, No. 2 of 1st Feb 1992  
Communicated by Harold Embleton

## SLAVIA ORTHODOXA VERSUS SLAVIA ROMANA

One hot afternoon in the summer of 1967 I was having tea in her dark but cosy flat with the remarkable Serbian Catholic, Annie Christitch. She was a unique phenomenon in that she was those two things, a Serb and a Latin Catholic. This almost unknown combination was due to her having a Serbian Orthodox father and an Irish Catholic mother, an O'Brien. Annie had lived in Brooke Street, next door to St Alban's, Holborn, for half a century and had covered, as one of the first female journalists on the *Daily Express*, the great funeral of Father Stanton, the famous curate of St Alban's, whose rooms I occupied and whose cassock, still as good as new, I wore. Over the



Earl Grey I asked Annie about Yugoslavia, and she told me gleefully, her eyes disappearing with mirth, of how she had made a Pope angry during a private audience in the Vatican just before the outbreak of the Great War. "I asked him: 'Holy Father, do you love your Serbian children?'" The Pope, Benedict XV, became very angry and red in the face at this and stormed: 'Of course I love the Serbian people'."

Annie loved not only the Serbs but all those people who made up the union of the Southern Slavs and she acted as a bridge, or a leaven, between the Serbs and the Croats and Slovenes, and one was as likely to find an Orthodox layman in her flat as a Croatian priest. The Ustasha movement saddened and disturbed her deeply and the silence of so many highly placed Catholic prelates on the subject of Ustashi atrocities made her angry. I asked her why it was that the Franciscans had behaved so cruelly, and she replied that whereas in England hooligan youths were sometimes sent into the army or, if convicted, to approved schools, in Croatia they were not infrequently sent to join the Franciscan Order, with often disastrous results. She told me that it was the Church of Ireland which first warned the Western Allies of what was happening to the Orthodox population in the puppet Croatian Ustasha state. In 1941 Hubert Butler, the Irish scholar who died in 1991, wrote and broadcast in Ireland on the holocaust which had overtaken the Serbian Orthodox Christians, the Jews, and the Gypsies within the borders of Croatia, but he was reviled and censored in Eire. At the end of World War II the new Tito government, apart from placing Cardinal Alois Stepinac on trial as a war criminal, did not wish to get involved in what was described as a "religious controversy".

As the Western Press in general and the British Press in particular has almost unanimously condemned the Serbs for the attack on Croatia in recent months, it is worth, perhaps, recalling what happened to the Serbs under the Ustasha government. The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association owes it to the Serbian Orthodox Church to try to set some of the record straight, for Anglican friendship with the Serbs is as old as the Association itself.

One cannot begin to understand the break-up of the Union of the Southern Slavs without taking into account the assassination of King Alexander of Serbia in Marseilles and the subsequent genocidal activities of the Ustashi towards the Orthodox Serbs, or the far more important and deeply rooted problem of Slavia Orthodoxa versus Slavia Romana, which met and coincided and overlapped disastrously in what we called Yugoslavia – a 19th century creation if ever there was one – and which came face to face at the border running through Brest-Litovsk, where Slav Catholic Poland meets Orthodox "Pravoslavnie" Russia and where the Union of Brest-Litovsk was signed at the close of the 16th century establishing once and for all the Uniate Church now known as the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Slav-Byzantine Rite. (Bishop Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia told me the delightful if unecumenical story of the old Russian Orthodox refugee lady returning by train across Europe for the first time since 1917 to her native land, who, after changing to the wider gauge train at Brest-

Litovsk, remarked in broken English: "How wonderful to be now travelling on Orthodox bogies".)

Uniatism in the Western Ukraine presents another phenomenon, another permutation, Slavia Orthodoxa Romana, at least "Romana" jurisdictionally, and is another cause of deep distrust and hostility between Christian Slavs. Are the Uniates part of what Dimitri Obolensky described as the Byzantine Commonwealth, that great cultural empire of Slavia Orthodoxa or are they something else? For they are not part of the Slavia Romana except, as noted above, by reason of their union with the See of Peter rather than the See of his brother Andrew. Riccardo Piccio has opened up the question of Slavic division in his study: "A proposito della Slavia ortodossa e della comunità linguistica slava ecclesiastica" (*Ricerche slavistiche* II 1963, 105 – 107, as has Norman W. Ingham in his essay "The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity in the Early Middle Ages" (*Mediaeval Russian Culture* Vol 12 of California Slavic Studies).

Those of us who are concerned for Christian unity between the Latin West (of which Anglicans are more the "Roman" part than the "Italianized" nay even "Byzantinized" Church of Rome) and the Greek and Slavic East, should make ourselves familiar particularly with the two sides of the Slav coin, namely "Romana" and "Orthodoxa". But in the history of modern Yugoslavia there was another little known phenomenon, probably almost entirely unknown in the West, a body now extinct, the short-lived Croatian Orthodox Church. This Church was born half a century ago in June 1942 when the Croatian Ustashi leader, Ante Pavelic, issued an ukase at Zagreb creating this hybrid body. It was made up of four dioceses – Zagreb, Brod, Bosanski Petrovac, and Sarajevo. The last see could claim to have existed before and independently of the Serbian Patriarchate, and it is possible that Pavelic included the Bosnian capital's see to give some semblance of legitimacy to his newly created Orthodox Church.

On 28th March 1880 following the earlier Berlin Congress, which while retaining the Sultan as nominal sovereign over what is Bosnia-Herzegovina gave its actual administration into the hands of the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, the Imperial Austrian government negotiated an arrangement with the Ecumenical Patriarch whereby the name of His All Holiness was commemorated in the diptychs and he would consecrate the Holy Chrism for the Bosnia-Herzegovinian Orthodox, whilst the Emperor actually appointed the bishops without consulting the Phanar, the Imperial Ambassador of Austria at Constantinople informing the Sublime Porte of the episcopal appointments, while the Austrian government paid a tax to the Phanar in exchange. It all seemed a highly civilized arrangement, but it was, perhaps, here that the seeds of dissension between those Slavs who were Slavia Orthodoxa and those who looked to the Emperor of Catholic Austria as their benevolent despot and protector, were sown. It was here, however, on Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory that the heir to that great Austro-Hungarian Empire would be brought down in the person of the Archduke Ferdinand, nephew of the Emperor.



With the creation of the modern Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the semi-autocephalous Church of Bosnia-Herzegovina was absorbed into the revived Serbian Patriarchate with its centre no longer at the ancient seat of Peč but in Belgrade, or at first at Sremsky-Karlovtsy.

Another ploy to give some sort of historical legitimacy to the Croatian Orthodox Church was to imply that there had been such a Church even earlier than the Bosnian Church dating from circa 1880, that is, the ancient Church of the Patriarchate of Ipek, now known as Peč on the Kosovo-Albanian border. There had been what could accurately be described as the Church of Ipek-in-Exile, as it were. After the terrible disastrous battle of Kosovo (1389) and the defeat of the Serb Army of King Stephen Dushan and the crushing of his empire, Serbia vanished as an independent entity until 1817. The Serbian Orthodox Church limped on, keeping the banner of Christian Orthodoxy and Serbian Nationalism bravely flying among her peoples, but the Sultan persecuted the Serbian Church and Nation so much so that in 1690 the then Patriarch of Peč took his followers under the protection of King Leopold I of Hungary. Over 37,000 families left during the last decade of the seventeenth century, followed by a further migration in 1737. The Patriarch of Peč, Arsenios III Zmojevic, encouraged the establishment of a Church-in-Exile, as Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow was to do almost two hundred years later with the establishment abroad of the "Russkaya Pravoslavnyaya Tserkov Rubezhnaya". The Peč Church-in-Exile was seated at the Metropolitanate of Karlovitz.

The Austro-Hungarian monarchs gave the exiled Serbs sanctuary in their empire, but the Serbs for their part loyally defended Western Christendom against the ever-present menace of Islam. An immense debt is owed by the Western Europeans to the Serbs, but it is a debt which is unlikely to be paid and one of which few are aware. The reciprocal arrangement seems to have been on the whole a happy one and mutually beneficial to both sides. Serbian bishops sat in the House of Lords in Budapest and their stipends were paid by the Dual Monarchy. Nevertheless Serbo-Croat soldiers' songs reflected a quite different sentiment from those of other countries, having as their general theme the leaving of sweet-hearts and loved ones at home while they fought wars for a foreign power. Often males served a lifetime in the army, or, at the very least, a minimum of eight years.

The Serbs had the rights under the Dual Monarchy to free elections of their own Orthodox hierarchy from the Serbian clergy, the right to build Orthodox churches and monasteries and the right to hold real estate together with their own National Assembly and Ecclesiastical Sobors (Synods). On top of this the Serbian Archbishop had all the rights, privileges, and authority once vested in the ancient Patriarchate of Peč. The Serbs justly deserved their rights because, as noted above, they were a bastion of Christian military force against the Turks and Islam. This Orthodox Church, it must not be forgotten, although established under the benevolent despotism, as noted above, of the Catholic Emperor was totally Serbian not Croatian. There was never such a body as a Croatian Orthodox Church, and, when the province of Croatia merged into the state we knew as Yugoslavia after the Great War, the Orthodox Christians in Croatia

were always known as "Serbian" never as "Croatian Orthodox". The title given to that Church under the Catholic Emperors had been "The Serbian National Orthodox-Slav (Pravoslavniye) Eastern Church"; no mention of the name "Croatian" has ever been discovered in any government document from the time the Serbs sought sanctuary in Catholic Europe until Pavelic set up his Croatian Orthodox Church.

Yet another permutation of Slavia Orthodoxa had appeared in Yugoslavia. Following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia several hierarchs, led by the Metropolitan of Kiev, Anthony Khrapovitsky, clergy, and large numbers of the faithful, fled the Red Terror and settled for a time in Constantinople and later moved to Sremsky-Karlovtsy (Karlovitz), the seat of the Serbian Patriarch. While in Sremsky-Karlovtsy the part of the Russian Orthodox Church in exile was formed, to be known as "The Russkaya Pravoslavnyaya Tserkov Rubezhnaya" or "The Russian Orthodox Church without the Boundaries", better known today as "The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia", with its headquarters in New York, having moved from Serbia to Munich and eventually to the United States. By their opponents the hierarchy of this Church were sometimes referred to as the "Karlovtsy Synodalists". It claimed to be the free part of the Russian Church. However, among the hierarchs of this Church was a certain Bishop Hermogenus (secular name Georgije Maximovič-Ivanovič), who had fled from his diocese of Ekaterinoslav. Orthodox canonists have argued that to appoint a bishop who had abandoned his diocese to another see is against the Canons of the Council of Nicaea, but the Pavelic government created him head of the so-called Croatian Orthodox Church. In fairness to Bishop Hermogenus' memory, it must be remembered that he had fled from horrifying persecution in Russia and, having learned of what that had done to his homeland, he might well have seen, as many Ukrainians and Byelorussians saw, the Fascists and Nazis as liberators, not understanding, at that stage, the true nature of National Socialism. It should be remembered, too, that in the case of the Ukrainians, Stalin had offered their whole country to Hitler if he would stay his advance into Russia itself. Many Ukrainians may have known of this offer and have wished to ingratiate themselves with their new ruler, who may, in those years, have seemed more benevolent than the monstrous Georgian in the Kremlin. Hitler had allowed the opening of churches throughout the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Be that as it may, the fact remains that there was a perfectly legitimate Orthodox Church bishop for the Serbs in Croatia – Metropolitan Dositej of Zagreb, who was brutally treated by the Ustashi and was in prison at the time of the creation of the body known as "The Croatian Orthodox Church" and lost his sanity as a result of the treatment meted out to him by his Croat gaolers. Even from the point of view of the hierarchs of the Russian Church-in-Exile based at Sremsky-Karlovtsy, Vladika Dositej could hardly be accused of "Sergianism" or collaboration with the Communist and atheistic enemies of the Church, for Communism had not taken over Yugoslavia at this period, King Peter still being its legitimate Head of State and Sovereign. Bishop Hermogenus' act showed a lack of gratitude to his original Serbian hosts, who, despite the vicissitudes of Serbian Orthodox history since



those tragic years, have maintained full communion with the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia.

The Nazis, with the full support of the Ustashi, had murdered 90% of the Serbian clergy in Srem. Forty-eight priests were slaughtered there after their arrest on the 21st August 1941. The only priests left in the district were the Russians of the Sremsky-Karlovtsy Symp. These Russians survived in the sixteen Serbian Orthodox monasteries of Frusha Gora, a sort of Athonite-like settlement of lavras and sketes along the Danube. The relics of four Orthodox saints, two of whom were Emperors who had defended Western Christendom's eastern boundaries from the infidels, were destroyed. I remember being told many years ago by a Russian Orthodox bishop that, when he was in Yugoslavia at this time, he had been told by a Croat Catholic priest to clear out his "rubbish", i.e. his icons and other Orthodox pieces of furniture, when his church was commandeered. It was from among certain of these Russian priests that Bishop Hermogenus was appointed and also the clergy to staff the new Croatian Orthodox Church, even though the Ustashis had wrought havoc at the Serbian Patriarch's palace at Sremky-Karlovtsy and Roman Catholics had occupied it.

A mystery surrounds the creation of this Croatian Orthodox Church. What was the purpose of the Ustashi in setting up this body? It seems to have had one simple aim, to "Croatize" the Serbs. It would have been possible, given the atrocities employed, to have Latinized great numbers of the Serb population in Croatia, or to have slaughtered those who would not become Catholics. 240,000 Serbs had been "converted" in territory mostly under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb, later to be elevated to Cardinal by Pope Pius XII; or it would have been possible to have created an Uniate Church for the Serbs (there had been no Uniate Serbian Church). An Ukase had been issued by the Croat government on 19th July 1941 to this end:

Following the establishment of the Independent Croat State, the Serbian Orthodox Church will not be considered compatible with the new State order. From henceforth this Church will be called the Greek Church of Oriental Rite. (Narodne Novine)

It does not seem to have come to anything, probably because it sought to Greekify the Serbs rather than Croatize them.

Apart from Croatization of the Serbs, the very existence of a Croatian Orthodox Church, however dubious its origins, would show how "tolerant" the Pavelic government was towards its Orthodox population, whilst conveniently obliterating the name "Serbian". The Ustashi also hoped to show that the Serbs were not being persecuted for religious reasons: had they not been allowed to form an Orthodox Church on Croatian territory? No mention was made of the fact that there was already a Serbian Church on Croatian soil being savagely treated. But so it was that an Ukase was promulgated on the 3rd April 1942 establishing a body corporate to be known as "The Autocephalous Croatian Orthodox Church".

Apart from the strong protests at the creation of this 'phoney' Church

from the Serbian hierarchs in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada (see the Memorandum of the Quisling-Created "Croatian Orthodox Church" issued by the Council of the Serbian Orthodox Church of St Sava in London in 1942), only the French Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, Procurator of the Oriental Rites in communion with Rome, raised a voice to object to the forcible conversion of the Serbs and the destruction or confiscation of their churches, not to mention the butchery of those who resisted their 'conversion'. It was Tisserant who made it quite clear that the Serbs had never been Catholics or had been in any way instrumental in converting Catholics to Serbian Orthodoxy; one of the reasons given for the Serbs' forcible conversion to Rome had been that they had converted Roman Catholics in past centuries. The only transfer of churches had been due to Croat girls, in the remote past, marrying Croat soldiers. Eugene Tisserant had no time for the Croatian Orthodox Church and told Pavelic's representative so in Rome in no uncertain terms:

Regarding the Croatian Orthodox Church he (Tisserant) says it signifies nothing. It was created by the Ustashi and by its will could be destroyed ...

He sent Pavelic's envoy away with these words ringing in his ears:

If you only knew how the Italian officers stationed along the Adriatic coast speak of you! It is indeed frightful. From their reports, just to imagine that such terrible brutality exists is unthinkable. Murders, fires, crimes of every kind, and pillages are the order of the day in these regions. I know for sure that even the Franciscans of Bosnia-Herzegovina took an active part in the attacks against the Orthodox population and the destruction of the churches. I also learned from an infallible source that the Franciscans from Bosnia-Herzegovina behaved atrociously. How such acts could be perpetrated by civilized and cultured men, let alone the priests, is inconceivable. (Tajni Dokumenti)

This outburst from Cardinal Tisserant prompted Mladen Lorković, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Croatia, to comment: "After such words Croatia cannot maintain any connections with Tisserant". But Tisserant's was a lone voice crying in the Latin wilderness, yet he was a man who at that time knew fully about the mistrust between those who were in the camp of Slavia Romana and their victims the Slavia Orthodoxa.

Yugoslavia has been dis-membered. It was never a happy union of the Southern Slavs. Croatia and Slovenia have been recognized by the states which make up the European Economic Community (whose union may not last as long as that of the Southern Slavs!). Serbia has taken the brunt of Western Europe's criticism of the civil war, but one cannot help thinking that it is merely another version of the *argumentum de turismo*, that it is only because Dubrovnik is an Adriatic sea-side resort much favoured by the package tourist set, who would have raised the same cries of protest if their beloved island had been bombed, that the West has taken any interest in the conflict. We remained silent in 1942 when Serbs were being liquidated. But Serbs, too, need a place in the sun after their



appalling experiences under the Croat Ustasha and Tito's Communism. Perhaps the restoration of an Orthodox Christian monarchy in the person of Crown Prince Alexander would restore the dignity and freedom of a great Christian people whose Church, Monarchy, and Nation have always been on the friendliest and fraternal terms with the British People, the British Crown and the English Church. If any nation should have the title "Antemurale Christianitatis" it should be Serbia, which provided that defence over so many centuries for the nations of Western Christendom against militant Islam. As history begins to repeat itself, we must not forget those heroic members of the great Slavia Orthodoxa, the Serbs.

A. T. J. Salter

### BOOK REVIEWS

Michael Glenny and Norman Stone: *The Other Russia*, Faber and Faber 1990, 475 pp. £14.99, p.b. 1991, 496 pp. £7.99

This work is a compilation of chapters, some very brief, of personal accounts of escape from the lands of the former Russian Empire, mostly between 1917–1921. There are many contributors, and their accounts are presented in 61 chapters. The introductory and explanatory material, contributed by Professor Stone and his colleague, somehow falls short of what one might have expected from academics of such distinction and formal experience.

The compilers say that they had a considerable wealth of material available to them from which to select. Reasons for their choice are not always obvious. The contribution from Jewish emigrés is unrepresentatively large. It amounts closely to a distortion of the overall picture. The scale of the Jewish migration out of Eastern Europe, above all from the zone of the Pale, brought some 2.75 million souls into Western Europe and beyond, e.g. to USA. It was not the revolutionary events which inspired this phenomenon but four other factors: the extension of military conscription to Russian Jews in 1874, the terrible eruption of *pogroms* in the year 1881–82 (repeated spasmodically until 1907, and a disfiguring feature of nationalistic manifestations in the Crimea, Ukraine and Byelorussia 1918–20), the messianic vision of the Palestine Settlement movement and, separately, of Zionism itself through the final decades of the nineteenth century; but the primary motivation was economic. The democratic industrial lands of the West beckoned an oppressed people to lands of freedom and opportunity. (The overwhelmingly *Ashkenazi* Jewish community of this country derives, for the most part, from immigrants who reached these shores in the decades before 1914.) The Jewish emigrés who feature in the present volume did not leave for any of the above reasons, but for – in Marxist terminology – “class” reasons: they were under threat as members of the *bourgeoisie*. They constituted a hardly distinguishable stream in the great flood of two to three million men, women, and children, who came to constitute the White Russian *diaspora*.

All social and intellectual levels of the Russian population were represented among the refugees from Queen Alexandra's sister, the Danish Dowager Empress Marie Feodorovna (1847–1928), widow of Alexander III (d.1894), to some simple peasant men and women. It was not a balanced cross-section of the population of the Empire. Almost the whole of the intelligentsia emigrated, most at the collapse of the White Armies (or earlier), a trickle continuing into the thirties. A few survivors of the Imperial Family, some members of the high aristocracy, some statesmen and generals (the most distinguished being the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander-in-Chief until the Emperor displaced him himself, who stood at the apex of White society in Paris until his death in 1928) had left on HMS Marlborough from the Crimea with the Dowager Empress (see Chapter 21), along with financiers, industrialists, and merchants. Some fled through Siberia to the almost wholly Russian city of Harbin in Manchuria (see Chapters 26, 27 and 28). Others fled into the Balkans, fetching up in Sofia and Belgrade. Few settled in Poland, but a sizable community found refuge in Czechoslovakia, a lively community establishing itself in Prague (see Chapter 32). Many passed through Eastern Europe to reach and settle in Germany and France. Berlin was a major centre through the early period, the twenties, but many gravitated thence to Paris, especially as the Nazis showed signs of achieving the ascendancy. Only the most reactionary elements remained, eventually furnishing the core cadre human material for the Free Russian Army of General Vlasov (see Chapter 30). Some managed to reach North America and, after the Second World War, many of the Far Eastern emigrés emigrated from Shanghai to Australia and Brazil (on the Rain Forest settlement scheme) mostly in abject poverty.

The great goal and outstanding centre of refugee settlement was, however, Paris. French was the second language of all educated Russians, long after its decline in fashionable circles in England. The ideas of the *Philosophes* had been the first inspiration of Russian liberal thought and the relatively “free” spirit of the French, even under the restored Bourbons, had greatly influenced the Russian officers of the Allied Occupation in 1814 *et seq.* (after Waterloo) and provoked the Decembrist movement. The influence of the German, Hegel, and other political thinkers, although influential in the 19th century, never succeeded in totally displacing the overall cultural influence of France among the Russian educated classes.

In all the urban centres of Russian settlement in their very special *diaspora* a very animated intellectual and cultural activity got under way. This continued and developed, almost without interruption, the astonishingly rich Russian cultural renaissance of the later 19th century which had seethed into the 20th century and now billowed outwards into Western Europe and beyond. Even now, not anything like the bulk of their literary output has been translated into Western languages but remains reserved to Russian readers. This undying movement, with its great repository of modern Russian culture, is of the greatest importance to and for the emergent Free Russia of the post-Soviet period.

Some 80,000 Russians settled in France, mostly in the Paris region between 1917 and 1922. (Some, most unwisely, trusted Soviet prom-



ises and returned to the USSR in 1946 or thereabouts, many ending up in the Gulag, all trapped, none happy. Of my own younger contemporaries many – perhaps most of the intellectually most creative and articulate – emigrated to USA). But, of the original newcomers into France, two-thirds were men, of whom two-thirds were aged between thirteen and thirty-five. This youthfulness of the emigré community gave it a very real élan and impressive dynamic, allowing them to surmount incredible hardships and to sustain the older members of the community despite the privations of their own existence. Michel Gordey (Chapter 34) relates that the still well-to-do lived in the Beaux Quartiers of the 16th arrondissement. Far more lived in dire poverty in working class districts like the 15th arrondissement, where the famous Orthodox Theological Institute of Saint Sergius was founded in the Government-sequestered buildings of a former German Lutheran mission. This formally opened in 1925. An important colony formed at Clamart around the grand villa of Prince Troubetskoy, from whose gardens a church compound was fashioned with a little church, long-served by Archimandrite Kyprian Kern, Professor of Patristic Theology, Pastoral Theology, and Greek at Saint Sergius, as Rector, and a parish assembly hall.

From 1925/6 the Russian Exarchate for Western Europe became, de facto, quasi-autonomous, its canonicity safeguarded by the shelter of the mantle of Constantinople. Its ruling hierarch (1920–46) was Metropolitan Evlogy, formerly of Kholm and Volhynia, a member of both Dumas and of the Sobor of 1917. He had been the first President of the Russian branch of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Union, founded by Fr H.J. Fynes Clinton, Canon, J.A. Douglas, and others. Having the support of the French Government, this Orthodox administration was successful in resisting the attempts through the French courts of the Soviet Government to acquire the properties of the Church in France. The former Embassy Church of St Alexander Nevsky in the rue Daru (8th arrondissement) has, ever since, served as the Exarchal Cathedral. Russian parishes and Church communities were organised throughout France.

In London, the Imperial Embassy Chapel in Welbeck Street, WI, had proved inadequate for the needs of the swollen Russian community here during the Great War. The Bishop of London made an Anglican Church, St Philips in Buckingham Palace Road, SW1, available to the Russian community. It became the centre of White Russian communal life in England, and so remained until 1955 when, to the great grief of many, it was demolished to allow for the extension of the Victoria Coach Station. The Embassy building, which housed the Chapel, in Welbeck Street was lost to the Orthodox in the 1920s when the de Walden Estate lease came up for renewal, for it was beyond the means of the exilic Russian community. (The Chapel became a lecture hall, its iconographic frescoes shielded by boarding.) The premises are now in the hands of that admirable charitable body, the Variety Clubs of Great Britain.

The Exarchate ministered to all the parishes and communities in France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, the Iberian peninsula, etc. until 1925, when it disassociated itself from the Synod in Serbia. This resulted in the establishment by the latter of alterna-

tive parishes in some places, notably perhaps in Germany. In 1926 the Locum Tenens, Sergius, of the Patriarchal Throne, withdrew recognition from Metropolitan Evlogius (Evlogy) and a skeletal Patriarchal network of parishes came into separate being.

France is a far larger country than Britain and its density of population, then as now, proportionately, far lower. This largely explains why, then as now, it was far more difficult to secure entry for residence into this country than in France and elsewhere in the Continent or to obtain extension of residence (see Chapter 41). Once here, White Russians tended to find more generous support forthcoming than was the experience of their Continental compatriots, and they were enabled to be assimilated more fully here, socially and economically. In part, this was a consequence of the scattered settlement of the Russians in Britain (which, largely but not exclusively, meant London, whose own urban sprawl was immense). There were favoured districts in London but no ghettos either in the form of buildings or boroughs, as was a commonplace in Paris. The Russian community in Paris in the 1920s and through the 1930s was as socially and culturally self-sufficient as were the Jewish communities in the *politeumata* of the Hellenistic world long ago. (See *ECNL*, Autumn 1986). In France, poverty was dire and only sustainable by virtue of the sustenance furnished by the all-embracing tentacles of the emigré community itself. Countesses worked as seamstresses, nurses, and housemaids, generals as doorkeepers, princes as night-watchmen. And, at one time, every other taxidriver was a White Russian. (Many were in New York also at this time.) I once knew a Colonel who had been a taxidriver in both Paris and London. Paris had Regimental associations. (The *Preobrazhensky* in the 1950s entrusted its Colours to the Grenadier Guards, where they were kept in the Reservist Store at Birdcage Walk (and where they may have been lost in a disastrous fire which swept through the Store some years later). It had political parties – it was said that when three Russian men met over an aperitif in a Parisian *bistro* they represented, or at once constituted, three political parties! Russians met in conferences galore, and at parties and balls (at which all the old protocol was observed); they organised youth camps through the Russian SCM to which their elders also came, thus pioneering annual holidays in France. Schools for boys and girls were organised. For some years the full *Corps des Pages* organisation was maintained at Versailles in a splendid chateau whose entry hall displayed two vast canvasses of the last reigning Emperor and his Consort. Alas, the French denied official recognitions to the Imperial Russian baccalaureate and parents came to realize that a return to Russia was to be consigned to the realm of eschatology and thus that their children would have to make their way through life in France and must needs come to terms with the demands of the French Ministry of Education. The once-proud noble institution found a final use as an orphanage for Russian waifs among the displaced persons who found their way to France from Eastern Europe and the Baltic States after 1945. Now, at least as a Russian institution, it is no more. A Russian girls' school pursued a precarious existence until it was saved from disaster by Lady Olga Deterding (née Countess Donskaya), wife of the oil magnate (Chapter 39).



Not all the emigrés were cosmopolitans, but those who had only Russian as a language contrived to live the thirty years or more in France without ever mastering even a smattering of French. Such a one was the most pious but administratively inefficient successor to Metropolitan Evlogy, Metropolitan Vladimir. (Yet to stand in the altar at the Cathedral in Paris when he prayed the Divine Liturgy was a for-ever memorable experience.) A high proportion of the noble and land-owning *milieu* of society was multi-lingual and of pan-European culture, not to say widely-travelled. Lady Maria Williams (Chapter 44) writes that "in the British community, we were nothing...". But this contrasts with Dr Donald Lowrie's statement in *Saint Sergius in Paris* that "in Great Britain, the plight of Russian refugees ... had aroused great sympathy from the first". Fr H.J. Fynes-Clinton had extended practical help in many ways, including securing places for Russian girls in Anglican convent schools of distinction, at Abingdon, Wantage, and Whitby. Boys were placed and maintained at Sherbourne and other famous schools.

St Philip's Church was the focal point of Russian communal life, not only in London but in the whole country. When the Church divided into the dual administrations – of the Paris Exarchate and the Karlovtsi Synod – two parallel parishes came into being. They used the Church on successive Sundays. The old traditions were maintained there. At Pascha, all the ladies wore white dresses, the small boys white sailor suits, the men donned full evening dress with miniatures and decorations (cf. Chapter 44). The Dowager Empress worshipped there when in England. Her daughter, the Grand Duchess Xenia Alexandrovna, was accommodated in a grace and favour house at Hampton Court ("Wilderness House") and attended the Liturgy at St Philip's from time to time (Chapter 41). Many who could afford to do so congregated in the Cromwell Road-South Kensington area, as with the closure of the official Imperial Diplomatic Mission at the Welbeck Street address, the unofficial "official" centre of the now stateless White Russian community, mostly holding League of Nations "Nansen" travel documents, was the office-residence of M.E.V. Sablin, formerly the Counsellor of the Russian Embassy.

From the early part of the century until his death on leave in St Petersburg in 1917, the Russian Ambassador to the Court of St James had been Count Benckendorff (whose daughter married Sir Jasper Ridley, Keeper of the Art Collection to the late Queen Mary). He was formerly succeeded by M. Sazonoff but, due to the incoming of the Provisional Government, he never took up his post. Prince Lvov's Government appointed Baron Alexander F. Meyendorff, Vice-President of the Duma (called "Deputy Speaker" in Chapter 41), but, as M. Kerensky assumed the Premiership with his commitment to a separate peace with Germany (Stockholm Conference), he refused the appointment. He subsequently served until retirement as Reader in Russian Law and Institutions at the L.S.E., dying in London at the age of 97 or 98. He was an uncle of the distinguished theologian, the Very Reverend Dr John (Ivan) Meyendorff of St Vladimir's Theological Academy, New York. There was no Russian Ambassador en poste in London until the arrival of the Soviet Envoy. After a sad period of widowhood in London Mme. Sablin

married M. Cambon, the late distinguished Ambassador of the French Republic. She continued to live in the same area of London until her own demise. She was a close friend of Countess Lilya Tolstoy-Miloslavsky, great Aunt of Count Nicholas Tolstoy, who revealed the poignant aspects of the Allied betrayal at Yalta.

Anna Pavlova lived close to Hampstead Ponds. (I knew her gardener in the mid-fifties.) Russians lived in West Kensington, Hammersmith, and in all parts of Chiswick. The Zvegintzeffs lived on Chiswick Mall, the Samarakov-Elston's lived in the Dukes Avenue area (see Chapter 23), the Gamps resided in Bedford Park. (He was the "Consul" for most White Russians until his death in the late forties or early fifties.) In Woodstock Road lived the Deacon of the Imperial Embassy Chapel and later of the Parisian Exarchal parish of St Philip. (I was at school with two of his three sons, one of whom, George, recently married Dr Elizabeth Briere, then Secretary of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius.)

*The Other Russia* also embodies some interesting personal accounts of the formation and operation of Russian forces acting in alliance with the German Wehrmacht, the Vlasov Army and others (see Chapter 30).

The depths of poverty endured in the thirties by thousands (at least) of White Russians in France cannot be imagined by those who did not come into direct contact with it. The dispatch of British National Service officers on the Russian Course to live with Russian families in France from the late forties wrought an economic miracle in many families.

Films such as *The Last Command*, *Ninotchka* and *Anastasia* (which included one of our contributors, Count Alexei Bobrinskoy in its cast (Chapter 8) have given the world some (if distorted) insight into the life of the Russian diaspora, as have the many volumes of autobiography. Somehow, this work fails to supplement these latter adequately, whilst being of undoubted interest to those of us who lived with or in close association with the British and French Russian Communities in the years between 1935 and 1960 plus.

The story of the Far Eastern refuge and its dispersion to Australia, USA, and Latin America (especially Brazil) is not told here. The privations they endured – these indomitable Russians – remain to be set down in full. The immigrant Russian community I met in Brazil in the 1970s were largely living as others had lived in France between the Wars, and their conditions were often worse. The Far Eastern community harboured a living Saint and wonder-worker, Archbishop John (Maximovitch) of Shanghai and, latterly, of San Francisco, under whose personal care the Orthodox Catholic Church of France enjoyed its golden days.

There is little of substance in this book relating to the post-1945 period. World War II brought its own sad crop of refugees, known as "displaced persons", among whom were many Russians, especially from Ukraine, the Baltic States, and Byelorussia, successfully camouflaged as "Poles", thus escaping repatriation and death in the USSR. Some are still in Britain and Western Europe, but most of these predominantly peasant folk passed on to Canada, USA, Aus-



tralia, and Latin America. They provided a needed reinforcement for the Russian Synodal Church, for very few indeed among them would venture into the proximity of the Patriarchal Church. In the late forties and fifties, it emphasized the "anthropological" distinction between the two Russian parishes. The former Paris Exarchal (become Patriarchal) Parish was made up largely of intellectuals and creative workers of all kinds, academics, and educationalists; the Synodal parish of Aristocrats and members of the new emigration. This distinction has steadily reduced and is no longer valid. The difference between Father (now Metropolitan) Vitaly, Bishop Nikodim, and Bishop Constantine of the Synodal parish and Father Nicholas Behr, Father Vladimir Theocritoff, and Metropolitan Anthony (Bloom) of the other parish is a profound difference of style, but not, it must be emphasized, of Orthodox faith.

*The Other Russia* is of passing interest to the uninformed, but of real interest to readers who knew some of the contributors and have a background experiential knowledge of the Russian diaspora. For the scholar or even the serious student, it is something of a disappointment.

Andrew Midgley

Ion Bria: *The Sense of Ecumenical Tradition*, WCC 1991, 120 pp. £5.95

Professor Ian Bria of the Romanian Orthodox Church is interim Convenor of the WCC's new programme unit I on "Unity and Renewal". With his wide ecumenical experience he is eminently suited to produce a work dealing with the Orthodox Church's involvement in the ecumenical movement in general and in the WCC in particular. He is careful to admit that no such slender volume could give a complete account of the history of such Orthodox involvement or of Orthodox reactions to ecumenism as experienced in the present century. Rather, he claims merely to "explain certain positions, experiences and contributions through which the Orthodox have helped to define the ecumenical mind and vocabulary of our times and have helped to bring all churches to a new level of understanding of the tradition common to all" (p. vii) and to "attempt to show how the Orthodox have been enriched and renewed as part of the ecumenical movement" (p. viii). Thus *The Sense of Ecumenical Tradition* begins with a survey of Orthodoxy itself (including the Oriental Orthodox Churches), passes through Orthodox involvement with ecumenism and its challenges to the modern movement, the importance of Tradition, ecclesiology, and disputed issues within the movement, and concludes with chapters looking at Orthodox unity in the context of ecumenical participation and the "crisis and hope" presented by ecumenism. There are appendices giving texts on "Roman Catholic/Eastern Orthodox Relations", a "Statement by Middle Eastern Church Leaders", and "WCC/Orthodox Relations".

Professor Bria points to ways in which Orthodoxy is often misunderstood by other Christians, and refers to the generation of Orthodox theologians whose concept of *sobornost* made so deep an impression on Western Christians, who, it must be admitted, often

failed or chose not to notice that the same theologians also saw Orthodoxy as *the* "continuation of the apostolic and patristic church" (p. 1). Despite his obvious commitment to the ecumenical movement, the Author is clear in his statement of those issues important for the Orthodox, which "have been bypassed or at least marginalized by the prevailing understanding of the church and its unity" (p. 27). He emphasizes the essentiality of Holy Tradition, not least the traditional understanding of pneumatology and the belief of Orthodox Christians in the oneness of the Church, quoting: "There can be no churches (in the plural) except as manifestations of the one true church" (taken from Bria, Ed.: *Jesus Christ – the Life of the World*, pp 12–13), pointing out at the same time that the debate about the universal church and local churches is "one about the nature of the church, not about organizational structure" (p. 35); how important it is to stress this point! In the chapter on "disputed issues", Professor Bria points to Protestant dominance in the WCC, the relegation of ecclesiology to a matter of secondary importance, and the bypassing of the "institutional church" in favour of "movement", and "congregationalist" positions, stating: "What the Orthodox cannot accept is having the ecumenism of a given confessional group imposed upon them" – unfortunately this is precisely what is so often attempted by those who fail to understand the Orthodox claim to be *the* Church. The Orthodox consider "that Western Christianity abandoned the mind of the 'catholic' tradition in the process of 'confessionalization'" (p. 61): thus the true 'catholic' Tradition of the Church has to be rediscovered by the various confessional bodies participating in the WCC. In the following chapter, Dr Bria is not afraid to point to some of the "assets" of Orthodoxy: the capacity for seeing ecumenism in the whole context of Christian history, the confidence in a tradition which is "not merely a collection of doctrines, creeds and confessional or liturgical books, but a chain of witnesses ... such as saints, confessors and martyrs" (p. 81), reference to the seven Ecumenical Councils, freedom from conditioned thinking and set systems of theology, and the awareness of the possibility of a present eschatology – the gift of the Kingdom through the charism of the Spirit.

Most of what is in this book is to be welcomed as a needed re-statement of the often misunderstood or ignored Orthodox position on ecumenism, and all is clearly presented; but it is in the final chapter, "Crisis and Hope", especially that views are put forward which not all Orthodox will easily accept, since, in the pursuit of "visible unity" the Orthodox are challenged to re-examine their *a priori* position on unity and to cease to "enslave" themselves to "doctrines which non-Orthodox are not ready to accept as part of their tradition" (p. 113). This might be interpreted as a call to the Orthodox to accept in others what is often (though mathematically wrongly!) described as a "lowest common denominator" position, though it must surely be very doubtful that the Author really means this, for he has not hesitated to point to the very real problems which exist for the Orthodox in maintaining faithfully their ecclesiology within the ecumenical movement. Surely, if the Orthodox have any confidence that their ecclesiology is part of the truth of Holy Tradition, they cannot be asked to rest content and accept alongside with



it the often contradictory ecclesiologies which abound within the WCC. Professor Bria thinks that this "is a risk which the Orthodox must take" (p. 113); some other equally eminent Orthodox have felt that only withdrawal from the present syncretistic ecumenical melee can provide an adequate witness to Holy Orthodoxy.

Columba Flegg

#### Shorter Notices

David Martin: *The Web of Disinformation*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich 1990, 427 pp. \$29.95

R.G.D. Laffan: *The Serbs*, Dorset Press 1989, 299 pp, n.p.

It is not inappropriate to consider these two works together, for they both provide important historical material (not generally appreciated in the West) providing a background to the present problems of Yugoslavia.

David Martin's excellently researched book, subtitled "Churchill's Yugoslav Blunder", reveals the truth of how in December 1943 the British were deceived into supporting Tito's partisans at the expense of the royalist forces under General Mihailovic, thus betraying Yugoslavia to Communist domination after the war. We learn in detail of how James Klugmann – the "fifth man"? – was able to penetrate British Intelligence and obtain control of the information about events in Yugoslavia being provided from the Special Operations Executive (S.O.E.) in Cairo to the Foreign Office and hence to Churchill himself. This enabled him to suppress material inimical to the Communists, to falsify on a large scale the information on the situation in Yugoslavia upon which British Government decisions were eventually to be based, to sabotage the relationship of that Government with Mihailovic by falsely representing him as a German collaborator, and to exaggerate wildly the contribution of Tito and his Partisans to the war against the Axis Powers. Indeed, it becomes clear that Tito was more concerned with establishing Communist hegemony over Yugoslavia than with defeating the Germans: he was often to attack the forces of Mihailovic in the rear at precisely the time when the latter were engaged in critical offensives against the Germans. Indeed, his Partisans included many of the Croatian Ustashe, whose genocide of the Serbian people is one of the criminal scandals of the Second World War. The story which unfolds is a tragic one – one that was to lead eventually to the judicial murder of Mihailovic and to the imposition of a cruel dictatorship over the Yugoslav people, from which it was the Serbs who were to suffer the most. *The Web of Disinformation* is too well researched and the relevant documents too carefully listed for David Martin's conclusion to be disproved. Sadly, it reveals an aspect of British policy during the 1939-45 War which needed exposure and which must surely now be a matter of great regret.

Professor Laffan's book deals with an earlier period of history. Subtitled "The Guardians of the Gate" (taken from a speech by Lloyd George), it teaches a history lesson which has been completely ignored in most schools in Western Europe, not least in Britain. The

work is compiled from lectures which Laffan gave in 1917 on what was then "modern Serbian history" to British forces attached to the Serbian army, though it includes a summary of earlier Serbian history showing how that brave little nation has striven against its enemies over the centuries. What comes out strongly from this book is the great service which Serbia, as the "Guardian of the gate" between Christianity and Islam, has done for Christendom over the centuries, together with stories of the betrayal of the Serbs by other Christian countries and attempts by the Austro-Hungarian Empire to undermine Serbian independence at critical periods of their fight for survival – attempts from which the religious element (Catholicism versus Orthodoxy) was not entirely absent. *The Serbs* takes us from Battle of Kossovo (1389) through the period of the Treaty of Berlin (1878), the dynastic problems of Serbia, the Turkish and Bulgarian Wars, the murder at Sarajevo, and the Austrian War, to the appalling suffering of the Serbs during the First World War. It concludes with an account of the then (1917) aspirations of the Serbian people, aspirations which are similar to those of today.

Both *The Web of Disinformation* and *The Serbs* are written by careful historians, who have been at pains to present facts that are well supported by documented evidence and clarified by appropriate maps. Taken together, they provide an essential background to those of us who wish to understand the present problems of Yugoslavia, though they cannot enter into the depths of the suffering of the Serbian people as they have truly been experienced – only works written by those who have themselves undergone the suffering can achieve that. Those who would see beyond the current media presentations of the problems to the facts, are recommended to read also *The Persecution of the Serbs in Croatia 1990/1991 – Documents*, obtainable through the Serbian Orthodox Church offices in Lancaster Road, London W11.

*The Œcumenical Patriarchate*, Orthodox Centre of the Œcumenical Patriarchate (Geneva) & E. Tsafiris (Athenas) 1989, 374 pp, \$120

This sumptuous and monumental volume, subtitled "The Great Church of Christ" was published on the occasion of the dedication of the new Patriarchal Building on 17th December 1989. It is available in Greek, German, and French as well as in English. Lavishly illustrated, it traces the history of the Œcumenical Patriarchate and its great contribution to Christianity from the beginning of the Byzantine period (AD 330) to the present day. Chapters are also devoted to the Patriarchal Church and House (including, at the end, the inaugural ceremony of the new House), the Byzantine monuments, monasteries and churches (including their manuscripts, mosaics, and other iconography), and the holy men and great historical figures associated with the Patriarchate. It is impossible to do justice to the full excellence of this work; one can only say that it must be handled and studied for that excellence to be properly appreciated. The text is extremely well written and informative, whether it be historical or descriptive, and is supported by generous illustrations, including maps and building plans as well as old engravings and modern photographs in full colour. Many of these illus-



trations can only be described as being outstandingly beautiful; their general reproduction is of the highest quality. There is also a most useful bibliography. Great credit must go to Metropolitan Damaskinos of Switzerland, to Aristides Pasadaios, to Vlasios Phidas, and to Athanasios Paliouras, the main contributors to the work – the last-named being also responsible for general supervision and editing – and also to all those who assisted in the preparation and publication of this excellent book. It is exceptional indeed that the use of so many superlatives in a review can be justified; *The Ecumenical Patriarchate* provides one of the few such exceptions. It should grace the shelves of every library, whether public or private. As Archbishop Iakovos of America has written: "May its contents be a continuous source of inspiration and faith".

John Marsden: *The Illustrated Columba*, Macmillan 1991, 192 pp, £25

This is a beautifully produced book on the great Celtic Saint, Columcille, (Columba of Iona), which should be of special interest for all those members and friends of the Association who participated in the Pilgrimages to Iona in 1981 and 1991 as well as to the increasing numbers who are interested today in the Celtic Church and wish to have a scholarly as well as a readable account of St Columba's life and work. In addition to general articles on Columba himself and his times, the work includes a new translation of the Adamnan's famous *Life* in three parts: the "Prophecies", the "Miracles", and the "Visions" of Columba. This is beautifully illustrated with pages from the Books of Kells, Durrow and Lindisfarne as well as with many new photographs of the scenery which St Columba loved – all in well-produced full colour. Members of the 1991 Pilgrimage, who learned so much from the talks – both formal and informal – given by Dr Richard Sharpe, will read the material with a newly critical eye and so, no doubt, will find much to ponder over. The Publishers deserve our thanks for making this beautiful and significant volume available to augment the increasing amount of material on the Celtic Church now to hand, by no means all of which achieves a comparable standard of scholarship.

*The Forgotten Trinity III*, BCC/CCBI 1991, 196 pp, £15.95

With the appearance of this third volume, the material arising out of the BCC Study Commission on Trinitarian Doctrine Today is completed – for notices of Volumes II and III, see *E.C.N.L.*, Spring 1991. This new volume, which is edited by Professor Alasdair I.C. Heron comprises a selection of the papers presented to the Commission. These are collected under three main headings: "Basic Perspectives", "Doctrine, Liturgy and Hymnology", and "Aspects and Implications of Trinitarian Theology". Contributors come from the Orthodox, Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist traditions. The Orthodox contributions are by Metropolitan John (Zizioulas) of Pergamon, Archimandrite Ephrem (Lash), Dr Andrew Walker, and Mr Costa Carras; the only Anglican contri-

bution is by Jane Williams. Those who have already studied the main "Report" (Volume I) and the "Study Guide" (Volume II) will find this third volume extremely useful since it presents the complete texts of papers referred to in the earlier volumes. On its own, however, it still makes most interesting reading. It is good that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, fundamental to the Christian Faith, should be given prominence in ecumenical circles at this time.

David Holton (Ed.): *The Battle of Crete 1941*, University of Cambridge 1991, 57 pp, n.p.

This little volume is the record of a symposium held in Cambridge to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Crete. The principal speakers at the symposium were John Koliopoulos, Anthony Beevor, Sir David Hunt, Nicholas G.L. Hammond, Ralph H. Stockbridge, Sir Harry Hinsley, A.M. (Sandy) Rendel, and Michael Forrester. Churchill himself described the Battle of Crete as "unique", and it is not surprising therefore that, amongst the ninety or so persons attending the Symposium, there were many who had had first-hand experience of the events under discussion and who remain eager to recall the details of the bravery and self-sacrifice of the people of Crete. Those who participated in the 1990 Pilgrimage to Crete, and who bought books such as "Ill Met by Moonlight" available there, will find *The Battle of Crete 1941* of considerable interest.

## NOTICES

### Urgent Appeal

The famous Saint-Serge Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris will have to close this Summer unless funds can be found to assist it to remain open (see article in this issue, p. 13). Donations may be made direct to "I.T.O. Saint-Serge, 93 rue de crimée, 75019 Paris" or may be paid into "Saint-Sergius Appeal (U.K.), Cooperative Bank a/c no. 50197918/53. Inquiries about covenanting and other forms of regular support should be made to "Dr N.V. Franklin, 64 Old Coppice Side, Heanor, Derby DE7 7DJ". PLEASE HELP TO SAVE THIS IMPORTANT CENTRE OF ORTHODOX SCHOLARSHIP URGENTLY AND GENEROUSLY.

### Membership

Membership of the A.E.C.A. is open to all communicant members of "canonical" Anglican, Orthodox, and Oriental Orthodox Churches. Functions, including pilgrimages, are open to all interested, though it may be necessary to register for attendance in advance. The subscription has been raised (after many years) to £5 per annum *minimum*; this includes two issues of *E.C.N.L.* Subscriptions should be sent to the General Secretary (see inside front cover). Please note that donations towards the expenses of the Association in excess of the minimum subscription will be greatly appreciated.



#### Material for E.C.N.L.

Material for the next issue of *E.C.N.L.* should be in the hands of the new editor, Neil Harrison, *BY 31ST JULY 1992*. Please note the address: Rose Cottage, Bottle Lane, Warfield, Bracknell, Berks RG12 5RY. Letters to the Editor will be particularly welcome, and may cover any topic relevant to Anglican/Orthodox relations or the general ecumenical scene. Theological articles will be most welcome. Contributions should, if possible, be typed on A4 paper with good margins (at least 1 inch on both sides). Reviewers are asked to note the 'house-style' by referring to reviews in this or earlier recent issues, and to conform strictly to it, thus avoiding unnecessary editorial work. Typescripts unacceptable to the printers will have to be returned to authors for re-presentation.

The delay in the appearance of this issue of *E.C.N.L.* is regretted. It was due to the very late submission of important material by contributors who failed to respond to the request, corresponding to that included above, in the Autumn 1991 issue. Dates by which material must be submitted are important, and contributors are asked, please, to observe them.

#### Requests for back numbers of E.C.N.L.

All requests for back numbers or extra copies of this journal should be addressed to the General Secretary.

#### Grants

The Association has limited funds available to make grants towards educational and other travel in accord with its objectives. Applications for such grants are considered at each meeting of the Executive Committee, and should be addressed to the Chairman or General Secretary. Information about the purpose for which a grant is requested must be accompanied by appropriate supporting documentation. In emergency, the Officers (acting alone) may award small grants in suitable cases.

#### Changes of address

Changes of address must be notified to the General Secretary and NOT to the Editor. If *E.C.N.L.* is still being dispatched to a wrong address, please notify Fr Philip Warner as a matter of urgency.

#### Pilgrimages

The Association organizes an annual pilgrimage. Such pilgrimages are to national Orthodox Churches abroad (in even-numbered years) and to areas of shared Celtic heritage (in odd-numbered years). It is proposed that the 1993 Pilgrimage should be to Brittany. Request for information – enclosing a s.a.e. please – should be addressed to the General Secretary, who is taking over the organization of pilgrimages again from Fr Columba as from 1993.

#### The 1992 Constantinople Lecture

The 1992 Constantinople Lecture will be given at Lambeth Palace by the Orthodox President of the Association, His Eminence Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Great Britain. For details, please see the outside rear cover of this issue of *E.C.N.L.*

#### Fr Basil Osborne (Oxford): *The Light of Christ*

A collection of Fr Basil Osborne's sermons for the Great Fast is now available in book form. It may be obtained from St Stephen's Press, 30 Oxlease, Witney, Oxon OX8 6QX. The price is £3.95 per copy plus £1.25 postage and packing (or plus £2.50 overseas).

#### Directory of Orthodox Parishes and Clergy

The new (1992) edition of the *Directory of Orthodox Parishes & Clergy in the British Isles* has now been published by the Orthodox Fellowship of St John the Baptist. Copies at £3 each may be obtained from the Fellowship at 26 Denton Close, Botley, Oxon OX2 9BW.



**1992 CONSTANTINOPLE  
LECTURE**

*“Saint John Damaskinos and the  
Doctrine of the Holy Spirit”*

**Thursday, 26th November 1992  
6 p.m.  
in the  
Library of Lambeth Palace**

*Lecturer:* His Eminence, Archbishop Gregorios  
of Thyateira and Great Britain  
(Orthodox President of the  
Association).

Tickets (costing £2 each, or concessions £1.50) are limited  
for the lecture and the reception which will follow. They  
can be obtained only from the General Secretary of the  
Association: The Revd Philip Warner, The Vicarage, St  
Mark's Road, Teddington, Middlesex TW11 9DE. Please  
make cheques payable to “The A. & E.C.A.” and enclose a  
s.a.e. with your letter.