

UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

The Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius:

Quest for Truth, Quest for Theology, Quest for Unity

**An Exploration of Eastern Orthodox and Anglican Ecumenical Theological and Ecclesiological
Relations from 1927 until 2012**

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MPhil/PhD THESES

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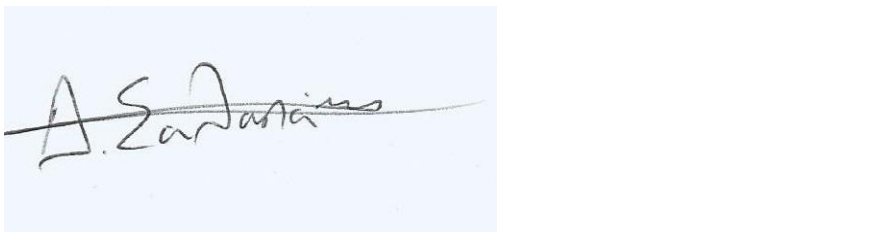
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Abstract:

This thesis aims to examine the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, an ecumenical body that promotes relations between various Christian denominations. Despite being founded on the grounds to promote relations and dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox, it has widened this scope, introducing new churches in its life, conferences, publications and history. In the first and second chapters of this thesis the first eighty five years (1927-2012) of its history are explored, identifying the Society's strengths and weaknesses in achieving its objectives, whilst studying its theological approaches to the reunion work, understanding that this body has been a progressive fellowship, theologically and ecclesiastically. The third chapter investigates the life and the theological, philosophical and historical views of Nicolas Zernov, who had as a life goal to foster relations between the churches, whilst also promoting Orthodox and Russian topics to a Western audience. The final chapter examines two themes by two important members of the Fellowship, Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia's ideas on deaconesses and women priests and former Anglican Archbishop Rowan Williams' views on icons. These two topics are interesting and current for the continuation of the relations between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion, trying to further understand each other in order to eventually achieve what many in the Fellowship profess and what the Bible promotes, 'that they all may be one' (John 17:21). The conclusion of the thesis assesses the work of the Fellowship, whilst also looking into the post 2012 objectives and achievements of the Fellowship and the future goals of the Society. Therefore, this paper is a quest for truth, a quest for theology and a quest for unity.

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ABSTRACT

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Abbreviations

AECA	Anglican and Eastern Churches Association
ICAOTD	International Commission for Anglican – Orthodox Theological Dialogue
OTEP	Oxford Theological Exchange Programme
OTRF	Orthodox Theological Research Forum
R.C.S.M.	Russian Christian Student Movement
ROCOR	Russian Church Outside of Russia
S.C.M.	Student Christian Movement
S.P.C.K.	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
S.P.G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SVSP	Saint Vladimir’s Seminary Press
WCC	World Council of Churches
Y.M.C.A.	Young Men’s Christian Association

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'For the peace of the whole world, for the welfare of God's holy Churches, and for the union of all,
let us pray to the Lord.'

Introduction

It is evident that the long history of Orthodox contacts with the non-Orthodox, and specifically regarding the Anglican Communion, shows an outstanding association and connection that has matured. The desire for a future union between the two Christian traditions has been demonstrated in many significant ways; however, it also has developed 'out of a sense of need, our own needs, the world's needs, Christ's needs,'¹ leading to an anticipation of a future unity of Christendom into one single body.

Relations between the Orthodox Church² and the Anglican Communion have existed since the seventeenth century.³ However, the twentieth century took the relations to a new level, resulting in the establishment of the Official Dialogue between the two churches.⁴ This century has become known as the Age of Ecumenism, 'the age in which Christians of all denominations became aware of the scandal of disunion, and attempted to do something to bring it to an end.'⁵ We live in a globalised world and epoch; it is inevitable that this would have affected the relations between the churches on a global level, taking us away from the isolation of the past within which the churches and the people existed. It is crucial to understand why this has happened now, the dialogue between Eastern and Western Christianity, where it has headed, where it might lead and most importantly how the churches achieved this relationship. The importance of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, which is based in Oxford, is immense in preparing the way for the current dialogue.

The Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius has been an unofficial body promoting relations between Anglicans and Orthodox; 'it numbers among its members some eminent theologians and

¹ Addleshaw, G.W.O., 'Our Domestic Difficulties', *Sobornost*, No. 11 (New Series), September, 1937, p.22.

² The Orthodox Church in this dissertation is defined as being the Eastern Orthodox Church, meaning those Churches which are in communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. For a list of Orthodox Churches (in Greek) in communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate visit: Ecumenical Patriarchate, <https://www.patriarchate.org/patriarchates-autocephalous-churches>, accessed 11/08/2015, 17.21 and for a list of churches under the Ecumenical Patriarchate visit: <https://www.patriarchate.org/administrative-structure-of-the-ecumenical-patriarchate>, accessed 11/08/2015, 17.23. This, therefore, does not include churches such as the Oriental Orthodox, the British Orthodox Church or other Orthodox churches which are not in communion with the Ecumenical Patriarchate. These last churches will not be examined in this dissertation.

³ For a general examination of Anglican-Orthodox Relations since the seventeenth century until today see: Salapatas, Dimitris, 'Anglican-Orthodox Relations: A Dead-End or a Way Forward?', *Koinonia, Journal of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association*, New Series No.63, Ascensiontide 2014, pp.15-31.

⁴ In this thesis the terms Church and church represent two different entities. The first (with a capital C) will represent the Orthodox Church; the second (with the small c) will insinuate the other churches or a group of churches including the Orthodox Church, in respect to the relations and the dialogues. This will also apply with the terms Tradition and tradition, whereby the first implies the Orthodox Tradition, whilst the second will describe others church's traditions.

⁵ Bonner, Gerald, 'Divided Christendom: The Contemporary Background', *Sobornost*, Series 5: No. 7, Autumn 1968, p.511.

Church leaders'⁶ and therefore it is considered to be 'one of the most important international forums for Orthodox theology.'⁷ It does not 'conduct any official negotiations; its members are not committed to any particular scheme of reunion. Its purpose is to help Christians to acquire mutual trust and understanding,'⁸ and thus prepare the way for the future union between East and West. 'The Fellowship shows the one life of the Church overcoming division;'⁹ it is a sign of future unity, wished by everyone who is involved in the Ecumenical Movement.

The Fellowship is one of many organisations that promote relations between the two Christian traditions. However, its members, its way of life and its achievements within the Ecumenical Movement make it, if not the most important organisation, then one of the most significant bodies promoting Anglican-Orthodox relations. Lossky, on the other hand, understands the Fellowship as 'a prophetic vision,'¹⁰ rather than a real society. Although, the Fellowship has been prophetic¹¹ it has also been a Society where members of both churches have the opportunity to discuss reunion.

This thesis will endeavour an in-depth analysis of the rapprochement efforts of some of the most influential and important theologians and ecclesiastical figures of the twentieth century. It will identify the failures, not achieving unity and intercommunion, but also the achievements made within the Ecumenical Movement, such as mutual understanding and respect. The fact that today many Anglican churches contain at least one icon,¹² thus returning the Church in England to one of its own traditions, dating from the sixth century, whereby 'places of worship were heavily decorated with painting and mosaic (and embroidered curtains), and pictures on wooden panels'¹³ depicting

⁶ Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius Booklet, Fellowship Archives, p.4.

⁷ Gallaher, Anastassy Brandon, '*Great and Full of Grace*': Partial Intercommunion and Sophiology on Sergii Bulgakov, in William C. Mills (ed.), *Church and World*, (Orthodox Research Institute, Rollinsford, 2013), p.81.

⁸ Zernov, Nicolas, *The Reintegration of the Church*, (London, SCM Press, 1952), p.118.

⁹ Thompson, Patrick, 'The Prayer of the Fellowship', *Sobornost*, No. 17 (New Series), March, 1939, p.20.

¹⁰ Lossky, Andrew, 'The Fellowship Conference', *Sobornost*, No. 16, December, 1938, p.11.

¹¹ For example Bulgakov's intercommunion ideas, the liturgical aspect of the conferences, as will be evident in the history of the organisation, in chapters 1 and 2.

¹² The Eastern Orthodox understanding of icon is that it is a sacred image, a window into heaven. They are not merely art, they play a significant spiritual role within the life and practice of the Church, as Yannaras explains: 'Byzantine iconography does not "decorate" the church but has an organic, liturgical function in the polyphony of the Eucharistic event, existentially elevating us to the hypostatic realization of life.' Yannaras, Christos, *The Freedom of Morality*, (New York, SVSP, 1996), p.258.

St John of Damascus, when defending icons, in order to show their importance for the Church, explains: 'What the book does for those who understand letters, the image does for the illiterate; the word appeals to hearing, the image appeals to sight; it conveys understanding.' St John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, Behr, John (ed.), (New York, SVSP, 2003), p.31. Additionally, St John promotes the Orthodox belief, in regards to veneration, explaining: 'I do not venerate matter, I venerate the fashioner of the matter, who became matter for my own sake . . .' Ibid., p.29. The veneration of icons was also validated in the Seventh Ecumenical Council, due to the iconoclastic period.

¹³ Williams, Rowan, *The Dwelling of the Light – Praying with Icons of Christ*, (Norwich, The Canterbury Press, 2003), p.xii.

Christ, the Virgin Mary and Saints, emphasises the improving relations that have affected the theology and practice of the church. However, the history of the Fellowship's role is one of idealism and optimism (especially in the beginning of the relationships), of philanthropy (in regards to political and theological relations between the members of both Churches), political and social acceptances, and personal and public disputes (primarily on theological topics such as intercommunion between the Anglicans and the Orthodox). This dissertation will emphasise the significance of this part of the Ecumenical Movement, which is not only a European issue, but also a global one, while Orthodox and Anglican faithful live side-by-side in many parts of the world. All of these elements separately and together facilitated in forming the relations, which still exist today, and which consequently led to the Official Dialogue between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, which has endured since 1976.

The existence and prevalence of the relations between the two distinct ecclesiastical bodies emphasise the fact that 'we who are many are one body' (1 Corinthians, 10:17).

The divided Christians are everywhere in retreat, but the growing awareness of this urgency of their reconciliation gives hope that the battle for survival has not been lost. Only together, united by faith and charity, can the Christian Community face the challenge of the modern world.¹⁴

However, how does each church perceive the other within the Ecumenical Movement? The Orthodox Church understands ecumenism as the return of the 'splinter groups'¹⁵ to the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, and not as the meeting of various other churches. It is understood as a form of missionary work, as explained by the current Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, Theodoros II,

Within the scope of the theological dialogues with the other Christian Denominations [the Orthodox Church] does not seek to discover the Truth, because she has it; thus, she witnesses the Apostolic Tradition and the unscathed Teachings of the Fathers towards all of those, who with a genuine disposition, look to trace the roots of the right Christian faith. Here its mission is focused, to pass on the light of the true faith to the nations.¹⁶

Therefore, the Orthodox Church needs to continue its missionary work within the Ecumenical Movement and show the importance of the Bible, of Tradition, of the Fathers and of the life of the Ecclesia. The Anglican Communion, on the other hand, understands Ecumenism through its own Tradition of the branch theory (an idea which was popularised especially through the Oxford

¹⁴ Zernov, Nicolas, *The Russians and their Church*, (London, S.P.C.K., 1978), p.183.

¹⁵ Geffert, Bryn, *Eastern Orthodox and Anglicans, Diplomacy, Theology, and the Politics of Interwar Ecumenism*, (Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), p.5.

¹⁶ Kykkotis, Seraphim, Metropolitan of Zimbabwe, Romfea, <http://www.romfea.gr/patriarxeia/patriarxeia/patriarxeio-alexandreias/17163-2013-05-22-19-48-19>, Accessed 24th May 2013, 19.05.

Movement), whereby everyone is part of the One Church, a belief not followed by the Orthodox Tradition and Ecclesiology. John Henry Newman explained that the Catholic Church, as understood by the Anglicans, 'consists of three branches, growing from one trunk, the Eastern Orthodox, the Roman and the Anglicans.'¹⁷

In the Dublin Agreed Statement (1984) between the Anglicans and the Orthodox we read, The Church is one, because there is 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all' (Eph. 4, 5) . . . Nevertheless, we find ourselves in an abnormal situation. We are a disrupted Christian people seeking to restore our unity. . . Anglicans are accustomed to seeing our divisions as within the Church: they do not believe that they alone are the one true Church, but they believe that they belong to it. Orthodox, however, believe that the Orthodox Church is the one true Church of Christ, which as his Body is not and cannot be divided. But at the same time they see Anglicans as brothers and sisters in Christ who are seeking with them the union of all Christians in the one Church.¹⁸

The last statement is not believed by many who are against ecumenism. However, the statement identifies the difference in ecclesiology between Orthodox and Anglicans. Nevertheless, it is crucial to highlight the fact that ecumenism, as an idea and a reality, has had a difficult course even within Anglicanism, especially during the first decades of the twentieth century, when ecumenism was beginning, due to the contacts created on a global level (specifically after World War I). However, this was a limited reaction to a new actuality, which was later embraced by the Anglican Communion. Adrian Hastings explains this on the matter of ecumenical contact during the 1920s:

Very little would be done by Church leaders beyond expressions of polite good will. They knew well enough that the folk in the pews did not desire it. The form of most men's Christian loyalties remained so tightly bound to particularities of belief, ministry and worship, and these particularities drew so much of their sense from the historic Sunderings of the religious past that an appeal upon general grounds to a new unity from leaders or theologians, with all the generous concessions inevitably required therein, met with next to no sympathy from the common church and chapel-goer...The ecumenical wind would continue to blow but it would mostly be felt for the next couple of decades not so much within the churches themselves as in a growing range of new movements and institutions.¹⁹

This of course is the reality, when examining groups such as the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius and the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association. However, due to the expansion of the British Empire and its influence on a global level, ecumenism became the religious branch of this

¹⁷ Fouyas, Methodios, *Orthodox, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1972), p.67.

¹⁸ Hill, Henry and Methodios, Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain (eds.), *Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue, The Dublin Agreed Statement 1984*, (London, SPCK, 1985), pp.10-11.

¹⁹ Hastings, Adrian, *A History of English Christianity 1920-2000*, (London, SCM Press, 2001), p.99.

expansion; therefore, Anglicanism became pro-ecumenical, in contrast to many Orthodox who are still, to this day, sceptical towards this reality. That is why the branch theory (whereby the One Church consists of the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Anglican churches) has been anathematised by the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia, together with the 'heresy of ecumenism,' through the Council of Bishops of 1983, claiming:

Those who attack the Church of Christ by teaching that Christ's Church is divided into so-called "branches" which differ in doctrine and way of life, or that the Church does not exist visibly, but will be formed in the future when all "branches" or sects or denominations, and even religions will be united into one body; and who do not distinguish the priesthood and mysteries of the Church from those of the heretics, but say that the baptism and eucharist of heretics is effectual for salvation; therefore, to those who knowingly have communion with these aforementioned heretics or who advocate, disseminate, or defend their new heresy of Ecumenism under the pretext of brotherly love or the supposed unification of separated Christians, Anathema!²⁰

Therefore, it is apparent that the Anglicans and the Orthodox have a very different ecclesiology. The Anglicans promote the branch theory, thus explaining their support and antagonistic role within the Ecumenical Movement; whilst the Orthodox Church believes and promotes the idea that the Orthodox Church is The Church. The Orthodox Church is the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, founded by Jesus Christ and His Apostles. It is 'organically and historically the same Church that came into being at Pentecost'²¹ (Acts 2). As Fr. Sergius Bulgakov²² claims, 'Orthodoxy is the Church of Christ on earth.'²³ Nevertheless, it is important to point out the fact that despite the difference in ecclesiology, which inevitably means differences in Christology, Theology and Biblical Studies, the two denominations wish to be in a state of dialogue, in order to achieve unity. However, this unity is also understood differently by both traditions: the Anglicans identify a future unity of all churches on an equal level, introducing a new church; whilst the Orthodox can only accept a return to the Orthodox Church, the Church promoted within the Creed.

Before continuing with the history of the Fellowship, it is crucial to understand how the two churches, which are the key focus of the thesis, perceive each other. Through this it is made clear how diverse and distinct these two groups are, pointing out the significance of the continuation of the relations and the determination for a future union.

²⁰ Vitaly, Archbishop of Montreal and Canada, 'The ROCOR's Anathema Against Ecumenism (1983)', http://orthodoxinfo.com/ecumenism/ecum_anath.aspx, Accessed, 21/08/2013, 17.04.

²¹ Breck, Fr. John, 'What is the Orthodox Church?', <http://www.antiochian.org/node/25458>, Accessed 04/07/2013, 23.01.

²² Fr. Sergius Bulgakov was one of the protagonists and founders of the Fellowship.

²³ Bulgakov, Sergius, *The Orthodox Church*, (New York, SVSP, 1988), p.1.

The Orthodox Church has been criticised by the other churches who are in the Ecumenical Movement for its nationalistic identity, being seen as one negative factor by, for example, the Anglican Communion, which would need to alter if union were to be realised between the two. For the non-Orthodox, Orthodoxy does not seem as united as it wants to believe, it appears 'divided along ethnic-jurisdictional lines even where the ethnic groups are all found in a common land speaking a common language'²⁴ (for example in the United Kingdom or the USA).²⁵ 'The Anglicans perceive Orthodoxy as an ethnic labyrinth in which no foreigner can long survive . . . To them, Orthodoxy is a strange, forbidding mystery, a world which no westerner can hope to understand.'²⁶ This is a very critical point, especially within the context of the current Ecumenical Movement and the numerous Official Dialogues presently taking place. However, it is worth specifying that this is not only an Orthodox issue. The Bishop of London explains that 'nationalism in parts of the Christian Church is a problem that unites both East and West.'²⁷ Therefore, we identify this in some churches within the Anglican Communion, which are in many respects very English and hence ethnic, chiefly the Church of England. Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia comments on this topic, claiming:

The Anglicans are united (for the most part) in outward organization, but deeply divided in their beliefs and in their forms of public worship. The Orthodox, on the other hand, are divided only in outward organization, but firmly united in beliefs and worship.²⁸

Additionally Nicolas Zernov believed that, in respect to the issues which separate East and West,

It ought to be remembered that the Anglican and the Eastern Churches are national Churches. This is both the source of their power and the cause of their limitations, for it brings them into a position when they are forced to follow and not lead the policy of their nations.²⁹

Fr. Bulgakov gives an interesting definition of the Orthodox Church, explaining that it is 'a system of national, autocephalous Churches, allied one with another.'³⁰ This means that despite having jurisdictional and national differences, its theology and its doctrines are the factors which unify Orthodoxy, since they are common elements within the whole of Eastern Orthodoxy. However, when in dialogue with non-Orthodox, a common front should be formed, where accepted

²⁴ Grass, Tim (ed.), *Evangelicalism and the Orthodox Church*, (London, Evangelical Alliance, 2001), p.87.

²⁵ This was also pointed out by former Archbishop Rowan Williams, when interviewed. He stated: ' . . . people talk to me about the undivided witness of Orthodoxy; I do occasionally think hmmm. . . Just how many Orthodox Churches are there in this town [Cambridge]?' Williams, Rowan, 2, p.18.

²⁶ Billerbeck, Franklin, 'Orthodoxy and Ethnicity', *Anglican/Orthodox Pilgrim Newsletter*, Vol.2, No.1, Winter 1993.

²⁷ Chartres, Richard, 'Ecumenism – New Style Reflections on the Situation of the Churches in the Twenty-first Century – part 1,' *Orthodox Herald*, October – November – December 2014, Issue 313-315, p. 27.

²⁸ Ware, Kallistos, Bishop, *The Inner Kingdom*, (New York, SVSP, 2000), p.20.

²⁹ Zernov, Nicolas, 'Obstacles and Opportunities,' *Sobornost*, No.17 (New Series), March 1939, p.15.

³⁰ Bulgakov, 1988, p.187.

issues are discussed and pointed out. As Fr. George Florovski revealed, when speaking in relation to the Orthodox participation in the Ecumenical Movement, there existed ‘the great danger of “provincialism” when nationalist sentiments were combined with the autocephalous freedom of local Churches.’³¹ Nevertheless, this could be the first step in actually dealing with and resolving disputed matters within the Orthodox world, such as the role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, whether his Ecumenicity is accepted by everyone, or the role of the Moscow Patriarchate within the Orthodox Church. Nationalistic and historical pride dictates that these issues will most probably never be resolved or their solution will be a chronic endeavour; nevertheless, in spite of this, the Orthodox need to illustrate unity between themselves towards the non-Orthodox when taking part in the Ecumenical Movement. Possibly this important matter could be solved in the future Pan-Orthodox Synod, scheduled for 2016 in Constantinople.³² It seems that, and this is understood by the other churches, the Orthodox lack unity when in the Official Dialogue of Ecumenical Relations. This is undoubtedly the result of political, social and ecclesiastical (jurisdictional) issues that divide them. Nonetheless, it seems that this issue might be solved in the future, due to the existence and increasing influence that the Orthodox Diaspora has all around the world, and primarily in the West.

On the other hand, the Anglican Communion³³ is not fully understood by many Orthodox, who perceive it as being a Protestant body. The following is an official statement, formed during the Lambeth Conference (1930) explaining the nature and status of the Anglican Communion:

The Anglican Communion is a fellowship, within the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, of those duly constituted dioceses, provinces, or regional Churches in communion with the See of Canterbury, which have the following characteristics in common:

- a. They uphold and propagate the Catholic and Apostolic faith and order as they are generally set forth in the Book of Common Prayer as authorised in their several Churches;
- b. They are particular or national Churches, and, as such, promote within each of their territories a national expression of Christian faith, life and worship; and

³¹ Ford, Joan, ‘The Fellowship at Eastbourne August 4th-25th’, 1948, *Sobornost*, Winter 1948, Series 3, No.4, p.152.

³² Ecumenical Patriarchate, https://www.patriarchate.org/messages/-/asset_publisher/9mdbt2FJgbY0/content/synaxis-ton-prokathemenon-orthodoxon-ekkleSION-phanarion-6-9-martiou-2014-menyma?redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.patriarchate.org%2Fmessages%3Fp_p_id%3D101_INSTANCE_9mdbt2FJgbY0%26p_p_lifecycle%3D0%26p_p_state%3Dnormal%26p_p_mode%3Dview%26p_p_col_id%3Dcolumn-1%26p_p_col_pos%3D1%26p_p_col_count%3D2, accessed 11/08/2015, 17.40.

³³ In this thesis the terms ‘Anglican Communion’ and ‘Anglican Church’ will alternate. The latter, not expressing fully what the Anglican Communion is, is nevertheless a term used by the Anglicans and the Orthodox, as seen in countless publications of both churches and representatives. However, it is more correct to refer to the Anglicans by their official name, namely the Anglican Communion, which reveals the diversity on various matters of tradition and theology within Anglicanism.

- c. They are bound together not by a central legislative and executive authority, but by mutual loyalty sustained through the common counsel of the bishops in conference.³⁴

Many have tried to give the Anglican Communion a specific label,³⁵ in order to approach it and familiarise themselves with this Church. Khomiakov, after coming into contact with William Palmer³⁶ in Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century, illustrated Anglicanism 'as a narrow ledge of dubious terra firma beaten by the waves of Romanism and Protestantism and crumbling on both sides into the mighty waters.'³⁷ This extreme impression has never been established within Orthodox circles.

Fedotov explains in an article in *Sobornost* (the journal produced by the Fellowship) that, The Anglican Church amazes us by its breadth, by what is called comprehensiveness. At first we do not understand how Protestantism, Catholicism and Orthodoxy can live together side by side within one profession of faith; many are inclined to regard this as a sign of indifference. But we soon become convinced that the tolerance springs not from coolness but from the deeply inculcated religious and social belief that true sobornost exists; from the old habit of serving and struggling for the truth together, from respect for the opinions of others, even though they be not absolutely right. The English social sense is that minimum of love (akin to courtesy), without which intercourse is impossible.³⁸

Therefore, Fedotov explains the fact that the ideal of sobornost, of a communion in love (i.e. good communication and understanding) is evident within the Anglican Communion; moreover, it is considered a prototype for the Ecumenical Movement, where respect and love is shown for the other ecclesiastical bodies, in order to achieve the fundamental objective of Ecumenism and specifically of Anglican-Orthodox Relations, unity.

A brief historical explanation is vital, in order to outline its route to its current ecclesiastical model and structure. Until the sixteenth century, when the Reformation took place, the Church in England was under the Roman Catholic Church. Under Henry VIII this changed, whereby he broke all the ties between Rome and England, thus creating an independent church. With the passing of decades and centuries, the English Church advanced an individual outline of faith and church order,

³⁴ The Lambeth Conference, Resolutions Archive from 1930, Published by the Anglican Communion Office, 2005, Resolution 49.

³⁵ Fr. Andrew Louth explains the problem of labels, claiming that 'labels are sometimes a problem. Nobody wants to be labelled, and yet we use labels all the time, as a way of simplifying the world in which we live, a way of introducing some order and identity'. Louth, Andrew, *Introducing Eastern Orthodox Theology*, (London, SPCK, 2013), p.xiii.

³⁶ William Palmer was a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and one of the first pioneers in the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

³⁷ Palmer William, Aleksei Khomiakov, W.J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church during the last Fifty Years: Containing a Correspondence between Mr. William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and M. Khomiakoff, in the Years 1844-1854*, (London, Rivington, Percival, 1895), p.112.

³⁸ Fedotov, G.P., 'Meeting the English', *Sobornost*, No. 12 (New Series), December, 1937, p.15.

expanding also to other parts of the world, mainly due to the expansion of the British Empire. Hence the Churches which are in communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury and accept him as *primus inter pares* and are all united with the Church of England, are all part of the Anglican Communion. Therefore, due to its history and understanding of its identity, as the Reformed Catholic Church in England, it makes 'Anglicans see themselves, and be seen by others, as a bridge Church.'³⁹

Countless Orthodox academics have tried to identify the English Church, coming to the conclusion that it is split into a number of parties, commonly known as the High Church, Evangelical and Mainstream Church. This brings to mind that Anglicanism is a union, a confederation of churches, each with different emphases on theology, liturgical practice and hierarchy. Archbishop Michael Ramsey, who also played a key role in the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius' life, defended the Anglican Communion by explaining,

though there is High Church and Low Church, it is all the time One Church with a single life, and all the members of the Church of England share together in the Creeds, Holy Scriptures, the Sacraments, the rule of the Bishops and the Liturgy; so do not think of High Church and Low Church as utterly separate factions but as two aspects of the life of a Church which is all the time one.⁴⁰

Many theologians, including Orthodox, however, maintain that the Anglican Church, especially the High Church, is not a Protestant Church; it is a reformed Catholic Church that has preserved its bond with the tradition of the undivided, ancient Church. That is why the Orthodox Church acknowledges Apostolic succession within the Anglican Communion, which it could not have if it were not part of the ancient Church. Germanos Strenopoulos, the first Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, when speaking at the Gloucester Diocesan Conference on 1 June 1923, clarified that, 'the Orthodox Church has always considered the venerable Anglican Church as a branch, in many particulars, in continuous succession with the Ancient Church,'⁴¹ referring not to the Branch Theory, which is alien to the ecclesiology of the Orthodox Church, but to the fact that the Anglican Church represents the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, as expressed in the Creed.

The distinctions which exist between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, inevitably state the existence of differing objectives, especially within the context of unity. 'To the Orthodox unity is principally dogmatic; to the Anglicans it is principally hierarchical.'⁴² The diverse aims result in the use of distinct ways of achieving them, therefore before unity can be achieved

³⁹ Tanner, Mary, 'The Church of England and its relationship with the Roman Catholic and Orthodox worlds', *Sobornost*, Volume 19: Number 2, 1997, p.9.

⁴⁰ Fouyas, 1972, p.87.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.88.

⁴² Brechen, Kenneth, 'Towards 1940', *Sobornost*, No. 13 (New Series), March, 1938, p.5.

between the two parties, the aims and the methods need to be agreed upon, in order to progress within the Ecumenical Movement.

The Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius was established in 1927, after the initial years of contact between East and West, becoming one of the most important groups where theology was discussed on a friendly and unofficial level, allowing for further deepening and mutual understanding between Anglicans and Orthodox. This Society is the main focus of this thesis; however, the global and official interactions between East and West are also analysed, in order to show a general overview of the relations.

Methodology

The aims of this thesis are achieved through qualitative research, which is a type of research that tends 'to be more interpretative in nature,'⁴³ involving an in-depth investigation and understanding of knowledge. The qualitative research 'is concerned with interpreting the subjective experience,'⁴⁴ such as the perspectives of the members of the Fellowship, the authors of books and articles, examined in this thesis, understanding and explaining the data from the interviews of credible members⁴⁵ of the Fellowship who give their subjective views on a number of events, ideas and people within the Society, and analysing events and views through observations (especially during the Fellowship conferences and the life of this Society).

The objective of this investigation is understanding, discovery, description, hypothesis generation and the production of answers. Thus the research attempts to achieve what the research truly is: a means to persuade, it has a purpose and it is positional. The research is persuasive because it is crucial to persuade the reader that this current research has a value. It is purposive, claiming that there is an ultimate objective that is to be achieved: to emphasise the significance of the ecclesiastical history of the Society, to place it within the general ecclesiastical history of Christianity, observing its current and future goals. Finally it is positional; if there were no unique position or a distinct perspective on the research subject and within the discipline, there would not be a reason for the current research. On the other hand, this thesis is an exploratory research, as little is known about the subject and many interactions have an empirical basis. The information is to be found in

⁴³ Grix, Jonathan, *The Foundations of Research*, (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.172.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.32.

⁴⁵ These members are considered credible in regards to who they are within their respective churches and the role they have played in the Fellowship and also in society, being hierarchs, professors and prominent peoples in their respected fields.

numerous locations; however, this thesis assembles together the information, comprising a historical continuous flow of events.

This research gives the opportunity to study an area of interest from a specific viewpoint, questioning and critiquing whatever is easily taken for granted, either by the Orthodox side or by the Anglicans. In this case, the researcher will give the findings from the subjective views of official and reliable sources. The truth of the events and the depiction of the belief systems are based on the multitude of the subjective, but credible, views, forming a history, based on the interpretation of the researcher, who bears the responsibility of completing the research and finally putting his name on the work produced. Thus, objective analysis is not fully possible since 'knowledge is theoretically and discursively laden and a researcher necessarily is the sum total of his or her own personal – and subjective – opinions, attitudes and values.'⁴⁶

The above explains how this thesis will follow the theory of interpretivism, which is 'an umbrella term that covers a very wide range of perspectives in the human sciences.'⁴⁷ Qualitative researchers 'tend to be working in an 'interpretivist' philosophical position, using methods of data generation which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced,'⁴⁸ opposed to the quantitative methodological approach of calculations and statistics.

Interpretivism is to be understood as the opposite of positivism. Jonathan Grix describes the polarisation of both these theories, claiming: 'positivists seek objectivity while interpretivists believe in subjectivity; positivists tend to model their research on the natural sciences while interpretivists believe there is a clear distinction to be made between the natural and the social world.'⁴⁹ He then explains what interpretivism is and how it works, stating:

The interpretivists' concern with 'subjectivity', with 'understandings', with 'agency' and the way people construct their social world, introduces complexities that involve elements of uncertainty. There is even the possibility of contradiction and internal inconsistencies arising as part of the explanations that interpretivists produce. This does not sit comfortably with the scientific search for universal laws or certainly about how things work.⁵⁰

Therefore interpretivism is most likely a disordered and confused process. Nevertheless, this is based on the subjectivity and understanding of the authors and the people involved, who give their version of historical events, upon which this thesis bases its facts. Interpretivism, nonetheless, goes hand in hand with the ecclesiastical history and historiography as seen through the works of

⁴⁶ Grix, 2010, p.84.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.83.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp.120-121.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.83.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.83.

Eusebius,⁵¹ Bede (*The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*) and Hastings,⁵² which is the methodological approach followed in this thesis. Ecclesiastical Historiography 'is the science, which systematically and objectively exhibits and analyses, historically the internal and external life of the Church, as an organisation, including the administration and the pastoral side of the Church,'⁵³ taking account of, however, the subjective understanding of the author, who wishes to point out certain historical aspects and significances, the subjective views of the interviewed individuals or ecclesiastical groups (churches) and the positions of the numerous authors from the large bibliography, on which the historical facts are based. However, the ecclesiastical historiography of the Fellowship is not to be isolated from the wider political, social, historical and cultural events of the period. Secular and ecclesiastical history go hand in hand to give a better analysis of the Fellowship, its members and the theological ideas born out of its existence. Therefore, history is used in this thesis in order to examine the significant contributions of this Society within its borders and to the wider ecclesiastical relations. Additionally, the history of the Society identifies and highlights the theological development of many of the members of the Fellowship, an interesting subject when examining the relations of different peoples with diverse beliefs and understandings, as will be evident in all the following chapters. Moreover, ecclesiastical historiography differs from the secular historiography due to the fact that the first is also theological, describing the ideals of Christianity and the Church. This understanding facilitates the better examination of the Society's history, the theological ideas of Nicolas Zernov and the positions maintained by Metropolitan Kallistos on deaconesses and women priests and former Archbishop Rowan Williams' analysis on icons.

This thesis, establishes and examines a significant chapter in the general history of the Ecumenical Movement and of Anglican-Orthodox relations specifically. This historical analysis does not follow a strictly chronological approach. The history of the Fellowship corresponds to the theological struggles and ideas of many of its members, whilst also acknowledging the events in the general Ecumenical Movement and the World Council of Churches, the social, political cultural and financial difficulties and issues of both the Orthodox and the Anglican churches and the members of these respective churches. Therefore, the history of the Fellowship follows the Ecclesiastical historiography paradigm; however, the larger framework (politics, revolution, war, emigration, culture, language and theology, practice and debates) explains the hopes, failures but also the realistic approach to the relations, which make the history of the Fellowship and its members so worthwhile and exciting.

⁵¹ Eusebius, *The History of the Church*, by G.A. Williamson, (London, Penguin Books, 1989).

⁵² Hastings, Adrian, *A History of English Christianity 1920-2000*, (London, SCM Press, 2001).

⁵³ Ὁρθόδοξη καὶ Ἡθική Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, (Athens, Christos Chronopoulos Press, 1965), p.1051.

For the completion of this thesis, a number of interviews took place, shedding further light on the published material previously examined, in order to investigate fully the history and the theology of the Fellowship and some of its members, whilst also assisting in the achievement of the research objectives, providing rich data for the thesis. Therefore, oral history is vital in the further understanding of the history and theology of this Society.

. . . Historians now argue that oral history has a different ‘credibility’ from the empirical evidence of documentary sources. Subjective and collective meaning is embedded in the narrative structures people employ to describe the past. All memory is valid . . . every life history ‘inextricably intertwines both objective and subjective evidence – of different, but equal value.’⁵⁴

The selection of the interviewees was specific, so as to answer a number of questions which existed, but had not been examined before. They were chosen deliberately in order to see similar themes from different perspectives and that is why they were also interviewed separately. Comparing these views from the interviewed members of the Fellowship, the researcher is able to identify what happened. Therefore, the various people verified or even disqualified some views and facts. All the interviewees are members of the Fellowship who know the Society through its conferences, publications, the Houses and its general life; therefore, they are experts in the history and theology created within the Society. Fr Stephen Platt’s two interviews filled in many blurred areas, ideas and also argued some misconceptions the researcher had from the published sources, whilst giving the Secretary’s views on the future of the Society. Metropolitan Kallistos’ interview was a significant one for this thesis, since he answered questions on three topics: the Fellowship’s history, Nicolas Zernov and his own views on deaconesses and women priests. The views of Metropolitan Kallistos allowed for a more personal touch in the general academic methodological approach found within the sources. Former Archbishop Rowan Williams’ interview showed his involvement with the Society, his relations with Orthodoxy, but most importantly added more notions on his views on icons; thus supplementing his two books on this topic. Lastly, Tim Grass’ interview gave light to the life of the Evangelical-Orthodox Discussion Group, which was not well publicised in the Fellowship and hence there was a lack of information in regards to this group. His interview was a first attempt at understanding the life and eventual end of this group within the life of the Fellowship. All the interviews were recorded and then transcribed (Appendixes 1-5), adding to the archival and published material.

The way in which this thesis is formed, follows the example of Fellowship authors, principally Nicolas Zernov. Taking into account other sources, from both the Anglican and the Orthodox worlds,

⁵⁴ Green, Anna, Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History – A critical reader in twentieth-century history and theory*, (New York, New York University Press, 1999), p.236.

Zernov's history is the one which facilitates a better understanding of the Society's history and its objectives. Chapters 1 and 2 follow his division of the Fellowship's history, whilst Chapter 3 looks into Zernov's ecumenical thought and theology. Therefore, his work provides the basis for the ecclesiastical, critical historical process and qualitative research, followed in this dissertation.

The Fellowship has always centred its life, publications, conferences and lectures on the Orthodox Church. Therefore, Orthodoxy will play a protagonistic role within the history of this Society. However, dogmatism is not a route that can be taken, since this organisation is both Anglican and Orthodox. On the other hand, the fact that a Greek is examining an Anglo-Russian body will bring a new understanding and perspectives in respect to the goals, achievements and failures of this Society, pointing out the relations between the two ecclesiastical bodies by emphasising the importance of the Greek Orthodox Church.

In order to achieve the objectives of this research, an examination of the archival and other documentary material, located at the Fellowship in Oxford has been undertaken. The Fellowship's publications, books and its journal, *Sobornost*, have been examined. However, other, non-Fellowship material is used, primarily from Lambeth Palace and the Anglican and Eastern Churches archives (AECA), which relate to the disciplines of Theology and Ecumenical Studies in order to place the Fellowship within the larger picture of Ecclesiastical Relations. Thus, this thesis is a part of the Ecumenical literature that has been constantly growing since the beginning of the twentieth century, which some have termed 'the Age of Ecumenism, the age in which Christians of all denominations became aware of the scandal of disunion, and attempted to do something to bring it to an end.'⁵⁵

Books, articles, interviews and archives are an important part of the current research. Nevertheless, following the Orthodox example of living within the Church, within the communion of the faithful, it is imperative to understand the Fellowship from within, living within its endeavours, through its conferences and visits. Interpretivism also acknowledges this practice, since 'social phenomena do not exist independently of our interpretation of them and it is these interpretations which affect outcomes.'⁵⁶ Therefore, the researcher is indissolubly part of this social reality, in this case the Fellowship that is being researched. This gives the opportunity to the researcher to comprehend the closeness of the members of two distinct ecclesiastical bodies within an Ecumenical organisation, promoting and creating friendships with members of both traditions. This practice does not promote bias from the perspective of the researcher, who still understands and observes certain Fellowship practices with a critical eye, in order to aid this organisation and the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

⁵⁵ Bonner, 1968, p.511.

⁵⁶ Grix, 2010, p.84.

The current thesis has a number of objectives that are achieved within the following chapters. Chapter 1 gives a Pre-Fellowship description and understanding of the first contacts between the members of the Fellowship; the unofficial characters of these first steps are imperative in order to understand properly the identity and beliefs of the 'Other' and its beliefs. However, it is evident that the formation and eventual dialogue were not motivated only by theological interests: political, sociological and economic factors also contributed towards the conjugation of the two groupings. Further on, in Chapters 1 and 2, the birth, the life and evolution of the Fellowship is emphasised, through the distinguished members, both Anglican and Orthodox, important theologians of the twentieth century, who contributed towards the significance of the Fellowship in promoting relations between the two ecclesiastical bodies and the establishment of the Official Dialogue, since 1976 with the Moscow Agreed Statement. The role of the Fellowship within the establishment of the relations is significant towards the churches and the people involved in Ecumenical Relations, mainly through the contributions of its member, such as Canon Donald Allchin,⁵⁷ Sergius Bulgakov, George Florovski, Archbishop Michael Ramsey, Metropolitan Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia, Nicolas Zernov and many more. This historical journey has not been an easy one, having certain successes but also failures, forming thus the Fellowship's identity and objectives. This thesis identifies the Fellowship's status and promise within the Ecumenical Movement, establishing its strengths and weaknesses.

Chapter 3 analyses the life and works of an important figure, not only for the Fellowship, but for the Ecumenical Movement in general, namely Dr Nicolas Zernov. Many have believed that Zernov is the Fellowship, meaning that without his persuasion and untiring work for unity the Fellowship would probably not have existed, or might not have played a significant role within Ecumenism. It is, however, intriguing to identify that, through his books and articles, an Interdenominational or Ecumenical Theology has been formed. Zernov's main objective was to achieve a better understanding and unity between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. In order to achieve this, he sided with Bulgakov on the great matter of intercommunion, which shook the Fellowship, altering Bulgakov's idea by attempting to include the whole Body of the Church and not only the Fellowship. Nevertheless, his work and his theological beliefs have never been systematically explored and investigated; therefore, the goal of this chapter is to understand further what Zernov and also what the Fellowship believed and to identify the success of this organisation and its members within the Ecumenical Movement.

⁵⁷ Canon Donald Allchin was an Anglican clergyman and scholar, interested in ecumenical relations with the Orthodox Church and became editor of *Sobornost* in 1960.

Chapter 4 looks into two members of the Fellowship, one Orthodox, Metropolitan Kallistos Ware of Diokleia, and an Anglican, Dr Rowan Williams, former Archbishop of Canterbury. One case study is taken for each one so as to depict how the Fellowship and the Ecumenical Movement have altered the theological and practical beliefs of prominent members of both churches. Is this alteration wrong? Many understand it in that manner. However, from antiquity the Church had to form its ideas, its Canons in opposition to heretical or other views, and therefore the Church was forced to summon councils, the most significant being the Ecumenical Councils, in order to codify its objectives and beliefs. Hence, the current dialogue with the 'Other' gives the opportunity to scrutinise and further understand each church's own beliefs and practices. The first case study will identify the change in attitudes of Metropolitan Kallistos in respect to the important subject of deaconesses and inevitably on women priests. On the other hand, the second case study will examine the understanding and acceptance of icons⁵⁸ within the Anglican Communion. Dr Rowan Williams, writing books in support of icons, shows emphatically how the West has altered its practice and how the Ecumenical Movement, despite moving slowly, has definite results to show, not only for its own people, but also towards the East, with which it is in dialogue. This also highlights the fact that the West is interested in Orthodoxy, trying to bring closer the two ecclesiastical groups by understanding the practices and beliefs of the ancient Church, which is the common ground for all Christian denominations today.

The ultimate objective, and contribution, therefore, of this thesis is to describe the importance of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, not only within the Ecumenical Movement, but also for the people involved in its continuing work. It is not an endeavour specifically impacting on, and referring to, the members of the Fellowship: it affects anyone who is interested in Ecumenism and Christianity in the modern world. Due to the existence of Anglican-Orthodox organisations, such as the Fellowship and the AECA, a further understanding of the two ecclesiastical bodies is realised, bridging closer two important traditions within the Christian world. This objective also points out the significant role that the Orthodox Church plays within the British Isles and its position within modern British society; this undoubtedly is the result of the relations between the churches.

Many have written about the Fellowship, about its members; however, no one has undertaken a full examination of the Fellowship's history, importance and contribution towards the Ecumenical Dialogues, the Official Dialogues or the consequences of its existence and work. This

⁵⁸ Rowan Williams expands in print on the theology of the icon, giving examples from the understanding maintained by the Eastern Orthodox, thus showing a connection between modern Anglican and Orthodox iconographic traditions: Williams, 2003. Therefore, this is an indication of the connection and the good relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

research offers an opportunity for systematic comparison and analysis of dialogue efforts within the Ecumenical Movement, comparing members and organisations such as the Fellowship and the AECA; while, the life of Nicolas Zernov has not been adequately chronicled, both in regards to his work within the Fellowship and Ecumenism and his beliefs and his theology of unity. The change of beliefs and understanding of Christian practice has also not been further researched. The case studies of both Metropolitan Kallistos on the matters of deaconesses and women priests and the views supported by Dr Rowan Williams on icons and the change in the practice within the Anglican Communion are important in depicting the new era of relations. The cooperation between the two ecclesiastical groups has brought a new understanding but it also promotes an in-depth search for the Church's beliefs. The dialogue process forces the members to understand themselves in order to comprehend the differences from and similarities to, the other groups and peoples. In conclusion this analysis suggests viable routes to building up mutual trust, respect, understanding and love between Eastern and Western Christians, not only on an ecclesiastical level, but also on cultural, political and other stages.

Literature Review

The literature needed for the undertaking and completion of the present dissertation has been immense. Due to the vastness of the topic, the Fellowship, Ecumenical Movement, World Council of Churches (WCC), AECA, Nicolas Zernov, Metropolitan Kallistos, Rowan Williams, women priests, deaconesses, and icons within Anglicanism, the research had to be as great as the topics examined. The literature review is divided into two sections:

First, The Fellowship books and Journal and secondly, the non-Fellowship literature.

Where does this place this current thesis? If we were to imagine a bookstore, under which section would we find this research? The books on either side of this thesis would have as a central theme Ecumenical Relations, Ecumenism, Official Statements between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, theology of the twentieth century, books and papers on women priests, iconography, Orthodox and Anglican theology. However, a gap is evident, since a concise history of the Fellowship is non-existent, as is the case with its theology.

The Fellowship is the central subject of this thesis. Therefore, all of the above topics are analysed and examined within the context of this Society. Countless books and articles have been written within the wider spectrum of Ecumenical Relations; additionally, sources which relate to the Fellowship are also used, in order to understand the general relations between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion.

The Fellowship was composed of many highly respected academics and representatives from both Orthodoxy and Anglicanism. This gave it a unique feature and significance. Thus, the history of this organisation is an important one. However, the history of this Society can only be found in two places: *Sobornost*, the Fellowship's journal, where many articles (such as 'The Ways of the Fellowship')⁵⁹ and the secretary's notes give the history of the Society, and secondly, the books produced by the Fellowship (as is evident below).

The Fellowship produced the *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius* since its first year of existence. It is a credible source of the theology and the discussions which were promoted during its conferences and which its members saw as significant and crucial within the Ecumenical Movement. The life of the journal can be split into different periods, to help understand its role and growth within the Ecumenical Literature.

During the first period, 1928-1934, the journal was entitled the *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*. During this period a number of topics were examined, primarily introducing numerous diverse themes, including politics, sociology, theology, ecclesiastical history and ecumenism. However, since its first years, it was evident that the journal was mostly going to examine Orthodox topics, especially since few Orthodox periodicals in the West were available during that period (another periodical being the *Christian East*, produced by the AECA). Academic work was not yet part of the Fellowship's journal, and, when prominent members wrote articles, they preferred to write in a catechetical manner, rather than a scholarly one. Furthermore, many articles examined the political situation in the Soviet Union, pointing out to its Western audience the difficulties under which Eastern Christianity was living.

The second period of the journal's history, 1935-1978, coincides with its renaming. In 1935 the Fellowship's journal was renamed, giving it its current name, *Sobornost*, the Russian word for Catholicity (καθολικός). *Sobornost* is not considered merely a journal on Reunion, 'it is also the organ of a large and vigorous body of Christians, and must therefore be concerned with all the major issues of their life and thought.'⁶⁰ The title of this journal, however, was a mystery for many English readers; therefore an explanation, by the Russian members, was imperative. 'Sobornost, as Fr. Florovsky has pointed out, is essentially qualitative and not quantitative.'⁶¹ It is a word with a complexity of meanings, being the opposite of incompleteness (μειρίζω). It coincides with what the faithful declare when they read the Creed, 'In one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church'. The Church

⁵⁹ Zernov, Nicolas, 'The Ways of the Fellowship 1928-1958', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.24, Spring 1959, pp.636-642.

⁶⁰ Mascal, E.L., 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 13 (New Series), March 1938, p.2.

⁶¹ Clarke, O.F. (ed.), 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 1 (New Series), March 1935, p.3.

is a unity and 'it is this unity which is the "sobornost" or catholicity of the Church.'⁶² The word καθολικός emphasises the wholeness, not only in regards to communion: 'καθ'όλου [catholic – according to all] is not the same as κατά παντός [according to everything]; it belongs not to the phenomenal and empirical, but to the noumenal and ontological plane; it describes the very essence, not the external manifestations.'⁶³ This word, which corresponds to the word 'Catholicity,' encompasses a greater plethora of meaning. 'It suggests the idea of 'all-together-ness' – of the symphonic nature of Catholic consciousness – of Catholicism as a spirit in which all work together and to which all contribute.'⁶⁴ Sobornost is therefore 'the communion of love,'⁶⁵ an understanding so fundamental within Christianity that its role within the dialogue between two churches is imperative for the furtherance of the relations.

Theology and theological topics were a major part of the Fellowship's journal, *Sobornost*. Nevertheless, a number of political articles were introduced, during this period. There were many articles on the ecclesiastical and political history of Russia, introducing Orthodoxy, via Russian history to the Western readers. However, topics like 'Christianity and Marxism'⁶⁶ were criticised by many readers, which in no case furthers the cause of Reunion. Several readers found the need to express their views on this matter, writing:

This number of Sobornost seems to me full of the spirit of untruth, hatred, and shouting with the biggest crowd.⁶⁷

I hope that Christianity is not committed to any political or social creed . . . I have not the least objection to the propagation of the opinions you hold, but *Sobornost* is not the place for them, at least not in its editorial columns, or in articles expressing the official policy of the paper.⁶⁸

I feel that it is not 'socialism' that we need, it is not 'capitalism', or any of the 'isms', but simply the spirit of self-sacrifice and a good deal more of the beautiful spirit of St Francis of Assisi – 'agape' – and humility.⁶⁹

These complaints lead the editor of *Sobornost* to publish an official statement, in order to prevent any future misunderstandings when and if a controversial issue occurred. The disclaimer is as follows:

In view of alarms expressed in various quarters, it should be clearly stated (and we hope hereby is) that the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius has no political policy whatever, nor is it more interested in the study of sociology than in any other

⁶² Florovsky, George 'Sobornost: The Catholicity of the Church' in the *Church of God*, E.L Mascal (ed.), (London, S.P.C.K., 1934), p.55.

⁶³ Ibid., p.56.

⁶⁴ Clarke, O.F. (ed.), 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 6 (New Series), June, 1936, p.1.

⁶⁵ Fedotov, 1937, p.14.

⁶⁶ Clarke, O.F., 'Christianity and Marxism', *Sobornost*, No. 9 (New Series), March 1937, pp.9-17.

⁶⁷ Charnwood, Lord, 'Correspondence', *Sobornost*, No. 10 (New Series), June, 1937, p.29.

⁶⁸ Clarke, C.P.S., 'Correspondence', *Sobornost*, No. 10 (New Series), June, 1937, p.30.

⁶⁹ Mitchell, K., 'Correspondence', *Sobornost*, No. 10 (New Series), June, 1937, p.30.

department of Christian thought or endeavour, nor is any other policy at present contemplated for *Sobornost* than that which has hitherto been pursued. Frank Bishop, Chairman (On behalf of the London and Paris Executives).⁷⁰

A political aspect of the Fellowship, however, was always, in reality, evident. The birth of the Fellowship and its publications emphasised how important politics were for its members, especially for the Russian members of the Society. The Society, therefore, focused in this relationship, that is between East and West, not only on a theological basis but also on a cultural, political and philosophical level. It was the only body within Great Britain, which promoted a wider knowledge of the Russian problems, emphasising the fundamental significance of these difficulties and their wider spiritual implications.

By bringing the problems that existed in the East to the attention of the Christians in the West, this information gave the opportunity to other Christians to identify and even pray for a better future for the Orthodox Church in Russia and other regions, such as the Balkans. The Russian character of the journal continued, emphasising that part of the Orthodox World; nevertheless, political propaganda, news and information were limited.

During this period, *Sobornost* became more academic in character. However, it did maintain its former format, whereby the Society's news and the Secretary's news were examined. Zernov explains the significance of the 'Secretary's Diary', stating: 'The purpose of this Diary is not only to give information about the work of the Fellowship to the readers of SOBORNOST, but also to stimulate their activities and to secure their comments on various aspects of Fellowship life.'⁷¹

It is significant to identify that after the formation of the WCC (1948) and the inevitable involvement of Fellowship members in the wider Ecumenical Movement, *Sobornost* became a more Ecumenical journal, examining the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox not only in the West, or in Britain, but also on a global level.

The third period of *Sobornost* (1979-present) saw a new advancement in 1979. *The Eastern Church Review*, which was founded by Barbara Fry (1966), terminated its publication for financial reasons and therefore was amalgamated with the Fellowship's journal. This new change brought an expansion of the editorial board, which before this amalgamation had an Orthodox member, Rev. Sergei Hackel, and two Anglican members, Rev. John Seward and Rev. Hugh Wybrew. However, Seward resigned and four new editors were appointed: Dr Sebastian Brock, an Anglican, Fr. Kallistos Ware, an Orthodox priest, and two Roman Catholic priests, Robert Murray SJ and Norman Russell. This last addition was a new venture for both the Fellowship and *Sobornost*, highlighting the fact

⁷⁰ Clarke, O.F. (ed.), 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 10 (New Series), June, 1937, p.2.

⁷¹ Zernov, Nicolas, 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 10 (New Series), June, 1937, p.26.

that its scope was now widening to include more Christian denominations. Despite losing a journal, the Fellowship and *Sobornost* 'gained a partnership,'⁷² expanding its circulation.

Sobornost, from this period onwards, became even more ecumenical in its scope, following the example given by the journal *Christian East*, which was always an ecumenical journal. The new character of the Fellowship's Journal emphasised the new interest and changes that occurred due to the establishment of the Official Dialogue between the two churches. Furthermore, this last period led to the current status of the journal, which is more academic in nature than hitherto. This, of course, relates to the nature of the Fellowship, which has always affected and interested not the laity (widely) of both Anglicanism and Orthodoxy, but mainly the hierarchs and professors who are interested in relations between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church. During this period academic articles were published by both Anglicans and Orthodox. Unlike the first period, the journal currently not only promotes Orthodoxy to the West, but is an important academic periodical. An unfortunate result, however, is the fact that *Sobornost* has stopped being interested in the life of the Fellowship. The last General Secretary's Report was published in 2007,⁷³ thus ending the important tradition, first established by Nicolas Zernov in 1928. In many respects, it is no longer the journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. It is an academic journal which examines Ecumenical Relations and the theology of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church that is produced by a Society located in Britain. As a result it has, unfortunately, lost its unique character, that of being the Fellowship's journal. The relationship with the past is evident only through the obituaries of prominent members of the Fellowship. However, if *Sobornost* wishes to attract more members to the Fellowship, it has to return to its previous format, where the Secretary's Reports were present – emphasising the work and the importance of the Society, by also maintaining its current academic format.

An essential contribution, in regards to the history of the Society, is the book written by Nicolas and Militza Zernov, *Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, a Historical Memoir* (1979), giving a brief description of certain events within the life of this Society. This book is the continuation of the article written by Nicolas Zernov,⁷⁴ which examined the history of the Fellowship between 1928 and 1958, the first thirty years. Nicolas Zernov, being a founding father of the Society, was well placed to give an account of the history of the Fellowship. The Zernovs' book is, up to this point, the best source of the Fellowship's history; however, it only examines the first fifty years of its life, whereas this thesis expands it to eighty five years. However, it should be stated that this is a celebratory

⁷² Hackel, Sergei, 'Editorial Notes', *Sobornost*, Series 7: No.7, Summer 1978, p.526.

⁷³ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 29: Number 1, 2007, pp.95-9.

⁷⁴ Zernov, 1959, pp.636-42.

book, showing the positives and development of the Society. Therefore, in this thesis this book is critically examined, in order to distinguish the truth of the events and the people behind them.

The Zernovs' memoir separates the history of this Fellowship into five periods (a. 1928-39, b. 1939-45, c. 1946-58, d. 1958-68, e. 1968-78). This division has been kept and continued in this research, respecting the wisdom and the insights of the Zernovs (continuing with f. 1978-89, g. 1989-96 and h. 1996-2012). However, Zernov does not explain why he separated the history of the Society in such a way. He merely explains, 'The history of the Fellowship can be divided into five periods.'⁷⁵ However, the history of the Society can be split differently. Sergei Hackel, editor of *Sobornost*, explained: 'The history of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius could well be divided into two as yet unequal periods: 1928-1980, and 1980 onwards. The first period is inextricably bound up with the personality of Nicolas Zernov,'⁷⁶ while the second period is the post-Nicolas Zernov period. This separation emphasises the significant role of Zernov within the life of the Society. On the other hand, another way to split the history of the Society would be according to the wider ecumenical developments. The first period would be from 1927, the birth of the Society, until 1948, with the birth of the WCC. The second period would be 1948-1976 (Moscow Agreed Statement, first statement of the official Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue). The third period would be 1976-1984 (Dublin Agreed Statement). The fourth period would be 1984-2006 (Cyprus Agreed Statement). The fifth period would, therefore, be 2006 until 2012.

Nicolas and Militza Zernov began their memoir by claiming:

We have written this short outline of its evolution to mark this occasion (i.e. the celebration of its 50th anniversary). These pages are only an introduction to the history of the Fellowship. They reflect our common experience in the work for Christian reconciliation. We hope that a full record will be published in the not-too distant future.⁷⁷

Therefore, their work is merely an epigrammatic description of the life of the Society, giving a number of important facts, describing them briefly. The wish expressed above by the Zernovs has not yet been accomplished. The first attempt to write the concise history of the Fellowship is the current thesis, examining the history between 1927 and 2012.

In the Zernovs' memoir, the significance of the Fellowship's role within the wider Ecumenical Movement is made apparent. Michael Ramsey, President of the Fellowship, in his Foreword to the memoir explains that

⁷⁵ Zernov, Nicholas, Zernov, Militza, *Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, A Historical Memoir*, (Oxford, Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1979), p.6.

⁷⁶ Hackel, Sergei, 'Editorial Notes', *Sobornost*, Volume 3, Number 1, 1981, p.9.

⁷⁷ Zernov, 1979, p.1.

through fifty years the Fellowship has had a creative role in the relation of East and West, of Orthodoxy and Anglicanism and of Christians of other descriptions too . . . the more official contacts between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion have owed much to the personal and spiritual encounters which the Fellowship has enabled.⁷⁸

The Zernovs gave a short history of the Anglican-Orthodox relations since the seventeenth century, until the birth of the Society (1927) and pointed out that the origin of the Fellowship is inevitably linked to the Russian Revolution. For example, the R.C.S.M. (Russian Christian Student Movement) was formed by the intelligentsia, who fled Russia in 1917. The authors identified various problems in respect to the unity of East and West; nevertheless, they explained that the key contribution of this Society is the 'Eucharistic approach to reunion,'⁷⁹ which later was adopted by other Ecumenical bodies, including the WCC. The existence of the Fellowship has had an effect on both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, as is evident in the following chapters of this thesis.

The memoir is significant for the Fellowship for many reasons. It does not only contain a brief description of the history of the Society. The appendix of this book contains a list of the books and pamphlets produced by or simply funded under the auspices of the Fellowship. This is a unique list, showing the crucial work undertaken by the Society. Most books published by the Fellowship had one central theme, Orthodoxy. Since the Reformation and until the 1920s, books on Orthodoxy, in the West, were not widely published. The Fellowship wished to change this, by producing books and articles on Orthodoxy, aimed towards the West, written in a Western language. The Society's importance in this field is immense, since most of the books on Orthodoxy between the 1920s until the late 1980s were produced by the Fellowship or by prominent members of the Society.

Zernov's books can be grouped together with this thesis, since they tackle the same issues - ecumenism and relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. Additionally, through these books, Zernov's theology of ecumenism is also evident. The perfect illustration is the book *The Reintegration of the Church*, where he describes his support for intercommunion (a theme proposed by Bulgakov in 1933 during a Fellowship conference). However, this was a contested belief and not everyone supported this idea. Other important works of his, including *Orthodox Encounter*, *The Christian East* and *The Russians and their Church* emphasise the important role of Orthodoxy, of the Russian emigration to Western Europe and therefore the unofficial establishment of ecumenical relations. In these books, brief descriptions of the Fellowship are to be found; however, there is no in-depth explanation of its existence, its goals and its life. Nevertheless, *Sunset Years*, Zernov's last

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.II.

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.24.

book, describes his life and through that the birth and formation of the Fellowship in 1927. On the other hand, since the central topic of the thesis is the Fellowship, an Anglo-Russian Society, Russian themes are analysed. However, books such as *Moscow - The Third Rome* are criticised in this thesis. The fact that Moscow is considered by the Russians as being the Third Rome is not accepted by most Orthodox Churches, being a Russian cultural and political reality than an Orthodox theological belief. The Greek world renounces this belief, using the term used within the Canons and the Tradition of the Church, namely Rome and New Rome (Constantinople).⁸⁰ Therefore, there is no room for a 'newer' Rome, or Third Rome. Nevertheless, Zernov, who was very Russian, wished to convey this belief of the Russian Church, even within the Fellowship. Zernov's Russian background is evident in all of his work, lectures, books, articles and life.

The Fellowship, since its beginning wished to promote Orthodoxy; and hence its central focus was always the Eastern Church. The promotion of the Liturgy was one of its central focuses, due to the fact that the Eucharist has been, since its beginning, a central feature within the life of the Society. Therefore, books such as *The Orthodox Liturgy* (1930), *the Office of the Fellowship* (1934), *A Manual of Eastern Orthodox Prayers* (1945) and *The Great Canon* (1957) played a crucial part in the life of the Fellowship. Additionally, the Fellowship also published the Divine Liturgy in English (1980), thus attempting to make Orthodoxy more attractive by bringing it closer, on a linguistic level, to the Westerners and English speaking faithful. On the other hand, the *Office of the Fellowship* shows how the Society wished to truly unite the members of both the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion, a respected attempt, which did not go far. The thesis here comments on this theme and identifies that this innovative office would never work in the wider Ecumenical arena. On the other hand, the Fellowship saw fit to publish a more 'Orthodox' prayer book, producing *An Orthodox Prayer Book* (2009), written by Fr. Ephrem Lash, in English, showing that a distinction needs to be maintained.

The non-Fellowship bibliography is vast; however, only a limited number of these books actually refer to the Fellowship. A good example of this reality is the book *Walter Frere – Scholar, Monk, Bishop*.⁸¹ Despite being a biography of the Fellowship's first president, no mention of the Society or its works is to be found within it. The Bishop's involvement in the Fellowship is not widely known. This raises an interesting question. Why has the Fellowship been ignored by modern scholars? Has not the Fellowship played an important role in the relations, and most importantly has it not affected the Anglicans and the Orthodox? It seems that, because the Fellowship has primarily

⁸⁰ We find this in the Second Ecumenical Council, Canon 3, in the Quinsext Council, Canon 36 and in the Fourth Ecumenical Council, Canon 28.

⁸¹ Gordon-Taylor, Benjami and Nicolas Stebbing CR (eds.), *Walter Frere Scholar, Monk, Bishop*, (Norwich, Canterbury Press, 2011).

maintained a scholarly and academic approach to the relations, having affected the hierarchs of both churches and not so much the vast memberships of both denominations, it is not widely known. The Fellowship has preferred to remain in the background and maintain an unofficial position within the Anglican-Orthodox relations. On the other hand, Fr. George Florovski's book *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*,⁸² has one footnote to the first Fellowship book *The Church of God*,⁸³ reinforcing the impression that the Fellowship seems to exist in the background; however, it does seem to be present.

On the other hand, its important members show, through their work, the effect that the Society has had on their theological, philosophical and social thoughts. Other books show the evolution of the relations, such as *The Oxford Movement*, Eugene Fairweather (1964), *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, S.L. Ollard (1915), which depict the basis for the future ecumenical relations. None of these refers to the Fellowship, but they give an understanding of why the Fellowship was formed and established in the United Kingdom and why the Anglicans wished to create relations with the Orthodox Church.

Influential publications, following the above background sources, which were written by Fellowship members, are for example *The Orthodox Church* (1935), written by Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, which has the same title as Metropolitan Kallistos' book, *The Orthodox Church* (1963). Both these books give an introduction to Orthodoxy; however, they do not describe at much length the existence of the Ecumenical Movement or the relations realised within the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. Only a brief depiction of the Fellowship is to be found towards the end of these books. However, the involvements of both these authors within the life of the Society affect their writings, even on other Orthodox themes.

An important book on Anglican-Orthodox relations is the one written by Bryn Geffert, entitled *Eastern Orthodox and Anglicans – Diplomacy, Theology and the Politics of Interwar Ecumenism*. This work gives an overview of the relations, being the first scholarly investigation of the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans within the interwar period. Geffert maintains that 'the years between the world wars witnessed the most concrete effort to bridge the gap between Orthodox and Anglicans.'⁸⁴ The author wishes to examine the beginnings of ecumenism, pointing out the relationship between diplomacy, theology and politics within the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans.⁸⁵

⁸² Florovsky, George, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*, (Belmont, Nordland Publishing Company, 1972).

⁸³ Mascal, E.L. (ed.), *The Church of God*, (London, S.P.C.K., 1934).

⁸⁴ Geffert, 2010, p.4.

⁸⁵ This thesis wishes to endeavour a similar project, where theology and politics are emphasised, explaining the current relations and ecumenical dialogues.

Remarkably Geffert's book dedicates a chapter to the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, followed by the analysis of Bulgakov's Intercommunion and Sophiology. The author explains that 'Russian and English students, horrified by a war that led many to question the very meaning of existence, sought answers in the hope of a unified Christian faith and founded in 1927 the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, an organization that continues to this day.'⁸⁶ Geffert, however, only analyses the interwar period of the history of the Society, giving, nevertheless, an analytical description of that time. This could only be read as an introduction to the history of the Fellowship. His description of the intercommunion topic, on the other hand, is one of the best ones, together with Anastassy Gallaher's articles⁸⁷ on Bulgakov's ecumenical thought. Both Geffert and Gallaher wish to show both Bulgakov's Intercommunion and Sophiology.

The fact that Geffert devotes two chapters to the Fellowship highlights its significance, not only within Britain, but on a broader level, in regards to the Ecumenical Movement, and especially within the bilateral relations between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church. The author claims that 'today, the Fellowship stands as one of the most successful examples of sustained and honest dialogue between members of two very different confessions.'⁸⁸ Therefore, the author wishes to point out the significance of its members and also of the theological concerns examined within its life. The fact that the Fellowship wished, through Bulgakov's prophecy or heresy, to propose intercommunion at such an early stage is significant. It depicts the need for union between the Christians, especially during the interwar period (1920-1937), where contact between West and East was inevitable, due to the tragedy of war, whereby people from different backgrounds (culturally, linguistically, denominationally and financially) came into contact with each other.

Geffert, therefore, examines the period which gave birth to modern ecumenism. Due to its enormous bibliography, it is the perfect source for anyone looking into the Ecumenical Movement. The fact that he discusses the political and diplomatic side of the relations emphasises that all of these discourses are related. The human relations between Christians of both East and West are not based only on theology and church relations but also on political and social factors.

Key books on the relations, giving a wider range than that examined by Geffert, are *Orthodoxy Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism* by Archbishop Methodios Fouyas (1972) and *Orthodoxy and Anglicanism* by Istavridis (1966). The latter book gives a list of theological issues which concerned both churches; however, he does not place these concerns within the wider Ecumenical Movement. A smaller examination is given in Hodges, *Anglicanism and Orthodoxy*

⁸⁶ Geffert, 2010, p.5.

⁸⁷ Gallaher, Anastassy Brandon, 'Bulgakov's Ecumenical Thought', *Sobornost*, Volume 24: Number 1, 2002, pp.24-55 and 'Bulgakov's Ecumenical thought', *Sobornost*, Volume 24: Number 2, 2002, pp.9-28.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p.183.

(1957). The first two books do not refer to the Fellowship, or its contribution to the ecumenical dialogue in the twentieth century. They give merely an overview of the relations and analyse certain important themes, which played a major role in the discussions. However, Hodges' book evaluates the value of the Fellowship in the overall discussions. Additionally, Antoine Arjakonvsky's book *The Way* (2013) shows the role the Fellowship played in the story of the Russian emigration in the West. The analysis given in these books, offer an in-depth explanation of the topics examined within the Society, such as doctrinal issues, sacraments, saints, the apostolic succession and many more. All of these themes were also deliberated and scrutinised within the Fellowship conferences and publications.

The second chapter, on Zernov and his ecumenical theology, are based on the books and articles written by Zernov, some of which were produced by or for the Fellowship. However, much new and unpublished data and many details are uncovered by the interviews which have taken place with Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia and Fr. Stephen Platt (Secretary of the Fellowship). Unfortunately, Zernov's diaries and personal memoirs are not available for consultation and may not be considered until seventy years after his death. Nicolas Zernov died in 1980, and therefore these documents will not be available until after 2050, in accordance with Zernov's will. Thus, the discoveries of this thesis are based on his published material and on the findings from the above interviewed Fellowship members.

The two case studies, examined in chapter 4, are based on both Fellowship and non-Fellowship sources. Metropolitan Kallistos' views on deaconesses and women priests have troubled not only the Fellowship, but they have also brought this topic to the Orthodox world, which has yet to respond officially to this issue. Bishop Kallistos wrote two articles, both entitled 'Man, Woman and the Priesthood of Christ'. In the first article (1978),⁸⁹ he expressed a very 'Orthodox' view, whilst in the second article (1999)⁹⁰ we identify a changed Kallistos, where he shows understanding of both views, for and against. However, the importance of these articles for the Fellowship is evident through the life of the Fellowship and its journal, *Sobornost*, where Kallistos was influenced by Elisabeth Behr Sigel, whose articles and views were published in *Sobornost* during the 1970s and 1980s. Further information is given by Metropolitan Kallistos through an interview, which has led to further understanding of his beliefs on this crucial issue.

⁸⁹ Ware, Kallistos, 'Man, Woman and the Priesthood of Christ', in Moore, Peter (ed.), *Man, Woman, Priesthood*, (London, SPCK, 1978), pp.68-90. (A)

⁹⁰ Kallistos, Bishop of Diokleia, 'Man, Woman and the Priesthood of Christ', in Hopko, Thomas (ed.), *Women and the Priesthood*, (New York, SVSP, 1999), pp.5-53.

The second case study in chapter 4 investigates Rowan Williams' views and beliefs on icons, following his books on this topic, *The Dwelling of the Light*⁹¹ and *Ponder These Things*.⁹² Icons are currently an actuality within the Anglican Communion, as many Anglican churches and most Anglican Cathedrals have at least one icon. The Fellowship has played a crucial role in this matter. Nevertheless, books like these have also promoted the idea. Rowan Williams, despite being a member of the Fellowship since the 1970s, does not examine this topic by using the Fellowship or its life or its beliefs. Therefore, this dissertation has endeavoured to unite the two, icons and Rowan Williams, with the Fellowship. This, however, has been achieved through interviewing Rowan Williams, where a connection between these themes has been evident. Moreover, his unique points have been expressed, expanding at the point made in his writings.

Icons are not to be understood, solely, as an Orthodox Tradition. Icons are also evident in Western churches, without the involvement and the influence of the Orthodox. They are referred to as paintings in, for example, the book *Britain's Holiest Places*,⁹³ nevertheless, they are icons. However, there are instances when they are termed as icons,⁹⁴ showing a distinct existence from that of an image. As one reads in *Ikons, and How They Were Made*,

Ikons are often called "images," but they are not images in the ordinary English sense of the word. It is well known that the use of images . . . is forbidden in the Eastern Church. Figures carved in relief are occasionally met with, but normally the place of images is taken by the perfectly flat ikon.⁹⁵

Therefore, despite a distinction between icons and images, it is apparent that today in England the two terms overlap, identifying the various sources which use the terms interchangeably.

Icons exist in ancient English churches, saved to this day on the walls of a number of important churches and cathedrals, such as St Albans,⁹⁶ Canterbury Cathedral,⁹⁷ Westminster Cathedral,⁹⁸ Winchester Cathedral (specifically in the Holy Sepulchre Chapel)⁹⁹ and many more. Despite being named paintings, the ecclesiastical term for such art within the Church is icon,¹⁰⁰ as

⁹¹ Williams, 2003.

⁹² Williams, Rowan, *Ponder These Things – Praying with Icons of the Virgin*, (Norwich, The Canterbury Press, 2002).

⁹³ Smith, Nick Mayhew, *Britain's Holiest Places*, (Bristol, Lifestyle Press Ltd, 2011).

⁹⁴ Such is the case with the book published by the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association: French, R.M., *Ikons, and how they were made*, (London, SPCK, 1936).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁹⁶ Smith, 2011, p.126.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.34.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.69.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.26-7.

¹⁰⁰ Icon is merely the Greek word (εἰκόνα) meaning image, representation. It has, however, a religious connotation, since it has been used by the Canons of the Church and Church Fathers. In this paper icon means a religious image, with a theological meaning and background. An Orthodox understanding of icons is given

evident in the Ninth Canon from the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787 AD).¹⁰¹ This Synod examined the issue of icons, condemning the iconoclasts and re-establishing the veneration of icons and their re-installment within the churches.

The relations reached a stage where Official Statements were produced. The four books (*Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue The Moscow Agreed Statement 1976, Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue The Dublin Agreed Statement 1984, The Church of the Triune God – The Cyprus Agreed Statement 2006, In the Image and Likeness of God, A Hope-Filled Anthropology – The Buffalo Statement 2015*) illustrate the themes which were discussed during the Official Dialogues. This research, however, investigates the intriguing notion of the principal role played by members of the Fellowship in these official talks. The background work, achieved within the Fellowship, facilitated in the formation of these agreed statements. The Lambeth Conferences and their statements are also the result of the Fellowship's existence, showing how members of both churches facilitated in the establishment of these official documents. However, the Fellowship was also assisted by the Lambeth Conferences, due to the fact that they paved the way for the establishment of relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans, beginning in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This can also be identified within the formation and life of the WCC, its publications and its statements.

It is evident, in the above literature review that a concise history of the Fellowship is not to be found in one place. Therefore, this thesis will examine and evaluate the significance of the Fellowship in establishing and forming the Ecumenical Relations as they are known today. The Fellowship and non-Fellowship publications, when combined and critically analysed, will give a clear overview of the history and life of this Anglo-Russian Society. Thus, the contribution is apparent when giving the history of the Fellowship since its formation in 1927 until 2012, showing the importance of Nicolas Zernov and understanding the current trends in modern theology by examining the beliefs and views of credible voices of both the Orthodox (Metropolitan Kallistos) and the Anglican (former Archbishop Rowan Williams) churches. Additionally, the literature review for this dissertation is large, due to the fact that it analyses a number of topics, the Society's history, Nicolas Zernov and his theological beliefs, whilst also examining two case studies. However, if this thesis were additionally analysing the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, the literature review would be even larger, since the association has produced a journal, which has had three names during its course of history, which are: first *Christian East*, second *E.C.N.L. – The Journal of the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association* and third *Koinonia*. All of the above promote the fact that

here: Antonova, Clemena, 'How to View icons, An Orthodox Theological View,' *Sobornost*, 37:1, 2015, pp.31-40.

¹⁰¹ In the original Greek: Αγαπίου Ιερομονάχου, Νικοδήμου Μοναχού, *Πηδάλιον*, (Αθήνα, Αστήρ, 1982), p.331.

this is a new area of research, giving this thesis a more significant role, not only for the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius but for the Ecumenical Movement in general.

Chapter 1
The History of the Fellowship of St Albans and St Sergius -
Foundation of the Fellowship until the birth of the WCC

The Beginnings of the Fellowship

The foundation of the Fellowship is connected to the Russian Revolution.¹⁰² ‘Suddenly, Russia appeared no longer as a devout Christian country, but as a militant godless State, fiercely opposed to any form of religion.’¹⁰³ The fall of the St Petersburg Empire had political and social implications; however, it also had an intense effect on the Christian population. This revolution is considered to be a milestone in the broader history of religion. ‘It is the first organised attempt to build up the life of a whole nation on the belief that God does not exist and that man is master of his own destiny.’¹⁰⁴ It was believed by the Communist party that the Church would eventually, after continuous persecutions, collapse. This, of course, did not take place, since the Church adapted to the new political, social and economic conditions. However, eventually the Russian Orthodox hierarchy ‘adopted the language of the Soviet propaganda and repeated the lies which form such an integral part of Communist totalitarianism.’¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, the Fellowship most probably would never have had existed if it were not for the Leninist victory in 1917, since it forced a huge exodus of Russian emigrants towards Western Europe and America. Conversely, it was also connected with an ideological challenge; ecclesiastical contact and unity was a desire many had, following the expansion of an atheistic state. It was a case of ‘The Church or Communism?’¹⁰⁶ Therefore, this contact between the two groups derived from a ‘sadness’¹⁰⁷ which brought inevitably Orthodoxy closer to the West, to Paris and then London. The wish for Christian unity was therefore an answer to the advancement of secularism, as it was realised within Russia.

Numerous scholars and leaders had foreseen the devastation that would be created by the establishment of Communism in Russia, such as Bulgakov, Berdyaev, Florovski, Frank and Zernov resulting in their expulsion from Russia in the beginning of the 1920s, together with several hundred

¹⁰² For an examination of the Russian Orthodox Church during the twentieth century see: Fedotoff, G.P., *The Russian Church Since the Revolution*, (London, SPCK, 1928) and Shubin, Daniel H., *A History of Russian Christianity, Volume IV, The Orthodox Church 1894 to 1990*, (New York, Algora Publishing, 2006).

¹⁰³ Zernov, Nicolas, 1978, p.141.

¹⁰⁴ Zernov, Nicolas, ‘The Christians of Russia and the Christians of Great Britain’, *Sobornost*, No.26 (New Series), December 1942, p.7.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p.161.

¹⁰⁶ Bruce, Michael, ‘The Necessity of Reunion’, *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 17, September 1932, p.19.

¹⁰⁷ Truron, Walterus, ‘Preface’ in *The Church of God*, E.L Mascall (ed.), (London, S.P.C.K., 1934), p.x.

thousand Russian Christians. They found refuge in the West, giving them the chance to warn the West of the great devastation created by Communism in their country. The Fellowship is one of the great fruits of the encounter of Russian émigrés with Western Christianity. It is safe to claim that the 'revolution brought about an understanding between Russian and Western Christians more profound than they had experienced in the past,'¹⁰⁸ owing to the emigration of thousands of Orthodox to the West and the interest shown towards Russia due to its political and social revolution.

The émigrés who left Russia and moved to the West did not all have the same background. Many opposed the new political situation in Russia on economic, social, political or religious grounds. Nonetheless, most of the emigrants belonged to the intelligentsia and the bulk of them were members of the Orthodox Church. Furthermore, young Russians immigrated to most capital cities of Europe, creating study circles there, where religion, politics and philosophy were debated between themselves and with the local population, thus showing an interest of establishing contact with other cultures and traditions of Christianity.

The 1920s formed the basis of the modern relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. Many changes occurred, introducing new organisations and establishments. During the autumn of 1923 the Russian Christian Student Movement in Exile (R.C.S.M.) was formed. It first met in Prerov, Czechoslovakia, where both young students and the established Russian intelligentsia, who had begun a religious revival in Russia before the Revolution, had the opportunity to exchange ideas. The R.C.S.M. maintained its non-political nature. It is the unique case which has united men of opposite political inclinations within the Russian émigré society, adopting the appealing slogan 'We need most of all unity, and this may be found only through Jesus Christ and His Church.'¹⁰⁹

An innovative idea, especially within Western Europe, was the founding of the Theological Academy of St Sergius in Paris (1925), drawing together exceptional theologians of the Russian Church. It was, at the time, 'the only seminary for Russians in Europe where there is an adequate staff and a full curriculum of theological study,'¹¹⁰ and the 'only Orthodox theological institute in Western Europe.'¹¹¹ This was a natural progression, since 'the Russian emigration to Paris was perhaps the most populous and fruitful.'¹¹² The Academy was first conceived by Metropolitan Evlogy. He eventually asked Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, then residing in Prague, to be its head. Moving to

¹⁰⁸ Zernov, 1978, p.168.

¹⁰⁹ Tatlow, Canon, T. "The Russian Student Christian Movement in Emigration", *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.14, December 1931, pp.12-13.

¹¹⁰ Cantuar, Cosmo, William Ebor, C.A. Cambrensis, John Dublin, A.F. London, John Derby, Charnwood, Henry L. Goundge, Will Spens, Sidney M. Berry, A.E. Garvie, J. Scott Lidgett, "For the Russian Ministry", *The Times*, Thursday June 2, 1938, Fellowship Archives.

¹¹¹ Gallaher, 2002, (A), p.43.

¹¹² Louth, Andrew, "Editorial", *Sobornost*, Volume 28: Number 1, 2006, p.5.

the French capital Bulgakov devoted himself to the development and growth of this work, 'which was destined to become one of his most important contributions to the life of the Church.'¹¹³

The Student Christian Movement played a key role in the furtherance of the relations between East and West and the eventual formation of the Fellowship. One of the first study circles, formed in the early 1920s, was the one in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The Belgrade group received, reluctantly, a visit from Ralph Hollinger, the secretary of the American Y.M.C.A., who was conveniently touring the Balkans. The Belgrade group was suspicious of the West due to Leninist propaganda but also due to Orthodox phobias and misconceptions towards the, as the Orthodox claimed, 'heretical' west, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. However, due to this first encounter, Hollinger invited members of the Belgrade group to attend inter-confessional student conferences. This resulted in two members, including Nicolas Zernov, who was the Secretary of the Russian Student Movement, visiting Swanwick, England, in order to attend the British Student Christian Movement. Zernov explains:

It was our first contact with the Christian West. England stirred us profoundly. The apparent stability of this country was far removed from the horrors of the Russian Civil War, the Red Terror, and the famine and disease which accompanied the collapse of the Russian Empire. Yet we experienced an unexpected unity with the British students in our common Christian faith. I, in particular, was so impressed by the affinity I discovered between the Anglican tradition and my own that I rashly proposed a special conference at which further points of contact might be explored.¹¹⁴

This desire expressed by Nicolas Zernov to the secretary of the Student Christian Movement (S.C.M.), Miss Zoe Fairfield, was received with concern. The Orthodox Church was unknown to most of the Western Christians; Russia was a far-away land that did not interest the Christians in the West. Also the S.C.M., as a member of the World Student Christian Federation, did not understand the reason for such an encounter, since it was opposite to all 'confessional and national distinction among students.'¹¹⁵ However, in 1927, Zoe Fairfield and Canon Tissington Tatlow, who was the General Secretary of the British Student Movement, became benefactors and supporters of the Anglo-Russian Student Conference which was held at St Albans in January of that year.

Nicolas Zernov and his first impressions of England, consequently, played a central role in establishing contact between the English and the Russians, between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. The decision for this first contact was decided in 1926 at the General Committee of the World Student Christian Federation at Nyborg Strand, Denmark. Nevertheless, despite the Russians living in many cities across Europe and establishing the Theological Academy of St Sergius in Paris,

¹¹³ Zander, L., "In Memory of Father Sergius Bulgakov", *Sobornost*, No.32 (New Series), December, 1945, p.11.

¹¹⁴ Zernov, 1979, p.4.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.4.

the Russian Christian Movement, through its representative Nicolas Zernov, desired to reach England and meet with the local ecclesiastical authorities and student movements. Zernov spent a month in 1926 visiting theological conferences, making a lecture tour, whilst managing to persuade twenty tutors and students to attend. On the other side, there were twelve Russians, primarily consisting of professors and students from the St Sergius Theological Academy in Paris. Zernov gives a poetic account of this first contact, describing how:

On the 11th January 1927, an unusual group descended from the train at St Albans station. It included bearded clerics in flowing robes, an Indian, a Copt, several Anglican monks from Mirfield and Kelham. The average British student was in the minority. For five days (11th-15th January), this incongruous community lived in St Albans retreat House, praying together, debating theology, and trying to understand each other's point of view.¹¹⁶

The intention of this gathering was to discover and understand the similarities and the distinctions that exist between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion. It was 'a possibility of great mutual enrichment.'¹¹⁷ Despite this theological and cultural interest between the two groups, there were evident hindrances that prevailed. The Russians spoke English poorly, whilst the English knew no Russian. On the other hand, 'the Russians had witnessed communist revolution, an experience incomprehensible at that time to the British people.'¹¹⁸ The latter did not witness the collapse of Christianity in their country; they were, on the other hand, confident that the League of Nations could abolish war and establish a global structure 'of social justice based on Christian principles.'¹¹⁹ Theology was the other topic on which both the Orthodox and the Anglicans differed. The former were more interested in 'meta-history and the mystery of the Church,'¹²⁰ whilst the latter were fascinated by biblical criticism. 'Both sides were also seriously handicapped by the lack of a common language and by traditional suspicions of each other. Yet in spite of all these difficulties they spontaneously recognized their oneness in Christ and their common membership in the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.'¹²¹

The delegation on the Anglican side was led by Bishop Gore, who made an impression to the Orthodox by his spirituality. On the Russian side, there were Sergius Bezobrazov and Professor Lev Zander. The Orthodox Chairman was Nicolas Zernov, while the Anglican Chairman was the Rev. O.F. Clarke.¹²² The practice of having parallel papers showed that, fundamentally, the two Churches did

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp.4-5.

¹¹⁷ The Student Christian Movement, *13th Anglo-Orthodox Student Conference*, 1939, Fellowship Archive.

¹¹⁸ Zernov, Nicolas, *Orthodox Encounter*, (London, James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1961), p. 191.(A).

¹¹⁹ Zernov, 1979, p.5.

¹²⁰ Ibid, p.5.

¹²¹ Zernov, 1961, p.191.

¹²² O.F. Clarke was the Anglican Chairman during the first conference of Anglicans and Orthodox in St Alban's (1927) and one of the most significant members of the Society for many years.

not differ, thus this first conference was received in a positive manner, resulting in a similar meeting at the end of the same year.

Eucharistic celebration during the Fellowship's conferences

A momentous and essential proposal was given by Fr. Sergius Bulgakov in 1927 for the Fellowship, which would later be instituted for the general Ecumenical Movement and the WCC, two decades after the establishment of the Society. Fr. Bulgakov believed that it would benefit both Orthodox and Anglicans to celebrate on alternate days the Anglican and Orthodox Eucharist, on the same altar. This was, of course, a radical and innovative idea that has become a Fellowship tradition. The objective of this proposition was to move closer towards reconciliation between East and West. However, 'no intercommunion took place, but all the members shared in the Eucharistic prayers of both rites.'¹²³ Moreover, this revolutionary idea was only accepted by the Orthodox because 'Fr. Bulgakov's authority stood so high.'¹²⁴ However, Fr. Bulgakov understood this innovative move as a revolutionary action, claiming that:

The Canons of the Orthodox Church prohibit intercommunion in prayer, and indeed all relations with non-Orthodox. But we are not alone in doubtful practice, since the hierarchy participate in interconfessional work. We find deep communion in prayer, which is forbidden by Canon Law.¹²⁵

The Eucharist was understood as a fruitful and supportive stimulation, especially during the challenging meetings and conferences between peoples of different backgrounds, Anglican and Orthodox. They believed that this practice was inspired by the divine grace offered through the Holy Spirit and the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. It gave a 'chance'¹²⁶ for both people to understand further the mysteries and theology of the other. As Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia later stated, 'There can be no deep and lasting rapprochement unless we come to appreciate how Christians on the other side pray, in what spirit they stand before God, how they express their sense of the sacred and their love for the Saviour.'¹²⁷ Many Fellowship members considered that if the Society remained on the theological debate level, then the whole movement and the fellowship between the two groups would have failed. However, a 'brotherhood in Christ'¹²⁸ and a further understanding were evident during the time spent in the Chapel, during the Orthodox Liturgy and the Anglican Mass.

¹²³ Ibid., p.162.

¹²⁴ Zernov, 1959, p.637.

¹²⁵ Fellowship Archives, 1934, p.1.

¹²⁶ Zernov, Nicolas, 'The Fellowship and its place in Reunion Work', *Sobornost*, No. 20 (New Series), December 1939, p.11. (A)

¹²⁷ Kallistos, Metropolitan of Diokleia, 'A Russian translation of Julian of Norwich', *Sobornost*, Volume 29: Number 1, 2007, p.83.

¹²⁸ Zernov, 1959, p.637.

The principle of having the Eucharist at the centre of the life of the Fellowship and later on the WCC, was based not on modern initiatives, but past examples. The most famous was the conversion of the Russian people to Orthodoxy in the eleventh century, whereby 'The liturgical life revealed the touch of God in the eyes of the Russians.'¹²⁹ The envoys who visited Constantinople were taken to St Sophia, the Imperial Cathedral, in order to observe the Liturgy. They were amazed by the Divine Eucharist and upon returning to Kiev they submitted their view, explaining: 'We did not know whether we were in heaven or on earth, for surely there is no such splendour or beauty anywhere upon earth. We only know that God dwells there among people.'¹³⁰ A modern illustration is expressed by Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia, who states,

I am grateful that my initial contact with Orthodoxy was not through reading books . . . but through attending an act of worship . . . Worship comes first, doctrine and discipline second . . . I encountered the Orthodox Church not as a theory or an ideology, but as a concrete and specific fact, as a worshipping presence.¹³¹

Consequently, the move towards the centralisation of the Eucharist in the life of the Fellowship was a continuation of the millennium-old Christian Tradition, wherein worship is fundamental. Hence, it also proclaimed that 'the Eucharist is the sacred heart of Church life and that theology and worship are intrinsically bound together.'¹³²

The Birth of the Fellowship

The second Anglo-Russian Conference,¹³³ held at St Albans between 28 December 1927 and 2 January 1928 was an impressive success, attracting more than seventy people. This conference gave birth to the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. A yearning was communicated by the Rev. William Tindal, a Scottish Presbyterian and the then secretary of the S.C.M. In the beginning, it was a closed club for the members who took part in the conferences; however, this changed quickly and the Fellowship began accepting anyone who was interested in Anglican-Orthodox Relations and the reunion of the two ecclesiastical bodies. During the second St Albans conference two presidents were elected, the Russian Metropolitan of Western Europe, Evlogy, and the Bishop of Truro, Walter Frere. The first stage of its history was forcefully theological. This was even evident through its members who were renowned theologians from both churches, including Arseniev, N. Berdyaev, Fr.

¹²⁹ Andreopoulos, Andreas, *The Transfiguration of Christ* (Paraclete Press, Massachusetts, 2012), p. 67.

¹³⁰ Ibid. p.67.

¹³¹ Ware, 2000, p.3.

¹³² Zernov, 1979, p.25.

¹³³ These terms were mainly used in order to address the identity of the people who took part in the conferences and hence formed and became part of the Fellowship. The terms Anglo and Russian are to be understood as Anglican and Orthodox. The latter terms were not used later on, due to the fact that non English and non-Russians became members of this organisation. Here we are reminded of the term Greek in the New Testament which is used to express paganism and not Hellenism.

Bulgakov, Fedotov, Fr. Florovski, Kartashev, Zander and many more from the Russian side and Walter Frere, Bishop Gore, Bishop Headlam, Professor Goudge, Hodgson and many others from the Anglican side. Since 1928 the Fellowship had become 'an important unofficial channel for the relations between Orthodox and Western Christians,'¹³⁴ being therefore a Society of prayer, despite ecclesiastical, doctrinal and traditional differences that existed between its members. Metropolitan Evlogy presented his message, pointing out:

Already in ancient times differences between Eastern and Western Christianity existed. . . But, "In My Father's house there are many mansions." The oneness of the Church is realised in love. 'And I have declared unto them Thy Name, and will be in them and I in them'. Love demands a struggle. The young generation comes to relieve those working now. But the service remains the same – the building of the House of God – a true union between the One Flock and the One Shepherd.¹³⁵

The Fellowship was the first Society that had not been founded solely by Anglicans - the other two being the Eastern Church Association (1864) and the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox Churches Union (1906), which after their amalgamation formed the AECA (1914) – to promote relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. On the other hand, it was born as a consequence of the yearning for Christian Unity by both ecclesiastical groups. 'This feeling of equality has contributed to that complete frankness with which the most delicate points have always been discussed at Fellowship conferences and meetings.'¹³⁶

Why St Alban and St Sergius?

A question many ask is, why include in the title of this Society the name of these two saints, St Alban and St Sergius? The answer could not be simpler; 'it was an agreeable and moral suggestion to have two saints, representing not the two Churches, but the cultural distinction between the two groups, i.e. between the Russians and the English;'¹³⁷ therefore the members chose St Alban to represent England and St Sergius to represent Russia. However, Nicolas Zernov expressed the view, during the 1950s that this name did not represent the whole scope of the Fellowship's work, since it had expanded, introducing new members from other parts of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church; nevertheless, he did propose an addition, stating:

The present name of our Society does not reflect the full scope of our activities and interests. It suggests a Fellowship between the English and the Russian section of the Eastern Orthodox Christians. This divergency between our name and the field of our operation has been in the past a cause of serious difficulties, and it is at present

¹³⁴ Zernov, 1978, p.175.

¹³⁵ Reeves, Ambrose, 'Survey', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.12, June 1931, pp.7-8, (A).

¹³⁶ Zernov, 1939, p.11. (A).

¹³⁷ Salapatas, Dimitris, 'Three British Orthodox Saints', *Orthodox Herald*, July-August 2012, Issue 286-7, p.24.

a considerable obstacle to the expansion and consolidation of our work. As soon as the Fellowship leaves England and the Russian colonies of dispersion, the patronage of St Alban and St Sergius makes our participants look more like adopted children than full members of our Society. The creation of St Basil's House in 1943 and its close association with all the forms of the Fellowship's work provided us with a solution of the present dilemma. Without discarding our former name, so dear to our old members, we ought to add to it the name of St Basil. By doing this we shall provide those branches of our Fellowship which work outside England and the Russians in Exile with a name corresponding with their object, namely, of increasing mutual understanding between the Eastern and Western Christians.¹³⁸

In practice, this last point was realised. Each Fellowship branch chose its own title, its own patron saint, showing thus a connection of the people to their local Church and saints. Two examples are the Fellowship of St Andrew (Scotland) and the Fellowship of St David and St Nicolas (Cardiff). Nevertheless, who were St Alban and St Sergius?

St Alban was the first saint and martyr of Britain, in Verulamium. Numerous traditions relating to St Alban are very ambiguous, and it is impossible to verify various historical details and traditions about this legendary saint. Nevertheless, during the fifth century 'a Gallic saint named Alban, and a native of Britain was widely venerated both in this country and on the continent.'¹³⁹ 'He was a soldier in the Roman army and, according to the venerable Bede, was brought to faith in Christ by a fugitive priest to whom he gave shelter.'¹⁴⁰ It is said that the priest's name was 'Amphibalus – but this is almost certainly a fictitious name given to him because it is the Greek equivalent of Caracalla – or cloak – which played an important part in one of the episodes of St Alban's martyrdom.'¹⁴¹ Alban was so convinced of the priest's holiness and authenticity, that he conveyed his wish to become a Christian.

A local magistrate found out that Alban was sheltering a priest and a group of soldiers was sent to arrest both of them. When Alban realised what was about to happen, he exchanged clothes with the priest, allowing him to escape, thus giving him the opportunity to continue preaching the Gospel of Christ. When introduced to the magistrate he was commanded to sacrifice to the pagan Gods. After his refusal he was sentenced to be scourged, in order to make him recant, but to no avail. He was then sentenced to death. On the day of his execution all the town gathered in order to witness the event. However, the bridge by which the procession was to pass was blocked by all the people. Alban prayed to God and the waters of the river pulled back, thus creating a passageway.

¹³⁸ Zernov, Nicolas, *The Name of the Fellowship*, 1950, Fellowship Archive.

¹³⁹ Johnson, K.R., 'St Alban. English Promartyr (304)', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 4, March 1929, p.32.

¹⁴⁰ Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, http://www.thyateira.org.uk/index.php?option=com_alphacontent&Itemid=151, 14/08/2012, 17.34.

¹⁴¹ Johnson, 1929, p.33.

When observing this, the executioner was so moved that he laid his sword at the protomartyr's feet wishing that he as well would be executed together with Alban. Upon reaching the spot of the execution, the saint desired some water, and after praying to God a living spring broke out near him.

After hearing the events that took place, the magistrate was astonished. This admiration resulted in the termination of all persecutions. When, eventually, Christianity became the established religion, a magnificent church was built on the spot of St Alban's Martyrdom, which is 'the oldest site of continuous Christian worship in Britain.'¹⁴²

Whether or not he was aware of Christianity before the circumstances which led to his conversion is unknown; nonetheless, it is likely that he would have had some experience of it. Despite the fact that St Alban is termed the "Protomartyr of England," it is likely that there were many other saintly figures in the British Isles, who lived and died for their faith before him, especially during the reign and persecutions of Emperor Diocletian. He is, undoubtedly, an example of 'the finest logic of Christian martyrdom.'¹⁴³ St Alban is commemorated on 17 June and his martyrdom testifies the importance that England has played since the early centuries of Christianity.

St Sergius of Radonezh played a crucial role in the renewal and restoration of the Russian Church in the fourteenth century 'founding the famous monastery of the Holy Trinity,'¹⁴⁴ Sergiev Posad (previously known as Zagorsk), thus reviving the monastic tradition in Russia. His central concern was 'the Christian attitude to war, the right to use compulsion in defence of a good cause, the meaning of authority, the power of humility, the bearing of Trinitarian faith upon the social and national issue.'¹⁴⁵ When help was needed he always offered it. He determined Christian solutions to many of the problems and issues of his time.

'He was destined to shine in the dimness of the dessert and thence to enlighten the Capital and every part of Russia.'¹⁴⁶ St Sergius was accustomed to rigid fasting. Day and night, in the dessert, he would pray to God. He was continuously victorious in regards to the needs of the flesh; 'therefore in his retirement the signs of his continual victory were his long fast, constant labours, firm standing in prayer, many and reverent prostrations and all night vigils.'¹⁴⁷ He even shared his food with a certain bear and the local wildlife whenever they would visit him.

¹⁴² St Alban's Cathedral, <http://www.stalbanscathedral.org/>, 16/08/2012, 17.11.

¹⁴³ Lev, Archimandrite, 'St Alban and the cost of discipleship', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.18, Winter 1955-56, p.284.

¹⁴⁴ Alfeyev, Bishop Hilarion, *The Mystery of Faith – An Introduction to the Teaching and Spirituality of the Orthodox Church*, (London, Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd., 2002), p.267.

¹⁴⁵ Zernov, Nicolas, *St Sergius Builder of Russia*, (London, S.P.C.K., 1939), p.xi. (B).

¹⁴⁶ Alexeyev, Madam, 'Life of the Venerable Father Sergius', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius*, No.6, September 1929, p.33.

¹⁴⁷ Alexeyev, 1929, p.44.

He wished to live as a true hermit, taking into account the lives of the great hermits of the Egyptian desert, such as St Anthony. When asked why he had built the monastery in the area he did, away from a city, in a remote place, he replied, 'I thought to keep silence here alone; God willed to raise here a habitation; but be bold in prayer. If in the parched desert He gave water to the rebellious people of Israel, will He deprive you who work for Him day and night?'¹⁴⁸

St Sergius' holiness was apparent to anyone who met him. He was also a miracle worker. Once a father brought his sick son in order for the Abbot, Fr. Sergius, to pray over him; however, the child had a fit and died. The father went to prepare a coffin, whilst St Sergius prayed over the boy, bringing him eventually back to life. The fame of his spiritual power spread, giving the opportunity to more people to heal their loved ones. These cases made Fr. Sergius and his monastery very famous. Community life was established in his monastery, after he had been persuaded by a letter sent from the Patriarch of Constantinople, making it known that his fame had spread to the imperial city, thus breaching the Russian borders.

His reputation preceded him in the political field. During the days of the Grand Duke Daniel, the Tartar Prince Mamai wished to advance against Russia. The Duke, before defending his country, wished to receive guidance from the Venerable Sergius, who he saw as a mighty saintly figure, with prophetic gifts. The Saint eventually advised him to go ahead with the defence of Russia and that God was on their side. He also gave him two monks, Alexander and Andrew, in order to fight with him. Despite the great numbers of the enemy the Duke with his army won the Battle of the Don, this being 'the beginning of the freedom of Russia from the Tartar yoke.'¹⁴⁹

St Sergius saw a marvellous visitation; he was visited by the Virgin Mary, accompanied by the Apostles Peter and John. The Mother of God bestowed on him courage, pronouncing that 'Fear not, thy prayer for thy disciples and for this place is heard; both while thou art here and after I will not leave thy habitation and will protect it.'¹⁵⁰ This was a great comfort for Fr. Sergius, who always worried about the future of his monastery. Nevertheless, having the gift of prophecy, he knew of his approaching end six months before it happened. He eventually commended his soul to God on 25 September 1391. 'He has remained the most venerated and beloved leader of the Russian Church, a guide and inspiration for its members.'¹⁵¹

Returning now to the Fellowship, the first contacts between two groups, between two people, are always important. The history of this organisation is of course entangled with its

¹⁴⁸ Alexeyev, Madam, 'Life of the Venerable Father Sergius', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius*, No. 8, March 1930, p.37.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p.40.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p.41.

¹⁵¹ Zernov, 1939, p.xi, (B).

conferences, which gave birth to it. The first objective of the Fellowship was established in the first Issue of the *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, which appeared in June 1928, claiming that:

We are concerned primarily to draw closer to one another in a Fellowship which enables us to understand and share that which is deepest in the faith and experience of our two communions. To both sides the expression of this faith and experience in worship is the central reality; and that has hitherto proved to be our most fruitful form of Fellowship.¹⁵²

First Period (1928-1939)

The first years featured a number of conferences, which were conducted at a very high theological level. This was apparent due to the fact that both groups had to understand and observe the similarities and differences that existed between them, to determine ultimately whether a future union between them would be possible. The power of these conferences may be assessed in the following way: 'it converted an ignorant lack of sympathy into an affection that is learning to understand . . . there is union with regard to fundamentals.'¹⁵³ It was not a given that union would be achieved; however, faith is one. Patience is needed. What needed to be identified was whether the ephemeral differences were merely a disparity of opinion.

The conferences, during the first period (1928-1939) were divided into two parts, one for the students and one for the members of the Fellowship. They took place primarily at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, just outside London. 'This Conference Centre became closely associated with this first pioneering period'¹⁵⁴ of the Society's history. However, it was evident that the conferences alone did not suffice for the members of the Fellowship, who wished for more events and action to be taken in regards to Anglican-Orthodox relations.

Two foremost activities of this period depict the will of the members of the Fellowship in promoting the relations between the two Churches. First, the conferences attracted many leading theologians, many of whom were globally known and who helped to form the theology of the twentieth century in both East and West, such as N.S. Arseniev, Nicolas Berdyaev, Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, G.P. Fedotov, Fr. George Florovski, Anton Kartashov, Eric Mascall, Fr. Talbot and many more. The people who attended these conferences were Russian Orthodox from St Sergius in Paris, English students of Theology from all around the UK and clergymen. Progressively others joined the conferences in High Leigh, for instance Lutheran Swede and American Episcopalians as well as

¹⁵² Braikévitch, Zenia, Ambrose Reeves, (eds), 'Editorial', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.1, June 1928, pp.3-3a.

¹⁵³ Green, Arthur, 'Impressions of the Fifth Anglo-Russian Conference', held at High Leigh, April 16-21, 1931, *The Journal of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.12, June 1931, p.14.

¹⁵⁴ Zernov, 1979, p.6.

Orthodox from Greece, Romania and Serbia. The conferences were remarkable in pointing out the relations of the two groups.

The second venture was the *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*. This was a very important periodical, not only for this organisation, but for the Ecumenical Movement as a whole. It produced the ideas and beliefs which were expressed during the conferences, but also the personal views of many of its members, in regards to Anglican-Orthodox Relations.

It is evident that a basis, a wish of unity existed; however, the problems arose fairly quickly, when discussions began. The Anglo-Russian Conferences continued, despite the fact that disagreement and diversity of opinion were evident during the lectures and the talks, the participants seemed to be always united in worship, where everyone worshipped together. Liturgical life united the two distinct groups; however, intercommunion was not practised in these gatherings. During the Third Anglo-Orthodox Conference, at High Leigh, April 3 to 8 1929, this was apparent: all the participants realised an atmosphere of unity within worship. Even at their discussions with the disunity that existed, a measure of unity in Christ, it was claimed, was felt. Fr. Bulgakov, concluded his impressions of the conference claiming, 'it was a breath of the Holy Spirit.'¹⁵⁵ During this conference Walter Frere, Bishop of Truro, was elected President of the Fellowship. He also gave a message, showing the future prospects that he wished for, explaining:

The Fellowship was able to take a real step forward in its own small way at the last Conference in High Leigh. A prospect seemed to open up and opportunities to develop which we hardly suspected before; and we are coming to think that there is more for the Fellowship to do, than we had dared to dream of previously. Let us then watch these opportunities and openings, and try to make ourselves ready for any further development to which God may call us. Our readiness will depend upon a personal devotion and also a wide capacity to understand and respond to the guidance of God's Holy Spirit. May He in all things direct our way.¹⁵⁶

The Fellowship in Paris

From the beginning of the Fellowship's history in the UK there was also a connection with Paris, since the Russian immigrants moved there and formed the Theological Institute of St Sergius in Paris. Thus, it is right to claim that the Fellowship's two lungs,¹⁵⁷ during this first period were London and Paris, where the main part of the Fellowship's work took place and where its members primarily

¹⁵⁵ Reeves, Ambrose, R., 'Editorial', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 5, June 1929, p.2.

¹⁵⁶ Frere, Walter, 'A Message from the President', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.5, June, 1929, p.5.

¹⁵⁷ The term 'lungs' is taken by Pope John Paul II, found in the text: 'Up Unum Sint – On Commitment to Ecumenism'. The two lungs of the Church refer to the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church. In this text Pope John Paul II claims that: 'the Church must breathe with her two lungs'. John Paul II, 'Ut Unum Sint – On Commitment on Ecumenism', http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_25051995_ut-unum-sint_en.html, accessed 11/03/2014, 15.27.

resided. The Anglicans in France seemed interested in the relations between the two Churches; however, it was the Russian professors and theology students who formed the main body of the Fellowship's branch in the French capital. During 1929 a Paris Committee was formed in order to 'keep a live interest in the Fellowship among the members of the Paris community, and to be responsible for the Russian side of the planning of the conferences.'¹⁵⁸ The Paris group met regularly in order to further its knowledge of the Anglican Church.

The Paris branch of the Fellowship, however, had some difficulties in functioning in accordance with the prosperous branches in the UK. One major issue was recruitment. The Fellowship in Britain had Nicolas Zernov, who was a great asset. Zernov visited countless universities, colleges, parishes and groups in order to promulgate the work of the Fellowship and publicise the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. This was not possible in France, due to the lack of manpower and the shortage of theological institutions, with the exception of the St Sergius Theological Institute in Paris. The other issue was the shortage of Anglican laymen and clergy in France, making any contact a difficult task. Nevertheless, hope existed, since members of the Fellowship, such as Nicolas Zernov, visited France and thus kept the two lungs of the Fellowship in constant contact with each other.

Parishes

Early on, the Fellowship understood the need to promote its works not only within the academic field, where it would remain hidden within clerical circles, but also among the parishes of both churches. This, of course, brought the Fellowship closer to the laity. Members of the Fellowship promoted its work through conferences, held all around Britain. Hence, we also observe the fact that Anglican parishes, under the auspices of their respected bishops, began praying for the brethren in Russia, due to the ongoing persecutions that were taking place in the Soviet Union. 'One of the aims for which the Fellowship exists is the spreading of knowledge of the Orthodox Church among the English Church people and the establishment of contacts between Christians of the East and the West.'¹⁵⁹ Without the existence of the Fellowship and the interest shown by its members, awareness of the situation in the East would be minimal. Nevertheless, the crucial role played by Nicolas Zernov facilitated this reality, as he travelled all around Britain in order to promote Orthodoxy and Anglican-Orthodox relations in parishes, local conferences, theological schools and seminaries.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Reeves, 1929, p.3.

¹⁵⁹ Mascal, Eric, 'What can be done in a parish', *Sobornost*, No. 19, March-April, 1933, p.32.

¹⁶⁰ Some examples being: Cuddesdon, St Stephen's House, S. David's College, College of the Ascension, Wesley House, Independent College and Kings College & St Christopher's College. For the complete list of colleges visited see: Zernov, Nicolas, 'A Report of Ten Months' Work in the Field of Church Unity (Eastern & Western)', *Sobornost*, No.16, June 1932, p.2.

On the other hand, the most important contribution of the Fellowship towards the formation of a parish was the foundation of the Orthodox Church in Oxford, housed within the grounds of the House of St Gregory and St Macrina (as is analysed in the Fifth period of the Fellowship's history). However, within London the Fellowship had not made a great contribution, especially in respect to the birth and establishment of Orthodox Churches.

Fourth Annual Anglo-Russian Conference

The Fourth Annual Anglo-Russian Conference in High Leigh, Hoddesdon, demonstrated the importance of the Fellowship for the relations of both Churches; both Metropolitan Evlogy and the Archbishop of Canterbury attended. This was felt to be 'a sign of the times; a further witness of the bonds which are drawing the two Communion together.'¹⁶¹ The latter pointed out the importance of the Fellowship by explaining:

You here embody this brotherhood. It is the very meaning of your Fellowship . . . you are here not only to understand one another better, but to share with one another the gifts which God has given you in this one family life of His Holy Church.¹⁶²

The fourth conference emphasised the fact that now there was an apparent vision that there stood a small but vigorous 'group of people who not only are conscious of the necessity for reunion between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, but also have the firm desire to become personally active workers in this field.'¹⁶³ Nicolas Zernov, expressing his views on this conference and the work that had been done up to this point, claimed that:

I think that in the history of the Christian Church it is perhaps the only instance where the members of two very different Christian communities which never before had any common religious life came to the conclusion that the reunion of their bodies is not only important but urgently needed and quite possible.¹⁶⁴

This is the case, since the two churches, historically, were isolated and distant from each other, not only theologically, but also socially, culturally and geographically. However, Zernov's belief of a possible unity between the churches will seem unrealistic in the later periods of the Fellowship's life and history.

Through the talks and contacts it was noticeable that the Christians from both churches felt a connection and an understanding. It was felt that unity between the Anglicans and the Orthodox

¹⁶¹ Turner, Arthur, J., 'Some Impressions of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Fellowship of SS. Alban & Sergius', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.9, June 1930, p.23.

¹⁶² Lang, Cosmo Gordon, Archbishop of Canterbury, 'The Greeting of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Anglo-Russian Conference', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.9, June 1930, p.6.

¹⁶³ Zernov, Nicolas, 'Notes on the 4th Anglo-Russian Conference', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.9, June 1930, pp.24-5.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p.25.

would be a reality in the near future, showing the way for a pan-Christian future unity. Therefore, the Fellowship became the main body working towards a unity of all Christians, beginning, however, with just Anglicans and Orthodox. Each person met the other tradition, not only on an academic level. The reunion 'so generated among Anglicans and Orthodox has been encouraged and reinforced by their own growing and wide-spreading first-hand experience of each other's mystic life.'¹⁶⁵

In 1931 a new venture was proposed, in the Paris branch of the Fellowship. There, the members 'revealed the desire to take advantage of all the experience gained in the Conferences, in order to strengthen the organisation in Paris.'¹⁶⁶ It was felt necessary to promote the work of the Fellowship within the Russian Church in Paris, the work of reunion. This showed the interest that the members had in furthering their cause. Without the two lungs (Paris and London), without the professors from England and St Sergius in Paris, the Fellowship would have been a very different organisation.

At each successive Fellowship conference a number of Russian and Anglican students gathered, who had previously not been part of the Fellowship's life. This is a reality evident to this day. This, of course, meant that there was a steady increase in the Fellowship's membership. It was essential for the continuation of the Fellowship, but also for the Anglican and Orthodox churches, to bring into contact young theologians, in order to cultivate them in the relations of both traditions, thus, facilitating in a better chance of a future unity and better understanding of each other's beliefs and practices. Ambrose Reeves explains this by stating:

On our Fellowship there lies a very heavy responsibility, for it is the one society in existence which makes it its special concern to raise up a body of well-informed younger men and women in both Churches, who, while recognising the seriousness of the difficulties in the way of union between the Anglican and the Russian Orthodox Church, are prepared to work and to pray for that unity which we all desire and so be prepared to use it in the day when we receive this rich gift from God.¹⁶⁷

Therefore, educating the young students and theologians was a key aim of the Fellowship, for its future existence, for the furtherance of the relations and the achievement of its objective, especially since the Fellowship was born out of the Christian Student Movement and the desire for knowledge and communion between the students during the 1920s. It was apparent, from its beginnings, that 'ignorance and indifference'¹⁶⁸ were enemies of union.

¹⁶⁵ Douglas, Canon J.A., 'The Orthodox Delegation to the Lambeth Conference', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.10, Sept., Dec., 1930, p.7.

¹⁶⁶ Reeves, Ambrose, 'Editorial', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No.12, June 1931, p.2.

¹⁶⁷ Reeves, 1931, p.10, (A).

¹⁶⁸ Bishop, Frank, H., 'Editorial', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius (New Series)*, No. 19, March-April 1933, p.3.

The Society was financed by the Christian Student Movement during the first years of its existence. This aid stopped during the 1930s when the Fellowship wished to stand independently, by establishing a membership fee. As the years passed, more people became aware of the Fellowship's importance and uniqueness within the Ecumenical sphere. Hence, many joined the membership, attending its conferences and spreading the word, such as the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, George Francis Graham Brown. On the Orthodox side, many famous scholars were part of this organisation, promoting Orthodox theology towards the West and the émigré communities, such as the 'Big Four',¹⁶⁹ namely Professor Berdyaev, Fr. Bulgakov, Professor Fedotoff and Fr. George Florovski. Nevertheless, it was apparent that the message of unity had to be spread to the members and the faithful of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church and not to be maintained just within the interests of a small number of scholars and clergy. Therefore, it was decided at the Sixth Anglo-Russian Students' Conference that Zernov, following the invitation of Bishop of Truro, was to spend two years working for the Fellowship, alongside other organisations¹⁷⁰ and people who wished to further the relations between Western and Eastern Christians. This fact shows how important Zernov was to the Fellowship's work and its history, but also for the further pronouncement of the Orthodox Church in the West to Western audiences. Zernov, consequently, began his crucial work by visiting and speaking to English Theological Colleges and prominent representatives within the ecclesiastical and academic fields, promoting simultaneously Orthodoxy and the Fellowship and its essential work towards Christian Unity. However, Zernov was not the first to tour the country and other countries, such as France, in order to promote Orthodoxy and the relations between the two churches: Florovski's lecture tour was the first instance of an Orthodox professor who took part in the training of Anglican theological students.

Nicolas Zernov understood the difficulties of this task. He explained that all the differences, the misconceptions, misunderstandings that separate the Eastern and Western churches, could be 'revealed and understood only through a personal contact in life and worship together.'¹⁷¹ This could

¹⁶⁹ Bishop, Frank, H., 'Editorial', *ibid.*, No. 16, June 1932, p.1.

¹⁷⁰ The organisations which wished to take part in this endeavour, assisting it financially or in other ways, were:

- a. The Anglo-Russian Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius;
- b. The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain & Ireland;
- c. The Appeal Committee of the Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund;
- d. The Anglican & Eastern Churches Association;
- e. The American Y.M.C.A.;
- f. The World's Student Christian Federation;
- g. The Russian Student Christian Movement in Emigration;
- h. The Russian Theological Academy in Paris.

Zernov, 1932, p.1b.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

be achieved by an organisation like the Fellowship. Through his work and his beliefs he expressed the conviction that

The East and the West are both parts of the Church and that a modern Christian cannot ignore any longer the existence of the other type of Christianity, although he may not like it or appreciate it personally. The Church Universal is wider and richer than the present confessions and Christ's message must be presented to the world in the light of the integral history and the experience of the Church, and not in the name of one of its sections.¹⁷²

Evidently Zernov and the Fellowship wished to pursue a future unity between the two churches, highlighting that the Anglicans and Orthodox were more fitting than many churches to achieve this objective. Additionally, through the ongoing polemical atmosphere in Europe and the constant need for unity between people of different backgrounds it was apparent that the time was right for the Fellowship to progress. Zernov explains this, 'the world is longing for the rediscovery of the true Catholic Church and the minds and hearts of many Christians are ready to listen to its message.'¹⁷³

The Fellowship underwent a change. It is only natural that an organisation will alter during its course of history, without change and evolution it is more like to die out. One modification was that the Fellowship now held two distinct conferences, held at different dates, looking into different themes. The first was for students, having a greater degree of spontaneity and enthusiasm; whilst the second one consisted of members of the Fellowship. The conferences were both highly theological and homogenous, giving the opportunity for further theological discussions.

The Fellowship Icon and Office

During this period the Fellowship evolved, creating its own traditions. An icon was commissioned with both St Alban and St Sergius,¹⁷⁴ showing the connection and the relation between the two saints, the two churches and the two peoples. However, the highest form of unity was evident through the Fellowship Office. It was composed in agreement with a resolution of the Fellowship (28 February 1932), based on the Russian Molyeben (prayers for the dead), stating the true nature of the Fellowship, that it is a 'society of prayer and spiritual intimacy.'¹⁷⁵

Being intended for use, it professes to be, not a literary translation, but a ritual transcription. It seeks to reconcile fidelity to the original with loyalty to the traditions of Anglican worship. These have been additions and subtractions, which if

¹⁷² Ibid, p.9.

¹⁷³ Ibid, p.10.

¹⁷⁴ In 2015, Fr Stephen Platt, Secretary of the Fellowship uncovered on the Social Media an additional icon, from the early years, restored by Fr Dobromir Dmitrov. Therefore, there were two painted icons of St Alban and St Sergius.

¹⁷⁵ Dobbie-Bateman, Arthur F., 'The Office of the Fellowship', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 26, December 1934, p.29.

the union of the Churches were a fact, would not be necessary; they give point to the Fellowship's ideal.¹⁷⁶

The task of this work was given to the Right Reverend Bishop of Truro, President of the Fellowship and to the Russian clergy, who were under the Russian province of Western Europe and also members of the Fellowship. Therefore, it emphasises 'a high, if not the highest, measure of common agreement at a given moment in time';¹⁷⁷ this verified what Fr. Florovski believed, that 'we can already unite in prayer.'¹⁷⁸ However, Fr. Bulgakov understood it as a form of intercommunion. He claimed that 'these and any other steps must be taken with due canonical authority, but this partial intercommunion shows that there are two complementary ways to reunion – hierarchical and by groups. Preparation for reunion is the task of groups.'¹⁷⁹ This Office was first celebrated on 20 January 1933 with the ultimate objective to further a true community of prayer between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.¹⁸⁰ 'It is based on the Eastern Orthodox rite, but adapted to the Anglican use.'¹⁸¹ A revised Office was later published entitled *A Brief Form of Corporate Prayer from Eastern Sources for Use on Various Occasions*, where it was pointed out by the Bishop of Truro that this service 'has grown up from the practical need of a form of short corporate prayer in which all the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius could share.'¹⁸² In the appendix of this small book, one can also find the Office Hymn of the Fellowship,¹⁸³ emphasising therefore the constant understanding and want for unity between the two groups.¹⁸⁴

Bulgakov's Partial Intercommunion

The Conference of 1933, whose subject was *The Eucharist and the Church Unity*, brought the Fellowship into theological and practical discussions unprecedented not only within the Fellowship but even within the relations of both churches. These talks, of course, generated great interest and excitement, and not only for that generation, since this theme is still examined and argued to this day. Fr. Bulgakov's idea of partial intercommunion and the points on the future of the relations of the members of both churches within the life and practice of the Fellowship constituted one of the

¹⁷⁶ *Fellowship Office*, Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, (Essex, The Talbot Press, 1933), p.1.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Florovski, George, 'A Visit to Anglican Theological Colleges', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius*, No. 21, September 1933, p.40.

¹⁷⁹ Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, *Report of Conference held at High Leigh, June 26-28 1934*, Fellowship Archives, p.3.

¹⁸⁰ Appendix 6.

¹⁸¹ Zernov, Nicolas, 'Dr. Nicolas Zernov's letter to members of the Fellowship', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius*, No. 20, June-July 1933, p.19.(A).

¹⁸² Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, *A Brief Form of Corporate Prayer from Eastern Sources – for use on various occasions*, (Wantage, St Mary's Press, 1934), p.1.

¹⁸³ Appendix 7.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

most controversial concerns in the whole history of the Society. In his speech he analysed certain topics, commenting on the 'wrong' practices, whilst also proposing some solutions in order to achieve unity between the two peoples. He claimed that the Anglicans and Orthodox (within the Fellowship)

who were in agreement on major doctrinal issues should ask their respective Bishops to sanction their communion at each other's altars. The Episcopal blessing given to those who were ready to take part in this action would signify repentance for the sin of division and the desire for divine assistance in repairing the breach between East and West.¹⁸⁵

He believed that for the Russians, the blessing should be given by the

Exarch of the Russian Churches in Europe, Metropolitan Eulogius. Metropolitan Eulogius is under the canonical authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and would therefore ask for a corresponding blessing from him. Or, directly, the blessing might be received from the Patriarchate of Constantinople. For the Anglicans the appropriate blessing would have to be obtained either from the local diocesan bishop or from the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁸⁶

Bulgakov believed that 'it is spiritually dangerous and unsound to continue for ever in mere discussion of differences';¹⁸⁷ he, therefore, attempted to find a way of achieving unity between the two groups, by establishing a dogmatic minimum, since he required only agreement on major doctrinal issues. He identified this 'episcopally blessed sacramental intercommunion as a way of gradually bringing the non-Orthodox churches back in to union with the Orthodox Church when they already possess a substantial (though not perfect) unity in faith and life with her.'¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, he did understand that this blessing might not be given by the bishops. He believed that:

If, for some reason or other, the competent episcopal authority will object to the giving of the sacramental blessing, and suggest that it should be replaced by a general form of blessing – we would have to be content even with this, although this would be a less adequate form for establishing intercommunion.¹⁸⁹

This was, undoubtedly, 'the most important, and characteristic, expression of Bulgakov's ecumenical thought.'¹⁹⁰ However, the issue of partial intercommunion had a canonical side;¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Zernov, 1979, p.8.

¹⁸⁶ Bulgakov, S, *Partial Intercommunion*, Notes and Comments by Fr. S. Bulgakov for Advisory Committee and Fellowship Exec., Fellowship Archives, p. 1, also in Gallaher, 2013, p.119.

¹⁸⁷ Dobbie –Bateman, Arthur F., *Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. Partial Intercommunion. Summary of Position as at 27th Nov. 1933*, Fellowship Archives, p.1.

¹⁸⁸ Gallaher, 2013, p.79.

¹⁸⁹ Bulgakov, Fellowship Archives, p.2.

¹⁹⁰ Gallaher, 2002, p.25 (A).

¹⁹¹ Fr. Sergius Bulgakov spoke about the issue of Canon Law, bringing into question the existence of the Fellowship, explaining:

What is our Fellowship practically as a canonical body? That is one of the most important questions. The easiest of all is to annihilate all our wishes by showing that according to Canon Law we cannot recognise such a thing as the existence of our Fellowship. But does the

therefore, no alteration can proceed without the blessing and approval of the canonical authority, namely the Church. Many questioned whether 'the Fellowship was a canonical body'¹⁹² or not; the Russian members were divided on this subject. Nevertheless, the topic of canonicity can be set aside, since the Canons that forbid the Orthodox to pray with members of other churches and denominations have been rendered obsolete by the practice of the hierarchy and many Christian laity.

Both the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion found it impossible to deal with Intercommunion. 'High Orthodox authorities have over and over again declared that no individual, group or 'church' can be admitted to their sacraments while in communion with any whom the Orthodox do not recognise. Moreover, complete dogmatic agreement is an indispensable preliminary.'¹⁹³ On the other hand, the Anglican Communion, due to its differences and variations within its body, cannot proffer a united position. Therefore, the churches did not alter their previous views, maintaining thus their beliefs that 'sacramental fellowship must be preceded by a preliminary dogmatic agreement.'¹⁹⁴ Consequently, a maximum of dogmatic agreement needs to be agreed upon, and not a minimum, a belief expressed primarily by the Anglicans. A minimum of faith cannot be used in order to encourage appealing and pleasing diplomatic concessions. 'Dogma is the common belief shared by the whole Body.'¹⁹⁵ Bulgakov, however, believed that a substantial common faith existed within the Fellowship and that is why he proposed the issue of partial

Fellowship exist in fact? It does, and not without a silent blessing of both authorities – the Anglican and the Orthodox. Otherwise all we do would be un-canonical and would constitute ecclesiastical sin. It is necessary to remember that we have Russian enemies of this proposal as well as Anglican enemies. We must look for a recognition of our Fellowship as a kind of canonical body. I think this is possible. In our Church in the old times we had so-called Brotherhoods for missionary, philanthropic work, etc. and they existed outside dioceses and parishes. Of course they had only Orthodox membership. While here we have members of two confessions. But still I feel sure that it is possible to recognize the canonical existence of the Fellowship from the Orthodox side.

Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, Minutes, Fellowship Archives, 16th February, 1934, p.3.
Fr. George Florovski stated, on the topic of Canon Law:

We must pray, privately and in public, for our brethren. If that were forbidden by canonical authority I should have to give it up. But communis in sacris can never be private action. It is always Catholic action, the sacrament of Catholic Unity. Realised privately it is an open contradiction.

Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, Report of Conference held at High Leigh, June 26-28 1934, Fellowship Archives, p.6.

¹⁹² *Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, Minutes, Fellowship Archives, 16th February, 1934, p.2.*

¹⁹³ Clarke, O.F., 'The Healing Of Schism', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 25, December 1934, p.5.

¹⁹⁴ Bulgakov, Sergius, 'By Jacob's Well', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius.*, No. 22, December 1933, p.17.

¹⁹⁵ Herbert, A.G., 'Intercommunion and Doctrinal Agreement', *Sobornost*, No. 4 (New Series), Decembers 1935, p.40.

intercommunion. On the other hand, even the Fellowship stated the impossibility of intercommunion a few months before Bulgakov's speech, stating that:

Entrance into one another's central acts of worship is limited by the facts of disunity. Such entrance is unfortunately not possible as a general policy, but in the experience of the Fellowship, within the limits of Catholic worship, and in due deference to the fact that the two churches concerned are not in communion with each other, it has been found to be a real basis of understanding and a means of enrichment of life.¹⁹⁶

Fr. Bulgakov wished to inspire the conviction that the 'restoration of Eucharistic fellowship between Christians who recognise their doctrinal and liturgical unity would prepare the ground for formal reconciliation between their respective confessions.'¹⁹⁷ He believed that a diocesan bishop had the authority and power to authorise this practice, partial intercommunion, within the Fellowship. Fr. Bulgakov, later, wished to explain this position by claiming that a new sacrament needs to be introduced, in order to achieve reunion, a 'Sacrament of Reunion.'¹⁹⁸ This sacrament does not exist; however, he understood that the 'possibility of such Sacramental development'¹⁹⁹ for different issues exists. Nevertheless, it is significant that this topic was introduced by Fr. Bulgakov, an Orthodox priest who understood the authority of the canons, of Church Tradition and doctrine.

Before the introduction of intercommunion, in his speech, he claimed that the canons go against the Orthodox speaking and interacting with non-Orthodox. He then concluded with the idea of intercommunion, not accepted by most Orthodox members. Moreover, he did have a unique understanding, claiming that 'we are all children of the Revolutionary Epoch and we all feel that nothing now exists in the world that may not be discussed and compared with the past and the future.'²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it is crucial to identify that he expressed this view within the Fellowship, for the Fellowship; therefore, it is more accurate to use the term 'partial intercommunion.'²⁰¹ He did not believe that this would happen on an ecumenical level, since the priesthood and the faithful would not accept this. Hence, he wished it within the Fellowship and therefore between certain members of both churches, not representing the whole body of the Church.

His ultimate desire, therefore, was that this intercommunion should begin with the Fellowship. This, of course, created many problems. How can there exist intercommunion on part of the Church and not on the Whole, Catholic Church? Therefore, this new proposal implied division

¹⁹⁶ Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius Statement of Aims & Basis, *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 19, March-April, 1933, p.35.

¹⁹⁷ Zernov, 1979, p.9.

¹⁹⁸ *Fellowship of S. Alban and St Sergius, Minutes*, Fellowship Archives, 16 February 1934, p.3.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.3.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.2.

²⁰¹ Clarke, Bernard (ed.), 'Editorial', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 23, March 1934, p.1.

within the Body of the Church, giving certain 'privileges' to part of the Church to take Communion with non-Orthodox. 'By contrast, communion was a catholic action which concerned whole bodies. There was no evidence that intercommunion would draw the two Churches any closer together than they already were.'²⁰² Nonetheless, Bulgakov's idea of intercommunion, a surprise to many, merely continued his views on *communio in sacris*, verifying the fact that he was considered a 'liturgical theologian';²⁰³ hence he was the best candidate to express this view, if union between the two Churches were to be achieved.

Bulgakov saw that, through the Anglo-Russian Conferences, the Fellowship provided the Ecumenical Movement with a new experience 'of the possibility and inevitability of such Eucharistic fellowship,'²⁰⁴ showing how this is one of the greatest achievements the Fellowship had to offer towards the general Ecumenical Movement. It epitomises an estimated and foreseen, by some, reality and a principal provision for full Intercommunion between the two ecclesiastical bodies. He believed that 'the way towards reunion of East and West does not lie through tournaments between the theologians of the East and West, but through a reunion before the Altar.'²⁰⁵ He strongly supported his view, concluding in an article published in *Sobornost* that:

A partial or local union of different Church bodies in the Eucharist, their organic merging, might serve as a mystical and religious foundation for the Reunion of the Churches, which is vainly expected along the paths of canonical and dogmatic Church diplomacy alone. Meanwhile it is important to make a beginning with Church Reunion in those points where it is possible, and so ultimately to carry the problem forward beyond the existing deadlock which our sinful fear and indifference has produced.²⁰⁶

However, Rev. Michael Ramsey understood this topic from another perspective, claiming, in an article following Bulgakov's piece, that 'the Anglo-Orthodox movement has shewn that restraint from intercommunion is no negative thing but something which shews positively the deeper meaning of unity. Hence the Anglo-Orthodox movement has had influence far beyond its own particular concerns; it has been health-giving to the whole reunion movement in England.'²⁰⁷ Abstaining, therefore, from intercommunion, as Bulgakov proposed it, can assume positive results, emphasising the unfortunate truth of disunity and unity between the two Churches.

Bulgakov's first lecture on intercommunion brought the Fellowship into the most intriguing and creative moment in its history, having to face a theological topic which related to its own existence, namely how could the Fellowship continue its existence, through talks concerning

²⁰² Gallaher, 2002, (B), p.10.

²⁰³ Louth, Andrew, *Modern Orthodox Thinkers – From the Philokalia to the Present*, (London, SPCK, 2015), p.57.

²⁰⁴ Bulgakov, Sergius, 'Spiritual Intercommunion', *Sobornost*, No. 4 (New Series), December 1935, p.6.

²⁰⁵ Bulgakov, 1933, (A), p.17.

²⁰⁶ Bulgakov, Sergius, 'Ways to Church Reunion', *Sobornost*, No. 2 (New Series), June 1935, p.15.

²⁰⁷ Ramsey, Michael, 'Reunion and Intercommunion', *Sobornost*, No. 2 (New Series), June 1935, p.16.

differences, or could it actually wish to solve these problems by finding solutions to them; was it an 'educational body or can any further steps be taken in the direction of Catholic action?'²⁰⁸ Therefore, the Fellowship had to define itself, its objectives and its ontology. Did the Fellowship have a future or not? The Society found that it 'cannot continue merely to discuss Reunion. There is always a danger of living in a world of ideas completely unrelated to concrete reality;²⁰⁹ that is why the 1934 conference was entitled *The Healing of Schism*, continuing the talks of Bulgakov's intercommunion and the future objectives of the Fellowship. It was evident that Bulgakov was pointing out the notion that talks on reunion and the birth of organisations such as the Fellowship and the AECA would not come into existence if they began their relations with 'theological negotiations or with a central, hierarchical body that would rule on doctrine.'²¹⁰ Nevertheless, it was clear that the Fellowship understood its identity; it identified, (through its president, Bishop Frere) that the Fellowship was 'a praying, not a negotiation body'²¹¹ and for that reason any question on reunion was not within its confines. Nonetheless, it is apparent that this notion could only come from an organisation like the Fellowship; the Society practised, from its beginnings, having a Liturgy – Orthodox and Anglican on alternate days - during its conferences, in order to promote the mystery and the life of the Church. Life in Christ, through the Divine Liturgy, is the way in order to accomplish the ultimate objective of Christianity, salvation. However, what Fr. Bulgakov and his supporters wished to realise was that during the Liturgy, and, only within the Fellowship, intercommunion could take place, in order to follow what St Paul claimed, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we, though many, are one bread and one body; for we all partake of that one bread.'²¹² Therefore, the life and the practice of the Fellowship inspired Bulgakov to express this view, heretical for many, prophetic for others.

A number of views were expressed, in response to the notions conveyed by Fr. Bulgakov, some for and some against intercommunion. Bishop Frere claimed 'Our practical approach to the problem of Reunion is not to find out how much we may agree to say together, but what is the minimum which we must agree to say together.'²¹³ Frere, therefore, had no doubts in establishing partial intercommunion. 'In his view, its adoption by individual members of the Church could not but advance reunion of the whole.'²¹⁴ As a result of this belief, he defended the Anglican position of a

²⁰⁸ Clarke, Bernard (ed.), 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 2 (New Series), June 1935, p.3.

²⁰⁹ Clarke, 1934, p.1.

²¹⁰ Geffert, 2010, p.162.

²¹¹ Ibid, p.164.

²¹² 1 Corinthians, 10:16-17.

²¹³ Frere, Bishop of Truro, 'General Report of the Fellowship Conference, June 1933', *The Journal of the Fellowship of S. Alban & St Sergius*, No. 20, June-July 1933, p.14.

²¹⁴ Gallaher, 2002, (B), p.16.

dogmatic minimum that is needed to establish unity and intercommunion; however, this is not the practice within the Orthodox Church. Fr. Chitty²¹⁵ expressed the conviction of the Orthodox Church, criticising the doctrinal minimum, stating that 'faith must be the basis, and doctrine the text, of life. Consequently it must be the whole Faith or nothing.'²¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is apparent that without this dogmatic minimum, partial intercommunion – as proposed by Fr. Bulgakov - could not be realised. However, the issue of dogmatic agreement was also discussed in previous years; one example of this is Mr Birkbeck, who laboured in the cause of Union between East and West during the nineteenth century; he perceived that 'without unity of faith and dogmatic agreement being achieved, intercommunion was a mere dream.'²¹⁷ Reverend Michael Ramsey, in 1938, saw the positive side of not having intercommunion between the two, claiming that:

Refraining from intercommunion can bear positive witness to the truth about disunity and unity. For our own Fellowship is nothing in itself; it exists to die in the Body of Christ and its greatest work is to point beyond itself towards the unity which means the one Body, the one Eucharist. Meanwhile it shares in the present passion of Christ which is what disunity means.²¹⁸

On the other hand, other prominent members of the Fellowship supported Bulgakov's idea, such as Zernov and Michael Bruce, bringing thereby a new excitement within the organisation and accepting 'Bulgakov's portrayal of the proposal as prophecy or a new revelation.'²¹⁹ Zernov²²⁰ believed that 'people are tired of talking about Reunion, when one feels there is no desire to go beyond words.'²²¹ However, he was confident that careful steps had to be taken and that intercommunion, if ever realised, should be done for 'God's sake.'²²² Finally, Bishop Gore, expressing his views on this matter, said during the conference 'that it was not sufficient to have a fellowship of love, that we must attain to Eucharistic fellowship.'²²³

The topic of intercommunion, evidently, split the Fellowship, creating a chance for further research on the Orthodox Church's beliefs on this theme. For Fr. Bulgakov it was 'scholasticism to

²¹⁵ An Anglican priest, member of the Fellowship and author of many articles and books, including *The Desert A City*, *The Spiritual Instructions of Saint Seraphim of Sarov* and *Return of St Seraphim*.

²¹⁶ Chitty, J. Derwas, 'General Report of the Fellowship Conference, June 1933', *The Journal of the Fellowship of S. Alban & St Sergius*, No. 20, June-July 1933, p.14.

²¹⁷ Young, Ivan, *The Relations of East and West since the Great Schism*, (London, SPCK, 1935), p.21.

²¹⁸ Hill, Henry, 'Father Sergius Bulgakov and Intercommunion', *Sobornost*, Series 5, No.4, Winter 1966, p.276.

²¹⁹ Geffert, 2010, p.167.

²²⁰ Zernov, in respect to the issue of intercommunion, believed that:

It will be like a fire, and we shall not be able to stop it, even if we would. We need to pray and to seek for the real meaning of this act. If we are sure it is the Will of God, then we are sure also that it must be done. Whether it comes slowly or quickly is God's concern; we shall discover the right way only if we are dependent on God.

Fellowship Archives, 1934, p.vii.

²²¹ Zernov, Nicolas, *Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, Fellowship Archives, 1933, p.5.

²²² Fellowship Archives, 1934, p.vii.

²²³ Dobbie –Bateman, Arthur F., 'Footnotes', *Sobornost*, No. 3 (New Series), September 1935, p.24.

discuss reunion. He wanted to reunite.²²⁴ Nevertheless, 'spiritual intercommunion'²²⁵ existed, showing that there was a society of people who felt united within the boundaries of the Fellowship: a feeling many had from the birth of the Society. However, it could be understood that the Fellowship wished to pause at the idea of spiritual intercommunion due to the fact that 'this appeared to possess all the glory of partial Eucharistic communion without any of its dangers.'²²⁶ A.F. Dobbie-Bateman, a few years later, described this incident claiming:

When a great exile priest proposed intercommunion between the Russian and English Churches we refused to take advantage of this sincerity. We were less quick to realise that he had placed his finger on the theological problem of reunion and would refuse to remove it, whatever the consequences.²²⁷

Did Bulgakov have the 'prophetic insight and power'²²⁸ in regards to the unity of the Church that already, partially, existed within the Fellowship? L. Zander supported Fr. Sergius' prophetic ability, stating that 'Fr. Sergius, the prophet, naturally met with a maze of misunderstanding, lack of response and even failure. He suffered from all these, yet he never defied its opponents, thus showing his great humility, so rare among our modern prophets.'²²⁹

Fr. Bulgakov proposed that 'intercommunion would serve as the first step toward reunion rather than the crowning achievement of reunion achieved through doctrinal negotiation.'²³⁰ He truly believed that any reunion would come not according to previous practice, whereby theologians would entangle themselves in endless tournaments of right and wrong, but a modern reunion process would be achieved in front of the Altar. Fr. Bulgakov was a supporter of this idea, a view derived from the identification of the period before the Great Schism, namely the period of the undivided Church that 'remains for us a lost paradise, which must be regained again.'²³¹ However, Bulgakov understood this proposal as a question and not a proposal. He perceived this topic as a starting point towards the 'orthodox outside orthodoxy',²³² thinking not only of the Orthodox Church, but also about the Universal Church. He was a strong believer in intercommunion, claiming that 'further steps will be indicated by life, but of course we must hope that this practice of

²²⁴ Dobbie-Bateman, Arthur F., 'Footnotes (IX) – In quos fines saeculorum', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius*, No. 30 (New Series), December 1944, p.7.

²²⁵ Bulgakov understood this further, explaining: 'This unity in Christ, established by the similarity of Christian experience, is a kind of spiritual communion of all in the one Christ, established long before actual communion from the same chalice can take place.' Bulgakov, 1933, p.12.

²²⁶ Gallaher, 2002, (B), p.18.

²²⁷ Bulgakov, 1933, (A), p.7.

²²⁸ Zernov, 1933, p.17.(A).

²²⁹ Zander, 1945, p.7.

²³⁰ Zernov, Nicolas, 'Some Explanations of Fr. Bulgakov's Scheme for Intercommunion', Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius Archives.

²³¹ Bulgakov, Sergius, 'One, Holy, Catholic & Apostolic Church', *The Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius*, No. 12, 1931, p.22.

²³² Fellowship Archives, 1934, p.111.

intercommunion will spread, when the first stone has been moved, for the results of this step, we are convinced will be great and full of Grace.'²³³ Therefore, it is fair to claim that, after partial intercommunion within the Fellowship, Fr. Bulgakov would have liked to see this happen in the wider context of Anglican-Orthodox Relations.

As a result of this theory, expressed by Bulgakov, many other members of the Fellowship conveyed their regret that they were unable to partake together in the same Eucharist, seeing it as a major tragedy. However, this also created a group of people who went against his ideas; the person who reacted against the intercommunion theory was Fr. George Florovski, assuming the role of 'anti-Bulgakov.'²³⁴ It was evident that Bulgakov expected to find opposition 'from his own side,'²³⁵ without acknowledging the strength of this resistance and disagreement. Florovski fervently contested Bulgakov's proposal and seemed to be upset with the latter for even provoking and nurturing this idea within the Fellowship. Florovski, maintaining the Orthodox view, discarded Bulgakov's views and arguments; sacramental blessing from a bishop, without the backing of a Synod or the Catholic Church²³⁶ would be uncanonical; also Fr. Florovski 'thought that the proposal for securing episcopal sanction for Intercommunion implied a papal view of the functions of a bishop in relation to the Church,'²³⁷ a notion which is alien to the Orthodox Church. Bulgakov, nonetheless, 'advocated a return to the pre-Constantinian order, according to which, as St Ignatius of Antioch taught, 'where the bishop is, there is the Church.'"²³⁸ Fr. George promoted the idea of patience, explaining:

Psychologically I well understand Fr. Sergius's wish to make some kind of real step forward. I am completely convinced, however, that any such step now would be a false one. It is given to us to bear the cross of patience and we must 'endure to the end'. Our way lies in patience. Patience is not inactivity . . .²³⁹

Fr. Bulgakov, on the other hand, did not agree with the psychological aspect, explained by Fr. Florovski. He answered by saying that 'it is a spiritual voice I hear, a spiritual necessity of love that is not psychological love. It is a new commandment of love in the Holy Spirit.'²⁴⁰

²³³ Bulgakov, Fellowship Archives, p.3.

²³⁴ Dobbie-Bateman, 1944, p.7.

However, Fr. George Florovski did not understand this relationship. He claims: 'I was never his enemy. I was always his opponent, it is true, but that is another thing.' Blane, Andrew (ed.), *Georges Florovsky – Russian Intellectual – Orthodox Churchman*, (New York, SVSP, 1993), p.68.

²³⁵ Ibid., p.65.

²³⁶ Here, the term Catholic is used in its original meaning, i.e. the whole Church, as expressed in the Creed (In One, Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church . . .) that is different from the Roman Catholic Church, which is only the Latin Church and not the whole body of the Church.

²³⁷ Clarke, O.F., 'The Nature of Catholic Action', *Sobornost*, No. 3 (New Series), September 1935, p.16, Henceforth quoted as Clarke, 1935, (A).

²³⁸ Zernov, 1979, p.9.

²³⁹ Florovski, George, 'Remarks by Farther George Florovsky', Fellowship Archives, 1933.

²⁴⁰ Fellowship Archives, 1934, p.1.

Furthermore, Fr. Florovski was troubled in regards to the publication and the promotion of Bulgakov's ideas, claiming:

I consider a discussion of the question very desirable and possible, but in the most private way possible, without any premature publicity. We are still too few and we ought not to experiment even in words and proposals. I fear that the mere publication of Farther Sergius' proposal may in many places give rise to anxiety and prejudice, which will hinder the work of information and propaganda which is already difficult enough as it is.²⁴¹

The Orthodox stance towards this matter was that 'Communion in sacris could never be a private action outside the church. Intercommunion must be the final, rather than the first, step.'²⁴² Fr. Florovski argued that Orthodox members could of course pray with Anglicans, but communion was out of the question. This was a consequence of a paradox, which Florovski had identified, namely that the members of the Fellowship were 'in union in the Holy Spirit but divided in the human element.'²⁴³ He subsequently considered the importance of the psychological and spiritual implications that intercommunion could bring to the whole body of the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion. Fr. George, inevitably, believed that 'intercommunion is not the only way forward. Rather it is a blind alley from which there is no escape.'²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Bulgakov supported his view claiming that since the Orthodox Church accepted the validity of Anglican ordinations, given that the Anglican Bishops had the Apostolic succession, then the celebration of the Eucharist by an Anglican would be accepted and considered valid, bringing therefore another major topic within the discussions. On the other hand, Anton Kartashev, who was Bulgakov's colleague at the St Sergius Theological Institute in Paris, 'worried that intercommunion between members of the Fellowship might cause them to be excluded from their own churches;'²⁴⁵ he, however, understood the need for discussions, supporting Bulgakov's views on a blessing by a bishop and the notion of a dogmatic minimum.

Evlogy, 'Bulgakov's great champion,'²⁴⁶ discarded Fr. Sergei's proposal by stating that it was 'of course completely incorrect.'²⁴⁷ It was apparent that no group, especially an unofficial one like the Fellowship, could determine the faith, practice, life, dogma and tradition of a Church without the approval of the Church, whether this was at a Synod or an Ecumenical Council. Bulgakov's theology

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Report of the Fellowship Conference at High Leigh, Fellowship Archives.

²⁴³ Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, *Report of Conference held at High Leigh, June 26-28 1934*, Fellowship Archives, p.6.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p.6.

²⁴⁵ Geffert, 2010, p.164.

²⁴⁶ Ibid. p.170.

²⁴⁷ Gallaher, 2002, (B), p.16.

was eventually condemned by both the Metropolitan Sergei of Moscow and Metropolitan Antonii, discarding therefore Bulgakov as a credible source for the future.

It is evident that the Fellowship, in order to realise its main objective, namely union, it endeavoured to find ways of achieving it, which at times drove it to either 'heretical' conclusions or towards 'a real spiritual call to creative work.'²⁴⁸ Nonetheless, this period was typified by its belief that the restoration of Eucharistic Union might possibly be attained. In the 1935 Editorial of *Sobornost*, the reader is informed that a service took place, one which is normally celebrated in monasteries, a type of Agape, the first type of Liturgy that existed during the early centuries of Christianity. Those present received bread and wine. Editor of *Sobornost*, Rev. O.F. Clarke, explains,

All the members of the Fellowship who were present at the Conference whether Russian or English, joined together in this service, in which we looked forward together to the time when full Intercommunion and Reunion will be established between the two Churches.²⁴⁹

This clearly highlights the fact that the notion of intercommunion was one that intrigued the members of the Fellowship, giving hope for a future union between the two churches.

The issue of intercommunion was central in the Fellowship's life until 1935, when, during the Conference, they decided upon a number of resolutions in order to further the work of the Fellowship and identify its role in Anglican-Orthodox Relations, stating:

- a. This Conference bears witness to a growing recognition of the Catholic unity divinely supporting the separated Churches, and sets forward this recognition as the basis of its further activities.
- b. We recognize that the time has not yet come for us to promote any scheme of Intercommunion.
- c. Nevertheless, this Conference believes that the raising of the practical issue of Intercommunion has been fruitful of good, and that the principles which have been brought to light in the discussion of it must continue to be vigorously studied.
- d. Moreover further steps should be taken, not only to increase the element of common prayer, but also to elucidate the theology implicit in it.
- e. The Conference recommends to all members a more diligent study of the history, doctrine and practice of our respective communions, and for this purpose asks the Executive to draw up a bibliography.
- f. There should be a new effort of propaganda and of personal witness in order to spread among others our own sense of unity.²⁵⁰

After this point, the important issue of intercommunion was only discussed, within the Fellowship's life, as part of the reunion work between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. It was not seen as a separate and unique matter. However, as is evident in Chapter 3 Zernov endeavoured to

²⁴⁸ Dobbie –Bateman, 1933, p.3.

²⁴⁹ Clarke, O.F., 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 3 (New Series), September 1935, p.2.

²⁵⁰ Clarke, 1935, (A), p.20.

revisit this idea and examine it further and more generally, thus creating Zernov's Intercommunion, which differed from Bulgakov's understanding of intercommunion. Additionally, Kartashev and Lampert Zander also supported this idea.²⁵¹

Intercommunion, after the 1930s, was examined within the Journal *Sobornost* as part of the relations. No serious arguments for it were proposed after this decade, within the Society. The only time it is brought back, as a question for the future, was in the Second Period of the life of the Fellowship, with the 'Questionnaire on Intercommunion' (1940), showing how members of the Fellowship were continuing to debate this crucial topic. On the other hand, some extensive work has been evident. Metropolitan Kallistos examines this theme in a number of publications.²⁵² The latest contributions on the intercommunion topic are the two-part articles written by Anastassy Brandon Gallaher, 'Bulgakov's Ecumenical Thought',²⁵³ whilst also non-Fellowship journals and sources have appeared examining this topic.²⁵⁴ Through the articles published in *Sobornost*, it is apparent that the issue of intercommunion was observed as a historical incident, which split the Fellowship, leading it into new territories within the relations. Kallistos follows a theological approach, seeing this issue within the general scope of Christian Relations, taking into account Holy Scripture, Tradition and the practice of the Church, thus, pointing out his opposition to the intercommunion idea, stressing also what Fr Staniloae claimed: 'I cannot understand how communion in the Holy Eucharist can somehow compensate for non-communion in faith.'²⁵⁵ Additionally, the difference between Gallaher's interpretation and the examination in this thesis is the fact that Gallaher investigates the topic of intercommunion with Bulgakov at its epicentre; whilst the current thesis understands and examines these topics with the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius at its centre and how it affected its life and credibility. This brings a new and distinctive understanding to the topic, which is only evident in various sources, scattered within the Fellowship archives and *Sobornost*, but which have never been examined extensively. Intercommunion was the topic which most affected the Society and which was greatly and widely discussed. Despite Gallaher understanding this reality, he shows greater interest to Bulgakov, on why he came to this conclusion and where his theories of intercommunion eventually led him, namely Sophiology. Nevertheless, despite this being important to the

²⁵¹ Gallaher, 2002, (B), p.16.

²⁵² Ware, Kallistos Timothy, 'Intercommunion – The Decisions of Vatican II and the Orthodox Standpoint,' *Sobornost*, Series 5: No. 4, Winter 1966; Ware, Kallistos, 'Church and Eucharist, Communion and Intercommunion,' *Sobornost*, 7:7, Summer 1978, (B) and Kallistos, of Diokelia *Communion and Intercommunion*, (Minneapolis, Light & Life Publishing, 2002).

²⁵³ Gallaher, 2002, (A), (B).

²⁵⁴ Such is the case with the study entitled *Intercommunion*, which was published in preparation for the Lund Conference of Faith and Order. Additionally, the Orthodox Church has made a number of official statements on this issue. For more information see: Kallistos, 2002.

²⁵⁵ Staniloae, D, *Towards an Orthodox Ecumenism: Eucharist-Faith-Church. The Problem of Intercommunion*, (Piraeus, Athos, 1976), pp.68-9, in Ware, 1978, p.558.

understanding of Bulgakov's ideas and works, the current thesis emphasises the significance it had for the life of the Society, depicting the involvement of both Anglicans and Orthodox, showing how it divided the Fellowship into the supporters of Bulgakov and the supporters of Florovski²⁵⁶.

Today the topic of intercommunion is identified merely historically and not as a reality which could establish itself in the near future, especially as proposed by Bulgakov. It seems that the creative period of the Fellowship was in its beginnings (1920s and 1930s), where even reunion services were formed and practised. Today, it is unimaginable to promote or even practise these services or even pronounce the reunion prayers written by members of the Fellowship, due to the fact that the Official Dialogue has formed new realities within the Ecumenical Movement.

Despite the fact that the Fellowship gradually stopped examining the issue of intercommunion, referring to it sporadically, whilst remembering only the historical importance of the talks, other bodies analysed this topic in later decades. Therefore, we observe in the Moscow Agreed Statement (1976) that Professor Galitis pointed out that 'For the Orthodox there can be no intercommunion *on the way* to unity; it is the visible sign that unity has been achieved.'²⁵⁷ In the Dublin Agreed Statement (1984) the positions of both churches are expressed.²⁵⁸ A number of churches within the Anglican Communion have shared 'in the Eucharist with members of other churches on special ecumenical occasions, in times of special need, or on a more regular basis,'²⁵⁹ maintaining a more liberal and ecumenical view, in regards to intercommunion, from that maintained by the Orthodox Church. The latter believes that 'there can be "communion" only between local churches which have unity of faith, ministry, and sacraments. For this reason the concept of 'Intercommunion' has no place in Orthodox ecclesiology.'²⁶⁰ In the Cyprus Agreed Statement, the term intercommunion is not used. A small analysis of the importance of communion claims that,

There is also a growing consensus that the Eucharist is the proper context of reception, and that reception is not complete without Eucharistic communion. This is the ultimate goal of the ecumenical movement. Although it is difficult to achieve, the universal admission that the Eucharist occupies a central place in the process of reception is an important step forward. Although the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church have not yet reached this goal, they are committed to the journey towards it. Both agree that the Eucharist is the proper context of reception.²⁶¹

²⁵⁶ A further evaluation of the intercommunion issue is analysed in Chapter 3, where Zernov's views on intercommunion are explained.

²⁵⁷ Ware, Kallistos, Colin, Davey (eds), *Anglican Orthodox Dialogue, The Moscow Agreed Statement*, (London, SPCK, 1977), p. 76.

²⁵⁸ (paragraphs 18-20).

²⁵⁹ Hill, Methodios, 1985, p.14.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.15.

²⁶¹ Wybrew, Hugh, Constantine Scouteris, James, M, Rosenthal, Ian, Harvey, Terrie, Robinson (eds.), *The Church of the Triune God*, (London, The Anglican Communion Office, 2006), p.103.

It is evident that the Anglicans and the Orthodox encounter and comprehend the issue of intercommunion in totally different ways. Nevertheless, despite the past talks, within the Fellowship and on an official level, intercommunion is a reality which has yet to be realised. Especially after the introduction of women priests within the Anglican Communion,²⁶² other issues had to be reassessed, such as the apostolic succession, ecclesiology, theology of communion and Christological issues. Indeed, the issue of women priests has brought the end of talks on intercommunion, leading the dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox to new directions.

Bulgakov's Sophiology

Bulgakov continued troubling not only the Fellowship but also the Orthodox who read his articles or who attended his talks; leaving intercommunion aside, he endeavoured to explain Divine Wisdom (Sophia), forming his own Sophiology. This belief drove many to proclaim that he was unorthodox, or a heretic.

Again, Florovski was to maintain the Orthodox stance in both the intercommunion issue and Bulgakov's Sophiology (though, he was never able to complete his study on Sophia). Bulgakov was, therefore, at the centre of another disputed, theological affair. In 1935 he expressed, what came to be known as his 'Sophiology.' What this theological idea articulates is that Sophia was a 'hypostasis' or a 'hypostacity' of God. This, of course, goes against Orthodox doctrine of the Holy Trinity, by introducing a new person within the Trinity. However, Sophia 'represented for Bulgakov a mystical quest for reunion.'²⁶³ He identified the St Sophia Church in Constantinople as an ecumenical Church. Bulgakov prophesied that the 'whole world is coming to be the church;'²⁶⁴ however, 'only in the light of sophiology can we grasp the full scope of that eschatological fulfilment of all things.'²⁶⁵ In spite of this, it is important to stress that Bulgakov was not the first, within the Orthodox World, to express this view. 'The image of "Sophia", the divine wisdom personified, had already played a significant role in Russian religious thought before Bulgakov.'²⁶⁶ 'Bulgakov's Sophiology was influenced by Schellin, Solov' ev and his friendship with Pavel Florenskii.'²⁶⁷ This new examination by Bulgakov inspired Florovski to examine the dogma of the hypostasis and of Sophia, although he did not finalise his findings; nevertheless, he did have a different stance on the matter of Sophia, stating that the matter of Sophia was a dogmatic issue and not a theologoumenon, as promoted by

²⁶² The issue of women priests will be analysed in Chapter 4, when examining Metropolitan Kallistos' views on this matter.

²⁶³ Geffert, 2010, p.175.

²⁶⁴ Bulgakov, Sergius, *Sophia: The Wisdom of God*, (Hudson, Lindisfarne Press, 1993), p.146.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, p.146.

²⁶⁶ Williams, Rowan (ed.), *Sergii Bulgakov – Towards a Russian Political Theology*, (Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1999), p.113.

²⁶⁷ Gallaher, 2002, (A), p.34.

Bulgakov. Sophiology was seen as a negative incident, resulting in the labelling of Bulgakov as a heretic by many of his peers, who condemned his innovative ideas; all of this endangered the Fellowship's future, which could have been stigmatised as a heretical organisation, due to the theological views of certain of its members.

Bulgakov's ideas were condemned by Sergius, Metropolitan of Moscow, claiming that the teaching of Bulgakov:

I – in its thought is not that of the Church; does not take into account the ecclesiastical teaching and tradition and in several points takes the side of false teaching condemned by the ecumenical councils of the Church; II – in its explanation of the fundamental dogmas of Church introduces so much that is strange and arbitrary that it is reminiscent more of Gnosticism than of Christianity, although it employs (as Gnosticism did) common Christian conceptions and definitions . . . ²⁶⁸

Bulgakov, however, replied to Metropolitan Sergius, claiming that the report was based on the original writings and only upon certain quotations. Bulgakov claimed that 'the report has more the character of a theological polemic, in which, by the way, the personal opinions of Metropolitan Sergius are not always unassailable from the viewpoint of Orthodoxy.'²⁶⁹

Bulgakov's Sophiology is not evident within the Fellowship's journal. Gallaher's articles, in 2002, examine the two key theological problems, expressed by Bulgakov, namely intercommunion and Sophia; however, it is not easily identifiable how the latter influenced the Fellowship. Nonetheless, in the Fellowship archives there exists a letter, sent by the Chairman, E. L. Mascal (1935), informing the members of the Society of the significant debate between Bulgakov and the Metropolitan of Moscow. In the letter, Mascal explains:

It is, we think, very likely that you have heard reports concerning a condemnation of certain theological opinions of Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, and we believe, in consequence of this and also because Fr. Bulgakov is one of the oldest and most venerated of our friends, that you will be glad to have a statement of the actual facts of the case . . .
.²⁷⁰

The conclusion of this letter, nonetheless, is significant, explaining the Fellowship's position in this debate, stating:

It is not of course the business of the Fellowship to try to adjudicate on the orthodoxy of Fr. Bulgakov's opinions, nor as a body are we responsible for the opinions of our members, however venerated and distinguished. It is however right that we should take the keenest interest in all that concerns their welfare and their work and that we should give them the support of our prayers and our friendship in any difficulties through which they may pass. Like the Church of the Anglican

²⁶⁸ Sergius, Metropolitan of Moscow, 'The Church of England – Council on Foreign Relations,' Fellowship Archives, 1935, p.17.

²⁶⁹ Bulgakov, Sergius, 'Conclusion of a Memorandum from the Revd. Sergius Bulgakov to the Most Rev. Metropolitan Eulogius', Fellowship Archives, 1935, p.1.

²⁷⁰ Mascal, E.L., Fellowship Archives, 1935, p.1.

Communion, the Orthodox Church has its schools of thought, though the issues that characterise them are different, and particularly prominent is the divergence between the school of which Fr. Bulgakov is a leading member and the less speculative school represented by his opponents. Fr. Bulgakov's case is the first one in which the Fellowship has been brought face to face with a grave problem which threatens the peace of a group of our members. We hope that both the Orthodox and Anglican members of the Fellowship will be able to make use of this opportunity of strengthening the mutual love and trust which exists in the Fellowship, and of acquiring more knowledge of one another's Churches.²⁷¹

This letter was produced after members of the Society expressed concerns in regard to the controversy and the Fellowship's implication in it. A prominent member of the Society notified Florovski that 'the existence of the Fellowship is very much bound up with the affair.'²⁷² It was felt that the Society's work on reunion was doomed, unless this was quickly settled. Many members of the Society involved themselves, trying to find a solution to this *eris* between Bulgakov and the Metropolitan of Moscow. The two topics expressed by Bulgakov, intercommunion and Sophia, affected, negatively, Bulgakov and his reputation. The Fellowship, due to the interest taken from Florovski, Anderson, and Dobbie-Bateman, eventually distanced itself from Bulgakov's beliefs and proposals. The Orthodox members maintained their orthodoxy, while promoting and working for the reunion of the churches. These issues eventually became things of the past, especially due to the coming World War II, where the Fellowship had to find practical ways of survival.

It is intriguing how Bulgakov's Sophiology is today examined not only by the Orthodox but also by the Anglicans, who wish to further understand this theological thought, born out of the Russian theology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. John Milbank expresses that 'at the dawn of the 21st century, it increasingly appears that the most significant theology of the two preceding centuries has been that of the Russian sophiological tradition.'²⁷³ Rowan Williams, being interested in Russian Orthodox theology, examines Bulgakov and his theology in numerous books, including *Sergii Bulgakov – Towards a Russian Political Theology* (1999) and *The Modern Theologians* (2005), where he contributed an article, entitled 'Eastern Orthodox Theology.' Williams explains why the West is interested in Bulgakov and his theology, claiming:

Bulgakov's achievement is remarkable . . . Many of his insights on the nature of the church became the common currency of the ecumenical movement, and were specially influential for Anglican writers of a certain generation. But other aspects of his work have remained almost unknown . . . He has yet to be taken fully seriously by Western theology, although at the present moment, there are clear signs of renewed interest both in Europe and in the United States in Bulgakov's work. Of all

²⁷¹ Ibid., pp.2-3.

²⁷² Geffert, 2010, p.177.

²⁷³ Milbank, John, *Sophiology and Theurgy: the New Theological Horizon*, http://www.theologyphilosophycentre.co.uk/papers/Milbank_SophiologyTheurgy.pdf, Accessed 31/07/2013, p.1.

the major Orthodox thinkers of the century, he is probably the one most consciously and extensively engaged with post-Enlightenment thought (and Western biblical scholarship) . . .²⁷⁴

The Fellowship's Objectives and Identity

The first years, characterised by the enormous interest in Anglican-Orthodox relations, the intercommunion issue, the dogmatic minimum, the theological disputes, the theological, cultural and personal approaches, inevitably matured the Fellowship, giving it time to understand its 'calling' and role within the relations between the two distinct ecclesiastical groups. A significant factor is that the Fellowship identified itself, stating its objectives. It has been doing this in all its publications since 1935, where it claims:

What the Fellowship is.

The Fellowship grew out of the Conferences between members of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland and the Russian Student Christian Movement in Exile. These Conferences have been held annually since 1927. The Fellowship consists of those who, having attended a Conference, desire to remain in touch with one another and to extend the mutual understanding there begun.

The Fellowship is not an official body, nor is it representative of either the Anglican or the Orthodox Church as a whole. It has therefore, only an indirect relation to negotiations for Reunion, although both the Conferences and the life of the Fellowship itself evoke and deepen the desire for the restoration of the visible unity of the Church.

The centre of the work of the Fellowship is Liturgical Worship, and it has been by entering into this, as represented in the two Churches concerned, that both the individual life of members has been enriched and a spiritual unity discovered, which is deeper than some of the points of difference.

Membership of the Fellowship on the English side has always included, besides Anglo-Catholics, some who belong to other traditions within the English Church and also Free Churchmen. Such members are welcomed into the Fellowship, if they are prepared to give a positive contribution from their own tradition, and desire to understand and appreciate that Catholicism on which the work is based.²⁷⁵

The Fellowship, therefore, is a body which brings together Eastern and Western Christians, specifically the Orthodox and the Anglicans,²⁷⁶ introducing them within an atmosphere of common worship, friendship and thought. One goal, throughout its history, has been to solve the great problems which resulted in the division of Christianity. Some have described this unofficial body as a

²⁷⁴ Williams, Rowan, 'Eastern Orthodox Theology', in Ford, David and Muers, Rachel, *The Modern Theologians*, (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005), pp.577-8.

²⁷⁵ Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 'What the Fellowship is', *Sobornost*, No. 1 (New Series), March 1935, p.i.

²⁷⁶ As will be evident in later years, this expanded, introducing more churches and traditions within the life of the Society.

‘microcosm of a reunited Christendom.’²⁷⁷ Hence, the aim is to draw closer the different ecclesiastical bodies to one another and to God.

The Fellowship Book

A major achievement, not only for the Fellowship but also for the Ecumenical Movement in general, was the publication of the first Fellowship book, entitled *The Church of God*. It is the first, of many books, which were published by this organisation, thus introducing to the West the ideas and the Theology of the Orthodox world in a Western language, a privilege that was non-existent during the eighteenth, nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, since books on Orthodoxy were rare to find. ‘The book is a remarkable monumentum of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius.’²⁷⁸ This book is a ‘symposium and a symbol,’²⁷⁹ endeavouring to exhibit the results of the contact between the Anglicans and the Orthodox, showing how numerous ideas have travelled from one group to the other and displaying the communion of unity that prevails between them, having contributions from representatives of both ecclesiastical bodies.

The Paris Conference

The issue of intercommunion was still central to the Fellowship’s talks and conferences. However, spiritual intercommunion was a reality for the Fellowship. This was evident during 1936, when the Fellowship had its conference in Paris. The reality and wish for unity between the Anglicans and the Orthodox peaked during this assembly. Bishop Frere, then the Fellowship’s president, was welcomed by Metropolitan Evlogy to sing an English Office in the St Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Paris. ‘In full episcopal attire and in a building packed with Russians he conducted a service from a stand in the middle of the church reserved for the Orthodox bishops.’²⁸⁰ This was an unprecedented act of brotherly love and an act of unity, since it was the first time Anglican worship had taken place in front of a Russian congregation in an Orthodox church. ‘The Russians were very much impressed by the Bishop [Bishop Frere] and asked for his blessing when he came out with Metropolitan Evlogie after the service,’²⁸¹ a questionable act, especially for the critics of Ecumenism, who saw these acts as a betrayal of the Orthodox faith. ‘All prejudice and suspicion were swept away in the wave of love with which they responded to that shown by their Anglican brothers,’²⁸² in England and in France. This event emphasised the fact that members of both churches wished for a

²⁷⁷ Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius Booklet, Fellowship Archives, p.4.

²⁷⁸ Carpenter, S.C., ‘In Ecclesia Salus’, *Sobornost*, No. 1 (New Series), March 1935, p.21.

²⁷⁹ Frere, 1934, p.ix.

²⁸⁰ Zernov, 1979, p.9.

²⁸¹ Clarke, O.F., ‘Editorial’, *Sobornost*, No. 5 (New Series), March 1936, p.2.

²⁸² Zernov, Nicolas, ‘The Secretary’s Diary’, *Sobornost*, No. 6 (New Series), June, 1936, p.46.

closer contact, not only in the academic field, but also within the life and practice of the Catholic Ecclesia.

These events indicate that the Fellowship 'is not a vague body pursuing aims which it cannot define.'²⁸³ It is characterised and it is inspired by its objectives, which play a central part in its existence and history. In all these respects, the Fellowship, especially during its first period, seemed to be ahead of its time and a prototype of the WCC, whilst also being a perfect body for the unofficial foundation of the future Official Dialogue between the two ecclesiastical bodies. 'In the life of the Fellowship theology and life do not stand apart,'²⁸⁴ maintaining thus the Orthodox understanding of life and theology.

The Fellowship of St Andrew

The end of the first period saw the increase in the number of meetings and conferences all around the UK, stirring the interest of both Orthodox and Anglicans, introducing the works of the Fellowship to local communities, universities and ecclesiastical communities. Zernov's work during his time as Secretary of the Fellowship was vital, widening the Fellowship's influence in both Orthodox and Anglican circles. Other Fellowships, in contact with the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, were formed. An important branch is the Scoto-Russian Fellowship of St Andrew. The first contact between the Scottish²⁸⁵ and the Russian Orthodox churches was made when the choir of St Serge Theological College, Paris, visited Scotland in 1935. The Fellowship of St Andrew was formed in 1936, and its members 'have become increasingly conscious of the mutual benefits of fellowship between such differently endowed Churches of Christ.'²⁸⁶ Later, Michael Paternoster²⁸⁷ would claim that this Fellowship was the 'sister-society'²⁸⁸ of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, drawing attention to its significant role within Britain. On the other hand, the Fellowship was not only bound within the borders of Britain; the Paris branch was increasing its influence, whilst also the Romanian branch became an example of an ecumenical group within an Orthodox country, which wished and prayed for the furtherance and establishment of the ecumenical ideal.

Student Exchange Schemes

The Fellowship also, since its beginning, endeavoured to bring closer Orthodox and Anglican students, by arranging visits to both East and West. 'The Fellowship feels it is one of the best ways of

²⁸³ Clarke, O.F. (ed.), 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 6 (New Series), June, 1936, p.2.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ In the Fellowship archives this term is not defined or assigned to a specific church.

²⁸⁶ *The Scoto-Russian Fellowship of St Andrew*, Fellowship Archives, 1937.

²⁸⁷ Member of the Fellowship and author of articles and books, such as *Return of St Seraphim*.

²⁸⁸ Paternoster, Michael, 'The Twain Meet', *The Cathedral – St Pauls Dundee*, May, 1968, p.7.

preparing the new leaders of the Church, who will be interested in the Reunion problem.²⁸⁹ In 1936 the Foreign Relations Committee of the Church of England determined to concentrate all such powers and efforts, in regards to bringing Orthodox students to the UK. Therefore, the Fellowship conveyed this work to this official and resourceful body, giving the opportunity to more students to be part of this project. These last developments highlight the Fellowship's role within the relations of the two Churches and the fact that it was truly ahead of its time in educating the future hierarchs and lay people of both traditions.

Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund

The Fellowship was not only a theological body, where theology was the only topic of interest; it eventually became a missionary Society in order to achieve its objective of Christian unity. Its work included assisting its members, especially the Russians who were exiled from their country due to political and economic circumstances and ecclesiastical persecution. Therefore, from 1934, the Fellowship began supporting and collaborating with the Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund. The key objective of this group was to demonstrate to the English Christians the struggles and the wishes of the Russian Church, which was under Soviet control. What the fund hoped to highlight, primarily through its Russian members who were involved in it, was that the Russian Orthodox Church, even though it was driven underground, was still alive, contributing towards the improvement of people's lives in Soviet Russia. 'Its aim in doing this was to create a wider understanding of the present condition of the Russian Church and to help the Fund secure further help for Russian Christians in their hour of trial.'²⁹⁰ The financial help given by the members of the Fellowship was essential for the continuation of the Russian Church Aid Fund's work for both Russian Christian activities and also for the aid towards the Russian Theological Academy. Additionally, this contact advertised the existence of the Fellowship, attracting many people from the East. Moreover, the fact that Nicolas Zernov was appointed lecturer and organiser of the Russian Church Aid Fund (1934), whilst also being a part-time secretary of the Fellowship, brought both bodies close, giving the opportunity to both organisations to flourish and progress (in regard to finances, members and awareness) and it also allowed the Society to expand towards the parishes where many people wished to become members of this Christian Society.

²⁸⁹ Clarke, O.F. (ed.), 'Eastern Orthodox Student in England', *Sobornost*, No. 8 (New Series), December, 1936, p.35.

²⁹⁰ Zernov, Nicolas, 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 8 (New Series), December, 1936, p.41.

Anglican-Orthodox Fellowship in the U.S.A. and Canada

The Fellowship, for the first time in its history, expanded outside the confines of the European continent, extending its influence to the U.S.A. The Fellowship branch in the U.S. began in 1936. Its birth was possible due to the fact that large numbers of Orthodox, from a number of Orthodox states, such as Greece, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia and Syria, moved to the New World in order to find a better future. During the first years there were several branches, including Chicago and Boston. This new initiative emphasises how 'the growing activities of the Fellowship give rise to the hope, with the help of God, both Churches will come closer to one another.'²⁹¹ Later, an American-Russian group formed in New York. Shortly after the establishment of a number of fellowships in the USA, the reunion work spread also to Canada, making more people aware of this crucial endeavour within the sphere of Ecumenism.

Theological Mission of the Fellowship

As stated above, theology was not the only topic of discussion within the Fellowship's life and conferences. However, it did play the major part, being the reason for the existence of an organisation like the Fellowship. Towards the end of this first period of the life of this Society, it was apparent that the theological themes and the way the conferences functioned formed a good precedent for any future form of unity between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. One of the key tasks assigned to this organisation, which was and is still expanding, was the further exploration and deepening of those spheres 'of Church life and thought where co-operation between Anglicans and Orthodox is especially fruitful,'²⁹² leading towards the advancement of the members of both denominations. As a paper on the theological function of the Fellowship, given in London on 17 December 1936, explained:

The Fellowship . . . has predominantly tried to deepen the understanding of the common life of the Anglican and Eastern Churches and so, by studying agreements rather than differences, (a) to produce a common body of thought and life, and (b) to forward the establishment of a united Catholic Front against present day secularist movements.²⁹³

However, we also find the opposite happening, whereby during the conferences and the unofficial talks between Anglicans and Orthodox within the Society, discussions had a tendency to

²⁹¹ Savva, Bishop, 'Anglican-Orthodox Fellowship in the U.S.A.', *Sobornost*, No. 28 (New Series), December, 1943, p.27.

²⁹² Zernov, Nicolas, Eric Mascall, 'The Theological Task of the Fellowship', *Sobornost*, No. 9 (New Series), March, 1937, p.35.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, p.36.

also converge on the challenges of adjusting the differences, instead of only developing and expanding on standing theological agreements.

Political and cultural differences were not a positive approach to reunion. The example of the saints, their lives and their love for God, such as St Alban and St Sergius, were used and followed in order to progress in the reunion process. Additionally, prayer was and continues to be central in the life of the Fellowship and the Ecumenical Movement, even to this day.

Spiritual Growth of the Fellowship

Despite the above problem, the life of the Fellowship, through its conferences, seemed to progress, underlining the spiritual growth within the organisation. The conferences were no longer considered meetings between two alien traditions, but reunions of friends and family. Fr. Bulgakov, summing up the conference of 1937, explained 'that his first impression was the fact that he, who had begun by being simply "Fr. Bulgakov", and had then become "Fr. Sergius", was now "Fr. Sergei,"'²⁹⁴ stressing the fact that there was a change in the character of the conferences, a more friendly and loving community of fellowship. This family atmosphere inevitably created a solid basis for the furtherance of the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. Worship also contributed to this understanding, whilst theological debates were received in a more friendly and respectful manner than they had been before.

The Fellowship's reputation within the Ecumenical Movement depends not only on its numbers, 'but on the truth of the conception of unity which inspires it, and which is being increasingly recognised elsewhere.'²⁹⁵ The Fellowship never claimed that it is the true and right way; nevertheless, it did consider itself useful within Anglican-Orthodox Relations.

The Oxford Resolution

The Oxford Resolution took place on 22 July 1937, between members of the Oxford Conference (both Anglicans and Orthodox), who were also members of the Fellowship. Its objective was,

To express to those responsible for the organisation of this and other Ecumenical Conferences the conviction that it would be for the benefit of all who take part in such Conferences that services according to the rites of those Churches which have maintained the Liturgical Tradition of Worship should have a recognised place in the common devotions of the Conference along with the other types of worship which at present predominate.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Thompson, P.J., Ridley, K., Doroshevsky, I., 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No. 11 (New Series), September, 1937, p.3.

²⁹⁵ Zernov, Nicolas, 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 11 (New Series), September, 1937, p.38.

²⁹⁶ Zernov, N, Southwark, R.G., 'The Oxford Resolution', *Sobornost*, No. 11 (New Series), September, 1937, p.38.

The Fellowship's influence on this resolution²⁹⁷ is apparent, since the Fellowship was the first ecumenical organisation to incorporate into its conferences the celebration of the Divine Liturgy by both the Anglicans and the Orthodox. This innovative and important tradition was also introduced within the life and practice of the WCC. The Society was therefore the example and the prototype, which most other organisations followed.²⁹⁸ Through this practice it has been noticeable that members of both Churches have learned more of the essence and ontology of each church through attendance at each other's worship, than by merely discussing theological and practical matters.

The loss of Bishop Frere

The first president of the Fellowship, Bishop Frere, died in 1938. He played an important role within the life and achievements of the Fellowship, during the first ten years of its life. He was present at the second Conference at St Albans, which gave birth to the Society. However, even before the birth of the Fellowship he endeavoured to achieve ecumenical relations; in 1925, despite the persecution of the Orthodox Church in Russia, due to the Russian Revolution, he received a group of Russian bishops in his diocese of Truro, which was 'a fresh and further indication of the tide . . . flowing towards Christian Reunion.'²⁹⁹ Nevertheless, despite being a busy prelate, he did find time to visit the Fellowship, during its conferences. He was regarded as being the 'real spiritual centre'³⁰⁰ of the Fellowship. He possessed 'unquestionable authority for all the members and was considered as a wise adviser'³⁰¹ for the members of the Fellowship in regards to the future of this organisation. He was considered a father to all within the Fellowship. Nevertheless, Bishop Frere nominated his successor, the Right Reverend John Rawlinson, Bishop of Derby,³⁰² who was unanimously accepted by both the London and Paris branches. The election of the new president almost coincided with the outbreak of the Second World War, taking the Fellowship into the second period of its history.

²⁹⁷ The Oxford Resolution is to be found in: Ibid, pp.38-9.

²⁹⁸ Such is the case with the AECA, during its Constantinople Lectures and before its AGM meetings, where Orthodox Vespers or Anglican Evensong is celebrated and during the Nikean Club's events.

²⁹⁹ Livesley, John, 'Bishop of Truro 1923-35', in Gordon-Taylor, Benjamin and Stebbing, Nicolas (eds), *Walter Frere – Scholar, Monk, Bishop*, (Norwich, Canterbury Press, 2011), p.100.

³⁰⁰ Zernov, Nicolas, 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 14 (New Series), June, 1938, p.38.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p.38.

³⁰² It is interesting here to point out that the Fellowship's history began with a Bishop of Truro, continuing with the Bishop of Derby. The next periods in the life of the Society show how Patriarchs, Archbishops, Metropolitans and Bishops become involved in the life, conferences and journal of the Fellowship, giving it a greater prestige.

The changing character of the Fellowship

During the conference of 1938, a change was evident within the life of the Fellowship: for the first time, non-Russian Orthodox representatives took part in the conference at High Leigh. This group comprised Bulgarians, Indians, Romanians and Serbs, changing the character of this group from an Anglo-Russian Society into an Anglican-Orthodox Fellowship. This was a significant alteration not only for the Fellowship and the Ecumenical Movement, but it also gave a reason and a forum where inter-Orthodox dialogue and further understanding could take place. In addition, Free Church, Presbyterians and Lutheran representatives participated in the conference giving the Fellowship a more ecumenical character. Therefore, a spiritual intercommunion was evident, bringing the Fellowship into the epicentre within the Anglican-Orthodox Relations. The change of character evident from this conference, stresses the value of the Fellowship which wished and believed in the vision of the one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

This first period was a time whereby a number of 'Anglican churchmen cared passionately about union with the Orthodox . . . In retrospect it is possible to see that there was some naiveté and false optimism.'³⁰³ On the other hand, without this optimism and passion for Christian unity, the Ecumenical Movement would not have the Fellowship or the AECA or the WCC and consequently the famous theologians of the time might not have been so well known, such as Bulgakov and Florovski, who played an important part in twentieth-century theology and ecumenical relations.

This first period is undoubtedly the most creative epoch of the Fellowship's history, due to the controversies created by Bulgakov and his supporters on the issue of partial intercommunion, which to this day is still examined by scholars. This period gave birth to the future of the Fellowship, formed the Society's aims, showed the path it had to follow in order to progress and grow within the Ecumenical sphere.

Second Period (1939-1945)

The second period of the history of the Fellowship coincides with World War II that made uncertain the survival and future of this Society. The financial situation of the organisation was dire; therefore, a letter was sent out requesting funds, to which members responded generously. A surprise to the secretary, Nicolas Zernov, was the fact that despite the tragedies of the war, there was an increase of interest in Orthodoxy. Zernov was invited to numerous parishes, colleges and societies in order to talk about and promote the work of the Fellowship and the relations between

³⁰³ Dunelm, Michael [Ramsey], 'Message from the President', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 18, Winter 1955-56, p.273.

the Anglicans and the Orthodox. Moreover, a great interest was apparent in Russia and its Church. Christians in Britain wished to learn and come in contact with other Christians and churches, more now than they did before when peace prevailed. This may also be the result of the war, where alliances were formed and people travelled in order to fight Hitler and the Nazi army. Political changes and war created, thus, an interest on a cultural and religious level.

Was the Fellowship's future secure? An uncertainty was evident; nevertheless, the members of this organisation saw it fit to continue, through various different routes such as the camp, in order to maintain the fertile ground that the Fellowship produced during the first period of its history. *Sobornost* continued being published, visits (although limited) did not stop; therefore, a feel of extinction or ineffectiveness was not present. Hope prevailed. It was obvious that this was a Society of love. Letters were sent in order to identify the health of the branches and the members around the European continent. Unfortunately, the Orthodox members declined in numbers due to the war in Europe, where most Orthodox nations were under Nazi occupation. A number of members were not heard of for the duration of the war, such as Fr. Florovski, who was believed to be in Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the Russian Orthodox Theological Academy remained open for a limited time during the war, eventually closing its doors due to the Nazi invasion, whilst many of its members were transferred to concentration camps. Nevertheless, the Fellowship continued. The work of Christian unity was more important during this period than ever before.

The Camp

The War brought the Fellowship into a position where it had to take some decisions on its functioning and life until the end of the War. During the first year of the War, there was a scheme to arrange a small conference, which was going to take place in the summer of 1940, with the involvement of the Paris Branch. However, due to the German invasion of France (May 1940), it was cancelled. Therefore, a key alteration to the life of the Fellowship was the interruption of the conferences and the introduction of the camp, in order to assist farmers during harvest time, as a replacement of the conferences, giving the Fellowship a chance to involve itself, practically and spiritually with the local community. It was undoubtedly inspired by the Russian Student Christian Movement which held a camp in the summer of 1938 that was a tremendous success. During the camp, camp prayers were established,³⁰⁴ showing that the camp followed the Fellowship example of a liturgical life and lectures.

³⁰⁴ The Camp Prayers of the Russian Student Christian Movement can be found in: Mascal, E.L. (ed.), 'Camp Prayers', *Sobornost*, 18 (New Series), June 1939, pp.19-22.

The Fellowship camp 'combined liturgical worship, theological discussion, domestic chores and work in the fields';³⁰⁵ it maintained its conference format, whereby the Eucharist was celebrated in the mornings, Anglican and Orthodox on alternate days, normally in a local Anglican Church. There the participants could feel the 'earnestness and painfulness of ecumenical relations.'³⁰⁶ Nonetheless, the afternoon lectures were replaced by the harvest of the grounds around the camp. Any debates, lectures, theological discussions or even concerts that took place were organised for the evenings. They were not seen as an excuse for a holiday, but were 'an important experience of common Christian living,'³⁰⁷ a practice and proficiency needed especially during a time of global war and hatred.

The camp, also known as 'Summer School'³⁰⁸ due to the fact that it was mostly based in schools, was considered a success within the historical course of the Fellowship, earning the Society some money. The numbers increased annually. The camp was held once at Berden, once in Oxford, once at Denstone (Staffordshire), once in Haynes (Bedfordshire) and twice at Abingdon. This informal contact gave the opportunity, not only to renowned theologians but also to senior theologians and young Christians, interested in the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. Nicolas Zernov depicted the camp as one of the most successful events within the Fellowship's life, explaining: 'The camp itself struck me as a very successful experiment and I believe the Fellowship has discovered in this new activity a very useful means for the establishment of mutual understanding between Russian and British youth.'³⁰⁹ The camp was seen as a light of hope, during a dark period in human history. The sentiment of love and philanthropy was evident within the camp, exhibiting the reality that the Fellowship was a society with deep and important friendships, a prototype and a prophecy of what might come if or when the churches united. Owing to this family spirit, a new idea was born, the foundation of an establishment that is to be used as the Fellowship's centre and a place of hospitality, realising the future objectives of this Society and the foundation of the future Houses, i.e. St Basil's House, St Gregory and St Macrina's House.

Questionnaire on Intercommunion

Theological discussions within the Fellowship on Bulgakov's proposal, the intercommunion issue, did not stop with the commencement of World War II. Moreover, this issue continued, intriguing its members. Nonetheless, the Fellowship, in cooperation with the Emergency Committee

³⁰⁵ Zernov, 1979, p.11.

³⁰⁶ Strobel, Mari, 'Camp Impressions', *Sobornost*, No.26 (New Series), December 1942, p.25.

³⁰⁷ Zernov, Nicolas, 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 26 (New Series), December 1942, p.27.

³⁰⁸ Zernov, Nicolas, 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 31 (New Series), June, 1945, p.27.

³⁰⁹ Zernov, Nicolas, 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 17 (New Series), March, 1939, p.44.

of the Fellowship and with the knowledge of the President, sent out a questionnaire³¹⁰ in order to identify how the members understood and what they believed in regards to this important issue. The Intercommunion debate was understood as the *raison d'être* of the Fellowship, which centred on the Eucharistic cup. Intercommunion was understood by a number of the members as the expression of sobornoy, of catholicity; such was the view expressed by E. Lampert,³¹¹ who expressed in his article that, 'I myself took Communion from the hands of an Anglican priest, a member of the Fellowship, and consciously anticipated, before several witnesses, the Intercommunion which we are seeking.'³¹² This could be appreciated as a confused initiative, which had no backing from either the Anglican Communion or the Orthodox Church. However, no decision was taken (or ever could, officially, be taken) which would have effect only within the Fellowship, since its members were also members of their respective churches. Yet, if intercommunion was to be realised only within the Fellowship, in the name of economy within the Church,³¹³ this would have led this organisation to a heretical conclusion, depriving it of the support of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church.

St Basil's House

World War II brought many difficulties and uncertainties in respect to the future of the Fellowship. However, this did not stop its members dreaming and wishing for a better future for both the Society and the Anglican-Orthodox relations in general. The missionary work of both the Fellowship and the church had to be continued through a centre, where the members of the Fellowship could meet and plan their important work. This centre would be the focusing point for Christians from both the East and the West.³¹⁴ It could also be used as a place where the tradition of the St Sergius Theological Academy in Paris (which was not functioning during the Nazi occupation of France) could be, in a smaller manner, continued in the UK. It would be the ideal centre, where

³¹⁰Lampert, E., 'More about Intercommunion – I', *Sobornost*, No.22 (New Series), December 1940, p.13.

³¹¹ Eugene Lampert was a member of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius for many years, contributing in the life of the Society in many ways, including writing a number of articles published in *Sobornost*.

³¹² Lampert, 1940, p.19.

³¹³ 'Economy is a fundamental concept of pastoral theology, which deals with the theological foundation of the pastoral ministry of our [Orthodox] Church, based on the Bible and the Church Fathers.' Bekari, Abuladze, Translation: Salapatas, Dimitris, 'The Economy of the Church from a Pastoral Theology Point of View', *Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain*, http://www.thyateira.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1080&Itemid=167, 05/11/2015, 16.49. The Economy of the Church is the elastic obedience and submission to the rules of the Church, which applies for pastoral reasons in a number of instances.

³¹⁴ Nicolas Zernov, in a letter to His Grace Patriarch Meletius of Alexandria, claimed that St Basil's House would include two main objectives: 'creation of closer fellowship in the younger generation of Orthodox theologians and the establishing of a permanent centre of mutual information and cooperation between the East and the West.'

Zernov, Nicolas, Fellowship Archive, 1932.

prayer and learning could take place. It would continue the tradition of the Fellowship conferences, where the Orthodox and the Anglican Liturgies would take place on alternate days.

During a Fellowship General Meeting, on 20 December 1941, a report given by Fr. Alexis indicated the need for the existence of an Orthodox Centre in England. This memorandum listed six points, which were to be the base on which St Basil House would function. The objectives therefore were that:

1. It would serve as a centre for Orthodoxy as a whole in this country.
2. It would also serve as a meeting-place, as a kind of club for such bodies as the Anglican and Eastern Churches association and the Fellowship of SS. Alban and Sergius, and for all those who are interested in a rapprochement between East and West. Here also a permanent centre is something very much wanted.
3. It would serve as a centre of information on the life and development of the Eastern Churches. In this capacity the House would be of equal use to Easterners and to Westerners. It would have a reading and circulating library, and if the staff is capable, might even issue a bulletin on the Orthodox churches.
4. The House could serve also as a centre of Liturgical Life and why not confess it? – of Liturgical Reform.
5. The House could also be a centre of spiritual welfare as a house of retreat.
6. Finally, the House might be a centre for Orthodox students. Whether in London, Oxford, Cambridge, there [has] always been a contingent of Eastern Orthodox students.³¹⁵

Dr Nicolas Zernov, the Fellowship's secretary, proposed that such a house should be called St Basil's House; a fitting name since 'St Basil was one of the great doctors of the Church who was fully aware of the importance of unity between the East and the West, and who never spared his efforts in order to maintain and deepen it.'³¹⁶ He later added,

St Basil the Great is a Saint recognised by all branches of the Christian Church. He stands above any specific nationality or denominations. His personal interest in reconciling Eastern and Western Christians of his own time gives an inspiring example for all those who are keen to see the intercourse between the Christian East and the Christian West restored on a basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's tradition.³¹⁷

However, in the beginning this was known as the 'St Basil's project' and 'St Basil's House scheme,' since a permanent building had not been found, whilst the Fellowship was unable to fund such a massive initiative. Nevertheless, the Society, despite not having the drive needed to achieve this

³¹⁵ Mascal, E.L. (ed.), 'The Need of an Orthodox Centre in England', *Sobornost*, No.25 (New Series), June, 1942, pp.23-4.

³¹⁶ Zernov, N., 'The Fellowship and its place in Reunion Work', *Sobornost*, No.20 (New Series), December 1939, p.15.

³¹⁷ Zernov, Nicolas, *The Name of the Fellowship*, 1950, Fellowship Archive.

goal, saw fit that during a time of 'insecurity and destruction'³¹⁸ this ideal objective could and should be achieved.

St Basil House was not the only project of its kind in the UK. A parallel plan for girls and women was realised by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) in cooperation with the College of the Ascension, Birmingham, which formed 'St Macrina's House,' suitably named after one of St Basil's sisters. It was planned to be a centre where girls of the Orthodox Church could train for religious and social work. This important project was entrusted to Miss Nadejda Gorodetzky,³¹⁹ ex-student of the College of the Ascension, who had the full approval of her own Bishop (Metropolitan Evlogy of Paris),³²⁰ the Ecumenical Patriarch and the Archbishop of Canterbury.³²¹ 'No such training centre existed in the Orthodox World.'³²² This scheme was seen as a centre of learning and a place where students from the East could visit and learn more about Anglicanism; however, this could not be realised during the war.³²³

The scheme of St Basil's House was first housed in All Saints' Vicarage, Hertford, due to the helpfulness and charity of the vicar there. The principal activity of St Basil's House during this first period of its existence was 'the study of the theology of the Churches, undertaken by E. Lampert.'³²⁴ Then the dream became a reality; the Fellowship had a home, which was housed at 54 Ladbroke Grove, London. This objective was achieved thanks to the kindness and charity of Dr and Mrs Kullmann.³²⁵ The Fellowship rented a number of rooms, from 1942, when it moved there for six months. This short period gave a chance to the Fellowship to realise that a centre was needed in order to progress. Reunion, meetings and the ability to put up a number of members showed the success of this enterprise. This was a new but exciting experience for this Society, which could achieve new objectives by having a centre in London.

³¹⁸ Zernov, N., 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 22 (New Series), December 1940, p.44.

³¹⁹ For more information on Gorodetskaia: Hill, Elizabeth, 'Nadezhda Gorodetskaia: the study and the practice of kenosis,' *Sobornost*, Volume 8, Number 2, 1986, pp.51-61.

³²⁰ Gorodetzky, N., *St Macrina's House*, Fellowship Archive.

³²¹ Hill, 1986, p.58.

³²² Gorodetzky, Nadejda, 'Saint Macrina's House', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 15, Summer 1954, p.139.

³²³ Saint Macrina's House had a short life. In 1952 a decision was taken to close this House. Nevertheless, it was proposed and then accepted that the money from the sale of the building would go to the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius in order to achieve the acquisition of a centre in Oxford, which had been the wish and the desire of many members of the Fellowship. That is why the House was named 'after St Gregory of Nyssa and his sister, St Macrina.' Hill, 1986, p.60.

³²⁴ Zernov N., 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 23 (New Series), June 1941, p.46.

³²⁵ Maria Mikhailovna Kullman (Zernova) was Nicolas Zernov's sister. She formed the Pushkin Club, which was and is a club where lectures and events take place, where the main focus and interest is Russia. The Fellowship was for a period housed in the same building as the Pushkin Club; both these societies collaborated numerous times.

St Basil House³²⁶ became, finally a reality, in 1943, when the Fellowship acquired a building near the previous residence (52 Ladbroke Grove), which was bought for £2,544. The paradoxical matter of this achievement is that 'steps towards the foundation of the first centre for reunion work were undertaken not in the years of peace and prosperity, but during the war with its bombing and destruction.'³²⁷ St Basil's House is 'a microcosm of the Fellowship, including all the Fellowship's objects, activities, concerns and stresses, entertaining within its walls the Fellowship's own guests in its name.'³²⁸ St Basil's House was 'an ecumenical 'think tank''³²⁹ where the works of the Society and of ecumenism were able to take form. This House was planned to include a chapel, meeting and study rooms, facilities for dignitaries from abroad to be able to visit and stay, whilst also having rooms for a number of Fellowship members from all around the Christian world, to either stay for a long or short period, who would study and pray for Christian unity, being therefore a 'mini-United Nations.'³³⁰ The library, moreover, was important for the persistence of the relations and the education of the members of the Society, increasing the number of books it acquired. On the other hand, the chapel was the centre of importance for St Basil's House, just as the Eucharist is for the Fellowship's conferences and life; it confirmed that 'the Christian point of view will be upheld, maintained and consistently set forth.'³³¹ This project was inspired and achieved with the wisdom and patience of Nicolas and Militza Zernov. Nicolas Zernov achieved the acquisition of the building, while his wife Militza endeavoured to fix and maintain the house in good condition. Without them, the Fellowship would most probably never have bought St Basil's House in London.

The Death of Fr. Sergius Bulgakov

1944 saw the death of an exceptional member of both the Orthodox Church and the Fellowship, Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, who died aged seventy-three. His death came at a time where both

³²⁶ St Basil's House was an essential part of the Fellowship's work and life, deriving its importance from the Society's objectives.

The first function of the House is to be for the Fellowship the established centre

- a. Of prayer and liturgical worship for the promotion of Christian unity
- b. Where Christians of different traditions can meet and learn about each other
- c. Where the Fellowship can hold its meetings of all kinds
- d. Where hospitality can be provided for members and intending members, especially those coming from abroad and students, particularly young Orthodox studying in this country.

The main (but never exclusive) axis of all this is that of the Fellowship, the meeting of Anglicans with Eastern Orthodox Christians.

The Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, Fellowship Archives, Memorandum 17th June 1954.

³²⁷ Zernov N., 'From the Secretary's Diary', *Sobornost*, No. 29 (New Series), June, 1944, p.22.

³²⁸ Ford, John, 'Report of St Basil's House', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.5, Summer, 1949, p.222.

³²⁹ Evans, Gareth, M., 'Secretary's Notes', *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 3, Summer 1971, p.216.

³³⁰ Evans, Gareth, M., 'Secretary Notes', *Sobornost*, Volume 4: Number 1, 1982, p.113.

³³¹ Findlow, John, 'Three Years' Work with the Fellowship', *Sobornost*, No.34, (New Series), November, 1946, pp.16-17.

lungs of the Fellowship, the London and Paris branches, were restoring their previous contact. He died just before D-day, not knowing of the liberation of the French capital, where he lived and matured. It was a massive historical event within the life of the Fellowship, whose very existence was 'largely due to the inspiration and courage of this great Orthodox priest and thinker.'³³²

During the Solemn Requiem, arranged for the soul of Fr. Bulgakov in London, the Bishop of Albany, among other things, stated that:

In speaking with him I could not but think of the words applied to St Barnabas in the pages of the New Testament: "He was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost." All here are aware of his learning, but I think that it was his simplicity and goodness which drew men to him. Now he rests from his labours.³³³

This laconic description highlights that although being a renowned priest and academic, who as we saw during the first period created a number of theological problems and disputes, he was also a friend and an inspiring figure, especially within Paris and London and within the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

Fr. Bulgakov's life and spiritual evolution, 'from atheism to priesthood, from Marxism through idealism to Orthodoxy, from social Utopianism and social action to the calling of a Christian pastor,'³³⁴ show how his objectives included finding a solution to Christian unity. His questions and proposals should not be considered heretical (for example intercommunion) but merely as academic curiosity. 'He had the courage as a philosopher to be a Christian, and as a Christian to be a philosopher.'³³⁵ The Fellowship was now orphaned by one of its members who gave birth to this Society, by 'its spiritual founder'³³⁶ who produced numerous books and articles, pushing the limits of the Church, trying to achieve a holy objective, unity between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

The Three Russian Fundamental Convictions

The result of World War II saw a change in the political field, new alliances were formed, friendships were created and old relationships resumed their previous status. An important event for both the Fellowship and the official relations between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church was the reappearance of the Moscow Patriarchate in the West. This was an

³³² Mascal, E.L., 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, No.30 (New Series), December, 1944, p.3.

³³³ Mascal, E.L. (ed.), 'In Memoriam – Sergius Bulgakov', *Sobornost*, No.30 (New Series), December, 1944, p.5.

³³⁴ Zander, 1945, p.5.

³³⁵ Ibid., p.6.

³³⁶ Zernov, 1959, p.637.

affirmation of the Fellowship's work and aims, especially during a troubled time that persisted in promoting a friendly environment of theological discussions between the two denominations.

This visit (1945) of a number of representatives from the Russian Church showed a change, both within the Soviet state and government but also towards the Western allies and friends.³³⁷ It was an encouragement for the perpetuation and desire of the Moscow Patriarchate 'to make and maintain contact with Christians in Western Europe and especially with the Church of England.'³³⁸ The Fellowship, due to this occasion felt it had to explain a number of things, thus establishing its three fundamental convictions, which had been moulding this Society since its beginning in 1927, asserting:

1. That the Orthodox Church will remain the Church of the Russian people and that nothing can destroy that deep organic link which has united the Russians with their mother church from the beginning of their history.
2. That the widespread impression that the Russian Church is politically a reactionary body and therefore has no place in modern Russian life is based on a misreading of Russian history, and that Orthodox Christians can be loyal citizens under the most diverse political and social system.
3. That the time has come when the Russian Church is called upon to play a much more important role in the life of modern Christendom, and therefore the task of a better understanding and closer co-operation between the Eastern and Western Christians has become of a paramount importance.³³⁹

These three fundamental convictions, no doubt wished to outline the present and the future relations of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, within the Society and in general. Misconceptions had to be erased in order for the two ecclesiastical groups to prosper and achieve unity. The Moscow Patriarchate, through its representatives within the Fellowship, was from now on in the position to play a greater role in inter-Christian relations, endeavouring to leave behind the difficulties produced by the Revolution and the Soviet government.

³³⁷ 'Beginning in early 1942, signs of amelioration of Soviet anti-ecclesiastical policy began to appear, although the gestures were more demonstrative than real, and their purpose was to consolidate Soviet patriotism during the war [WW II].' Shubin, 2006, p. 147. Nevertheless, Stalin showed a change in his policy, opening churches. Ware, Timothy, *The Orthodox Church*, (London, Penguin Books, 1997), pp.145-171. Additionally, Stalin introduced a greater cooperation with the Russian Orthodox Church during WW II, allowing it to function with certain freedoms, which did not exist after 1917. For more on this new relationship status between the Soviet government and the Russian Orthodox Church see: Shubin, 2006.

³³⁸ Findlow, John, 'Some Impressions of the Visit to England of the Russian Church Delegation', *Sobornost*, No.32 (New Series), December, 1945, p.15.

³³⁹ Mascal, E.L. (ed.), 'The Fellowship and the Moscow Patriarchate', *Sobornost*, No.32 (New Series), December, 1945, p.13.

The AECA and the Fellowship

The two prominent organisations specialising in Anglican – Orthodox relations identified that the time was right for them to join forces and increase co-operation. Despite their methods being divergent, their objectives were essentially the same. Members of both societies understand the natural co-existence and co-operation between the two, since they aim at achieving the same goal. Lectures were organised and pamphlets produced; however, the characteristic distinctions were to remain. ‘Both Societies have their contribution to make, but must remain free to make it in their own way.’³⁴⁰ Uniformity was not the solution; however, unity remained the ultimate objective. This contact came at a time, where new opportunities arose, giving a novel and renewed interest and possibilities for the furtherance of the relations.

Contact between the secretaries of both bodies was realised. Both wished to unite their work on unity in a number of areas, such as in Oxford. There had been ‘informal talks among people’³⁴¹ that belonged to both societies. On the other hand, Nicolas Zernov had proposed ‘the amalgamation of the A.E.C.A and the Fellowship committees in Oxford.’³⁴² However, this was not realised, since it was understood that the two societies covered ‘different though complementary fields.’³⁴³ A parallel relationship was more viable at the time, as it is today.

Conclusion

Concluding this chapter of the Fellowship’s history, the changes in the political front naturally resulted in the modifications in the theological sphere. The new alliances brought closer the West and the East and renewed the determination to achieve better understanding and dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. However, misconceptions about the true nature of political figures prevailed, such as Stalin, who was seen as a great leader and a guardian of the Christian faith. On the other hand, the Fellowship portrayed the true nature of events in Russia towards the West. The Fellowship ‘drew a distinction between the Russian people who heroically defended their country and the Communists who exploited them for the sake of their system: a distinction which most English people were unable to make.’³⁴⁴

³⁴⁰ Oakley, Austin, Zernov, Nicolas, Findlow, John, ‘The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association and the Fellowship’, *Sobornost*, No.32 (New Series), December, 1945, pp.21-2.

³⁴¹ French R.M., Fellowship Archive, 1944.

³⁴² Parker, T.M., Fellowship Archive, 1944.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Zernov, 1979, p.12.

The Fellowship, during this hard and inhumane period, prevailed in achieving its goals, altering its practices, maintaining the publication of its journal *Sobornost*, organising camps and re-introducing the conferences. Nevertheless, the greatest achievement was the fact that the Fellowship now had its own headquarters, showing that it was finally independent from the help of the various student societies that facilitated any help needed by the Fellowship until this point. On the other hand, the S.P.C.K. published a number of books,³⁴⁵ with the backing of the Fellowship, emphasising the continued work of the Society, even during wartime. All of these objectives, nevertheless, were fulfilled due to the example, the work and the inspiration of a number of people, such as John Findlow (Anglican Secretary to the Fellowship) and Nicolas Zernov. The latter took charge, preserving the Fellowship, bringing it through to the post-war period. However, it was time for Zernov to relinquish his position as General Secretary of the Fellowship, and he did so by accepting a new position as the first Spalding Lecturer in Orthodox Religion and Culture at the University of Oxford. Nevertheless, this did not mean that Zernov was to abandon the Fellowship; the only thing which altered was his role within the Society. Through his continued work and publications he was a fervent supporter and protagonist of the reunion process between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church. He was, therefore, still considered 'one of the pillars of the Fellowship's work.'³⁴⁶

It is apparent that we can identify a different character within the wider Ecumenical Movement since the introduction of the Fellowship. The pre-Fellowship period is mainly a Greek period, during which the Anglicans came closer to the Greek Orthodox, through the Greek College in Oxford, through the establishment of a Greek Church in London, and the birth of the first Orthodox Archdiocese in the West, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain in 1922. Nevertheless, during this period, contacts with the Russians were also evident and important. The Fellowship's history, however, has depicted a shift to the above norm, introducing the Russian period, whereby the word Russian is synonymous with Orthodox; hence we have the Anglo-Russian Conferences, meaning the Anglican-Orthodox Conferences. The Fellowship depicts the importance of the Russian Church. This fact is not the case when looking at the AECA, which has relations with the whole Orthodox world. Nevertheless, this character seems to be put aside in the later years, where non-Russian Orthodox joined the Society, people from Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Romania and

³⁴⁵ The books published under the auspices of the Fellowship during the war period (1939-1945) are: *The Orthodox Liturgy*, *A Romanian Pilgrimage*, *An Anglican in Estonia*, *Great Russian Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (In Russian), *St Sergius, Builder of Russia*, *The Church of the Eastern Christians*, *The Russians and their Church*, *A Manual of Eastern-Orthodox Prayers*, *Orthodox Spirituality by an Eastern Monk*.

³⁴⁶ Bentley, Muriel, 'Times to Remember-Abingdon, 1947', *Sobornost*, Series 3 No.2, Autumn, 1947, p.65.

Serbia, giving it a pan-Orthodox understanding, especially since all of the Orthodox Churches are involved in the Ecumenical Movement.

The Fellowship, during the pre-WCC period, analysed in this first chapter, endeavoured to create significant bonds between the various Christian denominations. Its unofficial character, before the commencement of official negotiations between the churches, promoted the idea that it could be daring and creative, a characteristic which dies down in the next chapter, where the Fellowship's history up to 2012 is examined, meaning the period since the birth of the WCC, until the Society's eighty-fifth year of existence and work.

The Fellowship's history is a long, but interesting one, where countless theological issues are analysed and debated within its conferences. Its existence, even during difficult times, such as World War II, when the future of the organisation was not secured, saw the strengthening of this Society. Despite being a reunion organisation, it was not an official body, representing no particular church or denomination. It merely stood for its likeminded members, those who supported and believed in the Ecumenical Movement, the dialogue between distinct ecclesiastical bodies and who hoped for the future unity of the whole body of the church. Due to this quality, it was free to explore dangerous grounds, as it had done in the past with, for example Bulgakov's intercommunion, the high point of his creative theology. Above all, it was evident that there are different views on this subject, even today, continuing thus the dialogues and arguments on this crucial theme. However, it was 'bound by a strong sense of the Authority of the Church as a living reality, whose disciplines must be the guiding principles in its work.'³⁴⁷ Its desire and hope for unity has formed its decisions and life, being an important body not only within Britain, but also regarding global relations and the WCC.

³⁴⁷ Anderson, Paul, B., *The Peculiar Task of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, Fellowship Archives, 1933, p.1.

Chapter 2

The History of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius –

From the inauguration of the WCC until the Society's eighty-fifth birthday

The Third Period (1946-1958)

The World Council of Churches and the Fellowship

The third period in the life of the Fellowship saw the increase of its membership, the continuation of its work and the advance of the Society. Nevertheless, new developments on a global level took place, characterising this period. The World Council of Churches³⁴⁸ (WCC) was inaugurated in Amsterdam (1948), bringing the Ecumenical Movement to a new chapter in its history, raising the relationships and the dialogues between the denominations to an official status. Initiating a novel investigation of the Ecumenical Movement, one can easily identify in it a 'biblical renewal, a liturgical renewal and renewed understanding of Christian social responsibility.'³⁴⁹ The WCC came at a time when all Christians wished to preserve and reinforce the sense of unity,³⁵⁰ which had been felt due to World War II, where countless people moved around the European continent, 'at the moment when people recognized that others were Christians.'³⁵¹ It also came as an answer to previous concerns that the reunion process depended on individuals, lacking 'proper organisation,'³⁵² gaining at the same time the support and the awareness of other Christian faithful. However, it also came at a time when the Orthodox nations were still at war (for instance Greece had a civil war, 1946-49) whilst other Balkan nations were under authoritarian regimes, where hostility to religion was prevailing, making the work of the Orthodox Church difficult, if not impossible. Nevertheless, the presence of the Orthodox at a number of great conferences and the WCC, reminded the Western Christians of 'the larger perspective'³⁵³ of Christianity.

³⁴⁸ It is important to state that the WCC was not the first body of its kind. In 1846, the World Evangelical Alliance was founded as the Evangelical Alliance. However, the non-Evangelicals and non-Anglicans in general would not agree with many of its practices and beliefs, such as intercommunion.

³⁴⁹ Allchin, A.M., 'The Revival of the Religious Life and Christian Unity', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 12, Winter 1952, p.543.

³⁵⁰ This unity could be felt within the movement of ecumenism, which was seen as 'a new and miraculous gift of God' to Christianity. *Student Christian Movement*, Fellowship Archives, 1937.

³⁵¹ Bloom, Anthony, 'Ecumenism – A Talk by Metropolitan Anthony At St Basil's House: 25 October 1973,' *Sobornost*, Volume 37:1, 2015, p.15. This is examined in detail by Τσομπανλιδης, Στυλιανός, *Υπέρ της Οικουμένης*, (Θεσσαλονίκη, Ostracon Publishing, 2014), p.32.

³⁵² Zernov, Nicolas, *A Memorandum on the Relations Between the Anglicans and the Eastern Orthodox Churches*, Fellowship Archives, 1945.

³⁵³ Dunelm, 1955-56, p.274.

The objective of the WCC 'is not to build a global "super-church," nor to standardise styles of worship,'³⁵⁴ as is believed by the 'enemies' of Ecumenism, but more accurately it aims to deepen the fellowship and the relationship of the Christian churches in order to identify the true manifestation of what we all claim in the Creed, 'one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.' The churches that took part in this new organisation 'were animated by a sincere desire to serve the cause of Christian unity and to resolve their fellowship with Christians of other confessions.'³⁵⁵ Therefore we can identify what Aram of Cilicia (August 1999)³⁵⁶ stated, that:

The ecumenical movement involves the Churches in a fellowship of interrelation, interconnection, interaction. The nature of this fellowship implies mutuality. Mutual respect, mutual love, mutual understanding, mutual correction, mutual challenge and mutual accountability – all these constitute the essential identity of this fellowship. In this fellowship the Churches do not coexist, but interact; they do not talk to each other, but engage in dialogue by sharing their spiritual, theological, human and material resources.³⁵⁷

The Fellowship and its members played an important role in the new WCC, forming traditions and practices which were part of the Fellowship. The World Conference in Amsterdam (1939) 'was the first to include in its official programme celebrations of the Eucharist according to the different traditions.'³⁵⁸ Later, 'the idea of bringing the Eucharist of different rites into the work of the Ecumenical Movement as a means of mutual recognition in Christ and an act of reparation for the sins of division'³⁵⁹ was primarily a Fellowship suggestion.³⁶⁰ This was going to be a tradition even within the WCC. Additionally, members of the Fellowship took part in this first conference. Bishop Kassian, Fr. Florovski and Professor Zander came from Paris, whilst the UK branch sent Nicolas Zernov. The last, when in Amsterdam saw more than seventy members of the Fellowship who were involved in this new enterprise. Some of these people even advanced to obtain certain roles within the WCC as chairmen or secretaries or chief spokesmen, such as Fr. Florovski, who played a crucial role in the formation of the WCC. 'Because of his ecumenical involvement, he is viewed as one of the

³⁵⁴ World Council of Churches, <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/whoarewe/background.html?print=1%2522onfocus%253D%2522blurLink%28t%28hj>, accessed 26/02/2013, 16:11.

³⁵⁵ Zernov, Nicolas, 'Enterprise and Encounters – The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.4, Winter 1948, p.145.

³⁵⁶ His Holiness Catholicos Aram I of the Holy See of Cilicia, Antelias - Lebanon, Armenian Church, since 1995.

³⁵⁷ Aram of Cilicia, 'A journey of hope: ecumenism for the new millennium', *Sobornost*, Volume 21; Number 2, 1999, p.10.

³⁵⁸ Zernov, 1978, p.175.

³⁵⁹ Zernov, Nicolas, 1948, p.148.

³⁶⁰ It is apparent that the future of the Ecumenical Movement 'depends primarily on the establishment of a right balance between worship and theological discussion.'

Zernov, Nicolas, 'The Third Faith and Order Conference in Lund', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 12, Winter 1952, p.569.(B).

architects of the World Council of Churches.³⁶¹ He tried to persuade the delegates that a ‘common language’³⁶² needed to be found in order to agree on theological terms and further the work of union. He believed that Christian disunity was ‘the result of failure of Christians to be truly Christians.’³⁶³

Due to the number of Fellowship members, a meeting was organised, chaired by Revd. Professor William Tindal, who was one of the founders of this Society (1927). This gathering in Amsterdam highlighted the significance of the Fellowship within the Ecumenical Movement and community. Despite not being the only unofficial Society that was represented at the WCC, the Fellowship is undoubtedly an inventive and ground-breaking body directing the path towards two key objectives that the WCC should have in the future, namely the ‘eventual meeting between East and West and that of Eucharistic worship as God’s chosen means to the reintegration of the Church.’³⁶⁴ The WCC is a valuable and influential body; nevertheless, it needed the support of smaller organisations, such as the Fellowship, in order to progress and achieve its objectives, by providing links and friendships between members of both East and West. It is significant not to overlook the fact that organisations such as the Fellowship and the AECA were the ones that inspired this new movement, being thus prophetic in both their teachings and their life. The WCC, nevertheless, recognised a truth, which had been acknowledged by the Fellowship during its first period, that ‘all ecumenical gatherings themselves are but exhibitions of Christian disruption.’³⁶⁵ However, these differences and this disruption are imperative to find a future solution by the members of the WCC, by promoting ‘the growth of the ecumenical consciousness in the members of all churches.’³⁶⁶ Additionally, a new branch of the Fellowship was established in Geneva, near the Château De Bossey, where the WCC established the Ecumenical Institute, thus forming a link between the Fellowship in the UK and France.

A second feature was significant for both the Orthodox Church and the Fellowship, namely the rise of the Moscow Patriarchate, which now was in a position to play a fundamental role in inter-Orthodox and inter-Christian relations. Initially the Russian Church was against the newly formed

³⁶¹ Fitzgerald, Thomas, ‘Florovsky at Amsterdam: his “ecumenical aims and doubts”’, *Sobornost*, Volume 21: Number 1, 1999, p.37.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p.41.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.44.

³⁶⁴ Zernov, 1952, p.149. (A).

³⁶⁵ Florovski, George, ‘Determinations and Distinction – Ecumenical Aims and Doubts’, *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.4, Winter 1948, p.126.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.131.

WCC, criticising it. It could not understand the reason for the existence of such an organisation, expressing the view that:

The Orthodox Church possesses no administrative union even of local churches. Why, then, should she participate in an administrative union of Christian organisation having different opinions? Would not such a participation mean that we should sacrifice the treasure of our faith in the name of some false or illusionary union?³⁶⁷

Furthermore, it did not agree with the current form of the WCC, which was predominantly Protestant, where political and social issues would be deliberated, even in their moral attributes, in an environment influenced primarily by the Western Powers and especially the USA. This, of course, could be understood as part of the anti-western rhetoric of the time, especially within a Cold War period that was thriving.³⁶⁸ Nevertheless, despite the initial hesitance towards this new movement and after the death of Stalin, the Moscow Patriarchate eventually joined the WCC in 1961, as 'not only a united, but also a witnessing Church,'³⁶⁹ emphasising the change in character and understanding that this Orthodox Church had for Ecumenical Relations. Due to this advance, various barriers were removed that were challenging and 'the church from both sides of the iron curtain'³⁷⁰ set a precedent of a peaceful dialogue which could eventually move towards the political circles.

It is remarkable to observe that the WCC and the Fellowship, despite having similar objectives, are by no means similar on an ontological level. The WCC is an official and more global body, bringing a number of denominations and churches closer and in a dialogue status. Due to this council, many denominations achieved an official dialogue status in order to formally identify the factors which united them or brought dispute. On the other hand, the Fellowship is a body involved in the personal relations of its members and not with establishments. Due to this unofficial standing it has a 'great opportunity for seeking unity in truth and love.'³⁷¹ This unity, wanted by all the members of the Fellowship and everyone involved in the Ecumenical Movement, is not the ultimate aim, 'but the admission which admits us to behold the glory of the only begotten Son of the Father'³⁷² can be considered the objective of these endeavours, showing the significance of prayer and dialogue within the Society and the general relations.

³⁶⁷ Every, Edward, 'The Moscow Conference, July, 1948', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.4, Winter 1948, p.134.

³⁶⁸ This is also examined in: Τσομπανίδης, 2014, p.68.

³⁶⁹ Vendland, John, Archbishop, 'The Russian Church and the World Council', *Sobornost*, Series 4. No.10, Winter-Spring 1964, p.587.

³⁷⁰ Allchin, A.M., 'Current Affairs', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.24, Spring 1959, p.605.

³⁷¹ Georgiadis, Helle, 'Fellowship Incorporated', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.16, Winter 1954-55, p.213.

³⁷² Ibid.

Cold War Suspicions: a critical view

The Fellowship is exactly what it claims to be, an Anglican-Orthodox Society, an English-Russian body. However, the Cold War atmosphere and the political suspicion that existed in the West and the East, questioned the existence of an organisation such as the Fellowship. How could a Society of English and Russians exist during an epoch when both countries were enemies, when spies were coming and going, nuclear threats were imminent and a new world war was an on-going concern of international politics? This period could have ended the Fellowship and its work. However, the Fellowship was able to demonstrate a different life and understanding within Christianity, unknown to most Westerners, by introducing the riches of Orthodox practice and tradition. The fact that the Eucharist and prayer were at the centre of its existence also facilitated the continuation of its objectives; it brought the two peoples closer, it created a family atmosphere which could bypass all political differences between the two nations. It was apparent that the Fellowship, as seen in the past, was not a political group, stopping even the publication of political articles in its journal. It promoted Christian unity, further understanding of the two distinct ecclesiastical traditions and also promoted the commandment given to all Christians by Christ, 'love one another' (John 15:17). Therefore, no political change could alter the existence of the Fellowship in the West.

The Chapel in St Basil's House

The Chapel, located in St Basil's House, during this period underwent a transformation, introducing icon paintings on the walls. Joanna Reitlinger, who was a gifted iconographer, came from Paris in order to execute this important and fascinating project. She decorated the whole chapel following a single theme, the mystery of the Church.³⁷³ The chapel was later hallowed by Metropolitan Germanos of Thyateira and Great Britain on 28 April 1949. This is an important event in the history of a chapel, of a church, of the community, and therefore this was considered as one of the greatest moments within the life and history of the Fellowship. Despite having an Orthodox sanctuary and an Anglican altar (in order for the chapel to be used by both churches), it was seen fit

³⁷³Joanna Reitlinger also painted the icons on the Iconostasis, as Nicolas Zernov described:

The image of the Saviour on the iconostasis is a masterpiece of contemporary iconography.

The five main panels of the lower row of the wall frescoes represent the visible manifestation of the Church as illustrated by groups of saints – Byzantine, Latin, Oriental, British and Russian, with the corresponding architecture in the background. The upper row of frescoes depicts the heavenly destiny of the Church, symbolised by scenes of the Creation, followed by episodes from the Book of Revelation – Sister Joanna's original creation.

In addition, the iconostasis and the wood carvings were executed by Oleg Andronov (a Russian prisoner of war who was repatriated to the Soviet Union), following a design made by Sister Joanna. Zernov, 1979, p.13.

to hallow the chapel by an Orthodox Bishop, and who better than the Metropolitan of Thyateira, Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Western Europe, Germanos.³⁷⁴ Nevertheless, this was a requirement; according to Orthodox Canon Law, 'a private Chapel of this kind must have a Chaplain in charge of it'³⁷⁵ despite the fact that it was clearly understood that there was no parish attached to it, whilst services would be celebrated occasionally. On the other hand, no baptisms or weddings were permitted to be held in the Chapel.

The hallowing³⁷⁶ demonstrated the Fellowship's requirement to reinforce the devotional life of the Orthodox members, whilst also revealing the richness of the Orthodox Church to its non-Orthodox members. The chapel was inevitably considered the heart of St Basil's House, stressing the fact that prayer and the participation in the Liturgy is crucial for the life and existence of the Fellowship. The Metropolitan, in order to point out the significance of this hallowing, the existence of the chapel and the value of the Fellowship, during his address claimed,

In the whirlpool of passions which the ancient heresies had generated, the Orthodox Church, seeking to protect her members from all contact with heretics, lest the errors of the latter should influence the Orthodox faith of the former, prohibited all prayer in company with heretics. But present-day practice, although it does not cancel this canonical prohibition, has moderated its sternness and thus the Orthodox Church permits her children to pray in company with people professing other doctrines, whenever she sees that these people have no tendency to

³⁷⁴ During a meeting between Archbishop Germanos and a number of representatives of the Fellowship, in January 1944, it was made clear that up to this point the Archbishop was not in any way associated with the Society, whilst being linked with the AECA. This, however, changed after the hallowing of the chapel.

³⁷⁵ House, F.H., *Notes on an Interview with Archbishop Germanos*, Fellowship Archive, January 1944.

³⁷⁶ The Hallowing Deed (which has never been published before) is a document verifying the hallowing of the chapel, is as follows:

An Orthodox House of Prayer having been prepared by the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius in the house called 'Saint Basil's House' (52 Ladbroke Grove, London W11) we, being requested to do so, hallowed this on the 28th day of the month of April in the year of Our Saviour 1949, according to the order of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and we dedicated it to the honour and memory of our father among the saints, Saint Basil the Great. On the following day, being the festival of the Life-Giving Fountain, after celebrating an episcopal liturgy therein, we bestowed this House of Prayer upon the Fellowship, for the celebration of the unbloody sacrifice and for the offering of the public prayer of its members, having enjoined, in accordance with the sacred canons, that in the Divine Liturgy and in the sacred services the name of our Humility and those of our successors should be mentioned. These things are made known by this present Deed of Hallowing which we have delivered to the said Fellowship, signed by us and sealed with the seal of the sacred metropolis of Thyateira.

In the offices of the sacred metropolis of Thyateira (8 Dawson Place, London W2)

The Metropolitan of Thyateira Germanos.

Fellowship Archives.

proselytism but, on the contrary, have a living desire for the fulfilment of the prayer of our Lord to His Father, "That they may all be one."³⁷⁷

This chapel was to be a place where Orthodox and Anglicans could pray together. The Orthodox services were presided by Fr. Lev Gillet, who worked between St Basil's House and the Christian Youth Movement in Lebanon. Therefore, the chapel was a sign of love and cooperation between the denominations, as seen through other instances, whereby in Jerusalem Orthodox Churches allow for the Anglican Liturgy to be celebrated, whilst in the UK Anglicans share their churches with the Orthodox, who celebrate the Divine Liturgy in Western Churches. Without this cooperation, Orthodoxy would not have flourished in Britain, questioning therefore those who oppose these practices. It is a standard argument that the healing of schism can only come 'through the operation of the Holy Spirit,'³⁷⁸ together with the desires and actions towards unity.

Changes in the Life of the Fellowship

During this period the members of the Fellowship were not strangers, but friends. The relations were reverting to their previous status; the conference was again a reality within the life of this Society, bringing back the true feel of these meetings, that of 'a Family Reunion,'³⁷⁹ however, the camp remained, keeping both formats that played a crucial role in the existence of this Society. Also contact and visits between London and Paris recommenced. It was evident, during this post-war period, that the Fellowship was entering an epoch of new opportunities, with new and intriguing responsibilities, expanding the motivation of mutual understanding. Furthermore, the Fellowship, even though it was a Russian – English Society, was constantly becoming more pan-Orthodox in its character, introducing Helle Georgiadis as co-editor of *Sobornost* and assistant secretary of the Fellowship, who replaced John Findlow who was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Church of England Council of Foreign Relations at Lambeth Palace. Miss Helle, who was a member of the Greek Orthodox Church, had a comprehensive knowledge of both the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion and was equipped for undertaking an important role within the life of the Society. Miss Helle initiated an innovative activity by making the Fellowship a publisher of booklets and pamphlets. Due to her work and character, she was later known as 'Pallas Athene,'³⁸⁰ highlighting also the fact that the Fellowship was widening its spectrum, introducing more Orthodox members from different backgrounds. Fr. Anthony Bloom became chaplain to the Fellowship for a year, before being nominated as parish priest at the Russian Church in London. He was a great presence for the

³⁷⁷ Germanos, Archbishop, 'Dedication of St Basil's Chapel – Address by the Honorary Orthodox President of the Fellowship', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 6, Winter 1949, p.226.

³⁷⁸ H.J.B., 'A Description of the Ceremony', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 6, Winter 1949, p.227.

³⁷⁹ Russell, Neil, 'Some Impressions of Abingdon, 1950', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.8, Winter 1950, p.362.

³⁸⁰ Bentley, Muriel, 'Joan Ford and Helle Georgiadis', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 24, Spring 1959, p.644.

Fellowship. 'If Fr. Bulgakov could be described as the inspirer of the Fellowship in the pre-war period, this was the role of Fr. Anthony in the post-war years.'³⁸¹ The former addressed issues of union between the Anglicans and the Orthodox; however, the latter emphasised the encounter with the spiritual life of each Christian. On the other hand, Patrick Thompson and Helle Georgiadis succeeded Eric Mascall as editors of the journal *Sobornost*. During this period the Fellowship acquired a new president, Bishop Michael Ramsey of Durham,³⁸² who followed after Bishop Rawlinson (Bishop of Derby),³⁸³ playing an integral part in the life of the Fellowship. A new and important addition, moreover, to the life of the Fellowship was Russian author Vladimir Lossky. The membership of renowned Christians from both traditions inevitably gave credibility and an important status to the Fellowship and its significant work.

The conferences, during the post-war period, received a new structure. They retained the theological character, while also combining features and practices acquired through the camp. The members who attended the conferences were not only clerics, but now it included large numbers of laity, whilst also welcoming families with children. Nevertheless, the Eucharist remained in the centre of the conference. The conference took two to three weeks, being more of a holiday for those attending, whereas the theological debates only took two to three days. Equally, conferences were held in other countries too, where local branches had the chance to achieve contact between Anglicans and Orthodox.

The Death of Archbishop Germanos of Thyateira

The Most Reverend Germanos, Metropolitan of Thyateira and Exarch for Western and Central Europe of the Patriarchate of Constantinople died on 23 January 1951, in London. He was a fervent supporter of Anglican-Orthodox relations, being the Orthodox President of the Fellowship,³⁸⁴ whilst also hallowing the chapel in St Basil's House. He was the first Orthodox Archbishop in the West, and that is why he is a significant figure, not only for the Fellowship but for the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

³⁸¹ Zernov, 1979, p.16.

³⁸² On 25 of April 1956 the President of the Fellowship was enthroned as Archbishop of York, which was a rejoicing occasion for the Fellowship. This is another instance of how the Fellowship had the prestige and the blessing of having prominent members, members of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church.

³⁸³ In 1955 Bishop of Derby was invited to become the Anglican Honorary President of the Fellowship (the Orthodox President being Archbishop Athenagoras of Thyateira and Great Britain), which he accepted, continuing thereby his association with the Fellowship.

³⁸⁴ Archbishop Germano's successor, Bishop Athenagoras, accepted to be the Fellowship's new Orthodox President.

The funeral service took place in St Sophia, Bayswater, attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Anglican bishops and clergy, emphasising the good relations between the two ecclesiastical groups. On the other hand, a memorial service was organised by the Fellowship and the AECA in St Paul's Cathedral, on 10 February. The fact that there were two memorial services, one in an Anglican and one in an Orthodox church, signifies 'the great work of friendship between Christians divided in ecclesiastical allegiance, which Archbishop Germanos embodied so faithfully in his own life, a work which will live on after him to illuminate the path of all who seek to heal the wounds of divided Christendom.'³⁸⁵

The Third Faith and Order Conference, Lund

The third Faith and Order Conference took place in Lund³⁸⁶ in 1952, which highlighted the advance attained in the field of Christian reconciliation. Themes such as the Church, worship and intercommunion were examined on a friendly level.³⁸⁷ Moreover, delegates from both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church included many members of the Fellowship, such as Fr. George Florovski. More than fifty Fellowship members were present, coming from all corners of the world. A Fellowship meeting was organised, introducing the works of the Society to new members.

Nicolas Zernov expressed his views on the importance of the Lund Conference, explaining that:

Lund was a significant event in the history of the Ecumenical Movement, a proof of the progress of its work and an encouragement to those who believe in its vital importance, but it contained also a warning against undue optimism, for it revealed new obstacles and made it clear that still greater efforts are required from those who want to serve the cause of Christian oneness.³⁸⁸

The Fellowship's Aims

Through its history, prevailing after a period of war, the Fellowship expanded, gaining new members. Returning back to its normal functions, where conferences, the camp, talks and visits were again an integral part of this Society, it was evident that it had to identify again, to its new members, what it was. The Fellowship, taking a back step, especially after the birth of the WCC,

³⁸⁵ Georgiadis, Helle, 'Archbishop Germanos of Thyateira', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.9, Summer 1951, p.404.

³⁸⁶ This was the Third Faith and Order Conference, following after the Lausanne Conference (1927) and the Edinburgh Conference (1937).

³⁸⁷ Intercommunion was a theme discussed, also, at the Edinburgh Conference (1937), stating that Sacramental Communion was an essential part of any acceptable and reasonable future Church union. Without it, the frustration of closed Communion could eventually lead to the failure of all ecumenical relations.

³⁸⁸ Zernov, 1952, p.571.(B).

highlighted the fact that it did not instigate a future reunion. Its objective was to 'awaken Christians to the possibility of Unity, and to stir their imagination by making possible for them personal contacts with the representatives of other traditions.'³⁸⁹ It, therefore, prepared the way, as a modern prophet, as a modern John the Baptist, who wished to see the existence and reunification of the 'one, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.' Whether the idea of reunion was supported in Britain or not, the Fellowship taught about the work of unity and was an example of what a future unity would be like, not only through its conferences (which played a crucial role in the furtherance of relations) but also through its publications (the journal *Sobornost* and its books) and lectures that were organised frequently.

The life and practice of the Fellowship taught its members and those who were in the Ecumenical Movement the truth about the likelihood of a future reunion. Leaving behind the first years, when a utopian model was hoped for, the truth brought everyone down to earth, realising the alterations that had to be achieved in order to further the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. The reality of disunity and the repeated talks of divergence, point out that, maybe, the Ecumenical Movement and everyone who is associated with it had reached a dead end. If unity is not a plausible future objective, then what is the point of the existence of the Ecumenical Movement or of organisations, such as the Fellowship and the AECA? The 1950s saw the Fellowship question its existence and its objectives, which had inevitably altered since its formation in 1927, due mainly to the change - on a global level - of both the relations between the two churches and the political and cultural occurrences of that epoch. By 1954 it was believed that the Fellowship appeared to be a centre where Anglicans were interested in Orthodox matters.

Silver Jubilee

In 1952, the Fellowship celebrated its 'Silver Jubilee'. The occasion was not marked with a special festivity; however, it did point out the importance of the Society and the role it had played during its first twenty five years of its life. This commemoration pointed out the fact that 'the early optimism has become tempered by realism, nevertheless the will to unity is sturdier.'³⁹⁰ The Fellowship had now grown, entering maturity, leaving behind the dreams and the naivety of its younger years. The birth of the WCC expressed the significance of the relations and the dialogue that existed between the numerous churches. New terms formed the better basis upon which the dialogue could progress such as 'heresy' that is currently not in use due to the fact that it is understood as an abusive term. The protagonists of the Fellowship believed that through prayer the

³⁸⁹ Zernov, Nicolas, 'Aims of the Fellowship', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.10, Summer 1951, p.458.

³⁹⁰ Georgiadis, Helle, 'Silver Jubilee', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.14, Winter 1953, p.100.

goals and the objectives of both the Anglicans and the Orthodox within the Society would be achieved. 'Not that prayer is a substitute for action – but it is the sole condition of effective action.'³⁹¹ The Fellowship had seen many changes within its short history (up to this point), for example the formation of the WCC, the increase of Orthodox Churches in the West, the publications of countless books and journal issues. It was, therefore, believed within the Fellowship that it is imperative that it continues its crucial work within the Ecumenical Movement. The Fellowship, being a small organisation, had played a 'crucial part in the whole reintegration of Christendom,'³⁹² playing a key role, through its members, in international meetings, such as within the WCC by introducing its own experience, mainly the Eucharist - as part of the meetings and councils between the numerous denominations.

To conclude, this period saw the Fellowship increase in members; St Basil's House was increasing in importance, especially for the work of the Fellowship, whilst the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox were reaching new levels. The House also catered for the hospitality of members of Christian Youth Associations, thereby giving something back to the groups that gave birth to the Fellowship in 1927. Also it was a place where Orthodox hierarchs from the East could visit and stay, especially during this period, where travelling was more frequent than it was in the past and the war period. The desire for unity was still evident, as seen by the letter sent by the President of the Fellowship, the Bishop of Durham, expressing the view that 'if the way to union involves changes for the Church of England these changes will be in order to give fuller expression in liturgy and other ways to that orthodox life which she has always possessed in the Communion of Saints.'³⁹³ The Fellowship was (and is) the body which could, slowly but surely, achieve these changes if the churches are serious in achieving this objective.

The Fourth Period (1958-68)

This period of the Fellowship's history was enriched with globally important and ecumenical advances. It had been evident that, due to the increase of the importance of the WCC, the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox had shifted from the Fellowship to the WCC; nevertheless, the work and significance of the Fellowship was in no way to be diminished. This period saw a change of certain key figures within the works of the Society. The secretaries (Helle Georgiadis and Joan Ford) resigned, giving their place to Rev. Eric Hampson and Rae Phillips.

³⁹¹ Tomkins, Oliver, 'Praying for Unity', *Sobornost*', Series 3, No.15, Summer 1954, p.110.

³⁹² Allchin, Donald, 'Letter to the Editor', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No.15, Summer 1954, p.166.

³⁹³ Dunelm, 1955-56, p.274.

Roman Catholics in the Ecumenical Movement

This period saw several vital advances within the Christian world. The most influential, for the future progress of ecumenism, was the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) that fundamentally reformed the relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the other Christians, stating that:

In certain special circumstances, such as the prescribed prayers “for unity”, and during ecumenical gatherings, it is allowable, indeed desirable that Catholics should join in prayer with their separated brethren. Such prayers in common are certainly an effective means of obtaining the grace of unity . . .³⁹⁴

Up to this point the involvement of Roman Catholics in the work and life of the Fellowship was limited. Moreover, due to the fact that the Fellowship had Orthodox participation, it appealed and drew the Roman Catholics who wished to be part of the ‘movement for the recovery of Christian unity.’³⁹⁵ Additionally, because of the increasing involvement of Roman Catholics within the life and work of the Society, Roman Catholic Mass was introduced, emphasising the meaning of reunion work for the Orthodox, the Anglicans and also the Roman Catholics.

Pan-Orthodox Conference

The other fundamental occasion was the Pan-Orthodox Conference held on the Greek island of Rhodes (14 September – 1 October 1961) organised by Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras. The Conference’s purpose was ‘to proclaim the unity and solidarity of the Orthodox’³⁹⁶ and prepare the Eastern Church for a projected Orthodox Council. During this conference, a message from the Archbishop of Canterbury was delivered claiming that the future Orthodox Pro-Synod should include on its agenda ‘the study of the possibility of cultivation of relations and further rapprochement . . . especially with the Episcopalians and Anglicans in the light of their present positive attitudes towards the Orthodox Church.’³⁹⁷ Due to this, an initial step was agreed upon, whereby a joint Doctrinal Commission between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion was created; thus, through this example, it was apparent that the Fellowship’s unofficial, but important, work found backing and encouragement from the highest Orthodox authority.

³⁹⁴ Second Vatican Council, *Decree on Ecumenism*, <http://www.ewtn.com/library/councils/v2ecum.htm>, accessed 07/03/2012, 17.25.

³⁹⁵ Zernov, 1979, p.17.

³⁹⁶ Phylax, Angelos, ‘The Pan-Orthodox Conference on Rhodes’, *Sobornost*, Series 4, No.6, Winter-Spring 1962, p.284.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.285.

The Patriarch of Moscow in England

It is a fact that, during the course of the Fellowship's history, it had retained its Anglo-Russian character; nevertheless new members joined, making this Society a truly ecumenical body. Nonetheless, with the visit of the Patriarch Alexis of Moscow to England, in 1965, new hope arose in regards to the relations between the Anglican Communion and the Russian Church. This was, of course, the result of the change of understanding that the latter had towards the Ecumenical Movement, since 1961 when the Russian Church joined the WCC. The significant result of these meetings and friendly contacts was a suggestion, made by the Patriarch of Moscow, 'that a committee of theologians from the Church of England and the Russian Orthodox Church should be established'³⁹⁸ for the purpose of reunion between the two bodies. He was a fervent supporter of the relations, a notion which contradicted the previous practices of the Russian Church, due mainly to political reasons within the Soviet Union. During his speech at Lambeth Palace he pointed out, among other things, that the two churches should 'conduct regular, carefully organized, academic, theological conversations and discussions on the most important theological problems, because this will create a stronger foundation for our general meetings.'³⁹⁹ These contacts would inevitably bring mutual enrichment through the Divine Liturgy and through the dialogue, a practice kept in the Fellowship's life. This visit and the official talks that followed were all based on the foundations laid by the Fellowship. Without this previous contact and understanding visits like this one would have been impossible.

The House of St Gregory and St Macrina

A new achievement was the establishment of a new House in Oxford, considered a sister house to St Basil's in London, named after St Gregory and St Macrina. The new building, at 1 Canterbury Road – where the current headquarters of the Fellowship are located – opened its doors in 1959. The name of the House commemorates St Gregory of Nyssa and his sister St Macrina, who lived during the fourth century, and are acknowledged and respected as saints in both East and West. They are also St Basil's brother and sister, underlining the relationship between the London and the Oxford Houses of the Fellowship, increasing and thus spreading the Society's influence around Britain. On the other hand, the Centre in Oxford was not officially linked with the Fellowship. The House of St Gregory and St Macrina was 'established on an independent basis financially and administratively.'⁴⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the majority of people who helped with both the House and the

³⁹⁸ Lawrence, J.L., 'The Patriarch of Moscow's Visit', *Sobornost*, Series 4, No.12, Winter-Spring 1965, p.686.

³⁹⁹ Alexis, Patriarch of Moscow, 'The Speech of His Holiness Patriarch Alexis at the Official Reception given at Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury', *Sobornost*, Series 4, No. 12, Winter-Spring 1965, pp.691-2.

⁴⁰⁰ Ware, Kallistos, 'Nicolas Zernov (1898-1980)', *Sobornost*, Volume 3: Number 1, 1981, p.24.

Church in Oxford were also members of the Fellowship. Therefore a spiritual bond was evident, giving the chance for both the Fellowship and the local community to excel in the works of reunion.

The Oxford House was understood as a key objective, as Bishop Anthony⁴⁰¹ had stressed that it was important 'for people to be trained from their student days to see the importance of the Ecumenical Movement.'⁴⁰² Nevertheless, it did not only target students and academics, but also the local community. On the other hand, support was apparent even from the Ecumenical Patriarch, through Bishop James Virvos and the Archbishop of Thyateira. The unique feature of this new House, especially for the 1960s, was the fact that males and females were under one roof.⁴⁰³ However, it did have two main principles, 'sobornost and the "Fool in Christ way"'"⁴⁰⁴ according to Militza Zernov, since this project was realised on the basis of the trust the Zernov's had in God's help. Its aim, similar to that of St Basil's House in London, was to be 'a place where fellowship becomes a reality in personal experience.'⁴⁰⁵

This project was inspired by Dr Nicolas Zernov, who first visited Oxford in 1926, as a doctoral student. There he observed that a centre for Orthodox Christian studies was imperative, if the reunion process were to succeed between East and West. As Militza Zernov later explained, 'He [Nicolas] was deeply impressed by the contrast between the beauty and cultural richness of this ancient university, and its total disregard for the Russian tragedy and total (or nearly total) ignorance of Orthodoxy.'⁴⁰⁶ After a number of years of absence from Oxford, he moved back there in order to teach at the University. Despite the importance of this branch, it is apparent that this endeavour would not have been realised without the wisdom, presence and help from Nicolas Zernov, who promoted the Fellowship's work wherever he went. St Gregory and St Macrina's House 'enriched the spiritual life of Oxford.'⁴⁰⁷ The 'Zernovian centre'⁴⁰⁸ thus brought Orthodoxy to the University centre of Britain.

This new project was realised with the assistance of a considerable donation that was accepted by the sale of St Macrina House in Birmingham. The new House was considered to be 'a

⁴⁰¹ Anthony Bloom was Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church in Great Britain and Ireland (Diocese of Sourozh) from 1962 to 2003 and was an important member of the Fellowship, being its first Chaplain, at St Basil's Chapel.

⁴⁰² Allchin, A.M. (ed.), 'A House in Oxford', *Sobornost*, Series 3, No. 24, Spring 1959, p.655.

⁴⁰³ Ware, Kallistos, 'Reports- The House of St Gregory and St Macrina: The First Quarter Century', *Sobornost*, Volume 6: Number 2, 1984, p.58.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Briere, Elizabeth, 'Secretaries' Notes', *Sobornost*, Volume 7: Number 2, 1985, p.77.

⁴⁰⁶ Ware, 1984, p.56.

⁴⁰⁷ Zernov, Nicolas, 'S. Gregory and S. Macrina's House in Oxford', *Sobornost*, Series 5:No.7, Autumn 1968, p.526.

⁴⁰⁸ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 23: Number 1, 2001, p.117.

meeting place for all Christians committed to this work and a residential centre for students and visiting scholars with varied religious backgrounds.⁴⁰⁹ 'The centre contained a student hostel, a library, a room for meetings and an Orthodox chapel, where services were held in Slavonic, Greek and English.⁴¹⁰ This offered an opportunity for Oxford students and visitors to share in Orthodox worship.'⁴¹¹

In the grounds of the House of St Gregory and St Macrina the Greek and Russian Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity and the Annunciation is located, The Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity and the Annunciation was consecrated on 11 July 1973. During this period, the Orthodox parish used the House for a number of parish events, meetings, common meals and the catechesis of adults and children. After the building of the church, the library expanded, obtaining the personal library of Rev Dr Derwas J. Chitty. Also, the House acquired many books on the Eastern Churches.

Next to the Church, on the other side of the grounds, the St Theosevia Centre is located, promoting Christian Spirituality, named after the wife of St Gregory of Nyssa (who was also a deaconess), thus emphasising the connection between the two Houses. This latter House was founded through the wishes of Nicolas and Militza Zernov, where residential accommodation for senior scholars, persons on sabbatical leave and others in sympathy with the Fellowship's aims could be given. This house was funded by the 'Nicolas Zernov Memorial Fund,' established after the death of Nicolas Zernov (1980).

New Developments within the Fellowship

This fourth period of the Fellowship saw a new development realising itself, the decrease in Orthodox participants in the conferences and the general work of the Society. This was due to a number of occurrences. One key concern was the decrease in the number of Russians in Paris, who could not provide sufficient new people to head the conferences in the UK. On the other hand, the political difficulties in the East made it hard, if not impossible, for Orthodox students to travel and attend the conferences in England. Therefore, the Minchins (who took up the secretaryship in 1960), seeing the continued problem, travelled on a regular basis to the Balkan countries, in order to enlist new Orthodox members for the Fellowship. They visited the Phanar (the residence of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople), where they recruited the Patriarch as an ordinary member,

⁴⁰⁹ Welcome to the House of St Gregory and St Macrina, Fellowship Archives.

⁴¹⁰ This description, given by the Zernovs, shows the functions of the House in the 1960s and 70s, until the establishment of the Orthodox Church in the grounds of St Gregory's and St Macrina's House. Today, the House is still a hostel; it has a meeting room and a library. Most of the Fellowship archives are in this House. A portion of the archives are also located in St Theosevia's House.

⁴¹¹ Zernov, 1979, p.20.

especially since he expressed his concerns in regards to the Unity of the Church. They additionally visited Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia. The positive result of these extensive travels was the fact that the Society was better known in the East, bringing its message and beliefs to those Christians and theologians who were interested in reunion efforts, but who could not leave their own countries. They were trips to achieve knowledge: knowledge of people and churches who were operating for unity. On the other hand, the Archbishop of York Michael Ramsey, who was the president of the Fellowship, became in 1961 Archbishop of Canterbury, retaining his position as president of the Society. This depicts the magnitude of both the Fellowship and its members for the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, not only in Britain, but also on a global scale. This renowned position would give the Society a new and increased credibility in order to promote its works on unity.

So, to conclude, it is apparent that a promising element, evident during this period, was the increase in the distribution and publication of books on Orthodoxy. The Fellowship was one of the first bodies in the West to produce material on Orthodoxy for a western audience, in a western language, thereby establishing its missionary work towards the West in the form of publications. The total worth of books sold by the Bookstore in St Basil's House escalated from £30 to £1,500 annually. This profit advanced the Society's budget, whilst also promoting its work to new audiences. *Sobornost*, on the other hand, continued its publication, altering its centre of interest. Due to the vast changes within the Ecumenical scene, with the introduction of the WCC, Vatican II and the realisation of conferences, such as the one in Rhodes or the Anglican-Methodist Conference, the topics that were analysed in the Fellowship's journal took a more global scope of the relations between the churches, emphasising the fact that the Fellowship was part of this Ecumenical Movement.

A change of people saw the resignation of Patrick Thompson as editor of *Sobornost*, replaced by Donald Allchin. In 1968 the Minchins resigned the position of Secretary and were replaced by A. Paternoster. Nevertheless, the end of this period and the beginning of the next stressed the reality that the Fellowship played a great role in the British Isles in respect to reunion talks. Quantitatively, the Fellowship has always been a small body; qualitatively, nevertheless, the work of the Fellowship has been of real significance. This is the case due to the fact that the Fellowship 'has provided one of the few places where the Orthodox have been able to make their own witness in their own terms, a terrain where they have not been strangers, nor even honoured guests, but absolutely at home, as directors and fellow workers.'⁴¹² The Fellowship, therefore, was

⁴¹² Allchin, A.M., 'Ecumenical Perspectives', *Sobornost*, Series 4, No.12, Winter-Spring 1965, p.701.

achieving its objectives through its friendly atmosphere and talks, through its witness, through its qualitatively important vocation.

The Fifth Period (1968-1978)

The fifth period in the history of the Fellowship saw a number of alterations on the ecumenical scene. The WWC altered its centre of interest from doctrinal and liturgical issues to racial, economic and social problems which affect the whole world and therefore all the churches. Moreover, the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions were initiated in Oxford (1973). Additionally, a high point of this time, but also for the future of the unofficial and the official relations, was 'The Moscow Agreed Statement,' which was agreed by the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission in 1976. All of these new developments highlight the fact that 'the Ecumenical Movement has definitely outgrown its first stage of being a pan-Protestant movement with a token representation of non-Protestant Churches.'⁴¹³ It is apparent that the Orthodox Church, especially after the participation of the Russian Church in its works, has played a crucial role in the whole Ecumenical Movement, trying to overcome preconceptions that still exist in the twenty-first century. The new ventures of the Ecumenical Movement and the creation of formal relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox formed the WCC and Ecumenism as the norm and not merely as a parasite within ecclesiastical circles. Small steps had to be taken in order to achieve any objectives.

From this time onwards the Ecumenical Movement became an established reality, where the Fellowship was merely a part of a bigger picture. Despite its quantitative smallness, its qualitative labours were crucial for the foundation and success of the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. Thus, it is easy to believe that 'the Fellowship is a God-given agency of opportunity and optimism.'⁴¹⁴ It was felt that the 'real ecumenical encounter between East and West still lies in the future,'⁴¹⁵ through the WCC and the official statements, while the Fellowship's work remained significant in promoting traditional and new ground on a personal level, whilst also 'encouraging awareness of the truths of the Christian traditions of East and West.'⁴¹⁶ On the other hand, the churches had, from this period, began their official relations. Due to this new endeavour the Fellowship took a back-step, retaining however its importance and influence, especially through

⁴¹³ Zernov, Nicolas, 'The Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Uppsala, 4-20 July, 1968', *Sobornost*, Series 5: No. 8, Winter-Spring, 1969, p.596.

⁴¹⁴ Evans, Gareth, M., 'Secretary's Notes', *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 7, Summer 1973, p.525.

⁴¹⁵ Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius Annual General Meeting (19.iii.83), Fellowship Archives.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

its members, giving a testimony of its history and objectives, being a 'community of ecumenical concern, theological interest and prayer.'⁴¹⁷

The Moscow Agreed Statement

Anglican-Orthodox relations and dialogue had existed for decades. Official Dialogue had been an on-and-off reality in the twentieth century. However, a new chapter opened in 1962, when Archbishop of Canterbury Dr Michael Ramsey visited Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I. Both hierarchs decided to 'take the first step towards setting up . . . a Joint Commission which would examine agreements and differences in matters of doctrine between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches.'⁴¹⁸ This first visit and its results were to be later known as 'the beginning of a new spiritual spring that may lead to greater rapprochement and the closer collaboration of all churches.'⁴¹⁹ This agreement resulted in the establishment of the Official Dialogue between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church. Numerous meetings were held in both East and West.⁴²⁰ However, the Moscow Conference (1976) was the most significant meeting of the Commission for the Joint Doctrinal Discussions between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion. 'Never before have Orthodox and Anglicans conferred together so seriously or for so long a period. Never have the two Churches been so fully represented in joint discussions.'⁴²¹

The Moscow Agreed Statement was the first of its kind, opening a new chapter in the official relations and dialogue between the two ecclesiastical groups. It was an important example of how hierarchs and ecclesiastical representatives were able to come together, despite coming from varied backgrounds, and talk together frankly, in an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding. Many topics were discussed, including the knowledge of God, the inspiration and authority of Holy Scripture, Scripture and Tradition, the authority of the councils, the filioque clause, the Church as the Eucharistic community and the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist. Moreover, during the Moscow meeting, the topic of women priests was also discussed, concluding in the passing of a resolution by the Orthodox members, explaining:

⁴¹⁷ Evans, Gareth, M., 'Secretary's Notes', *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 6, Winter 1972, p.441.

⁴¹⁸ Davey, Colin, 'Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue 1920-76', in Ware, Davey (eds.), 1977, p.18.

⁴¹⁹ Hill, Methodios, 1985, p.1.

⁴²⁰The preparations for the Official Dialogue were held in the following locations: Belgrade (1966), Oxford (1968), Chambesy (1968), Lambeth (1968), Jerusalem (1969), Haywards Heath (1970), Haywards Heath (1971), Geneva (1972).

The meetings of the Commission for Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Discussions were held in Oxford (1973), Romania (Ramnicu Valcea) (1974), New York (1974), Truro (1975), St Albans (1975), London (1975) concluding in Moscow (1976) with the Moscow Agreed Statement.

⁴²¹ Ware, Davey (eds.), 1977, p.37.

The Orthodox members of the Commission wish to state that if the Anglican Churches proceed to the ordination of women to the priesthood and the episcopate, this will create a very serious obstacle to the development of our relations in the future. Although the Anglican members are divided among themselves on the theological principle involved, they recognize the strength of Orthodox convictions on this matter and undertake to make this known to their Churches.⁴²²

However, this later became a reality within the Anglican Communion (1977-78). Nevertheless, the Official Dialogue continued and continues to this day, showing the conviction both sides have in respect to the continuation of the dialogues; on the other hand, this new reality does limit the possibilities of unity between the churches.

The vitality of the Fellowship was also evident during this meeting, showing that its unofficial work had been crucial for the evolution of the dialogue and the relations between East and West. The official talks between the two ecclesiastical groups would 'hardly have been the same without the Fellowship's quiet contribution'⁴²³ over the previous decades. Despite not being formally represented, members of the Fellowship were present, playing a key role in the talks. This was, of course, a natural progression, where the 'delegates were not only well acquainted with each other's tradition but were personal friends.'⁴²⁴ A number of members were present, including the Right Reverend Gregory - Bishop of Tropaïou (currently Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain), the Very Reverend Archimandrite Kallistos Ware – currently Metropolitan of Diokleia (both representing the Orthodox Church), the Reverend Canon A. M. Allchin and the Reverend Colin Davey (part of the Anglican Delegation, representing the Church of England). Two of these members, Archimandrite Kallistos Ware and Reverend Colin Davey were also the co-editors of the published statement, entitled *Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue – The Moscow Statement Agreed by the Anglican – Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission 1976*. Also the two Co-Chairmen were associated with the Fellowship, namely Robert Runcie, Bishop of St Albans (later Archbishop of Canterbury), and Athenagoras, Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain. The above depict, therefore, the important work of the Fellowship and how it had secured prominent Orthodox and Anglican members as its own followers and supporters.

The Official Dialogue, however, produced a new problem for the Dialogue. The members of the Commission identified that the official statement and the works of the official relations needed to be communicated to the faithful of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church. The

⁴²² Ware, Davey (eds.), 1977, p.38.

⁴²³ Hackel, Sergei, 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, Volume 5: Number 2, 1983, p.5.

⁴²⁴ Zernov, Nicolas, 'The One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church and the Anglicans', *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 8, Winter 1973, p.529.

number of people involved in the relations was very small, in comparison with the faithful. Therefore, in order to promote a greater level of theological understanding, mutual knowledge and confidence within the two denominations, the relations and results of the deliberations needed to be communicated to all the levels of people within the churches. On the other hand, the informal work of associations such as the Fellowship was not diminished by the existence of the Official Dialogue, since it continues to play a crucial role, even to this day, establishing contacts between Christians in the West and the East.

Fellowship Conferences

The Fellowship summer conference played, as it did before and as it still does, an integral part of the life of this Society. The venue moved from Broadstairs, where it was during the fourth period, and migrated to Birmingham, Bristol, Durham, Liverpool and Winchester, concluding in High Leigh, where it had not gone for nearly thirty-five years. This period formed the programme and the format of the conferences which still exist to this day: they became smaller; however, they exhibited a more theological character. The changes within the ecumenical scene saw an alteration within the life of the Fellowship. The number of Roman Catholics was increasing, whilst the Roman Mass was also celebrated, giving a more rich and comprehensive understanding of the liturgical and practical life of Christians from both the East and the West. The Fellowship Conference, therefore, was an eye-opening experience, widening the understanding of what the Christians of the twentieth century should have in order to prosper within the Ecumenical Movement.

Orthodox Converts

A novel reality was evident during the conferences and the life of the Fellowship, namely the increase of the number of Orthodox who derived from the West and not the East. Many, because of the dialogue and the constant relations with the Orthodox, wished to convert to the Orthodox Church. Some considered this and accused the Fellowship of proselytism. However, this was never the wish or the practice of the Fellowship. Nowhere in its books, publications, journal, conferences and life did it ever wish to proselytise the Anglican or Roman Catholic members of this Society. Moreover, even if these claims were to be accepted, the beliefs and sayings of those related to the Fellowship can be acknowledged in order to verify them. Such an instance is Metropolitan Anthony who in his lectures always aimed at 'helping others to grow in the knowledge of God and in devotion to Christ within each and every tradition.'⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ Zernov, 1979, p.22.

The existence of people such as Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia, who were involved in the life and work of the Fellowship, enriched its existence and furthered its endeavours in Christian unity. Western Orthodox faithful have a unique and new understanding within the relations of West and East; they do not show the negativity of the relations but the new and refreshing contribution towards the engagement of Western and Eastern Christianity. Metropolitan John Zizioulas explains how converts can be 'authentic interpreters and bridges between historical Orthodoxy and Western culture in a way which no other Orthodox can.'⁴²⁶ This new reality has brought Orthodoxy closer to the West. The Zernovs explain the richness of this actuality stating that:

1. They are better able to expound the spirit of Orthodoxy in terms and language familiar to the West.
2. Hitherto Orthodoxy has been seen as a specific form of Christianity restricted to the eastern nations. The presence of western Orthodoxy emphasize the universality of Orthodoxy.
3. At the same time the western Orthodox are called to create new expressions of Orthodoxy congenial to their own national character. This remains, as it always was, an Orthodox gift. Side by side with the Churches of the East, each with their unique contribution to universal Orthodoxy, there have begun to grow up young Orthodox communities, English, American, French, German, Dutch, Belgian, Mexican, etc. each with its particular character.⁴²⁷

The Fellowship was, thus, not a body which now brought together the English and the Russians. It was an Ecumenical body which had entered a new age, whereby the Orthodox and the Anglicans of one country, such as Britain, came together to further understand not a different political or cultural background but a distinct religious and ecclesiastical awareness and belief system. Therefore, it is not an issue of East meeting West but of the West meeting the West, the 'Western' Orthodox being in dialogue with the 'Western' Anglicans.

It is significant to point out the fact that Orthodox converts are found within the Fellowship's life due to the fact that this Society has always been centred towards Orthodoxy. Therefore, it made it the natural choice for those who moved from Anglicanism towards Orthodoxy. On the other hand, the AECA has identified the opposite. Easterners, from all over the Orthodox world, have become Anglicans. This is not due to the AECA, but due to cultural and political reasons. However, they have found shelter under the AECA, since it is the official body of the Anglican Communion that promotes relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

⁴²⁶ Zizioulas, John, Metropolitan of Pergamon, 'Communion and otherness', *Sobornost*, Volume 16: Number 1, 1994, p.7.

⁴²⁷ Zernov, 1979, p.23.

The Orthodox Church in Oxford

1973 saw the completion of the Orthodox Church in Oxford, located in the garden of the House of St Gregory and St Macrina, given in perpetuity for free by the House to the local Orthodox community. It is not a large church and it maintains its simplicity. The octagonal shape, proposed by Militza Zernov, shows a unique architectural beauty within this University City. The Church is shared on an equal basis by the Greek Orthodox Community of the Holy Trinity (under the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain) and the Russian Community of the Annunciation (under the Exarchate of Western Europe – Deanery of Great Britain). 'It is a witness to the vitality of Orthodoxy in the West, to the possibility of inter-Orthodox collaboration and to the life-giving potentialities of the meeting between Orthodoxy and the Western Christian traditions.'⁴²⁸ It was, thus, considered to be a pan-Orthodox church, 'transcending national boundaries.'⁴²⁹ However, a more negative approach to this arrangement would be to identify the truth about the jurisdictional differences which prevail in the Orthodox diaspora. Instead of coming to an agreement of sharing the one church building and also being under one bishop, the two communities wish to point out their differences by continuing their lives in a separated path.⁴³⁰ Nicolas Zernov spoke often about the sin of schism, between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. However, this understanding between the two communities emphasises the reality of a type of schism within Orthodoxy (on a jurisdictional basis – a reality which could alter in the future).

The cooperation of the two communities (Greek and Russian) into one church building could not have been realised without the help of the House of St Gregory and St Macrina. On the other hand, Nicolas Zernov saw this new church building as a new venture, where the English language could be promoted and used during the Orthodox services. The new Orthodox Church allowed St Gregory's House to transform the chapel into the Fellowship library, being an integral part in the works of the House and the Fellowship, within Oxford.

⁴²⁸ Allchin, A.M., 'Editorial Notes', *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 7, Summer 1973, p.445.

⁴²⁹ Ware, 1981, p.25.

⁴³⁰ This separation is also evident through the digital world, since two sites exist for the two distinct parishes: Greek Orthodox Community of the Holy Trinity, <http://holytrinityoxford.org.uk/>, accessed 03/11/2015, 17.04, Orthodox Parish of the Annunciation, <http://www.annunciation-oxford.org.uk/>, accessed 03/11/2015, 17.04. On the other hand, a good example of cooperation between members from many Orthodox jurisdictions is to be found in St Andrews Orthodox Church, Edinburgh. Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Great Britain, in a letter written to the community, describes how:

The Community in Edinburgh represents, and is an 'Icon' of, the life of the Orthodox Church in the Scottish capital. An encouraging characteristic of this life is that it is multi-lingual and multi-cultural, respecting and encouraging the traditions of Orthodox Christians from outside Scotland . . .

The Orthodox Community of St Andrew Edinburgh, <http://www.edinburgh-orthodox.org.uk/community.html>, Accessed 02/07/2013, 18.28.

'St Sergius Fan Club'

Many, during the course of the Fellowship's history, have asked to identify where this Society is heading, what is its identity within the Ecumenical Movement and what interests its members. However, a concern was stressed by a Fellowship member, Helen Brock, who sent a letter to Dr Nicolas Zernov, expressing her views. It was felt, during the Fellowship conferences, that the Fellowship was becoming "The St Sergius Fan Club,' a club for informing Westerners about the East and for fostering among them a spirit of rather uncritical admiration.'⁴³¹ It was felt that the Orthodox, and even many Westerners, did not know much about the Anglican Communion and faith. However, the aim of the Fellowship had always been 'furthering mutual understanding and co-operation between the separated Christian of East and West.'⁴³² Nonetheless, it is significant to point out that the Fellowship had always been a Society, where Westerners had been informed of the Orthodox Church. Due to the fact that it was located in the West, it was a place where Orthodoxy was emphasised, in order to inform people about Russia (especially during the first decades of its history), the Orthodox dogmas and Tradition, being a centre where books on Orthodoxy were first published in the West. Nevertheless, Helen Brock's point was valid and one which the Fellowship had to always take into account, in order to balance out the information it used and proclaimed, both to Westerners and Easterners.

Nicolas Lossky and the Anglican tradition

An exception to the above reality, within and outside of the confines of the Fellowship, is Nicolas Lossky, who has uniquely written extensively on Anglicanism, sustaining an academic interest in the Anglican tradition.⁴³³ He is a scholar who has claimed that 'I spent my life studying Anglicanism.'⁴³⁴ Despite being a member of 'Russian Orthodoxy of the diaspora,'⁴³⁵ he was not that involved with the life of the Fellowship,⁴³⁶ unlike other members of the diaspora and the Theological

⁴³¹ Brock, Helen, Fellowship Archives, 1974.

⁴³² Zernov, 1979, p.33.

⁴³³ Lossky even wrote his thesis on an Anglican theme, entitled: Lossky, Nicholas, *Lancelot Andrews The Preacher (1555-1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England*, (Oxford, Fairlawn, New Jersey, U.S.A., Clarendon Press, 1991). (First published in French). Lossky also highlights his affiliation to Anglicanism, from an Eastern Orthodox point of view in: Lossky, Nicholas, 'Orthodoxy and the Western European Reformation tradition: a memoir,' *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, Vol. 10, Nos 2-3, May-August 2010, pp.90-6.

⁴³⁴ Marteaux, Thierry, 'Nicolas Lossky: An Interview,' *One in Christ: A Catholic Ecumenical Review*, Vol.44, Number 2, 2010, pp.109.

⁴³⁵ Louth, 2015, p. 251.

⁴³⁶ This is evident from the small number of contributions he had in *Sobornost*: Lossky, Nicolas, 'An Orthodox Approach to Anglicanism,' *Sobornost*, Series 6, Number 2, 1971, pp.78-88; Lossky, Nicholas, 'The Joy of All Creation by A.M. Allchin,' *Sobornost*, Volume 7, Number 1, 1985, pp.64-6.; 'Faith and Order at Santiago: 'Towards koinonia in faith, life and witness', *Sobornost*, Volume 16:1, 1994, pp.53-8.; 'Report: The Liturgical

Academy of St Sergius in Paris. Nevertheless, it is interesting to identify how Nicolas Lossky was the exception to the rule, whereby being an Orthodox scholar in the West he essentially researched the Anglican tradition, instead of only promoting Orthodoxy. Metropolitan Kallistos explains, 'Anglicans have often written about Orthodox thinkers, but it is not so usual for an Orthodox writer to return the compliment!'⁴³⁷

The norm, which is to be found in the life of the Fellowship, and specifically within *Sobornost*, and within the Russian Orthodox diaspora in the West, dictates that the Orthodox scholars examine and present Orthodoxy to the West and analyse relations between the various other denominations with Orthodoxy. However, Orthodox scholar Nicolas Lossky examines not only the relations between the churches but also writes on the Anglican tradition. This is evident in an article in *Sobornost*, 'An Orthodox Approach to Anglicanism.'⁴³⁸ *Sobornost* has always endeavoured to publish many Orthodox articles or themes which introduce Orthodoxy and the Eastern world to a Western audience. Nonetheless, Lossky's article is one of the few that examines Anglicanism and how the Orthodox should approach the Anglican world. What makes it unique is the fact that an Orthodox scholar is examining this theme,⁴³⁹ where the norm would be that an Anglican would investigate such a subject, or both an Anglican and Orthodox would try to explore an Orthodox theme.

This article, interestingly enough, promotes the reality of the Orthodox investigating further Anglicanism and its theology. Lossky proposes:

Orthodox scholars living in England . . . instead of trying to organise quasi-symbolical texts such as the *Thirty Nine Articles* into a consistent doctrinal pattern, instead of discussing whether or not Anglican orders may be regarded as valid sources such as the actual works of Anglican divines, the Book of Common Prayer, the English Hymnal, and study them. . . It is clear to everyone that to understand the Orthodox tradition it is necessary to read at least some of the works of the Greek fathers, and of later Orthodox thinkers. It is no less clear that to understand the Roman Catholic

Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes,' *Sobornost*, *ibid*, pp. 66-8.; 'Olivier Clement (1921-2009),' *Sobornost*, Volume 31:1, 2009, pp.61-3.

⁴³⁷ Ware, Kallistos, 'Father Donald and the Orthodox Church,' in Keller, David, G.R., *Boundless Grandeur – The Christian Vision of A.M. Donald Allchin*, (Eugene, Oregon, Pickwick Publications, 2015), p.27.

⁴³⁸ Lossky, 1971, pp.78-88. For comments on this article and his connection to Anglicanism see: Marteaux, 2010, pp.101-10.

⁴³⁹ However, he is not the only Orthodox scholar interested in Anglicanism, and how the Orthodox understand the Anglican world. Another example is Professor Constantine Skouteris (School of Theology, University of Athens and who was involved in the Ecumenical Dialogue) who wrote a book on the Thirty-Nine Articles: Σκουτέρης, Κωνσταντίνος, *Τα 39 Άρθρα της Αγγλικής Εκκλησίας – Υπό το φως της Ορθοδόξου Συμβολικής παραδόσεως*, (Αθήνα, Εκδ. Γκέλυμπεσης, 1982).

Church, or the Reformation movement, it is necessary to be acquainted with at least some aspects of later mediaeval philosophy and theology.⁴⁴⁰

The problem is the fact that ignorance prevails. Lossky recounts a dialogue with Cardinal Kasper,⁴⁴¹ who claimed, 'the problem with the Orthodox is that in the dialogues and conferences, Orthodox members are largely ignorant with regard to western Christianity.'⁴⁴² However, examining the history of the Fellowship and reading *Sobornost* it is apparent that this is not dealt with in any way, since the focus of the Fellowship corresponds to Helen Brock's argument, analysed above. Nevertheless, articles which analyse other Christian denominations are evident, especially in regards to the Anglican, Latin and Oriental churches; however, *Sobornost* seems to not be consistent with such themes. On the contrary Eastern Orthodoxy dominates in the Fellowship's journal. This is due to the fact that the society has endeavoured to promote Orthodoxy to the West. An Easterner, on the other hand, learns about Anglicanism through only a small number of articles in the journal, some Liturgical gatherings and when the Anglican members give their viewpoint on certain matters during the conferences. Otherwise, Orthodoxy is the key theme in the life of the Society.

In conclusion, during this fifth period the membership of the Society increased, approaching 3,000, having members in many countries with an expanding interest in the birth of new branches. Prominent hierarchs of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church wished to be part of the Fellowship's work. Such was the case with Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I, when visiting Lambeth Palace (1967). During a conversation between the Bishop of Bristol and Fr. Basil, who both represented the Fellowship, the Ecumenical Patriarch asked to be considered an ordinary member of the Fellowship. This, undoubtedly, was a great honour for the Society, confirming the important role that the Fellowship had played and continued to perform within the Ecumenical Movement.

The importance of the Fellowship could also be seen through the increase in distributions of literature on the Orthodox Church and the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans, translating thereby the riches of the East to the audience of the West. This venture satisfied any queries, thus dissolving all preconceptions. This would eventually change from the next period, when the Churches from the East produced their own literature. The expansion of the Fellowship, on the other hand, was an actuality, having more than thirty branches worldwide. An exceptionally

⁴⁴⁰ Lossky, 1971, p. 81.

⁴⁴¹ Walter Kasper is a German Roman Catholic Cardinal and theologian. He is President Emeritus of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian unity.

⁴⁴² Marteaux, 2010, p.107

important new branch was the Athens branch, established in 1978,⁴⁴³ due to the efforts of the Anglican chaplain in the Greek capital, Rev. Jeremy Peake, showing evidently that this Society was expanding and was being accepted by the Orthodox Church and the Orthodox faithful in the East. Another change within the life of the Society was the change of secretary; Reverend Michael Paternoster left, after accepting a position in Dollar, St Andrews, Scotland. Therefore, the Council of the Fellowship invited Revd. Gareth Evans to take his place.

The Sixth Period (1978-1989)⁴⁴⁴

This period in the Fellowship's history, but also in world history, saw the Orthodox Churches still being under authoritarian rule, oppressed under regimes which battled against the idea and the life of Christianity. Other Orthodox Churches, mainly within the Balkan area, were still trying to recover after a number of years under dictatorship. Nevertheless, Orthodoxy wished to continue and expand relations with the West. This could also be understood as the need for the East to establish help, whether this was financial or political, from the West. On the other hand, the Fellowship wanted the support of the Orthodox Church in the East; therefore, it organised retreats to Orthodox countries such as Greece, Romania and Russia, in order to meet Orthodox hierarchs, and expand the philosophy and objectives of the Society to Orthodox countries, thus creating a much needed support for the Orthodox, whilst these retreats also gave first-hand opportunities for Westerners to meet the Orthodox Church in the East.

This period is identified by its continuation of the Fellowship's life and prosperity. From the journal *Sobornost* it is evident that the Fellowship had become a truly ecumenical body, since branches existed in all continents and on-going dialogues were being formed, between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. However, this period also saw the deaths of certain key members, such as Nicolas Zernov, founding father of the Fellowship, who had worked tirelessly for its expansion and also for the advertisement of Orthodoxy to the West. Additionally, Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain Athenagoras, Orthodox chairman for the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Dialogue and honorary Orthodox president of the Fellowship, died in 1979. After his death the Fellowship Council invited

⁴⁴³ According to Dr Nicolas Zernov 'this was the first time that a regular branch of the Fellowship had been established in a traditional Orthodox country' (Zernov, 1979, p. 21). However, the Romanian branch, established in 1938, was actually the first branch of the Fellowship in an Orthodox country.

⁴⁴⁴ From this point the separation will follow the format proposed by Nicolas Zernov; however, it is explained why the author has delineated the periods in such a way. 1989 is significant because it is the year the Berlin Wall fell, meaning the fall of communism, bringing closer the Orthodox Church, under the Soviet Union, with the West, giving it new freedoms within the wider Ecumenical Movement.

the newly appointed Archbishop of Thyateira, Methodios Fouyas, to become Orthodox honorary president of the Fellowship, which he gladly accepted.

Orthodoxy and its relations with the WCC

The on-going dialogue and relationship status within the WCC made clear that a number of other issues were entangled within this new community of people and churches. The Orthodox participation made the WCC a more ecumenical body, preventing it from being a Pan-protestant organisation, as believed by many. This dialogue brought Orthodoxy to the West; it brought it out of its isolated status. Despite the Fellowship assisting in this field for decades in Britain, the WCC was the body which was able to bring Orthodoxy to the world. A significant element, nevertheless, was the opportunity for inter-Orthodox contacts, where up to this point many Orthodox were suspicious of each other, showing that there was not one single voice which could express an Orthodox point of view.

The 1970s formed Orthodoxy's assessment of its role within the WCC. Many Churches, commencing from the Church of Greece, considered the withdrawal of their membership from the WCC. Archbishop Athenagoras of Thyateira and Great Britain also 'argued that Orthodoxy should withdraw from full membership of the WCC.'⁴⁴⁵ This change was a result of a growing frustration with existing predispositions within the WCC. It was understood that the Orthodox were now finding themselves 'pushed to the periphery,'⁴⁴⁶ being 'reduced to a situation of frustration and impotence within the WCC.'⁴⁴⁷ Many Orthodox, therefore wished to have the relationship status that the Roman Catholics had, namely that they should send observers to the meetings, partake in the dialogues, but with no voting power and without being members of the Council. Moreover, the Orthodox Church, still a member of the WCC, had given a greater importance to the dialogue between the churches and groups such as the Fellowship, where the basis of the relations were formed.

New Fellowship President

Bishop A.M. Ramsey, serving as president for twenty five years, resigned in May 1980 stating that:

It has been a wonderful privilege for me to be president of the Fellowship [...] but now I feel the time is right that I should relinquish the presidency [...]. I am deeply

⁴⁴⁵ Ware Kallistos, 'Orthodoxy and the World Council of Churches', *Sobornost*, Volume 1, Number 1, 1979, p.78.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, p.80.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, p.81.

grateful for all the friendship which the Fellowship has given to me and deeply conscious of what it has meant for Christianity in many aspects.⁴⁴⁸

Bishop Ramsey had, during his twenty five years of presidency, encouraged and supported the works of the Society, contributed with articles in the journal and participated strongly in the life and prayer of ecumenical activity, undertaken by the Fellowship. He was a friend of Orthodoxy, being a pioneer in the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. He believed that the 'deepest initiation into Eastern Orthodoxy comes not from the texts of the Fathers but from sharing in the Divine Liturgy.'⁴⁴⁹ It is apparent that he was influenced by the Fellowship and its practices. He believed that the presence of exiled Russians in the West was significant. 'The growing unity between East and West goes behind, and brings deliverance from, the failings of centuries of mutual isolation.'⁴⁵⁰ In many respects, this contact had healed the centuries-old divisions, not only between East and West, but also within the Western church.

The Society was delighted that the newly appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, agreed to succeed Bishop Ramsey in office, stressing the essential responsibility that the Fellowship had undertaken, not only within the relations between Orthodox and Anglicans in Britain but also on an ecumenical level, such as the WCC and the Anglican-Orthodox Official Dialogue.

The Death of Nicolas Zernov

This thesis has followed the separation of the Fellowship's history according to that established by the Zernovs in their book *Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius – A Historical Memoir*. However, we could also divide the Fellowship's history into two unequal epochs, namely 1927-1980, the period where Nicolas Zernov established the Fellowship, worked for unity and promoted the Society's works and the post-Nicolas Zernov period, where his successors are obliged to continue his multilateral work, following the spirit and ideas of one of the founding fathers of this Society. The Fellowship undoubtedly owed its 'vitality and even its very existence'⁴⁵¹ to the untiring interest and personality of Nicolas Zernov. Zernov, before his death, felt the love and interest of the members of the Fellowship and of the people involved in Ecumenical relations, claiming that 'I am surrounded by an ocean of love. Thanks be to God.'⁴⁵² This interest and love was present even after his death, when memorial meetings were held and when personal letters were sent. Consequently, the death of

⁴⁴⁸ Evans, Gareth, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 2, Number 2, 1980, p.126.

⁴⁴⁹ Ramsey, Michael, *Glory Descending*, (Norwich, The Canterbury Press, 2005), p.111.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ Ware, 1981, p.11.

⁴⁵² Hackel, Sergei (ed.), 'Nicolas Zernov', *Sobornost*, Volume 3: Number 1, 1981, p.137.

Nicolas brought the end of an era, for both the Fellowship and the Ecumenical Movement as a whole.

The death of Nicolas Zernov came as a massive blow to the life of the Fellowship, having also affected the general Ecumenical Movement. His death, however, inspired the people around him to form 'The Nicolas Zernov Memorial Fund,' established under the joint auspices of the Fellowship and the House of St Gregory and St Macrina in Oxford. The fund was formed in order to achieve a number of objectives, such as the development of a community of senior scholars who came from different Christian denominations, who were based in Oxford and who endeavoured to participate in common prayer and work for Christian unity. The Zernov Fund was considered as the 'grant-making arm of the Fellowship,'⁴⁵³ allowing the Society to further support students who wished to study and further the cause of union. This initiative originated from Nicolas Zernov, who during his last months was seriously deliberating this new idea. The first step of this fund would be the translation and publication, into English, of the Zernov Family Chronicle. Two volumes had appeared in Russian but none in English. The profits gained by this project would go towards the strengthening of the fund. One of the most significant sponsorships, given by this fund and also by donations from Nadezhda Gorodetskaia,⁴⁵⁴ was towards the acquisition of a third house in Oxford, dedicated to the deaconess St Theosevia, the wife of St Gregory of Nyssa.

Archimandrite Kallistos ordained as Bishop of Diokleia

A significant event for both the Fellowship and for the Orthodox Church as a whole was the consecration of Archimandrite Kallistos Ware as Bishop of Diokleia (6 June 1982). As he stated, 'To the best of my knowledge, this is the first time since the division between the Greek East and the Latin West that a person of British birth has been ordained to the Orthodox episcopate. Is this not, in a small yet decisive way, a significant sign for the future of Orthodoxy in Britain?'⁴⁵⁵ It was also a sign, that now the Orthodox Church was not only the church of 'foreigners,' but was transforming itself into the local Church of this land, meaning the West, and in this case the UK.

This had a great impact for the Fellowship, seeing that Bishop Kallistos was co-editor of the *Eastern Churches Review*, member of the editorial board for *Sobornost*, vice-chairman of the Fellowship's council and a valued member of the Fellowship both for the conferences (where he

⁴⁵³ Morshead, Ivo, 'Treasurer's Report', *Sobornost*, Volume 21, Number 1, 1999, p.81.

⁴⁵⁴ Hill, 1986, p.60.

⁴⁵⁵ Hackel, Sergei, 'Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain', *Sobornost*, Volume 4: Number 2, 1982, p.224.

gave many papers) and for the journal (for which he wrote on a regular basis). This consecration also pointed out the fact that, through the Fellowship, Westerners, such as Bishop Kallistos, had the opportunity to learn about Orthodoxy and eventually become prominent figures within its Body. Bishop Kallistos explained that, 'While in Oxford, under the influence of my close friend from school days, Donald (A.M.) Allchin, I became an active member of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius . . . The summer conferences of the Fellowship had a decisive effect on me.'⁴⁵⁶ His contacts with people such as Nicolas and Militza Zernov, Archimandrite Lev Gillet (also known as a Monk of the Eastern Church), his readings of articles published in *Sobornost* and his involvement in the life and conferences of the Fellowship created the theology and personality of Bishop Kallistos. In some respects, it would not be wrong to claim that Bishop Kallistos is a 'product' of the work, existence and theology of the Fellowship. This fact is made apparent by Bishop Kallistos, when stating that:

. . . the compelling need for me not only to contemplate Orthodoxy from the outside, but also to enter within, was brought home to me by words that I heard spoken in August 1956 at the summer conference of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. Father Lev Gillet was asked to define the term "Orthodoxy." He replied: "An Orthodox is one who accepts the Apostolic Tradition and who lives in communion with the bishops who are the appointed teachers of this Tradition."⁴⁵⁷

These characteristics are what attracted the Anglican Communion in establishing and maintaining relations with the Orthodox Church.

Bishop Kallistos' significance within Orthodoxy in the West is evident when looking at new converts to Orthodoxy. His books, such as *The Orthodox Church* and *The Orthodox Way*, have helped immensely in introducing Orthodoxy to the West, being a secure introduction for converts who wish to join the Orthodox Church. He is a unique case, since he understood Orthodoxy from its true origins, by being a monk in Patmos, the island where John the Evangelist wrote the Apocalypse. In many respects he is as much Orthodox as he is English, giving him an advantage and a certain distinctiveness, which has made him the prominent Orthodox Bishop within the Anglo-Saxon world of the West.

St Basil's Chapel

An essential part of the Fellowship's life is, of course, the centrality of prayer and the Eucharist, identifying this as one of the 'innumerable ways of working towards convergence.'⁴⁵⁸ Therefore, the chapel in St Basil's House had brought closer the Anglicans and the Orthodox, who

⁴⁵⁶ Ware 2000, p.6.

⁴⁵⁷ Ware, 2000, p.14.

⁴⁵⁸ Evans, Gareth, M., 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 4: Number 2, 1982, p.250.

both worshipped there. Welcoming Christians from all traditions, during the 1980s and for a limited time, it was used as the chapel of the Bulgarian parish, newly founded in the British capital. This new reality brought a number of Bulgarian Orthodox closer to the Fellowship, introducing it to a wider spectrum of Orthodox faithful. Consequently, the chapel and the Fellowship in general had not only brought together two distinct ecclesiastical groups, the Anglicans and the Orthodox, but have also facilitated in bringing into closer contact the Orthodox Churches and jurisdictions that exist in Britain.

The Dublin Agreed Statement

The previous period saw the “spiritual summer” with the Moscow Agreed Statement as its “first fruits.”⁴⁵⁹ However, this was later followed by a ‘wintry season,’⁴⁶⁰ due to the immense difficulties and new changes that occurred within the body of Anglicanism, mainly the issue of the ordination of women. A number of talks and conferences took place in both East and West, in order to determine the position of each party and identify how they would engage in future dialogue. These new changes brought an alteration in the understanding of the Orthodox Church, expressed by Archbishop Athenagoras, expressing the view that ‘the theological dialogue will continue, although now simply as an academic and informative exercise, and no longer as an ecclesial endeavour aiming at the union of the two churches.’⁴⁶¹ This could be understood as a logical development, given that recognition of Anglican Orders, from the Orthodox point of view, was not a possibility due to the ordination of women. Nevertheless, it was agreed upon by both sides that the Full Commission would continue its work.

The Commission met again in 1980, resuming its work in Llandaff. This new period was known as the ‘second spring,’⁴⁶² showing that the developments had created a new understanding of the relations and dialogue. The new period in the Official Dialogue brought a fresh air, dissolving any pressures of the past epochs. The dialogue was not obliged to solve difficult areas and problems. The new philosophy was to take small steps in order to further understand the theology and practice of each church. The Dublin Agreed Statement (1984) was the product of eight years of discussions,

⁴⁵⁹ Hill, Methodios, 1985, p.2.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid, p.2.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid, p.3.

⁴⁶² Ibid, p.5. Additionally, John Henry Newman preached a sermon (13 July 1852) in St Mary’s, Oscott, in the first Provincial Synod of Westminster, entitled ‘The Second Spring.’ Newman, John Henry, ‘The Second Spring,’ *Newman Reader*, <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/occasions/sermon10.html>, accessed 02/11/2015, 22.33.

echoing the prominence of spirituality and prayer. It is, moreover, a friendship that had been 'costly and demanding,'⁴⁶³ maintaining its key objective, the unity of the Church.

The Fellowship, as in the Moscow Conference, was also represented during the meetings for the production of the Dublin Agreed Statement, some members being the Revd. Canon A.M. Allchin, Revd. Colin Davey (Secretary of the Commission), Rt. Revd. Henry Hill (Co-Chairman), the Most Revd. Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain (Co-Chairman) and Rt. Revd. Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia. The Co-Chairmen also edited the book *Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue, The Dublin Agreed Statement*, presenting the results of the conference.

In conclusion, there were a number of new developments within the life of the Fellowship during this period. A number of people left their previous positions, giving way for new people to undertake the important work of the Society. During this period, the secretary's position was given to a number of people who, due to other commitments, had to resign. Fr. Gareth Evans resigned from his position as secretary of the Fellowship, after thirteen years of important work. He was vital in promoting the birth of new local branches, whilst improving the existing ones. 'He recognised from the beginning how much the Fellowship's vitality depended on the commitment of small groups of people, in this country and abroad.'⁴⁶⁴ The newly elected secretary-general was Canon Hugh Wybrew, a vicar from Pinner. Also the Fellowship Council appointed Dr Elisabeth Briere as Associate Secretary. This novel advancement, the appointment of two secretaries, one Anglican and one Orthodox, created a feeling of hope within the Society, in regards to the continuance of the works of this Fellowship. However, in 1986, Fr. Hugh Wybrew was appointed dean of the Anglican cathedral in Jerusalem and therefore had to resign as secretary of the Fellowship. Nevertheless, this new appointment gave the Society the opportunity to gain contacts in the Middle East, through Fr. Hugh. The change allowed the Fellowship to introduce an administrator, who would undertake time-consuming responsibilities, improve public relations and give talks. That is why the Fellowship Council decided to employ Mary Cunningham, a theologian and Byzantinist, who would work on a part-time basis at St Basil's House. She later took the position as acting secretary, whilst Patricia Owens joined as assistant, continuing as acting secretary.

The Society, during the 1980s went through a tough financial situation; nevertheless, disaster was averted. The Fellowship produced the 'St Basil's House Appeal,'⁴⁶⁵ where an Appeal for £100,000 was sent to all the members for the maintenance and multiple works needed for St Basil's

⁴⁶³ Hill, Methodios, 1985, p.v.

⁴⁶⁴ Allchin, A.M., 'Gareth Evans: Secretary of the Fellowship 1971-83', *Sobornost*, Volume 6: Number 1, 1984, p.124.

⁴⁶⁵ Briere, 1985, p.78.

House. Generous gifts and loans were given, whilst also membership subscription was increased. Additionally, the Fellowship identified an opportunity, when many students visited St Basil's House from Greece and when a number of academics were present at the Fellowship conferences, such as Christos Yannaras.⁴⁶⁶ The 1980s, together with the help of the Athens branch of the Fellowship and the repeated visits to Greece, saw the increase of the number of people who knew about the Society and comprehended its objectives, despite initial difficulties in understanding its aims and work.

The Fellowship saw fit, during this period, to support Syndesmos, which was a federation of Orthodox youth movements, working under the blessing of the local canonical Churches, encouraging unity within a Christian context, emphasising the fact that the Fellowship had not forgotten its past, since its founding fathers were members of the Christian Youth Movement. Thus, the Society's support of Syndesmos' work gave emphasis to its ecumenical involvement with bodies and people outside of its own members. Therefore, the Fellowship helped the Orthodox youth 'to gain ecumenical experience, and make it that much easier for an important and pertinent Orthodox voice to be heard in the wider ecumenical field.'⁴⁶⁷

The Seventh Period (1989-1996)⁴⁶⁸

This last period of the twentieth century saw a number of changes in the socioeconomic and geopolitical fields worldwide. This inevitably meant that the relations between the two churches could reach new heights, since the post-communist period brought new liberties to the people and the Church in the East. Paradoxically, this new-found freedom had brought not only opportunities but also problems, due to the fact that the Orthodox had to reorganise their Church, which meant that not much money and energy could be set aside for any ecumenical endeavours. All of these changes and new circumstances pushed for a new evaluation of the ecumenical status. 'It was once believed that ecumenism could renew the Church for mission: perhaps ecumenism itself needs renewing in a changing world.'⁴⁶⁹

Administrative changes

Stability with respect to the administrative personnel of the Fellowship was not a reality for the Fellowship during the first years of the seventh period. Elizabeth Theokritoff finished her term of

⁴⁶⁶ Γιανναράς, Χρήστος, *Το Προνόμιο της Απελπισίας*, (Athens, Ekdosis Grigoris, 1983), pp.240-4.

⁴⁶⁷ Theokritoff, Elizabeth, 'Secretary's Notes', *Sobornost*, Volume 12: Number 1, 1990, p.112.

⁴⁶⁸ 1996 was the year Fr. Stephen Platt was appointed Secretary of the Fellowship, entering the Fellowship into a new phase in its history, giving it its current form.

⁴⁶⁹ Wybrew, Hugh, 'Anglican-Orthodox dialogue: its past, its present and its future', *Sobornost*, Volume 15: Number 1, 1993, p.19.

office and allowed for Fr. Dietrich Schud to become General Secretary, who only stayed for a short period. His successor was Dr Gordon Kendal, who was Orthodox. However, other changes were realised: Donald Allchin left his position as Chairman after twenty years of important work for the Fellowship. Fr. Hugh Wybrew succeeded him. Unfortunately, he could not stay on for a long period, since the growing demands of his new post and his responsibilities with his own parish were overwhelming. Therefore, Fr. John Binns became the new Chairman of the Fellowship. Also, the President of the Fellowship, Lord Runcie of Cuddesdon, was succeeded by Dr Richard Chartres, the Bishop of London, who 'has had a long-standing interest in and involvement with the Eastern Churches.'⁴⁷⁰

St Basil's House

During this period, the Fellowship housed in St Basil's House the Student Christian Movement (southern region), which moved into the book room. In 1993, the Fellowship decided to sell St Basil's House. This was not a sudden decision; the possibility of moving the administrative centre of the Fellowship from this expensive House into a more modest establishment existed since 1954. Another reality was the fact that most of the Fellowship members no longer lived in West London. On the contrary, the spread of Orthodox parishes all around London and more generally all over the country, since the 1950s, created new possibilities and evaluations for the Society. 'The Fellowship can take its share of credit for this wider awareness of Orthodoxy, but it has to accept its practical implications'⁴⁷¹ in respect to how it organised its work. St Basil's House 'existed there as the Fellowship's centre, but people didn't come to events there, in the same way that they previously did.'⁴⁷² Nevertheless, the financial factor played a key role in this decision. As Fr Stephen Platt explained in an interview for this dissertation that

Although sad, the sale of St Basil's House, was unavoidable. The building needed a large amount of structural work doing to it. It was in a bad state of repair. And the Fellowship, in those days, apart from the house, had no real assets. It didn't have any money in the bank, and it ran on a shoe string, and always had financial problems.⁴⁷³

St Basil's House was sold for about £850,000.⁴⁷⁴ The Fellowship's headquarters, thus, moved from St Basil's House in London to St Gregory and St Macrina's House in Oxford. This rearrangement was understood as a positive evolution within the life of the Society, leaving its isolation (in Ladbrooke

⁴⁷⁰ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 21: Number 2, 1999, p.108.

⁴⁷¹ Kendal, Gordon, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 15: Number 1, 1993, p.89.

⁴⁷² Platt, Stephen, Appendix 5, p.-40-.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

Grove) and moving to Oxford – which was considered to be the heart of the relations, where other groups with similar interests worked. However, it was also understood as a sad development, since the Fellowship did not have its headquarters in London.⁴⁷⁵ Some, including Militza Zernov, were opposed to this move. On the other hand, others understood this move as a necessity which gave the Society ‘the wherewithal to be really useful, and flexibility in deciding how best to shape and reshape its work.’⁴⁷⁶ The Secretary of the Fellowship had, however, to point out what this move meant for the House of St Gregory and St Macrina, explaining:

I should emphasise that the Fellowship is not “taking over” the House of St Gregory and St Macrina: what is happening is that we are to rent a large room (for an office) with substantial basement storage space for our archives and back numbers of periodicals. Our hosts for their part, have expressed considerable enthusiasm for the move; and it looks as though it will be an important step forward for both sides of the partnership, bringing them closer together in a way that was always hoped and envisaged by Nicolas Zernov himself as early as the 1950s, if not before.⁴⁷⁷

Additionally, Fr Stephen Platt clarified how significant this move was for the Fellowship, explaining

And by moving here to Oxford, the Fellowship was able to move in to an environment, very similar to the one that it had to get rid of in London, because St Gregory and St Macrina is, a rather similar sort of institution to the old St Basil’s House, in that it is a residence for Christian students, a centre for people to meet and get to know each other, for encounter, for scholarship and so on.⁴⁷⁸

The selling of St Basil’s House increased the finances of the Fellowship, allowing the Society to use it according to its own discretion. Subsequently, the money was used mainly for grants, helping students in furthering their knowledge and learning of the relations within Christendom and facilitating future hierarchs in establishing relations with other Christians in both East and West. Moreover, a key question was what would be the future of the chapel? Where would the icon-screen and wall paintings go? The decision was taken to re-erect the paintings in the chapel of the Christ the Saviour monastery in Hove, Sussex. This location was chosen due to the fact that it is an Anglican foundation, linked with the Community of the Holy Trinity, Crawley Down, which has a characteristic and unique spirituality embedded in the Eastern tradition. Also both chapels are identical in size, making it the perfect choice.

⁴⁷⁵ Fr Stephen Platt also makes an interesting thought: ‘I myself have wondered whether it would have been possible, for example, for the Fellowship to have maintained the property, converted some of it, leased out on a commercial rate two floors as flats, because it was a large house, and so on. But, again I think that the investment that would have been needed to make the conversion possible, would have been way beyond the means of the Fellowship at the time.’ Platt, Stephen, Appendix 5, p.-41-.

⁴⁷⁶ Kendal Gordon, ‘Fellowship Affairs’, *Sobornost*, Volume 18: Number 1, 1996, p.107.

⁴⁷⁷ Kendal, Gordon, ‘Fellowship Affairs’, *Sobornost*, Volume 15: Number 2, 1993, p.91.

⁴⁷⁸ Platt, Stephen, Appendix 5, p.-41-.

The Fellowship, however, did not leave the idea of obtaining a new St Basil's House; therefore, on 20 December 1997, the Society purchased a house (at 7 Weyland Road, Headington, Oxford). This new house was blessed by Bishop Basil of Sergievo and it was to be used as the house for the Society's secretary and for small activities in order to attract new members. The new St Basil's House offered 'a sense of continuation and familiarity; especially considering the vital place the original St Basil's House played in the life of the Fellowship.'⁴⁷⁹

Militza Zernov's death

An epoch drew to its close in 1994, with the death of Militza Zernov, Nicolas Zernov's wife. She was, together with her husband, one of the founders of the Fellowship; therefore, her death reminded the Society's members of the life of the Society till this point. Nicolas Zernov was one of the founding Fathers of the Fellowship; however, Militza Zernov was inevitably a Mother to the Fellowship, who dedicated her life and her energies towards the objectives of both Orthodoxy in general and the Fellowship in specific. Many members of the Society considered Nicolas and Militza Zernov's names as 'practically synonymous with that of the Fellowship,'⁴⁸⁰ showing thus the significance of the loss of these two insightful people.

The Fellowship of St David and St Nicolas

In previous epochs of the Fellowship's history, branches were formed in England and Scotland, whilst also expanding on the European continent, America, Australia/Oceania, Asia and Africa. However, no Fellowship presence was evident in Wales. This altered in late 1991, whereby 'a series of Inter-Christian Fraternal Meetings'⁴⁸¹ took place, organised by an unofficial fellowship, formed by priests of both traditions, initiated by Fr Anastasios Salapatas, local parish priest of the Greek Orthodox Church of St Nicholas in Cardiff, where the meetings took place.⁴⁸² Donald Savage, Acting General Secretary, explained how 'the local groups are the life-blood of all the other work which the Fellowship carries out;'⁴⁸³ therefore in 1992 it was decided to name this branch after St David (patron saint of Wales) and St Nicolas (since the Orthodox Church in Cardiff was dedicated to him). Nevertheless, the difference between the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius and the Fellowship of St David and St Nicolas was the fact that the latter was formed by people who had

⁴⁷⁹ Plat, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 19: Number 1, 1997, p.110.

⁴⁸⁰ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 21: Number 1, 1999, p.79.

⁴⁸¹ Salapatas, Anastasios, 'Letter', The Greek Orthodox Church of St Nicolas Archives, 1991.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Savage, Donald, Fellowship Archives, 1991.

personal contact between themselves, whilst the first formed these friendships within the life of the Society.

The Fellowship of St David and St Nicolas was a lively branch, organising talks and conferences, analysing themes from both traditions, involving the hierarchy of both the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion, whilst also organising pilgrimages in Wales. Furthermore, Roman Catholics were invited, thus widening the spectrum of its work, whilst also following the example of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. Moreover, it promoted the works of the Fellowship to the faithful in Wales; as Waren Williams claimed:

It is hoped that once our local fellowship of SS. David and Nicolas has become more firmly established, those interested may wish formally to join the International Fellowship – which is united in prayer ‘for the peace of the whole world, for the good estate of the holy Churches of God, and for the union of all’ (from the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom).⁴⁸⁴

Unfortunately, the Fellowship of St David and St Nicolas, despite having organised many events, bringing closer the faithful from different ecclesiastical traditions, was unable to prosper in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Therefore, the Welsh branch of the Fellowship closed in 2009.

The Fellowship and Russia

It is easy to presume that, because the Fellowship is an Anglo-Russian organisation, interest from Russia would be evident. However, this was not the case until the fall of communism, since the Church, until this point, did not have the freedoms it now has. Therefore, the post-communist epoch saw a growing interest in the Fellowship and its objectives. Fr. John Binns, after visiting Moscow claimed that: ‘There are individuals and groups within the Russian Church who are eager to meet and enter into dialogue with members of the Anglican, and other, Churches. Many of those I met would be ready to take part in future Fellowship activities.’⁴⁸⁵ From the time of his visit, a Moscow branch of the Fellowship existed, a marvellous reality for both the Orthodox Church in Russia and the Fellowship.

Schism in the Body of the Orthodox Church

The Fellowship has, since its foundation in 1927, promoted the idea and belief of catholic unity between all Christians. However, this belief is not accepted by all, whilst political, canonical

⁴⁸⁴ Williams, Warren, ‘Correspondence’, *The Welsh Churchman*, Vol. 30, No. 2, February 1993, p.7.

⁴⁸⁵ Kendal, Gordon, ‘Fellowship Affairs’, *Sobornost*, Volume 17: Number 2, 1995, p.95.

and historical factors could create new schisms within a specific ecclesiastical body. This was, unfortunately, the case in respect to the Estonian crisis during the 1990s. Ecclesiastical jurisdictions created a big problem for the 'mother' churches in the East, especially in respect to the Orthodox diaspora, which spreads all around the world.

The Estonian crisis brought a schism in the body of the Orthodox Church having the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople on one side and the Moscow Patriarchate on the other disputing over who had jurisdiction over the Estonian Orthodox Church. However, it is vital to state that schism did not come on a faith or dogmatic level, but only on a political, jurisdictional and historical one. Nevertheless, this had massive implications for the Orthodox people on both sides, especially in the diaspora, where Greeks and Russians shared churches and were in communion. Such was the case in Oxford, where the Orthodox Church was shared by both the Greek and the Russian Orthodox. Due to the schism, for mainly political reasons, the two Orthodox communities could no longer join in Eucharistic fellowship. Metropolitan Kallistos Ware stated his sadness of this new reality giving an example of what happened in his parish church in Oxford,

On Holy Thursday, for example, in accordance with our longstanding arrangements, it was the turn of my colleague of the Russian parish, Bishop Basil of Sergievo, to preside at the Liturgy. Sadly, he could not invite me to concelebrate with him, or even allow me to receive communion. Thus, for the first time in my thirty-two years as a member of the Orthodox clergy, I had to remain without communion on this day of all days, the very day when our Lord instituted the sacrament of unity. Under such circumstances it was strange to listen to the words so often repeated at the Holy Thursday Liturgy: "At thy mystical supper, O Son of God, today receive me as a communicant."⁴⁸⁶

This pointed out the sin of disunity, felt within the Fellowship since its formation; how could the Fellowship talk about intercommunion with another church, when within the same church, the Orthodox, this was not practised? Thankfully, due to numerous complaints about this new reality, the two patriarchates announced (16 May 1996) that communion had been re-established. The break of communion should not be the case, when two patriarchates 'fight' over ecclesiastical boundaries.⁴⁸⁷ If faith and dogma is not altered, then communion should not break.

Excommunication is not a means of coercing the other party. Love and dialogue needs to prevail in order for solutions to be found, within the spirit and the communion of the Ecclesia.

⁴⁸⁶Kallistos, Of Diokleia, 'The Estonian crisis: a salutary warning?', *Sobornost*, Volume 18, Number 2, 1996, p.65.

⁴⁸⁷ Unfortunately, a break of communion on jurisdictional issues currently exists between the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem over the canonical jurisdiction of Qatar territories.

Stephen Platt

In 1996 Gordon Kendal resigned as secretary of the Society. This change gave the opportunity to the Fellowship council to appoint the Reverend Stephen Platt, a deacon of the Russian Orthodox Church (Diocese of Sourozh), who was also a graduate in theology (University of Oxford), as General Secretary of the Fellowship. His appointment brought the 'automatic pilot period'⁴⁸⁸ of the Fellowship's history to an end, thereby creating a certain stability in the works and objectives of the Society.

Since the appointment of Fr. Stephen to the position of General Secretary and due to the post-communist period that brought new liberties to the Church and the people in Russia, many contacts and visits were realised between the Fellowship in Britain and a number of contacts in Russia; especially since 'the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe has allowed the Church to re-emerge and revitalise itself.'⁴⁸⁹

So, in conclusion, during this period, Orthodox interest was growing in Britain. The Ecumenical relations were very dynamic, mystifying and shifting constantly. Orthodox communities and churches were spreading all around Britain. This was mainly the result of the new political situation in Eastern Europe, whereby great numbers of immigrants moved to the West from the Soviet Union and Romania. Simultaneously, interest among Westerners in Orthodoxy was growing. As a result of this, the Fellowship's work became 'rich in possibilities.'⁴⁹⁰ Nevertheless, Orthodoxy in Britain had to adapt to this new interest shown by the West; thus the various jurisdictions had to answer many questions, such as 'how they are going to adjust their witness, their pastoral structures, their cultural understandings, to the changed and changing worlds of the West.'⁴⁹¹ The Fellowship, hence, had an important part to play in providing prospects for a better understanding and communion between the Orthodox and the Anglicans in Britain.

The Eighth Period (1996-2012)⁴⁹²

The end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century brought new hopes for the continuation of the Fellowship's works within the ecumenical sphere; its work went 'from strength to strength.'⁴⁹³ Contacts between the people and the churches from both

⁴⁸⁸ Hackel, Sergei, 'Interregnum, Imminent End Of', *Sobornost*, Volume 18: Number 1, 1996, p.109.

⁴⁸⁹ Platt, 1997, p.111.

⁴⁹⁰ Kendal, Gordon, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 16: Number 2, 1994, p.107.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² 2012 is proposed as the end of the eighth period in order to give a conclusion to this work, allowing for the examination of the first eighty-five years of the Fellowship's life and history.

⁴⁹³ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 26: Number 1, 2004, p.80.

ecclesiastical bodies continued to flourish, due to the growing exchange of people and the technological boom, via the internet, bringing all communities and ideas closer to each other and into constant contact. Also 1997 saw the launch of the Society's first publication in Russian, which comprised a number of articles from past issues of *Sobornost*. Furthermore, the Fellowship assisted in establishing a library and the training of a librarian at the Orthodox University of St John the Theologian, in Moscow, and at numerous other religious institutions in the Russian capital. Additionally, past articles also appeared in Greek, published by Akritas. The Greek translation was published under the title: *Enotes en te Poikilia*,⁴⁹⁴ including articles written by Donald Allchin, Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh, Vladimir Lossky, Metropolitan Kallistos and many more. These translations emphasise the fact that the Fellowship's work and publications were being acknowledged by the Orthodox Church in the East. On the other hand, Fr. Stephen Platt visited Athens in order to re-establish the Fellowship branch in the Greek capital, underlining the fact that the Society wished to keep and promote contact with the Orthodox Church in the East. Thus, it is apparent that the 'Fellowship should have worldwide interests, and it is one of the features of Fr. Stephen Platt's policy.'⁴⁹⁵ A significant event within this first decade of the twenty first century is undoubtedly the Cyprus Agreed Statement (2006), highlighting the continued efforts of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church in promoting unity.

An unfortunate circumstance was the selling of the 'new' St Basil's House, since it served no direct purpose. Therefore, the Fellowship, since the beginning of the new millennium, has no building named St Basil's House, leaving this idea in the memories and history books of the Society. Its five years life, however, brought a return to the Fellowship, doubling its money from the time of purchase. This gave the opportunity to the Society to further its grant-making capability, funding also projects in both the UK and abroad.

The Fellowship added a new endeavour to its busy work, by sponsoring the Oxford Theological Exchange Programme (OTEP). The Society operated together with the Faculty of Theology, University of Oxford, providing scholarships to a small group of graduate students from Eastern Europe, who came from different Christian backgrounds. This gave the opportunity for the new generation to create contacts in both East and West. This, of course, was the continuation of the Fellowship's tradition of helping students from various ecclesiastical backgrounds to better understand each other. The new scholars, therefore, lived in the House of St Gregory and St Macrina.

⁴⁹⁴ Ροηλίδης, Ιωσήφ, *Ενότης Εν Τη Ποικιλία*, (Αθήνα, Ακρίτας, 1997).

⁴⁹⁵ Louth, Andrew, 'Editorial', *Sobornost*, Volume 31: Number 1, 2009, p.5.

The Fellowship abroad

The Fellowship continued to be an important body not only for Orthodox and Anglicans in the UK, but also in other countries. A new venture was the opening of a Fellowship branch in Bulgaria. The people interested in the works of the Society were mainly theologians and philosophers of the University of Sofia. The inauguration of this branch 'reaffirmed the link between the Bulgarian Fellowship and the Fellowship worldwide.'⁴⁹⁶ On the other hand, a translation of a collection of works by Metropolitan Kallistos into Bulgarian was published, a project sponsored by the Fellowship. It is necessary to understand how in the past the Fellowship sponsored translations from Eastern writers and scholars, whilst, subsequently, it supported the works of contemporary scholars from the West which were translated into the languages of the Orthodox world. This illustrated the Society's commitment to furthering scholarly education in both Eastern and Western Christianity.

Moscow, and Russia in general, have always been important for the life of the Fellowship. Moreover, the beginning of the new millennium saw the establishment of a Fellowship base within the Russian capital. The Moscow branch of the Society was located within the crypt of St Andrew's Anglican Church, in the centre of Moscow. The Society also funded the refurbishment of the library, which allowed it to 'serve as the focus for a new Anglican-Orthodox study centre.'⁴⁹⁷ It was evident that the post-cold-war period brought closer the Fellowship, the Orthodox and Anglicans in the West, with the Orthodox in Russia. Conferences, tours and meetings were organised in Moscow, forming the 'vehicle for important informal conversation, discussion and exchange of ideas.'⁴⁹⁸ Thus, the Society continued its crucial work within the lands of its founders (such as Bulgakov, Florovski, Zernov and many more) who wished for this continued and loving contact between the Christians in both the East and the West.

The rebirth of old and forgotten branches also took place. The end of 2004 saw the official opening of the Romanian branch of the Fellowship that took place at the Patriarchal Palace in Bucharest. This brought back memories of the old branch and its objectives, while reminding the current hierarchs of Dumitru Staniloae's active involvement in the life of the Fellowship in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 24: Number 1, 2002, p.117.

⁴⁹⁷ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 25: Number 1, 2003, p.122.

⁴⁹⁸ Platt, 2004, p.84.

⁴⁹⁹ Platt, Stephen, 'Fellowship Affairs', *Sobornost*, Volume 26: Number 2, 2004, p.73.

Athens has been a historical centre for Fellowship work since the 1970s. However the beginnings of the new century saw the first retreat of the Athens chapter, named after St Theodore of Tarsus and also of Canterbury. From this point forward the Athens branch of the Fellowship worked in collaboration with the St Theodore chapter, organising conferences and events, promoting, thereby, Anglican-Orthodox relations within Greece. The Athens branch is represented by “Ainos,” under the care of Niki Tsironi, who was very active in organising conferences, not only in Athens, but around Greece.⁵⁰⁰

New Editor of Sobornost

Fr. Sergei Hackel had been the editor of *Sobornost* for twenty-eight years. He was ‘a demanding and pedantic editor;’⁵⁰¹ however, his death in 2005 left a gap within the body of the editorial board. Nevertheless, Fr. Andrew Louth was invited to undertake this position and succeed Fr. Sergei. The new editor is an Orthodox priest and Professor Emeritus of Patristic and Byzantine Studies at the University of Durham. He was also well known due to his numerous publications, whilst also being a frequent visitor to the Society’s conferences. Fr. Andrew wished to alter the content of the journal, yearning towards an exploration and development of the “western’ Orthodox, whether western by destiny or by origin, but also among those who find in the traditions of eastern Christendom keys to the riches of their own western Christian traditions.⁵⁰² Fr. Andrew, nevertheless, understood the gravity and the role of this journal, explaining that ‘*Sobornost*, as a primarily English journal, will increasingly be a voice for Orthodoxy in the West,’⁵⁰³ a role it has played since the late 1920s. On the other hand, it continued to publish diverse aspects of ecumenism.

The Sourozh Schism

The Russian Orthodox Diocese of Sourozh, in Great Britain, underwent a schism in 2006, creating problems not only for the Russians and the Orthodox under its jurisdiction but also for the Fellowship. This schism took place in 2006, when Bishop Basil Osborne, administrator of the Diocese of Sourozh, who succeeded Metropolitan Anthony Bloom, wished to be released from the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate and to be received under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. This, however, was a result of a number of problems within Sourozh on issues of

⁵⁰⁰ ‘Ainos Cultural Society represents the Fellowship of Saint Alban and Saint Sergius and operates as its Athens Bureau, welcoming visitors, promoting ecumenical contacts and dialogue on theological and devotional issues.’ Ainos Culture, <http://www.ainosculture.org/about-us/>, 28/12/2015, 15.21.

⁵⁰¹ Scorer, Peter, ‘Sergei Hackel (1931-2005)’, *Sobornost*, Volume 27, Number 1, 2005, p.75.

⁵⁰² Louth, Andrew, ‘Editorial’, *Sobornost*, Volume 27: Number 2, 2005, p.7.

⁵⁰³ Louth, 2006, p.5.

culture, language and liberalism which had begun during the time of Metropolitan Anthony. 2006 will be remembered in the ecclesiastical history of Britain 'as the year of the Sourozh drama.'⁵⁰⁴ The Sourozh Schism cannot be assigned to one bishop, who was administrating the Diocese for only three years; therefore, it is more correct to claim that 'the 2006 "schism" was merely the end point of a long process.'⁵⁰⁵ The crucial reason for the schism was the fact that new Russians had arrived to the UK, wishing to preserve their Russian culture, language and practice, which went against the practices of the Sourozh Diocese, which was more open to the English environment around it. There was a distinction 'between an "open" type of Orthodoxy, open to the culture around it, concerned with exploring the faith, unafraid of "the other", as opposed to one that is "closed", defensive, and focused on power and control.'⁵⁰⁶ However, this is also a result of the differences which existed between the converts and the new comers from Russia, who did not understand how the Diocese of Sourozh had functioned since the time of Metropolitan Anthony. The Schism resulted in the acceptance of Bishop Basil under the Patriarchate of Constantinople as Bishop of Amhipolis, forming an Episcopal Vicariate of Great Britain and Ireland, under the Patriarchal Exarchate for Orthodox Parishes of Russian Tradition in Western Europe.

The Schism created many problems for the Orthodox faithful around the UK, affecting also the Fellowship. The Society was affected on a personal level, through many of its members, including its Secretary, Fr. Stephen Platt. As he explained in *Sobornost*, the 'General Secretary has himself been closely involved in these developments.'⁵⁰⁷ Fr. Stephen examined the schism in the General Secretary's Report in *Sobornost*, claiming that this move had 'highlighted a whole host of questions that relate to the nature and place of Orthodox Christianity in Western Europe.'⁵⁰⁸ However, Fr. Stephen identified that, maybe, the Fellowship could offer something to this schism. The Society had not only been a meeting place for Orthodox and Anglicans, but it had also facilitated in bringing closer the Orthodox from various jurisdictions. Therefore, the Fellowship could have facilitated a 'spirit of common Christian endeavour, prayer and mutual love'⁵⁰⁹ between the Russian Orthodox within the two jurisdictions, the Diocese of Sourozh (under the Patriarchate of Moscow) and the Episcopal Vicariate, later known as Exarchate of Western Europe – Deanery of Great Britain, (under

⁵⁰⁴ Dennen, Xenia, 'Who Controls Russian Orthodoxy in Britain?', *oD Russia*, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/russia/article/email/who-controls-russian-orthodoxy-in-britain>, 18 March 2009, accessed 24/10/2013, 17.10.

⁵⁰⁵ Phillips, Andrew, 'On the Recent Troubled History of the Russian Church in London', *Orthodox England*, <http://orthodoxengland.org.uk/london1.htm>, accessed 24/10/2013, 16.36.

⁵⁰⁶ Dennen, 2009.

⁵⁰⁷ Platt, Stephen, "Fellowship Affairs", *Sobornost*, Volume 29: Number 1, 2007, p.95.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.95.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.95-96.

the Ecumenical Patriarchate). The schism resulted in the split of the Russian Community in Oxford. The Russians who wished to remain within the Diocese of Sourozh, Patriarchate of Moscow, 'petitioned Archbishop Innokenty of Korsun, the temporary administrator of the Diocese, to form themselves into a new parish';⁵¹⁰ thereby, giving birth to the parish of St Nicholas the Wonderworker. The Russian Orthodox who followed Bishop Basil remained in the Oxford Orthodox Church (which is the Orthodox Parish of the Annunciation), in the Church which was built with the help of the Fellowship, which is shared by Greeks and Russians, therefore coming under the jurisdiction of the Exarchate of Western Europe – Deanery of Great Britain. However, no further analysis of this matter is viable, due to the fact that its effects are on-going and final conclusions to this schism are not apparent. 'It will take a number of years for the situation to stabilise completely.'⁵¹¹

The Cyprus Agreed Statement

The third phase of the dialogue was initiated in 1989. During that year, the commission was reorganised as the International Commission for Anglican – Orthodox Theological Dialogue (ICAOTD). This third phase reached its conclusion with the Agreed Statement, which was completed at the Holy Royal and Stavropegic Monastery of Kykkos (Cyprus), where the last chapter of this statement was completed (2006). The commission was assigned to deliberate 'the doctrine of the Church in the light of the doctrine of the Trinity, and to examine the doctrine of the ordination ministry of the Church.'⁵¹² Specific consideration was given to the issues of ordination to the presbyterate and episcopate. Ecclesiology and Trinitarian theology and doctrine were also dominant concerns in the discussions. This new statement, as was the case with the two previous ones, registered 'considerable agreement over a range of issues, while leaving the question of the ordination of women unresolved.'⁵¹³ The Fellowship was again present at these meetings, through its representatives, who played a major role in forming this statement, including Archbishop Rowan Williams (who had been associated with the Society since the 1970s) and Canon Hugh Wybrew.

The Feast of the Synaxis of All Saints of Britain and Ireland

In 2007, the Holy Synod of the Moscow Patriarchate added a new feast to the Russian Church Calendar, the feast of the Synaxis of All Saints of Britain and Ireland, who are to be

⁵¹⁰ Parish of St Nicholas the Wonderworker, <http://www.stnicholas-oxford.org/#!parish-background/c7o9>, accessed 24/10/2013, 17.35.

⁵¹¹ Platt, 2007, p.95.

⁵¹² Wybrew, 2006, p.11.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

celebrated on the third Sunday after Pentecost. This would, of course, follow 'after the Church had completed hagiographical and historical data about their Christian endeavour, as well as the time and circumstances of their glorification and veneration.'⁵¹⁴ Successively, the individual celebrations of saints from the West were to be added to the calendar. This, however, was an idea promoted and supported by the Fellowship, as Fr. Stephen Platt explained: 'It is worth remembering that the work leading up to this move, in which the Fellowship has played a part, was inspired by discussions at our 2002 Conference, where the saints were seen as a vital factor in the quest for Christian unity.'⁵¹⁵ Thus, this new development emphasised what St Arsenios of Paros claimed in the nineteenth century, that 'the Church in the British Isles will only begin to grow when She begins to again venerate Her own Saints.'⁵¹⁶

Evangelical-Orthodox Discussion Group

The Fellowship endeavoured to house a number of committees and groups, promoting further relations and cooperation between Eastern and Western Christians. One key example of this is the Evangelical-Orthodox Discussion Group, which took place at the House of St Gregory and St Macrina in Oxford, under the auspices of the Fellowship. This new venture began in 2008,⁵¹⁷ after two years of preparation, meeting twice a year for a day. It was inspired by Dr Tim Grass⁵¹⁸ and the Secretary of the Fellowship, Fr Stephen Platt, an Evangelical and Orthodox, respectively. This group maintained an unofficial character, drawing people due to their personal interest on the relations between the two traditions.

Its objective was to examine particular topics, giving both the Orthodox and Evangelical perspective on each of these topics. Therefore, this group was by invitation, attracting theologians, church leaders, lecturers, ecumenists and people interested in the relations and the particular topics investigated. However, as Dr Tim explained, when interviewed for this dissertation,

We've tended not to major on the issues that are raised by converts from one tradition to the other, because that opens two rather large cans of worms, one for

⁵¹⁴ Diocese of Sourozh, [http://www.sourozh.org/maineng/2010/6/13/the-celebration-of-the-saints-who-shone-forth.html](http://www.sourozh.org/maineng/2010/6/13/the-celebration-of-the-synaxis-of-the-saints-who-shone-forth.html), accessed 23/05/2013, 14.39.

⁵¹⁵ Platt, 2007, p.98.

⁵¹⁶ Salapatas, 2012, p.24.

⁵¹⁷ A brief report of the first meeting is given in *Sobornost*: Grass, Tim, 'Orthodox-Evangelical dialogue: Exploratory Meeting, Oxford, 17 April 2008,' *Sobornost*, 2008, 30:1, pp.92-3.

⁵¹⁸ Dr Tim Grass is a Senior Research Fellow at Spurgeon's College. He has been involved in the Ecumenical sphere, looking, amongst other things, into the history of the contacts between Evangelicals and Orthodox. He is also a steering committee member for the Lausanne-Orthodox Initiative, an international dialogue centring predominantly on the area of mission. He has written a number of books and important articles, being also an assistant editor for the Ecclesiastical History Society and president of the Chapels Society. He has edited an important book on the relations: Grass, Tim (ed.), *Evangelicalism and the Orthodox Church*, (London, Evangelical Alliance, 2001).

each tradition. Rather, we wanted to adopt a more constructive approach, looking at particular issues, which are agreed by both of us to be crucial to the life of the church and the Christian faith, and exploring the extent to which we agree, disagree, or say the same things, using different terminology . . .⁵¹⁹

These meetings did create a great forum for investigating Orthodox and Evangelical themes; therefore, they will be published. This venture is under investigation. The group aims to publish soon, and to identify how well it is received by both the Evangelicals and the Orthodox.

Unfortunately, it was decided by Dr Tim Grass and Fr Stephen Platt to stop these meetings in spring 2014. Dr Grass explains,

Fr Stephen and I took the decision that the last meeting was the final one, of the group, in its present form. That does not preclude us, arranging something, say to launch the book, when it arrives, eventually. Or arranging other events, should that be so desired. But, we didn't want it to become one of those things that goes on indefinitely, attracting an ever-smaller number of people and not really doing much to facilitate an understanding between the two denominations. We thought that, rather than let the thing die, it was better to kill it . . . and to be decisive about that. And so at the last meeting this spring [2014] we announced that that would be the last meeting.⁵²⁰

The death of Canon Donald Allchin

Sobornost, on various occasions, published obituaries of certain prominent members of the Society. This was the case with the death of Canon Donald Allchin,⁵²¹ who had played an important and protagonistic role within the Fellowship, as previously mentioned, being Chairman of the Council of the Fellowship and Editor of *Sobornost*.⁵²² His involvement in the Fellowship's life continued when he 'returned to Oxford in 1987 to become director of the St Theosevia Centre with a focus on learning and dialogue between Eastern and Western Christian spirituality.'⁵²³

Allchin was not only an important figure within the Fellowship; he was also a significant scholar and academic, being an academic supervisor for important individuals and hierarchs of the

⁵¹⁹ Grass, Tim, Appendix 3, p.-22-.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Ware, Kallistos, 'Obituary – Canon Donald Allchin, 1930-2010', *Sobornost*, Volume 33: Number 1, 2011, pp. 37-46.

⁵²² Allchin, as *Sobornost's* editor, wrote the editorials and also articles, which many times specifically examined the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. However, he also edited studies and essays, which were published by the Fellowship: Allchin, A.M., *Sacrament and Image*, (Oxford, Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1967); *The Tradition of Life*, (Oxford, Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1971); *Theology and Prayer*, (Oxford, Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1975).

⁵²³ Keller, David, G.R., *Boundless Grandeur – The Christian Vision of A.M. Donald Allchin*, (Eugene, Oregon, Pickwick Publications, 2015), p.xi.

church, such as Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams. However, this relationship did not only stay on an academic level, as Rowan Williams explains: 'Thinking about all sorts of things and persons that have been intellectually, spiritually, and emotionally precious to me over the years, I am quite taken aback to recall how many of them I owe to Donald.'⁵²⁴ It is clear that their relationship was also facilitated by the fact that they were both members of the Fellowship. Their common interest in Orthodoxy⁵²⁵ created a bond between the two men. This interest of both Allchin and Williams was to form their theologies and their relations, as Richard Sudworth explains when referring to Williams: 'It is striking that the apophatic tradition of the Eastern Church which has been so formative for Williams is decisive for his account of interreligious relations.'⁵²⁶ Richard Sudworth here wishes to promote the significance Allchin played for mediating Orthodox thought and theology to Rowan Williams,⁵²⁷ assisting him in engaging with other religions, such as Islam, and other Christian traditions.

Interestingly enough, in Rowan Williams's doctoral thesis we find a great Fellowship involvement. His thesis examined the theology of Vladimir Lossky, who was a member of the society, and a great friend of Allchin's.⁵²⁸ Also, the thesis was 'very well received by the examiners, Kallistos Ware (doyen among Anglican recruits to Greek Orthodoxy) and E.L. Mascall,⁵²⁹ who were both members of the Fellowship and in the Official Dialogues between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. Allchin was also part of the continuous dialogue, official and unofficial, as is evident in the Official Statements between the Orthodox and the Anglicans and the life of the Fellowship, where he contributed greatly. Allchin was, without a doubt, a fervent ecumenist.

In respect to his views on Orthodoxy, whether he would ever become Orthodox and his views on the Anglican-Orthodox relations he claimed: 'I will join the Orthodox Church when the Anglican Communion as a whole does so.'⁵³⁰ He desired to bring Anglicanism closer to the Orthodox

⁵²⁴ Ibid., p.xiii.

⁵²⁵ For Allchin's relationship with Orthodoxy see in particular the collection of studies: Keller, 2015.

⁵²⁶ Sudworth, Richard, J., 'Responding to Islam as Priests, Mystics, and Trail Blazers: Louis Massignon, Kenneth Cragg, and Rowan Williams, *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, Vol. 55, Nos. 3-4, 2014, p.462.

⁵²⁷ For more information on Donald Allchin's influence on Rowan Williams and how the latter used Orthodox theology for his theological thought and arguments in various instances, see Sudworth's Doctoral thesis: Sudworth, Richard, J., *The Church of England and Islam: contemporary Anglican Christian – Muslim relations and the politico-theological question, 1988-2012*, (Heythrop College, University of London, 2013). Sudworth points out: 'Chapter 3 highlighted *kenosis* as a feature of contemporary theologies for Anglican relations with Islam. We have noted the influence of Donald Allchin on Rowan Williams, and his retrieval of patristic and Orthodox theologies.' Sudworth, 2013, p.217.

⁵²⁸ For Allchin's relationship with Vladimir Lossky and his family see: Ware, Kallistos 'Father Donald and the Orthodox Church,' in Keller, 2015, pp.23-35.

⁵²⁹ Shortt, Rupert, *Rowan's Rule – The Biography of the Archbishop*, (London, Hodder, 2014), p.78.

⁵³⁰ Ware, 2011, p.43.

Church and faith. Nevertheless, Allchin did have an "Anglo-Orthodox" vocation.⁵³¹ His loss for the Fellowship was, therefore, great.

This last period portrays the Society in its current form. The people involved in the life of the Society are also involved in other endeavours, showing the relations between several bodies, such as the AECA, the OTRF (Orthodox Theological Research Forum), the Orthodox Fellowship of St John the Baptist, the Nikean Club, the Friends of Mount Athos and many more. However, a significant achievement of the establishment of Orthodoxy in Britain is the founding of the MTh in Orthodox Studies, at the University of Winchester,⁵³² which is (to date) the only Postgraduate programme of its kind in the British Isles. This program is under the auspices of the Winchester Orthodox Network, including the MTh and the research studies. This is clearly the result of the increasing influence Orthodoxy has had in the UK, due to the good relations between the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, fostered by organisations such as the Fellowship and the AECA. The programme Leader of this MTh is Fr. Andreas Andreopoulos, who is a member of the Fellowship, contributing to *Sobornost*, regularly with very interesting articles. It is apparent that the Fellowship, through its members, is involved directly and indirectly in numerous projects and institutions all around Britain.

Conclusion

The Fellowship's wish for unity between the Anglicans and the Orthodox brought it to unfamiliar waters, dangerous areas of thought, where heresy could easily be the result of the countless discussions. However, it is imperative to comprehend that the theologians who triggered the interesting talks and themes, during the conferences, did so in order to achieve what the Orthodox claim during the Divine Liturgy, 'For the peace of the whole world, for the welfare of God's holy Churches, and for the union of all, let us pray to the Lord.' Therefore, it is apparent that there are two types of theologians, especially within the context of ecumenism, in the life of the Church in the modern era. There are those who understand theology as a professional employment and the dogma as an abstract ideology, and discuss the denominational differences on the dead level of following the letter of theoretical and scholastic formalities, thereby, disregarding any notion of Ecumenism or ecumenical relations. On the other hand, there are those who understand theology, dogma and the relations between the churches as an existential problem, with life consequences and specific historic and cultural implications. This pushes them to search for the true ecclesiastical

⁵³¹ Ware, 2015, p.30.

⁵³² This program was first introduced at the University of Wales, Lampeter Campus (2006-10). It moved to Winchester in 2010, where it currently is located.

and existential life within the tradition of a unified and undivided Christendom, which is the main objective of Ecumenism. The first can be conservative or liberal, ecumenical or anti-ecumenical, but definitely irrelevant with the life of the Church today, especially within the context of Ecumenism. The latter group, on the other hand, consists of Christians who wish to find a solution to the millennium-old issues which separate the Christian world. It is apparent that the second group of theologians are needed if a solution is to be found on the issues of unity within Christianity, whilst the first group merely points out the issues of disunity.⁵³³

Therefore, it is evident that the Fellowship has been a centre where theologians, such as Fr. Sergius Bulgakov, have expressed their innovative and daring views, keeping in mind the life and the dogmas of the Church. An interesting fact, nevertheless, is that the Fellowship attracts most, if not all, the Orthodox academics in Britain, even to this day; whether they only contribute with articles in *Sobornost*, or whether they are full members of the Society, it is apparent that the Fellowship attracts them, mainly due to the fact that Orthodoxy is at its epicentre. This is also the case with prominent Anglicans. Nonetheless, because the number of Orthodox academics in Britain is limited, they inevitably find a 'nest' in the Fellowship.

On the other hand, the Fellowship's greatest contribution towards the Ecumenical Movement and the future relations between the churches was, undoubtedly, its Eucharistic approach and centralisation in reunion work. Despite partial intercommunion within the Society not being realised, spiritual intercommunion prevailed and formed the basis for the Official Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Anglican Communion. That is why the Society was able to undertake 'theology across the lines of the most radical historical division in Christendom, because its life has been a life of common prayer and reflection across that line.'⁵³⁴

The publications produced by the Society are another important contribution of the Fellowship. For a long period (between the 1920s and 1980s), it was one of the main publishers of books on Orthodoxy, an important role to have within the West. The books, pamphlets and journal have all assisted in the wider understanding of Orthodoxy within the Western world. Its other role has always been its unofficial work, where it had provided precious opportunities for personal contact and understanding of the other ecclesiastical body, whilst also helping any student who needed its assistance and the Student Christian Movement, from which it was born. Its 'international peace work,'⁵³⁵ therefore, has always been important in order to achieve a future Christian union.

⁵³³ This theme is also examined in Greek, in Γιανναράς, 1983, pp.243-244.

⁵³⁴ Allchin, A.M., 'Editorial Notes', *Sobornost*, Series 6, No. 4, Winter 1972, p.220.

⁵³⁵ Bailey, Anthony, D., 'A Letter from South Africa', *Sobornost*, No. 22 (New Series), December 1940, p.25.

The Fellowship, however, is not only an academic group; its pastoral role is to be evident within the House of St Basil (London) and then within the House of St Gregory and St Macrina and St Theosevia House (Oxford), where the Fellowship believed to have created a true community of faithful. The Houses, being the key part of the Fellowship's pastoral work, gave the 'opportunity for Eastern and Western students to live together in one community, where regular worship according to their Church tradition is provided for them.'⁵³⁶ Nevertheless, the academic spirit is to be maintained, through lectures, tuitions and conferences. Therefore, the Society is foremost an academic body, with pastoral understandings within certain aspects of its life.

The Fellowship has been an innovator, daring to reach new heights and new levels of understanding. It survives due to its Eucharistic life, through the prayers of its members, but also through its important members. The Fellowship has, since its inception, brought together the intelligentsia of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church, not only within the British Isles, but globally. Nicolas Zernov stated that 'its very existence is always in question.'⁵³⁷ However, it exists and it will prevail in the future⁵³⁸ through its current practices, its conferences, its Liturgical life and its publications. Members of the Fellowship maintain that unity can come by God; nevertheless, they are also convinced that they have to facilitate the ground-work in order for this to be realised in the future, understanding the ancient Greek phrase (taken from one of Aesop's fables) 'Appeal to Athena by all means, but also move your arms' (συν Αθηνά και χείρα κίνει) – therefore, it is understood that God helps those who help themselves. However, despite working for more than eighty-five years in promoting Anglican-Orthodox relations and Orthodoxy, the Orthodox Church is yet not widely known in the West. Therefore, a lot of work is pending, in order to bring closer the two ecclesiastical bodies.

⁵³⁶ Tomlin, M., S., *St Basil's House in Oxford*, Fellowship Archives, 1932, p.1.

⁵³⁷ Zernov, 1979, p.26.

⁵³⁸ The future of the Fellowship is further analysed in the Final Conclusion of the Thesis, where Fr. Stephen Platt's views are explained and analysed.

Chapter 3

Nicolas Zernov – His Life and Ecumenical Work

Introduction

Analysing the history of the Fellowship, it is easily observed that certain people played a key role in its formation, life, establishment, advancement and longevity. One of these key personalities was, undoubtedly, Dr Nicolas Zernov. Without Zernov the Fellowship would not have achieved its objectives.⁵³⁹ In many respects it probably wouldn't exist today, if he had not assisted its move from London to Oxford. Being, according to some, the Spirit of the Fellowship,⁵⁴⁰ he was undoubtedly, as stated by the current Secretary, Fr. Stephen Platt, 'the most dynamic, the most central figure and the galvanising figure'⁵⁴¹ in the Fellowship, until his death (1980). This chapter endeavours to examine and argue a number of themes studied and investigated by Nicolas Zernov, which played an important part in both his life and also his work. 'Was he a historian, a theologian, a kind of philosopher or a commentator on intellectual life in general? He was something of all these things. The titles of his books suggest the range of his interests.'⁵⁴²

Despite the fact that he dealt with a number of interesting themes, including politics (especially Cold War politics and relations between Russia and the West), Sophia and Sophiology, the themes analysed in this dissertation are: Moscow - Third Rome, Christian unity (Branch Theory) and intercommunion, due to the limitation of space, but also because these topics point out Zernov's objective, 'to create closer links between Russian and Western Christians and to pave the way to that Christian unity which is vital to humanity in all its present predicaments.'⁵⁴³ To fully understand these themes, Zernov's books and articles are crucial sources, explaining his theological evolution, which was undoubtedly influenced by his Ecumenical work. On the other hand, Metropolitan Kallistos and Fr Stephen Platt's interviews will complete the puzzle of who Nicolas was and what he

⁵³⁹ Nicolas Zernov was not, at the time of the founding of the Fellowship, an important Orthodox theologian, since he began his academic and literary work only during the 1930s. The most important figures were theologians and priests such as Frs. Bulgakov and Florovski. Nevertheless, interestingly enough, Fr Andrew Louth, editor of *Sobornost*, claims in his latest book that Zernov was the founder of this Society, claiming 'he [Florovksi] was one of the Russian churchmen in Parish who became involved in the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, an ecumenical Society, founded by another Russian émigré, Nicolas Zernov . . .' Louth, 2015, p.78. Additionally, Louth later adds, that the Fellowship was 'set up largely under the inspiration of Nicolas Zernov . . .' Ibid., p.339.

⁵⁴⁰ His importance is evident, when Sergei Hackel proposed a new division of the history of the Fellowship, the first one being 'bound up with the personality of Nicolas Zernov.' Hackel, Sergei, 'Editorial News,' *Sobornost*, Volume 3, Number 1, 1981, p.9.

⁵⁴¹ Platt, Stephen, Appendix 4, p.-27-.

⁵⁴² Ware, 1981, p.27.

⁵⁴³ Zernov, 1978, p.2.

believed in. Unfortunately, Zernov's diaries and personal memoirs are kept hidden and may not be examined until seventy years after his death. Nicolas Zernov died in 1980, therefore these documents will be examined after 2050, in accordance with Zernov's will. Therefore, this chapter is a first attempt to identify his thoughts on Christian unity and how this could be achieved. When, eventually, his memoirs and personal diaries will be open to examination, a further investigation and analysis will be able to take place, concerning his ideas of people, events, objectives, beliefs and methodological processes in respect to Christian unity. Then a more catholic understanding of Zernov and his ideas will be presented.

Biography

In many respects the life of Nicolas Zernov coincides with the life of the Fellowship, playing a significant part in its foundation, life and evolution; nevertheless, a brief biography is important for this chapter, in order to introduce us to his work.

Nicolas Mikhailovich Zernov (1898-1980) was a Russian theologian and a great pioneer in the Christian Unity movement, especially in respect to Anglican-Orthodox Relations. He was brought up in a religious environment. His studies, at the Moscow University, were interrupted by the October Revolution (1917). He left Russia, immigrating with his family to Yugoslavia, where he studied Theology, at the Belgrade University. After his studies he worked in Paris (1925-30) as one of the general secretaries of the Russian Student Christian Movement (RSCM). During that period, Paris was the leading intellectual nucleus of the Russian emigration in Europe. Zernov, of course, played a special part in this new Russian centre in the West. There, he met and was later influenced by a famous Russian theologian and member of the Fellowship, Fr Sergius Bulgakov. In 1927 Zernov married Militza Vladimirovna Lavrova (1899-1994), who was a woman of formidable personality, who supported her husband in all his ecumenical endeavours.

1923 was the year he first visited England, where he first came into contact with Western Christians. This initial contact inspired him in his later work, the work of Christian unity, which became his main objective. According to Alexander Schmemmann,⁵⁴⁴ 'The disunity of Christians became a personal pain and suffering.'⁵⁴⁵ He was the organiser of the two first Anglo-Russian Conferences in St Albans (1927-28), leading to the foundation of the Fellowship, making him one of the founding fathers of this Society. Just over eighteen months of undertaking his postgraduate

⁵⁴⁴ Rt. Rev. Dr. Alexander Schmemmann, was Dean of St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary in New York, where he also occupied the chair of Liturgical and Pastoral Theology. He was an author, writing important books in the field of Liturgics in the Orthodox Church.

⁵⁴⁵ Zernov, Nicolas, *Sunset Years*, (Oxford, Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1983), p.15.

studies in Oxford (1931-32) he completed his DPhil. His dissertation, entitled: 'The Unity of the Church and the Reunion of the Churches: A Study of the Problem of Church Unity from the end of the first to the close of the fourth century,'⁵⁴⁶ is unpublished – although parts of it have been published as separate articles. The ideas set out here continued to dictate his later reflections: 'unity cannot be imposed by coercive measures; state intervention leads to the hardening of schisms; the distinctive characteristic of the church, when true to itself, is free unanimity.'⁵⁴⁷ In 1934 the Zernovs moved to England, which they made their home for the rest of their lives. Between 1934 and 1947 Zernov worked primarily in London, as secretary of the Fellowship. During this period membership increased, despite the hardships of war. His books (*Moscow, The Third Rome* (1937), *St Sergius: Builder of Russia* (1939), *The Church of the Eastern Christians* (1942), *Three Russian Prophets: Khomiakov, Dostoevsky, Soloviev* (1944), *The Russians and their Church* (1945)) had a great impact in Britain, introducing Orthodoxy to the British public, during a period when not many knew a good deal about the Eastern Orthodox.⁵⁴⁸

In 1947 Nicolas Zernov became the first Spalding Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Culture (University of Oxford), holding this post until he retired, 1966. This position was filled by Metropolitan Kallistos Ware, becoming the second and last Spalding Lecturer. He continued writing many books. However, in 1952 a controversial book was published, *The Reintegration of the Church*, where amongst other things, he promoted the idea of intercommunion, a theme previously discussed within the Fellowship by Bulgakov. However, Nicolas altered this initial idea, creating a wider understanding of it, within the framework of Christian unity. Two impressive books appeared in the 1960s: *Eastern Christendom* (1961) and *The Russian Religious Renaissance of the Twentieth Century* (1963). According to Metropolitan Kallistos,

This last is a ground-breaking study of the revival of Orthodox theology, first in Russia itself immediately prior to the 1917 revolution, and then in the emigration. Although unavoidably incomplete and sometimes inaccurate, it remained a valuable work of reference. Many of those about whom he wrote with such vividness were people he had known personally in Belgrade and Paris.⁵⁴⁹

He was not only involved in the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. After visiting the Syrian Orthodox of the Malabar, India, (1953-54) he was persuaded that they should not

⁵⁴⁶ Nicolas Zernov's dissertation can be found on the Fellowship's site: 'The Unity of the Church and the Reunion of the Churches: A Study of the Problem of Church Unity from the end of the first to the close of the fourth century,' <http://www.sobornost.org/archives.html>, accessed 04/09/2015, 16.26.

⁵⁴⁷ Ware, Kallistos, 'Zernov, Nicolas Mikhailovich (1898–1980)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn), Oct 2007, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53066>, accessed 13 March 2014]

⁵⁴⁸ A list of Nicolas Zernov's books can be found in his last book: Zernov, 1983, pp.189-190.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

be labelled as 'monophysite heretics.'⁵⁵⁰ He planned the path for discussions on reunion (1966) between the Eastern Orthodox and the non-Chalcedonian, Oriental Orthodox.

When Zernov moved to Oxford he wished to establish the Fellowship in this important University City. There he founded the House of St Gregory and St Macrina, where he became the first warden. This was where anyone could meet and learn more about Eastern Christianity, bringing together Eastern and Western Christians. Nicolas Zernov died in Oxford on 25 August 1980.

Metropolitan Kallistos Ware concludes his article on Zernov, in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, by claiming that:

Although a fluent writer and an attractive speaker, Nicolas Zernov was not a systematic scholar. He was in the best sense of the word a popularizer, endowed with a gift for warm friendship, with an infectious enthusiasm, and with an exploratory mind that was constantly crossing frontiers. Profoundly loyal to the Orthodox Church, he was at the same time convinced that Orthodox Christians need the stimulus of the West in order to rediscover the treasures of their own tradition.⁵⁵¹

Zernov had, undoubtedly, two passions, which he retained throughout his life, Russia and Orthodoxy. He was, thus, an 'ikon of Russian Orthodoxy.'⁵⁵² His life story can point out one thing, especially in regards to his ecumenical work; Nicolas was 'a man of destiny.'⁵⁵³ This belief can also be supported by C.S. Lewis, who stated that Nicolas was "'an institution" in Oxford life.'⁵⁵⁴

Moscow - The Third Rome

The first theme to be analysed is Zernov's insistence on maintaining a Russian-centred understanding of the world. Despite leaving his country with the Bolshevik Revolution, Zernov always felt a connection to Russia, its history, its culture, its ideas, not referring of course to its Communist history and ideology. He was assisted into maintaining this, through the existence of the Orthodox Church in the West. For the Russian emigration in the West, 'the real link with the mother country was the Church.'⁵⁵⁵ As Nicolas explained, 'it was my generation that discovered in new depth the true face of Russian culture, and this came about because we saw the Church in its true light.'⁵⁵⁶ His Russianness became synonymous with Orthodoxy. This was also the case especially during the

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Zernov, 1983, p.13.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., p.12.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., p.16.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., p.22.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., p.21.

first years of the Fellowship's life (with the existence of the Anglo-Russian Conferences, meaning the Anglican-Orthodox Conferences).

His Russianness can also be evident through his publications. He devoted a number of important books and articles to Russia, to Moscow as the Third Rome, to the Russian intelligentsia and Russian Orthodoxy. This led him to publish his first book, entitled *Moscow, The Third Rome*. This book wished to point out the continuity of the Byzantine belief, whereby Constantinople was known as the New Rome, a title maintained to this day. However, the Russian belief that Moscow was the Third Rome does not have the full support of the Orthodox world. This argument is examined here, to point out that a depiction of a belief of one Orthodox Church or members of that Church might not be the belief of another.

Nicolas Zernov begins explaining that Moscow is 'the Third and last Rome, the successor and spiritual heir of Rome and Constantinople.'⁵⁵⁷ He asserted this belief, without, however, giving a convincing analysis for it. No theological argument is given or explained, presenting it merely as a certainty, which, according to him, is accepted by all. Additionally, Nicolas Berdyaev, when referring to Moscow, explains 'the doctrine of Moscow the Third Rome became a basic idea on which the Muscovite state was formed.'⁵⁵⁸ Therefore, he proclaims the Third Rome idea as a doctrine. However, there is no mention of whose doctrine; is it considered a doctrine for the Orthodox Church or for the Russians? On the other hand, Zernov wished to point out the distinctiveness of the Russian Church within the Orthodox world. He explains: 'their [Russian] Church held a singular position among other Christian bodies, her approach to religion being neither Greek nor Latin . . . she has always followed her own path, interpreting for herself the common traditions of Christianity.'⁵⁵⁹

Zernov gives a brief explanation of this Russian theory. Following the Byzantine belief of an Imperial city, with an Emperor who with the Patriarch of the city, instituted by God, protects the Orthodox faith, he wishes to continue this structure in Russia. Nevertheless, Zernov identified an inconsistency in this new rebirth of Rome through the idea of Third Rome, or more accurately, the continuation of Byzantium within Russia. This new idea was not only based on ecclesiological matters: the idea of Moscow as Third Rome owes its existence to the political rise of Moscow. Zernov explains that from 1480, when Russia was liberated by the Tartars, 'Russia had been expanding and this growth of political power was accompanied by a sense of special vocation

⁵⁵⁷ Zernov, Nicolas, *Moscow, The Third Rome*, (London, SPCK, 1937), p.7.(A).

⁵⁵⁸ Berdyaev, Nicolas, *The Origin of Russian Communism*, (Michigan, The University of Michigan Press, 1972), p.10.

⁵⁵⁹ Zernov, 1937, p.9.(A).

associated with the belief in Moscow as the third and last Rome.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, the Russians had taken upon themselves the continuation of Byzantium; however, they could not repeat and replicate the Christian, Greek and Oriental aspects of civilisation, which had been achieved by the Byzantines. 'They did not belong to the Mediterranean commonwealth; they had never stood before the majestic ruins of bygone empires; they had never read the annals of their victories, crimes and achievements.'⁵⁶¹ On the other hand, Russia wished to follow its own distinct and unique path.

Historically according to this argument, the old Rome fell, as a political power, to the invading Goths, and in this way gradually severed its spiritual links with the East, whilst, New Rome became the centre of Christianity, being acknowledged as the capital of the Christian Empire. However, this new capital was established for political reasons. The Church established its centre in Constantinople in order to maintain political stability and good relations with the Emperor. However, Old Rome was not abolished; it still existed. Nevertheless, with the fall of Constantinople (1453), a new centre had to be found, according to Zernov. This inevitably produced the idea of an 'Orthodox kingdom';⁵⁶² however, can we speak of a united Orthodox kingdom after Byzantium? Zernov believed that the Church of Christ 'was not left without protection,'⁵⁶³ a new power was establishing itself in the North. He points this out, by claiming:

Moscow, the new capital of the resurrected Russia, was the only important city left in Eastern Christendom which was ruled by a Christian prince, in which the Christians were unmolested and Divine worship could be carried on undisturbed.

Russia was no longer a metropolitan province, but she was the heir and successor of Byzantium. Moscow was not another daughter to Constantinople, but the new mother city of all the Eastern Christians; she was to become the third and the last Rome.⁵⁶⁴

Therefore, the belief of Moscow as Third Rome formed itself after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. How could God allow for the Turks to invade His Great City? The only explanation, which later was used by the Russians to validate their belief in the Third Rome, was that the Greeks betrayed their faith, with the Council of Florence (1439), where 'they had entered into communion with the Latins on the basis of the submission of the Orthodox Church to the Papacy.'⁵⁶⁵ The Russians, therefore, ceased to consider the Greek Church as a true Orthodox Church; 'they began to regard it as a crippled expression of the true faith.'⁵⁶⁶ Thus, this created an interesting notion, whereby the

⁵⁶⁰ Zernov, Nicolas, *Eastern Christendom*, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1961), p.139.(B).

⁵⁶¹ Zernov, 1978, pp.49-50.

⁵⁶² Zernov, 1983, p.70.

⁵⁶³ Zernov, 1937, p.31.(A).

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., p.34.

⁵⁶⁶ Berdyaev, 1972, p.11.

Russian Church, arrogantly, believed that ‘the Orthodox faith was the Russian faith; what was not Russian faith was not Orthodox faith.’⁵⁶⁷ However, the Russians, despite not taking part in the conflict between Rome and New Rome, identified the ‘Western Christians as apostates.’⁵⁶⁸

An additional explanation can be given to the catastrophe, which occurred in Constantinople. It was believed that ‘the Empire had not been destroyed: its centre was simply transferred to the north.’⁵⁶⁹ This was verified with a marriage, in 1492, whereby Ivan III, Grand Prince of Moscow married Sophia Paleologos, the niece of Constantine XIII, the last Emperor of Byzantium. Ivan’s elimination of the Tartar yoke in 1480 and adoption of the title of Tsar, or Emperor, with the Byzantine double-headed eagle as his emblem, collectively suggested the restoration of the Empire in the North.⁵⁷⁰ ‘The Russians attached supreme importance to the preservation of a link of succession from Constantinople to Moscow, for it brought their new capital under the Biblical promises and blessings.’⁵⁷¹ This distinct vocation Moscow had could be found in the Old Testament, the book of the prophet Daniel (2:27-49, 7:1-28, 9:24-27). The acknowledged exegesis given from these passages was that the First and Second Coming of the Messiah would happen during the hegemony of the fourth great Empire, i.e. Rome, the Eternal City. According to St Hippolytus, the four Romes are identified as ‘Babylon, Persia, the Empire of Alexander the Great and Rome.’⁵⁷² However, Rome is not understood as constricted to one location; it can move, as it has from Rome to New Rome, and, according to this view within the Russian Church, also to Moscow, the Third Rome. Zernov’s understanding goes even deeper; he explains: ‘Thus the Moscow sovereigns claimed that their crown, which they had received from Byzantium, was even more ancient than the Eastern Empire, for it belonged originally to the great Biblical despot.’⁵⁷³

After the Council of Florence relations between Constantinople and Moscow were briefly halted; the latter believing that New Rome had fallen into heresy. Therefore, the Russians considered themselves to be ‘the chosen nation, their orthodoxy and their devotion to the Church being superior to that of their Greek teachers, since they alone remained uncompromisingly hostile

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Zernov, 1937, p.34.(A).

⁵⁶⁹ Zernov, Nicolas, *Three Russian Prophets*, (Florida, Academic International Press, 1973), p.25.(A).

⁵⁷⁰ The double-headed eagle is also evident in the current Russian flag, as a coats of arms, used in a number of instances, such as by the Russian Football Federation. Additionally, it seems to be a pan-Balkan phenomenon, where a number of modern Balkan states have the double-headed eagle either on their flags or on coats of arms (e.g. Albania, Montenegro, Serbia and in a number of flags within Greece), thus showing a connection with Byzantium and that they are all ‘spiritual successors’ of Byzantine culture and ideology; therefore, this is not unique to the Russian paradigm.

⁵⁷¹ Zernov, 1973, p.25.(A).

⁵⁷² Zernov, 1978, p.48.

⁵⁷³ Zernov, 1973, p.27.(A).

to Rome.⁵⁷⁴ This last statement is later contradicted by Zernov, when looking at the history of the Russian Church. If the latter truly believed it was superior to their Greek teachers, then there would have been no reason for the Metropolitan of Moscow to receive the title of Patriarch (1589) from Constantinople. A question arises from this elevation, if they received it from a 'daughter Church,' how then is Moscow the head of Orthodoxy, the 'mother church,' when Constantinople is still New Rome, still maintains the faith and still elevates Churches from one rank to the other? This question is not examined by Zernov, he merely passed over it.

The first time we have this new title expressed, was by a monk named Philotheos, who had made a statement to the Grand Duke Basil III (1505-33), writing:

The first Rome collapsed owing to its heresies, the second Rome fell a victim to the Turks, but a new and third Rome has sprung up in the north, illuminating the whole universe like a sun . . . The First and second Rome have fallen, but the third will stand till the end of history, for it is the last Rome. Moscow has no successor; a fourth Rome is inconceivable.⁵⁷⁵

In a number of other books, Zernov gives a more elaborate quotation from Philotheos to Basil III, wherein we read:

The Church of old Rome fell for its heresy; the gates of the second Rome, Constantinople, were hewn down by the axes of the infidel Turks; but the Church of Moscow, the Church of the new Rome, shines brighter than the sun in the whole universe. Thou art the one universal sovereign of all Christian folk, thou shouldst hold the reins in awe of God; fear Him Who hath committed them to thee. Two Romes are fallen, but the third stands fast; a fourth there cannot be. Thy Christian kingdom shall not be given to another.⁵⁷⁶

This statement, despite being an 'ode' to a political leader, creates a number of questions, which are not dealt with by Nicolas Zernov in any of his books or articles. He maintains this belief, without further examining its convictions. For example, he does not explain why Moscow is the last Rome. Why cannot there be a fourth? Additionally, he does not point out the political reasons for such a move, which can be understood as giving a prestigious status to Russia, in respect to its relations with the European monarchs of the time.⁵⁷⁷ Zernov merely claimed that Russia is a distinct part of Christianity, in regards to Rome and Constantinople. He gave an interesting comparison, whereby he acknowledges what all three Romes have given to Christianity, claiming:

⁵⁷⁴ Zernov, 1937, p35.(A).

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid., p.36.

⁵⁷⁶ Zernov, 1978, p.49.

⁵⁷⁷ For more information on the political side of this belief and elevation see: Laats, Alar, 'The Concept of the Third Rome and its Political Implications,' http://www.ksk.edu.ee/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/KVUOA_Toimetised_12-Laats.pdf, accessed: 19/03/2015, 17.32.

Rome bequeathed to mankind the idea of law, discipline and order, and these elements of her civilisation were later incorporated in the imposing system of the Roman Catholic Church. Constantinople introduced into the life of Christendom the unique intellectual and artistic achievements of Greece; and the gift of the Second Rome was the formulation of Christian doctrine. Moscow could not compete in either of these spheres with her great predecessors. Her special domain was the art of Christian living; the application of Christianity to the corporate daily life of the people. And here her contribution was of the first importance. Her ideal was that of a Christian State living as one family . . . The sense of being one community experienced by the Russians was spontaneous and organic. It arose not from obedience to authority, nor from the idea of duty, nor from intellectual agreement: it was due to a pattern of life, a rhythm of existence which was lovingly designed, built and followed by the entire population. Innumerable Church customs and home traditions provided the content of that ritual of daily life which was the most distinctive mark of Russian culture.⁵⁷⁸

Zernov, therefore, wishes to point out the significance of the Russian Church within the global context of Orthodoxy and to show its contribution towards the Orthodox Church. In his book, *The Russians and their Church*, Zernov gives an interesting idea, of the 'three distinct stages in the evolution of the Church.'⁵⁷⁹ Explaining the distinctive gifts and contributions Rome, Constantinople and Moscow have given to Christianity, he also corresponds each city to a Trinitarian hypostasis; therefore, Rome 'reveals to mankind the Fatherhood of God,'⁵⁸⁰ New Rome 'reveals the Second Person of the Trinity – the Logos,'⁵⁸¹ and finally, Moscow, 'praises the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth and Giver of Life.'⁵⁸² Thus, Zernov acknowledges Russia as the successor of Byzantium, protecting the Orthodox Church worldwide. However, he also understands that 'the great vision of Russia's universal mission became the source of an extreme national pride, which isolated the country from the rest of the world.'⁵⁸³ Therefore, theoretical beliefs did not coincide with the practical side of events. Zernov believed that, 'the message of the Russian Church still is that Christians must trust and obey the Holy Spirit, "the Comforter, the Giver of Life," the source of unity and freedom.'⁵⁸⁴ If his previous idea of Moscow representing the Holy Spirit is accepted, then Moscow should be considered as the Church which can bring unity. However, as is evident through the ecclesiastical history of Russia and the Ecumenical Movement, this objective was not achieved. On the other hand, the Russian isolation was further identified, when the Tsar sought to undertake the liberation of the Orthodox peoples who were under Ottoman rule. This was a continuation of a conviction people had in Russia, whereby they 'believed that a leading role is assigned to them in the history of

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., p.50.

⁵⁷⁹ Zernov, 1978, p.179.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Ibid., p.180.

⁵⁸³ Zernov, 1937, p53.(A).

⁵⁸⁴ Zernov, 1978, p.183.

mankind.⁵⁸⁵ However, Russia could not achieve this objective when at the same time she would despise those Orthodox who did not follow the Russian traditions. Zernov explains that, 'if she was to become the political centre of the Orthodox world she had to enlarge her vision and conquer her national pride.'⁵⁸⁶ This, evidently, goes against what St Sergius, the Builder of Russia, believed, in regards to the Church's role. 'St Sergius saw and realized a glorious vision of the Oecumenicity of the Church. He understood that every nation and race has its own contribution to bring into the life of the Church Universal.'⁵⁸⁷

This fact points out the reality that Russia was unable to lead the Orthodox world, despite its will of ecclesiastical primacy in Orthodoxy. Additionally, Moscow could not maintain this role, since 'the Russia of Moscow was a Christian outpost of the Asiatic world,'⁵⁸⁸ giving a new and very different character to Christianity, in comparison to its predecessors, Rome and New Rome. However, Zernov derives to an interesting conclusion, whereby he claims that 'neither Constantinople nor Moscow lived up to their ideal; but their failure does not rob them of significance, for they beheld a great vision, ennobling and uplifting mankind.'⁵⁸⁹

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Third Rome idea 'circulated among churchmen, and even in clerical circles it was not popular and received no substantial development.'⁵⁹⁰ Peter the Great (1682-1725) went against the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome. Peter saw Russia progressing only if it left behind its 'Messianic dreams and her exclusiveness.'⁵⁹¹ The idea, however, revived in the 1860s 'for the mundane reason that the texts containing the idea [Philotheos' letters] were published for the first time.'⁵⁹² After the 1860s, could we truly refer to Moscow as the Third Rome? If we are to bring it closer to the modern epoch, can Moscow be the Third Rome, when at the same time it became the centre of Communism, of Soviet Power? Intriguingly, "'Communist" imperialism, it seemed, could be understood as a modern reflection of the long-time Russian aspiration to be the "Third Rome".'⁵⁹³ Additionally, can we maintain the idea of a Third Rome, when at the same time there is no Tsar, no protector of the faith? Is every political leader in modern Russia to be considered a Tsar for the Orthodox world? Interestingly enough, 'the

⁵⁸⁵ Zernov, 1978, p.176.

⁵⁸⁶ Zernov, 1937, p68.(A).

⁵⁸⁷ Zernov, 1939, p.109. (B).

⁵⁸⁸ Zernov, 1961, p.141.(B).

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., p.142.

⁵⁹⁰ Poe, Marshall T., "'Moscow, the Third Rome" The Origins and Transformations of a Pivotal Moment,' <http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/nceer/1997-811-25-Poe.pdf>, 1997, accessed 02/09/2015, 20.48, (Massachusetts, Harvard University, 1997), p.i.

⁵⁹¹ Zernov, 1937), p.76.(A).

⁵⁹² Poe, 1997, p.ii.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., p.14.

advent of Communism in Russia gave “Third Rome” new and unexpected relevance.⁵⁹⁴ The idea of Third Rome coincided with Lenin’s Third International.⁵⁹⁵ Therefore, it is apparent that the belief of Moscow as Third Rome has had a troubling history, not only outside of Russia, but also within the Russian Empire. Thus, it is invalid, today, to talk of a Third Rome. This existed as an idea, not accepted by many, especially outside Russian circles; however, the troubling Russian history of the twentieth century promotes the view that this is an anachronistic idea, not able to exist today. Additionally, this examination creates a number of questions. Why was Zernov promoting an idea of Moscow as Third Rome at a time when the Russian capital was the centre of Communism? Was it to be understood that Moscow, even under its Soviet existence, was to be considered Third Rome? And, therefore, the leader of the Communist party – taking the role of Emperor/ Tsar – as the protector and head of the Orthodox Church? Identifying the practice of the Orthodox countries in the East, it seems anachronistic to endeavour to promote and establish the idea of Emperor, since no monarch exists in the East. Therefore, today the head of the Church is not the king, emperor or tsar, but the respected patriarch or archbishop or synod.

An answer to these questions is that Zernov was merely promoting the significance of Russia in the Orthodox Church and on a global scale, maintaining a ‘theocentric position.’⁵⁹⁶ It was a way of promoting his Russianness. Through this we may be able to maintain that ‘Zernov had no illusion about the condition of the Moscow Patriarchate but supported it out of feelings of solidarity with the believers in the Soviet Union.’⁵⁹⁷ However, raising the idea of Third Rome, during a Communist era for Russia could be also understood as propaganda, as a way of trying to bring others closer to an imperialistic and pan-Slavic understanding of politics, religion and church relations. Therefore, it can be stated that in advancing this idea, in a time when Russia was not a Christian state, Zernov created problems. Could we truly speak of Moscow as Third Rome at a time when Russia was officially an atheist country, led by Communist ideology and practice? Moreover, how can Zernov and others maintain this idea when, due to Communist Russia, the Russian Church saw a schism within its existence, giving thus birth to the Russian Church Outside of Russia, also known as ROCOR.⁵⁹⁸ Therefore, despite this ideology attempting to unite the Orthodox under one centre, Moscow, it is apparent that this was not able to be realised, especially when the Russian Church was, in fact, being dismembered from within.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., p.12.

⁵⁹⁵ More on this is examined by Berdyaev in his book: Berdyaev, Nikolai A., *The Russian Revolution*, (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1971).

⁵⁹⁶ Arjakovsky, Antoine, *The Way*, (Notre Dame – Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 2013), p.440.

⁵⁹⁷ Birchall, Christopher, *Embassy, Emigrants, and Englishmen – The Three Hundred Year History of a Russian Orthodox Church in London*, (Jordanville, Holy Trinity Publications, 2014), p.340.

⁵⁹⁸ For more information on ROCOR please visit: Russian, Orthodox Church, http://www.russianorthodoxchurch.ws/synod/enghistory/enhis_rocor.html, accessed 25/08/2015, 17/08.

Zernov's belief could possibly stand and could be accepted by Orthodox and non-Orthodox. However, the argument leading to this belief can be considered false and void, especially when looking at it from a non-Russian point of view. In order to understand it, a comparison needs to be undertaken, giving a more pan-Orthodox view on this subject.

The Third Rome idea is problematic for many, outside Russian Orthodox circles. The difficulty arises from the wording used to express this new idea. Many Russians, such as Zernov, promote the idea of Third Rome, presupposing that there was a First and a Second Rome. However, if we are to be faithful to the terminology used by the Church, in its Canons, then we cannot speak about First, Second, Third, but about Old Rome (Rome) and New Rome (Constantinople). We find this in the Second Ecumenical Council (381), Canon 3, where we read: 'The Bishop of Constantinople, however, shall have the prerogative of honour after the Bishop of Rome; because Constantinople is New Rome.'⁵⁹⁹ In the Quinsext Council (691), Canon 36, we read:

Renewing the enactments by the 150 Fathers assembled at the God-protected and imperial city, and those of the 630 who met at Chalcedon; we decree that the see of Constantinople shall have equal privileges with the see of Old Rome, and shall be highly regarded in ecclesiastical matters as that is, and shall be second after it. After Constantinople shall be ranked the See of Alexandria, then that of Antioch, and afterwards the See of Jerusalem.⁶⁰⁰

In the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451), Canon 28, we read:

Following in all things the decisions of the holy Fathers, and acknowledging the canon, which has been just read, of the One Hundred and Fifty Bishops beloved-of-God (who assembled in the imperial city of Constantinople, which is New Rome, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius of happy memory), we also do enact and decree the same things concerning the privileges of the most holy Church of Constantinople, which is New Rome. For the Fathers rightly granted privileges to the throne of old Rome, because it was the royal city. And the One Hundred and Fifty most religious Bishops, actuated by the same consideration, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, justly judging that the city which is honoured with the Sovereignty and the Senate, and enjoys equal privileges with the old imperial Rome, should in ecclesiastical matters also be magnified as she is, and rank next after her . . .⁶⁰¹

These examples point out the fact that the Canonical terminology is Old and New Rome and not First, Second and Third. Additionally, it clearly shows that a status is given to a Church after the whole body of the Orthodox Church decides upon this, through an Ecumenical or Local Council. In regards to the Third Rome ideology, a few within Russia promoted this idea, on their own, without it being decided upon in a Council.

⁵⁹⁹ Αγαπίου, 1982, p.157.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., p.252.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., p.206

A further reason for the insistence on the terms used by the Ecumenical Councils is the fact that the transition from Old to New Rome happened, in fact, within the same Empire. Byzantium was founded within the Roman Empire, relocating its capital to the East. It later highlighted its Eastern and Greek character; nonetheless, it did begin as a continuation of its Roman history, culture, political entity and law. This, however, did not happen in the case of Russia. The latter's persistence on this new idea could be acknowledged as an establishment of 'the tsarist theocratic pan Slavic ideology, namely the establishment of a politico-religious totalitarianism based on Orthodoxy and a strong arm of the Slavic core of the Russian Empire in the autocracy of the Tsars.'⁶⁰²

Additionally, in an official capacity, the title New Rome is still maintained to this day, as one of the titles of the Ecumenical Patriarch, whereby he is known as Archbishop of Constantinople – New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch. On the other hand the official title of the Patriarch of Moscow is His Holiness the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. No mention of Third Rome. This emphasises the fact that, officially, the Moscow Patriarchate does not use the title or the term Third Rome, when referring to Moscow, going against the belief of a few Russians who maintain this idea. Furthermore, when looking at the diptychs of the Orthodox Church⁶⁰³ we identify the fact that the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia maintains the fifth place, whilst the Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Ecumenical Patriarch upholds the primacy of honour. Therefore, the Russian idea of Third Rome, seems to be voided by the practice of the Orthodox Church.

This argument might be understood as a competition between the Greek and the Russian Churches. This can be verified by the Moscow Council of 1666-67, where the disputed issue of Constantinople and Moscow's primacy was discussed. The Old Believers believed that 'the superiority of Moscow was manifest in the existence of an Orthodox monarch, whereas the Greeks, having lost their State, were deprived of their superiority.'⁶⁰⁴ Significantly, and this is not expressed by Zernov, the Russian Church at this Council 'had to submit itself at least theologically and canonically to the Greek Church and had to declare that the literary sources of the idea of the Third Rome were fabrications.'⁶⁰⁵ However, even within Russia this idea is not followed by all. It does exist in today's Russia. 'Scholarly opinion concerning the doctrine is divided: though many specialists

⁶⁰² Μπέγζος, Μάριος, 'Η Αθήνα απέναντι στην «Τρίτη Ρώμη», *Social Opinion*, <http://socialopinion.gr/%CF%83%CF%87%CF%8C%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%B1/87-%CE%A3%CF%87%CF%8C%CE%BB%CE%B9%CE%B1/328-%CE%97-%CE%91%CE%B8%CE%AE%CE%BD%CE%B1-%CE%B1%CF%80%CE%AD%CE%BD%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B9-%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B7%CE%BD-%C2%AB%CE%A4%CF%81%CE%AF%CF%84%CE%B7-%CE%A1%CF%8E%CE%BC%CE%B7%CE%BB>, accessed 19.03.2015, 18.15.

⁶⁰³ The diptychs of the Orthodox Church is a list of names of the primates of the Orthodox Church worldwide, showing unity in faith, doctrine and worship between the Orthodox Churches.

⁶⁰⁴ Zernov, 1983, p.72.

⁶⁰⁵ Bercken, Wil can den, *Holy Russia and Christian Europe – East and West in the Religious Ideology of Russia*, (London, SCM Press, 1999), p.166.

argue that “Third Rome” was never very important in Old Russia;⁶⁰⁶ nevertheless, it is still believed that Philotheos’ conviction was the official doctrine in Moscow. In the post-Communist era, many non-academics in both Russia and in the West maintain this idea, ‘in search of a post-Communist “Russian idea”’.⁶⁰⁷

The Third Rome idea’s importance is understood by many within the Orthodox Church due to the political, financial and most importantly ecclesiological complications it produces. Despite not being a formal belief, it is acknowledged as an informal reality, which many in the Russian Church wish to believe and maintain even during its Soviet era, as did Zernov, and during the current post-Soviet epoch. It can also be understood as the rise and prevalence of Russian nationalism, an ‘increased confidence of the Russian Church.’⁶⁰⁸ Interestingly enough, the primacy in Orthodoxy might even be a theme in the next Pan-Orthodox Synod, scheduled for 2016, which could form new jurisdictional realities in the so-called Orthodox diaspora.⁶⁰⁹

Christian Unity (Branch Theory)

Examining the life of Nicolas Zernov and observing his work in regards to the Ecumenical Movement and the Fellowship, it is easily identifiable that he was a great supporter of the idea of Christian Unity. This is also expressed in his last book, where he writes: ‘I entered the ranks of the ecumenical movement in its early pioneering years, when it was headed by broadminded and strong-willed men and women who dedicated themselves selflessly and disinterestedly to this sacred cause.’⁶¹⁰

His endeavour of Christian Unity began very early in his life, when he left Russia for the West. There he understood the importance of establishing relations with other Christians. In his last book, Zernov explains

When I left Russia I was convinced that the only true Church was the Orthodox Church, and that all Christians in the West were the victims of error. When I met the heterodox face to face I gradually changed my convictions. It was not that I began to doubt the truth of Orthodoxy – on the contrary the Orthodox Church was then revealed to me in all the richness of its spiritual gifts – but I learnt that it is not given to us to know the frontiers of the Church, and from my experience I became convinced that the Holy Spirit had not denied His gifts to Western Christians or

⁶⁰⁶ Poe, 1997, p.14.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Williams, Rowan, Appendix 2, p.-13-.

⁶⁰⁹ The topics of discussion at the 2016 Pan-Orthodox Synod are explained here: Χρυσαιγής, Ιωάννης, ‘Η μεγάλη Σύνοδος της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας το 2016,’ *Amen*, <http://www.amen.gr/article/i-megali-sunodos-tis-orthodoxis-ekklisias-to-2016>, accessed, 16/11/2015, 16.02.

⁶¹⁰ Zernov, 1983, p.58.

deprived them of the grace which transforms the lives of such very different people and nations, overcoming their errors, sins and divisions.⁶¹¹

The reconciliation process of the Church was a reality. There was an increasing longing among the different Christian denominations to come closer to each other, to study in depth the traditions, beliefs and practices of the other and to 'rediscover their common allegiance to Christ.'⁶¹² Importantly, Nicolas Zernov's endeavour was not restricted to the unity of the Orthodox and the Anglicans: he also wrote a book (*The Christian East*, 1956) and a number of articles on the relations between the Eastern Orthodox and Indian Christianity, specifically the Syrian Orthodox Church of Malabar. However, Zernov identified the unique connection the Orthodox and the Anglicans had, establishing, therefore, a significant relation. He believed that 'the East needs the help and inspiration of the West, just as the Western Christians can benefit by the friendly co-operation of the Orthodox.'⁶¹³ Additionally, he believed that the Orthodox and the Anglicans have a similar organisational structure, whereby each Church is quite liberated, in contrast to the centralised Roman paradigm.⁶¹⁴ Additionally, both churches have as head of their respected churches a monarch.⁶¹⁵ Therefore, we could state that the two churches also converged into dialogue and relations due to their monarchic nature.

Zernov continued by claiming that the Orthodox 'have more in common with Anglicans, as far as their constitution is concerned, than with any other Western Confession, and this similarity in organization reflects a general similarity in outlook, which is one of the remarkable features of Anglican Orthodox relations.'⁶¹⁶ Additionally, Nicolas understood that the Anglican Communion possess all the essential prerequisites for a friendly progress towards the Eastern Church, identifying that 'the only thing that is lacking is the realization of the urgency of the task, and the corresponding determination to tackle it in a practical manner.'⁶¹⁷

⁶¹¹ Ibid., p.87.

⁶¹² Zernov, 1961, p.117.(A).

⁶¹³ Zernov, 1961, p.xii.(A).

⁶¹⁴ Rowan Williams also comments on this, when interviewed for this dissertation, claiming: 'one of the things which Orthodox and Anglican do sort of have in common, is the idea that there is no one central supreme executive authority in the church and therefore local churches are quite properly, in some sense, self-governing . . .' Williams, Rowan, Appendix 2, p.-18-. Additionally the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Archbishop of Canterbury are *Primus Inter Pares*, in their respected ecclesiastical bodies. This is further explained in: Chessun, Christopher, 'Patriarchy & Dispersion,' *Koinonia*, New Series No. 66, Allsaintside 2015, pp.7-16.

⁶¹⁵ This does not currently exist within Orthodoxy, since there is no central monarchic figure in the East. It did, however, exist historically during the Byzantine epoch.

⁶¹⁶ Zernov, Nicolas, *The Christian East*, (Delhi, SPCK, 1956), p.32.

⁶¹⁷ Zernov, 1952, p.91.(A).

The disunity of the Church was comprehended as a key problem in the life and mission of the Church, according to Nicolas Zernov,

Under the assault of the forces of evil the Church has even yielded to disunity and flung open its doors to personal rivalries, national strivings and racial pride. The loss of oneness among those who profess the Trinitarian religion of love and concord is an inner contradiction fatal to the success of their mission.⁶¹⁸

'The creeds, ecclesiastical organizations and forms of worship of the competing confessions are so varied that at first glance the task of reunion appears to be a hopeless enterprise.'⁶¹⁹ However, Zernov believed in the 'truth of Christianity,'⁶²⁰ whereby unity plays a dominant role; without it the Christian world seems to be 'infected with exclusiveness, and even with hostility to one another.'⁶²¹ Zernov understood the need for unity as a pressing issue. He did not limit this topic only to the Orthodox Church, but saw it in a pan-Christian context, believing that 'the restoration of communion between the East and the West is an indispensable condition for the invigoration of the Church and for the expansion of Christian culture.'⁶²² The interesting fact is that most Christians are not concerned or aware of the genuine causes of their divisions. 'The greatest enemy to reunion is the spiritual apathy of Church members, their acquiescence in division, and want to genuine desire to see unity restored.'⁶²³ This is problematic, when endeavouring to bring the various Christian traditions closer to each other, either on a theoretical or a practical level. Therefore, a true understanding of the causes of the schism (or even schisms) need to be established in order to improve the relations and achieve the objective of the relations. 'The healing of the schism ought therefore to begin by a restoration of trust and charity, in which atmosphere mutual understanding on doctrinal matters could more easily be achieved.'⁶²⁴

Zernov's ideas and writings border some innovative beliefs, especially from an Orthodox point of view. He takes this path in order to achieve his ultimate goal, Christian unity. With this in mind, it is not strange, from an Ecumenical approach, that he might seem to adopt the branch theory, a theory which is alien to the Orthodox Tradition and ecclesiology, but one which is accepted by the Anglican Communion. In this part of the dissertation Christian unity and ideas of the branch theory are given, as understood by Zernov, identifying what a protagonist of the Ecumenical Movement of the twentieth century understood, when examining and promoting the idea of

⁶¹⁸ Zernov, Nicolas, *St Sergius Builder of Russia*, (London, SPCK, 1939), pp.102-103.(A).

⁶¹⁹ Zernov, 1961, p.4.(A).

⁶²⁰ Zernov, Nicolas, *The Church of the Eastern Christians*, (London, SPCK, 1946), p.1.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Zernov, 1973, p.x.(A).

⁶²³ Zernov, 1946, p.102.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., p.15.

Christian unity. These two ideas are comprehended as being related, especially when Zernov stated that the 'Christian Churches have much more in common than they formerly admitted,'⁶²⁵ and that 'the old habit of belittling other confessions must be given up in face of modern martyrdoms.'⁶²⁶ On the other hand, he does maintain a very Orthodox approach, whereby he claims, for example, that 'a follower of Christ has to choose between truth and charity, and the general consent of the faithful favours the opinion that the defence of truth is more important and more pleasing to God than charity towards heretics.'⁶²⁷ For many, these new concepts might be understood as heretical; however, it is crucial to analyse them and observe the evolution of Zernov's thoughts on Christian unity, which can be also accepted as a new and revised understanding for moving forward.

Zernov promoted the idea that our attitude should change towards one another. It is apparent that each Christian denomination has considered its beliefs as the only correct one, condemning anything that was considered as the truth by the others. Christians were unable to even learn from each other, seeing this as distrustful and dubious. Nevertheless, Zernov acknowledged that now, with the establishment of the Ecumenical Movement and the WCC, 'the time has come for us to learn that all Christians stand for the same truth, though they present it under various interpretations.'⁶²⁸ This can be considered a bold statement, not accepted by many today, especially within Orthodoxy. However, it is imperative to understand the Ecumenical Movement as a bold idea, as a goal that needs to be achieved not only by people, but also with the guidance and the blessing of the Holy Spirit. Zernov acknowledged the significance of the WCC, believing that it maintained a responsibility for Christian reconciliation. He believed that 'the responsibility for peace and concord rests on all divided Christians, but nothing can be done efficiently until some individuals accept the challenge and consecrate their lives to this purpose.'⁶²⁹ With the establishment of the WCC this was of course realised, allowing for people such as Zernov to endeavour to achieve Christian unity and reconciliation.

In regards to the WCC and the general Ecumenical Movement, it is noticeable that Zernov comprehended the existence of the opponents of this new development. Many Christians, especially Orthodox and Roman Catholic would maintain that the Church has never been divided. Zernov explained that

Some Christians arrive at this paradoxical conclusion by proclaiming their own confession to be the one true Church and all who are not members of it apostates

⁶²⁵ Ibid., p.4

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Zernov, 1952, p.38.(A).

⁶²⁸ Zernov, 1946, p.4.

⁶²⁹ Zernov, 1952, p.68.(A).

and as such excluded from its sacred precincts. Such an outlook automatically eliminated the possibility of a genuine reintegration and can only be satisfied with complete capitulation.⁶³⁰

Despite the existence of the Ecumenical Movement for decades, and notwithstanding the fact that a lot has been achieved since the beginning of the official talks, the dialogue seems to be reaching difficult levels, when examining the 'negative creeds.'⁶³¹ Zernov explains that, 'here ignorance, prejudice and pride have had a free hand and have wrought havoc upon their relations with each other.'⁶³² Therefore, this can verify the belief the critics have in regards to the existence and future of the Ecumenical Movement, whereby they see a dead end to the relations and talks. This, however, is also facilitated by the fact that those involved in the official relations hesitate between two paths, either reunion or the maintenance of the current estrangement. 'They are trying hard to avoid a final decision, and they indulge in negotiations which do not commit them to any immediate action.'⁶³³ This is evident when examining the Official Statements, which tend to take the middle ground on any issue, without having any effect on either churches, being more of an academic achievement than a practical one.

Zernov believed that the slow process was due to the existence of psychological barriers, especially from the scope of the faithful and the general body of the Church. The Official Statements show that a common language can be achieved; this could lead the way for an establishment of a common dogmatic language in the future. However, the psychological differences that exist between the different denominations make any progress in the reunion process an impossibility. Zernov identifies a number of issues, which do not only relate to further reconciliation between the Anglicans and the Orthodox, but can be seen as a catholic problem within Ecumenical Relations. He believed that national pride and the fact that Christians fail to understand the Ecumenical nature of the Church is a key issue. 'Nationalistic principles in the Church come to obscure within us our oecumenical consciousness.'⁶³⁴ However, it is crucial to comprehend that only if we maintain the ecumenicity of the Church will we achieve final reunion of Christianity. Furthermore, a chronic difficulty in the progress of the relations is, undoubtedly, the lack of knowledge about each other. What is evident, even today, is the fact that both Anglicans and Orthodox are continuously re-introducing themselves, maintaining thus the initial stages of this relation. Differences in culture is another concern, which evidently highlights the dissimilarities between East and West. We can add

⁶³⁰ Zernov, 1961, p.118.(A).

⁶³¹ Ibid., p.121.

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Zernov, 1952, pp.104-105.(A).

⁶³⁴ Zernov, Nicolas, 'Psychological Barriers to Reunion', *Journal of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius*, No. 2, September 1928, p.23.

that this always existed, since the East maintained a Greek character, whilst the West a Latin understanding of Christianity. A final challenge can be comprehended in regards to how the future reunion will be achieved. Both Anglicans and Orthodox understand reunion and its methodology in very different ways.

It is not wrong to assume that Zernov's insistence on Christian Unity was not only based on theological issues. He had stated that 'the immediate practical obstacles to reunion are mostly political, cultural and national in character.'⁶³⁵ Therefore, if we are to maintain the belief that the schism, or schisms, happened for theological, political, cultural and national reasons, then it is easy to comprehend that a solution should be found on all these issues. This, of course, was the case when looking at the East, when Russia and many Balkan Orthodox states were under Communist rule. The fact that the Christian world was disunited, made it easier for the enemies of the faith to establish themselves. Zernov claimed that 'a reunited Church could be properly armed for resistance to the iron rule of those who deny God and enslave man – the crown of His Creation.'⁶³⁶ The political reasons for further unity and relations between the numerous denominations did not only occur, when looking at the political situation in Eastern Europe; global politics, two World Wars, the increase of totalitarianism globally obliged the Christians to identify a deeper understanding of their existence, of their lack of unity; it made them want to pursue an ecclesiastical purpose. Therefore, in Zernov's eyes the renewal of Christian unity became imperative during the twentieth century.

It is important, however, to also understand the fact that Nicolas Zernov was not ignorant of the past practices and beliefs both the East and the West had in respect to the relations, and how they perceived each other. In his writings he did identify the problems; nevertheless, he did observe them by criticising both. He believed that

Both parties wilfully persisted in their errors; one side was arrogant, the other unforgiving: the West tried hard to induce the East to submit: the latter remained firm in its refusal to open its heart and mind to those who had formerly been brothers, and who had violated the bond of peace and love.⁶³⁷

Therefore, if reconciliation is to be attained in the future, or seen as a serious objective on the road to establishing Christian unity, then both the West and the East need to 'replace their traditional hostility to one another with tolerance and co-operation.'⁶³⁸ Christian unity cannot go forward without the minds of the Christians being 'cleansed of deep-rooted prejudices, misunderstandings

⁶³⁵Zernov, 1961, p.169.(A).

⁶³⁶ Zernov, 1973, p.168.(A).

⁶³⁷ Zernov, 1946, p.14.

⁶³⁸ Zernov, 1961, p.2.(A).

and resentments.⁶³⁹ Nonetheless, it has been apparent that each confession wished 'to lay all the blame on the others.'⁶⁴⁰ This is important, when trying to find the reasons behind why disunity persists within the Christian world. Zernov gave a valid interpretation of this, whereby he argued,

The vast majority of Christians seek to avoid acceptance of any responsibility for their continued quarrels, and ignore the glaring inconsistency between their acceptance of the command of love and unity, and their unwillingness to apply it to their relations with each other. Every confessional group has developed its own method of escape from the hard and unpleasant task of reconciliation.⁶⁴¹

Nevertheless, Zernov wished to point out ways of achieving unity. He saw the disunity, which had preserved the notion of distrust between the Christians, as a great evil. Additionally, Zernov believed that 'disunity persists because of their unreadiness to trust the power of divine grace.'⁶⁴²

When examining the notion of unity, each Christian denomination understands this very differently. The Orthodox and the Roman Catholics understand Christian unity as a return to their Church, respectively. However, the Anglicans and Protestants take a different stance. According to Zernov,

The refusal of the Roman and Eastern Orthodox Christians to give up their discipline and doctrine is interpreted by Protestants as an act of pride, and they see themselves in the favourable light of peacemakers. This disposition is strengthened in many of them by their belief that confessional divergencies do not matter, and that the absence of doctrinal and sacramental agreement does not affect the essential oneness of all faithful people. Many Protestants are therefore reconciled to loss of organic unity, and simply advocate practical co-operation.⁶⁴³

However, despite each denomination having a varied understanding of disunity and how unity may be attained, it seems that all try and achieve to blame the other. In a number of instances it is observed that there is a refusal in accepting that the Church is currently divided. Nonetheless, it is crucial to understand what is the objective in regards to Christian unity? Should the various Christian denominations endeavour to achieve quick results? Here we are reminded of Fr. George Florovski's claim, whereby 'the highest and most promising "ecumenical virtue" is patience.'⁶⁴⁴ However, if a rushed reconciliation or ecclesiastical unity were achieved, this might create further schisms in the Body of the Church, being considered a 'toleration of falsehood'⁶⁴⁵ and a 'compromise with error.'⁶⁴⁶

⁶³⁹ Zernov, 1952, p.45.(A).

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid., p.29.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., p.30.

⁶⁴² Ibid., p.29.

⁶⁴³ Zernov, 1952, pp.30-31.(A).

⁶⁴⁴ Ware, 1997, p.307.

⁶⁴⁵ Zernov, 1952, p.37.(A).

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.

Therefore, the methodological process and real objectives are crucial in order to achieve positive and valid results.

Zernov criticises the fact that many Church hierarchs have tried to achieve speedy developments in the field of Church unity, claiming that

Many of them were tempted to obtain quick results; they wanted to improve on God's plan, and instead of adhering to the spirit of the New Covenant based on love and freedom, they endeavoured to build their oneness on some other foundation, such as ecclesiastical obedience, uniformity in worship, or state protection. By so doing they have misused divine grace and exposed themselves to all the disintegrating forces of fallen nature.⁶⁴⁷

From the above, it is apparent that the numerous Christian churches have shown a limited Christian creativity and inspiration, failing thus to comprehend the true objective of the Church. Also, the infancy of their love, which inevitably doubts God's power to alter the hearts and minds of those who strive and pray for the re-unification of the global Church, maintains the belief that the disunity of Christianity will always exist. Certainly, this highlights the fact that 'the divided Christians in the heat of their theological debate have overlooked the mystery of their divisions.'⁶⁴⁸ Interestingly enough, Zernov gave an important explanation of the reality of the current division, believing that

Christians today do not want unity, they are afraid of it as of a new and disturbing factor which is bound to upset their customary ways. It is essential to face this cardinal fact frankly. A certain limited number of Christians are prepared to accept in theory the advantages of reunion, but even they are usually not ready to dedicate their lives to this cause, whilst the vast majority of them are opposed to the whole idea of reconciliation. They are used to their separate existence, they feel comfortable in their denominational compartments, and they have no desire to come nearer to other Christians with their unfamiliar outlook and customs.⁶⁴⁹

This negative, but realistic approach emphasises the difficulties of the relations in the modern era, whilst also pointing out the forward thinking of Zernov, who criticised the practices and beliefs of those who went against the modern relations between the churches. Additionally, what should be stressed is the fact that 'reconciliation between Christians cannot be achieved solely by their own efforts.'⁶⁵⁰ The Holy Spirit will assist and lead the way of reconciliation, because 'neither man's good will, nor the best scholarship, but only divine grace can make one body out of the great variety of persons, nations and races which compose the human family.'⁶⁵¹ Interestingly enough, Zernov

⁶⁴⁷ Zernov, 1952, pp.31-32.(A).

⁶⁴⁸ Zernov, 1961, p.15.(A).

⁶⁴⁹ Zernov, 1952, p.105.(A).

⁶⁵⁰ Zernov, 1956, p.127.

⁶⁵¹ Zernov, 1952, p.50.(A).

comprehends reconciliation as 'a prophetic vocation,'⁶⁵² maintaining, thus, for him a significant objective, which will be realised only when the Christians from the various denominations cease to distrust and dislike one another. However, this cannot happen now, since 'the separated members of the Church do not feel guilty of the sin of division.'⁶⁵³ This, of course, makes them unable to ask for divine assistance and, most importantly, forgiveness. What is apparent, is the fact that a sense of pride and self-satisfaction is dominant within the numerous denominational groups, verifying thus the maintenance of the denominational paradigm. Zernov went as far as to claim that

Divided Christians even go so far as to question the needs for charisma, and they confidently expect to be able to fulfil their task without that powerful assistance of the Holy Spirit which was experienced by the Christians of old. They are sceptical as to the possibility of their organic reintegration because they do not trust God's ability to change men and to make them new creatures.⁶⁵⁴

How is the healing of schism to be achieved in our modern era, in the age of Ecumenism? Zernov believed that 'the healing of schisms must begin with severe self-examination; only when members of each confession accept their guilt in the disruption of Christian fellowship will the reintegration of the Church become a practical task instead of remaining an unattainable ideal.'⁶⁵⁵ Zernov gives a noteworthy analysis of how reconciliation can be achieved, by using medical terminology and methodology, thus following the Orthodox language, explaining that

Reconciliation may be compared with a treatment of bodily injury. First the wound must be cleaned and foreign particles removed, secondly an antiseptic dressing is required, thirdly the natural health of the body completes the healing process.

The same three stages can be traced in the work of reunion. There must first be the removal of all man-made obstacles, then the application of the medicine of sacramental grace, and finally, through full sharing in the charismatic gifts, the life of the reintegrated Church will heal the sin of schism⁶⁵⁶.

It is apparent that the Christian denominations love God, and each other (those who belong to their own churches), but find it difficult to show that love to their fellow Christians, who, in many instances, they acknowledge as enemies. Moreover, loving one's 'Christian enemies' should be a goal in life, in order to achieve this Christian unity. This, however, is a revolutionary idea for the secular world, but not for the Christians, since this exists in the Bible; additionally, it is a difficult objective that all Christians should always strive for. It is, undoubtedly, a challenging idea, which contradicts our secular understanding of our existence, whereby not everyone can or wishes to

⁶⁵² Zernov, 1961, p.128.(A).

⁶⁵³ Zernov, 1952, p.105.(A).

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.105-106.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid., p.44.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.44-45.

achieve it. This, nonetheless, also affects the ecclesiastical life and relations. If we are to 'love our enemies' (Matthew 5:44), as Christ proclaimed, and we identify each denomination as 'the enemy' then we can reach a better understanding of each other, resulting in the furtherance of Christian unity. Fr Sophrony Sakhravov, from the Stavropegic Monastery of St John the Baptist, Essex, examines this significant issue, stating that

'Love your enemies.' Yes, it is difficult. Yes, it is painful. But the moral beauty of Christ attracts us to such a degree that we are ready to bear all trials, as long as we are being raised up into His Spirit. There is no other choice. Christ has given His divine life to those who are created in His image, but the only response He received was hatred . . .⁶⁵⁷

According to Nicolas, 'the vast majority of Christians have retained a substantial oneness of belief in the main dogmas of Christianity.'⁶⁵⁸ This gives hope for the future realisation of Christian unity, which is a goal everyone in the Ecumenical movement has. This also promotes a problematic thinking, when identifying his beliefs from an Orthodox point of view. From the above, it seems that Zernov might have believed and accepted the branch theory, which is not part of Orthodox Tradition. The Orthodox Church perceives itself as being the 'One, Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,' as professed in the Creed; therefore, there is no space for accepting the Protestant belief. Nevertheless, there are occasions where some Orthodox theologians (although certainly not the Orthodox Church in general) speak about 'the sister Churches of the West, and recognize their hierarchy and sacraments.'⁶⁵⁹ Also, the Orthodox believe in the Economy of the Church, whereby specks of the truth exist outside of its life and borders. Interestingly enough, Zernov seems to go against the arrogance of one church of promoting itself as the source and perpetuator of the truth, claiming that

Nothing can drive a deeper wedge among them and separate them more effectively from the source of unity than the claim to a monopoly of heavenly grace and to the power to deny it to those who have incurred disapproval and therefore seem to be unworthy of communion with the Holy Spirit⁶⁶⁰.

Zernov points out the fact that the above contradiction is caused due to the Orthodox wanting to elude open conflict with other Christians on the issue of the Church. However, it is also the product of 'the genuine wisdom of the Eastern spokesmen, who realize the paradox of Christian disunity and refuse to be bound by a precise definition of the visible limits of the Church.'⁶⁶¹ Many

⁶⁵⁷ Sakharov, Archimandrite Sophrony, *Words of Life*, (Essex, Stavropegic Monastery of St John the Baptist, 2010), p. 23.

⁶⁵⁸ Zernov, 1952, p.42.(A).

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., p.97.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., p.50.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., p.97.

understand the connection between East and West; others, nonetheless, maintain that the Orthodox is the Holy Catholic Church, believing that it is the one and undivided Church, as Christ is one. The first group allows for a further understanding and belief in the Ecumenical Movement, whilst the latter leads its supporters, as Zernov claimed, 'into an obviously absurd and untenable position.'⁶⁶²

Metropolitan Kallistos gives an interesting aspect of Zernov's beliefs, claiming that 'he avoided on the whole speaking of the Orthodox Church as the One True Church. He often spoke of each Christian body having their own particular gifts.'⁶⁶³ Additionally, Metropolitan Kallistos wrote in *Sobornost* that Zernov 'advocated a 'branch theory' inconsistent with Orthodoxy ecclesiology.'⁶⁶⁴ Nevertheless, in his interview, Metropolitan Kallistos remembered a discussion, whereby each church's gifts were expressed by Zernov, showing what the latter believed about the various denominations. Metropolitan Kallistos recounted,

'Yes, the Quakers have their sense of waiting on God and the presence of the Holy Spirit among them; the Anglicans have their tolerance, their comprehensiveness, their loyalty to historical scholarship; [for] the Roman Catholics their particular gift is their good order, their clear structure.' And then we asked him, 'yes you've mentioned the special gifts of the different Western churches; what is the special gift of the Orthodox Church?' 'Oh,' he said, 'the Orthodox have the true faith.'⁶⁶⁵

Consequently, this is an indication that maybe he did not believe in the branch theory, making it clear that 'he did not think that all the different Christian denominations were on the same level.'⁶⁶⁶

Metropolitan Kallistos wished to take it further, by explaining that

He did believe that only within Orthodoxy could the fullness and integrity of the Christian faith be found. Now, some of his writings might not have given that impression, but this I'm sure was his real conviction, that he always felt that the Orthodox Church had a fullness of truth and spiritual life, not to be found in any other church. And yet, I think he was willing to talk about the Church as being divided, and he would have seen the other denominations as all part of the Church.'⁶⁶⁷

Additionally, Fr Stephen Platt gives a similar and yet also blurred answer to this issue, whether Nicolas believed in the branch theory. His initial response, when interviewed was: 'Yeah, I think he did. But, again.'⁶⁶⁸ Fr Stephen later explained the fact that Zernov was not really a

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-3-.

⁶⁶⁴ Ware, 1981, p. 28.

⁶⁶⁵ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-3-.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Platt, Appendix 4, p.-29-.

theologian; Zernov was more of a historian, 'influenced by a lot of his own opinions.'⁶⁶⁹ This was apparent not only by his writings, which refer to the branch theory, Christian unity and Zernov's understanding of reconciliation through intercommunion, but also through his communications with people, which can be understood as variable. Platt prefers not to give a theoretical analysis of Zernov's inconsistency on the branch theory issue. He does, however, give an example of how Zernov acted, stating that

On the one hand, Nicolas Zernov seems to have spent a lot of time dissuading Anglican people who wanted to become Orthodox from doing so. He would tell them not to become Orthodox. He would tell them to remain where they were and to try to restore the orthodoxy of the Anglican church from within . . . What Zernov actually thought the Church of England was, in terms of its ecclesial status or in terms of its sacramental life or whatever, I think is ambiguous. Later on he seems to be less resistant to the idea of people becoming Orthodox. And in fact, when the Orthodox Church was founded here he would encourage people not only to come along to see the Orthodox Liturgy and to pray there, but also, when they wanted to become Orthodox, he would support this . . . I think inconsistency is the answer to that.⁶⁷⁰

This creates further difficulties, when examining the beliefs of Nicolas Zernov, in regards to Christian unity. If we are to follow Metropolitan Kallistos' statement, then how seriously can we accept what he writes, when according to him, Zernov had different convictions from what he wrote on paper? Nevertheless, and most importantly, Metropolitan Kallistos reflects that Nicolas did not actually believe in the classic form of the branch theory, by bestowing priority to the Orthodox Church. He, nonetheless, 'believed that the separated Christians were all part of the Church,'⁶⁷¹ a conviction not recognised by many in the Orthodox world.

Examining Zernov's writings and assessing the interviews given for this dissertation by Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia and Fr Stephen Platt, it is apparent that Zernov did believe, to a degree, in the branch theory. Both interviewees seem to believe that he was a supporter of this idea, with, however, some personal reservations. This conviction allowed Zernov to venture more into the relations, trying to achieve Christian unity.

Therefore, how may we achieve the ultimate objective of establishing Christian unity? Christians of different denominations must be more prepared to achieve this goal. This will be achieved by being prepared to study each other, to understand each one's position. Talking to the

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., pp.-29-30-

⁶⁷¹ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-3-

other, visiting each other's holy places, listening to their beliefs, ideas and views could bring us all together. Zernov also pointed out the importance of books, claiming that

A new type of books [is required] which would describe one denomination to another, neither controversially nor merely scholarly; literature written without any desire either to allot the blame for, or to ignore the evil of divisions. We need books which presuppose the desire for unity and are based on the realisation that both intellectual and moral effort are indispensable, if we are ever to reach this ultimate goal.⁶⁷²

Additionally, despite the above being important for the better understanding of each other on an academic and theoretical level, there is something which could lead to a better awareness of the numerous Christian denominations on a spiritual, psychological and ontological level. This was examined and supported greatly by Nicolas Zernov, whereby he maintained the Orthodox belief of keeping the Divine Eucharist in the centre of Christian life. This was also established in the life of the Fellowship and the WCC. This new approach to unity, as was understood by Zernov, led 'not so much along the lines of doctrinal discussion as those of the sharing of the gifts possessed by both Churches.'⁶⁷³ He understood unity through the cohesion and solidarity of those assembled round the same cup. 'The Eucharist is an action which purifies the hearts and minds of those who partake in Christ's body and blood, it regenerates their wills, cleanses their senses and increases their love.'⁶⁷⁴ Zernov understood the Ecumenical movement as the 'restoration of intercourse between the Eastern and Western wings of Christendom.'⁶⁷⁵ This reconciliation would achieve the restoration of Eucharistic life within the divided denominations, strengthening their peace with each other. Zernov stated that 'it is only the grace of the Eucharist that can soften their hearts and open the door to repentance.'⁶⁷⁶ Zernov believed that 'this decisive step can best be undertaken by the Anglicans, on whom for that reason the major responsibility for the work of the healing of schisms rests to-day.'⁶⁷⁷ Therefore, for Zernov, communion, and in respect to the non-Orthodox, intercommunion played a key role in his theological understanding, in regards to achieving Christian unity. This principal theme is analysed in the next part of this chapter.

How may Christian unity be solved? Zernov offered a noteworthy idea, whereby he stated that 'the Eastern Orthodox Church has the box with the healing gifts needed by the disunited Christians, but the key to it is in the hands of the West, and the time has come when it must be

⁶⁷² Zernov, 1946, p.5.

⁶⁷³ Ibid., p.91.

⁶⁷⁴ Zernov, 1939, p.105.(A).

⁶⁷⁵ Zernov, 1952, p.82.(A).

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid., p.106.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid., p.82.

opened.⁶⁷⁸ Zernov gave a valid and comprehensive analysis of what he thought is the ontological issue and resolution of Christian unity, whereby he stated

Each Christian denomination becomes preoccupied with the maintenance of its self-centred existence, and by doing so it loses sight of the true mission of Christian Church to lead the human race towards the conquest of selfishness, greed and pride, these three evils which make men unfit to take part in the creative work assigned to them by God. The restoration of Christian oneness depends, therefore, on the liberation of the divided Christian from that artificial fixation on their own interpretation of Christianity which they identify with the defence of truth, and for the sake of which they are prepared to sacrifice their fellowship with other members of the Church.⁶⁷⁹

The ideas of change and unity play a central role in Zernov's thinking. However, there is a lack of a methodological process in achieving this unity. How will the church or the churches look like after achieving unity? Will the theologies, traditions and practice be adapted to cater for such a change? Zernov pointed out the fact that, in his eyes, the various denominations need to come closer; nevertheless, he did not propose a concrete methodological undertaking of such an endeavour; he would await for such a methodology to derive from the Official Dialogue and the Official Bodies, meaning the WCC and each individual church. Zernov, coming from a Fellowship background, where unofficial talks were taking place, would express the need for unity; nonetheless, he would not venture into dictating the process of such a unity. Thus, he remained in the theoretical sphere, without venturing to achieve or promote a concrete observation or solution to the important issue of unity. Even intercommunion was to be understood as a proposal, not accepted by most. It is apparent that his theories for Christian unity do not have a practical side. Therefore, a methodology which could be followed by both the East and the West was never achieved by Zernov.

Zernov's Intercommunion

The Eucharist has existed as the centre of the Fellowship's life. This also affected the life and practice established in the WCC. Everyone who is involved in the Ecumenical Movement identifies this important reality. Metropolitan Kallistos, during the 2015 Annual Clerical Conference, of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain expressed that 'the main purpose of the Church and the most important work done by the priests is the Divine Liturgy.'⁶⁸⁰ The centrality of the Liturgy and of Communion is a belief Zernov maintained and promoted in his ecumenical work, whereby he

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., p.102.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid., p.43.

⁶⁸⁰ Σαλαπάτας, Αναστάσιος, Ετήσιο Ιερατικό Συνέδριο Ι.Α. Θυατείρων και Μεγ. Βρετανίας, <http://www.romfea.gr/oikoumeniko-patriarxeio-ts/arxiepiskopi-theiatiron/370-etisio-ieratiko-sunedrio-ia-thuateiron-kai-meg-bretanias-foto>, accessed 01/05/2015, 15.26.

believed that 'it is the God-given source of strength, purity and unity. From this point of view it is only to be expected that the forces of disintegration should concentrate their fiercest attacks upon this stronghold of the New Covenant.'⁶⁸¹ This explains why so many controversies have arisen over the Holy Liturgy and Communion. The division between the Christians is emphasised 'in the unwillingness of Christians to meet around the Lord's Table.'⁶⁸²

Zernov, as seen above, wished to establish Christian Unity. One of the routes he chose, in order to achieve his objective, was the theory of intercommunion. He was not the first one to believe and support the evolution of this innovative idea. As previously examined, Fr. Sergius Bulgakov first introduced this idea into the life of the Fellowship, during a conference, where he expressed this revolutionary concept.⁶⁸³ Nicolas Zernov wished to keep this concept alive, becoming the new promoter of intercommunion, or as Metropolitan Kallistos names him as Bulgakov's 'disciple'⁶⁸⁴ and 'ardent advocate'⁶⁸⁵ of the intercommunion notion; an idea which was not accepted into the life and practice of the Fellowship. Importantly, when interviewed, Metropolitan Kallistos, claimed that nobody took the idea of intercommunion 'seriously, after the mid-30s, except for Nicolas.'⁶⁸⁶ However, this is not consistent with an article, which Metropolitan Kallistos wrote in 1966, whereby he claimed:

Among Fr Bulgakov's colleagues and successors at the Theological Institute of S. Sergius in Paris, there are a number who likewise support a less strict attitude to intercommunion, though their views in the matter are, of course, not necessarily identical with those of Fr Bulgakov himself or of Dr Zernov. Both the late Rector of the Institute, Bishop Cassian, and Professor Evdokimov have urged the possibility of intercommunion with Catholics.⁶⁸⁷

Intercommunion is presented in many books and articles written by Zernov. He particularly elaborates more on this in his book *The Reintegration of the Church*,⁶⁸⁸ as Fr Derwas Chitty explains:

⁶⁸¹ Zernov, 1961, p.70.(A).

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ However, this is not the first time this term appears in the Ecumenical sphere. In 1862, Episcopalians from the USA addressed the issue of intercommunion to the Russian Church, establishing an Armenian, Greek and Russian Church Committee. 'It was the first case of any duly accredited organ of the Anglican Communion expressing a desire to enter into sacramental communion with the Christians of the East.'

Zernov, 1961, pp.143-144.(A).

⁶⁸⁴ Ware, 1966, p.270.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-5-.

⁶⁸⁷ Ware, 1966, p.270.

⁶⁸⁸ This book was greatly criticised by Derwas Chitty in his book review: Chitty, Derwas, J., 'Reviews, The Reintegration of the Church,' *Sobornost*, Series 3:No.13, Summer 1953, pp.33-44. Metropolitan Kallistos explained in his interview: 'Chitty wrote a savage review of it, running to many pages, saying this is not the work of a clear and accurate thinker; this is not the work of a responsible theologian; this is not the work of a qualified church historian. Nicolas, I think, was rather hurt by this! But, it was not one of his best books; and he did often write in a careless way. Still more savage was, I think, reviews from Fr George Florovski; so, actually

‘Nicolas shows in this book that he has really tried to face the difficulties involved.’⁶⁸⁹ Zernov altered this initial notion, promoted by Bulgakov, thus forming Zernov’s intercommunion, which is examined here. This was not well received by members of the Fellowship and others involved in the Ecumenical Movement. Metropolitan Kallistos, in his interview, explained that ‘people like Derwas Chitty, who were attending those relevant Fellowship meetings in the 30s, thought that Nicolas had distorted Fr Sergei Bulgakov’s scheme, and had given the idea of intercommunion a much broader application, than Fr Sergei had done.’⁶⁹⁰

Zernov, despite promoting the idea of intercommunion, writing and speaking about it on various instances, did recognise that this is a ‘controversial problem.’⁶⁹¹ When examining the notion of reconciliation and Christian unity, the possibility of intercommunion is also mentioned. Zernov gave a definition, of how he understood intercommunion, stating that: ‘Intercommunion stands for a bilateral agreement between divided confessions, according to which their members are allowed to communicate at each other’s services, with the purpose of achieving ultimate organic unity.’⁶⁹² From this definition, it is apparent that Zernov understood intercommunion differently from what was initially proposed by Bulgakov in the 1930s. The latter proposed the idea only within the boundaries of the Fellowship, creating a significant debate. Zernov, however, wished to see this reality on a larger scale, incorporating all Christians, from both Anglicanism and Orthodoxy, into this new scheme of intercommunion. However, he did not only apply this between the Anglicans and the Orthodox; Zernov even proposed intercommunion between the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox, understanding, nonetheless, that this innovation would create objections and resentment.⁶⁹³ Furthermore, he wished this to be realised between the Eastern and the Oriental Orthodox, believing that it could be achieved by the Fellowship itself. He believed that ‘our Fellowship has also another task, to help in the restoration of communion between the Orthodox Churches of the Byzantine tradition and the Orthodox Church of Malabar, which belongs to the Oriental type of Christianity.’⁶⁹⁴ On the other hand, at certain points he did point out that this would apply to those who are working for reunion.⁶⁹⁵ Additionally, he believed that ‘intercommunion requires careful

that book fell flat.’ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-5-. However, Zernov defended his book and showed continued support to his idea of intercommunion in: Zernov, Nicolas, ‘“The Reintegration of the Church” And Its Critics,’ *Sobornost*, Series 3:No. 16., Winter 1954-55, pp.199-203.

⁶⁸⁹ Chitty, 1953, p.41.

⁶⁹⁰ Kallistos, Appendix 1, pp.-4-5-.

⁶⁹¹ Zernov, 1952, p.64.(A).

⁶⁹² Ibid., p.65.

⁶⁹³ Zernov analysed this idea further in his book: Zernov, 1983.

⁶⁹⁴ Zernov, Nicolas, ‘A Lecture Tour in Northern and Central India and in Ceylon,’ *Sobornost*, Series 3:No. 15., Summer 1954, p. 146.

⁶⁹⁵ This is expressed in: Zernov, 1961, p.176.(A).

preparation and must be introduced at the right time.⁶⁹⁶ Nevertheless, despite this definition, Zernov comprehended its difficulties claiming that

Intercommunion so defined is rejected by the majority of contemporary Christians, for instance, by those who believe that theological debate is the best method of reconciliation, and who, therefore, insist that full doctrinal agreement must precede the restoration of Eucharistic fellowship within the Christian community . . . Intercommunion as the cure for disunity is in effect rejected by the vast majority of Christians, and this is probably one of the reasons for the slow and unsatisfactory progress of the work for reconciliation.⁶⁹⁷

Zernov here showed his preference, in regards to how he wished to achieve Christian unity. Intercommunion for him is seen as the 'cure for disunity.'⁶⁹⁸ This idea highlights the fact that Nicolas assumed the conclusion as a given. Therefore, 'although we are not fully reunited, let us act as if we were and receive communion together, trusting God to do the rest.'⁶⁹⁹ However, on what basis can we achieve this? What are the requirements for the healing of disunity? What is the methodology followed in achieving this goal? These are important questions, which to this day have no formulated answers, widely accepted by the numerous churches. Zernov believed that the supporters of his idea are 'missionaries of unity,'⁷⁰⁰ they are those Christians who are ready to accept and practise intercommunion. According to Zernov,

They have a moral right to ask for admission to the Eucharist of other churches because they believe that their separated brothers in Christ also meet Him in the Sacrament which He instituted at the last Supper . . . They are not necessarily identical with the most authoritative theologians of their confession nor with its most influential representatives; they must indeed know their own tradition, but even more important, they must be willing to understand the teaching of other Christians and enter into the spirit of their worship.⁷⁰¹

According to Zernov, intercommunion is understood as the route to reconciliation, understanding it as 'a prophetic vocation.'⁷⁰² This is pointed out, emphasising his support for Bulgakov, in his book *Orthodox Encounter* (1961), wherein he stressed: 'This book defends wholeheartedly the position formulated by the great Russian theologian and priest Father Sergius Bulgakov, who taught that the Eucharist is the source of Christian unity, and must therefore be the centre of all efforts towards reconciliation.'⁷⁰³ Repentance is seen as a central feature in Zernov's

⁶⁹⁶ Zernov, 1961, p.129.(A).

⁶⁹⁷ Zernov, 1952, pp.65-66.(A).

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., p.66.

⁶⁹⁹ Kallistos, 2002, p.48

⁷⁰⁰ Zernov, 1961, p.128.(A).

⁷⁰¹ Ibid.

⁷⁰² Ibid.

⁷⁰³ Ibid., p.xii.

theological understanding of Christian unity. However, he did border on dangerous areas, when he did not support the insistence on doctrinal agreement before establishing communion between the Christians. Nevertheless, this latter theory is virtually the practice accepted in the Official Relations. Zernov, however, is negative to the supporters of this belief, claiming

The advocates of doctrinal agreement as a preliminary step to intercommunion base their arguments on uncompromising zeal for truth, and a horror of heresy. They refuse to see, however, that by denying the need for the healing power of grace to cure hate, envy and error, they show pride and self-confidence; for they expect to restore unaided what men's abuse of freedom has undermined.⁷⁰⁴

Here, he followed Bulgakov's beliefs.⁷⁰⁵ The significance of doctrine is tucked into the background in order to achieve a further promotion of the idea of intercommunion. However, he did explain that 'doctrine is the backbone of Eucharistic action.'⁷⁰⁶ Therefore, intercommunion should not be comprehended as a dogmatic rejection, but 'as a leap in the dark, in trust that it would reveal a real dogmatic agreement.'⁷⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Zernov was further critical of this reality, when he explained that the supporters of the doctrinal agreement

Overlook the fact that no church today can claim a complete doctrinal unanimity even among its best instructed members, while ignorance, misunderstanding and erroneous ideas often cloud the thought of the ordinary communicants. Yet every confession is tolerant of these deviants in its midst, trusting the power of the Sacrament to heal and illuminate confused minds.⁷⁰⁸

This belief, however, is contradicted in another book written by Zernov, *The Church of the Eastern Christians*, in the 1940s, that is before he wrote *The Reintegration of the Church* (1952). Interestingly enough, he seems to propose a different route in solving Christian unity, than following the intercommunion paradigm. There he stated that 'the healing of the schism ought therefore to begin by a restoration of trust and charity, in which atmosphere mutual understanding on doctrinal matters could more easily be achieved. The first step towards it is a better knowledge of one another.'⁷⁰⁹ Therefore, intercommunion is not, here, identified as the initial step for solving Christian unity, as is the further comprehension of doctrinal issues between the churches, which has always been the practice in Ecumenical Relations. Nevertheless, Zernov again expressed a contrary opinion in the previous decade, in 1939, in his book *St Sergius Builder of Russia*. There he explained 'the

⁷⁰⁴ Zernov, 1952, p.66.(A).

⁷⁰⁵ Zernov argued Bulgakov's views, showing his support for Fr Sergei and his beliefs in his book: Zernov, Nicolas, *The Russian Religious Renaissance of the Twentieth Century*, (London, Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963).

⁷⁰⁶ Zernov, 1952, p.71.(A).

⁷⁰⁷ Chitty, 1953, p.43.

⁷⁰⁸ Zernov, 1961, p.126.(A).

⁷⁰⁹ Zernov, 1946, p.15.

unity of the Church, therefore, is not a matter of ecclesiastical organization, nor of hierarchical obedience, nor even of agreement in matters of faith and worship, it is manifested primarily through the oneness of the faithful gathered round the same cup . . .⁷¹⁰ Consequently, it is evident that Nicolas was not consistent in his belief, on how and in what manner intercommunion could actually assist in establishing Christian unity among the divided churches.

Zernov did not only distinguish between the supporters of intercommunion and those who oppose it, believing that dogmatic union needs to be established first. He also acknowledged the beliefs expressed by those who promote open communion between the Christians. This latter group does not support intercommunion. According to Zernov,

They reduce communion to an act of union between God and the individual, thus depriving the corporate life of the Church of its main source of inspiration and power . . . Many supporters of open communion are so reconciled to disunity that they consider it inevitable, and build their sacramental life on the supposition that an invitation to communion, addressed to Christians split into many self-contained units, ought to be the normal practice of the whole Church.⁷¹¹

In contrast to this belief, Zernov pointed out the fact that he himself supported the idea of ‘controlled intercommunion,’⁷¹² in contrast to open communion, since the first ‘takes doctrinal differences seriously and for this reason considers that the help of the divine grace of the sacraments is essential if Christians want to find the proper solution to their theological disputes.’⁷¹³ On the other hand, open communion creates further problems; this highlights the fact that the Eucharist has no effect and connection in regards to Christian divisions that have occurred and which exist to this day, making it possible for all the Christians to partake in the Holy Sacraments of other denominations. It additionally emphasises the point that the current divided status is an inevitable reality, which will never alter. Additionally, Zernov underlined the differences between open communion, proposed by some, and Bulgakov’s partial intercommunion, since ‘instead of minimizing existing differences in theology and sacramental experience, it emphasises their seriousness and calls for repentance and reparation.’⁷¹⁴ However, Nicolas seemed to be critical towards Bulgakov, who understood intercommunion differently to his own idea, in respect to who can be part of this new reality. Nevertheless, Zernov showed respect for Bulgakov’s ‘far-seeing proposal,’⁷¹⁵ which paved the way for his own belief on this topic. Zernov believed that Bulgakov was

⁷¹⁰ Zernov, 1939, p.105.(A).

⁷¹¹ Zernov, 1952, pp.65-6.(A).

⁷¹² Zernov, 1954-55, p. 199.

⁷¹³ Ibid., pp.199-200.

⁷¹⁴ Zernov, 1961, p.127.(A).

⁷¹⁵ Zernov, Nicolas, ‘The significance of the Russian Orthodox diaspora and its effect on the Christian west,’ in Baker, Derek, (ed.), *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1976), p.319.

‘a fighter; a singularly fearless man who had no hesitation in making himself unpopular by raising questions which others would have preferred to shelve.’⁷¹⁶ Zernov’s respect for Bulgakov is also evident, since he co-edited a book, with James Pain, entitled *A Bulgakov Anthology*, where his ideas of intercommunion are also included. In this book a number of important articles and papers, written by Bulgakov, are presented, in order to promote his ideas, such as Sophia, intercommunion and ecumenical relations to a wider, English-speaking audience.

Zernov believed that each Christian is a member of a certain ecclesiastical tradition. Therefore, intercommunion ‘cannot be the unconsidered, spontaneous act of an individual, or even of a group. It would fail in its main purpose – to draw separate confessions closer together.’⁷¹⁷ According to Zernov, intercommunion should be ‘an act sanctioned by the community and committing all its members,’⁷¹⁸ if Christian unity is to be established. Nevertheless, he did understand that a few would be part of it, or dare to be part of this new reality, believing that

By entering into Eucharistic fellowship with other traditions, they are not acquiring a special privilege, but are acting as advance guards of their own denominations; and the most difficult problem confronting them is to decide how far ahead of others they can go without endangering their links with their own confessions.⁷¹⁹

Intercommunion, however, can only be achieved if this sacramental praxis is given a ‘liturgical significance.’⁷²⁰ Bulgakov believed that it was necessary to establish a corporate sacramental repentance. Zernov continued this belief by arguing that ‘as penance and other methods of purification for participation in communion are usually recommended to Christians, so special preparation for intercommunion is even more essential.’⁷²¹ Zernov was bold enough to actually find a form of sacrament which could cater for the establishment of intercommunion, believing that ‘a special adaptation of the sacrament of Confirmation (or Chrismation, in the language of the Eastern Christians) is particularly suitable for this purpose.’⁷²² Although Confirmation is normally administered only once, there are cases where it can be given to the faithful on an additional occasion; therefore, Zernov believed that it is possible to ‘extend the operation of this sacrament of confirmation into a new field and with its help to strengthen those members of the Church who are called to work for Christian reconciliation.’⁷²³ Zernov went further on this point, in another occasion,

⁷¹⁶ Zernov, 1963, p. 143.

⁷¹⁷ Zernov, 1952, p.69.(A).

⁷¹⁸ Ibid.

⁷¹⁹ Zernov, 1961, p.129.(A).

⁷²⁰ Ibid., p.70.

⁷²¹ Ibid.

⁷²² Ibid., p.129.

⁷²³ Ibid.

where he explained that 'the sacrament of reconciliation could be devised as the extension of the three sacraments of penance, confirmation and ordination, being none of them and yet containing some of their essential features.'⁷²⁴ If this, however, was ever to become a recognised and ceremonial prerequisite of unity then it would, according to Nicolas, guarantee that the candidates were sanctioned and examined by their respective authorities and legitimately presented to the hierarchs of the other denominations for their acceptance in intercommunion. This would make the 'work of reunion a recognized part of the life and prayer of those Christians which earnestly desire to end divisions and find concord and unity with other members of the Universal Church.'⁷²⁵ Of course, the obvious choice of people for such an innovation would be, according to Zernov, the 'pioneers of reconciliation.'⁷²⁶ This would be a first step in promoting organic unity between the Christian denominations. It is obvious, therefore, that Zernov saw and supported intercommunion on a practical and theological level, in order to achieve union between the churches. However, a difficult issue derives from the above belief; who has the liturgical power and ability to authorise intercommunion? Such a question was also posed in the 1930s, when Bulgakov promoted his views on this topic. Nonetheless, no widely accepted answer has been found as yet.

Remarkably Zernov seemed to be cautious to over-optimistic hopes and expectations in regards to intercommunion. He identified the positives of a Church being ready to accept within its sacraments the sick, stranded and the dying members of another denomination. Nonetheless, this does not show repentance for the sin of disunity, not solving thus the problem. In Zernov's book *Orthodox Encounter*, the author explained that intercommunion is a problematic theory, claiming that:

A spontaneous intercommunion has been practiced by individual Anglicans and Orthodox in America, but it is being done in disregard of the discipline of the Church its results are negative. It creates confusion and suspicion instead of promoting fellowship and mutual trust. It has also been tried in other parts of the world with the same results.⁷²⁷

This creates a number of questions, for example who can be part of intercommunion, what are the qualifications these people should have and can intercommunion lead to full communion? Zernov believed that intercommunion is 'a temporary arrangement, for its aim is to reach organic unity between two bodies of Christians. After this is achieved, intercommunion is replaced by normal

⁷²⁴ Zernov, 1954-55, pp.202-203.

⁷²⁵ Zernov, 1961, p.130.(A).

⁷²⁶ Ibid., p.70.

⁷²⁷ Zernov, 1961, p.128.(A).

communion.⁷²⁸ Importantly, Metropolitan Kallistos recounts a crucial story, explaining what Nicolas truly believed on this topic:

Nicolas was asked, 'if you were dying and there was no Orthodox priest would you ask an Anglican priest to come and give you communion? And he thought for a moment and said: 'No. If there was no Orthodox priest I wouldn't ask another priest of another church to give me communion.' That was rather revealing because it made one feel that his heart wasn't really in this intercommunion idea.⁷²⁹

If intercommunion, therefore, is to be understood as the healing of division then can this 'sacramental hospitality'⁷³⁰ be the true calling of this idea? Interestingly enough, after a letter was sent in 1869 by Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr A.C. Tait, to the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory VI expressing his desire to establish reciprocity between the two churches, in regards to a number of sacraments, such as Baptism, the Eucharist and the burial of the dead, we have the acceptance of this last proposed idea. Therefore, here we can identify the fact that 'the first corporate act which the Anglicans and the Orthodox were able to achieve was not intercommunion, but inter-burial!'⁷³¹ However, the story given to us by Metropolitan Kallistos, points to a further problem. If Zernov himself did not believe in his own theory, which he seems to support in his books, talks and articles – or at least, if he was not confident enough himself – how can we take it seriously? Nonetheless, in his book *The Reintegration of the Church* (1952) he gives a theological explanation of what intercommunion is, explaining:

Intercommunion inaugurated with proper preparations and sanctions is an appeal to the triune God for help. Its purpose is to enlighten the minds and change the hearts of divided Christians by giving them the vision of one another as members of the Body of Christ. It is the acceptance of the paradox that those who argue with one another and are unable to overcome the barriers that separate them are nevertheless one in Christ and mutually dependant. Intercommunion ought to lead Christians to unity in diversity, and to love in freedom – the two hardest lessons that members of the Church have to learn.⁷³²

Therefore, it is apparent that his theories do not always coincide fully with his beliefs, or that he was hesitant on this, to say the least. Metropolitan Kallistos, again, explains that 'he sometimes assumed the role of devil's advocate to get them talking and thinking. And it wasn't always that he agreed with what he was saying, he was merely raising questions.'⁷³³ Thus, this shows that Zernov wished to promote dialogue and thinking, especially when analysing difficult topics, such as intercommunion.

⁷²⁸ Ibid.

⁷²⁹ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-5-.

⁷³⁰ Chitty, 1953, p.41.

⁷³¹ Zernov, 1946, p.86.

⁷³² Zernov, 1952, p.73.(A).

⁷³³ Ibid.

Nicolas Zernov also comprehended the negative side, understanding that intercommunion realises the awareness and perception of ‘corporate guilt,’⁷³⁴ meaning the bitterness of being in a disunited status. Nonetheless, ‘none of the present confessions can in isolation raise the Eucharist to its proper place and liberate itself from the shackles of ecclesiastical bureaucracy and denominational partisanship.’⁷³⁵ It is, however, interesting how two Orthodox theologians have argued and supported the idea of intercommunion. This can be understood, since the Eucharist maintains a central place in Orthodoxy. Zernov elaborated on this, believing that ‘Christians must realize that their true source of power lies in the sacraments, and primarily in the Holy Eucharist. It is there that members of the Church meet their Creator, find their own unity and the strength to combat all the manifestations of evil – physical, moral and spiritual.’⁷³⁶ The Eucharist, instead of being the sacrament which unites Christians, has become the one which points out their disunity, failing, thus to ‘prevent schisms and disintegration.’⁷³⁷ The Eucharist’s centrality on a practical and theological level is evident in Zernov’s work. From this starting point intercommunion seems to be also central, in respect to his ecumenical work. Both his Orthodox faith and his ecumenical convictions led him in forming his views on intercommunion.

From the above analysis of Zernov’s version of intercommunion an interesting question arises; what was the Fellowship’s view of this revisited idea? Fr Stephen Platt, when interviewed gave an elaborate analysis, in which he discussed what happened within the Society when Zernov wished to examine Bulgakov’s idea. He claimed that

There were people in the Fellowship who were quite prepared to stand up to him and to overrule him. One of the big examples of this was on his insistence on trying to recapture Farther Sergei Bulgakov’s idea of limited intercommunion between members of the Fellowship, in the context of Fellowship events . . . he was overwhelmingly overruled by members of the Fellowship and by the Fellowship’s Executive Council . . . The Fellowship Council . . . it’s very good at making sure that people don’t run away with their vision. And I think that this happened in the case of Nicolas, on various occasions.⁷³⁸

The Eucharist is important for all Christians. Zernov understood this and followed the Orthodox Tradition, where it is maintained that the Sacrament of the Eucharist ‘offers not only promise and means of salvation, but is also a cure for the disruption of fellowship among the redeemed people.’⁷³⁹ However, his belief and insistence on intercommunion, distorted this Orthodox

⁷³⁴ Ibid.,p.75.

⁷³⁵ Ibid,p.64.

⁷³⁶ Ibid., pp.107-108.

⁷³⁷ Ibid., p.57.

⁷³⁸ Platt, Appendix 4, p.-28-.

⁷³⁹ Zernov, 1961, p.70.(A).

belief, trying to achieve Christian Unity not by partaking in a single Communion, where the same belief is maintained, but by receiving a single Communion by keeping the various and different belief systems intact. As Zernov explained Holy Communion 'becomes a divine leaven, which slowly but surely transforms the earth by deifying men and by sanctifying matter through the Mystery of the Lord's Supper.'⁷⁴⁰ This, also, could be seen as an objective which the members of the Fellowship had for the relations and for the continuous dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox.

Nicolas Zernov did not only see the issue of intercommunion on a political or shallow level; he did identify the ecclesiastical and theological importance of this. He pointed out the divine significance of the intercommunion issue, by believing that

The only solution to this conflict is to submit it to Divine arbitration by allowing those Christians who are working for reunion to enter into communion with one another. By sanctioning this step for those who are willing to undertake it, the Church authorities on both sides would manifest their willingness to present their age-long disputes to God's judgement and would express their trust in the power of the Divine wisdom to illuminate the hearts and minds of the divided Christians and to guide them towards the solution of unresolved oppositions in their teaching and discipline.⁷⁴¹

Nicolas Zernov's version of intercommunion is an interesting idea, trying to achieve the ultimate goal of Christian Unity between the different denominations, especially between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. Intercommunion for Zernov was understood as a way of strengthening the desire for reconciliation, believing that 'such an action might accelerate the process of the reintegration of the Church.'⁷⁴² He believed that this would happen 'only when the great Episcopal bodies start moving towards each other.'⁷⁴³ Nicolas Zernov, additionally, considered that 'the future of Christian civilisation depends on the revival of the church, which once more must become a universal Eucharistic fellowship consisting of people who are drawn to the encounter with the living God.'⁷⁴⁴

If the idea of intercommunion prevailed, if it were accepted, then a number of problems would occur. The Orthodox Church's Eucharistic ecclesiology⁷⁴⁵ and praxis would have to alter in

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 75.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., p. 176.

⁷⁴² Ibid., p. 187.

⁷⁴³ Zernov, 1954-55, p. 203.

⁷⁴⁴ Zernov, 1976, p. 322.

⁷⁴⁵ This is pointed out by Metropolitan Kallistos, who explains: "'Eucharistic ecclesiology" implies therefore a threefold unity: *Eucharistic* unity, that is unity in the one loaf and the one cup of Holy Communion; *dogmatic* unity, that is, unity in the one faith; and *ecclesial* unity, that is unity in the bishop.' Kallistos, 2002, pp. 38-9.

order to cater for such a reality. The link between communion and faith would alter. As Metropolitan Kallistos explains

At every celebration of the Eucharist in the Orthodox Church, before the start of the *anaphora*, we recite the Creed. The order is significant. We do not first receive communion together, and then affirm our unity in faith; but the proclamation of the one faith comes *first*.⁷⁴⁶

Therefore, intercommunion would change the relations, on an ontological level, both within the Orthodox Church and also within Ecumenism. Furthermore, this makes the idea of intercommunion inconsistent with the ontological nature of the Church, which is a Eucharistic Society.

Additionally, intercommunion, as seen by Zernov, was not the ultimate goal, but a way of achieving Christian unity. Intercommunion can be understood as 'a half-way house on the road to full communion.'⁷⁴⁷ The final objective would be communion between the Christians. 'It is the Eucharist that holds the Church in unity.'⁷⁴⁸ On the other hand, however, the idea of intercommunion endorses the reality of being in a pseudo-unity status, whilst being disunited as a church. It is the Divine Eucharist, Holy Communion, and not intercommunion which shows the unity of the Church. Intercommunion is a new idea. The ancient church knew of communion and non-communion. There was no third option. Therefore, this promotes a further, troubling, understanding. Why did Bulgakov and later Zernov argue so much in favour of this reality, which was merely a step to unity and not an aim in itself? We could understand this as a preparation. However, we could additionally argue that this idea was introduced in the wrong time. Timing is crucial for such a proposal to have an effect on the Christian world, but again, it would be seen merely as a step forward and not as the ultimate objective. However, a step to unity: in what manner? How would the faithful depart from the praxis of intercommunion to full communion? These questions are not asked and not answered in any argument for intercommunion. Therefore, it verifies the fact that the Fellowship and its members maintained the right decision not to venture further on this idea, which would be troublesome for both East and West.

Despite not being consistent with the way of achieving intercommunion or by the results it could achieve, Zernov's ideas did create a dialogue and a new understanding of ecclesiastical relations.

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid., p.36.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid., p.45.

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid., p.14.

Conclusion

Nicolas Zernov was a pioneer in regards to the Ecumenical Movement and specifically to Anglican - Orthodox Relations. His unceasing work for unity between the different Christian denominations emphasises the fact that he was an open-minded Christian, who wished to achieve unity between East and West. Another key contribution by Zernov and many in the Russian diaspora in the West was the fact that they maintained a 'creative attitude towards western Christians. The centuries-long isolation of the Russian church was brought to an end by the exiled community.'⁷⁴⁹ It was apparent that the Russians lost their country to Communism, driving many to exile; however, they did not lose their Church. The broad freedom of action they experienced made probable their beneficial and positive involvement with the rest of Christendom by augmenting mutual understanding between the various divided Christians.

Zernov, however, understood that 'the re-establishment of One Church seems a pious Utopia.'⁷⁵⁰ This was a pessimistic view, which Zernov never believed in. On the contrary he trusted that 'the reconciliation of the Christian East and West is not a Utopia. It is a task given by God to the Christians of our time.'⁷⁵¹ Nevertheless, he did fathom the difficulties of achieving unity. He explains that,

The general sinfulness of mankind is often seen as the main reason for continuing quarrels and rivalry among Christians. In the eyes of many, it was the Pope's love of power, the intrigues of the Eastern Patriarchs and the self-assurance of the Reformers that was the reason for the loss of unity.⁷⁵²

Nonetheless, Zernov trusted that 'the aim is not to find fault, but to arrive at a real understanding of one another.'⁷⁵³ Therefore, for Zernov and his theological ideology, it was imperative that a relationship is formed between a number of Christian denominations, believing that 'Christians of the east and west need each other.'⁷⁵⁴ Zernov strongly believed that 'the reconciliation among its members is the God-given task of our time.'⁷⁵⁵ 'God alone can restore the unity of the Church, but every one of us must show that we are ready to receive the gift.'⁷⁵⁶ This is where visionaries like Nicolas Zernov played a central role and could achieve the ultimate goal of Ecumenism, unity. Nevertheless, he did believe in the power of the Holy Spirit, in achieving unity, that is why he

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., p.325.

⁷⁵⁰ Zernov, 1983, p.59.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., p.81.

⁷⁵² Ibid., p.59.

⁷⁵³ Zernov, 1946, pp.100-101.

⁷⁵⁴ Zernov, 1976, p.322.

⁷⁵⁵ Zernov, 1952, p.107.(A).

⁷⁵⁶ Zernov, 1946, p.109.

professed: 'what is impossible for men is possible for God.'⁷⁵⁷ That is why Zernov stated, 'He will not allow our efforts to remain Fruitless and vain.'⁷⁵⁸

The themes analysed in this chapter, regarding Zernov's theology and work, point to one ultimate goal, Christian Unity. He wished to achieve it, progressing thus the idea of intercommunion and being, generally, creative in his work and writings. In conclusion Zernov believed:

Christianity is a universal religion, and no single branch of the Christian community, however, powerful, can present its message convincingly in isolation from the rest . . . Their separation was the major catastrophe in Christian history, their reunion is likely to be one of the greatest triumphs.⁷⁵⁹

Therefore, it is apparent that Zernov believed in the Biblical words, 'that all may be one' (John 17:21), which for him were 'the inspiration of his whole life.'⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁷ Zernov, 1983, p.77.

⁷⁵⁸ Zernov, 1928, p.25.

⁷⁵⁹ Zernov, 1961, p.300.(B).

⁷⁶⁰ Zernov, 1983, p.186.

Chapter 4

Metropolitan Kallistos on Deaconesses and Women Priests and

Former Anglican Archbishop, Rowan Williams on Icons

Introduction

In this chapter the objective is to examine two case studies of theological themes, as they are found in the thought of two members of the Fellowship, who are also prominent hierarchs in their respected churches. First, an examination of deaconesses and women priests in the thinking of Metropolitan Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia is examined. Secondly, there is an exploration of icons in the former Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams's, writings. Therefore, an Anglican theme is investigated by an Orthodox thinker and hierarch and vice versa. This will show that each theme and problem, within the Christian world, affects all the churches. Additionally, the examination of the two hierarchs' thought will also highlight the significant role the Fellowship has played in their lives and in their theology. The Fellowship, being a theological platform and a place where people from different ecclesiastical backgrounds may meet, has facilitated in the wider and better understanding of the other. This has formed the theological ideas of past, current and future hierarchs in the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church.

Metropolitan Kallistos

Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia was born Timothy Ware, in Bath, England. He was educated at Westminster School and Magdalen College, Oxford. Raised an Anglican, at the age of 24 (1958) he entered the Orthodox Church. He then travelled around Greece, spending a lot of time at the Monastery of St John the Theologian (Patmos). In 1966 he was ordained to the priesthood and was tonsured a monk, when he received the name Kallistos. That same year he became lecturer at Oxford, teaching Eastern Orthodox Studies, becoming thus the second Spalding Lecturer, after Dr Nicolas Zernov. He held this position for thirty five years until his retirement. In 1979 he was appointed to a Fellowship at Pembroke College (Oxford). In 1982 he became a titular bishop under the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain (Ecumenical Patriarchate), receiving the title Bishop of Diokleia. On 30 March, 2007, the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate elevated the Diocese of Diokleia to Metropolis and Bishop Kallistos to Metropolitan of Diokleia. He is currently the co-president of the ICAOTD. He is a member of many societies in Britain, including the Fellowship, Friends of Mount Athos, the OTRF, Friends of Iona and many more. He has contributed many articles, reviews, obituaries and lectures in all the above societies and fellowships, emphasising the

fact that he is one of the most significant Orthodox academics in Britain.⁷⁶¹ He has written many books and articles on Orthodoxy, widely read and translated in many languages. Bishop Kallistos, therefore, had three sides to his life, 'the academic, the pastoral and the ecumenical – all find their coinherence in his life as a priest, a monk and a man of prayer.'⁷⁶²

In this chapter Metropolitan Kallistos' views on deaconesses and women priests is examined, identifying the evolution of his beliefs. Despite being a huge issue, which has attracted many analyses by both the Anglicans and the Orthodox, it is preferred here to examine Metropolitan Kallistos' views, since a distinct change of views is evident. The key arguments analysed here are Tradition, the iconic argument, silence, the role of deaconesses (in the ancient Church and their future in Orthodoxy), anthropology and the issue of women priests. Main sources for this analysis are two articles he wrote, both entitled 'Man, Woman and the Priesthood of Christ' (1978 and 1999). To further understand Metropolitan Kallistos' view shift, a brief analysis of the articles is imperative.

First Article (1978)

In the first article⁷⁶³ Metropolitan Kallistos begins by describing the role of the deaconesses and the widows in the ancient Church, something that does not exist in the Orthodox Church today. Therefore, the ministry of the ancient Church included women and men. Metropolitan Kallistos took the view that 'the Orthodox Church could not accept the idea of women priests.'⁷⁶⁴ He further examined this in the view of the Ecumenical Movement, and more specifically in respect to the Anglican-Orthodox relations. It is ironic, and of course tragic, for an Orthodox to argue that despite the fact that Christians are all praying for unity, a new gorge is forming, with the introduction of women priests. According to Fr Alexander Schmemmann: 'The ordination of women to priesthood is tantamount for us to a radical and irreparable mutilation of the entire faith, the rejection of the whole Scripture, and, needless to say, the end of all "dialogues".'⁷⁶⁵ However, it is currently evident that despite the introduction of women priests in the Anglican Communion, the dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox still continues.

⁷⁶¹ This was verified, also, when an International Conference was held in Volos, Greece, on the general theme 'Metropolitan of Diokleia Kallistos Ware and the witness of Orthodoxy in the West.' Metropolitan Kallistos was also received as a Fellow of the Volos Academy for Theological Studies. For more information see: Volos Academy for Theological Studies, <http://acadimia.org/index.php/en/news-announcement/663-reception-of-his-eminence-metropolitan-of-diokleia-kallistos-ware-as-fellow-of-the-volos-academy-for-theological-studies>, accessed 26/11/2015, 18.24.

⁷⁶² Louth, 2015, p.340.

⁷⁶³ Ware, 1978, pp. 68-90.(A). Also published unchanged in: Ware Kallistos, 'Man, Woman and the Priesthood of Christ,' in Hopko, Thomas (ed.), *Women and the Priesthood*, (New York, SVSP, 1983), pp.9-37.

⁷⁶⁴ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-5-.

⁷⁶⁵ Ware, 1978, p.69.(A).

In this article, Kallistos used the appeal to Tradition. Briefly, the Orthodox view on this is that 'it has never been done; we do not have the right to innovate after 2000 years; if Christ had wanted us to have women priests He would have taught his disciples and the Church would have followed His teaching.'⁷⁶⁶ However, to comprehend Kallistos' argument, it is crucial to understand what Tradition is, according to Orthodoxy. Tradition is a living and dynamic entity within the life of the Church; it is the exegesis of the Fathers on Scripture. The Orthodox give the same importance to both Scripture and Tradition. 'True tradition is always a living tradition. It changes while remaining always the same. It changes because it faces different situations, not because its essential content is modified.'⁷⁶⁷ However, 'loyalty to Tradition must not become simply another form of fundamentalism.'⁷⁶⁸ Tradition, therefore, 'is the critical spirit of the Church.'⁷⁶⁹ Tradition also holds continuity, as is evident in Hebrews (13.8): 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and today, and for ever.' Additionally, the Orthodox believe that 'we in the twentieth century have no authority to alter the basic patterns of Christian faith and life.'⁷⁷⁰

Another point is the argument of silence. It is apparent that the churches need to listen and comprehend the words but also the silence, given by both Tradition and Scripture. According to Metropolitan Kallistos, 'there is nothing in Scripture and Tradition that explicitly enjoins the ordination of women to the priesthood; yet equally there is nothing which explicitly forbids it.'⁷⁷¹ However, the Patristic Tradition does take a stance on this issue; for example Tertullian claims that: 'It is not permitted for a woman to speak in church, nor yet to teach, nor to anoint, nor to make the offering, nor to claim for herself any office performed by men or any priestly ministry.'⁷⁷² It is interesting that Metropolitan Kallistos used Tertullian's quotation, since he later aligned himself with Montanism, a heretical group which among other beliefs and practices, accepted 'into the priesthood men and women.'⁷⁷³ Nonetheless, Tertullian's statement can also be seen in the Pauline tradition,⁷⁷⁴ widely quoted when referring to the issue of women priests.

In the article the Orthodox position of royal priesthood and ministerial priesthood is examined, allowing for a critical stance towards the Protestant churches. First, the author identified

⁷⁶⁶ Kallistos, Appendix 1, pp.-5-6-.

⁷⁶⁷ Meyendorff, John, *Living Tradition*, (New York, SVSP, 1978), p.8.

⁷⁶⁸ Ware, 1978, p.70.(A).

⁷⁶⁹ Lossky, Vladimir, *In the Image and Likeness of God*, (New York, SVSP, 1974), p.156.

⁷⁷⁰ Ware, 1978, p.72.(A).

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.75.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷⁷³ Χρήστου, Παναγιώτης, 'Μοντανισμός', in *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, Vol. 9, (Μοίρα-Παπάς, Αθήνα, 1966), p.74.

⁷⁷⁴ 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.' (Galatians 3:28).

that 'one, and one alone, is priest,'⁷⁷⁵ referring to Jesus Christ. Secondly, all are priests, stating the royal priesthood, given to all Christians who are baptised.⁷⁷⁶ This is where an interpretation of the Virgin Mary's role in salvation is given. It is interesting to understand how the Theotokos was never a priest, despite being the Mother of God. This can actually be considered as a great argument against women priests. The former Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, Athenagoras, had claimed that 'God in his love sent his Son to be a man, whilst in return humanity offered St Mary the Virgin to be the cleansed and perfected vessel in which humanity and divinity meet in the God-manhood of Christ.'⁷⁷⁷ Nonetheless, Kallistos explained how it is noteworthy how the ordination of women has developed in those churches that 'tend to neglect the Holy Virgin's place in Christ's redemptive work.'⁷⁷⁸ Kallistos gives a quotation by John Meyendorff,⁷⁷⁹ who explains on this matter that,

There is no doubt in my mind that the Protestant rejection of the veneration of Mary and its various consequences (such as, for example, the really "male-dominated" Protestant worship, deprived of sentiment, poetry and intuitive mystery-perception) is one of the *psychological* reasons which explains the recent emergence of institutional feminism.⁷⁸⁰

Thirdly, the author examines the fact that not everyone is a priest, examining the ministerial priesthood. This, however, cannot be comprehended in professional terminology. It is not a career, where everyone has the right to follow. It is a calling, which derives from Jesus Christ.

The iconic argument follows the analysis on Tradition, where the author supports this idea using the hymnographic and Patristic Tradition of the Orthodox Church. During the Divine Liturgy the priest addresses the following to Christ: 'Thou art he who offers and he who is offered.'⁷⁸¹ Metropolitan Kallistos quotes St Cyprian of Carthage, who explains that:

Our Lord and God Jesus Christ is himself the high priest of God the Father; he offered himself as a sacrifice to the Father and commanded that this should be done in memory of him; thus the priest truly acts in the place of Christ (*vice Christi*).⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁵ Ware, 1978, p.76.(A).

⁷⁷⁶ Metropolitan Kallistos explained in his article that 'the royal priesthood is expressed likewise in the fact that each human person is a 'eucharistic animal,' capable of praising and glorifying God for the gift of the world, and so of turning each thing into a sacrament and means of communion with him.' Ware, 1978, p.77.(A).

⁷⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 78

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁹ John Meyendorff was a prominent twentieth century Orthodox Christian priest, theologian and writer, Dean of St Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary (New York) and Professor of Church History and Patristics.

⁷⁸⁰ Ware, 1978, p.78.(A).

⁷⁸¹ Ibid., p.79.

⁷⁸² Ibid.

The author in this first article, unlike the second one, is evidently for the iconic argument. He supports this view by quoting a number of Fathers, biblical passages and other authors and academics. This is, of course, 'an argument that for example a writer such as Alexander Schmemmann has used.'⁷⁸³ He explains that: 'If the bearer, the icon and the fulfiller of the unique priesthood, is *man* and not woman, it is because Christ is *man* and not woman.'⁷⁸⁴

According to St Theodore the Studite:

Standing between God and men the priest in the priestly invocations is an imitation of Christ. For the apostle says: "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (Tim. 2.5). Thus the priest is an icon of Christ.⁷⁸⁵

Additionally, the author quotes Fr Maximos Aghiorgoussis,⁷⁸⁶ who claims that:

For the Eastern Orthodox it is imperative to preserve the symbolic correspondence between Christ as a male and the ordained priest . . . The ordination of women to the Holy Priesthood is untenable since it would disregard the symbolic and iconic value of male priesthood, both as representing Christ's malehood and the fatherly role of the Father in the Trinity, by allowing female persons to interchange with male persons a role which cannot be interchanged.⁷⁸⁷

The above quotations, sound as they are, are easily questioned in his second article, whereby the manhood of Christ does not take a protagonistic role; it is a reality; however, Metropolitan Kallistos identifies the significance of the fact that Jesus became man (i.e. human, άνθρωπος, homo) and not the fact that he became man (i.e. ανήρ, vir). Nonetheless, in the first one, Kallistos seems to be critical of the practice of the Anglican Communion, whereby he states that: 'Those Western Christians who do not in fact regard the priests as an icon of Christ are of course free to ordain women as ministers; they are not, however, creating women priests but dispensing with priesthood altogether.'⁷⁸⁸ Therefore, Metropolitan Kallistos understands this issue from the traditional ecclesiological ideology of the Orthodox Church. He does not question, or attempt to question these beliefs; he merely presents them, supporting them with a number of valid and important quotations and beliefs from the Orthodox Tradition, including the patristic, iconographic, symbolic, hymnographic and practical Tradition of Orthodoxy. That is why he states that:

⁷⁸³ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-6-

⁷⁸⁴ Schmemmann, Alexander, 'Concerning Women's Ordination,' in Lutge, Karl, *Sexuality – Theology – Priesthood*, (San Gabriel, California, Concerned Fellows Episcopalians, 1973), pp.14-15.

⁷⁸⁵ Migne, J-P, *Patrologia Graeca*, (Κέντρο Πατερικών Εκδόσεων, Athens, 1988), 99:493C; also PG 99:945C.

⁷⁸⁶ Later he became Metropolitan of Pittsburgh in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America from 1979 until 2011, when he resigned due to health issues.

⁷⁸⁷ Aghiorgoussis, Maximos, *Women Priests?*, (Brookline, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1976), p.3,5.

⁷⁸⁸ Ware, 1978, p.83.

The male character of the Christian priesthood forms an integral element in this pattern of revealed, God-given symbolism which is not to be tampered with. Christ is the Bridegroom and the Church is his Bride: how can the living icon of the Bridegroom be other than a man?⁷⁸⁹

It is evident that in the second article he alters this belief, asking another critical question on this specific matter. Nevertheless, Metropolitan Kallistos identifies that the wrong question has been posed. This is a notion supported by many Orthodox academics and hierarchs, therefore, proposing a new question or a new set of questions. Metropolitan Kallistos believes that we ought to ask: 'What are the distinctive gifts conferred by God on women, and how can these gifts be expressed in the Church's ministry?'⁷⁹⁰ Therefore, Metropolitan Kallistos continues, 'the question is not "Do women have a role of leadership in the Church?", but "What is the nature of that role?"'⁷⁹¹

The question and issue of women priests is identified as propaganda, seeing that many perceive the priesthood as being the only potential ministry in the Church. Of course, this new movement can be acknowledged as 'the bitter fruit of the clericalization of the Church.'⁷⁹² Conversely, this applied not only to women, but to men also. It is apparent that, currently, if someone has a vocation within the Church, they believe it must be only for the priesthood, leaving aside the minor orders or roles one could and should have within the Church. Therefore a revival of St Paul's vision is imperative, of spiritual gifts: unity in diversity (1 Corinthians, 12). Rethinking the Pauline tradition, the Orthodox Church should explain the significance of these roles for the Church, within the Church. These roles are given not only to the priesthood, but also to the minor clerical orders and the laity. The significance of the minor clerical orders in the Church have, for time now, been, unfortunately, undermined. It is apparent that a renewal of an accurate distinction between minor clergy and laity, and the role each one has within the Church, is mandatory before fully undertaking the question of women and deaconesses in the Church.

The examination of women priests has also promoted new ideas. Does this reality, of having male priests only, excluding women, have a spiritual and theological basis or is it a social reality? The Church has followed the social norm, where for centuries men were dominant in every aspect of life. However, now we can identify women in positions of power. Therefore, is it an issue of Tradition or tradition? Can we claim that it is a dispute between right and wrong? Metropolitan Kallistos endeavours to understand these and many more questions, in order to find an Orthodox response to this new reality. Additionally, a number of significant Orthodox academics, thinkers and writers have

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid., p.84.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., p.84.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid. p.84.

⁷⁹² Clement, O., *Questions sur l'homme*, (Paris, Stock, 1972), p.119.

examined the topic of the distinctive gifts and female ministry in the Church, including Barbara Kalogeropoulou Metallinou,⁷⁹³ Paul Evdokimoff,⁷⁹⁴ Kyriaki Karidoyanes FitzGerald,⁷⁹⁵ Valerie A. Karras⁷⁹⁶ and Elizabeth Behr Sigel.⁷⁹⁷ In these sources, as in Kallistos' article, the role of women in the Church is explained, enumerating some roles they already have within Orthodoxy, such as being isapostolos (equal to the apostles), priest wives, deaconesses (although this is not a widely accepted reality today), teachers, spiritual mothers, prophets, chanters and many more.⁷⁹⁸

Second Article (1999)

In the second article, however, a change is evident. In the new edition of the 1983 article, published in 1999,⁷⁹⁹ Metropolitan Kallistos wished to alter his previous writing and express his new views on the issue of women priests. He had claimed, to the editor, that 'I don't think that this will win enthusiastic support for St Vladimir's Press, because I might bring you to disrepute in that my views are no longer hostile to the ordination to women priests.'⁸⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the editor wished to publish the Metropolitan's new views. Kallistos, therefore, retained nearly the entire 1978 article unchanged, extending it with additional considerations. Thomas Hopko explained that:

Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia has changed his views on the subject more significantly than the other authors. He has moved in the direction of greater tentativeness about the possible ordination of women as priests and bishops in the Orthodox Church. He demonstrates less conviction about the authority of the traditional Orthodox practice on the issue, and questions his own rather firm arguments against the ordination of women as bishops and presbyters drawn from the vision of the presbyter/ bishop as a sacramental "icon" of Christ in the Church.⁸⁰¹

In the second article, Metropolitan Kallistos wishes to examine the notion of unity in diversity, taking this notion from St Paul (1 Corinthians 12:4-30), where the Church is made up of many limbs – or of people who are called to different, distinct roles within the Church. The clericalisation of the Church, an idea explained also in the first article, is the reason why the debate

⁷⁹³ Καλογεροπούλου, Μεταλληνού, Βαρβάρα, *Η Γυναίκα στην Καθ' ημάς Ανατολή*, (Αρμός, Αθήνα, 1992).

⁷⁹⁴ Evdokimoff, Paul, *Woman and the Salvation of the World: A Christian Anthropology on the Charisms of Woman*, (New York, SVSP, 1994).

⁷⁹⁵ Karidoyanes Fitzgerald, Kyriaki, *Women Deacons in the Orthodox Church*, (Holy Cross Orthodox Press, Brookline, 1999).

⁷⁹⁶ Karras, Valerie, 'Women in the Eastern Church: Past, Present and Future,' *Sourozh*, Number 71, February 1998, pp.33-39.; 'Female Deacons in the Byzantine Church,' *Church History*, 73:2, June 2004, pp.272-316.; 'Orthodox Theologies of Women and Ordained Ministry,' in Papanikolaou A. and Elizabeth Prodromou (ed), *Thinking through Faith – New Perspectives from Orthodox Christian Scholars*, (New York, SVSP, 2008), pp.113-58.

⁷⁹⁷ Behr-Sigel, Elisabeth, *The Ministry of Women in the Church*, (Oakwood Publications, California, 1991).

⁷⁹⁸ These roles are also examined in The Athens Report (1978), Hill, Methodios, 1985, pp.58-60.

⁷⁹⁹ Kallistos, 1999, pp.5-53.

⁸⁰⁰ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-6-.

⁸⁰¹ Hopko, Thomas, *Women and the Priesthood*, (New York, SVSP, 1999), p. 1.

of women priests has received such a central role. However, we begin this topic by asking the wrong question. Kallistos explains

When considering the negative inquiry, “Why cannot women be priests?” It might be more helpful to ask, “In the light of the rich diversity of ministries than can and once did exist within the local Church, what are the distinctive gifts conferred by God on women, and in what forms of ministry can these gifts be best expressed?”⁸⁰²

The Metropolitan examines in both articles the reality of deaconesses; however, in the second one he discusses it in more depth, especially since many new statements, books and articles have been written examining this issue, in the 1980s, 1990s and the twenty-first century.⁸⁰³ Kallistos supports Prof. Evangelos Theodorou’s position⁸⁰⁴ that the deaconesses were ordained, receiving, ‘as does the deacon, a genuine sacramental ordination: not just a χειροθεσία but a χειροτονία.’⁸⁰⁵

It is interesting to identify that despite the office of deaconesses in the Orthodox Church being extinct, there is a small number of exceptions to this rule, which come to us from the twentieth century in the East. Before the 1917 revolution, the Russian Orthodox Church prepared some schemes to restore this order. In Greece St Nektarios of Aegina actually ordained a nun on Pentecost Sunday 1911.⁸⁰⁶ Today, there are a few deaconesses in the Orthodox Church; according to one Greek newspaper, *To Vima*,⁸⁰⁷ there are only three Greek deaconesses, without giving their names. It merely states that one is undertaking missionary work in the Far East, the second was ordained by late Archbishop Christodoulos of Greece, when he was still Metropolitan of Dimitriados, and the third lives in Constantinople. Interestingly enough, no schism or any complaint occurred, in regards to these ordinations. These ordinations maintain their validity, creating, therefore, a modern precedence. Thus, it is not a question of whether the Orthodox Church could proceed to this direction, i.e. of ordaining women to the priesthood, but whether it should do it.

⁸⁰² Kallistos, 1999, pp.12-13.

⁸⁰³ Lately there have been a number of conferences and movements promoting the role of women in the Church. One recent example of this is the 2014 OTRF Conference, which together with the Women’s Ministries Initiative, organised a conference entitled ‘Inspiration from Time: Women’s Ministries in the Orthodox Church.’ For more information on this conference: OTRF <https://otrf123.wordpress.com/2014/07/18/2014-otrf-conference-inspiration-from-time-womens-ministries-in-the-orthodox-church/>, accessed 26/01/2015, 14.16.

⁸⁰⁴ Θεοδώρου, Ευάγγελος, *Δογματική της Ορθοδόξου Καθολικής Εκκλησίας 3*, (Sotir, Athens, 1961), p.292.

⁸⁰⁵ Kallistos, 1999, p.16.

⁸⁰⁶ For more information on this topic and the arguments posed around this issue see: Karidoyanes-FitzGerald, 1999.

⁸⁰⁷ Αντωνιάδου Μαρία, ‘Η Εκκλησία επαναφέρει τις διακόνισσες’, *Το Βήμα*, <http://www.tovima.gr/relatedarticles/article/?aid=161509>, accessed 21/01/2015, 17.24.

Metropolitan Kallistos, in this revised article re-examined the notion of Tradition. He identifies that Tradition remains silent on this topic. Nevertheless, he does understand that 'silence does not necessarily indicate consent.'⁸⁰⁸ Additionally, in the interview he recognised that Tradition

Tells us that there never have been women priests. It does not tell us why there cannot be women priests. And this is the difficulty. Historically, the Fathers assume that a priest will be a man; but, they do not give a reason; should there not be some fundamental theological reason why this is impossible. And so the argument from Tradition only takes you so far.⁸⁰⁹

Metropolitan Kallistos, in his article wishes to expand on his interrogation of this topic, by inquiring further the Tradition of the Church. Despite explaining the practice, the fact that Jesus was a man and that His apostles were also men, due to sociological and other reasons, he identifies that they were also Jews. However, the practice of the Church has introduced to the priesthood Gentiles. Therefore, can this departure from the initial tradition may also permit the future introduction of women? It is a fact that Christ nowhere commanded his disciples to ordain women; nevertheless, he did not forbid them from doing this. It is apparent through the article that questions many times remain open, due to the fact that it is a very difficult issue to solve, which the Orthodox Church has yet to attempt to find a final solution. This is an argument expressed by Metropolitan Kallistos, and supported in this dissertation. Even a negative response, will be a response, regardless of whether other denominations in the Christian world do not accept this. Anyhow, it has been apparent that each church within the Christian world works and functions without taking the Dialogue or the Relations seriously or into consideration, creating thus new traditions and norms. This has been an Orthodox sentiment, especially towards the Anglicans, after introducing women to the priesthood. Nevertheless, this can be said about the Orthodox too, where they keep the same stance, not taking into consideration the inter-denominational dialogue.

Can the question of women priests be further examined? This is a question Metropolitan Kallistos poses, when looking at Church Fathers, such as St Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403). Even in the first centuries of Christianity, we observe strict views against women priests, following of course the practice and belief of the Church; therefore, Epiphanius claims that 'God never appointed to this ministry a single woman upon earth;'⁸¹⁰ 'after so many generations Christians cannot now start ordaining women as "priestesses" for the first time.'⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁸ Kallistos, 1999, p.8.

⁸⁰⁹ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-6-.

⁸¹⁰ Kallistos, 1999, p.32.

⁸¹¹ Ibid., p.32.

The argument of Tradition might seem old-fashioned and conservative, wishing to simply follow what is already known and practised. However, it is clear that the Orthodox wish to be cautious before giving a final or any answer, for that matter.

The long silence of Holy Tradition, the complete absence of any convincing precedent, should lead us to be extremely cautious before we alter the existing practice of excluding women from the ministerial priesthood . . . By modifying the Christian ministry, we may be subverting far more than we realize: “For when there is a change in the priesthood, there is necessarily a change in the law as well” (Heb. 7:12).⁸¹²

Metropolitan Kallistos, after examining the argument from Tradition, endeavours to look into anthropology. This is a very current theme, in Anglican-Orthodox Relations, since ‘the Official Dialogue is entering a new phase,⁸¹³ where the Fourth Official Statement on Anthropology and the understanding of the human person has recently been published in 2015,⁸¹⁴ a theme proposed by Metropolitan Kallistos, who during his interview explained,

I suggested that we should, for the time being, not go on discussing primacy – that’s a danger we dig ourselves in to the sand if we go on and on with the same topic – and I suggested turning to the understanding of the human person. And in this way, I think, we may come back to the question of women priests. Because one of the things we shall raise is, in our doctrine of the human person how do we understand the difference of male and female . . . And that will lead us on to is there a reason in our doctrine of the human person why women can’t be priests and so, I think we have not abandoned this question, but were coming at it obliquely.⁸¹⁵

This shows how the twentieth century aimed at understanding ecclesiology, whilst the new venture within the life of the Church and the Official Relations is anthropology. This was also evident during the 2011 Fellowship Conference. The topic was ‘Priesthood and Ministry,’⁸¹⁶ whereby the issue of women priests was exhibited and analysed by Metropolitan Kallistos, explaining his current views on this topic.

In this section Metropolitan Kallistos wished to present the views of the Orthodox opponents of the ordination of women. The two arguments are, 1. That women are ‘morally and spiritually more inferior to men . . . and are physically impure during certain times of the month,’⁸¹⁷

⁸¹² Ibid. p.33

⁸¹³ Salapatas, 2014, p.30.

⁸¹⁴ Kallistos, Metropolitan of Diokleia and Secretary General of the Anglican Communion, *In the Image and Likeness of God, A Hope-Filled Anthropology – The Buffalo Statement*, (London, Anglican Communion Office, 2015).

⁸¹⁵ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-11-.

⁸¹⁶ A brief report of the conference is to be found: Salapatas, Dimitris, ‘The Annual Conference of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius,’ *Orthodox Herald*, September – October 2011, Issue 276-7, p.25.

⁸¹⁷ Kallistos, 1999, p.34. This theme, however, is better explained and argued by Karidoyanes-FitzGerald, 1999, who gives all the misconceptions that still exist in the Orthodox Church, relating to the impurity of women.

and 2. That women have 'different and complementary functions in the Church'⁸¹⁸ in comparison to men. Giving a brief Orthodox explanation to these answers and explaining that Biblical and Patristic sources need to be handled and understood with sensitivity and in their context, Metropolitan Kallistos concludes by claiming that:

For myself, I believe most strongly that maleness and femaleness, as gifts from God, have dimensions that are not only biological but spiritual . . . Our theology of human personhood needs to be much more fully elaborated before it can provide us with a definite answer⁸¹⁹ [on whether women can become ministerial priests].

This reality, therefore explains the Orthodox stance on this matter. The fact that there is an 'uncertainty in our understanding of the human person'⁸²⁰ prescribes the current practice and belief the Orthodox Church maintains. Without a structured and accepted Orthodox anthropology, it seems inconceivable to promote or progress into establishing women priests. However, this does not mean that, in the future, this could not be a reality.

The second topic analysed in both articles is the iconic argument. However, he became more critical in the second article, understanding that there are two weak links in regards to this premise. When interviewed, Metropolitan Kallistos claimed:

The first is that what you mean that the priest is an icon of Christ. Clearly it doesn't mean he is a kind of photographic image; Christ had a beard, so the priest must have a beard; this would be childish. Why cannot a woman be an icon of Christ? In the life of all of us there have surely been occasions when a woman has represented Christ to us. So there, you need to look much more closely, what you mean by the priest being an icon of Christ and why a woman can't be. And the second weak link is, Christ was a male, yes. He could not be both man and woman; and he was in fact man. But, the Fathers did not attach any particular significance to the maleness of Christ. What the Fathers emphasised the whole time is the humanness of Christ.⁸²¹

The Fathers never inferred 'liturgical typology.'⁸²² The external and materialistic aspect was never important. 'A painted icon is indeed intended to bear a visible resemblance to its prototype; but the priest is not a painted icon.'⁸²³ If, however, we understand the iconic argument in an 'inward and spiritual sense'⁸²⁴ then it is possible that the argument against women priests is weakened.

⁸¹⁸ Kallistos, 1999, p.34.

⁸¹⁹ Ibid. p.39.

⁸²⁰ Ibid. p.40.

⁸²¹ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-6-.

⁸²² Kallistos, 1999, p.49.

⁸²³ Ibid. p.49.

⁸²⁴ Ibid, p.49.

Even Metropolitan Kallistos claims that 'I do not find that this in itself excludes women from the priesthood.'⁸²⁵

The second point Kallistos makes (in his interview) is supported by the language used in the hymns, canons and Patristic texts of the Orthodox Church. In the Creed we read, 'Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and became man.' The trouble with English is the fact that the term man has two meanings, human being and male. In Greek and Latin two distinct words exist, άνθρωπος, homo (human being) and ανήρ, vir (male). Therefore, in English the word man is ambivalent. The original text of the Creed, in Greek, clearly states that he became a human (ενανθρωπήσαντα). Even the Church Fathers were more interested in the fact that the Son of God became human and not male. 'Of course, they believed He was a male human; but that was not theologically important. What was theologically important was that he took human nature into Himself.'⁸²⁶ This is also evident at the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord (January 1). This could be the perfect opportunity for the Orthodox Church to use as the key moment to express its theology on the maleness of Christ. However, what is observed is the fact that

The themes central to the hymnography are Christ's self-emptying, his 'condescension' and his obedience to the Jewish law. While it is stressed that he became fully human, no particular significance is attached to his maleness as such.⁸²⁷

Nevertheless, a further argument arises from this celebration of the Circumcision of Christ, showing that the Orthodox Church supports the maleness of Christ and gives it a celebration and remembrance.

Kallistos also wished to further explain why Christ, the Son of God was born as a man and not a woman. Was it a coincidence? He believes that in the divine economy there are no coincidences. He gives a true Orthodox answer, based on Biblical sources, claiming that 'since the second person has been revealed to us as the eternal Son of God, not as God's daughter, it is profoundly appropriate that He should be born on earth as the new Adam, not the new Eve' (another name and role given to the Mother of God). That is why Jesus is also depicted as the Bridegroom, whilst the Church is the Bride. Examining this theme further, it is evident that men, who are part of the Church, are thus considered as part of the Bride; therefore, could not women represent Christ as the Bridegroom? Here we see a contradictory thought to that found in the first article, where the author

⁸²⁵ Ibid. p.49.

⁸²⁶ Kallistos, Appendix 1, pp.-6-7-.

⁸²⁷ Kallistos, 1999, p.50.

asks: 'Christ is the Bridegroom and the Church is his Bride: how can the living icon of the Bridegroom be other than a man?'⁸²⁸ Therefore, here we observe Metropolitan Kallistos' thought evolution, by examining theological ideas and analyses further. Nonetheless, Metropolitan Kallistos wished to conclude this chapter by stating that 'symbols have a far-reaching and incalculable significance, and if we change them we may be altering far more than we realize.'⁸²⁹ This is true, especially when trying to understand the notion of Christ being the Bridegroom and the Church the Bride. It verifies the sacramental aspect of marriage, which is a 'great mystery' (Ephesians 5:32), one which has been examined by many Fathers of the Church.

Metropolitan Kallistos, in his interview maintained that 'it is difficult to see an overwhelming theological argument why women cannot be priests.'⁸³⁰ On the other hand, sociologically, there are issues; socially, this would be impossible to implement in an Orthodox country today. It is obvious that the hierarchs and the laity in Orthodox countries find the notion of women priests as 'ridiculous.'⁸³¹ Nonetheless, this is not a theological argument. Even Metropolitan John Zizioulas of Pergamon⁸³² supports the notion that 'there isn't an overwhelming theological argument against women priests.'⁸³³

Further confusion also derives from the fact that a number of Scriptural references are misunderstood. A clear example of this is Galatians 3:28, 'There is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.' Yet, it is not clear to what extent this may be connected with ordination. Consequently, a clear understanding of the exegesis of the Biblical sources together with an understanding of the ontology of the priesthood and the ordination is needed to further understand the current position of the Orthodox Church. Therefore, how are the Christians to comprehend priesthood? It is neither a job nor a right. According to Metropolitan Kallistos, 'any discussion of the ordination of women which poses the question in terms of "rights" distorts the entire issue from the start, for it presupposes an utterly false notion of priesthood.'⁸³⁴ However, today the priesthood is understood in this manner, promoting thus new practices within Christianity.

Concluding the views of Metropolitan Kallistos on the issue of women priests, it is significant to understand that the Orthodox have yet to face up to this essential question. Many would argue

⁸²⁸ Ware, 1978, p.84.

⁸²⁹ Kallistos, 1999, p.49.

⁸³⁰ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-7-.

⁸³¹ Ibid., p.-7-.

⁸³² Metropolitan John Zizioulas of Pergamon is one of the most prominent Orthodox Theologians of the 20th century and titular Metropolitan of Pergamon under the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Constantinople). He has written many books and has been involved in Ecumenical Relations.

⁸³³ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-7-.

⁸³⁴ Kallistos, 1999, p.44.

that it is a Western question. Metropolitan Kallistos explains that, 'the question has been posed to us Orthodox as it were "from the outside," and we have not yet made it truly our own question.'⁸³⁵ The Orthodox, therefore, have not analysed this issue in depth. However, many Orthodox who live in the West, and are in constant contact with Western Christians, feel the need for this question to be answered. Nonetheless, the Metropolitan, during the interview he gave for this dissertation, he claimed that:

It would be more humble and wiser for us, at this juncture, not to say impossible, absurd; but to say that for Orthodoxy this is essentially an open question . . . I don't say I'm in favour of women priests, but I do say the theological arguments, so far advanced, are not very convincing. So I would prefer us to say, we are at the moment, suspending judgement on this question; we need to look at it further. That's not a popular view in Orthodoxy.⁸³⁶

This is not a popular view, due to the fact that many, within Orthodoxy, understand this as accepting this new reality. Some have even claimed that Metropolitan Kallistos has shown support for women priests, which he has not. Interestingly enough, at the 2008 Lambeth Conference, Metropolitan Kallistos did say to the Anglicans: 'Your questions are our questions and if they are not, they will be,'⁸³⁷ showing that he is in favour of dialogue. On the other hand, discussing it and understanding the weaknesses of Tradition and the iconic argument does not show support; but, it does show an academic and pastoral stance in respect to women's role within the Church; it shows an exploration of the true Orthodox Tradition, practice, ecclesiology and canon law. However, the fact that Metropolitan Kallistos promotes the idea of suspending judgement might seem problematic. Why should the Orthodox wait? If it is an issue of allowing time for the Orthodox to research the issue, try and understand it in its entirety is one thing. However, this anticipation for an answer should not be seen as a lack of creativity and boldness or the absence of the Wisdom and the Spirit of God within the Church. Additionally, what is evident from this second article, is the fact that the Orthodox should be more cautious and responsible in their study and consideration on the issue of women priests. The Orthodox need to pay attention to what is being argued in the West; to acknowledge the joys but also the sufferings that have been produced by this important issue. Consequently, it is crucial to 'weigh these Western statements and to evaluate this Western experience in light of'⁸³⁸ the Orthodox Tradition. As Metropolitan Kallistos states in his article, 'What I would plead is that we Orthodox should regard the matter as essentially an open question.'⁸³⁹ On

⁸³⁵ Kallistos, 1999, p.6.

⁸³⁶ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-8-.

⁸³⁷ Chessun, 2015, p.16.

⁸³⁸ Kallistos, 1999, p.6.

⁸³⁹ Ibid., p.7.

the other hand, other prominent Orthodox hierarchs have expressed their support of this issue.

According to Metropolitan Kallistos:

The late Metropolitan Anthony Bloom used to say, in private, that he was in favour of women priests and thought the Orthodox Church should act now and ordain them, but he never ordained them, of course, and he did not say this publicly in print.⁸⁴⁰

It is apparent through Metropolitan Kallistos' articles and through many other Orthodox sources that the Orthodox Church has no intention of ordaining women or even introducing, widely, the ancient practice of deaconesses. Perhaps it will never alter its current practice. However, this poses questions, whether the Orthodox wish to acknowledge them or not. Questions need to be asked; answers need to be formed, in order to specify why the Orthodox Church does not wish to introduce women priests. This is not only relevant towards the Christians of the West, soon it might become a question the East asks. As Metropolitan Kallistos concludes:

. . . But as Orthodox let us at least explore, with a rigor and humility that we have not so far displayed, the deeper reasons for our existing practice. Let us make the questions of the contemporary West *our own* questions; let us acknowledge that the question of women priests is a question posed also to us. As yet we are still at the very beginning of our exploration; let us not be too hasty or premature in our judgements.⁸⁴¹

A point, which needs to be highlighted, is the fact that '*there exists as yet no pan-Orthodox statement, possessing definitive Ecumenical Authority.*'⁸⁴² The only statement that exists from the Orthodox world is the declaration proposed by the Orthodox at the Anglican-Orthodox Joint Doctrinal Commission, Athens 1978,⁸⁴³ which decisively discards any opportunity of ordaining women to the priesthood. Nonetheless, its conclusions are not binding, since it was not enforced and agreed upon within an Ecumenical Council; it is moderately considered as an input to an ongoing debated theme. Nevertheless, it is interesting to identify that 'the Orthodox only advanced the argument from Tradition in that statement of 1978 . . .';⁸⁴⁴ therefore, showing an evolution and a development of the argument and the understanding the Orthodox have on this issue.

A crucial question to ask, when examining this evolution of Metropolitan Kallistos' views on women priests, is why he altered his beliefs. Metropolitan Kallistos explains that, 'It was a result of further reflection. I began to see the weakness in the traditional arguments . . . So it was not so

⁸⁴⁰ Kallistos, Appendix 1, p.-8-.

⁸⁴¹ Kallistos, 1999, p.52.

⁸⁴² Kallistos, 1999, p.7.

⁸⁴³ This can be found as an appending: Hill, Methodios, 1985, pp.58-60.

⁸⁴⁴ Kallistos, Appendix 1, pp.-9-10-.

much academic study as a further reflection in a pastoral context.⁸⁴⁵ However, some would argue that he was influenced by the Anglicans, being himself a former Anglican and currently Orthodox President in the Official Dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. Therefore, it is safe to say that he is a prominent Orthodox theologian and Bishop, who also bears witness to an Anglican and English culture. This allows him to be able to comprehend and analyse key issues which affect not only the Orthodox Church but also the Anglican Communion. Additionally it permits him to be more creative in his thinking by examining interesting and dangerous areas within the discipline of theology. Specifically, however, it is apparent that Metropolitan Kallistos, after reading a number of articles on the role of women in the Church, including Elisabeth Behr Siegel's articles, published in *Sobornost*,⁸⁴⁶ would have shown a greater interest on this theme. This also led both of them to write their views on this topic in a book, entitled *The Ordination of Women in the Orthodox Church*.⁸⁴⁷ Importantly, the Fellowship has played a key role, since it promotes the exchange of discussion and thought, as it has done from the beginning of its history. Its unofficial character has allowed it to be creative, endeavouring to analyse dangerous themes, such as intercommunion. Therefore, the Fellowship allowed its Orthodox members to comprehend further the Anglican practice and try to understand the Orthodox belief and Tradition.

Others understand that in the first article Metropolitan Kallistos maintained the current Orthodox view, whilst in the second he became more argumentative to this view, more academic. Nonetheless, it is vital to display this change of thought by Metropolitan Kallistos himself. The Metropolitan does not accept this distinction. In the first article he considered the Orthodox norm, 'in that very few Orthodox would be willing to come in to the open and say that they consider it an open question.'⁸⁴⁸ Elisabeth Behr-Siegel, who has written many books and articles on women priests and deaconesses, had spoken to Metropolitan Kallistos and had expressed the view that, 'It's not helpful at this juncture to say too much about that because the Orthodox world is simply not ready to entertain this idea.'⁸⁴⁹ Nevertheless, she was a great supporter of the revival of deaconesses. Metropolitan Kallistos explains, in his second article, that

⁸⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.-8-9-.

⁸⁴⁶ For example: Behr-Siegel, Elisabeth, 'The Participation of Women in the Life of the Church,' *Sobornost*, Series 7: No.6, Winter 1978, pp.480-492.

⁸⁴⁷ Behr-Siegel, Elisabeth, Ware, Kallistos, *The Ordination of Women in the Orthodox Church*, (Geneva, WCC Publications), 2000.

⁸⁴⁸ Kallistos, 1999, p.7.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid., p.8.

In 1978 I considered the ordination of women priests to be an impossibility. Now I am much more hesitant . . . What I would plead is that we Orthodox should regard the matter as essentially an open question.⁸⁵⁰

Metropolitan Kallistos believed, in regards to his two articles, that:

I would say that my first article I reflected the normal Orthodox position. In my revised version I would not say it was more academic, in some ways I consider my approach to be more pastoral. But, it was as a result of further reflection; I began to see the weakness in the traditional arguments . . . So, it was not so much academic study as a further reflection in a pastoral context . . .⁸⁵¹

This can be understood when Metropolitan Kallistos examines how women can be icons of Christ. This is not an academic point of view, but a pastoral one. Despite being cautious, mainly due to the conservative part of Orthodoxy, it is wise to maintain an open mind, when trying to understand Ecumenical issues, such as women priests. The Orthodox Church should, therefore, follow what Metropolitan Kallistos promotes in his article, 'let us avoid premature action, but let us not be afraid to explore.'⁸⁵²

Rowan Williams

Rowan Douglas Williams was born in Swansea (Wales) on 14 June 1950. He was educated at Dynevor School, Swansea, and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he studied theology. He completed his thesis, entitled 'The Theology of Vladimir Nikolaevich Lossky: An Exposition and Critique,' at Wadham College, Oxford. Before he was ordained a deacon in the Church of England (1977), he had seriously 'considered becoming a Roman Catholic and was strongly drawn to Eastern Orthodoxy';⁸⁵³ however, he remained within the Anglican Communion. In 1983 he was appointed lecturer in Divinity, Cambridge University. In 1984 he became Dean and Chaplain of Clare College. In 1986 he returned to Oxford, as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church. In 1989 he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity and in 1990 became a Fellow of the British Academy.

In 1991 Rowan Williams became Bishop of Monmouth, a diocese on the Welsh Borders with England. In 1999 he was appointed Archbishop of Wales. In July 2002 Archbishop Williams was confirmed (2 December 2002) as the 104th Bishop of the See of Canterbury, making him the first Welsh Archbishop of Canterbury. He was enthroned on 27 February 2003. At the end of 2012 he stepped down from his position as Archbishop of Canterbury, undertaking a new role, as Master of

⁸⁵⁰ Kallistos, 1999, p.6.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid., p.8.

⁸⁵² Ibid., p.33.

⁸⁵³ Goddard, Andrew, *Rowan Williams His Legacy*, (Oxford, Lion, 2013), p.15.

Magdalene College, Cambridge.⁸⁵⁴ The now former Archbishop of Canterbury is internationally acknowledged as an exceptional theologian, writer, scholar and professor. He has been interested in Christians and interfaith relations, being a member of the Fellowship since the 1960s, thus introducing him to the world of Orthodoxy, which has interested Rowan for decades. Fr Stephen Platt explained, during his interview, that Rowan Williams ‘makes frequent reference to the Fellowship and to the importance of the things that he learnt in that context and the friendships that he made there.’⁸⁵⁵ Rowan Williams has also contributed greatly in the Fellowship’s journal, in the 1970s, with a number of articles, reviews and sermons.⁸⁵⁶ This interest led him to write his PhD on an Orthodox theologian and examine icons from an Anglican point of view.⁸⁵⁷ Generally speaking it is apparent that Rowan Williams’s interest in Orthodoxy, has inspired and guided ‘his teaching in the University of Oxford and then his life,’⁸⁵⁸ both as a pastor and an academic. Also he has been involved in the Official Dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox, specifically in the development and publication of the Cyprus Agreed Statement (2006). He has also claimed, in respect to his interest in Orthodoxy, that

Pretty well every useful thought I have ever had on Christian unity has derived from my studies of Orthodox theology – Orthodox theology rooted in the Fathers. Orthodox theology breaks the terms of western debate and brings it to a different theological level.⁸⁵⁹

⁸⁵⁴ For more biographical information see: Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury, <http://rowanwilliams.archbishopofcanterbury.org/pages/about-rowan-williams.html>, accessed 26/01/2015, 19.31.

⁸⁵⁵ Platt, Appendix 4, p.-24-.

⁸⁵⁶ Articles in *Sobornost*: Williams, Rowan, ‘The Theology of Personhood, A Study of the Thought of Christos Yannaras,’ *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 6: Summer 1972, pp.415-30., - ‘The Spirit of the Age to Come,’ *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 9: Summer 1974, pp.613-26., - ‘Eric Gill,’ *Sobornost*, Series 7: Number 4: Winter-Spring 1977, pp.261-9.

Reviews: Williams, Rowan, ‘L’Esprit Saint dans la Tradition Orthodoxe by Pual Evdokimov,’ *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 4: Winter 1972, pp.284-5., - ‘La Connaissance de Dieu by Paul Evdokimov,’ *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 5: Spring 1972, pp.359-61., - ‘The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers tr. By Sister Benedicta Ward,’ *Sobornost*, Series 7: Number 3: Summer 1976, pp.219-20., - ‘Living Tradition by John Meyendorff,’ *Sobornost*, Volume 1, Number 2, 1979, pp.87-8.

Reports: Williams, Rowan, ‘The Liverpool Conference: An Impression,’ *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 6: Summer 1972, pp.439-40.

Sermon: Williams, Rowan, ‘To Give and Not to Count the Cost,’ *Sobornost*, Series 7: Number 5: Summer 1977, pp.401-3.

Obituary: Mascal, E.L., Rowan, Williams, ‘George Florovsky,’ *Sobornost*, Volume 2, Number 1, 1980, pp.69-72.

⁸⁵⁷ He wrote two books on icons: Williams, 2002 and Williams, 2003.

⁸⁵⁸ Platt, Appendix 4, p.-24-.

⁸⁵⁹ Goddard, 2013, p.197.

'Both Williams' immersion in Russian Orthodoxy and his knowledge and appreciation of the patristic milieu have earned him the epithet from his doctoral supervisor, Donald Allchin (1930-2010) that he is "Orthodox in an Anglican form."⁸⁶⁰

Additionally, icons have played a major part in his life, as he explained during his interview, 'I've always used icons in my own personal devotion . . . and I don't think I've lived in a room without an icon in it.'⁸⁶¹ This was, interestingly, verified when Rowan Williams gave an interview for this dissertation, in the Master's Lodge, Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he lives; there one finds countless icons in all rooms; therefore, verifying the fact that he is a 'specialist' in icons and iconography, from a Western point of view.

Here the objective is to analyse the theological views Rowan Williams has on icons and not to undertake book reviews or assess his talks, epistles or articles which examine icons and iconography. It is interesting to see how an Anglican hierarch has shown such an interest in icons, which is, in many respects, a very Orthodox theme. This interest of his, and due to his publications - whereby he wishes to 'help us 'read' what the icon 'writes,' whether it is written deliberately or by God's providence,'⁸⁶² - he is asked by many churches to 'bless and dedicate an icon,'⁸⁶³ therefore, making him an Anglican specialist on icons. This is definitely a move away from past ideas and practices which existed in Anglicanism, whereby for example the Church of the Hellenes of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Soho, London, was eventually closed down 'on the insistence of Henry Compton, Anglican Bishop of London, who had forbidden the Greeks to have icons there.'⁸⁶⁴

Rowan Williams has been a member of the Fellowship since the 1960s. He explains, in the interview he gave for this dissertation that

I first became aware of it when I was a teenager, actually, when I'd become a bit interested in Orthodoxy. And I remember writing to get a reading list from the headquarters in St Basil's House in London. That was my first actual contact. And then I went to some meetings here [Cambridge] when I was an undergraduate. First time I heard Metropolitan Kallistos and the first time I heard Nicolas Zernov. Then I started going to conferences when I was a graduate student in Oxford. So, I suppose the relationship goes back nearly fifty years now.⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁶⁰ Sudworth, 2014, p.454.

⁸⁶¹ Williams, Appendix 2, p.-14-.

⁸⁶² Williams, 2002, p. xvii.

⁸⁶³ Williams, Appendix 2, p.-17-.

⁸⁶⁴ Gregorios, Archbishop of Thyateira & Great Britain, 'The Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain and Orthodoxy in the British Isles,' Thyateira, http://www.thyateira.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=152, accessed 26/08/2015, 18.50.

⁸⁶⁵ Williams, Appendix 2, p.-12-.

Rowan Williams and Icons

Rowan William's interest in icons began in the 1960s, when he was a schoolboy, where he picked a book on Russian icons, published by UNESCO. (Maybe this, and the fact that he later focused his research on a Russian theologian, explains why he preferred to examine only Russian icons in his two books). He explains, in his interview he gave for this study, that 'I was completely overwhelmed by these images. And I had never seen anything quite like them.'⁸⁶⁶By reading and studying more about the icons, since such a young age, Rowan explains:

I could see how some of the things that seem to me most evident about the Christian world view, that it had to do with the transfiguration of the material world and that the sacramental change was something not just about the Eucharist but about the whole of our lives, body and souls; then the icon made absolute sense in that context and the theological defence of icons at the Seventh Council seemed to me, yes a natural involvement from a previous direction of theology.⁸⁶⁷

Therefore, what are icons for Rowan Williams? Having icons validates the doctrines of the Church, especially when referring to Christology. The iconoclastic arguments do not validate the faith and Tradition of the Church. 'If we paint a picture of Jesus, we're not trying to show a humanity apart from divine life, but a humanity soaked through with divine life.'⁸⁶⁸ This is, of course, taken from the Council in Chalcedon (451), whereby 'the Church had decided that we had to treat the divine life and the human life in Jesus as utterly inseparable.'⁸⁶⁹ Additionally, in regard to the saints, when we have an iconic representation of a certain saint, it is

A representation of a person in prayer whether literally or not, in the sense of depicting someone in the act of praying, it is always a depiction of someone whose prayerfulness relates them to God and whose meaning, whose identity is finally provided in and through that relationship. It is a depiction of someone open to divine action and, as such, also capable of transmitting divine action.⁸⁷⁰

For Rowan Williams, having icons and venerating them is an act of prayer; he understands icons and prayer as having a bond, a reality also understood in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition, from which he takes numerous examples. He further explains:

Icons are never portraits, attempts to give you an accurate representation of some human situation or some human face as you normally see it. They are – like all our

⁸⁶⁶ Williams, Appendix 2, p.-14-.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸ Williams, 2003, p.xvi.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., p.xv.

⁸⁷⁰ Williams, Rowan, 'Icons and the Practice of Prayer', <http://rowanwilliams.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/834/royal-academy-of-arts-byzantium-lecture-icons-and-the-practice-of-prayer>, 2009, accessed, 29/01/2015, 18.57. Henceforth quoted as: Williams 2009 (A).

efforts in Christian living – human actions that seek to be open to God’s action . . . creating an icon is after all something ‘performed’ in a fixed way, with the proper preparation of fasting and prayers, in the hope not that you will produce a striking visual image but that your work will open a gateway for God.⁸⁷¹

An interesting question, which Rowan Williams wishes to answer in his second book, *The Dwelling of the Light – Praying with Icons of Christ*, is to explain the Eastern Church’s unhappiness towards statues in the church. This explanation is needed to understand another difference between East and West, and try to find a bridge between the two, on an artistic level. The author, therefore, states,

They [the Orthodox] do indeed think of [the statues] as incompatible with the Commandments. A statue is very clearly an object that takes up a three-dimensional space; you can walk round it. An icon is a surface: you can’t walk round it but only look at it, and hopefully, through it. It insists that you don’t treat it as an object with which you share a bit of space. In the icon, what you see is human beings and situations as they are in the light of God’s action . . . It doesn’t seek for photographic realism . . . the lines of a diagram, the lines of an icon tell you what it is in the subject matter that is significant, that conveys God’s working.⁸⁷²

The objective is to observe and pray with that in mind, to be ultimately ‘looked at by God, rather than just looking at something yourself.’⁸⁷³ An additional distinction can also be made between a photograph and an icon. Rowan Williams explains, ‘any fool can take a photograph but only someone living in the light of the resurrection can paint an icon.’⁸⁷⁴ Therefore, a further importance is given to the icon in respect to its creation, which verifies a Christ centred life, not only of the believer who venerates and prays in front of the icon, but also of the icon painter, who is called to bring the faithful and God into a dialogue of prayer; they endeavour to bring into communion the Creator with the Creation. Therefore, an icon illustrates a bond, by also commencing this association. The icon affirms that we humans, who are in communion with God, can be ‘bearers of divine action and divine light,’⁸⁷⁵ thus verifying that icons are ‘one of the means of grace, one of the means of spiritual transformation.’⁸⁷⁶

It is evident that most Anglican Cathedrals and many Anglican Churches nowadays have at least one icon. This new reality can be understood as one of the results of the Dialogue between East and West. It can also be considered a revival of the ancient Christian tradition. The former

⁸⁷¹ Williams, 2003, p.xvii.

⁸⁷² Ibid., pp.xvii-xviii.

⁸⁷³ Ibid., p.xviii.

⁸⁷⁴ Williams, Rowan, “‘The risen Christ says, ‘In the depth of this reality I will speak, I will be present and I will transform.’”, <http://rowanwilliams.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/864/archbishop-the-risen-christ-says-in-the-depth-of-this-reality-i-will-speak-i-will-be-present-and-i-w>, 2009, accessed 29/01/2015. 18.39.

⁸⁷⁵ Williams, 2009 (A).

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.

Archbishop believes that 'in some ways it is the result of a much increased awareness of the Eastern Church.'⁸⁷⁷ He believes that until the 1960s art in the Western Church was 'conventional without being canonical, in the Eastern sense.'⁸⁷⁸ It seemed that the Orthodox icons, which came from another part of Christianity, to that of the Western World, brought a new understanding, 'cutting across at right angles and saying here is something completely different, here is something which isn't meant to work like a conventional religious picture.'⁸⁷⁹

It is interesting to understand how Rowan Williams, through his books, articles and sermons on icons, tries to find new and renewed theologies on icons; he endeavours to explain and understand icons from a Western approach, a refreshing idea, even from an Orthodox view point. This analysis of his, brings him to compare and contrast between the practices of the Western and the Eastern worlds. During his interview he argued:

. . . what is the difference, if you like, between a typical Catholic or Anglican statue of the Mother of God from 1930 or 1940 and an Icon of the Mother of God. I'm not quite sure what it is, but it's something to do with the fact that Western Art has always theorised what it's doing, very much in terms of a visual aid, to prayer and theology . . . And what you don't expect is to see the image as a real source of action or energy . . . And although a lot of Westerners wouldn't know much or understand much about the Orthodox notion that the icon does, in some important sense, transmit the ἐνέργεια (energeia) of what it depicts. They're aware that it is something more than just a visual aid . . . But, I think it's quite a bit to do with the sort of disillusion with a professional, conventional Western Religious art that's gone a bit dead.⁸⁸⁰

He explains similar views in his first book on icons, where he claims: 'There is the reality of the icon, which is a picture of some bit of this world, so depicted and so constructed as to open the world to the 'energy' of God at work in what is being shown.'⁸⁸¹

Rowan Williams believes that a revival of iconography is important; however he understands that this 'will only catch on if people understand the theology.'⁸⁸² This is, therefore, an area where the Orthodox Church could actually help form, by explaining its history and theology on icons, which has continually existed in the East, since the first centuries of Christianity. Thus, theology and canon law, fully understood could reach the objective the former Archbishop explains: that 'It's no good

⁸⁷⁷Williams, Appendix 2, p.-15-.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.-15-16-.

⁸⁸¹ Williams, 2002, p. xv.

⁸⁸² Williams, Appendix 2, p.-16-.

having an iconographic tradition in the West which is just concerned with decorating churches, it's got to do something with meeting God.'⁸⁸³

A new reality, of course, is the existence of many iconographers in Britain, where a network of iconographers exist.⁸⁸⁴ However, a question posed by Williams, which seems to interest him, is whether the Orthodox iconographic style is to be followed, or could Western elements and characteristics form and develop this tradition in the West. In Britain we have examples of the Byzantine Tradition being followed (for example at Winchester Cathedral) but also examples of a non-Byzantine iconography, with Western qualities (such as the Shrine of St David, West Wales).

The analyses and exegeses of the icons, on a theoretical and practical bases, are important; however, this does create another aspect. Icons are understood in the West, primarily, as works of art; conversely, how could the West follow the Orthodox practice, of veneration and of incorporating the icons in the life of the Church? Rowan Williams explains, 'You sometimes see people kissing them or lighting candles, especially lighting candles or praying in front of them, but there's some way to go.'⁸⁸⁵ However, he later continues in his interview, and explains that 'I think British people are terribly inhibited about kissing things in the church.'⁸⁸⁶ Therefore, we understand that how one wishes to practise his faith is not only an ecclesiastical issue, but also culture plays its part. Rowan Williams gives a theological answer to this idea, claiming:

It's a cultural issue, yes. I think it is in many ways. And it goes very deep, because since the Reformation, actually, both Catholics and Protestants in the West have moved away from the vivid sense of the Church being already inhabited when you come in to it; and to me that's one of the most significant things of an Orthodox Church, you come to it, it's already inhabited, it's already prayed in. And so when you come in you don't have to crack up the machine and sort of start something off in the void. You slip into the prayer that's constantly been offered, through the presence and the spiritual activity of the saints depicted, who are there praying when you're not . . . the sense of being surrounded by the blood of witnesses and the company of heaven, that's part of what we need to recover, I think.⁸⁸⁷

The icon, for Rowan Williams, is not to be understood passively; he believes that it has an active role and presence within the life of the Church and within prayer. The Church filled with icons, therefore, is a place where the congregation meets 'in the presence of transfigured lives, the presence of holy people.'⁸⁸⁸ And these holy people pray with us, the living faithful, interceding our prayers; 'the icon is

⁸⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁴ Two UK based iconographers are Aidan Hart: Aidan Hart Sacred Icons, <http://aidanharticons.com/>, accessed 18/11/2015, 15.14 and Eleutherios Foulidis.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid., p.5.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid., p.5.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid., p.5

⁸⁸⁸ Williams, 2009 (A).

an 'intercessor,' an active mediator, because it is a presence that draws you into a shared prayer.'⁸⁸⁹ Additionally, in his second book on icons he wishes to point out the significance of revering icons, explaining that

The reverence – as any Eastern Christian will tell you – is not because the icons are seen as magical objects but because in their presence you become aware that you are present to God and that God is working on you by his grace . . .⁸⁹⁰

As the current Bishop of London also adds, 'from being a matter of contention, icons and Orthodox Traditions of prayer have come to enrich Anglican worship both in private and in public.'⁸⁹¹ This revival, of course, could be slowly cultivated, whether the Orthodox could identify this as an opportunity to bring the two traditions closer or not. The fact that the Anglican churches are slowly accepting icons in their buildings and making them part of their tradition is a first step. However, another idea would be for Rowan Williams to continue his series of books and talks on icons. After his two books, where there are meditations and explanations of a number of icons of the Virgin Mary and of icons from a number of events from Scripture, he could endeavour to write a book on how one acts in front of an icon, what one does with it, how one prays in front of it, not only in one's personal devotion but also on an ecclesial level. This he does very briefly in his books; however, a more elaborate exegesis would be very helpful for those who wish to fully understand and accept icons in their daily worship, at home and at church. The evolution of icons and iconography in the West could bring the Orthodox and the Anglicans much closer.

Conclusion

This chapter endeavoured to analyse two key themes in the relations, given to us by two prominent members of their respected churches, who are also members of the Fellowship. The reason for the examination of these two case studies was to understand how the Ecumenical Relations have brought new questions to the East and the West, which need answers. Of course, the issue of women priests is a serious and pressing matter, since only the Anglican Communion has accepted this new reality, whereby the Orthodox wish to retain their two thousand year old Tradition on this issue. On the other hand, icons are widely accepted, due to their historical importance and continuity, but also due to theological, ecclesial and canonical reasons. Therefore, it is understood that the Fellowship played a role in Metropolitan Kallistos' and Rowan Williams' lives, in respect to how they formed their theology and what themes they wished to analyse, in their

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁰ Williams, 2003, p.xix.

⁸⁹¹ Chartres, Richard, 'Ecumenism – New Style Reflections on the Situation of the Churches in the Twenty-first Century – part 2', *Orthodox Herald*, January – February – March 2015, Issue 316-8, p.25.

attempts to enrich and fully understand their own traditions, but also to bring the Anglicans and the Orthodox closer.

Conclusion

In concluding this dissertation, it is apparent that many questions and issues in regards to the ongoing dialogue, official and unofficial, between the Anglicans and the Orthodox have been answered. However, new areas of interest and inquiry have been formed, which cannot be answered in this dissertation. Therefore, the quest for truth, quest for theology, quest for unity has been the objective of this thesis, which, however, is an ongoing process. Nevertheless, despite the road to Ithaca being a long one,⁸⁹² there is a final aim, the unity of the different Christian churches. The period analysed here is one of great interest. During this Age of Ecumenism we have been present and part of many groups being born and established, such as the Fellowship, the AECA and larger bodies, such as the WCC.

This dissertation examined, in the first two chapters the history of the Fellowship, analysing, in depth, the first eighty five years of its life (1927-2012), which is continuing and thriving. The future for the Fellowship is bright, in contrary to what many believe, as Fr Stephen Platt had explained in his interview:

Some people say that the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius is an elderly organisation. It was founded at a time when relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox were different. Times have changed. And the Fellowship is no longer relevant in today's ecumenical climate. I would disagree with this. For me the strength of the Fellowship in today's ecumenical climate lies in its unofficial character . . . the chief quality of the Fellowship lies precisely in its Fellowship, in its ability to foster friendships, sometimes very deep and close personal friendships between its members, who although they are separated from one another in Eucharistic communion because of their not being part of the same church, there is in a sense a transcendence of this separation through personal friendship and through simple Christian love. So, I think that this is really one of the main strengths of the Fellowship and this continues to explain the Fellowship's relevance in an increasingly difficult ecumenical climate.⁸⁹³

This exactly highlights why this dissertation has endeavoured to study the life and the theology of this important Fellowship. It is a lively Society, always growing, evolving, and endeavouring to achieve its objectives, whilst providing a sustained dialogue. However, it does seem, to some, that the Society has lost its direction. This was an idea produced and examined by Nicolas Zernov, who believed that

⁸⁹² As expressed in: Cavafy, C.P., 'Ithaka,' *Poetry Foundation*, <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/181782>, accessed 18/11/2015, 16/00.

⁸⁹³ Platt, Appendix 4, p.-23-.

We have no clear object either for study or action. Our Fellowship promotes goodwill, spreads information and provides opportunities for personal contacts between Eastern and Western Christians. Useful though these activities are, they are insufficient. We have lost the sense of the urgency of reintegration and also the feeling of the pain of division. We discuss the theological points of agreement and disagreement without attempting to arrive at any practical conclusion.⁸⁹⁴

Nonetheless, this can also be claimed about the general Ecumenical Movement. The anti-ecumenists identify this weakness, without taking into consideration the positives and the fact that the virtue of patience, as explained by Fr George Florovski, is crucial in achieving any result. In addition, the positives are significant. The fact that the Orthodox are now known by their Western brothers and sisters and vice versa is an important step, which was not the case a century ago. Trust has grown between Eastern and Western Christians, who were alienated from each other for centuries. According to Nicolas Zernov, 'this change of heart is the fruit of the common Eucharistic worship, and in the discovery of its centrality for ecumenical work.'⁸⁹⁵ He said this, after living within the Fellowship, which promoted the centrality of the Divine Liturgy. Of course, receiving communion from a common cup has not been achieved as yet; nevertheless, being present at each other's worship has been very useful for the continuation of the relations and for comprehending each other fully. This can be considered as the key achievement the Fellowship offered to its life and to the Ecumenical Movement, as a whole.

A question many pose, within and outside of the Fellowship, is what does the future hold for this Society, which has existed for nearly a century, attracting significant Anglican and Orthodox theologians from around the world, being able to bring people from various backgrounds and ecclesiastical traditions close in order to meet and discuss their differences and similarities. Fr Stephen Platt gives an answer to this question stating the potential for the Fellowship in its current centre, Oxford, by advancing its presence and by enhancing its community, encounter and dialogue. Fr Stephen proposes, in regards to the future of the Fellowship, 'we have three large houses, we have a plot of land and we have a Church. We could . . . realistically develop this place into a real centre for study and for common life and for hospitality and so on.'⁸⁹⁶ He continues and evolves this idea by professing

The Orthodox Church in this country has as yet no real centre for any serious theological education, for training of clergy, for training of church workers. And it has no resources for doing so, either. But it could do so in collaboration with an organisation like the Fellowship and in the context of a great university, such as the University of Oxford. And I would like to see us developing our work along these

⁸⁹⁴ Zernov, 1959, p.641.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁶ Platt, Appendix 4, p.-36-.

lines as well. It seems that in terms of our work to foster union between Christians, we have reached a point where we can't go any further . . . But in terms of our work to discuss, to dialogue, to study, to share and to develop our academic research, here we do need one another very much. The Orthodox don't have, certainly at the moment in the West, the great theologians that we had in the twentieth century; there are fewer. And there will be a new generation of such, but there won't be a new generation, unless there is a possibility for them to form themselves. And they must be formed in a context where they are aware of the thought and the life of Christian theologians outside the fullness of the Orthodox Church; so there are many possibilities here for us and many challenges, but it fills me with a sense of real imagination and enthusiasm when I think about the future.⁸⁹⁷

In a second interview, Fr Stephen gave for this study, he furthers his thought, widening the spectrum of his ideas and dreams, in regards to the future of the Society. When asked whether the Fellowship would form a seminary, Fr Stephen answered:

I think that it would be premature to discuss, to talk about a seminary, because a seminary is, first and foremost, a place for the training of clergy. But, to talk in terms of the formation of a theological research institute or study centre, which could also function, as an umbrella, under which there might be provision for clergy training and formation, is a possibility. In order to do this, and I must stress very clearly that this is simply the idea stage; we discuss ideas leading into this direction; but, no concrete steps have been taken yet. In order to do this, we would naturally have to expand the facilities that we have, at the House of St Gregory and St Macrina. We do have some land here. And the city council have indicated to us that there would, certainly, be the possibility for us to build extra educational facilities there.⁸⁹⁸

However, this issue does create a problem. The objective of the Fellowship is to foster dialogue between East and West. A seminary, and in this case an Orthodox seminary, would not abide by the Society's objective. It can be considered a great idea, which, however, contradicts the Fellowship's objectives. What would happen if, for example, the relations between East and West cease, and the Fellowship was the only body involved in the seminary, then there would be some theological limitations in the curriculum. On the other hand, the formation of a theological research institute would be an interesting idea, whereby the promotion of ecclesiastical relations between East and West can be cultivated. By being one of the bodies involved in this, this can be an interesting venture, together with the Houses of St Gregory, St Macrina and St Theosevia, the local Orthodox Church and the University of Oxford. Thus, the amalgamation project currently underway, taking small steps, is an objective, which if achieved, will create new possibilities for the Fellowship. Fr Stephen Platt, when interviewed, pointed out,

All of these charities [Fellowship, St Gregory and St Macrina's House and St Theosevia's House] have common goals. Very similar charitable objects and a

⁸⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.-36-37-.

⁸⁹⁸ Platt, Appendix 5, p.-42-.

common history . . . we are still working towards this goal, even though it's taking longer than we initially expected . . . We still look forward to having one united structure, which would enable us to move into the future with a clearer vision. But, this will still take a little time, I'm afraid, to achieve.⁸⁹⁹

Therefore, it is evident that the Fellowship has a number of ideas for its further evolution and prosperity, not only within the field of church relations, but also in the area of education. This displays the fact that it will continue its important work, which might be in the background for many; however, due to its unofficial character it has the ability to form friendships and relations crucial for the furtherance of the Official Dialogue between the churches, not only between the Anglicans and the Orthodox but also among other Christian denominations. However, it does continue to play an indirect crucial role within the Official Relations. This is evident in the recently published Fourth Official Statement, also known as the Buffalo Statement,⁹⁰⁰ whereby members of the Fellowship were involved in this new chapter of the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox, including Metropolitan Kallistos (Co-Chairman of the ICAOTD) and Archbishop Elisey of Sourozh (Fellowship Patron).

A further example of its continued work is the current meeting of the Catholic-Orthodox Theological Consultation for England.⁹⁰¹ Despite the Fellowship being 'primarily concerned with Anglicans and Russian Orthodox [it] had always a larger dimension;'⁹⁰² this group has been meeting since February 2014, under the auspices of both the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius and the Society of St John Chrysostom;⁹⁰³ the latter one promotes the relations between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics. Therefore, these two groups offered themselves 'as an umbrella for the dialogue.'⁹⁰⁴ The consultations of this group, which meets twice a year, once at the House of St Gregory and St Macrina in Oxford and another at a venue hosted by the Roman Catholics, will include

Common pastoral concerns, and promote mutual understanding, contact and exchange, including theological dialogue that can contribute to greater unity among

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid., p.-38-.

⁹⁰⁰ Kallistos, 2015.

⁹⁰¹ This is how Fr Stephen Platt names it in his interview: Ibid. However, the 'Churches Together in England' site refers to it as: 'Catholic-Orthodox Pastoral Consultation in England.'

http://www.cte.org.uk/Groups/248396/Home/Resources/Ecumenical_Dialogues/Catholic_Orthodox_Pastoral/Catholic_Orthodox_Pastoral.aspx, accessed 20/08/2015, 19.30.

⁹⁰² Louth, 2015, p.42. This larger dimension is also evident in the objectives of the Fellowship, published on the charity commission, whereby one of the charitable objective is: 'The promotion of mutual understanding between members of the Anglican Communion and of the Eastern Orthodox and Other Churches.' Charity Commission,

<http://apps.charitycommission.gov.uk/Showcharity/RegisterOfCharities/CharityFramework.aspx?RegisteredCharityNumber=245112&SubsidiaryNumber=0>, accessed 03/11/2015, 16.20.

⁹⁰³ For more information on this group see: <http://www.orientalelumen.org.uk/>

⁹⁰⁴ Platt, Appendix 5, p.-43-.

the two Churches in the setting of contemporary society in the UK and also disseminate in this country the work of the Joint International Commission for Theological Dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church.⁹⁰⁵

Fr Stephen Platt, when asked about this new group in the life of the Fellowship explained,

We have discussed a number of matters so far. Perhaps the major areas have been, on the one hand, bringing the local representatives up to date with the present state of the international Catholic Orthodox theological discussions; and on the other hand, on a local level, issues of mutual concern, such as church schools, different approaches to marriage and family life . . . We've also discussed the possibility of collaboration in the field of theological education and training of future clergy. So these are areas that we have considered . . . One of our main concerns, also, in the last meetings has been the role and place of the suffering Christians in the Middle East and providing support and media exposure to their situation.⁹⁰⁶

Discerning the fact that new events and co-operations are continuously introduced in the life of the Fellowship, embracing new and varied groups, by not maintaining its interests towards the Orthodox and Anglicans alone,⁹⁰⁷ but widening its scope to other Christians, it will be apparent that, in the future, there will be a further study on the life, history and significance of this Society, promoting additional information, showing the progress, strengths and weaknesses of the members of the Fellowship, of the Official Dialogues, within the sphere of the general Ecumenical Movement and the WCC, whilst also depicting the evolution of the theology, promoted within the body and life of the Fellowship itself. However, in order to achieve this, the continuation of the history of the Society and the production of an additional history of the Fellowship in the future, it is imperative that the 'Fellowship Affairs' and 'The Secretary's Diary' are re-introduced in the life of Sobornost, as Fr Stephen explains, 'yes, one could produce a diary of events and talks and lectures and other involvement of the general secretary. It might be interesting for people to see what the Fellowship actually does on a day-to-day basis.'⁹⁰⁸ The Fellowship, however, does maintain a presence in the social arena,⁹⁰⁹ whereby a number of meetings, events, talks of the Society are advertised.

⁹⁰⁵ Churches together in England,

http://www.cte.org.uk/Groups/248396/Home/Resources/Ecumenical_Dialogues/Catholic_Orthodox_Pastoral/Catholic_Orthodox_Pastoral.aspx, accessed 20/08/2015, 19.30.

⁹⁰⁶ Platt, Appendix 5, p.-43-44-.

⁹⁰⁷ The fact that the Fellowship is currently widening its scope is also evident through its current Patrons, which include Orthodox and Anglican Hierarchs and Theologians, but also His Grace Bishop Angaelos, General Bishop of the Coptic Orthodox Church in the UK. Therefore, the Fellowship is continuing to widen its interests and members to other parts of the Christian world. For a full list of the Patrons please visit:

<http://sobornost.org/>, accessed 27/08/2015, 19.35.

⁹⁰⁸ Platt, Appendix 5, p.-44-.

⁹⁰⁹ The Fellowship has an internet site: <http://sobornost.org/index.php>. However, the Facebook group page (Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius – <https://www.facebook.com/groups/20774712792/?fref=ts>) is where the Secretary and other members are able to publish pictures, events and texts.

This dissertation examined the life and the theology produced within and by the Fellowship. The most important contribution the Fellowship achieved and continues to realise is the Eucharist, and 'the Eucharistic approach to reunion.'⁹¹⁰ Before the Fellowship existed, negotiations were based on doctrine. This, however, had restrictions, in not being able to bring the various Christians truly closer. That explains how 'the Fellowship was born when the Orthodox and Anglican liturgies were celebrated at the same altar at St Albans.'⁹¹¹ Canon Allchin, when he was editor of *Sobornost*, had expressed that 'The Fellowship has been able to do theology across the lines of the most radical historical division in Christendom, because its life has been a life of common prayer and reflection across that line.'⁹¹² A life and tradition of prayer and maintaining the Eucharist at its centre has had a great effect on the Fellowship's life, contribution to Ecumenical Relations and the future of the dialogue and of the Society's life.

In chapter three Nicolas Zernov was examined. His work and ideas might be problematic and not accepted by all; nevertheless, his achievements, both within the Fellowship and generally in the Ecumenical Movement, are noteworthy and significant. Without people like Nicolas Zernov, the Fellowship, the WCC and Ecumenism, in general, would not be able to exist, prevail and create results, on a pan-Christian level. Unity has not been achieved. Nevertheless, a further understanding of each other's beliefs and practices has been achieved, cultivating important friendships on an individual and ecclesiastical level.

In the last chapter this dissertation looked into two case studies, examining the theological ideas and writings of two Fellowship members, prominent members and hierarchs of both the Anglican Communion and the Orthodox Church respectively, former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams and Metropolitan Kallistos (Ware) of Diokleia. These topics, women priests and icons, have a pan-Christian character and interest. The fact that two members of the Fellowship have examined them is noteworthy, identifying that the Fellowship creates the birth process for such inquiries, allowing for further thought and dialogue to be formed and cultivated, in such a way in order to bring the different Christian traditions closer.

The general Ecumenical Relations is subject to the conservatism of all the Christian denominations, which tend to be liberal in areas where the others uphold the Christian Tradition and practice, maintained for the past two thousand years; such is the case in regards to the issue of women priests. Despite these innovations and conservativisms maintained by the whole Christian

⁹¹⁰ Zernov, 1979, p. 24.

⁹¹¹ Ibid., p.26.

⁹¹² Allchin, 1972, p.220.

world, it is evident that noteworthy rapprochement between the Eastern and Western Christians has taken place. It is visible that 'the high walls which used to separate one confession from another have been broken down in many places, greatly increasing the sense of oneness.'⁹¹³

There is yet much work to be accomplished within the Ecumenical Relations sphere. It is unfortunate that the churches are still in the introduction phase, not only in an official capacity, but also in the unofficial relations between the faithful. Those who work in the Ecumenical Movement seem to be faced with walls of ignorance and bigotry. These can only be resolved by mutual interaction, study and life in each other's ecclesiastical life. Nevertheless, the various denominations are, slowly but surely, heading towards a better understanding of each other's tradition, faith, practice, language and considerations. Christos Yannaras explains, 'the history of the Church is a total failure. Today we have more than three hundred churches. The challenge is how we can transform this reality into a relation.'⁹¹⁴ This ongoing relation is crucial for the existence of the Ecumenical Movement but also for the further realisation of true Christian unity, brotherhood and love. However, it is imperative to state here that when we talk about Christian unity we are not referring to a form of Christian uniformity. Unity in diversity is the way forward.⁹¹⁵ 'It is simply unnatural to expect a Reunion on a uniform basis, after a thousand years of separation.'⁹¹⁶

The Fellowship's history is another instance of how the Ecumenical Relations and the dialogues between the churches progress slowly; the schism within the Body of the Church was quick. Reunion is a slow process, especially when having to deal with the dogmatic understandings and beliefs of every ecclesiastical tradition. This led Fr. George Florovski to claim that 'the highest and most promising "ecumenical virtue" is patience.'⁹¹⁷ Additionally, St John Chrysostom, explained how 'Patience is the queen of virtues.'⁹¹⁸ Nicolas Zernov identified the reason behind this slow progress within Ecumenism, claiming that it was due to:

The failure shared by the spokesmen of all Churches to distinguish between the essential and the inessential in their own and in other traditions, and their inability to conceive unity without uniformity. If one adds to all this the innate conservatism of each confession, fear of the unknown and general inertia, one cannot be surprised at the slow progress of the reunion movement.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹³ Ibid.

⁹¹⁴ Salapatias, Dimitris, 'Conference dedicated to Christos Yannaras: Philosophy, Theology, Culture – Orthodox Theological Research Forum,' *Oxbridge Philokalic Review*, Christmas 2013, Issue 2, p.87.

⁹¹⁵ This idea of unity in diversity is based on Ephesians 4:7-11.

⁹¹⁶ Kartashov, A., 'Intercommunion and Dogmatic Agreement,' *Sobornost*, No.4 (New Series), December 1935, p.48.

⁹¹⁷ Ware, 1997, p.307.

⁹¹⁸ Bulletin of Spiritual Edification, 6th October 2013, p.1.

⁹¹⁹ Zernov, 1979, p.24.

If one is permitted to use an example from the Greek world, the smashing of the plates, we could imagine Christianity being a plate. Smashing the plate is a quick and loud event, which shatters it in a thousand pieces. This happens very quickly; however, the restoration of the plate, Christianity, is a slow process, which needs patience and time in order to put all the parts together, in order to cover and heal the cracks of disunity.⁹²⁰ Thus, it is imperative that we all, together, take steps, carefully, in order to achieve the true objective of the current relations and dialogues, receiving Holy Communion from a Common Cup. However, it is crucial that the churches are ready for this to happen now. It is an imminent responsibility and objective. 'It is recorded that St Augustine in his unregenerate days had prayed, 'God give me purity, but not yet.' We must not allow the Ecumenical Movement to become a prayer, 'God give us unity, but not yet.'"⁹²¹

The critics of the Ecumenical Movement and of societies such as the Fellowship and the AECA cannot understand the wisdom of these talks, official and unofficial. The critics of the Ecumenical Movement need to understand that it is 'primarily a fellowship in search. It is a venture or an adventure, not an achievement. It is a way, not the goal.'⁹²² Moreover, it 'is a mystery for those who do not comprehend the fact that "repentance is the driving force behind it."⁹²³ To go forward, hand in hand, it is crucial that we (Christians) strengthen the bonds of friendship, heal our friendships, expose ourselves in personal encounter 'because that is what provides the dynamic; and particularly as we look together in the same direction at the common challenges of faith in this twenty-first century world, that is what is giving us energy.'⁹²⁴ It is apparent that any enterprise towards establishing Christian Unity goes against the current isolated existence of each denomination. 'Their separation was the major catastrophe in Christian history, their reunion is likely to be one of its greatest triumphs.'⁹²⁵ This triumph needs to be the leading factor and ideal in the current and future relations and dialogue between the various Christian traditions. As Nicolas Zernov claimed

The Christian East and West stand in urgent need of mutual assistance, for only through their willing co-operation can the glorious truth of Christianity be convincingly revealed to disillusioned men, and the creative power of the Church to transform the world be demonstrated. Their antagonism has crippled Christians, their reconciliation will be the greatest triumph of redeemed mankind over its ancient foes of selfishness and pride.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁰ This example is also given in: Salapatias, 2014, p.31.

⁹²¹ Ramsey, Michael, 'The Call to Unity,' *Sobornost*, Series 6: Number 1, Summer 1970, p.4.

⁹²² Kallistos, 2002, pp.54-55.

⁹²³ Salapatias, 2014, p.31.

⁹²⁴ Chartres, 2014, p.26.

⁹²⁵ Zernov, 1961, p.300.(B).

⁹²⁶ Zernov, 1952, pp. 85-86.(A).

However, this cannot be achieved, and no progress will be manifested until a general indifference to the reunion work is extinct from the general life of the Church. By sending a small number of representatives to meetings, in order to decide on a number of theological topics, will not facilitate in achieving any advancement in the relations. However, it is possible to introduce a revolutionary notion, in regards to the current practice of the Ecumenical Movement, whereby 'monks, poets and those in the periphery of the Church, and not bishops and University professors, should be involved in the dialogue.'⁹²⁷ If this is achieved then the Ecumenical Dialogues and Relations will be able to evolve. Without a significant evolution in the current relations, it is difficult to identify the future form of the relations.

Unity can be achieved, but only with the assistance and blessing from God. Unity is to be understood as a 'supreme gift,'⁹²⁸ which can be accepted by the Christians who are 'freed from prejudice and ignorance, whose hearts are purified from pride, envy and suspicions, and whose will is directed towards the hard but inspiring task of sincere repentance and reconciliation.'⁹²⁹ As Nicolas Zernov believed, 'He [God] will not allow our efforts to remain fruitless and vain.'⁹³⁰

The history of the Fellowship is an interesting one, continuing to play an important role, not only in Britain, but also on a global level. Its unofficial character has allowed it to venture into dangerous and exciting grounds. This unofficial character points out the fact that the ecclesiastical relations are not an affair for specialists; but, a theme which interests and touches all Christian faithful, from the different traditions.

Nicolas Zernov, when concluding his historical memoir, examining the first fifty years of the Society's life, he gave his views on the Fellowship, which also apply to the Society as it is today, in the twenty first century. Zernov wrote:

The Fellowship has been a pioneer, it has dared to tread unexplored paths. Its very existence is always in question. But it survives by the prayers of its members, living and departed, under the protection of its heavenly patrons, St Albans, the proto-martyr of England, and St Sergius, the Abbot of Radonezh.⁹³¹

The Anglican Orthodox relations and dialogues must usefully continue. Despite the various difficulties on a number of themes, the churches should and can endure in a dialogue status. 'The wisdom of the people involved in the relations (on an official and unofficial level) has shown that,

⁹²⁷ Salapatias, 2013, p.87.

⁹²⁸ Zernov, 1946, p.108.

⁹²⁹ Ibid.

⁹³⁰ Zernov, 1928, p.25.

⁹³¹ Zernov, 1979, p. 26.

even when obstacles occurred, the dialogue continued.⁹³² The current Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, whilst visiting the Ecumenical Patriarchate (January 2014), stated that, 'there is much that unites us and as we continue to strengthen the bonds of friendship our understanding of each other's traditions will grow.'⁹³³ Additionally, when Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew visited the UK (November 2015)⁹³⁴ he explained that

Dialogue implies equality and humility, leaving arrogance aside. True dialogue is a gift from God. According to St John Chrysostom, God is in personal dialogue with human beings. . . When one surrenders to the possibility of dialogue something sacred happens; something far greater than us takes over. Despite our differences, dialogue brings us closer to one another.⁹³⁵

Therefore, it is identifiable, examining the history of the relations between the Anglican and the Orthodox to this point, with key reference to the Fellowship, that the relations are a way forward for both East and West.

The Ecumenical Movement, the Fellowship being part of this history, is a creative part of the Christian life today. In order to achieve the highest objective of this movement, those involved and those interested in the dialogues and the relations have to first accept and receive the gift of unity. This can be given to us by God, as Allchin claimed, 'the things which are impossible with men are possible with God.'⁹³⁶ However, we need to be able to understand its importance for the prevalence of the Christian faith in an increasing secularised and polarised modern world. This unity, lost, can be re-established, through the blessing of God to the world, as is read on the Sunday of Pentecost: 'When the Most High came down and confused the tongues, he parted the nations. When he divided; and with one voice we glorify the All-Holy Spirit.'⁹³⁷ Therefore, it is imperative to follow Florovski's conviction: 'Let us hope and believe, that we shall be permitted, here and now, by the Love of God, by the Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ and by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to make

⁹³² Salapatas, 2014, p.31.

⁹³³ Archbishop of Canterbury, <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/5227/archbishop-of-canterbury-meets-ecumenical-patriarch-bartholomew>, accessed 30/01/14, 14.24.

⁹³⁴ Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew also visited London and Oxford in November 2015. Interestingly enough he visited the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity and the Annunciation, in Canterbury Road, and also the House of St Gregory and St Macrina and the Fellowship, being the first time an Ecumenical Patriarch visits the Fellowship, showing its significance for the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox. For more on this visit see: Oliver, Matt, 'Orthodox Church faithful set to welcome their Archbishop,' *Oxford Mail*, http://www.oxfordmail.co.uk/news/13933349.Orthodox_Church_faithful_set_to_welcome_their_Archbishop/, accessed 18/11/2015, 16.57.

⁹³⁵ Salapatas, Dimitris, 'Talk: Religion in Dialogue by Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew,' *Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain*, http://www.thyateira.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1415&Itemid=1, 05/11/2015, 19.26.

⁹³⁶ Allchin, 1952, p.545.

⁹³⁷ Kontakion chanted on the Sunday of Pentecost.

one sure step towards a true healing of the Christian Schism.⁹³⁸ The Ecumenical Movement has identified the fact that the Christian world needs to achieve, what the Orthodox faithful proclaim during the Divine Liturgy: 'For the peace of the whole world, for the welfare of God's holy Churches, and for the union of all, let us pray to the Lord.'

⁹³⁸ Florovsky, George, 'Determinations and Distinctions – Ecumenical Aims and Doubts,' *Sobornost*, Winter 1948, Series 3: No.4, p.132.

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⁹³⁹ The Fellowship Archives are located in the House of St Gregory and St Macrina. According to Sobornost.org: 'The Fellowship has a large archival collection, which, together with Fellowship-related material, includes the papers and correspondence of figures such as Nicolas Zernov, Iulia de Beausobre, and Dimitri Oboloensky. Over time, we hope to digitize this collection.' Sobornost, Archival Material for Download, <http://sobornost.org/archives.html>, accessed 19/01/2016, 12.34. Unfortunately, the Fellowship archives are still located in the basement in boxes, whilst some archival material is also to be found in the office of the Fellowship. They are not catalogued and many of the archives are in poor condition. The archives include minutes from meetings of the Fellowship Council, letters sent to the Society and individuals, confidential correspondences, especially in regards to the Intercommunion issue, published article drafts and newspaper and magazine articles which refer to the Fellowship.

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Canons

Fourth Ecumenical Council, Canon 28.

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Second Ecumenical Council, Canon 3.

Appendix 1

Interview with Metropolitan Kallistos

Oxford, 28 January 2014

Dimitrios Salapatas: Your Eminence, thank you for this interview. First question; could you talk to us about Nicolas Zernov? Why was he so passionate about the relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox?

Metropolitan Kallistos: Let us recall, briefly, Nicolas' career. He grew up in pre-Revolutionary Russia. I don't think at that stage in his life he came into contact with Western Christians; but he belonged to a believing family. So, I think all his life he was a practising member of the Orthodox Church. By his own account, he was first awakened to the possibilities of Christian unity when he went to an SCM conference in 1923, in England. He was, by this time, based in Paris with his parents, his brother and he was an active member of the Russian Student Christian Movement, which played an important part in the twenties and thirties, in the life of the emigration in France. The Russian Student Christian Movement was not initially at all ecumenical. Many of its members considered that you couldn't even say the Lord's Prayer with other Christians. It's worth remembering how times have changed, over the past century. So, Nicolas' first living contact with other Christians came in 1923, I think, when he would have been in his mid-20s. But the two conferences that led to the foundation of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, came in January 1927 and in December to January 1927 to 28. Nicolas, in France, would have been surrounded by Roman Catholics and relations between Orthodox and Roman Catholics in that era were not particularly friendly; there were exceptions. But, for the most part, the Roman Catholics took a fairly severe view of other Christians and were very much conscience that they were the true church. And a lot of the Roman Catholics would have actually proselytize the Orthodox, to try to make them Catholics. When Nicolas came to England he first had contact with Anglicans and this had a great impact on him. The Anglicans were much more open towards the Orthodox. Furthermore, they did not have any wish to turn the Orthodox into Anglicans; they did not proselytize. This entirely altered his view of Western Christendom. That, until then he thought there were Roman Catholics and then there were Protestants; in Russia there was since the nineteenth century, there still is today, Baptist Evangelical Movement. But, now he met a very different group of Christians, who had Bishops, who had Apostolic succession and particularly the High Church Anglicans who he met held beliefs very similar to the Orthodox, concerning the Eucharist, Christian Life, the Communion of Saints. And this, by his

own account to me, came as a moment of revelation to him, that here were Christians in the West, friendly towards the Orthodox, and at any rate the High Church Anglicans more or less believing the same as the Orthodox believe. So, I think it was the experience of meeting Anglicans in 1923, extended through the meetings in '27 and '28 that made him deeply interested in Christian Unity and made him feel that here was a hopeful contact for the Orthodox. Here were Christian in the West who were deeply in sympathy with the Orthodox Tradition.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Is it fair to say that he was the 'spirit' of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius?

Metropolitan Kallistos: That would be perhaps an exaggeration. The dominant figures in the period before the Second World War, from 1927 let's say to 1939, were on the Orthodox side Fr. Sergei Bulgakov, Dean of the Orthodox Institute of Saint Serge in Paris and on the Anglican side the leading figure was Bishop Walter Frere, a member of the Anglican Religious Community of the Resurrection and Bishop of Truro. And so they are really the founding members of the Fellowship. Nicolas after all, when the Fellowship was founded, was less than thirty; he was not yet an established figure. He hadn't published any books, his education had been interrupted by the Russian Revolution; but he had then, in Serbia, studied and obtained a degree in theology. But it wasn't until the 1930s that he came here to Oxford and took a doctorate (his doctoral thesis has never been published and, well not in its entirety – some of it appeared as articles) and his writings, I think, date from the '40s onwards. In this way, Nicolas, in some ways his church career started late, when he was already approaching 40. It was not really, until then that he began to establish himself more widely, as a figure who was known. Yes, he did become secretary of the Fellowship in, yes, in what year was that, in the 1930s; yes, he was with the Community of the Resurrection in '29 until '30. In 1930 he went to Oxford and worked on his dissertation, which he was awarded in 1932. He finished his thesis in record time. And then in 1934, when he would have been 35 or 36, he was appointed secretary of the Fellowship and continued to be secretary of the Fellowship in London up until '47, when he came to Oxford and became the first Spaulding Lecturer. It was called Lecturer in Eastern Orthodox Culture, in those days. So, and his books really didn't start appearing till the 1940s. Well his first published book was '37, *Moscow The Third Rome* and then a little book on St Sergius in 1939. But then it was more in 1944 onwards that his different books began to appear in larger numbers. So, going back to 1927 to '8, he wouldn't have been widely known then. There would have been more influential and senior people on both the Orthodox side and on the Anglican side, who would have been decisive in the founding of the Fellowship. So he was a founding member, but I don't think we should say that he was The Founder of the Fellowship. But, from the time he is secretary (1934

onwards) he rarely did animate the Fellowship. He was very active in the late 30s, had a very ambitious program; he would go round particularly to Anglican Theological Colleges lecturing very widely. And, so certainly it was he who built up the membership of the Fellowship. I would say the high point in the history of the Fellowship would have been the late 40s and 1950s. Nicolas was never the leading theological figure. He was intelligent man, but not an original, creative theologian. The weighty theological contribution came before the war from Fr. Bulgakov. In the late 40s and 50s the leading Orthodox figures were Vladimir Lossky and Fr. George Florovski, both of whom held rather different views from Nicolas on Christian unity.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Do you think that he believed, Nicolas Zernov believed in the Branch Theory? I say this because I found some, in his books, I feel that does actually supports this idea.

Metropolitan Kallistos: Yes, he avoided on the whole speaking of the Orthodox Church as the One True Church. He often spoke of each Christian body having their own particular gifts. And he, for example I remember a discussion in Oxford in the 50s, in which he said, 'Yes, the Quakers have their sense of waiting on God and the presence of the Holy Spirit among them; the Anglicans have their tolerance, their comprehensiveness, their loyalty to historical scholarship; the Roman Catholics their particular gift is their good order, their clear structure' (this was before Vatican 2). And then we asked him, 'yes you've mentioned the special gifts of the different Western churches; what is the special gift of the Orthodox Church?' 'Oh,' he said, 'the Orthodox have the true faith'; so that made it quite clear that he did not think that all the different Christian denominations were on the same level. And he did believe that only within Orthodox could the fullness and integrity of the Christian faith be found. Now, some of his writings might not have given that impression, but this I'm sure was his real conviction, that he always felt that the Orthodox Church had a fullness of truth and spiritual life, not to be found in any other church. And yet, I think he was willing to talk about the Church as being divided, and he would have seen the other denominations as all part of the Church. But, this is not the classic form of the branch theory, which assumes that the different branches are more or less on the same level. The classic form found, say, among Anglicans of the nineteenth century, for example, would be that there were three branches: the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox and the Anglican; but, they wouldn't have thought that the Protestants were on the same level, as these three branches, who have the Apostolic succession. But, Nicolas Zernov didn't hold, I think that they were all on the same level; he did give priority to the Orthodox, so in that sense he didn't hold a Branch Theory in its classic form. But, he certainly believed that the separated Christians were all part of the Church.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Is it fair to say that he formed an ecumenical theology, through his support of intercommunion, and with other examples?

Metropolitan Kallistos: Well, the question of intercommunion we should start from Fr. Sergei Bulgakov. During the 1930s at a Fellowship conference, I cannot remember the exact year; Fr. Bulgakov did propose a scheme for limited intercommunion between the Orthodox and the Anglicans. It wasn't Nicolas who started this whole scheme, I don't think; I think Fr. Bulgakov should be seen as the moving spirit here. Limited intercommunion; Bulgakov, I think, proposed that within the context of the Fellowship, under certain circumstances, the Anglicans could receive Orthodox Communion and even the Orthodox, Anglican Communion. But he didn't imagine that this would apply to the two churches as a whole, but only within the context of the Fellowship, under the strong influence of the unity of spirit, that the members of the Fellowship felt they had discovered, Orthodox and Anglicans. He came back with this scheme the next year and it was rather modified. If you want details about all this the person to ask is Brandon Gallaher who has done research on this in the archives of the Fellowship and has written in *Sobornost* about it, he can speak with precision that I don't possess. But, Bulgakov's, in his later form of the scheme, he may have been from the beginning, I'm not sure, but certainly he suggested that the Anglican clergy who are to give communion to the Orthodox should receive an Episcopal blessing from the Orthodox. And the question, naturally, was raised; do you mean that they are being re-ordained by the Orthodox? And I don't think Bulgakov ever made this fully clear. The Anglicans in question would have considered they were already ordained; already priests and they were merely being given a wider ministry. But it may be that some of the Orthodox in the Fellowship thought that they were receiving Orthodox ordination. And what form this blessing was going to take remained, I think, unclear, because this scheme was never carried into effect. A lot of the Orthodox objected to this project of intercommunion. I think Florovski was one of those who came out against it. And it's worth noting that a number of the Anglicans, also, were against this scheme. My own teacher, Fr. Derwas Chitty, who was at that time quite a young man, but linked with the Fellowship, he certainly was opposed to it; he didn't think that this was the way forward, that a limited group of people in each church should have communion, when the churches themselves were still separated. Now, Nicolas. Fr. Bulgakov's scheme I think, after the two conferences in which he proposed it, it wasn't carried into effect. There was sufficient opposition to mean that he dropped it. And he didn't, I think, speak further about this. But Nicolas wanted to keep the scheme alive and he continued to, in general terms, advocate intercommunion. And he does so particularly in his book *The Reintegration of the Church*, published in 1952. But, certainly people like Derwas Chitty, who were attending those relevant Fellowship meetings in the 30s thought that Nicolas had distorted Fr. Sergei Bulgakov's

scheme, and had given the idea of intercommunion a much broader application, than Fr. Sergei had done. And, in particular, *The Reintegration of the Church* was unfavourably reviewed. You may look in *Sobornost*, where Chitty wrote a savage review of it, running to many pages, saying this is not the work of a clear and accurate thinker; this is not the work of a responsible theologian; this is not the work of a qualified church historian. Nicolas, I think, was rather hurt by this. But, it was not one of his best books; and he did often write in a careless way. Still more savage was, I think, reviews by Fr. George Florovski; so, actually that book fell flat. And I think it's true to say that though Nicolas occasionally referred to Fr. Bulgakov's scheme with reverence to his memory, yet nobody seriously pursued these ideas. The members of the Fellowship were mostly High Church, as is still the case, and therefore they were not the kind of people who favoured intercommunion in this way. So, I think that the key points here would be first, that Fr. Bulgakov's scheme was carefully qualified by Bulgakov himself, not a scheme of general communion, intercommunion. And secondly that no or nobody took these ideas so seriously, after the mid-30s, except for Nicolas. And thirdly, Nicolas' own advocacy of intercommunion was not the same as Bulgakov's. It's interesting, again, a discussion group, I remember, where Nicolas liked to the thought of provoking people, and this was often misunderstood. He sometimes assumed the role of devil's advocate to get them talking and thinking. And it wasn't always that he agreed with what he was saying, he was merely raising questions. But, when intercommunion was discussed, Nicolas was asked: if you were dying and there was no Orthodox priest available, and we should remember that in the 50s there were only four Orthodox Churches in the whole of Britain so the prospect of there being an Orthodox priest at hand, five Orthodox Churches in the late 40s, but the prospect of finding a priest would have been very difficult, so Nicolas was asked, if you were dying and there was no Orthodox priest would you ask an Anglican priest to come and give you communion? And he thought for a moment and said: 'No. If there was no Orthodox priest I wouldn't ask another priest of another church to give me communion. That was rather revealing because it made one feel that his heart wasn't really in this intercommunion idea anyway.

Dimitrios Salapatas: In your article, changing now the theme, in your article 'Man, Woman, and the Priesthood of Christ', published in 1978 you claim that the right question has not been posed. What are your views on women priests?

Metropolitan Kallistos: My views have changed. In the article that I published in 1978 I definitely took the view that the Orthodox Church could not accept the idea of women priests. I used the argument from tradition . . . it has never been done; we do not have the right to innovate after 2000 years; if Christ had wanted us to have women priests He would so have taught his disciples and the

Church would have followed His teaching, that's the argument from Tradition, which we are all familiar with. And I also included what can be called the iconic argument. That the priest is an icon of Christ and Christ was a male. That is mainly a Roman Catholic argument, expressed of course with much greater subtlety than my brief summary has indicated. But, it was an argument that for example a writer such as Alexander Schmemmann has used. In the years following '78 my views began to change. I thought more deeply about all this. And when St . . . My original article was reprinted in the collective volume issued by Fr. Thomas Hopko, he was the editor, issued by St Vladimir's Press and my article was reprinted there unchanged, and then they wanted to do a new edition of this book, where by now I can't remember the date but over ten years have passed since '78, my original article. And I said to Fr. Thomas I don't want you to reprint my article, because my views are not the same. And he said, 'Well, you may submit a revised version of your article.' I replied 'I don't think that this will win enthusiastic support for St Vladimir's press, because I might bring you to disrepute in that my views are no longer hostile to the ordination to women priests.' And he said, 'No, we are prepared to print whatever you are prepared to write.' So what I did was to retain almost the whole of my 1978 article unchanged, but to supplement it with further considerations. For example, I included the part appealing to Tradition. But, then I said, 'Yes' but this tells us that there never have been women priests. It does not tell us why there cannot be women priests. And this is the difficulty. Historically, the Fathers assume that a priest will be a man; but, they do not give a reason; should there not be some fundamental theological reason why this is impossible. And so the argument from Tradition only takes you so far. And then coming on to the iconic argument I said, 'Yes,' but there are two weak links in this argument. The first is that what you mean that the priest is an icon of Christ. Clearly it doesn't mean he is a kind of photographic image; Christ had a beard, so the priest must have a beard; this would be childish. Why cannot a woman be an icon of Christ? In the life of all of us there have surely been occasions when a woman has represented Christ to us. So there, you need to look much more closely, what you mean by the priest being an icon of Christ and why a woman can't be. And the second weak link is, Christ was a male, Yes. He could not be both man and woman; and he was in fact man. But, the Fathers did not attach any particular significance to the maleness of Christ. What the Fathers emphasised the whole time is the human-ness of Christ. The trouble is the English language has just one word, man, to mean both a human being – in the older usage, at any rate – and secondly a male person. Greek has two different words here. You have *άνθρωπος*, which means human being, and *ανήρ*, meaning a man. Just as Latin has *homo*, meaning a human being, and *vir*, meaning a male. The disadvantage of English is we don't have that kind of linguistic distinction; the word man is ambivalent. Now, the Fathers were interested in the fact that Christ was *άνθρωπος*; that he was human. Of course, they believed He was a male human; but that was not

theologically important. What was theologically important was that he took human nature into Himself. And I once had a visit from somebody who said they wanted to write a doctorate dissertation on the maleness of Christ according to the Greek Fathers; 'a very interested topic,' I said to him, 'but it's going to be a very short thesis because they never discussed this; or hardly never.' Once I was on Patmos. I decided, since I was spending a month there, over Christmas, to read all the orations of St Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory the Theologian, all forty-five of them, about 1.000 pages. And there's a lot of discussion there about the human nature of Christ, but he says nothing at all about Christ being a male; that is simply not the focus of his attention. Until you come to the last oration of all, number forty-five, where he is discussing the Paschal Lamb, it's an Easter homily, and the Paschal Lamb is of course a symbol of Christ, and he mentions, in passing, that the Paschal Lamb is of course male. And he says why? Haha, I think, at last we're going to have a theological reason for the maleness of Christ. All he says is, 'Because the male is superior in every way,' and then he moves one. Well that's not going to satisfy the feminists. And it isn't really a very cogent theological argument. If you look at the feast of the first of January, the circumcision of Christ, you might expect that there will be something there about his maleness. And there isn't. The texts are concerned with the fact that he is obedient to the Jewish Law; that is the theme that interests them. Not that he is a male child, who is there for circumcised, as Jewish male children were. So, this makes the iconic argument somewhat weak. Unless you can strengthen those two links. Now, I think there is something to be looked at here. I don't say this is totally unimportant. There is a deep symbolism in the idea that Christ is the Bridegroom of the Church and the Church as the Bride. And this has strong Scriptural roots. I think, therefore, there is an important symbolism here, but it needs to be explored. Coming on to my conclusion, is this that it is difficult to see an overwhelming theological argument why women cannot be priests. There may be all kinds of sociological arguments; I'm not suggesting that the Orthodox should ordain women priests tomorrow; socially in most Orthodox countries this would be quite impossible at the moment. Most Orthodox still find the very idea of a woman priest to be ridiculous. But this is not a theological argument; this is a question of social conventions. And it's difficult to find a really powerful theological argument as to why it is impossible for women to be priests. I notice that, at any rate in the past, Metropolitan John Zizioulas of Pergamon says the same that there isn't an overwhelming theological argument against women priests. He keeps rather quiet about that now. So, yet does this mean that there is nothing to be discussed; no. I think the heart of the matter lies in the question of the distinction within the human race between male and female. Does this involve only the question of reproduction, the procreation of children? Does it have merely a physical basis, therefore? Or, should we say that there are deep psychological differences between men and women; that they have different ways of approaching

God. Now, here I think, the Orthodox have not done a great deal of creative thinking. One of the few books on the subject, written forty years ago, I suppose, or more, is by Paul Evdokimov *Woman and the Salvation of the World*, translated into English. And he argues that women have distinctive gifts; and men distinctive gifts. He draws quite a lot on Jungian Psychology. The Fathers on the whole are not concerned to emphasise psychological differences between men and women; and they are much more interested in the common humanity of men and women. But, this I think is where the heart of the matter lies and where the Orthodox haven't yet done much creative thinking. So, my conclusion from all this is that we Orthodox have never really faced up to this question; it is a Western question; we have never really made it our own. And it would be more humble and wiser for us, at this juncture, not to say impossible, absurd; but to say that for Orthodoxy this is essentially an open question. We have not gone into it deeply; and that's my own position. I don't say I'm in favour of women priests, but I do say the theological arguments, so far advanced, are not very convincing. So I would prefer us to say, we are at the moment, suspending judgement on this question; we need to look at it further. That's not a popular view in Orthodoxy; but it's not the same as saying we are in favour of women priests, which is what people sometimes claim that I have said; but I've never said that. The late Metropolitan Anthony Bloom, used to say in private that he was in favour of women priests and thought the Orthodox Church should act now and ordain them, but he never ordained them, of course, and he did not say this publicly in print.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Why did you alter your beliefs on this important topic? In your first article in 1978 you analyse the topic from a very Orthodox point of view, as I have told you before, whilst in the second one, in 1982⁹⁴⁰ you are more 'academic'. Why do we have this change?

Metropolitan Kallistos: Yes, I don't actually accept that distinction. The first article I reflect the standard Orthodox view, in that very few Orthodox would be willing to come into the open and say that they at least consider it an open question. Even someone as Elizabeth Behr-Siegel, who was certainly in favour of women priests, said to me that it's not helpful at this juncture to say too much about that because the Orthodox world is simply not ready to entertain this idea; but, therefore, she argued for the revival of the order of deaconesses. She says there is some hope that the Orthodox might do something about that. This was for tactical reasons. I would say that in my first article I reflected the normal Orthodox position. In my revised version I would not say it was more academic, in some ways I consider my approach to be more pastoral. But, it was as a result of further reflection, I began to see the weakness in the traditional arguments that I have just indicated. So, it

⁹⁴⁰ The actual date of the second article, as analysed in the thesis is 1999 and not 1982.

was not so much academic study as a further reflection in a pastoral context. I talked about how women could be icons of Christ; that's a pastoral rather than an academic point of view.

Dimitrios Salapatas: As you have said, the Orthodox have yet to give a unified answer to the issue of women priests? But why is this? Especially in the West, where we see that we are in contact with Anglicans all the time, this topic should have an answer by the Orthodox. Not so much by the East, but by Orthodox in the West.

Metropolitan Kallistos: Orthodox in the West. Yes. It is interesting to reflect on the course of Anglican-Orthodox doctrinal discussions. The dialogue started on an official, international level in 1973, the first meeting here in Oxford, when our Church was consecrated at Canterbury Road, by a whole contingent of Bishops. Now, of course, there had been preparatory work from '66, but this was the first full meeting. The question of women priests burst upon the Orthodox world in a more definite way, so far as the dialogue was concerned, in (I think) 1977, meeting in Cambridge, where the subject was raised and the Orthodox, and the Anglicans said it is a fact, it's not merely a possibility that a number of the Anglican churches have already ordained women priests. And this upset many of the Orthodox, who were not aware of this. I was aware of it, certainly. They hadn't appreciated how far the Anglicans had gone. And the result was that the dialogue was very nearly broken off at that point, having been quite promising up to '76 with the Moscow Agreed Statement being produced. And then there was a further meeting, very tense, in Athens in '78, when we looked specifically at this question of women priests. And the statement put out by that meeting is worth looking at. Incidentally this was the only occasion on which the Anglican-Orthodox has made headline news. The Greek press were very intrigued at the idea of a conference discussing women priests. And particularly the left-wing press gave it a lot of publicity, in order to embarrass the Greek Church, which is highly conservative. And I do remember one newspaper having on the front page a photograph of us all, standing on the steps of Moni Penteli and it said at the bottom 'Fifty Anglican and Orthodox theologians meet together to discuss women priests and there is not a single woman among them,' which was true. Well, we did in '78 put out a statement, not an agreed statement. The Orthodox said very definitely 'No' and they used my article, I think, partly. The Anglicans put out three opinions. One group saying 'No' and that they agreed with the Orthodox. One group saying, 'Yes we should go ahead'. And a third group saying, 'we should do nothing for the moment, we should treat this as an open question, we should wait till there is ecumenical consensus on this matter; as long as the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics are not going to ordain women priests we Anglicans shouldn't do so'. So those were the three Anglican opinions; but the Anglicans couldn't produce a single statement on the subject. And it's interesting the Orthodox only advanced the

argument from Tradition, in that statement of 1978 in Athens: they did not use the iconic argument. They didn't go beyond the statement it has never been done, so we can't do it now. Well, the dialogue continued after that. It came near to breaking down, because many Orthodox said, 'well what's the use of talking with these people'. But, the then Anglican chairman, Robert Runcie, later Archbishop of Canterbury, I think he was still Bishop of St Albans at that time, he went round and visited the different Orthodox Churches and said the very fact that the dialogue has become difficult shows that we ought to continue with it. Now, over the ordination of women priests the attitude of many Orthodox is to say, 'there's nothing to discuss'. And I do remember when some of the Orthodox took this view, in 1977, that one of the delegates, from the Moscow Patriarchate – Nicholas Lossky – son of Vladimir, still alive, Nicholas, though not in good health now; I remember him getting up and saying in effect: 'if you claim there is nothing to discuss that is because you haven't thought about it. It simply means; you do not know what to say. And if you think, say there is nothing to discuss; that in itself indicates there is something to discuss. But you haven't got round to looking at it closely.' And his view was that Orthodox who take this view, there's nothing to discuss, have never thought about it and I think there's a lot of truth in that if women cannot be priests there must be cogent reasons that we can advance, why they shouldn't be. I continue to simply sit on the fence and say 'let's go on looking at this, and discussing it and I would like to explore what is the theological meaning of the distinction between male and female'.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Do you believe that this topic, women priests and now with the introduction of women Bishops, will be the reason for the collapse of the Official Dialogue between the Anglicans and the Orthodox in the future?

Metropolitan Kallistos: First, the consecration of women bishops doesn't raise any new measure of principle; if women can be priests, then theologically, they can be bishops. Of course pastorally it's a much more problematic thing if you have women bishops. If you're an Anglican who doesn't accept women priests, say you're a parish priest you can simply say in our parish we won't have any women priests here. The fact that the next door parish has a woman priest, you simply say, well she's not welcome in our church. But if your bishop is a woman then it's much more difficult. But, of course the Anglicans have put in certain safeguards for those who conscientiously cannot accept women bishops. However, theologically it seems to me, if you accept women priests you should accept women bishops; it doesn't raise a new point of principle. Can the Anglican-Orthodox dialogue continue? I think it should and can. The real crisis came in the late 1970s and since that time the Orthodox have fully recognised that the Anglicans have women priests and yet they've come to the conclusion we must still go on talking together. But, we appreciated in the 1980s that to approach

directly the question of women priests was too difficult; and more especially because the Anglicans themselves are divided on this point, deeply divided. Yes. People in the Church of England would say, but we've voted by two-thirds majority to have women priests. That means, nearly one third were against it. That means thousands of priests in the Church of England are still against it. So, not to mention the laity . . . So, the Anglicans are very divided. And, therefore, it's likely that a discussion head on of this question will not be very helpful. At the moment, what we are discussing - and this was decided around 2006 with the adoption of the Ravenna Statement - is to move from ecclesiology to anthropology. Having looked for twenty years or so at the nature of synodality in the Church and the meaning of primacy, having produced a one hundred and ten page statement on this subject, perhaps it was time for the Joint Commission to move on to something else; that really was my view. And I suggested that we should, for the time being, not go on discussing primacy – that's a danger we dig ourselves into the sand if we go on and on with the same topic – and I suggested turning to the understanding of the human person. And in this way, I think, we may come back to the question of women priests. Because one of the things we shall raise is, in our doctrine of the human person how do we understand the difference of male and female, the point I've already touched on. And that will lead us on to is there a reason in our doctrine of the human person why women can't be priests and so, I think we have not abandoned this question, but were coming at it obliquely.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Lovely, Thank you very much your Eminence.

Appendix 2

Interview with Former Anglican Archbishop Rowan Williams

Master's Lodge, Magdalene College, Cambridge

5 February 2014

Dimitrios Salapatas: Your Grace, thank you for this interview.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: You're very welcome.

Dimitrios Salapatas: First question. What is your relation with the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: I first became aware of it when I was a teenager, actually, when I'd become a bit interested in Orthodoxy. And I remember writing to get a reading list from the headquarters in St Basil's House in London. That was my first actual contact. And then I went to some meetings here when I was an undergraduate. First time I heard Metropolitan Kallistos and the first time I heard Nicolas Zernov, both Fellowship meetings here. Then I started going to conferences when I was a graduate student in Oxford. So, I suppose the relationship goes back nearly fifty years now.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Interesting. How much has Orthodoxy influenced your theology?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: Enormously I think. It began as I say when I was a teenager and I just got interested in a very amateur way. But reading Metropolitan Kallistos' book on *The Orthodox Church*, which came out in the 60s when I was a teenager. In a sense it was that book that gave me a real introduction to the history of theology for the first time and I began to see how the doctrines and the creeds evolved and didn't stop evolving in the 5th century. So when I came to study theology at Cambridge, I think I had got a strong sense that the way a lot of Western scholars read the Fathers wasn't necessarily the best way of reading them and that you needed to see them in the context of an ongoing tradition. That's where I remember to this day the lecture I heard from Fr. Kallistos, as he then was, in about 1968 or 9, when he talked about continuity and innovation in Orthodox Theology. And talked about how the great themes of Patristic Theology were constantly being sort of developed and filled out, and in some ways revolutionised by people like Symeon and Gregory Palamas. So that was an insight. And then I picked up Lossky's *Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, and the rest is history (as they say); I wrote my thesis on Lossky. So, again it's something that

goes back a long way and I suppose it influenced me in two major respects. One was exactly that sense of continuity, that the tradition of the Fathers is a living reality and you don't just study the Fathers; you try and think and pray with them. Second I suppose, especially in Lossky's theology, the tremendously strong emphasis on the person and on relation. The person as what is constituted in relationship, so that the absolute relationality of God is mirrored in mutuality and mutual . . . putting in to the identity of the other that goes on in humanity.

Dimitrios Salapatas: What are your views on the relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: It's a story that, that has gone up and done quite a bit in the last hundred years. And I think one of the things that come into it is some very, very complicated political changes. There was a time when, perhaps in the early years of the century, the Archbishop of Canterbury played quite a significant role in the First World War period and just after in defending the interests of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Christian groups in the Ottoman Empire as it was reforming. There was a lot of interest and sympathy. And I think at that time what was politically a rather weak Orthodox Church felt they had a strong protector in the Church of England, because that was still an imperial power, a Church of an Imperial Power. Similarly I think in some bits of the twentieth century, Christians in Russia wanted to have friends elsewhere and found some friends in the Church of England. Now, I think since the great changes in Eastern Europe the power dynamics are very different. I don't think people think of Britain as a particularly significant world power, necessarily. They definitely don't think of the Church of England as a significant world power. The sort of Renaissance of Russian, Russian nationalism and Russian identity and the, let's just say increased confidence of the Russian Church – let the reader understand; we can seem as a side show, so that's, that's a bit of the history that doesn't always get thought about – the sheer political change between one hundred years ago and now. Second factor is, in the period from let's say 1920 to 1960 maybe, probably one of the dominant voices in the Church of England, and to some extent of the Anglican Communion more widely, was, what I'd call, a quite Catholic Sacramental Creedal emphasis, very suspicious of Roman Catholicism but quite anchored in Catholic Tradition, a great revival of Eucharistic understanding. And in all that the influence and the impact of the Orthodox World flowed in quite naturally to the idea that, of course, you could have a non-papal Catholicism. And there was some conversion I suppose. You see it very much in bits in the history of the Fellowship; the impact of Fr. Bulgakov, and to a lesser extent of Fr. Florovski; the friendship between people like Lossky and Eric Mascall and Donald Allchin, of course representing all sorts of convergent points in that. From the 60s Anglican Theology, certainly in Britain and again in the United States and elsewhere became a good deal more divided, very very strong liberal currents took it further away

from classical orthodox (with a small 'o') doctrine. Since the seventies and eighties the rise of Evangelicalism has again made some of that world rather strange and you now look at an Anglican world that seems at times, not quite accurately but seems to be polarised between liberals and evangelicals and the kind of classical traditional, not traditionalist but traditional, catholic, Eucharistic, Trinitarian, creedal practice that I grew up in and seemed to me what Anglicanism was, doesn't seem so self-evident to a lot of people now. That's had its impact, because Orthodox theologians have since the sixties and seventies said it's quite difficult to talk to people who don't seem to accept the Creed as it stands. I think it's equally difficult in terms for them to talk to people who don't know what a Liturgy is. So, I would say that from some quite strong moments of convergence that it was still visible, I think, when I was first involved in the Fellowship in the sixties and seventies, it's become more varied, sometimes more strained, in spite of the fact that of course that the international dialogue group since the 70s has produced some extraordinarily solid work. And also, just to add, the often personal relations have been extremely warm. And when I was Archbishop I found myself welcomed with huge generosity in a number of Orthodox settings, in the Phanar certainly, in Jerusalem; I think I met all, all the Patriarchs of the historic Sees in my time.

Dimitrios Salapatas: You have published two books on icons, given talks on iconography. It is interesting that an Anglican Archbishop has shown such an interest towards icons, which is, in many respects a very Orthodox theme. Why have you shown such an interest towards icons?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: Again it goes back to my schoolboy years, picking up a book on Russian icons, in 1963 or 4. It was a little book published by Unesco, part of their world heritage series; just a series of reproductions of classical Russian icons, with the Rublev Trinity on the front cover. And I was completely, completely overwhelmed by these images. And I had never seen anything quite like them. And as I reflected and studied, not at least with the help of Fr. Kallistos' book, I could see how some of the things that seem to me most evident about the Christian world view, that it had to do with the transfiguration of the material world and that the sacramental change was something not just about the Eucharist but about the whole of our lives, body and souls; then the icon made absolute sense in that context and the theological defence of icons at the Seventh Council seemed to me, yes a natural involvement from a previous direction of theology. So, you could say that the interest and enthusiasm for icons had to do with that same point about church history and theological development not coming to a halt in about 450 but going on unfolding its implications in centuries ahead. So, that was a big part of it and I suppose, because I've always used icons in my own personal devotion since that time and I don't think I've ever lived in a room without an icon in it, that it matters a great deal to me.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Today many Anglican churches have at least one icon. Do you think that this slow revival of icons within the West is the result of the relations and dialogue with Orthodoxy?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: That's quite a complicated question really. I think in some ways it is the result of a much increased awareness of the Eastern Church, I think. In my early years an interest in the Orthodox Church was a bit marginal, in spite of what I said about the high level exchanges in the average parish. Nobody knew much about it.

Dimitrios Salapatas: It's probably the case today.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: Well, probably still is. But, yeah, people became more aware. Taize played quite a role, I think, for a younger generation, getting people used to the idea of icons. And in the early years of the Taize community, well earlyish – you know the 60s, they produced their own icons and their own, sort of, more modern style, but that got people thinking about the tradition and the conventions and for a while I had a rather beautiful little icon of the Mother of God, painted by Taize in a very modern idiom, not very traditional, yet the overall shape of it, the overall sort of flow of it was quite clearly based on the great classic icons of the Mother of God. So, I think for younger British Christians and other Western European Christians who went to Taize and shared the life of the community and saw something of what's going on there, but the icons of that world came in there. Then there is a more negative side to it, which is I think a bit of a crisis or a loss of nerve about religious art in the West – I know you've got a question about works of art, which I'll come to in a moment, but this may help shed light on that – a lot of Western Church art up to say 1960 is conventional without being canonical, in the Eastern sense, you know, that is that there are accepted ways of producing statues and holy pictures and so forth. But, increasingly that narrow, medieval revival style, the stained glass window, the painted altar piece – I think in the Roman Catholic Church as well in the Anglican Church there's a bit of a thing that that's all a bit stale, it's not got much life to it, and that didn't seem to be getting revived from within very much. So, I think people looked to these products, these images from another Christian world as if like cutting across at right angles and saying here is something completely different, here is something which isn't meant to work like a conventional religious picture. And I think that began just a little bit to move people on from the works of mind frame to something else. And I'm thinking out loud here but this is the subject that really interests me: what's the difference, if you like, between a typical Catholic or Anglican statue of the Mother of God from 1930 or 1940 and an Icon of the Mother of God? I'm not quite sure what it is, but it's something to do with the fact that Western Art has always theorised what's it's doing, very much in terms of a visual aid, to prayer and theology. It's, it's an add-on. And what you don't expect is to see the image as a real source of action or energy, as you might say. And

although a lot of Westerners wouldn't know much or understand much about the Orthodox notion that the icon does, in some important sense, transmit the ἐνέργεια (energeia) of what it depicts. They are aware that it is something more than just a visual aid; somewhere in between, what people find themselves. But, I think it's quite a bit to do with the sort of disillusion with a professional, conventional Western religious art that's gone a bit dead.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Do you believe that the West will revive the tradition of iconography? I say this because there are many views that Orthodoxy has brought iconography now that it is present here. Where others, including me, believe that, seeing for example St Alban's Cathedral in St Alban's, where there are icons on the walls, we see that the Orthodox are just reviving this tradition. But will it catch on?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: I'd be interested to see, I think it will only catch on if people understand the theology, because it's . . . to put it bluntly, it's no good having an iconographic tradition in the West which is just concerned with decorating churches, it's got to do something with meeting God, if you like. Now, I'm fascinated by the fact that there are so many iconographers in this country. There's a journal, there's a network of iconographers. But, where does it fit, where exactly does it fit within the practice of the Western Church? I think that's a bit unfinished business at the moment. And what interests me a lot is the question of whether the Western iconographer, whether Orthodox or non-Orthodox, has to be simply, if you like, adapting the Byzantine tradition, or is there some element in the Western tradition that can be retrieved and developed in the same way. At Bossay, the monastery of Bossay in Italy they have a very, very impressive school of iconographers who work, quite deliberately in Byzantine idiom and Coptic and also in very early Medieval Western style, because they say that's just enough in touch with the Byzantine to make it possible, and that would be interesting. But I think the Coptic story in itself is fascinating because, I think this is true, up until the sixties or seventies, you couldn't really say that there was an identifiable tradition of Coptic iconography; there is art in Egyptian churches, and there are different strands of frescoes painting in the Coptic history, but suddenly with the work of Isaac Fanous and others of his school in Egypt, you begin to have a real school of Coptic iconography, building on these traditions, but actually shaping them up and refining them, in really interesting ways. Maybe that will happen in respect to ancient Western idioms and if you look at something like the iconography at the Shrine of St David in West Wales, I think what you see, fascinatingly is a real attempt to a non-Byzantine but genuine iconographic presentation of St David and the other Saints there. I don't know if you've seen it.

Dimitrios Salapatas: No I haven't.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: It's quite clearly not a Byzantine imitation. It has some contact with some kind of manuscript painting tradition of the 11th, 12th century in Britain, but it's not just that either. It's a very, very impressive and interesting new development I'd say.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Currently Western Christians understand the icons as a work of art, as we said before. Could this alter, adopting the practice of the Orthodox, where icons are venerated and part of the liturgical life of the East? Could it happen or not?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: It could, it does a bit. I'm interested that sometimes I am now asked when I visit churches to bless and dedicate an icon; it's not just up on the wall as a decoration. Some places where I've been have actually been very serious about the fact that this is not just a picture. You sometimes see people kissing them or lighting candles, especially lighting candles or praying in front of them, but there's some way to go. But, I went last year to St Martin's Church in Cardiff, where they just had an iconographer working at a big mosaic of the Pantokratora.

Dimitrios Salapatas: That's where we met, yes.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: Of course we did, yes. Yes of course. That's right. I was trying to remember where we'd met. But yes, that's a case in point, I mean there was a great deal about the theology of it there, so there are people who when they install these things do think about the theology. I'd like to see more about that, because...

Dimitrios Salapatas: I mean could, going away from the question, could you probably write a third book on what you do with icons? I mean, your two books are very interesting on what they are, and you describe them.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: What you do with them?

Dimitrios Salapatas: But how would an Anglican or a person in the West act in front of an icon, where for the Orthodox it's a given.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: It's a given and it isn't for us. Yes. Well, that's a very interesting question, I must think about, about that. I think British people are terribly inhibited about kissing things in churches. And, yes, the other thing I suppose is kissing things has been associated with a rather sort of fussy self-conscious kind of High Church Anglicanism, and you don't want that. It's hard to get people unselfconsciously relating to icons.

Dimitrios Salapatas: So it's also, not only a theological issue, but, probably, a cultural issue.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: It's a cultural issue, yes. I think it is in many ways. And it goes very deep, because, since the Reformation, actually, both Catholics and Protestants in the West have moved away from the vivid sense of the Church being already inhabited when you come in to it; and to me that's one of the most significant things of an Orthodox Church, you come to it, it's already inhabited, it's already been prayed in. And so when you come in you don't have to crank up the machine and sort of start something of in the void. You slip into a prayer that's constantly been offered, through the presence and the spiritual activity of the saints depicted, who are there praying when you're not. Now that, even for Catholics in the West I think, that's a rather strange idea. And that's probably why the veneration of the Reserve Sacrament in the Catholic Church is so important because that kind of offsets the idea, that says Yes there is something here, or someone here, even if you're not, and you can slip into that. But the sense of being surrounded by the blood of witnesses and the company of heaven, that's part of what we need to recover, I think.

Dimitrios Salapatas: The last question, leaving away from the icons. Do you think that the issue of deaconesses, women priests and women bishops will eventually result in the collapse of the dialogue with the Orthodox?

Archbishop Rowan Williams: Yes, well it hasn't yet, although it strained relations very, very seriously, and I think it pinpoints one of the most delicate areas in the relationship because, one of the things which Orthodox and Anglicans do sort of have in common, is the idea that there is no one central, supreme executive authority in the church and therefore local churches are quite properly, in some sense, self-governing. But what are the limits of what a self-governing church can do without the other, the other churches. And that's where we're really stuck in the Anglican family, because we have decisions made by one province and not by another; whether it is women bishops or it is about sexuality, and we are in quite a mess about that. So, our tensions are mostly about theology and discipline. Orthodox tensions are mostly about jurisdictions, but let's not go there. And people talk to me about the undivided witness of Orthodoxy; I do occasionally think hmmm . . . Just how many Orthodox Churches are there in this town [Cambridge].

Dimitrios Salapatas: Fr. Bulgakov had said that the Orthodox are a confederation of churches, in his book *The Orthodox Church*.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: And, as I said, that's something which most Anglicans would applaud. But then we say, and that means that we have freedom to innovate, in certain ways, without the others. And one of my concerns, when I was Archbishop, was to try to get sufficient mutual understanding between the local churches to say, well we don't rush ahead from each other. If we

want to make corporate change, that we believe is according to the will of God, then we need to take the proper time for it. But, we're in a culture where that seems a very remote possibility. So it's not going to get any easier, when we have women bishops in the Church of England, and I'm entirely in favour, that will pose a problem, in our dialogue, but I think it's interesting that in the last round of the Anglican-Orthodox Dialogue, which I was a bit involved in, what we tried to do was to start a long way back, and to say, well, what do we want to say about the Church? What do we want to say about the new humanity in Christ? What do we want to say about the Sacraments? What do we want to say about the ministry? Rather than go straight to the women priest issue, just see how much we really had in common, about the Church itself. And I think the statement in *The Church of the Triune God* does have quite a lot of meat in it, from that point of view. And, I remember long hours with Metropolitan John Zizioulas, both of us sort of sitting with wet towels on our heads trying to crop some of the stuff, and exchanging quotations from the Fathers. And in one famous occasion, in Bucharest, I think, when John and I were disagreeing strongly over a passage from St Maximus the Confessor. The Romanian Bishop who was with us, sending out to the Patriarch a library for a copy of St Maximus the Confessor's so we can check the texts in full and then the rest of the commission just left us to it for an hour or so. And we sat with St Maximus and sorted out the form of words that we could agree on. And the point is there are other things to talk about. And I don't think it's the case that, if you disagree on women priests, you bound to disagree about the hypostatic union or the physical resurrection; some people think so, but I don't believe that, so you have things to talk about. And of course, though I don't want to overemphasise this, there are some voices in the Orthodox Churches that would say that we can't regard the ordination of women as a completely closed question. The great Elizabeth Behr-Siegel of course, Metropolitan Kallistos trails his coat on this and of course the late Metropolitan Anthony as well. So, it's not as if this shuts everything down straight away. But it suits some Anglicans and it suits some Orthodox to say, well, you know, if we disagree, that's it, we're off. I really am deeply committed to doing all I can to stop that happening.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Lovely, thank you very much Your Grace, thank you.

Archbishop Rowan Williams: You're more than welcome.

Appendix 3

Interview with Dr Tim Grass

At British Library, London

08 July 2014

Dimitrios Salapatas: First question, could you tell me what is the Evangelical-Orthodox Discussion Group?

Dr Tim Grass: OK. I need to begin a little further back here. A number of years ago, I convened a study group under the wing of the Evangelical Alliance in the United Kingdom. They had a theological commission, and I suggested to them that there was a need for them to do a study of Eastern Orthodoxy. The commission was looking at topics which were hot potatoes in the Evangelical world. And the mid-90s was the year of Peter Gilgwest and the large number of converts with the background in campus crusade in the USA. So, Evangelicals were beginning to take notice of the Eastern Orthodoxy, in a way they hadn't before, and that actually coincided with my beginning to teach Church History through Spurgeon's College, where I am an associate lecturer. We convened a study group from 1997, which had nine members, of whom two were Orthodox and the rest were Evangelical. We produced a published report, *Evangelicalism and the Orthodox Church*, which appeared in 2001. Before publication, that was submitted to a range of theologians, ecumenists, leading figures in both traditions and so on, for their input. Now, I would suggest that you would find that book valuable background to the current topic that we're discussing. Having seen that through to publication, because I edited the book as well as convening the group, I was very much of the opinion that this was just the beginning, rather than an end; we had not, by any means, said the last word on relations between Evangelicals and the Orthodox Churches in Britain. Rather, we'd offered the first. And so I began to investigate possibilities for continuing this dialogue. The Evangelical Alliance were not in a position to do so and it was some years really before, in discussion with Fr Stephen Platt, the possibility was mooted of such a dialogue taking place under the auspices of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius. Stephen and I had various preparatory meetings. I was already a member of the Fellowship, anyway and had spoken at one of their summer conferences and Stephen always made the point to me, in conversation, that he was keen to up the level of Evangelical involvement in the activities of the Fellowship because, in his mind, that had been a feature of the early years, after 1928. Now you'll be better placed than me to judge whether or not that's the case, but that was certainly one of the things which was in his mind. He took it to, I

presume the Council of the Fellowship, to secure their approval. And that was readily given. And we met from 2008 until this year. We usually met twice a year, for a day, in Oxford, to look at particular topics and we tried to have an Evangelical and an Orthodox perspective on each of the topics that we've covered. The group is, nominally, by invitation. But, in practice, we've been fairly open, if somebody has said to us, 'somebody I know who I think will enjoy coming along,' we've usually said, 'Yes that's fine.' And membership of the group has included theologians, lecturers, church leaders, full-time ecumenists and just people with an interest in the subject. We've tended not to major on the issues that are raised by converts from one tradition to the other, because that opens two rather large cans of worms, one for each tradition. Rather, we wanted to adopt a more constructive approach, looking at particular issues, which are agreed by both of us to be crucial to the life of the church and the Christian faith, and exploring the extent to which we agree, disagree, or say the same things, using different terminology, just rather what Athanasius was doing in the fourth century, in the 360s, and so on. We aim to publish the papers, which are given at the conference. And that is currently under investigation with a major publisher that as yet I'm not in the position to offer any details.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Does this group, do you think that this group affects the life of the Fellowship, in its ecumenical work, in its work towards bringing Anglicans and Orthodox closer?

Dr Tim Grass: That, I don't know, because I've not been able to get to the summer conferences in recent years. Somebody who has been involved in this group, and who, I think has been able to make more of the conferences, is the Revd Dr Chris Moore, in Herefordshire, and you would certainly find him worth asking that question. My suspicion is that, probably, it hasn't. I think, in my experience . . .

Dimitrios Salapatas: I mean, even in *Sobornost* there's no indication of the existence of this group.

Dr Tim Grass: We did put a report of the first meeting in *Sobornost*.

Dimitrios Salapatas: OK.

Dr Tim Grass: That did appear. So you need to look back 2008, 2009.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Since then?

Dr Tim Grass: No. We haven't been concerned to report in *Sobornost*, though we could have done. I mean, I know Andrew Louth, and so I would certainly not think it's any deliberate policy, but we just haven't done so. It's possible that we should have done; but, it's just one of those things. I think Fr Stephen and I probably had our hands full: one keeping the meetings on track and two investigating

publication of the papers. My suspicion is that the non-Orthodox members of the Fellowship, who would mostly be Anglican, are largely unfamiliar with Evangelicalism. And, therefore, the discussions that we are having may not be an issue for them, in quite the same way that they might for either of us. But that is, just, my instinct. I know that when Fr Stephen asked me to speak at the conference, which I did in 2005, I was conscious that what I was presenting, because he asked me to speak about the Evangelicals and the Cross, was not only, perhaps, unfamiliar territory to the Orthodox, but also to other members of the Fellowship, as well. Nonetheless, they published my lecture, you know. So I've never felt that there's any resistance from the Fellowship. Just that it is completely unfamiliar grounds to these people. And, perhaps for some, it's not on their radar.

Dimitrios Salapatas: What is the future of this group? Will it continue with its current life?

Dr Tim Grass: No. We have already said it . . . Fr Stephen and I took the decision that the last meeting was the final one, of the group, in its present form. That does not preclude us, arranging something, say to launch the book, when it arrives, eventually. Or arranging other events, should that be so desired. But, we didn't want it to become one of those things that goes on indefinitely, attracting an ever-smaller number of people and not really doing much to facilitate an understanding between the two denominations. We thought that, rather than let the thing die, it was better to kill it. You know, and to be decisive about that. And so at the last meeting this spring [2014] we announced that that would be the last meeting.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Could it come to life again, in a new format? Probably through the conference, or some conferences?

Dr Tim Grass: It's not been ruled out. But, there are Evangelical members of the Fellowship. I mean Chris Moore is a member; he has spoken at the conferences. I'm a member. I'm sure there . . . I think Steven Dray is a member; these are all Evangelicals. So, I see no reason why something shouldn't happen. But, at the moment, our prime focus probably needs to be to get the book out and then to see how that is received. What sort of impact it makes and take things from there.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Thank you very much. Thank you.

Appendix 4

Interview with Fr. Stephen Platt

At St Gregory and St Macrina House, Oxford

18 September 2013

Dimitrios Salapatas: Fr. Stephen, could you explain the relevance of the existence of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius today?

Fr. Stephen Platt: Yes . . . Some people say that the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius is an elderly organisation. It was founded at a time when relations between the Anglicans and the Orthodox were different. Times have changed. And the Fellowship is no longer relevant in today's ecumenical climate. I would disagree with this. For me the strength of the Fellowship in today's ecumenical climate lies in its unofficial character. Over the course of the twentieth century we saw emerge an official style of ecumenism as typified by the Faith and Order World Council of Churches and then the bilateral dialogues between the different Christian confessions. And each of these styles of official ecumenism, officially sponsored and organised ecumenism and ecumenical dialogue, each of these has encountered problems. The Fellowship . . . the problems, of course, arise when one cannot agree on points of theological difference and so it seems as if the path towards Christian Unity is being . . . is not reaching its goal. The goals of the Fellowship are somewhat different. For the Fellowship the goal is perhaps not to arrive at joint doctrinal statements, at official documents which may be criticised as reducing everything to the lowest common denominator or of compromising the essential teachings of the Orthodox faith in order to foster dialogue and closer cooperation. For us the strength of our organisation lies in its unofficial character. Yes, we exist to discuss, to learn from one another, to pray for each other and to work to increase peoples' level of knowledge and awareness of the other. But perhaps, the chief quality of the Fellowship lies precisely in its Fellowship, in its ability to foster friendships, sometimes very deep and close personal friendships between its members, who, although they are separated from one another in Eucharistic communion because of their not being part of the same church, there is in a sense a transcendence of this separation through personal friendship and through simple Christian love. So, I think that this is really one of the main strengths of the Fellowship and this continues to explain the Fellowship's relevance in an increasingly difficult ecumenical climate.

Dimitrios Salapatas: What is the importance of this society within the Anglican-Orthodox Relations?

Fr. Stephen Platt: Well again, going on from what I was just saying, the Fellowship has a role, a distinct role as being unofficial and not being sponsored by one of the churches, either the Orthodox Church or the Anglican Communion. There are official channels of dialogue, like the Anglican Orthodox Joint Theological Dialogue, which has met from time to time over a course of many years, to try to reach agreement on points of theological difference. And this dialogue, which originally set out with one of its aims as being working towards full Eucharistic communion, this dialogue has had to downscale its aims over the years because this initial target has seemed more and more unachievable. There are also officially sponsored organisations, like the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association. The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association is an official Anglican organisation to foster relationship with the Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches. But because it is officially sponsored from the Anglican side this places it as being a rather specific society with a specific task, almost like a sort of Anglican diplomatic mission towards the Orthodox, in which Orthodox are invited to participate. The Fellowship, on the other hand, has as its members and as its patrons, both Orthodox and Anglicans and Christians of other confessions and yet it belongs to no one of these churches. It is a sort of spontaneously generated out of the desire of each of these groups to get to know one another. And it's this unofficial character which gives it a distinct role. Because, the people who belong to it and who discuss matters of theological interest or who meet together, because these people are not officially representing their churches, but are there as simply member of these churches, with the blessing of their hierarchs, usually, and in certain . . . in the case of the Orthodox, they have a degree of freedom to discuss unofficially. And then this unofficial contact can have transformative impact on the official life of their respective communions. For example, the last Archbishop of Canterbury before now, Dr Rowan Williams has been a lifelong member of the Fellowship. His interest in Orthodox theology, influenced both his teaching in the University of Oxford and then his life first as an Anglican priest and then a Bishop and then Archbishop, and throughout all of his pastoral ministry and continuing now as an academic, he makes frequent reference to the Fellowship and to the importance of the things that he learnt in that context and the friendships that he made there. This is the sort of influence that the Fellowship has on the life of people within their respective Eucharistic communions.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Can you explain the life of St Gregory and St Macrina' House and its significance within the life of the Fellowship? Is it fair to say that the Houses are the pastoral side of the Fellowship?

Fr. Stephen Platt: That's an interesting way to put it, Dimitri. I think that it is quite an important aspect of our life as a Fellowship, is in fact this strangely enough pastoral care, allowing people to live in communion with each other and in community. The word *koinonia* is related not only to Eucharistic Communion with Christ, but also related to our living in common with one another, or being the body of Christ. Of course, St Gregory and Macrina House in Oxford was not the first centre of the Fellowship's life and in fact initially existed at a distance from the Fellowship. Nicolas Zernov and the earlier members of the Fellowship founded in the 1940s St Basil's House in Ladbroke Grove in West London, and this house existed as the Fellowship's centre right up until the 1990s when it had become very expensive to maintain and there was no money for repairs and income from rent and so on was not very great. And so in the 1990s the decision was taken to sell St Basil's House in London and to move the Fellowship's office here to Oxford and to move them here to St Gregory and St Macrina's, because it already existed, and was a sort of sister organisation of the Fellowship. You see Nicolas Zernov, after he was appointed to his university lectureship here in Oxford, moved from London here and wanted to replicate what had happened in London by founding a House here in Oxford too. And the Fellowship Council was reluctant to provide funds for this. They thought that this was a risk, the financial venture. And so Nicolas Zernov said, well, I'll do it myself, and so he found people to sponsor the purchase of this house. Their names are written up on two tablets on the wall, in the hall way outside. Many of these people were members of the Fellowship and already connected with the whole cause of Orthodox-Anglican Relationship. But officially this was a separate venture. And now, fifty years after the founding of this house we've reached a point where the Fellowship and the House of St Gregory and St Macrina are being forged back into one organisation in order to consolidate and to foster the future. And to continue work for what are the most important aspects of our aims. One of these things is pastoral contact. This house really exists, broadly speaking, for three reasons. First of all it is a centre for Christian students of different confessions and traditions to live together with each other in community and to get to know one another. The same sort of idea I was talking about a moment ago. I lived here as a student. And I lived here with Orthodox, yes, but also with Roman Catholics and Anglicans and others and the relationships that I forged here and the friendships that I made here have remained lifelong friendships and have influenced my contacts with non-Orthodox Christians, as an Orthodox priest. So, the House, place of residence, and common life is one of these aspects. The other aspect of this house's existence is to provide a centre and a home for the Orthodox communities here. The Orthodox Church exists in the garden, as you know. But the centre for its social life and activities is this House. It's the place where talks can be held, where the parish schools can meet, where people can come together for fellowship after the services. And that continues to be an important aspect of

the life of these houses. That goes back to the beginning. The room that we are sitting in now, the library of St Gregory's House, was the first Orthodox Church here. It was the Chapel before the Church in the garden was built. So that's been a link that's been there from the beginning. And the third, but by no means, the least important aspect of our life here, is as a centre for Inter-Christian dialogue and contact and for scholarly exchange. And that goes on largely through the programs that organised by the Fellowship and by the St Theosevia Centre. The St Theosevia's House is our third house, on the other side of the Church. So there are various programs of study days, of talks, of theological dialogues, for instance in a couple of weeks' time we have the, one of the twice yearly meetings of the Evangelical-Orthodox Theological Discussion Group, which we started to take over from that which had previously existed in Switzerland, sponsored by the World Council of Churches, but had become defunct; so, this sort of work goes on. So the Houses have both a pastoral context, in terms of the resident communities here; but, they also have a function of outreach and of witness and as a centre of scholarship and study. Actually, this is the direction that we have to look at, in terms of the future of these Houses and of the Fellowship, in terms of what we can do to develop that; but I will answer that when we come to the end of your list of questions.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Can you explain the importance of the branches, not only within the UK but worldwide? Do they play a role in the life of the Society?

Fr. Stephen Platt: Yes, the branches of the Fellowship come and go, to be honest. And this always seems to have been the case. If I look back over old copies of our journal *Sobornost* and publicity materials, one can see that there were branches of the Fellowship in places where now there are not. And now there are branches of the Fellowship where before there was nothing. So, local branches of the Fellowship, which are very different in character; some of them are very small, have probably ten or fifteen members and are more like a sort of, a very informal discussion group. Others, for instance, our bureau in Athens, Greece, which is called Ainos, have a completely distinct character, have a very solid established backing and can organise events that attract six or seven hundred people, if they have a good speaker. The branches play a role in various contexts. In some places they're the only place where, for instance, an Anglican person who was attracted to Orthodox Church life and worship, might be able to experience the Orthodox Liturgy. There are still places in the world where Orthodox are very few and far between. Even in Western Europe, you know, some of our branches in Scandinavia, for instance, in Denmark, in Sweden, there are very few Orthodox Churches, there are people there who love the Orthodox Church, but who could never contemplate being an Orthodox because they would not be in a position to travel three hundred miles to go to Church. So they carry on as best as they can, in their own Lutheran churches. They are very much

strengthened by their membership of the Fellowship. And when there are events organised by the Fellowship with an Orthodox Liturgy, or some sort of Orthodox act of worship, they make a special effort to go to that. One of the most touching activities of one of our local branches is in our Danish branch. In Denmark, in Copenhagen, there is a very well established branch of the Fellowship, and every year, during the week of prayer for Christian unity they organise something, which is called in Danish a Kirkevandring, which means a church procession or a church walk, and the people involved walk from one of the famous central Copenhagen churches to another, I think they take in six or seven churches in total, there is no Greek Church in Copenhagen, so they go to, I think, the main Lutheran Cathedral or one of the main Lutheran churches, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Russian Orthodox Church, which is a historical Orthodox Church there, because it was founded by Princess Dagmar, of Denmark, who married into the Russian Royal family, and they go to the Swedish church and the Anglican church and then one other church. And in each of these churches there is a short address or a prayer or a hymn or, in the Orthodox Church, there is a short Paraklisis or short Doxology, or something like that, and this event takes up the whole of an evening. They start, I suppose at about 6 or 6.30 and it goes on till 10 or 10.30. This event is so popular and such a big event in the life of the city that they now have to do it in two shifts, because the churches, some of which are very large, cannot contain the number of people who come to take part, hundreds of people. And many people come on this procession and they simply know that the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius is the organisation that organises the church procession; so the Fellowship has sort of made an inroad there into the life of Christians in one Scandinavian country. Other branches are very new. In America for instance we have a number of branches that are starting. There they face different challenges, largely to do with fractures that exist, not between the Orthodox and the Anglicans, but within those groups. The Orthodox in America, as you know, are very divided, jurisdictionally. The Anglicans in America are very divided also, in terms of liberal and traditional churchmanship. And so they have challenges, which can be addressed again through these branches, again because they have an unofficial character and they provide the freedom for people to be able to talk, in a different kind of spirit. (Should we do the next question)?

Dimitrios Salapatas: Is it fair to state that Nicolas Zernov *WAS* the Fellowship – the spirit of the Fellowship, since he was such a significant figure within this society?

Fr. Stephen Platt: Sometimes people think this that Nicolas Zernov *was* the Fellowship. Certainly he was the most dynamic, the most central figure and the galvanising figure in the first, well actually up until his death, I would say, which was 1980. '80, or '81 . . . '80, yes. But, Nicolas Zernov was not without opposition. He was an inconsistent figure, as I'm sure you will discover from your research,

and I think you ask about that in another question, so we will look at that later on. There were people in the Fellowship who were quite prepared to stand up to him and to overrule him. One of the big examples of this was on his insistence on trying to recapture Father Sergei Bulgakov's idea of limited intercommunion between members of the Fellowship, in the context of Fellowship events, which you know about already.⁹⁴¹ I'm not sure whether you're aware that Nicolas Zernov tried to revisit this idea, much later on. And he was overwhelmingly overruled by members of the Fellowship and by the Fellowship's Executive Council. And actually nobody remembers, in history, things done by committees; but in fact the committee or the executive or the Fellowship Council (as it now is) has acted through the years as a very useful safety device, to the more extreme ideas of people like Nicolas Zernov or his successors. The Fellowship Council is not very good at taking pro-active decisions in a particular direction that relies on somebody else to have a vision for the organisation, but it's very good at making sure that people don't run away with their vision. And I think that this happened in the case of Nicolas, on various occasions. But, certainly after the death of Nicolas Zernov and after the death of Father Lev Gillet, which happened around the same time, the Fellowship lost a kind of particular direction in which it was going. And this coincided with a change in direction of Anglican-Orthodox Relations as well, largely speaking to do with developments that occurred within the Anglican Communion. So, Nicolas certainly represented the initial style of the Fellowship. The Fellowship really, I think, and I think we've said this before; the Fellowship really came into existence by accident. I mean, really, what Nicolas Zernov did, in the first place, was to organise conferences to bring together Anglican and Orthodox students, or English and Russian students – initially, and then others were drawn in, in a rather typical style. And this became a sort of, the kind of event that people wanted to repeat, as very often does happen when you organise such conferences. And then the Fellowship came into existence as an attempt to put in, to make a permanent manifestation of what people had felt in these conferences. Well, that initial nostalgia dies out with those people that belong to those first conferences; so you have to relieve it with something else, it sort of grows and emerges, not mutates, but transforms as time goes on. And the question is, really, what it transforms into. If there's a link between that and its original founders, if there's something that's different and new, if there is a common route. I think that what Nicolas Zernov stood for, in many ways, has dated very much in time; both in terms of his ecumenical vision and in terms of his vision of what Orthodoxy is. But like many things that become dated sometimes, given a few years, you can go back and look at them again and say well, maybe they had something there. And I think this will be the case with the Fellowship and with a lot of Zernov's ideas. Some of

⁹⁴¹ This is examined in Chapter three in the thesis.

them don't last, I mean, some of them just have to be left where they were in that point of history; but other things one needs to go back and look at them again.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Did he believe in a type of Branch Theory?

Fr. Stephen Platt: Yeah, I think he did. But, again.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Coming back to the intercommunion issue, that is why I am asking this question.

Fr. Stephen Platt: It's . . . I think actually, like many people who belonged to the . . . especially the Russian emigration Orthodox, I think that there are big inconsistencies and there isn't really a developed theology there, going on with Nicolas, in the way that there would be, I mean other . . . other members of the Russian emigration who were theologians. Nicolas Zernov was not really a theologian. His theology again immersed by accident. He was primarily a historian. But his historical work was also influenced by a lot of his own opinions. So it's difficult to tease these things out. On the one. So what one . . . one can discern this not from his writing so much but from his way of dealing with people, which was inconsistent. On the one hand, Nicolas Zernov seems to have spent a lot of time dissuading Anglican people who wanted to become Orthodox from doing so. He would tell them not to become Orthodox. He would tell them to remain where they were and to try to restore the orthodoxy of the Anglican church from within. This was very much the idea of people like Derwas Chitty, the author of *Orthodoxy and the Conversion of England*, and this was an idea which at the time seemed quite realistic; because there were those who were within the Anglican Communion, within the Church of England in particular, who saw that they were very close to the Orthodox Church and that they stood . . . they saw that there was a real possibility that their own Communion could be brought back into communion with the Orthodox Church, through recapturing its own lost Orthodoxy, which they thought they were quite close to achieving. And it looked that way. And actually, it was only from the 1960s and '70s onwards that it seemed that in fact the Church of England was going in a different direction, that this vision sort of started to wane. What Zernov actually thought the Church of England was, in terms of its ecclesial status or in terms of its sacramental life or whatever, I think is ambiguous. Later on he seems to be less resistant to the idea of people becoming Orthodox. And in fact, when the Orthodox Church was founded here he would encourage people not only to come along to see the Orthodox Liturgy and to pray there, but also, when they wanted to become Orthodox, he would support this. Of course, there's a story told that when this room was the Orthodox chapel here, the Orthodox people would get quite cross with Nicolas Zernov, because he invited so many Anglican people to the Liturgy, and Anglicans (as you

know) are very good at turning up on time for services, by the time the Orthodox arrived there was no room for them, and they and they used to stand outside the door, because the Church was full of Anglican Christians, who'd come to be at the Orthodox Liturgy. But, whether he actually encouraged these people to become Orthodox or not I think is unclear. Also, if anybody is going to uphold a theory, yes of intercommunion that begs a question what do they think they're doing through that. Intercommunion would mean that the Orthodox would also be receiving communion at an Anglican Service. Well that in itself is testimony to one's belief that there is a union of . . . an ecclesial nature, not only a union with Christ. It's a testimony not only to the belief in the validity of the sacrament but of the validity of the ecclesial body in which that sacrament is celebrated; so that would point to a sort of branch theory. Going on . . . I think inconsistency is the answer to that.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Can we say that through people, like Zernov, an ecumenical theology is being created?

Fr. Stephen Platt: I think ecumenical theology evolves and Zernov had his part. I'm not sure . . . I think ecumenical theology evolves to the point like . . . like in other things that evolve certain strong parts, strong characteristics survive and become dominant and other, weaker aspects that aren't able to sustain themselves die. And, problem here is that Zernov's ecumenical theology had a distinct Orthodox element to it. It wasn't an Orthodox ecumenical theology. I'm not sure if you can define it as an actual theology. Trends of ecumenical theology now are heavily dominated by liberal Protestant understandings of what ecumenical relationship is about. Orthodoxy shies away from the word, the very word ecumenism, because it sees it as being a compromise to Orthodoxy. I think that Zernov, the strong strand of Zernov's ecumenical theology – as far as the Orthodox are concerned – survives amongst those of us Orthodox who are involved in this kind of work, which is to say it does not compromise our Orthodox faith. To be in dialogue with non-Orthodox, to share with them what we . . . the riches of our Orthodox tradition and to hope that this exposure might bring us to closer union with each other. Of course, as Orthodox Christians, we can't comprehend this taking place by lowering everything to the most basic point of agreement and saying that will do. We can hope that an ecumenical unity, or any theory of this, can take place in the context of people being united in the fullness of the Orthodox faith. And this can happen in one of two ways: either through individual people uniting themselves to the Orthodox faith or through groups of people who have been separated from Orthodoxy, being restored to communion with the Orthodox Church; but, how that second one takes place is a subject for greater discussion. So, that doesn't really answer your question, but it raises some of the points in the question.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Can we say, coming back to this question, that, for example issues like intercommunion or even praying together, which praying is not permitted by the Canons of the Church, although by practice we actually do pray together.

Fr. Stephen Platt: Yes, I'm not a Canon lawyer, but I would be interested to see what, originally, the context of the Canon forbidding common prayer was. Because I suspect that the forbidding of common prayer is in the context of a Eucharistic Celebration and if . . . but one needs to look into that. Yes, of course, in contemporary practice there are many points of divergence between the canonical position and the contemporary practice and that largely has to do with the context in which the Canon was written. It would make no sense to have common prayer with heretics or schismatics, who had deliberately and consciously left the Church, or who had been expelled from the Church because of their refusal to accept Orthodox theological teaching. But in fact, Anglicans have never been condemned as heretics or scismatics and neither have Roman Catholics; these Canons were referring to Arians, Nestorians and the like. And so on the one hand there is a question as whether we should deal strictly according to the Canons with people who are where they are, through an accident of history. I think that this is not the case when we come to look at canonical communion . . . eh Eucharistic Communion. For us there can be no question of a non-Orthodox person receiving Communion in an Orthodox Church, unless it is in the context of being part of that communion, any more than there would be an Orthodox person receiving communion in a non-Orthodox setting, because this communion is not a means to our achieving union with those people who are separated, it is the sign of our union that already exists within the context of the Church. (What was the question that we were leading onto there?).

Dimitrios Salapatas: The Ecumenical Theology. Whether all of these . . . intercommunion and praying together and branch theories that evolve are part of the ecumenical theology.

Fr. Stephen Platt: I think these were all part of an ecumenical theology that emerged on the part of the Anglican High Church, really. If you look at all of these ideas, well . . . actually intercommunion; the, curiously enough, the push for intercommunion within the Fellowship came from the Orthodox side: Bulgakov and Zernov. Not all of the Orthodox; some of the Orthodox were horrified at this idea. But, those who were most horrified of all were the High Church Anglicans, who said 'No, now is not the time'. But, the idea of branch theory and the idea of this kind of ecumenical style comes, it seems to me, from a position of weakness, on the part of the Anglican church or of the High Church Anglicans in England, in particular, it came as a result of wanting recognition from the Orthodox, of wanting links with a Church which was ancient and catholic, with a small 'c,' but not Roman, and I think that this is one of the reasons, going back to the creation of the Eastern Churches League and

the Anglican . . . the Eastern Churches Association and the Anglican Eastern Churches League, what's now the AECA. The move to want a closer contact with the Eastern Churches really came as a result of realising that they were not going to get any recognition from the Roman Catholic Church. And wanting to prove themselves as being a real church. That's where the branch theory comes from as well; the idea that you are actually part of the undivided Church and not a Protestant Communion which is not connected in any ways with the great ancient churches of Christianity. This idea, the branch theory is not attractive to Protestant Christians, it doesn't matter to them whether they are part . . . they have anything in common with these other churches. That's not how their ecclesiology works. But, curiously enough, looking at it from the other side of the coin, the great agitator for closer connection between the Christian churches, in the earlier twentieth century, one of the main figures behind the creation of the Ecumenical Movement was the Patriarch of Constantinople, later Alexandria Meletios Metaxakis, who had his own curious story; but, he was very much influenced by political events of the time. And seeing the creation of a League of Nations, which would be a forum for dialogue and discussion in a political arena, he wished for the same thing between Christian churches. Now this for him was clearly in the context of the unfortunate events that had emerged around the time of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, in the early twentieth century, and the very weakened position of the Ecumenical Patriarchate at this time. So, his longing for closer connection with the West and the Western churches, and don't forget the calendar was changed around the same time and so on, this was all in order to ally himself and his Church with some source of security; so, these aspects have to be taken in consideration as well.

Dimitrios Salapatas: How do you see the issue of women priests for the relations between Anglicans and Orthodox?

Fr. Stephen Platt: Well, yes women priests and women bishops. This is an important issue because the vast majority of members of the Anglican Communion support the ordination of women and priests and as bishops and the fact that the Church of England Synod throughout the decisions to ordain women as bishops, last year, was nothing to do with peoples' opinions whether this was a good or bad thing in itself. But this was to do with a point of procedure and in fact it will still happen very soon. In the Church of England, the group who oppose the ordination of women as priests and as bishops is very small; and has been weakened further by the creation of the Ordinariate, by the Roman Catholic Church, although I don't think that this has attracted huge numbers of people. These people had already left . . . those who were going to leave. In America the situation is more polarised. The traditionalist group which is not in favour of the ordination of women is larger and more vocal. And in America the split between these people and the Episcopal church, the larger

group, is much more bitter, because it has involved arguments over church property and litigation and the like. Having said all of this, it seems to me, quite clear that the majority position of the Church of England, here in particular, and the Anglican Communion in general, in the Western world, is moving in the direction of a kind of liberal Catholicism, which I think has much more in common with the Protestant world than it does with the world of the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics. And this cannot but influence the work that we are doing. It makes it very, very difficult for us to look . . . to work towards communion. In the second of the contexts that I mentioned of restoring communion between those who are separated from the Orthodox Church as groups and the Orthodox Church. It makes it much more likely for people who are unable to accept the direction that the Anglican Church is going in; it makes it more likely for them to come as individuals to Orthodoxy. But here again there is a change because twenty years ago it was quite common for people to join the Orthodox Church in Britain, from other Christian confessions, I'm one such person. It looked like if the Orthodox Church in Britain was beginning to accept that it needed to acknowledge the cultural setting in which it found itself here. That its roots were very often in the context of the mother countries from which various immigrant Orthodox had come here: Cyprus, Greece, Russia and so on. But, that it would have to move forward and enculturate itself a little more. However, it seems to me that, for the Orthodox, we have not made much progress in this respect; that our Churches are just as, if not more ethnic than ever, rather than using increased amount of English, they probably use less English in many places than they used twenty years ago. And for somebody to leave their own church of their childhood, to become Orthodox in England, requires a real commitment. A real affirmation that the Orthodox faith is what they understand as being authentic Christianity. Because, in order to do this, they must very often accept to live out their Church life in a Church setting which is linguistically, if not culturally, extremely different. And most people, even if they accept the theory, would not be able to accept the practice of doing this. To travel, often a long distance, to attend a Liturgy in a foreign language, when the rest of their family are quite happy going along with the changes that are taking place in their own church, is not something that many people will be willing to do. So, I think that this is quite a sort of . . . difficult area. But, in terms of the relationship between Orthodox and Anglicans as bodies, we must continue to be friendly; we must continue to recognise that there are those within the Anglican Communion who, on a personal level, are very close to the Orthodox Tradition, are influenced by it; it informs their own Church life and they desire close friendship with us. We must also accept that the Anglican Communion faces . . . My final point on this question (is it recording) . . . My final point on this question is that we cannot, as Orthodox, stand by and say 'Oh look at the Anglicans, they've got women priests, they've got women bishops; haven't they gone wrong? We have nothing to do with

that.' Or say to ourselves 'well look at the Anglicans they don't know what to do over questions of same sex marriage or of gay clergy or of all of these sort of things.' We as Orthodox are the same kind of human beings. We have exactly the same pastoral issues as the Church of England. We have chosen, for one reason or another, either to deal with these differently, in terms of our Theology or Canon Law, but most of the time we've chosen to ignore them and not deal with them at all. And we should not be too critical or too superior when we look at the response that the Church of England has made to these issues. They have at least, in a spirit of humility, tried to address the problems and the issues. Now, they may have come to conclusions which are quite different from what we as Orthodox would conclude; but at least they have had the courage and the humility to face up to the issues and to discuss them. It will soon not be enough for us, as Orthodox, to say 'We are Orthodox, we don't do that'. Because our younger generations will ask the question, 'Why don't we do that?' And if the answer that we provide is not one which stands the test of Christian humility and courage and Orthodoxy, it will not be a sufficient answer. So, I think that we need to take, as Orthodox, some of these issues within the Church of England, as having a prophetic character.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Do you see a future union between the Anglicans and the Orthodox?

Fr. Stephen Platt: No. I think I've answered that already. I think as . . . the only context in which it might be possible; certainly it's not going to take place here, in this country, in the way it was envisaged by the founders of the Fellowship. It might be possible in the context of certain groups within the United States. You probably know that there is a dialogue now going on between one group of Orthodox and one Group of Traditional Anglicans. The Orthodox in question is the Orthodox Church in America and the Anglicans are the ACNA, The Anglican Church of North America. But, bear in mind the fact that the ACNA is not regarded as a legitimate group by the rest of the Anglicans; these are people who have separated themselves from the Episcopal Church, because they disagree with their liberal theology. They're recognised by certain other Anglicans in the world, in most particularly in South America and in Africa. And the Orthodox Church in America, which calls itself an Autocephalous Orthodox Church is not regarded as such by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, although it is regarded as such by certain other Orthodox Churches; so there is an analogous situation here. These two groups, clearly again want recognition, or want to move to a point where they have a closer relationship. I think, largely, to bolster their own position, that's part of it. But also, I've noticed here, that amongst the Anglicans who are part of this discussion, there is a tactical alliance between old fashioned Evangelicals and old fashioned Anglo-Catholics. Their tactical alliances because they both agree that they disagree with the ordination of women and with liberal theology and so on. But they yet have to work out what they agree on, in terms of their own basic

ecclesiology, Eucharistic theology and so on. So there are too many ifs going on here. And also, between the Orthodox and the Anglicans involved in this discussion, there clearly seems to me a difference of opinion as to how they would imagine any kind of union would take place. For the Anglicans involved it seems quite clear that they would regard a union as a recognition of their status by the Orthodox and entering into communion with them. For the Orthodox involved, it seems clear to me that they understand this as a process reaching a point where this Anglican group can be received into the Orthodox Church, which is actually the only way that an Orthodox person could imagine this process taking place. So, there are too many ifs going on there. In this country, I think that we will see a slow trickle of individual people coming to Orthodox, to be received into the Church; and for the Orthodox that's the only way it can be really because (where are we), twenty years ago . . . twenty years ago or so, there was with the creation of the Deanery, the Antiochian Patriarchate in this country, there was a move of certain Anglican parishes to be received into the Orthodox Church. They all wanted to be received as complete parishes and their priests then be re-ordained Orthodox priests and so on. At that time they came first of all to talk to Archbishop Gregorios and Metropolitan Anthony. And the two of them agreed and issued a statement saying so that they would not receive whole groups of people into the Orthodox Church, and that they agreed with this, that their position and the position of their Patriarchates was that peoples' journey to Orthodoxy must be individual and as a result of an individual conscience acceptance of the faith and teachings of the Orthodox Church; in other words, simply disagreeing with your own church that you've come from, that you don't like women priests, or whatever, was not grounds in itself for becoming Orthodox. And that this attraction to the Orthodox Tradition should be tested on an individual basis. So, in this country there was a divergence then, because the parishes in question went to the Patriarchate of Antioch, which established a Deanery in this country, made up almost entirely at that time of these parishes that had come from Anglicanism into Orthodoxy. That pattern hasn't repeated itself since then and it doesn't seem to be moving in that direction. I suspect that those who wanted to leave the Church of England have left by now, as groups, and that we might see sometimes individual people coming to Orthodoxy from within Anglicanism. These days what's much more common is that people come to Orthodoxy, attracted to it, because it is basically simple Christianity. And, twenty five years ago we would prepare people for being received into the Orthodox Church by describing the differences between Orthodoxy and other forms of Christianity. Twenty five years ago we assumed that people who grew up in Britain had a kind of idea, a basic idea of what Christianity was about, broadly Church of England sort of thing. These days, when somebody comes into an Orthodox Church for the first time you can make no such assumptions. It will very often be the first time they've been inside a church at all. And they certainly won't notice in

an Orthodox Church something that's different from their own church, because they don't go to church. The last census figures showed us that within ten years the number of people who self-identify as being Church of England has halved. So that, ten years ago, the default position asking people what religion people were would be Church of England, even if they never went to church. These days, I think that, of such people that now accounts for only about one fifth of the population, 20twenty percent. This is a huge decrease. So, I think that if we imagine that eighty percent of the population do not regard themselves as belonging to the, I use this expression guardedly, but the State Religion, the religion of the land, that means that the nature of our society is changing; it's becoming very rapidly secularised. So, the people who come to our Churches now are quite different. I've gone off the point, but I have answered the point anyway.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Where do you see the Fellowship in the future?

Fr. Stephen Platt: In this context, of growing secularisation, of (what was I going to say), of a sort of more open playing field, if you like, I actually feel that the Orthodox tradition here in this country has huge potential and a lot to offer, both on the ecumenical context, but also in the broader context of theological work and study. It's strange that although organised religion is decreasing in importance in Britain, interest in theology and spirituality is growing. And people will describe themselves as being spiritual people; they don't know what they mean by that, but it means that there is an openness and it seems to me that what unites the members of the Fellowship is an interest in, and a dependence on, to a certain extent, the theology and spirituality of the Christian East. Obviously, if we look towards the future of the Fellowship, it has to be consolidated in the place where it is strongest, which is here in Oxford, where we have our centre; but this centre is not fulfilling its potential. The way for it to fill its potential is to develop its presence and to boost each of these three areas, I mentioned earlier: community, a place for the Orthodox and a place for encounter and dialogue. If you look at what we have here in this small site, we have three large houses, we have a plot of land and we have a Church. We could actually, easily, develop, well not easily, but we could realistically develop this place into a real centre for study and for common life and for hospitality and so on. The Orthodox Community, which lies in the context of this, has to be part of that; Yes, there are other Orthodox communities here in Oxford. I'm the priest of one of them; but we all have a close relationship together. I would like to see our developing our centre here so that it could become, both in the context of the Christian scene but also in the context of academic life here in the University of Oxford, a centre for the study of Eastern Christianity. This would answer a number of other areas, which are not currently addressed. The Orthodox Church in this country has as yet no real centre for any serious theological education, for training of clergy, for training of church

workers. And it has no resources for doing so, either. But it could do so in collaboration with an organisation like the Fellowship and in the context of a great university, such as the University of Oxford. And I would like to see us developing our work along these lines as well. It seems that in terms of our work to foster union between Christians, we have reached a point where we can't go any further, as I've just been talking about. But in terms of our work to discuss, to dialogue, to study, to share and to develop our academic research, here we do need one another very much. The Orthodox don't have, certainly at the moment in the West, the great theologians that we had in the twentieth century; there are fewer. And there will be a new generation of such, but there won't be a new generation, unless there is a possibility for them to form themselves. And they must be formed in a context where they are aware of the thought and the life of Christian theologians outside the fullness of the Orthodox Church; so there are many possibilities here for us and many challenges, but it fills me with a sense of real imagination and enthusiasm when I think about the future. Some people say the Fellowship is a dead organisation or it's an organisation with more of a past than a present. And I disagree with this; I think that we have a real potential for the future. And I look forward to developing that; but, the future starts now, so I mean these are things that, in practical terms, we need to start developing here and now, step by step. And this is what we're working to do, but slow progress.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Thank you very much.

Appendix 5

Interview with Fr. Stephen Platt

At St Gregory and St Macrina House, Oxford

24 June 2015

Dimitrios Salapatas: What is currently happening with the two charities in Oxford? Is it St Gregory and St Macrina and the Fellowship? Are they two distinct? Are they the same thing?

Fr Stephen Platt: In fact it's not just two charities involved, but three; because the third charity, working in the same field, is the St Theosevia Trust, which is responsible for the administration of St Theosevia House, at 2 Canterbury Road. All of these charities have common goals, very similar charitable objects and a common history. A number of years ago, we made the decision to try to amalgamate these, at least two if not three into one charitable organisation. And we did some initial work for this. So the Fellowship's governing documents were updated; its charitable aims were clarified so it allowed the Fellowship to be involved, explicitly, in educational activities, as well as religious activities. But, the progress in amalgamating, legally, as one charity, has been slow. This is largely, because of issues in combining two charities (the House and the Fellowship), which are charitable companies, with the third charity, which is a trust, and they have different structure; but we are still working towards this goal, even though it's taking longer than we initially expected. In the meantime, the practical collaboration between the House and the Fellowship has become closer and closer, so to a large extent, even though, technically, we exist as two separate charities, we have a common programme of events, and we collaborate on these. We still look forward to having one united structure, which would enable us to move into the future with a clearer vision. But, this will still take a little time, I'm afraid, to achieve.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Who are the committee members of the Fellowship and how are they appointed?

Fr Stephen Platt: The committee members of the Fellowship, well the Fellowship, actually, has a governing council. And the governing council members act, legally, as the directors and trustees of the charity and the company. I said earlier that the Fellowship is a registered charity, but it's also a limited company; so the council members are both directors and trustees. They are appointed through election by the annual general meeting. All members of the Fellowship have the right to nominate potential council members for election. The council members must themselves be

members of the Fellowship. And they are elected on rotation, which is that every year a third of the members of the council must stand down. But they are eligible for re-election, and this frequently happens. So, we have a number of members of our Council who have been long-standing members, serving on the council. This means that we have to try, from time to time, to refresh the council and to find new input and so the council also has the right to. . . OK, so, in order to allow for the possibility of some new blood to come in to the council, the council itself also has the right to appoint, directly, new members and then these members must be elected by the AGM of the same year that follows their appointment. This allows us to bring in people who have not been nominated by the existing membership. But, as the council members, themselves, are all members of the Fellowship, that requirement is satisfied, by that. So, you asked me who the members of the council of the Fellowship are. They are a mixture of Anglican, Orthodox, and now, Roman Catholic lay people and clergy. In addition to the council members, we also have patrons of the Fellowship. Patrons include Archbishop Gregorios, Archbishop Elisey, Archbishop Job (of the Parish Exarchate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, for the Russian parishes in Western Europe), from the Orthodox. Bishop Angelos of the Coptic Church. And then, amongst the Anglican patrons, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Williams, the Bishop of London and certain others. All of the names of the patrons of the Fellowship and the members of the council are available in the public domain, because they are printed in the annual report of the Fellowship, which is available from the Fellowship, and also appears on the website of the Charity Commission, along with the financial figures for each year.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Who is the Chairperson of the Fellowship?

Fr Stephen Platt: The current Chairperson of the Fellowship Council is Archimandrite Kyril Jenner, long standing member of the Fellowship, a priest of the Orthodox Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God, in Bristol. The Chairman of the Fellowship Council, actually, has no special powers, other than it is his job to chair meetings of the council, and sometimes the council delegates their powers to him to act with certain sub-committees in between council meetings. But, all the decisions that are taken must be approved by the council, which itself meets four times a year.

Dimitrios Salapatas: So can we say that the secretary is, probably, more important or more lively within the Fellowship?

Fr Stephen Platt: The secretary has responsibility for the day to day activities of the Fellowship. I represent the Fellowship. I am the active executive officer. But, I am an employee of the Fellowship. And when the council meet, I'm in attendance as the secretary, but I have no vote on the council. It is the elected council members themselves that must make decisions. Of course, as I know the day-

to-day workings of the Fellowship and I'm actively involved in its activities, I advise the council members, but they make the decisions.

Dimitrios Salapatas: When St Basil's House, in London, was sold, where did the money go? And was it agreed by all to sell the house at that point?

Fr Stephen Platt: The sale of St Basil's House was, on the one hand, rather sad for the Fellowship, because it meant that the Fellowship had no longer a headquarters in London. But, I think, I mean the sale of St Basil's House happened before I became the General Secretary, but I was a member of the Fellowship then and helped to pack up St Basil's House, I was a student at the time, or just . . . yes, I was a student at the time. I think that it was widely felt that, although sad, the sale of St Basil's House, was unavoidable. The building needed a large amount of structural work doing to it. It was in a bad state of repair. And the Fellowship, in those days, apart from the house, had no real assets. It didn't have money in the bank, and it ran on a shoe string, and always had financial problems. When St Basil's House was sold in 1993 it was sold for, what now would seem, a ridiculously small amount of money. I think it was £850,000. These days, if it was sold, that's twenty years later, or a little bit more, it would be sold for many millions. But, we can't look back at history and say what if. However, the price that it was sold for at the time, was a realistic market price. And this money was invested in order to fund the activities of the Fellowship and to provide grants, for projects which furthered the general aims of the Fellowship; in other words, mutual understanding and cooperation between Orthodox and Western Christians and projects which introduced members of Orthodox and/ or Eastern and Western Christian traditions to each other. Over the period since the sale of St Basil's House, the Fellowship has given away in grants hundreds of thousands of pounds, which by now will way exceed the initial proceeds of the sale of St Basil's House. But, our assets are very wisely managed for us. We have a special assets committee; which, includes not only members of our own council, but also experts, financial experts who help us, of their kindness. And so we manage to maintain our investments. The Fellowship's portfolio is now worth one and a half million pounds; which, in the general scheme of things, is not a huge amount of money; but this does allow us to maintain our grant making, our own activities and has meant that the Fellowship's own investments have maintained their value, they've grown so that things keep in line with inflation. So, I think that this level of activity would never have been possible if we had kept our House in London. And you have to remember that in the early mid-1990s, St Basil's House in London really had come to the end of a period of the Fellowship's life. It existed there as the Fellowship's centre, but people didn't come to events there, in the same way that they previously did. There were many Orthodox Churches in London, where people were able to experience the Orthodox Liturgy in English. Many of

the Orthodox Parishes in London had talks and Bible studies and events. So, the kind of world that St Basil's House was conceived to cater for had changed. You know, when St Basil's House was bought there was no real place where Orthodox and Anglicans and other Christians could meet and talk with one another. There was very rarely the opportunity for Western Christians to experience Orthodox worship in a language that they understood. And there was very little access to Eastern Christian theological literature. So things change, and move on. And by moving here to Oxford, the Fellowship was able to move in to an environment, very similar to the one that it had had to get rid of in London, because St Gregory and St Macrina is, a rather similar sort of institution to the old St Basil's House, in that it is a residence for Christian students, a centre for people to meet and get to know each other, for encounter, for scholarship and so on.

Dimitrios Salapatas: But, do you think that there were people who did not agree with this move?

Fr Stephen Platt: There were, as far as I can tell. One of the people who was, clearly, very much opposed to the move was Militza Zernov, who was still alive at the time, or No Militza died in 1994, so she was a very, very old lady, when . . . and she was no longer a member of the Fellowship Council. But, when the discussions were taking place about selling St Basil's House, she was clearly very much opposed to this. But, I think that those who were opposed to the sale did not really understand the financial implications of maintaining the property. I myself have wondered whether it would have been possible, for example, for the Fellowship to have maintained the property, converted some of it, leased out on a commercial rate two floors as flats, because it was a large house, and so on. But, again I think that the investment that would have been needed to make the conversion possible, would have been way beyond the means of the Fellowship at the time.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Was any of the money put into the properties in Oxford?

Fr Stephen Platt: No. The properties in Oxford were independent and have no debt. And the properties in Oxford, St Gregory, St Macrina, and on the other hand St Theosevia maintain their upkeep through rental income from the residence.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Does the Fellowship pay rent here?

Fr Stephen Platt: The Fellowship pays rent for its office to the House of St Gregory and St Macrina.

Dimitrios Salapatas: So, the Fellowship, basically, has the office, and that's it?

Fr Stephen Platt: Well, the Fellowship has the office, and it pays rent on that as its contribution towards the upkeep of the House. But, the Fellowship, also, together with the House, makes use of the library, the meeting room and even the Orthodox Church, in the garden; which exists, in part, as

the chapel of the Fellowship, replacing the chapel, that existed in St Basil's House as its liturgical central focus.

Dimitrios Salapatas: In the AGM are the financial issues examined? Is there transparency in regards to what happens?

Fr Stephen Platt: Yes, there is transparency. The AGM examines the annual accounts and has to receive these annual accounts, which have previously been approved for presentation to the meeting by the Council and have been independently examined by an external auditor. And the accounts are then published on the website of the Charity Commission. So, there is complete transparency with the accounts.

Dimitrios Salapatas: In a previous talk we had, you told me that the Fellowship would maybe expand, or create a seminary. Are there any plans of re-investment or investment in this project?

Fr Stephen Platt: I think that it would be premature to discuss, to talk about a seminary, because a seminary is, first and foremost, a place for the training of clergy. But, to talk in terms of the formation of a theological research institute or study centre, which could also function, as an umbrella, under which there might be provision for clergy training and formation, is a possibility. In order to do this, and I must stress very clearly that this is simply the idea stage, we discuss ideas leading into this direction; but, no concrete steps have been taken yet. In order to do this, we would naturally have to expand the facilities that we have, at the House of St Gregory and St Macrina. We do have some land here. And the city council have indicated to us that there would, certainly, be the possibility for us to build extra educational facilities there. And this naturally then would require investment. The Fellowship is fortunate, in that it possesses these assets, which could be used, towards the construction of any greater facilities, or towards modernisation and expansion of our library facilities here. But, one also has to bear in mind that the more that these invested assets are used, the more the income of the Fellowship will decrease, because these days our income from subscriptions, whilst being a significant proportion of our annual income, would not be enough to finance all of the activities of the Fellowship. So, we have to maintain a balance between the ability to keep our income going, from our investments, and using them for our own projects. They really should be seen as an investment fund, which allows us to pay for our activities from its income. So, if we were to expand here, we would necessarily have to supplement our own contribution to such expansion, with fundraising from external sources.

Dimitrios Salapatas: You say we. You mean the Fellowship, St Gregory and St Macrina and then St Thesoevia?

Fr Stephen Platt: Yes. Because, at the moment any projects that we undertake would have to be a collaboration of these three closely related, but yet still legally distinct charitable organisations.

Dimitrios Salapatas: What is the Catholic Orthodox Theological Consultation for England? And, they will be meeting here, is this the place?

Fr Stephen Platt: Yes, the Catholic Orthodox Theological Consultation for England is an informal, but influential discussion group, comprised of representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in England and the Orthodox Churches present in England. The co-chairs are, on the Orthodox side Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia, and on the Catholic side Archbishop Bernard Longley, who is the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Birmingham. For a number of years, the Catholic Bishop's Conference had expressed an interest in having a local forum, where Orthodox and Catholic representatives might meet to discuss matters of mutual theological and pastoral concern. They had approached Archbishop Gregorios as chairman of the Pan-Orthodox Assembly of Bishops, for Britain. And the matter had been discussed in the Pan-Orthodox assembly. But, one of the members of the Assembly had objected to there being any involvement of dialogue with the Roman Catholics. As a result, the Pan-Orthodox Assembly took no decision on establishing a dialogue. But, Archbishop Gregorios and Archbishop Elisey, who are themselves the heads of the diocese of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Moscow Patriarchate in this country, gave their blessing to involvement in such a dialogue. And so, until such a point that the Pan-Orthodox Assembly of Bishops will take on such a dialogue, under its auspices, it was decided, with the blessing of these two bishops, that the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius and the Society of St John Chrysostom, which is a kind of equivalent organisation to the Fellowship, but working in the field, primarily, of Catholic Orthodox dialogue; these two organisations could offer themselves, as an umbrella for the dialogue, which has gone on now, we are in our second year. The group meets twice a year; once here in Oxford and once at a venue hosted by the Roman Catholics. We have discussed a number of matters so far. Perhaps the major areas have been, on the one hand, bringing the local representatives up to date with the present state of the international Catholic Orthodox theological discussions; and on the other hand, on a local level, issues of mutual concern, such as church schools, different approaches to marriage and family life. You probably remember that last year the Roman Catholic Church had its Synod on the family, which looked at questions of marriage, divorce and so on and these decisions, or discussions that were undertaken by that synod, were informed, very much, by considering the Orthodox position, of the relationship between Canon Law and *Economia* in particular of marriage and divorce. We've also discussed the possibility of collaboration in the field of theological education and training of future clergy. So these are areas that we have considered. The Catholic-Orthodox Dialogue Group

has published press releases and statements after each of its meetings. And these are also available online. One of our main concerns, also, in the last meetings has been the role and place of the suffering Christians in the Middle East and providing support and media exposure to their situation.

Dimitrios Salapatas: And last question. The secretary's diary is not currently published in *Sobornost*; but, we do see updates on Facebook and social media. Could this be re-introduced? Maybe on social media so people can know what's happening at the Fellowship?

Fr Stephen Platt: So people can see what the Fellowship is doing. Yes, I think this would be a very good idea.

Dimitrios Salapatas: In order for future history, also, to be continued and people to have a record.

Fr Stephen Platt: Years ago, before 2006, *Sobornost* always used to carry a small section entitled 'Fellowship Affairs,' which provided a resume of things that had been going on in the context of the Fellowship. And I think that it would be very good to re-introduce this. Certainly, my job as the secretary is not simply sitting behind a desk answering letters and emails; although, that takes up a lot of time. But, yes, one could produce a diary of events and talks and lectures and other involvement of the general secretary. It might be interesting for people to see what the Fellowship actually does on a day-to-day basis. It's a good idea.

Dimitrios Salapatas: Lovely, thank you.

Fr Stephen Platt: There we go.

Appendix 6

This is an interesting service, combining both Anglican and Orthodox prayers, making it questionable for further use by non-Fellowship faithful; however, the Fellowship Office is currently not in use not even within the Fellowship. Nevertheless, within this small service there are three prayers dedicated to the unity of the faithful of both ecclesiastical traditions. These are:

- a. O Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst to Thine apostles, peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; regard not our sins, but the faith of Thy Church and grant Her that peace and unity which is agreeable to Thy will; Who livest and reignest Go, world without end.
- b. O Christ, Who didst bind Thy apostles in a union of love; unite us likewise, Thy sinful and trusting servants, in this Fellowship, and bind us firmly to Thee; give us strength to fulfil Thy Commandments and truly to love another; Who with the Father and the life-giving Spirit livest and reignest God, world without end.
- c. That it may please Thee to bless this Fellowship and send down upon them the grace of Thy Holy Spirit and keep them in Thy commandments, we beseech Thee, merciful Lord, hear us and have mercy.⁹⁴²

⁹⁴² *Fellowship Office, Fellowship of St Alban & St Sergius*, (Essex, The Talbot Press, 1933), p.8.

Appendix 7

'The Office Hymn of the Fellowship of St Alban and Sr. Sergius:

St Alban.

Hail shelter of the fugitive,
Who for thy guest thy life didst give,
And ledd'st thy captor on to God,
Baptized in his own martyr-blood;
Thy church upon our sacred hill,
Bears witness to the Saviour still;
Now high within God's city fair,
Blest Alban, join with thine our prayer.

St Sergius.

Ascetic good and wise in strife,
Who wroughtest in this fleeting life,
And to thy flock a pattern wast
For aye in vigil, song and fast;
The spirit robed thee in the sun,
Thou dwellest with the Three in One;
Emboldened in the life divine,
Blest Sergius, join our prayer with thine.

The Prayer

Vouchsafe to us, O gracious Lord,
Peace, unity and true accord,
The Fellowship of all in one
And one in all, while ages run.
All laud to God the Father be;
All praise, Eternal Son, to thee;
All glory, as is ever meet,
To God the Holy Paraclete. Amen

Envoy.

At Services of the Fellowship this Envoy may be sung before the Doxology after any other Office Hymn of the same metre:

Blest Sergius and Alban, ye
Our patrons twain vouchsafe to be;
Help us the road of peace to see,
And lead us on to unity.⁹⁴³

In 1960, Eric Hampson, one of the secretaries, promoted the idea of praying for the Fellowship's objectives on a weekly basis, giving the following prayer:

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

For the peace of the whole world, the stability of the Holy Churches of God, and the union of all men: Let us beseech the Lord.

Lord have mercy.

Christ have mercy.

Lord have mercy.

O Lord Jesus Christ, Who saidst to Thine Apostles, Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you: regard not our sins, but the faith of Thy Church, and grant her that peace and unity which is agreeable to Thy will; Who livest and reignest God world without end. Amen.

O Christ, Who didst bind Thine Apostles in a union of love: unite us likewise, Thy sinful and trusting servants, in this Fellowship, and bind us firmly to Thee; give us strength to fulfil Thy commandment truly to love one another; Who, with the Father and the life-giving Spirit, livest and reignest God world without end. Amen.

Holy Mother of God pray for us.

O Holy martyr Alban and holy father Sergius, pray ye unto the Lord of us.⁹⁴⁴

The Fellowship also produced 'The Fellowship Prayer':

O Christ, Who didst bind thine Apostles in a union of love, unite us likewise, Thy sinful and trusting servants, in this Fellowship, and bind us firmly to Thee; give us strength to fulfil Thy commandments and truly love one another; Who with the Father and the life-giving Spirit, livest and reignest God world without end. Amen.⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴³ Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, 1934, pp.26-27.

⁹⁴⁴ Hampson, Eric, 'New from the Secretaries', *Sobornost*, Series 4, No.2, Spring 1960, pp.95-6.

⁹⁴⁵ Fellowship Archives.