



The Shrine of Saint Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey

This issue of *Souroz* begins the endlessly fascinating journey of discovery that awaits any Christian with a sense of history and a love for the brave pioneers who first carried the faith across the sea to Britain. It heralds the start of a new regular section dedicated to exploring the lives of these saints who inspired not only the people of Britain but also the nascent church in Russia all those centuries ago.

The authors writing in Souroz will complement this growing public knowledge and exploration of the early saints with an interpretation of their particular place in Orthodox church life, pp. 6–29.

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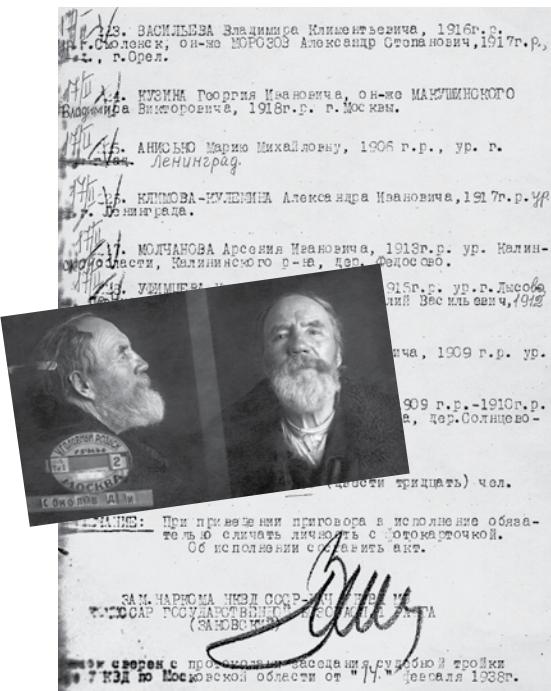
ORTHODOX PHILOSOPHERS

Simeon Frank

By Archpriest Maxim Mitrofanov

“Light which comes from deep within the soul must illuminate the darkness on the outside”

By Simeon Frank (extracts)



Thousands of completely innocent people were shot by the NKVD at the Butovo range – the largest site of mass executions and burials in Moscow and the Moscow region. Many of them suffered for their religious activity.

Igor Garkavy, Director of the Butovo Memorial Research and Education Centre, writes about the mass repressions of 1937 and 1938, pp. 64–79.

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Editorial note



One of the most important events in the life of the diocese this year was the presentation at the London Book Fair of the book written by his Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Russia entitled *Freedom and Responsibility: In Search of Harmony. Human Rights and Personal Dignity*.

England and Russia differ from one another in many ways, and by no means the least of those differences is in how the two countries approach the subject of the individual. For the West the rights of the autonomous individual are the axis on which the earth turns, while in Russia for various reasons it is the people, the collective, society, which is the centre of attention. The trends are clear for all to see.

In this series of his articles and speeches, brought together in a single volume for the first time, the Patriarch sets out in detail how the Russian Orthodox Church sees the subject of the individual: the individual's rights and freedoms, dignity and independence. What is of fundamental importance is the fact that for the Patriarch the subject of the rights of the individual is always linked to responsibility. Responsibility to oneself, to one's neighbours, and to God, in whose image we are made.

The Russian philosophers of the 20th century were especially searching and assiduous in their exploration of the theme of freedom, largely due to the fact that the lessons of communist collectivism, which suppressed the individual, were right before their eyes.

"Freedom, freedom above all – this is the soul of Christian philosophy and something which is not given to any other abstract or rationalist philosophy" wrote N.A. Berdyaev, one of the Russian thinkers best known in the West, who devoted a large part of his life to developing a philosophy of freedom.

However freedom, which is a divine gift, can be an unbearable yoke for someone who is afraid of responsibility. In that case to be spared this gift is to be relieved of a burden. This is what happened in

Soviet Russia. S.L. Frank, the subject of several items in this issue, stated that the phenomenon of socialism "is based on the mad and sacrilegious dream that with his activity planned and ordered and with the fair distribution of economic benefits a person is capable of renouncing their own freedom, their 'I', and becoming nothing more than a cog in the social machine, an impersonal medium for the action of common forces".

In Russia we are still living out the consequences of the fear of freedom. But are not the order and distribution of economic benefits Frank talks about still tempting for many people even today, and not only in Russia but in the West too? And are there really so few people who are ready to sacrifice their freedom for that end?

So the subject of the freedom of the individual is just as much an issue for the West as it is for Russia. Patriarch Kirill explores the subject in Russian religious terms, not interpreting it in terms of the law, but elevating it to the dignity of the human individual created by God, to God, in whose image the individual is made, to His freedom and majesty.

The voice of the Russian Patriarch may find it hard to make itself heard in the West: the process of secularisation has gone too far for the modern Western person to be inspired to seek the foundations of his own dignity in God. The departure from the religious foundations of life is a problem for the whole of European civilisation, which finds itself sadly united in this process. The Patriarch's book is not so much the preaching of the Primate of the Russian Church but more the voice of a religious person in an increasingly godless world.

It is particularly important that this voice should be heard, because the Russian Church, which suffered such terrible trials in the 20th century, has survived. The experience of the Church is invaluable because it is made holy by the blood of martyrs. Today through the voice of its Patriarch the Russian Church calls on us once again to pay tribute to the divine dignity of the free individual.

Archpriest Mikhail Dudko

Life of the Diocese

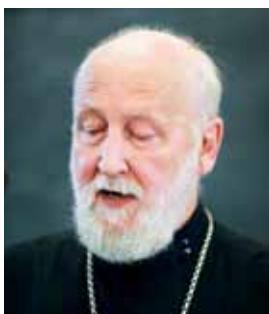
By Svetlana Seljutina



Archbishop Elisey of Sourozh



Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia



Archpriest Benedict Ramsden



Archpriest Maxim Mitrofanov

EVENTS

The biggest event in the life of the Diocese of Sourozh since the publication of the last issue of the magazine was the annual diocesan conference, which was held from **June 3rd – 5th** at the Wycliffe Conference Centre on the outskirts of London. Around 130 people – representatives of the clergy, members of the parishes of the Sourozh Diocese and the parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia – gathered to discuss the theme of the conference, ‘Living the Liturgy’.

In homage to the memory of the founder of the conference, Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh of blessed memory, the event opened with a talk by Archpriest Benedict Ramsden on the divine services in the thought of Vladyka Anthony. In his talk on the subject of the Christian liturgical life Archbishop Elisey of Sourozh touched on practical issues relating to the sacraments of confession and communion.

Archpriest Maxim Mitrofanov, a member of the clergy of the London Cathedral Church of the Dormition, gave a talk about the meaning of ritual in the liturgical tradition, touching on the cosmic nature of the sacraments and other liturgical actions.

The inner spiritual state of the Christian who takes part in the service and the Holy Mysteries was the subject of a talk by well-known theologian and Oxford University Professor, Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia. The Vladyka also told the audience about his own spiritual journey and the feelings evoked by his first encounter with Orthodoxy.

As usual, in addition to the main programme of talks a number of workshops were held on a range of topics: ‘Social service: care of the sick and the elderly’, ‘Educating children in parish schools’, ‘Pilgrimage to holy places in Britain’, ‘Practical adaptation of the Typikon in small parishes’, ‘Choir seminar and rehearsal’.

The conference also included a presentation of Nick Mayhew Smith’s book *Britain’s holiest places*, a unique guide to the places associated with the country’s Christian history.

The last three months has seen one other major event in the life of the diocese. On **22nd May**, in an event initiated by the Sourozh Diocese, the Day of Slavic Writing and Culture was celebrated in London for the first time with a concert programme including plays, folk dancing and singing. One of the highlights of the festival was a performance of *Saints Cyril and Methodius*, put on by students of the Parish School of the Cathedral of the Diocese of Sourozh.



On the final day of the conference a service was held at which Metropolitan Kallistos and Archbishop Elisey officiated together

APPOINTMENTS & AWARDS

At the **end of April** Priest Mikhail Nasonov took up his position as the new Rector of the Patriarchal Metochion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Dublin. The previous Rector, Archpriest Mikhail Gogolev, had been appointed by Archbishop Elisey as Acting Dean of the West Midlands deanery, and Rector of the parishes of All Saints of Britain in Birmingham and Saints Peter and Paul in Portsmouth (Hampshire).

Priests Maxim Mitrofanov, Philip Steer, Stephen Platt and Raphael Armour were elevated to the rank of Archpriest. A number of clerics received hierarchical awards: the right to wear the palitsa was awarded to Archpriests Mikhail Dudko and Vadim Zakrevsky, and the right to wear the double orarion was awarded to Deacons Vadim Santsevich and Peter Willis. Priest Nikolay Evseev, a member of the clergy of the Metochion of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, was awarded the right to wear the nabedrennik.

DIOCESE

New parishes have been added to the Sourozh diocese. Following a decision of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church two parishes in Ireland were included in the diocese at the **end of December last year** – the Parish of the Entrance into the Temple of the Most Holy Theotokos in Drogheda, and the Parish of the Holy Theophany in Athlone. Some time later, at the end of May this year, the newly established Parish of Blessed Xenia of Petersburg in Leeds also became part of the diocese.

In **January this year**, at the Diocesan Assembly held in London, a decision was approved to combine the Sisterhood of the Holy Martyr Grand Duchess Elizabeth, not far from Bodiam (East Sussex), and the parish community of the same name founded by the Sisterhood. The Sisterhood and the community were brought together to form a united Hierarchical Metochion of the Sourozh Diocese.

* BRITISH SAINTS

IN SEARCH OF BRITAIN'S ANCIENT SHRINES

By Nick Mayhew Smith



Saint Aidan,
Holy Island
Lindisfarne

Those who carried the faith to Britain

It is rare to pass through a traditional English village without spotting the weathered contours of a picturesque stone church, peeking through the yew trees of an ancient cemetery. The simple fact that there are 8,000 of these medieval buildings still standing demonstrates the intriguing depth of this country's Christian history.

Of particular note to readers of *Souroz* is the fact that around 400 churches still survive from the Anglo-Saxon period, the era before the Great Schism separated East and West. Such a rich early heritage can be considered universal – as much a part of Orthodox tradition as any of the early church's cultural and spiritual achievements.

In a country with such a passion for preserving its rich heritage, it seems particularly appropriate therefore that we learn to celebrate once again the ancestors who gave all this to us. And since 2007 the Russian Orthodox church has been doing this in a formal way, with the third Sunday after Pentecost set aside in memory of all the many saints who brought the Gospel to this island.

So in some ways this is a new and exciting period in the life of the Orthodox church in Britain, where connections are being made and celebrated with the island's remarkable population of early witnesses. Yet in other ways it is a return to the beginning, a timeless communion with these saints who have always been with us.

There is one illuminating reminder that such a connection has endured through the ages of church life. The author Timothy Ware, known to us as Metropolitan Kallistos of Diokleia, tells in his book *The Orthodox Church* of an early prayer written in Russian during the 11th century. Directed towards the Holy Trinity, this prayer invokes the names of English saints including Saint Alban and Saint Botolph (page 81).

This issue of *Souroz* heralds the start of a new regular section dedicated to exploring the lives of these saints who inspired not only

the people of Britain but also the nascent church in Russia all those centuries ago.

Some of the names, such as Saint Alban, might be familiar enough to any Christian in Britain. After an absence of nearly 500 years, the country's first martyr has returned to his shrine in Saint Albans Cathedral, following the translation of his relics from Germany in 2002. He is one of many early saints whose shrines and churches are being restored, in a quiet revival that is affecting all the major denominations in Britain.

Other saints however have lapsed into considerable obscurity. The Saint Botolph mentioned above was a hugely influential early missionary in England, as demonstrated by the fact that around seventy medieval churches were dedicated to him. And yet beyond that we know almost nothing about him. Archaeologists are trying to put right the deficit, with recent excavations at Hadstock in Essex one of the latest attempts to ascertain the location of his important missionary centre. The search continues.

The authors writing in *Souroz* will complement this growing public knowledge and exploration of the early saints with an interpretation of their particular place in Orthodox church life. This is not merely a parallel process to the wider national revival but a chance to offer inspiration and spiritual insight to those in other churches. Take a random member of my own denomination, the Anglican church, and place them in front of a holy well and they would probably scratch their head.

Yet there is a genuine desire to know more among even the most reformed and Protestant church communities of Britain. Despite centuries of reform and indifference, it is heartening to see how enduring the legacy of the saints is proving to be.

This issue of *Souroz* begins the endlessly fascinating journey of discovery that awaits any Christian with a sense of history and a love for the brave pioneers who first carried the faith across the sea to Britain. ■

It is hard to find anywhere in Great Britain that does not reflect the ancient history of the saints who lived and worked in the surrounding area. Among the heavenly men and women of prayer who lived at some time in the British Isles there are kings and queens, theologians, hermits, priests, seafarers and preachers. Many of their names are lost to us, but they fill England with their beauty, for they are the bearers of the true spirit.

An abandoned mill lies on the south coast of Arran, its rusting wheel now stopped in a sea of brambles. I made my way carefully inside its ruined walls on a grey August morning, stepping over fallen roof timbers to gaze silently over the impenetrable hillside before me. After spending more than a day to get here, it occurred to me only then that this must be the least-trodden pilgrimage route in Britain.

And yet Kildonan's undisturbed landscape perhaps contains one of the most precious of all Christian survivors in Britain: a martyred saint still lying in his early medieval grave. His place radiates its own form of peace, untouched by archaeologists and worshippers alike beneath its tangled roof of leaves.

Abbot Saint Donan was murdered at Easter along with 52 of his fellow monks, immediately after celebrating the midnight liturgy. A band of pagan mercenaries had come to destroy the monastery he set up on the Isle of Eigg, another Scottish island about 100 miles to the north of Arran. The year was either 617 or 618, placing Saint Donan and his fellow monks firmly in the Orthodox era, when there were no substantial church divisions between East and West.



Saint Donan was soon revered as a saint, his shrine first kept on Eigg, and then moved in later years to the relative safety of Arran's shores after Viking raids put paid to monastic ambitions on Eigg. Today only a few boulders remain from the medieval chapel at Kildonan, abandoned like so many other places at the Reformation. The mill building too, part of a much later farm settlement, is slowly being reclaimed by the land.

I visited both Arran and Eigg on a five-year journey to uncover what had become



of Britain's long Christian heritage. It was a journey inspired by the Orthodox reverence for holy places and holy people. A reverence I had so often shared with pilgrims across many of Russia's holy sites, starting with the great monastery complex of Solovki, a community that has given me and my family great support in recent years.

Fortunately for British residents seeking an Orthodox shrine, the task is much easier than my long journey out to Arran's lonely shore, let alone Russia's great northern monasteries.

Kildonan, Isle of Eigg

Britain itself has a wealth of sacred sites to be shared, and they are now becoming more accessible and better known than at any point in the past 500 years. My book is an attempt to encourage greater access to and awareness of the many hundreds of holy places, in the hope that the stream of devout visitors will continue to grow.

It is a curious coincidence that the revival of Russia's sacred landscape is taking

place at roughly the same time that Britain's Christians are starting to rediscover their spiritual heritage. There were no shrines in any of England's Anglican cathedrals for hundreds of years after the Reformation, but in the past 25 years more than a dozen have reintroduced memorials of one sort or another to their saints. Icons have been commissioned and displayed, medieval tombs rebuilt, votive candles supplied and even in a few cases the saints' relics themselves restored to active service.

Perhaps the most important example is Saint Alban's shrine, located in the ancient cathedral city of Saint Albans, a short train journey from the centre of London. This is Britain's first martyr, killed during the last violent persecution before Saint Constantine the Great ushered in the imperial Christian era in the early 4th century. Saint Alban's stone shrine structure was reassembled in 1993, and in 2002 a relic of the saint was restored to its rightful place in our landscape and in our Christian life.

The shrine is open to all, and has seen frequent celebrations by priests from many denominations. The Orthodox connection is particularly celebrated by this Anglican cathedral, which has a display of pictures showing an Orthodox liturgy taking place. A prominent icon of Saint Alban makes this connection permanently available to all.

To an Orthodox Christian living in London, this is a pilgrimage so convenient

Govan Saint Constantine's tomb

and so quick (20 minutes from Saint Pancras station) it should be considered an essential first introduction to Britain's long list of Orthodox-era saints. My book covers around 500 holy places, and I was pleasantly surprised after writing it to calculate that 78% of these can be considered of relevance to Orthodoxy – in other words, saints who date from before the Great Schism took effect in Britain.

Just as Saint Albans contains the first British saint's shrine, it is significant to note that the shrine of the last Orthodox-era saint also survives. This is Saint Edward the Confessor, King of England who died in early 1066. His holy body remains at the very centre of the country's political, religious and ceremonial heart, enshrined in Westminster Abbey, opposite the Houses of Parliament.

For a country with a particular reputation for destroying relics, these two shrines are a reminder that the story of the saints is rather harder to eradicate than our 16th century reformers had hoped.

Between Saint Alban and Saint Edward the Confessor there are dozens of early Christian witnesses who have left a permanent mark on the landscape. My book is an attempt to trace what has become of this priceless legacy, and I discovered a remarkable network of sites across all corners of Britain and its outlying islands.

The book is a practical guide and a celebration rather than a polemic, intended to open all our holy sites up again to those who will value them. On a personal note,





I hope it will support Christian communities such as the Orthodox in their search for meaning, comfort, healing and solace in a country that might not be their native land.

With 400 or so places of Orthodox connection, Britain has enough spiritual treasures to last a lifetime of exploration. But the itinerant instincts of a pilgrim can take second place to another spiritual approach: the need to inhabit the places where we live. I once met a very devout Romanian on pilgrimage to Little Walsingham in Norfolk, who asked me if there were any holy places closer to his home. A year or so later, I was very surprised to unearth a reference to an early saint's shrine in the centre of the very town where he lived, Northampton. Though the Church of Saint Peter that houses it is redundant, it remains open to visitors and does indeed display a magnificently carved stone coffin lid, thought to belong to the obscure Saint Ragener, a 9th century royal martyr. Northampton is a place to dwell too.

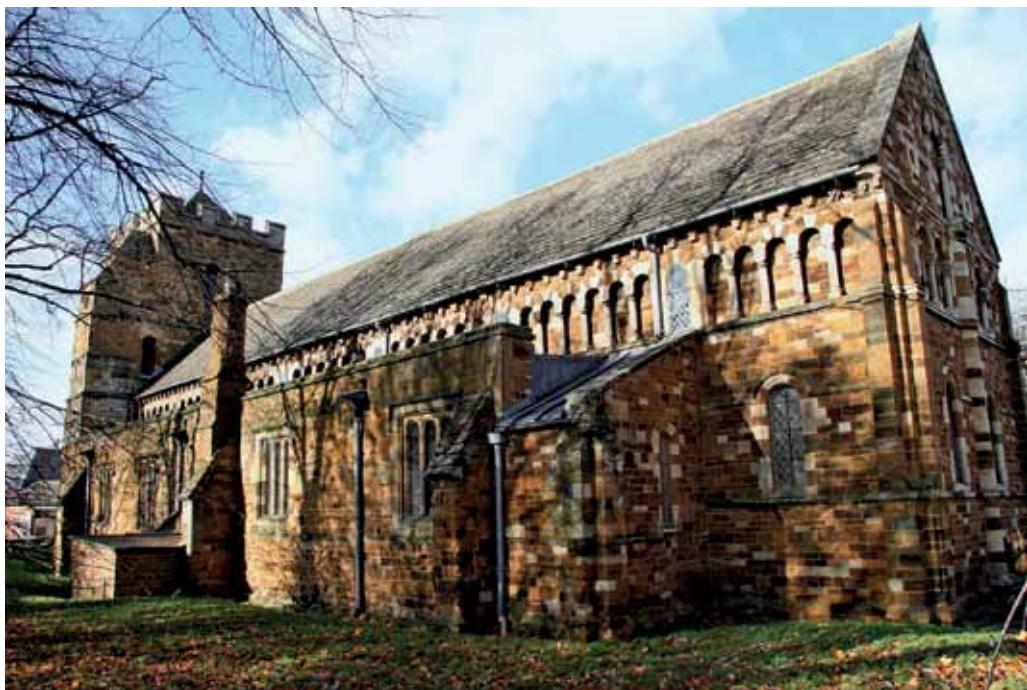
Saint Alban's shrine

I once spent half a day driving to a tiny village called Plemstall, near Chester, in search of Saint Plegmund. He lived here as a hermit before eventually becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 890. A holy well by the road is still dedicated to him, but when I visited the little chamber was completely dry. The Christian community as a whole is certainly learning to value such sites as these for historical reasons: Saint Plegmund's Well has a modern display panel and gates. But when it comes to interpreting and above all using our sacred history the Orthodox community is uniquely well equipped to help the living water flow again.

There are very few British holy sites in the direct care of an Orthodox community. The shrine of Saint Edward King and Martyr in the Brookwood Cemetery is the most obvious example. Although the brotherhood there is currently out



The Shrine of St Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey



Saint Peter's Church, Northampton

of communion with the main Orthodox churches, they offered us a very warm welcome and allowed us time beside the royal saint's relics.

The Anglican church is custodian of most other churches in Britain where traces of the saints can be found. It is increasingly comfortable about celebrating this legacy, and mercifully keen to share its buildings with other Christian traditions. It is rare to find an ancient parish church without at least one printed icon somewhere on its walls, while many display newly commissioned painted icons that will help focus the prayers of an Orthodox visitor in otherwise unfamiliar surroundings. I met many vicars on my journey who greatly value the Orthodox witness.

If the reawakening of Britain's spiritual past is to reach its full potential, and touch the most number of people's lives, the Orthodox church has an obvious role to play in educating the Christian community about what has been forgotten. And although some of the rhetoric between different denominations can be a bit heated on all sides, I think the Orthodox can expect a warm welcome at Britain's ancient churches and shrines, both as visiting pilgrims and as local partners in worship and revival.

Because the book is so very broad – encompassing all the main Christian traditions and including one or two early practices that I found intriguing – it lacks a theological interpretation. That is up to the readers and their own churches to supply. I know that every item in it will be controversial to somebody – not least because some Christians don't accept the idea that any place can be holy. But the book is a labour of love, not an exercise in annoying people, motivated by a strong belief that religious people need to know and use their history with as much mutual respect and good grace as our early saints would expect.

I have frequently been challenged by more Protestant-minded friends about the



Saint Ragener's shrine, Northampton

inclusion of holy wells and saints' relics – although without them the book would have been rather thin. As it is I have listed about 500 places, spread across all parts of Britain from the Channel Islands to Orkney: there may be things to challenge, but I trust there is very much more to inspire.

Britain's Holiest Places was published in May 2011

Saint Cuthbert – Britain's Saint Seraphim

By Mike Stonelake

Cuthbert was an Anglo-Saxon, born in the 7th century, to lowly parents. As a young man he was a shepherd and a soldier, like Moses and David before him. These disciplines served as preparation for Cuthbert and his subsequent life as a monk, teaching him endurance of physical hardship, abstention, solitude and obedience. When referring to Saint Cuthbert in Russia he is most often compared to Saint Seraphim of Sarov for his kindness and dedication to the Saviour.



There has never been a saint in Britain as well loved as Saint Cuthbert.

Even during his life and ministry as a monk, evangelist and bishop, he was loved by his fellow monks, royalty and common folk. Immediately after his death his grave became a magnet for pilgrims, with miracles in abundance. After Henry VIII's iconoclastic reformation and dissolution of the monasteries, Cuthbert's body was one of the few that were left undisturbed and, at the start of the 21st century, the saint continues to inspire Catholics, Anglicans, Orthodox and non-conformists alike.

Cuthbert was born in 635, at a time when Britain was at a crossroads. The ancient Celtic expression of Christianity was still strong in Cornwall, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, and was centred around the monasteries, which looked to the desert fathers for inspiration and appropriated traditions from the pagan, Celtic culture that preceded it. The wonderful jewellery, carvings and metalwork, with their intertwined abstract animal forms, were absorbed by Christianity and re-emerged as decoration for religious books and stone crosses. In the same way, Celtic literature,

Site of Old Melrose Abbey from Scott's View



such as the heroic *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (*The Cattle Raid of Cooley*), resurfaced in tales about the saints, such as the fantastical *Voyage of Saint Brendan*. This romantic, fiercely independent faith was directly challenged by the might of the Roman Church, with its hierarchy, institutions and resources. Many saw Roman Christianity as the way back into a world they had been isolated from for several hundred years, and ultimately, Rome prevailed.

Cuthbert was an Anglo-Saxon, born in the 7th century, to lowly parents. As a young man he was a shepherd and a soldier, like Moses and David before him. These disciplines – that had equipped the biblical prophet and king respectively – also served as preparation for Cuthbert, and his subsequent life as a monk, teaching him endurance of physical hardship, abstention, solitude and obedience.

It was while working as a shepherd that Cuthbert saw a vision: ‘...he saw a long stream of light break through the darkness of the night, and in the midst of it a company of the heavenly host descended to the earth, and having received among them a spirit of surpassing brightness, returned without delay to their heavenly home’. In the morning he discovered that Bishop Aidan of Lindisfarne had just died, and at that moment Cuthbert decided to become a monk. We can also speculate that Cuthbert acquired his renowned love of animals whilst tending sheep near Melrose Abbey, where it is also likely that he met and spoke with the monks that lived there.

If we know little of his life as a shepherd, we know even less of his life as a soldier. There is no record of whether he engaged in combat or not during the 4 years he spent in the army, although there was a conflict at this time between the kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia. It is difficult to imagine Cuthbert – who spent his life ministering to the needs of others – ever picking up a weapon to do violence.

However, it is interesting to ponder what memories he might have drawn upon when, many years later, as a monk on Farne Island, facing the evil spirits that lived there, “armed with the helmet of salvation, the shield of faith, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, all the fiery darts of the wicked were extinguished, and that wicked enemy, with all his followers, were put to flight” (Saint Bede The Venerable, *The Life of Saint Cuthbert*)

On leaving the army, Cuthbert travelled to Melrose Monastery, near the Scottish border, where he was accepted as a monk, and was made Guest-Master. Despite his dedication to the spiritual life of abstinence and prayer, Cuthbert seemed to understand that the most perfect expression of his love of God was to love and help others, and so he poured his religious zeal into his work as Guest-Master. When travellers arrived in the snow, he would hold their frozen feet to his breast to warm them.

It is from this time that the famous story of Saint Cuthbert and the otters originates. While on a visit to a religious house in Coldingham, Cuthbert slipped away in the night and walked to the coast, where he submerged himself in the sea up to his neck, spending the night in prayer and worship. The North Sea at Northumbria is not only very cold, but is also rough, with large waves pounding the shore and strong winds blowing. It must have been a daunting experience for Cuthbert, in the freezing cold water, with only the light of the moon, the crash of the waves and howl of the wind. We often think of prayer and contemplation as being silent and peaceful, but Cuthbert had no difficulty in sensing God’s presence in the elements that threatened to engulf him. Indeed, here we see an example of how Cuthbert’s Celtic understanding of spirituality would draw inspiration from nature. And Cuthbert’s oneness with Creation is delightfully demonstrated in what happened next: as he emerged from the sea,



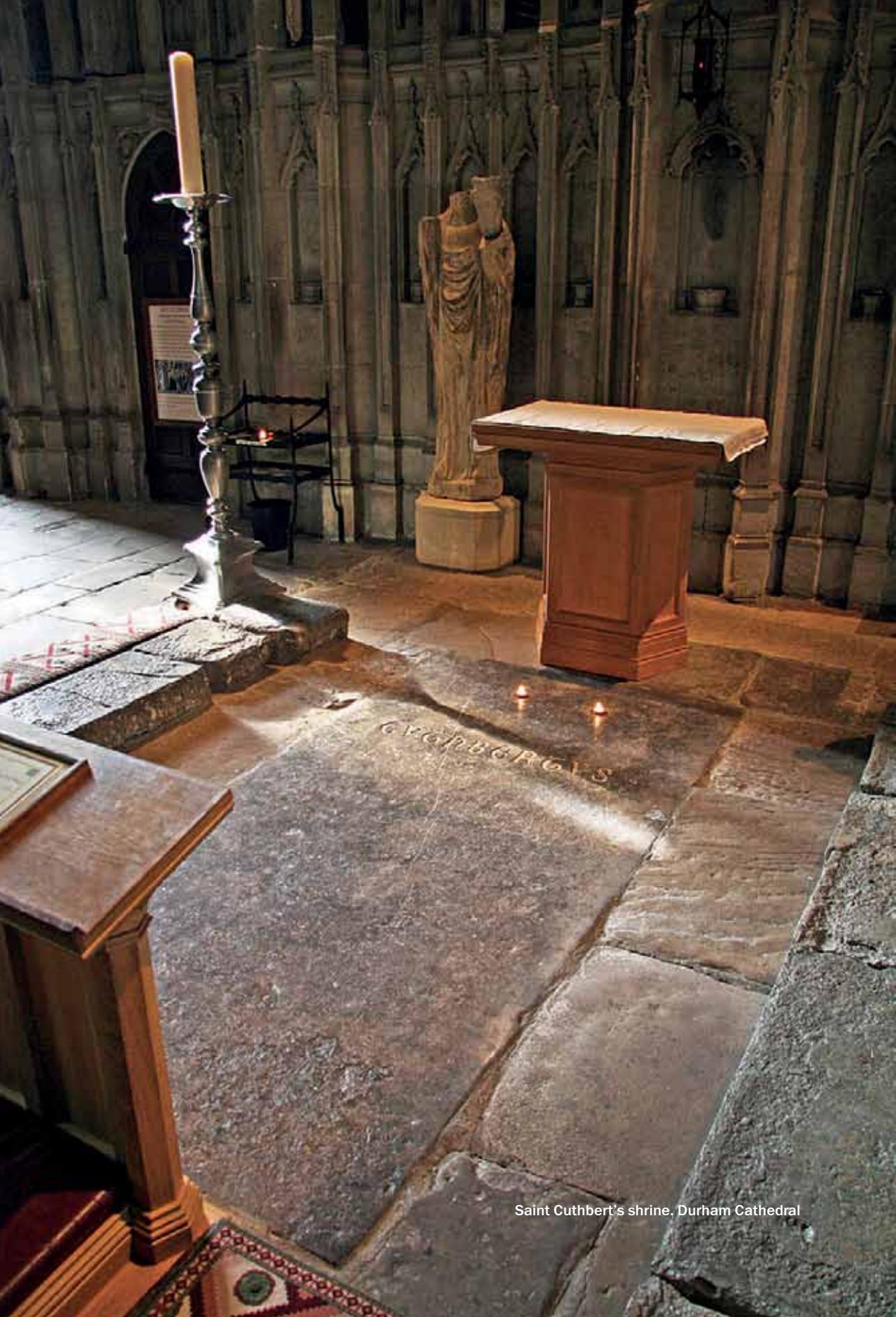
two sea otters came up to him and dried him with their fur and their warm breath.

When the prior of Melrose died, in 664, Cuthbert was given the post. However, in this same year, the Synod of Whitby ruled in favour of aligning the church with the Roman tradition, and Cuthbert, who obediently accepted the decision of Whitby, was chosen to play a role in easing this transition. So he was moved to the important Monastery of Lindisfarne, on Holy Island, which was founded by Bishop Aidan and followed the Celtic monastic rule. He was an ideal choice, having been raised in the Celtic tradition, but now a follower of Rome.

St. Mary's church, Holy Island Lindisfarne

Cuthbert was someone who lived a holy and devout life, who was both sensitive and firm, and who could lead by example. Cuthbert's rule was largely embraced, although a handful of monks who could not accept the Roman rule returned to Ireland.

Lindisfarne Monastery is a remote location, approximately a mile from the coast of Northumbria, and accessible only at low tide. And yet it seems the location was not remote enough for Cuthbert, who yearned for the solitary life, in imitation of the desert fathers that were such an inspiration to him.

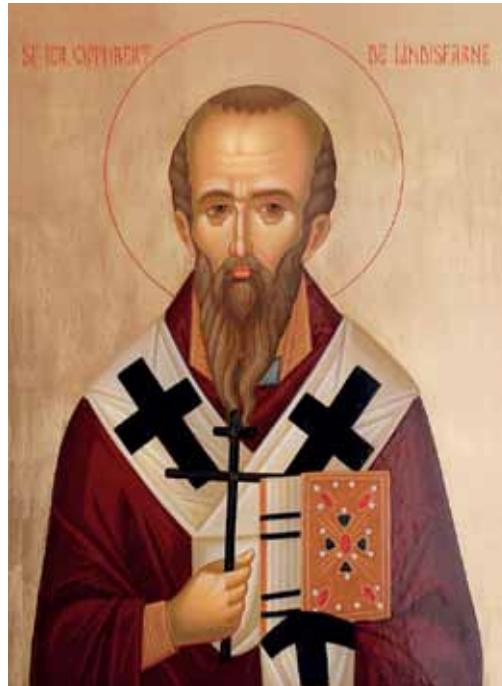


Saint Cuthbert's shrine, Durham Cathedral

Initially, Cuthbert spent much of his time away from the monastery, travelling tirelessly through the countryside, from Berwick to Galloway, evangelising the towns and villages he visited. There were still many pagans at this time, and Cuthbert became renowned among them as a healer and a man of great insight. He won them over to Christ, and they referred to him as the Wonderworker of Britain.

Eventually, the call to the life of a hermit was so strong in Cuthbert that he left Holy Island. First he made his home on the rocky outcrop that can be reached from Holy Island at low tide – now known as Saint Cuthbert's Island. However, Cuthbert did not remain here – perhaps not feeling sufficiently isolated – and so he moved to Farne Island, several miles from Lindisfarne, and completely inaccessible, even by boat, for long periods.

It seems that the Celtic saints were always attracted to water: Saint Columba settled on Iona, a small island off the coast of Scotland; Saint Brendan is remembered for his voyage to the Faroe Islands, Iceland and Greenland, spending many months at sea and having many adventures. Many Celtic monks would set themselves adrift in their tiny coracles (small boats made from wood and animal skins) and go wherever God and the tides took them, evangelising much of the continent in this way, and some say, even reaching destinations as distant as Nova Scotia. For these monks, the sea was a place of unlimited possibilities, and a gateway to the heavenly realm. The shores were the margins of life, the outer limits of the habitable, symbolising the monastic life, lived with one foot on earth and one in heaven. The sea, like God's love, was infinitely wide and deep, unfathomable and beyond our comprehension. In this setting, Cuthbert felt at home, far removed from the comforts of earthly security and worldly possessions. On Farne Island he could spend his days looking out to sea, yearning for the time when he would break free from



Icon of Saint Cuthbert by Romanian monks



Sculpture Journey by Fenwick Lawson.
Monks bearing the shrine of Saint Cuthbert.
Saint Mary's church



Lindisfarne Priory. Evening



Saint Cuthbert's Isle looking back to Lindisfarne



Saint Cuthbert's chapel and tower on Inner Farne

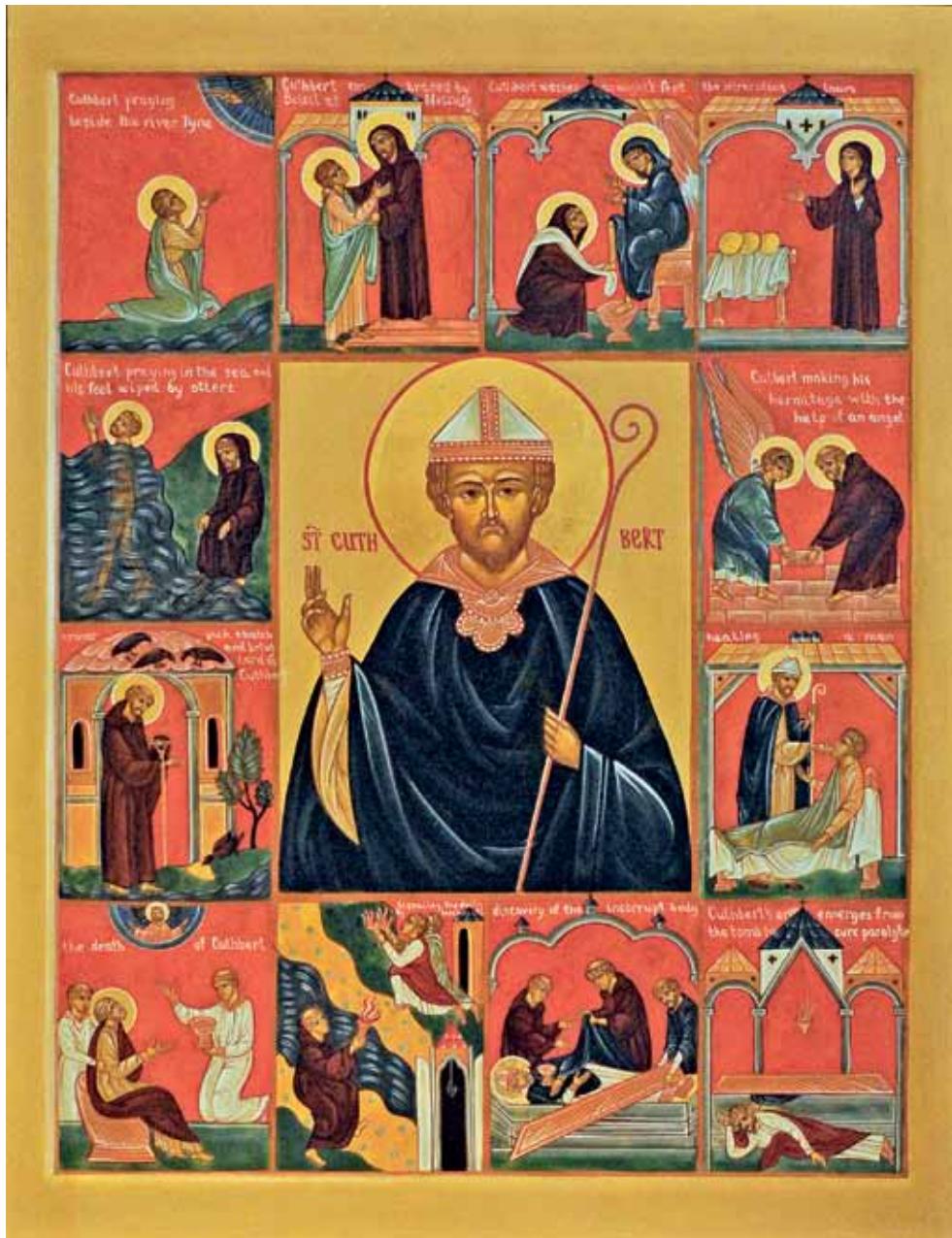
the earthly life and drift into eternity to be with God.

On Farne, Cuthbert built a rough shelter. Though no trace of it exists today, Saint Bede records that it had just one window, which offered only a view of the sky, and now tales of the birds start to feature more prominently in his life, as he lifts his eyes to the heavens. He lectured the birds that stole his crops, and we are told that they obeyed and left his crops alone. Some repentant crows brought him a piece of lard, which Cuthbert kept to polish the shoes of visitors. Cuthbert also instigated laws to protect the Eider ducks (now also known as Cuthbert's Ducks), making Farne Island the first wildlife sanctuary in the world. Today, many species of birds inhabit the island, including shags, cormorants, razorbills, guillemots and puffins, alongside a colony of seals, many rabbits (recently introduced), and the whales, that are often sighted nearby.

Cuthbert's life on Farne lasted for 8 years, until he was begged to return to Lindisfarne and become a bishop. The years he served as a bishop were marked by more evangelism, and a refusal to leave his life of hardship and self-denial.

But soon Cuthbert started to sense that his earthly life was drawing to a close, and he resigned as bishop so that he could return to Farne Island and his life as a hermit. Shortly after returning to the island, he fell ill. By the time the monks found him, Cuthbert could hardly move and was not eating. He looked quite frightening, with long unkempt hair, uncut nails and clothes that had not been changed for a long time.

Cuthbert's death, in 687, was signaled to Lindisfarne with candles, and the ordinary folk, many of whom had encountered him personally and even been converted by him, came in their droves, to his body and later his tomb, to pay reverence to his incorruptible remains. In subsequent years, pilgrims travelled to Lindisfarne to visit Cuthbert's tomb, where miracles occurred.



Cuthbert's remains were one of the few holy relics to survive the wanton destruction of Henry VIII's reformation. Today they lie in Durham Cathedral, covered with a marble slab, marked simply with the word "Cuthbertus". ■

Icon of Saint Cuthbert (iconographer Tatiana Kolibaba)

Saint Olaf Haraldsson

By Daniil Matrusov

The oldest liturgical texts dedicated to Saint Olaf were discovered in England. There are around 40 churches dedicated to him in this country, and in the Middle Ages six churches dedicated to him were built in London alone.

In the study of church history the missionary activity of the Christian Church is the subject of particular attention. Throughout the whole history of the Church of Christ the commandment of the Saviour to his disciples: “Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!” (Matthew, 28, 19) has been the underlying principle of the missionary activity of the Church. The first to preach the word of the Gospels were the holy apostles, and the Church places their deeds above all others. The deeds of the later devotees who followed

the example of the apostles are held by the Church to be equal to those of the apostles themselves, and the Church glorifies them with the title ‘equal-to-the-apostles’.

Although hundreds of studies have been written about those whom the Church honours as equal-to-the-apostles, serious gaps still remain, primarily in the study of Orthodox Church history. This is particularly true of the conversion of Norway to Christianity.

Saint Olaf Haraldsson, the Enlightener of Norway, has not yet been canonised by the Russian Orthodox Church, although on the basis of all the formal and informal

evidence he should have a place among the saints of the undivided Church. In Norway Saint Olaf was glorified in 1031, exactly a year after his death.



Saint Olaf

THE ANCESTRY OF SAINT OLAF

Saint Olaf's father was the petty king, or ‘konung’¹, Harald Grenske, great-grandson of the legendary Harald Fairhair, the first ruler to unite Norway. Harald belonged to the Yngling dynasty, the oldest in Scandinavia and that of the first kings of Sweden and Norway. The dynasty was believed to have been founded by Odin, the supreme Deity of the ancient

people of Scandinavia. The fact that Olaf belonged to the Yngling dynasty is of fundamental importance, for in Norway it was believed that only the descendants of Harald Fairhair could have any claim to power within the country.

THE CHILDHOOD OF SAINT OLAF

Saint Olaf was born in 995. Snorri Sturluson, the author of a collection of sagas which are the principal source of information on the history of ancient Scandinavia^[1], writes that Olaf was christened as a young child (when he was between 3 and 5 years old) together with

¹ The word *konung* (German *könig*, English *king*) is derived from the word *kyn*, meaning ‘kinship’. Therefore the ‘konung’ is someone who by virtue of his kinship has the right to be the ruler of a country. Neveux F. *L'aventure des Normands*. Paris. 2007. C. 24.

SAINT OLAF HARALDSSON

his mother and stepfather. His godfather was Olaf Tryggvason, who had come to Hringariki to bring Christianity to the people. The *Legendary Saga* tells how during his christening Olaf cried out "Light, light, light"^[2].

Snorri gives quite a full description of the young Olaf: "Olaf, son of Harald, was short, stocky, and strong. He had light brown hair, a broad ruddy face, fair skin, very beautiful eyes, and a sharp look, and it was terrifying to look him in the eye when he was angry. Olaf had many talents – he was a good archer, was very skilful with a spear, and was a good swimmer. He himself was skilled in all kinds of crafts and taught them to others. He was nicknamed 'Olaf the Fat'. He was a fine and bold speaker. At an early age he was intelligent and strong, like a true man. He was loved by all his kinsmen and by all those who knew him. He was tenacious in sport and always wanted to lead, as was fitting for someone of his noble rank and descent."^[1]

OLAF THE VIKING

Olaf was twelve years old when he went off on a campaign. His mother provided him with a tutor and a retinue of men. At that time it was quite normal for the children of kings to be sent off on campaign with the Vikings at a young age. While on campaign they would become experienced and hardened, it was a form of schooling for them. The young men would become brave warriors. The purpose of these travels was to acquire wealth, either in the service of the kings of Europe, or by war and looting. If a king met with success

during these campaigns the fame surrounding his exploits would help to pave the way for him to put his plans into action when he returned to his homeland.

Olaf Haraldsson's first travels were just plundering raids, which was entirely in keeping with the spirit of the age and with Viking campaigns.

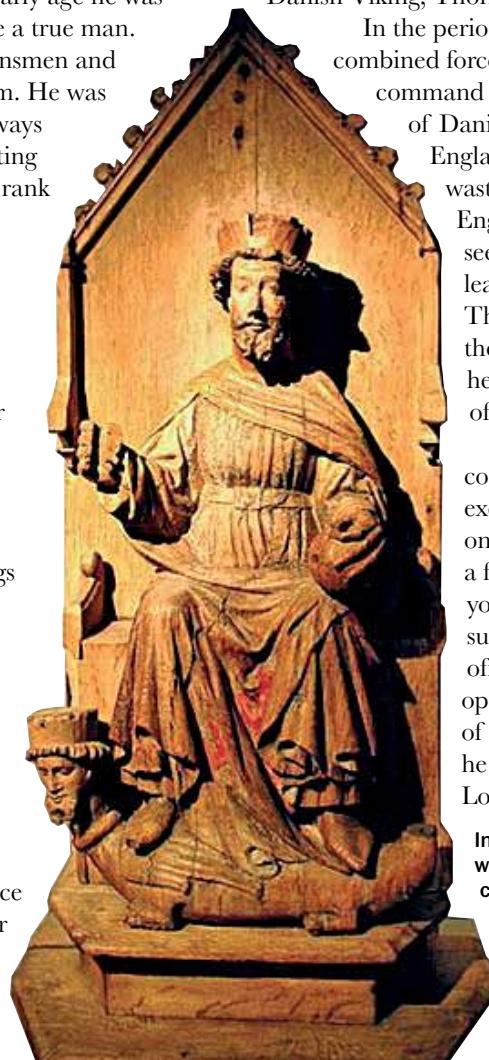
He travelled first to Denmark and from there to Sweden where he fought for the first time.

In the course of the next 3 or 4 years Olaf waged five battles, growing in strength and acquiring military experience, as well as both friends and enemies. Success followed the young military leader, and during one of his campaigns he got to know the famous Danish Viking, Thorkell the Tall.

In the period from 1009-1012 their combined forces under Thorkell's command were the strike force of Danish expansion into England. For 3 years they laid waste to the south coast of England. In these years we see Olaf the Viking, the leader, young and bold. There is no doubt that the Olaf we see here is a heathen in the full sense of the word.

In 1010 forces commanded by Thorkell executed a legendary raid on London. Following a few failed attacks the young konung Olaf succeeded in carrying off a brilliant military operation. Under cover of specially made shields he sailed his ships under London Bridge which

In many countries, both within and outside Europe, churches were built dedicated to the Norwegian konung, and he was depicted in sculptures and paintings



SAINT OLAF HARALDSSON



Saint Olaf on Gotland (iconographer Sergey Polyakov)

was heavily fortified. Olaf managed to secure ropes to the piers of the bridge, then he ordered his men to row back. The piers could not take the load and the bridge was destroyed. And so the young Viking ensured the success of his military undertaking. According to the accounts contained in Snorri's *Saga of Saint Olaf*, Olaf took part in this operation against the Danes on the side of the English King Ethelred as a mercenary. Following the attack on London the Vikings continued their campaign of raids and devastation across the whole of southern England.

In 1011 forces commanded by Thorkell the Tall attacked Canterbury. The Vikings burst into the cathedral during a service and killed all the monks. The Archbishop of Canterbury at that time was Archbishop Alphege. The Vikings plundered the churches,

set fire to the Abbey and laid waste to the town. Olaf must have been among those involved in this attack. Archbishop Alphege was taken alive in order to obtain a ransom for his release but he refused to allow the ransom to be paid. The Archbishop managed to establish a friendship with Thorkell, the leader of the forces.

On 19th April 1012 the Archbishop was killed by the Vikings. His involvement in the attack on Canterbury and his indirect involvement in the death of Saint Alphege were to be a turning point in the subsequent fate of Olaf Haraldsson.

SAINT OLAF IN THE SERVICE OF EUROPEAN KINGS

Thorkell the Tall had been unable to protect Archbishop Alphege. Following the latter's murder Thorkell disbanded the Danish forces and went over to the service of Ethelred the Unready (King of England from 978-1013, and 1014-1016), taking with him forty-five ships together with their crews^[3]. Among those who went with Thorkell was Olaf Haraldsson.

In 1013 the Danish king, Sweyn Forkbeard, seized power in England and Ethelred was forced to flee. Olaf Haraldsson followed him to Normandy.

By this time Olaf had already accumulated a significant fortune. During the campaigns with Thorkell he was regularly paid huge sums of money by way of a bond not to destroy coastal settlements. Moreover, Olaf had increased his fortune in the service of the English king as well as during his last campaigns and military service in Normandy.

Around the year 1000 the overwhelming majority of those living in Normandy were Christians and spoke French. The culture of the Franks was gradually driving out the exotic culture of the Scandinavian peoples.

After serving King Ethelred of England Olaf entered the service of Duke Richard of Normandy, and it was here that the spiritual aspirations of Olaf Haraldsson were changed once and for all.

**OLAF ADOPTS CHRISTIANITY.
HE RETURNS TO NORWAY**

Olaf had become closely acquainted with the Christian faith following the capture by the Vikings of the archbishop and martyr Saint Alphege in Canterbury. Moreover, at the court of King Ethelred the Unready of England Olaf had the opportunity to study the fundamentals of Christianity more deeply. It is most likely that he was baptised in Rouen where he was very warmly received by Duke Richard the Good and his brother, Archbishop Robert. This event which probably took place in 1013 is mentioned in the *Deeds of the Dukes of Normandy*: “Called upon by Archbishop Robert, Saint Olaf turned away from the worship of the old gods in order to come to the joy of Christian faith. Many of his people did likewise. He adopted Christianity, was cleansed by baptism and anointed by the archbishop. Filled with the joy of grace, he returned to his homeland.”^[4]

The decision of Saint Olaf to return to his homeland was confirmed by a dream in which Olaf Tryggvason foretold that he would become ‘the eternal King of Norway’.

**OLAF BECOMES RULER OF
A UNITED NORWAY. THE COUNTRY
IS CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY**

On his return to his homeland in around 1015 Olaf Haraldsson set about the task of uniting the separate parts of the country into the single state of Norway. Within a short time most of the country recognised the authority of Olaf Haraldsson.

As a statesman Saint Olaf is probably the most outstanding figure in Norwegian history. According to researchers into the life of the konung “Olaf possessed an iron will, he had great courage, and when fighting in battle against a superior opponent he possessed a resoluteness which death alone could subdue. He was a hardy warrior, an outstanding commander and political genius the like of which are rarely seen; he was one of the greatest people that Norway has ever produced.”^[5]

In parallel with his political activity Olaf was concerned with the conversion of the country to Christianity. In 1024, at the Thing (assembly) in Moster, Christianity was declared to be the sole permissible religion. Norway became a Christian country. For more than 12 years Olaf Haraldsson worked to preach the Holy Gospel.

The cruelty demonstrated by Olaf Haraldsson in the course of his missionary activity is held to be a generally accepted fact in modern western historical literature. However, some scholars maintain that “this form of preaching was by no means as widespread as many people believe... all things considered the people appear to have accepted Christianity without any great resistance”^[6]. The authors of the sagas might have exaggerated the cruelty exerted in the conversion to the new faith. Moreover, in the opinion of the ruler, Olaf, Christianity as the only truth was a blessing for the country. The adoption of Christianity was the duty of those who were the obedient subjects of the king, for the personal good of each individual subject and for the good of the whole of Norway. Olaf acted as a statesman, forbidding cruel heathen customs, issuing Christian laws with the support of the majority of the people, and possessing the absolute right to demand that the people subject themselves to the laws of the state. Olaf Haraldsson used force when it was a matter of the national interest, unifying the country and removing any causes of potential or actual unrest.

As well as introducing Christian law and forbidding heathen customs Saint Olaf showed himself to be a notable builder of churches and a tireless preacher. The person who helped him most in the conversion of Norway was Bishop Grimkel of England.

And so in the space of a few years of peaceful rule Saint Olaf had indeed succeeded in unifying Norway into a single state. A unified system of national government was established. Christianity became the sole officially permitted religion in the country, and the Christian Church acquired the organisational structure

SAINT OLAF HARALDSSON

necessary for it to develop, including a legislative framework which provided material support for bishops and the clergy. A harsh and merciless war was waged against those who broke the law, above all thieves, burglars and robbers. Norway's first law for the whole country, Olaf's law, was introduced, and on the basis of that law a successful struggle was waged against heathen customs, helping to bring about Norway's rapid spiritual and socio-economic development.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORWAY CHANGES. SAINT OLAF FLEES NORWAY FOR RUS

Olaf had achieved incredible success in just a few years of peaceful rule. However, "the strengthening of the power of the king, his acquisition of new rights and powers, the harsh treatment of heathenism and its adherents, and the overall policy of an open break with the old order, which Olaf Haraldsson pursued more resolutely and consistently than his predecessors, gave rise to



The decision of Saint Olaf to return to his homeland was confirmed by a dream in which Olaf Tryggvason foretold that he would become 'the eternal King of Norway'

a deep enmity between him and a large part of the old nobility..."^[7].

An additional external factor was the intervention of the powerful Cnut the Great, King of England and Denmark, who, on learning that the Norwegians did not respect their konung Olaf because of his gentleness and simplicity, his fairness and piety, sent gold and silver to some of them, suggesting that they should depose Olaf and accept Cnut as their king.

Olaf realised that it was senseless to try to fight on all fronts. To defeat an external enemy without any support from within the country would be impossible. After a few unsuccessful battles he made up his mind to leave the country.

Saint Olaf departed for Rus, where his wife's sister, Ingegerd, lived. She was the daughter of the Swedish konung and had married the blessed prince Yaroslav the Wise. Olaf was warmly received by the great prince and princess and spent almost a year in Rus.

Some researchers believe that "this was a decisive year in the life of the konung"^[8]. Snorri describes it thus: "It is said that Olaf the konung was pious and devout all his life. But when he saw that he was losing his authority and that his enemies were becoming ever more powerful he devoted all his thoughts to God."^[1] This opinion is also shared by many researchers who believe that during this period the soul of the konung underwent profound changes: "It seems that at first he decided to abandon any thought of returning to Norway and made up his mind to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and then to withdraw from the world in order to lead a life of prayer. There is no doubt that during the time that he spent in Rus his natural religious disposition became even more profound..."^[9]

SAINT OLAF RETURNS TO NORWAY. THE FINAL BATTLE AND DEATH OF SAINT OLAF

At a time when Saint Olaf was doubting whether he should return to Norway Olaf



Tryggvason appeared once again to him in a dream and persuaded the konung to fight for the land which he had inherited, telling him that God would give him a sign that this belonged to him^[1]. Soon Olaf received news that Haakon, the monocratic ruler of Norway, had perished in a shipwreck and the country was once again without a ruler.

The final battle of Saint Olaf took place on 29th July 1030 near Stiklestad, not far from Trondheim. The forces of the enemy outnumbered those of Saint Olaf by almost two to one, “those who opposed the konung were mainly survivors from the old heathen grouping...”^[9].

It is striking how much during this final

A few hours before the battle Olaf fell into a light sleep and he had a dream which foretold his imminent death: in the dream he was ascending a stairway to heaven and had reached the final step

period of his life Saint Olaf endeavoured to live up to the spirit of the Gospel: “Early in the morning Olaf’s army made their confession and received communion. It is said that the konung handed over a sum of money for prayers to be offered up after the battle for his enemies who had fallen in the battle.”^[9] The konung was convinced of the rightness of his cause and said: “As for those who will be with us and who will die in this battle, we will all be saved”^[1]. Olaf spent almost the whole night in prayer.

A few hours before the battle Olaf fell into a light sleep and he had a dream which foretold his imminent death: in the dream he was ascending a stairway to heaven and had reached the final step.

At around midday Saint Olaf, fighting against a numerically superior opponent, was injured several times but continued to fight and to pray for his enemies. Saint Olaf lost his final battle. His body was buried in secret.

THE GLORIFICATION OF OLAF. MIRACLES FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF THE SAINT

Exactly a year later the incorrupt body of the dead konung was miraculously discovered. Following the discovery of Olaf's body miracles began to occur. On 3rd August 1031 Bishop Grimkel, with the consent of the whole people, declared konung Olaf a saint. The miracles which manifested themselves caused his past enemies to repent and to acknowledge the holiness of Olaf.

The body of Saint Olaf was laid in the cathedral in Trondheim, which became a place of great pilgrimage in the 11th-15th centuries. A great deal of testimony has come down of miracles which occurred at the tomb of the saint: the heavenly peal of bells, and many cases of people being healed by the powers of the saint and through praying to him. In the various sources giving accounts of the life of Saint Olaf researchers have counted a total of 66 miracles and miraculous events^[10].

THE VENERATION OF SAINT OLAF IN NORWAY

Saint Olaf was venerated throughout Norway. His feast day, which was given the special

name of Olsok, took on the significance of a national holiday and lasted for several days.

However in the 16th century with the coming of the Reformation the church in Norway lost the significance which it had once enjoyed. The Norwegians had no desire to adopt reform but the power of the Danish kings left them no choice.

In the 1560s Trondheim was captured by the Swedes. They destroyed the tomb containing the remains of Saint Olaf and plundered the gold from the burial site. The remains were buried in secret to prevent any further veneration of the saint. The whereabouts of the remains of Saint Olaf are unknown to this day.

This violence against the church and church tradition could not but be reflected in the national consciousness. Today the majority of Norwegians recognise that Olaf Haraldsson was a great leader, and a king who united the country, but only a few venerate him as a saint.



Saint Olaf was venerated throughout Norway. His feast day, which was given the special name of Olsok, took on the significance of a national holiday and lasted for several days

THE VENERATION OF SAINT OLAF OUTSIDE NORWAY

The veneration of Saint Olaf quickly spread throughout all Scandinavia. In the Middle

Ages more than 400 churches dedicated to Saint Olaf were built, surpassed only by the number of churches built in honour of Mary, Mother of God and Saint Peter.

It is interesting that the oldest liturgical texts dedicated to Saint Olaf were discovered in England. They are believed to have been written by Bishop Grimkel, and he is also credited with spreading the veneration of Saint Olaf in England.

The veneration of Saint Olaf in the British Isles is second only to that in Scandinavia. There are around 40 churches

SAINT OLAF HARALDSSON

dedicated to him in England, and in the Middle Ages six churches dedicated to him were built in London alone^[11].

In many countries both within Europe and outside Europe churches were built dedicated to the Norwegian konung, and he was depicted in sculptures and paintings.

In one of Christianity's most important shrines, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, a fresco depicting Saint Olaf has survived, bearing an inscription in Latin which reads: "SCS Olaeus Rex Norwaegie" (Saint Olaf, King of Norway). The fresco can be dated to the middle of the 12th century^[12].

A church dedicated to Saint Olaf was erected in Constantinople^[13].

THE VENERATION OF SAINT OLAF IN RUSSIA. ORTHODOX VENERATION OF THE ENLIGHTENER OF NORWAY

A church in honour of Saint Olaf, called the Varangian shrine by later chroniclers, was built in Novgorod at the Scandinavian court which existed there at the end of the 11th century. The veneration of Saint Olaf became widespread in Rus immediately after his death.

The name of Saint Olaf in Rus is linked with several accounts of miracles performed by the Norwegian saint. Among them are the miracle of the icon of Saint Olaf during a fire in Veliki Novgorod, where at the request of the people a priest of the Varangian church brought out the icon of Saint Olaf and the

fire was stopped in its tracks and the city was saved^[14], and the miracle of the healing of a mute man in the church of Saint Olaf. These miracles occurred in the late 11th and early 12th centuries.

The name of Saint Olaf can be found in one Russian prayer addressed to the Holy Trinity. The prayer appears to have been written in the 11th or early 12th century and is preserved in many records of the 14th and 15th centuries^[15].

The growth in the veneration of Saint Olaf in Norway today can be largely attributed to the Russian community there. Russian parishes, primarily in Oslo and Trondheim, hold a service every year on the saint's feast day. On the eve of the feast day a pilgrimage is made to the settlement of Stiklestad, the place where the holy konung died^[16].

In addition to the parishes of the Moscow Patriarchate Saint Olaf is also venerated in the Norwegian parishes of the Constantinople Patriarchate, as well as in the parishes of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Norway.

The holy and blessed king Olaf Haraldsson (995-1030) is an eminent saint of the undivided Christian Church. His apostolic work in Norway lasted for around 15 years, and the fruit of his labours was the conversion of the country to Christianity. The deeds of Saint Olaf are, therefore, the deeds of one who is equal-to-the-apostles. Saint Olaf stands before us as a zealous preacher of the Gospels, uncompromising in the fight against heathenism and idolatry. ■

[1] Snorri Sturluson. *The Circle of the World*. Moscow. 1980.

[2] *Den Legendariske Olavssaga*. Stavanger. 2000.

[3] Jones G. *The Vikings*. Oxford. 1997.

[4] *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William Jumièges*. Ed. by E. Van Houts. Vol II. Books V-VIII. Oxford. 1995.

[5] Steen S. *Tusen års norsk historie*. Oslo. 1958.

[6] Straum O. *Norren tro og kristningen av Norge*. Bergen. 2004.

[7] *A History of Norway*. Moscow. 1980.

[8] Langset L.R. *Olav den Hellige*. Oslo. 1998.

[9] Willson B.T. *History of the Church and State in Norway*. Westminster. 1903.

[10] Lund K. *Katalog over sankt Olavs mirakler*. Magisteravhandling. Oslo. 1994.

[11] Birkeli F. *Tolv vintrer hadde kristendommen vært i Norge*. Oslo. 1995.

[12] Fett H. *Hellig Olav Norges evige konge*. Oslo. 1938.

[13] Daae L. *Norges Helgener*. Christiania. 1879.

[14] *A History of Norway. The Passion and miracles of the blessed Olaf*. Ed. C. Phelpstead. London. 2001.

[15] Arkhangelsky A.S. *A curious ancient Russian manuscript from the 15th century*. Saint Petersburg. 1884.

[16] *A Pilgrimage to Stiklestad. Russkaya Lepta*. Oslo. №3/2010.

CHURCH JOURNALISM

yesterday, today and tomorrow

The official publication of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, recently marked its 80th anniversary. The Journal's Executive Editor, Sergey Chapnin, spoke to Archpriest Mikhail Dudko about the publication's history, its objectives, and its future.



Sergey Chapnin

Q : The *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* recently marked its 80th anniversary, a major milestone.

During that time the Journal has changed. I'd like to try to trace briefly with you the path taken by the publication over the intervening decades, during which it has had its highs and lows.

A: I would like to go back not just to 1931 when the Journal began to be published, but to 1917, the reason being that by that time church journalism was already established, and virtually every diocese had its own diocesan newspaper. Journals and weekly publications with coloured illustrations were also being produced. At the end of the 19th century the Church had begun to issue a journal entitled *The Russian Pilgrim* which is still in print today. All this came to an end after the October revolution, when the Church was forbidden from issuing periodicals or owning printing works, and its type cases were broken up and dispersed.

After 1917 church publications survived only in those regions where the Soviets were not in power, but from 1922 onwards, with the Civil War over and the Bolsheviks in power throughout the country, there were no more church magazines or newspapers.

Communication became very difficult, not only for remote dioceses but even between neighbouring sees and parishes. There was clearly a need for a church publication, but the Bolsheviks would not give their permission.



Later, some concessions were won from the Soviet authorities thanks to a great deal of effort on the part of Metropolitan Sergius (Stargorodsky). One of his most important achievements was to obtain permission for the publication of a journal, albeit with only a small circulation. Nevertheless it became possible to disseminate official church information and the material necessary for the church to pursue its activity.

The goodwill of the authorities did not last long, and 5 years later the Journal was closed down, and it was revived only after the famous meeting between the Metropolitan and Stalin in October 1943. Since then the Journal has been published without interruption, appearing once a month.

What was special about this journal? For a long time, until 1985, it was the only legal periodical of the Russian Orthodox Church to be published within the former Soviet Union. Of course churches outside the Soviet Union had their own periodicals, and the church within Russia had its unofficial press, but as an official publication this journal was unique.

His Holiness Patriarch Kirill expressed his support for the Journal's editorial staff and his approval of the new concept for the publication

Through the Journal the Church was able to present quite a wide-ranging panorama of church life. Even today *Journal* is a major source of material on the history of the Church in the second half of the 20th century. However, it should not be forgotten that *Journal* was subject to strict censorship. For one reason or another it was impossible to print much of what the editors wanted to print or could have printed.

The Journal was probably at its height in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when there was no more Soviet censorship and all the material which had been accumulated over decades by the editorial team and which was simply lying in drawers was finally published. So if I had to name the high point in its development I would say it was the late 1980s and early 1990s.

1989 saw the start of the publication of the *Church Bulletin* and the beginning of the development of church journalism. The Journal would find itself in a situation



**Founded in 1931, the Journal was closed down 4 years later and was only revived in 1943.
Since 2010 the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate has been appearing in a new format**

which had not existed previously, as it was to become one of many publications writing about the rebirth of the church.

The Journal still has its official status, and it retained a strong editorial team for quite a long time. But unfortunately a new concept of a church publication failed to take shape either in the early 1990s or even in the 2000s.

Q: It is quite clear that an official church journal which publishes documents, appeals and so on cannot have a very large circulation. When you were considering the question of the specific place that the Journal would occupy amongst the many publications of the Russian Orthodox Church, presumably you looked at international experience and thought about what must be included in the Journal and what it was important to include. Thinking about the experience of other churches, maybe not just Orthodox churches, and about the results of your deliberations, how would you summarise the essence of that process, and what, in concise terms, was the main outcome?

A: I could talk on this subject for a very long time but I'll try to summarise it in a few key points.

We went back to the tradition of the official church publications of the second half of the 19th century. I believe that the standard of church journalism in Russia from the post-reform years of the 1860s to the 1910s was very high. The feature of the official church publications which helped them to survive and remain interesting in the 19th and early 20th centuries, is, oddly enough, the very principle which enables the publication to be of interest in the 21st century, and that is its clear division into two sections – an official and an unofficial section. In some publications before the revolution the pages in the official and unofficial sections were even numbered separately.

We based our journal on the same principle, separating the two sections with a double-page spread entitled ‘The Lesson’. This is a short extract, about four or five thousand characters in length, from the teaching or preaching of a well-known preacher, theologian or ascetic writer of the 20th century. The double-page spread is printed on tinted paper and features a large portrait, and serves to separate the official and unofficial sections.

The official section adheres to quite a strict format, and up until 2011 we have kept it the same as it was when the journal

first started; but we feel that this should also undergo some changes, since the volume of official information is growing and we cannot greatly increase the volume of the journal as a whole.

We have had to find new ways of covering the life of the church, the Patriarchal ministry and the publication of documents so that the official section does not take up two thirds of the whole journal. The question of what still needs to be done has yet to be resolved.

As for the unofficial section, I believe that we have reached a clearer understanding of its overall concept. This section basically includes those issues on which the church does not have a clearly formulated position, issues which are open to discussion and to which there are many answers depending on the situation.

For example, we have embarked on a major topic entitled 'The church and contemporary science'. We began by looking at how contemporary science understands the history of the world. The topic was initiated by Father Mikhail Dronov who presented an analysis of Darwinism from the point of view of scientific philosophy and logic as it had been developed by the middle of the 20th century, and demonstrated the invalidity of Darwinism even from the point of view of scientific logic.

The subject of death is among future topics. This is a major problem which is exercising scholars not only in the fields of medicine and biology but over a much broader spectrum. What is physical death? Some say it is when the heart stops beating, others say it is when the brain ceases to function. How does contemporary science which already knows a great deal about human beings understand death? What are the ethical issues which go hand in hand with this question?

I believe that a Christian should know what leading scholars think on issues of this nature.

And that is only one aspect. There are problems of DNA testing which are very topical at the moment in relation to the remains found at Ekaterinburg. Technology is changing. DNA testing as it was 10 years ago and as it is today are based on different techniques. What does this mean? How far should we, or can we, use such testing when the remains of saints are discovered? For example, the burial places of victims of political repression have been discovered in Alatyry in Chuvashiya. Archaeological data has demonstrated that one of the graves contains the remains of a new martyr already canonised by the church. The question is, should we resort to DNA testing, or is the archaeological evidence sufficient, using matching and other forensic techniques?

The *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* is not the kind of publication in which complex theological topics have to be discussed, but it must arouse the interest of the clergy in theological problems. How can we do this? Of course, we have to select topics which are on everyone's lips, which a parish priest would see as relevant to him.

And there is another important factor – that is, using practical experience as a basis, i.e., sharing priests' and bishops' experience of pastoral activity as it is today, presenting that experience in a way which will help them to understand how to organise their work.

The Journal must provide a platform for sharing experience, and this is what is actually happening. It could be anything at all: problems to do with the preservation of buildings before restoration, when there is no money for restoration but the building needs to be preserved – in a case like this we can provide a strategy; how to organise work with the disabled, for example, with children suffering from Infantile Cerebral Paralysis (ICP); or how to organise collections to help the victims of fires. We write from the point of view of how this kind of work can be organised. We do not simply report, but give a point by point description of how things

should be done, and, if any problems could arise, what those problems might be.

As I have already said, there are a great many publications around today, but there are very few which draw together and analyse the experience of church life. This is a specific challenge, and one which I believe it is for us to meet above all others.

Q: There seems to be some overlap between the work of the Journal and that of the Inter-Council Presence. Is this in fact the case, or is it merely a coincidence?

A: This is indeed the case. We work on the same topics as those tabled at the Inter-Council Presence. But I should say that the focus in this first year has been purely on getting the Inter-Council Presence established; in a way what has been happening is an experiment in terms of how the Inter-Council Presence should work and what it will deliver.

We have not yet worked out how we will interact with the Inter-Council Presence, because there is this very rapid and efficient tool known as the Internet. The Internet has meant that the Journal can no longer discuss certain topics which need to be resolved more or less immediately.

Our Commission submitted its documents to the Presidium of the Inter-Council Presence in September last year. The Presidium worked on them from October until the start of December, and in the middle of December put them out for general discussion for a month, up until Epiphany. We did not have time to publish all these documents in one issue, and in the next one it was already too late. Therefore we cannot be a medium for the active discussion of draft documents; we can only publish these documents after they have been adopted by the Bishops' Council, with notes for clarification. Our task is to expand and comment on the standpoint of the church which has been presented in summary form.

Q: This is a question which I wanted to come on to later: all publications, including leading publications with vast traditions behind them, are now faced with the problem of how the printed media can survive in the age of the Internet. This is a serious issue. What strategy does the Journal have in order to survive? Maybe it should just move over to the Internet straight away and leave it at that?

A: His Holiness the Patriarch entrusted the Journal to me about 2 years ago, and before that I had been publishing a newspaper for 10 years. If you're asking me about the future development of the Journal, I would have to say that it does have a future in print. In my opinion it is much harder for newspapers. The Internet is cutting the ground from under newspaper publications. Our newspapers come out twice a month, so in fact although they are newspapers, in terms of their currency they are more like a magazine than a newspaper. Therefore the question of what the church bulletin will be like is a critical one.

We are planning to hold a number of round table meetings to try to establish the direction of the future development of such a publication. But it is my belief that there is only one natural direction in which it can develop, and that is as a mass circulation missionary newspaper which will also consist of an official and an unofficial section. The newspaper can survive in this form but it will rely totally on subsidies.

As for the Journal, the situation here is much more interesting. I feel that the journals have far from exhausted their potential; they can still develop and have large circulations. I believe that our main task here is to use the Journal to bring together all the event-based and theoretical material there is, including material from the Internet.

These days the very meaning of 'news' has changed: how it is written is no longer important, the main thing is to be the first to write the news. If you're



going to write seriously, checking the facts, providing commentaries, carefully selecting photographs, all this takes time, so you can't be the first. And if you're not first, then the news is no longer new. This is where the Internet wins and you'll never keep up with it.

Q: There are two things which attract readers to a periodical. The first is the news, which is gradually moving over to the Internet because reading the news on the Internet is easier and more interesting. The second thing is authors who write well and with a certain 'flavour'. People have their favourite authors, and will read virtu-

In 2002 Metropolitan Anthony gave an interview to the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*

ally anything these authors write. What kind of situation are we now in with regard to authors?

A: As far as good authors are concerned, the situation is bad, and, in my opinion, much worse than it was 5 or 7 years ago.

Authors are not being commissioned to write interesting material, editors are not commissioning quality articles. There are no commissions partly because editors have lost sight of the fact that a publication is strong if it has a point of view.

Since there is no demand for a journalistic point of view, everything has gone

rather flat, either going off into the realm of cultural analysis, where there is no need to have a point of view, or into the realm of the semi-official press or purely informative journalism, where there is also no need to have a point of view. So journalists, as people who can assess the life of the church from a morally persuasive standpoint, along Christian lines, are currently very few in number and we need to bring them on.

Q: Is the trend for good texts of a high standard on the decrease or the increase these days? Is the trend a positive or a negative one? And what is the reason for this?

A: In my opinion the trend is negative. No one is commissioning church articles ‘which take a stand’. People have just switched to other topics, and also the fees paid for writing in the church press are extremely low. Consequently some authors have begun to write for secular publications, and others who might have written analytical or good reports have lost the ability to write because there are no commissions... And young writers haven’t come along to take their place.

Q: It is easy to find criticism of the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* on the Internet, mainly concerned with the problem of authors, the standard of the articles and the depth to which topics are examined. If there is no one who can write intelligent journalistic pieces on certain topics perhaps you should listen to those who suggest returning to the concept of the journal as it was in the 1930s, when it contained articles by Metropolitan Sergius offering a profound analysis of theological

subjects. The journals could be bound, put on a shelf and read 70 years or more from now with the same interest as when they were first read.

A: We’re still at the questioning stage. I should say that the journal has never been the same as it is today. We’ve raised it to a high standard and it receives the recognition it deserves. Our readership consists mainly of the clergy. What do they want from an official journal? Unfortunately the feedback process is very slow and complicated.

There is a great deal of constructive criticism these days and we publish that criticism. If you take a look at the December issue you’ll see we come under very severe criticism – we listen to that criticism, and we hear what people are saying. But when people say that they like the old *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* I say to them: “That’s fine, bring me the issue of the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* that you like and tell me what is better about it than the journal that we were issuing in 2010”. So far no one has been able to bring me anything in response.

I can more or less imagine the journal as it was in its early stages, and any comparisons will not favour the old editions, but of course there are individual articles which made the journal of the past attractive.

I would like us to have a programme of theological publications, and this is what we’re working on now. Unfortunately it’s very difficult to establish such a programme for twelve months. The challenge is to put in place editorial systems which will function for a certain amount of time, allowing us, for example, to use an existing plan and repeat it a year later.

This is not without difficulties, but we will overcome them. ■

CREATION IN GENESIS

By Archimandrite Vassilos Papavassiliou

Talk given by Archimandrite Vassilos Papavassiliou on 21st March 2008 for the Orthodox Youth Conference and Workshop of the Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain: Genesis To Priesthood: Man As Priest Of Creation, at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Wood Green, London.

Martin Luther once wrote that the first chapter of Genesis “is written in the simplest language; yet it contains matters of the utmost importance and very difficult to understand. It was for this reason, as Saint Jerome asserts, that among the Hebrews it was forbidden for anyone under thirty to read the chapter or to expound it for others.”¹

The vast number of interpretations of the creation account in Genesis over recent centuries suggests that Luther may have had a point. But the problem is in fact much simpler than people make it out to be.

At the risk of oversimplification, I would say that there are three schools of thought today regarding the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis:

- 1) There are those who appeal to modern science in order to dismiss Genesis as irrelevant and to disparage it as nothing more than the survival of a primitive pre-scientific view of the world.
- 2) There are those who try to interpret Genesis in a way that conforms to the theories and discoveries of modern science in order to uphold the relevance.
- 3) There are those who believe that Genesis is to be taken literally, regardless of the discoveries of modern science.

The main problem with all three of these schools of thought is that they wrongly assume that Genesis is a work of creation history rather than a work of theology. The relevance of Genesis does not lie in its

explanation of how the world was created. The message of the creation account of Genesis is that all is created by God and for God, and man has a God-given purpose on this planet, which means that man can never be truly happy for as long as he is not carrying out that purpose. The question of how God created man and the world is irrelevant for theology. Even as early as the 4th century, the Church Father Severianos of Gabala writes: “Moses did not say these things as an historian, but as a prophet”.²

Another problem of interpretation seems to stem from a rather bizarre understanding of the ‘infallibility of scripture’. When we say that the biblical authors were divinely inspired to write what they wrote, it does not mean that they were given some sort of extraordinary understanding of science, and that is simply because such matters are not pertinent to human salvation. It is in fact important to bear this in mind when reading many passages from the scriptures, and particularly the first chapter of Genesis. Note, for example, these two diagrams of Ancient Hebrew Cosmology: the Hebrew people in the time of Moses believed that the world looked something like this. It is almost impossible to understand certain passages of scripture without having this worldview in mind. For example, in verses 6 to 8 of chapter 1 of Genesis, we read:

“And God said, ‘Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters.’ And God made the firmament and separated the waters which were

under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament. And it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day.”

What on earth is that all about? What is this ‘firmament’ when it is at home? A look at the top diagram will give us a clue. In the middle we have the earth and the sky. Right at the top we have the highest heaven, which was believed to be the dwelling place of God. Above the sky we have the firmament of which the scripture speaks. In-between the firmament and the highest heaven we have the waters above the firmament, containing the storehouses of snow, the storehouses for hail and the chambers of winds, and within the firmament we have windows through which the snow, hail, wind, and waters (rain) would come through.

In the second diagram we see a similar worldview, and you will notice at the bottom left and right corners within the sea are the words ‘Rahab’ and ‘Leviathan’ – two sort of sea monsters that the Hebrews believed lived in the depths of the sea. And in Genesis, 1, 21, we read: “So God created the great sea monsters...”, which could be referring to this Rahab and this Leviathan. Also, those of you who attend vespers should be familiar with Psalm 103 (104): “...the great sea wherein are things creeping and innumerable, both small and great. There go the ships; there is that leviathan whom thou hast made to play therein.”

So it is important to remember that, when we read the scriptures, we can not understand everything with modern minds. We must try to enter the minds of the authors and understand how they thought.

There is a third problem with interpreting scripture, and that is people tend to forget that just like in our own modern languages, so in biblical language, there is poetry, there are idioms and figures of speech. It is not the sort of language one would expect to find in an instruction

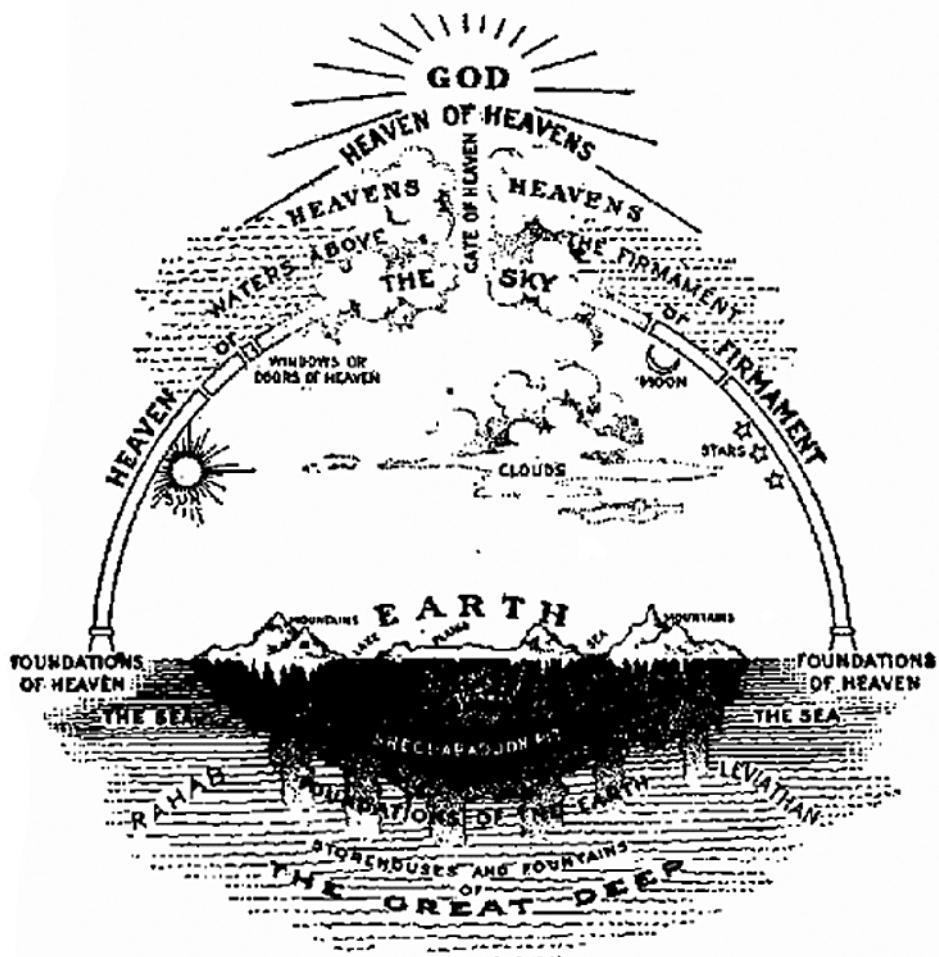
manual. If I were to say, ‘the traffic today was a nightmare’, none of you would think that I meant that it was a figment of the imagination. Yet when we find such language in the scriptures, some people often think that it is to be taken literally. Even the 3rd century theologian, Origen of Alexandria, makes it clear that there are many passages of scripture which are not to be taken literally. In commenting on Genesis, he points out that in the first chapter of Genesis ‘day’ and ‘night’ exist before the creation of the ‘sun’ and the ‘sky’. Therefore ‘day’ and ‘night’ are not meant to be taken literally. “Who is so ignorant”, he writes, “as to suppose that God planted trees in paradise, like a gardener; or that he took an afternoon walk there?”³

So, given that the creation account in Genesis was never intended to be a work of science or history, what is its message and purpose? While science tries to answer the question ‘how?’, and philosophy tries to answer the question ‘why?’, theology tries to answer the question ‘who?’. As I have already said, the message of Genesis is that all is created by God and for God; but the account of creation goes further than this: it tells us who that God is and, by extension, what man is, for man is made in His image. Let us therefore examine Genesis, 1, 26:

“Then God said, ‘Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.’”

The point of greatest interest here is the use of the first person plural: “let us make man in our image”. There are three well-known interpretations for the use of the plural.

- 1) God is speaking with the angels.
- 2) It is the plural of majesty (the royal ‘we’).
- 3) The three persons of the Trinity are speaking together.



THE ANCIENT HEBREW CONCEPTION OF THE UNIVERSE

TO ILLUSTRATE THE ACCOUNT OF CREATION AND THE FLOOD

The first interpretation does not stand up to scrutiny, because no one has ever countenanced that man was made in the image of God and the angels. Man was made in the image of God alone.

The second interpretation does not stand up to scrutiny, because nowhere else in the scriptures is the royal 'we' used.

The third interpretation is the correct one and that of the Church Fathers: the three persons of the Trinity are speaking; man is

made in the image not of one person, not of God the Father alone, but in the image of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This is of great importance, because it means that man is created by a plurality of persons in one essence. 'God is love' because God is more than one person. Love must have an object: it can not exist without more than one person. Therefore, man is made for union and communion with others: he is a 'social being'. This is why God says in Genesis, 2, 13, "It is

not good for man to be alone". Man, being created in the Image of the Trinity, is made to live in a community, in a union of persons; and the greatest union is that of marriage, when two become one flesh.

This notion of man made for fellowship with God and his fellow human beings is summed up in biblical language as man made 'in the image and likeness of God'. The majority of the Greek Fathers state that 'image' and 'likeness' are not one and the same thing. The image indicates freedom and reason, while the likeness indicates assimilation to God. In short: we become like God by making the right use of our freedom and reason. This is why the Church believes so strongly in free will. Without it, we are no more accountable for our actions than animals, and can never come into union with God. If God is love, then God is also freedom, because love is something that can only be freely given; it cannot be forced. Love, as the Church understands it, is not an instinct; it is not implanted in us by nature. We love because we choose to.

If the likeness of God is something that man had to obtain through correct use of God's image, then it means that man had to develop. He was made perfect in the sense that he was flawless and sinless, but he had yet to attain full union with God. The likeness of God was something that man was given the potential of achieving through God's grace and providence and man's free will together. (Things fell to pieces when man made wrong use of his freedom). And so, when God created man, he also gave man his share of the work. Man was not made to lounge around in an idyllic paradise eating strawberries: he had work to do. But what was the nature of this work? To explain this, I would like to draw your attention to Genesis, 2, 15:

"And the Lord took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to work it and to keep it."

Many commentators interpret this work in terms of the cultivation of agriculture:

farming or gardening. But what is interesting is that, in the Hebrew, the same vocabulary – 'work' and 'keep' – is used to describe the priestly responsibilities of the tabernacle, or temple, in the Book of Numbers:

"They shall keep guard over him ... before the tent of meeting, as they work (minister) at the tabernacle" (Num., 3, 5-7).

This is the only other time in the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament) that the Hebrew verbs in Genesis, 2, 15 for 'work' and 'keep' are used – in describing the Levites' priestly duties guarding and ministering in the Sanctuary.

In this connection, it is worth noting the comparisons made by Rabbinic interpreters between the description of the seven days of Creation in Genesis and the description of the construction of the tabernacle, or temple, in the Book of Exodus. In Genesis, it is written: "In the beginning God created the heaven", and in psalm 103: "who stretches out the heaven like a curtain"; while of the tabernacle, in the Book of Exodus, it is written: "And you shall make curtains of goat's hair for a tent over the tabernacle". Of the second day of creation we read: "Let there be a firmament ... and let it divide the waters from the waters"; and of the tabernacle: "The veil shall divide the holy place from the holy of holies". Of the third day of creation: "Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together"; and of the tabernacle: "You shall make a laver of brass ... whereat to wash". Of the fourth day it is written: "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven"; and of the tabernacle: "You shall make a candlestick of pure gold". Of the fifth day of creation: "Let foul fly above the earth"; of the tabernacle: "The cherubim shall spread out their wings". On the sixth day man was created; and in connection with tabernacle it says: "Bring near unto you Aaron your brother" (Aaron being the high priest). On the seventh day we have: "And

the heaven and the earth were finished”, “God blessed and hallowed”, and “on the seventh day God finished the work which he had done”; and of the tabernacle it is written: “Thus was finished all the work of the tabernacle”, “And Moses blessed them”, “And it came to pass on that day that Moses made an end”.

These tabernacle-creation parallels mean that, if the creation is God’s ‘cosmic temple’, then the garden of Eden is the first holy of holies – the first altar or sanctuary – and Adam is the first priest. Read within the greater context of scripture, Adam’s responsibilities in the garden of Eden are primarily priestly, not agricultural.

So, man’s primary task and purpose in paradise was a priestly one. But to have a better understanding of what this means, we need to consider what the priest’s main task and purpose is. The priest’s key role is to celebrate the sacraments, and the main characteristic of a sacrament is that man takes natural material (bread, water, wine, oil) and offers it back to God in

thanksgiving, while asking Him to make it a means of imparting His grace and mercy to us. Man, as priest of creation, is not called to dominate creation, nor even to merely take care of it, but to offer it back to God. In this way, creation becomes far more than the means of man’s sustenance; it becomes a means of thanksgiving, blessing, sanctification and salvation. Furthermore, man does not simply use raw materials; he uses his creative powers to fashion them into something different to what they were at first. The greatest example of this is the Eucharist, which means ‘thanksgiving’. At the Eucharist, we do not offer wheat and grapes, but bread and wine. Man takes God’s creation, makes something out of it, and gives it back to God; and God, in turn, sanctifies it. Man makes the bread and wine from the materials God has given him, offers what he has made to God, and God transforms it into the Body and Blood of Christ for the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. And this act of offering creation back to the Creator is expressed above all in the

DAY	CREATION	TABERNACLE
1	Heavens are stretched out like a curtain (Gen. 1:1. Ps 103:2)	Tent (Exodus 26:7)
2	Firmament (Gen. 1:2)	Temple Veil (Ex. 26:33)
3	Waters below firmament (Gen. 1:9)	Laver of bronze (Ex. 30:18)
4	Lights (Gen. 1:14)	Light stand (Ex. 30:18)
5	Birds (Gen. 1:20)	Winged cherubim (Ex. 25: 20)
6	Man (Gen. 1:27)	Aaron the high priest (Ex. 28:1)
7	Cessation (Gen. 2:1) Blessing (Gen. 2:3) Completion (Gen. 2:2)	Cessation (Ex. 39: 32) Mosaic blessing (Ex. 39:43) Completion (Ex. 39:43)

prayer of the *anaphora* at the Divine Liturgy: “Offering you your own of your own, in all things and for all things, we praise you, we bless you, we give thanks to you, O Lord, and we pray to you, our God”. And so, it is above all at the Divine Liturgy that we truly fulfil our calling as ‘sacramental beings’.

Bearing this sacramental purpose of man in mind, the creation of Eve as Adam’s ‘helper’ must also be seen in a sacramental light. The purpose of Eve in relation to Adam is all too often viewed in terms of procreation, but this is not actually the main purpose of Eve; she was created to assist Adam in his priestly duties. She was not made to simply bear children or to be the servant of man, and she was certainly not created to be chained to the kitchen sink, but to participate as a helper in man’s sacramental purpose in life. Of course, this does not exclude childbirth. If, as I said, the key characteristic of sacrament is offering God’s creation back to the Creator, then childbirth is the greatest sacrament: the offering of another human life to God for Him to consecrate it, hallow it and transfigure it by His grace. But woman’s role in procreation must always be seen in sacramental terms, because Eve’s role as a helper is directly connected to Adam’s role as a priest. Man can not carry out his sacramental role without the assistance of woman.

It is no coincidence, given that man before the fall was made for priestly work, that in the last book of the Bible, the Book of Revelations, redeemed humanity is described as carrying out the same work:

“Blessed and holy are they who have a part in the first resurrection … they will be priests of God and of Christ and will reign with Him for a thousand years” (Rev., 20, 6).

“You were slain and by your blood you ransomed for God saints from every tribe and language and people and nation; you made them to be a kingdom and priests serving our God, and they will reign on the earth” (Rev., 5, 9-10).

“To him who loves us and freed us from our sins by his blood, and made us to be a kingdom, priests serving his God and Father, to him be glory and dominion forever and ever” (Rev., 1, 5-6).

Bearing all of this in mind, whenever we read Genesis, and the scriptures in general, we should always be aware that we must read it within the greater context of scripture. When we read the Old Testament, we must read it in the light of the New Testament, which shows us the true meaning of the symbolism, imagery, history, poetry and prophecies of the Old Testament. This is particularly true of Genesis. We have to look beyond the imagery and simple language of Genesis, which all too often hinder us from perceiving its fundamental message: that man was made by God to worship Him, to make good use of the Image of God in man, to make something of God’s creation and give it back to Him in praise and thanksgiving, in order that He in turn may impart to us His Divine Grace which transforms us into God’s likeness. In short: the message of Genesis is that God made man to be priest of creation. ■

¹ Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, vol. 1, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St Louis: Concordia, 1958, p. 3).

² Severianos of Gabbala, *On The Creation Of the World*. Quoted in a lecture at the Ian Ramsey Centre, Oxford, *Theology and Science*, by Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira & Great Britain, published in *The Orthodox Herald*, Issue 206-207, Nov/Dec 2005.

³ Origen, *On First Principles*. Quoted in a lecture at the Ian Ramsey Centre, Oxford, *Theology and Science*, by Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira & Great Britain, published in *The Orthodox Herald*, Issue 206-207, Nov/Dec 2005.

SIMEON FRANK

By Archpriest Maxim Mitrofanov

The modest icon to the Mother of God which hangs on one of the right-hand columns of the London Cathedral Church is well-known to its parishioners. But very few pay any attention to the inscription on a plate beneath the icon, which reads: “To the memory of Simeon Lyudvigovich Frank (1877–1950)”. As the author of these lines I find it very moving that the memory of this great thinker is carefully preserved in the British capital where he spent the last 5 years of his life. For me it is doubly significant because I am a graduate of the History Faculty at Saratov University which Frank helped to found and of which he was the first dean in the tumultuous year of 1917.



Simeon Frank

December 2010 marked the 60th anniversary of the passing from this life of the eminent Russian religious philosopher Simeon Frank. Simeon Lyudvigovich Frank was born in 1877, in Moscow, into the family of a military doctor. His father, Lyudvig Simeonovich Frank (1844–1882), a graduate of Moscow University, had taken part in the defence of Sevastopol and was awarded the Order of Stanislav. He died at a relatively young age and Simeon did not remember him. The

family was of Jewish descent and came from the Baltic area. Frank's maternal grandfather, Moisey Rossiyanovsky, was a deeply religious, highly educated man. In the 1860s he was one of the founders of the Jewish community in Moscow. Rossiyanovsky had an outstanding knowledge of Hebrew, the Scriptures and religious literature, and he had an enormous influence on the development of the future philosopher. Before he died he made the young Simeon, who was only 14 years old at the time, give him his word that he



The Icon of the Mother of God 'Of the Passion' belonged to the Frank family and was brought with them from France in 1945 when they emigrated to Great Britain. Shortly after the death of Simeon Frank his widow, Tatyana Frank, gave the icon to Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh for the Cathedral of the Dormition and All Saints in London. A small brass plate beneath the icon bears the following inscription "To the memory of Simeon Lyudvigovich Frank (1877–1950)".

would study the Scriptures and theology. The philosopher would later recall: “I have not fulfilled his covenant in the formal sense, nevertheless everything to which my heart, my intellect, my spiritual quest and, ultimately, my Christianity, have aspired, all of this has been a natural and organic continuation of the lessons which I learnt from my grandfather”. Frank’s Christianity flows naturally out of Judaism just as the New Testament flows from the Old.

On completing his studies at the grammar school in Nizhny Novgorod Simeon was admitted to the Faculty of Law at Moscow University.

Simeon’s mother remarried following the early death of her husband. Simeon’s stepfather, V.I. Zak, was a populist in his views, first introducing the young man to his revolutionary ideas and then infecting him with them. Frank was drawn to Marxism. It is worth noting that many great minds of that time ‘suffered’ from Marxism, including the majority of representatives of Russian religious philosophical thinking who ‘went down with the disease’ of Marxism in their youth.

The social issues raised by the founders of Marxism would appear in one form or another in Frank’s thinking and writing until the end of his days. In 1899 his involvement in Marxist circles and his interest in social democracy led to his arrest and subsequent imprisonment. Following his release Frank was banned from living in university towns and he spent some time abroad, living in Berlin and Munich.

Frank would soon break away from the Marxist ideas which confounded him. The philosopher’s fundamental thinking could not be reconciled with the helpless and unscientific nature of revolutionary theories. It is no accident that Frank’s first published work, *Marx’s Theory of Value* which came out in 1900, was devoted to a critique of Marxism.

Having broken with Marxism Frank sought a firm foundation for his own world view, and strangely enough this breakthrough

towards religious thinking came about as a result of the influence of Nietzsche, a philosopher who professed an extreme materialism. Frank was drawn by Nietzsche’s protest against the mundane, against spiritual mediocrity, against the nothingness of the world. Picking up this challenge the philosopher turned to the realm of the spirit. He recognised that there is another reality, a reality outside the human intellect. It is interesting that the first book that Frank wrote after his conversion to Christianity in 1912 was called *The Unknowable (Nepostizhimoe)*, published in 1939. True existence, genuine reality is incomprehensible in the sense that someone can feel and comprehend it within their religious experience but it is never comprehensible in its entirety. The human intellect, created by God, will never be able to comprehend its Creator.

Simeon was married in 1908. After passing his Master’s examination in 1912 Frank entered Saint Petersburg University as a Privatdozent. In the same year he converted to the Orthodox faith.

In 1915 Frank was awarded his Master’s degree for his work *The Object of Knowledge (Predmet znanija)*. His book entitled *The Soul of Man (Dusha cheloveka)*, published in 1917, was submitted by Frank as his doctoral dissertation but he was never called upon to defend it because of the events of the revolution. This book was subsequently published in many languages.

During the revolution Frank and his family left Moscow for Saratov. He was asked to set up a Faculty of History and Philosophy in Saratov University (until then there had only been a Faculty of Medicine). At that time Saratov was one of the last centres of free thought, where G.P. Fedotov, the religious philosopher, historian and publicist worked, along with several other eminent figures. But the events of the revolution, the famine and devastation, forced Frank to move on again from Saratov. He returned to Moscow with his wife and three children, and they lived in a dacha in Pushkino until he was

arrested, before being exiled from Russia with his family in 1922 on one of the notorious ‘philosophers’ ships.

Frank settled in Berlin and joined the Academy of Religion and Philosophy established by Nikolay Berdyaev. He adapted easily to life in Europe since he was fluent in several European languages. Frank gave lectures in Berlin and Paris and did a great deal of work. One particularly important book, written in pre-fascist Germany in 1930, was *The Foundations of Social Being* (*Dukhovnye osnovy obshchestva*), the subject of which is still relevant to this day. Society can only be healthy if it has a spiritual foundation, since a congregation of people is not only a phenomenon of the material world but is primarily a phenomenon of the spiritual world.

In another of his works, *God is with us. Three Meditations* (*S nami Bog: Tri razmyshlenija*) published in 1946, Frank discourses on the subject of faith. To live in faith means to live constantly with all one’s strength, to live completely in the present, to live in full and total awareness, meaning to live by the heart, for which any subject, any external reality will be revealed in its indescribability, its significance and its mysterious depth: “This is the true task, the true struggle, the most profound and intense activity available to man, ultimately it is the true creation, in which we by dint of our creative will transform reality, create something quite different, unprecedented, that is to say the transformed reality of our being, a new person”. The quest for God is already God acting within our soul, and this quest provides the foundation, the meaning of our existence. The meaning of life is not given but set down, since all that is already made is either dead or alien and of no use to us. The meaning of life is a life which must be led within, not outside, us. The search for the meaning of life is the strengthening of our faith, making an effort to transform our lives. We should take the primary source of life as our firm foundation, turning our hearts to God in prayer, in ascetic endeavours, in the

fight against sensual passions, against pride and selfishness. Frank believed that the age of the denial of life’s spiritual foundations would be replaced by an age whose creative activity would be entirely directed towards establishing the human spirit within the Supreme spiritual source.

A major theme of Frank’s philosophical writing was the oneness of everything. In his works Frank comes out against a subjective idealism derived from an “I” at the centre of the universe. Through their lives people get to know something which can be called “You”. But there is something else, something we call “We”. Frank stressed that the human “I’s” are not isolated from one another. Real knowledge, real life is possible only when there is unity between people. We do not live on isolated islands but on a single continent which unites us all while being the final and true subject of our knowledge. Man understands not only his sensory world or its reflection, but its substrata, its depth. Frank said that God is not the heaven above us but the very depths of our existence.

In his work entitled *The Soul of Man* (1917) Frank provides a brilliant analysis of the question of the oneness of the spiritual life which cannot be divided, and this oneness relates not only to our “I” but also to the foundation in which our “I” is rooted and to which we turn. Frank describes it thus: first there is our “I”, then “We”, and finally, the foundation, which is the Incomprehensible.

One of his works is entitled *Religion and Science* (published in 1953), and in it Frank responds in a concise way to the questions posed by a non-religious society. The philosopher writes: “Religion and science do not and cannot contradict one another for the simple reason that they are talking about completely different things. Contradiction is only possible where two opposing statements are made in relation to one and the same subject.” Of science he writes: “Science takes the world as a closed system of phenomena and studies the relations between those phenomena outside the relation of the world as a whole (and, accordingly, each part



of the world, no matter how small) to its supreme essence, to its source, to its absolute origin from which it came and on which it rests. Religion understands precisely this relationship of the world, and consequently of mankind, to this absolute fundamental principle of existence, to God, and from that understanding derives a comprehensive meaning of life which remains outside the field of vision of the scientific.

“It is as if science is studying the middle, the intermediate layer or section of existence within its internal structure; religion comprehends that same middle in its relation to the beginning and the end, to life as a whole or its foundations in their entirety.”

In dealing with the question of miracles which had come under violent attack from atheist propaganda, Frank states that “when someone denies something which they find incomprehensible they are trying in advance to construct in their own mind a model of the world which, as it turns out, in no way corresponds to reality”. Frank quotes Augustine of Hippo who stated that religion does not contradict the laws of nature but the

Simeon Frank (in the centre), Nikolay Berdyaev (on the left) and Lev Karsavin. 1923

laws which are known to us.

Simeon Frank was a profound and consistent philosopher. It is quite difficult to quote from his works which cannot be read in extracts. All Frank’s philosophical works have a strict logical structure in which one thing flows from another. Frank is a man of thought, a man of powerful philosophical intellect. He once jokingly said of himself: “I dreamed my whole life away”. This, of course, was not idle dreaming, but the most profound intellectual contemplation. Reading his works we realise that we have before us a profoundly religious man with a very rich internal world and spiritual experience, a true man of wisdom from whom, according to his friend Peter Struve, emanated light, wisdom, joy and warmth.

Unlike many of the religious philosophers of his time, for example Nikolay Berdyaev, Frank was very protective of his own inner spiritual life. Even in his autobiographical notes written in the final years of his life he still does not reveal to us

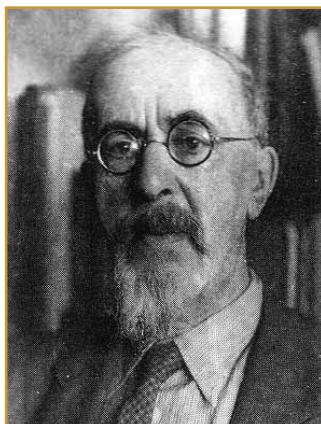
the secret recesses of his heart. We can only imagine what storms they must have seen.

In the 1930s at the time of the Nazis Frank was stripped of his post and forced to leave Germany for Paris. In 1945 he emigrated to England, and died in London on 10th December 1950.

In conclusion I would like to quote one of Frank's sayings from which anyone absorbed in today's hectic modern life may take strength: "In order to look for the meaning of life, not to mention actually finding it, one must first simply stop, concentrate and not 'fuss' about anything". ■

"Light which comes from deep within the soul must illuminate the darkness on the outside"

From the philosophical legacy of Simeon Frank



Simeon Frank

Shortly after being exiled from Russia in 1922 Simeon Frank published *The Meaning of Life* in which he expressed his religious and philosophical ideas and his personal beliefs. This book, in which the philosopher sought to speak "only of those things which are the very essence of life", and in which he reveals the "positive content of those ideas which had been put forward mainly in the form of criticism" in his previous works, was primarily intended for members of the Russian Christian student movement and the young Russian émigré community. In the early 1940s, at a time when the world was in the grip of war, Frank published another book, *God is with us*, in which he sets out his personal attitude towards the evil which gripped the world in the 1930s and 1940s. "At this dreadful time, with the forces of hell running riot on the Earth, in the midst of the unimaginable terrors of a world war ... I needed to acknowledge clearly and express truthfully what I believe in and what gives me the strength to live – to explain the genuine blessed essence of faith and the truth of God," Frank wrote in the preface to this book. In his last great work, *Reality and Man* Frank completed the development of the philosophy on which, in his own words, he had been working for around 40 years. We have included extracts from three books by this eminent thinker below.

The person who devotes himself entirely to working for some distant future, to doing good for the benefit of people, a country, mankind, or a future generation, which are far-off, unknown and alien to him, who has no concern, thought or care for those around him, and believes that any actual obligations which he may have towards them, the needs of the present day, are somehow immaterial and insignificant when compared to the grandeur of his own obsession – that person is, without doubt, idolatrous. The person who speaks of his own great historic mission and of some brilliant hoped-for future and does not deem it necessary to provide warmth and light today, to make the present day just a little more reasonable and meaningful for himself and those near to him – that person, unless he is dissembling, is idolatrous. And conversely, the more a person puts his morality into practice, the more that morality is used to address the real needs of real people and concentrates on today, the more, in short, that activity is imbued not with abstract principles but a true feeling of love, or a true awareness of the obligation to love and to help people, the nearer that person is to subordinating his external activity to the spiritual objective of his life. The Lord's precept does not concern itself with tomorrow, for "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" is not simply a precept not to overburden oneself with excessive worldly concerns; it carries with it a requirement to restrict oneself to concerns for the real world, not the subjects of daydreaming and abstract thought.

(...)

The person who lives in today – not giving himself up to the day but subordinating the day to himself – that person is living in eternity. This sound approach finds its moral and psychological expression in humility, in recognising the limitation of one's powers, and also in the mental calm and strength with which the deeds of the day are performed, in being involved in the actual life of the world; whereas the idolatrous service of the world manifests itself in pride and exultation on the one hand, and, on the other hand,

is associated with a feeling of unease, uncertainty and vanity. For the person who believes his main goal is to achieve some specific outward result, to bring about an objective change in the world order, on the one hand must exaggerate both the value of what he does and his own powers, and, on the other hand, because of the unsteadiness and blindness which accompany his worldly deeds is never sure of success and thereby makes his own life dependent on conditions over which his will is powerless. Only the person who lives in the eternal and sees as his task the greatest possible revelation of eternal powers – irrespective of their external success and objective outcome – that person is living in the realisation expressed by the French proverb 'fais ce que dois, advienne ce que pourra' (do what you must, come what may); he is living in a state of mental calm, and in his external actions remains firmly attached to the internal roots of his being, to his fundamental, internal activity which is aimed at strengthening those roots.

Therefore our external, worldly actions, being derived from our fundamental, spiritual actions and only having meaning through them, must occupy their rightful place in our overall spiritual life so that the normal spiritual balance is not destroyed. The powers of the spirit, strengthened and nourished from within, must flow freely to the outside, for faith without deeds is dead, and the light which comes from deep within the soul must illuminate the darkness on the outside. But the powers of the spirit must not be enslaved or held captive by the meaningless powers of the world, and darkness must not extinguish the eternal Light.

For this is that living Light which illuminates everyone who comes into the world; it is God incarnate, Jesus Christ, who is for us "the way, the truth and the life" and who for this very reason is the eternal and inviolate meaning of our life.

The Meaning of Life, chapter 8. Cited from: Simeon Frank, *S nami Bog*. Moscow: 2003, pp. 128-129.
English translation © Sourozh

The state and all other secular unions can create the relatively best external forms of life, but must never set themselves the task of saving man. Salvation exceeds human powers and is God's work (with the humble participation of man's inner, divinely-determined spiritual activity). This is the meaning of the Christian doctrine of redemption.

It follows from this that there is one domain of human creativeness which stands by its very nature in dangerous proximity to demonism – in spite of all that has been said about the essential difference between creativeness and sinful arbitrary will. It is the domain of statecraft and politics. Politics as such is a necessary and legitimate sphere of human creativeness, and there are real geniuses in it. The creation of new and better forms of social life is the natural purpose of man's creative will. But the material of that creativeness are living people, and the means is power over men, compulsion, which, as we have seen, contains as such an element of sin. Thus on both sides – both with regard to the material and the means – political creativeness must limit itself if it is to be truly legitimate. It is constantly in danger of falling either into the sin of unrestrainedly ordering human destinies (even if it does so with the good intention of improving them) or into even worse sin of identifying the ruler's lawless arbitrary will with his autonomous moral will. Power demoralizes and inclines man to self-deification and to the belief that all things are lawful for him. This is why even really great statesmen are often tyrants and criminals, and on the other hand, why criminals who attain power often seem great and inspired men of creative political genius. True and profound religious humility is needed for carrying on creative political work without falling into sin and wrecking people's lives.

Reality and Man, chapter 5.

Cited from: S.L. Frank. *Reality and Man*.

An essay in the metaphysics of human nature.

London: Faber & Faber, 1965, pp. 188-189.

It may be said that for some two hundred years – beginning with the 18th century – mankind has been vainly struggling to overcome social wrongs and to organize life justly and rationally by secular means alone, forgetting the only healing and saving power – the power of love. On that path it has not merely failed to reach the righteousness it sought, but has gradually slipped into the abyss of unmitigated evil, into the worship of violence, thus dooming itself to tortures of hell. The true 'secularization', attained during that period consists not in liberating human life, but in enslaving it to the powers of 'this world' – the powers of malice, greed, hatred, spiritual deadness. Having gone spiritually blind mankind has entrusted its fate to blind leaders. The only way out of the impasse is a re-awakening of the Christian faith – and that means in the first instance the awakening of faith in the divine, all-conquering power of self-sacrificing love, mocked by the 'children of this world', and preaching 'Christ crucified, a stumbling block unto the Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles'. The awakening of that faith opens up of itself the right ways of realizing it in practice and thus bringing healing and regeneration to the life of man.

God with us, part 3, chapter 4. Cited from: S.L. Frank.

God With Us. Three meditations.

London: Jonathan Cape, 1946, p. 275.

In the terrible days we are living in, and the hard times which in one way or another must follow them, mankind is standing at the cross-roads. Only two possibilities are open to us: to slide further down into the abyss, or, by a heroic effort, save ourselves through Christian renaissance. May the Lord help us!

God with us, part 3, chapter 5. Cited from: S.L. Frank.

God With Us. Three meditations.

London: Jonathan Cape, 1946, p. 296.

The Divine Services in the thought of Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh

By Archpriest Benedict Ramsden

When we speak of the legacy of Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh we remember not only his sermons and his talks which have been carefully collected and preserved, but also the school of spiritual life through which those who knew the Vladyka passed. To comprehend that spiritual experience is possibly one of the most difficult, but at the same time one of the most important, of life's tasks.



This year is for me a special one in which to be asked to write something about the late, much-revered Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh. It will, on the 22nd of December this year, be 40 years ago that he made me a deacon. Over several years leading up to that day we had met at fairly regular intervals for him to prepare me for ordination, and for the following eighteen months I served him regularly as a deacon. I look back on that time of preparation and the subsequent time of diaconal ministry as one of the great joys of my life. Indeed the day Metropolitan Anthony chose to make me a deacon was the Feast of the Icon ‘Unexpected Joy’. He chose that day himself and spent a great deal of time talking to me about joy and its importance. The joy was for me truly unexpected; it has lasted all my life, and I regard it as a sort of miracle.

What was to grow into our present Diocese of Sourozh was then a small and fragile thing. There were few clergy and, despite the enormous demands on Metropolitan Anthony by a seemingly endless stream of people coming to see him, each one for precisely a few minutes under an hour, often from quite early morning to late at night, it was possible for me to have a considerable number of one to one sessions with him. They are a treasured memory. Of course there are many memories since but then, I saw him much less often.

I have been asked to write about ‘The Divine Liturgy in the thought of the late Metropolitan Anthony’. That suggests something systematic, but he was not a systematic theologian. Indeed, despite his many publications, he was not a writer. Though it may be possible in the future that some orderly outline on his teaching on the Liturgy might emerge, I am most certainly not in a position to attempt any such thing.

I would rather try to convey something of the impression made on me as Metropolitan Anthony celebrated. There was

first of all a sense of utter reality. One had no doubt that some profound encounter was happening. There was no sense of drama, nothing extraordinary in the way of gesture or ‘performance’, nothing that a camera could record, rather a sense of a person utterly engrossed. His stillness, which was not the stillness of a dancer or an actor but something, in physical terms, maintained at great cost, for he was often in severe pain as he celebrated, seemed at the same time both the most natural and the most supernatural thing. His silence, which was to do with something much more than being quiet, spoke powerfully of the sheer intimacy of his encounter with the mystery he was celebrating.

Before I attempt to write further of these things I would like to make another point altogether. These things are for me treasured memories of a remarkable and holy man, someone very dear and much-valued. But I think there is something much more important to say, about Metropolitan Anthony’s present day relevance to the already quite different world in which our Diocese now lives.

April 2011 saw the publication of the English translation of the book *Freedom and Responsibility* by His Holiness Patriarch Kirill, of Moscow and All Russia. The book is, for the most part, concerned with a clash of cultures. On the one hand traditional Orthodoxy, on the other Western, liberal, secular humanism. His Holiness sees this confrontation as the single largest challenge facing our community in the 21st century. Indeed in terms of the wider clash between Western culture and all ancient religious traditions, he sees this as the greatest challenge facing the entire human community.

His Holiness considers two reactions to this confrontation, both frequently met within the Orthodox Church. The first is a retreat into ‘a confined national and religious ghetto’. He rejects this reaction as both impractical and improper. The attempt to



live in isolation from the rest of the world simply does not work, and retiring into any sort of ghetto contradicts our fundamental calling as Christians to go out into the world and proclaim the gospel.

The second reaction is simply to conform to the Liberal model of civilisation as it has developed in the West, while effecting a retreat of our Orthodox and traditional values into a kind of private interior space. This too, His Holiness of course, rejects.

At one point in the book he says, “Today, unfortunately, very few people are talking about the need for serious and open-minded dialogue between Liberal, secular humanist, religious and cultural traditions... Today’s world needs both real inter-religious dialogue... and dialogue between religious and secular humanist thought.”

In Moscow. 1983

At another point he asks, “Are these two mind sets, Christian and Liberal, mutually reconcilable?” His answer, “Yes, but it is a rather complicated task”. His Holiness identifies this task as the profoundest concern for theology in our age.

As I read this book, Metropolitan Anthony came vividly to mind, for here was a man, profoundly immersed in Orthodox spirituality, who truly engaged in precisely the dialogue of which His Holiness writes. Metropolitan Anthony spoke out of his Orthodox experience, an experience which, for all the particular difficulties of his circumstances, and they were many and very great, was utterly rooted in Orthodox tradition. He spoke, and the West, to an

THE DIVINE SERVICES ACCORDING TO METROPOLITAN ANTHONY

extraordinary degree, recognised in him a voice to be listened to. But he was also, and this is vital where there is to be real dialogue, a man who listened to the West, to individuals from the West, and to Western culture in general.

His speaking and his listening often aroused reactions in people, who were sometimes shocked by some of the things he was willing to listen to, and at other times just as shocked by what he was willing to say. But I want to stress that in all this speaking and listening, he represents, to me at least, a rare and inspiring example of someone with the courage to engage with this complicated but vital task the Patriarch has set before us.

May I next, briefly, set aside a vast and important subject? I am going to write of the impression Metropolitan Anthony made on me as he celebrated the Liturgy. But I want to stress his vivid sense of the offices of the Church and in particular the Vigil service, something which, in the Russian tradition, still lives in the experience, not just of monastics and clergy, but as a much loved treasure of the whole Orthodox people.

My own first encounters with Metropolitan Anthony were in discussions of a plan by myself and my family (we, by the way, lived far from a church and could only infrequently attend a Liturgy) to relive a 17th century English experiment of building family life around the offices of the Church. This plan was modelled both on the Ferrars of Little Gidding and also on an incident where, in *The Way of the Pilgrim*, the storyteller describes his brief stay in a devout Russian household. This plan was eventually to grow into a daily celebration of a lay version of Vespers, and in particular of the Vigils of Sundays and Feasts. That in turn was to grow into a community reaching far beyond my own family and, at the present day, numbering about 130 people, engaged in the rehabilitation, in domestic settings, of persons with severe and enduring mental health problems. The results this community

achieves still attract not only attention, but serious research. Still, at the heart of it, there are the services of the Orthodox Church.

Metropolitan Anthony was quietly encouraging. I did not know until many years later how excited he was by this proposal and by what eventually grew out of it. I cannot write about all this, nor about the Vigil, but before confining myself to the Divine Liturgy, I want to stress that in not writing about the offices of the church I am setting aside a subject that is not only of immense importance in itself, but was also of profound importance to him.

I will confine myself, hopefully like the composer of an orderly sermon, to three pointers towards Metropolitan Anthony's living of the Liturgy.

My first pointer can be summed up in the word ENCOUNTER. Metropolitan Anthony's whole spirituality, and indeed his whole ministry, arose out of a particular encounter. As a teenager he had sat down at a desk, in a not particularly positive frame of mind, to read Saint Mark's gospel. He had chosen Saint Mark because it is, by far, the shortest of the four gospels. As he read the early chapters he became aware of the Living Christ facing him across the desk. He always stressed that this was not any kind of apparition; he did not see Christ, but he was aware of His living presence with such a certainty that, for the rest of his long life, he could speak, with utter conviction, out of that experience. He was a remarkable speaker and an attractive, compelling and charismatic personality, and in himself a vivid presence. But as one heard him speak, and particularly as one heard him proclaim "Christ is Risen", one knew that it was none of these characteristics that registered in one, but something far more compelling – a deep and real personal experience of what he was proclaiming.

I have said that Metropolitan Anthony's ministry rose out of this encounter, but it was also concerned with encounter of

many kinds and at many levels. He spoke insistently of the importance of encounters with others and of encounter with ourselves. He reiterated, over and over again, the need to know one's self in depth, so that encounters with others would be deepened by the experience of encounter with oneself. It was fundamentally important to him that one approached the Liturgy with all the awareness of one's own depth that one could muster.

For when Metropolitan Anthony spoke of the Liturgy, he would speak precisely in terms of encounter. He often referred to the Liturgy as fire. Preparing one for ministry, he would speak often of passing through the Holy Doors as being an entry into fire; of the presence of the celebration as, in itself, fire. He drew a distinction between the reality of this fire and our experience of encounter with it. He said that very often we are spared the actual experience of the encounter because, not being ready for it, it would destroy us.

I remember his speaking of Moses' vision of the burning bush. Moses was drawn by the curious phenomenon of the fire, which burned the bush but did not consume it. Moses saw the fire and out of curiosity moved towards the bush. God then spoke out of the mystery and Moses' whole life was transformed. In this talk, Metropolitan Anthony spoke of the burning bush and of the Liturgy as being one and the same. It was on this occasion that he said to me that there was a certain way in which we only need attend one Liturgy in our whole life. To have been at the Liturgy, and to have received Communion, was to have begun an encounter, which remained forever thereafter. Perhaps, unlike Moses, one failed to see the fire, failed to hear the voice. But the fire, the voice and the possibility of transformation had been present, and was ever thereafter present. The only absence had been the absence of one's own seeing, listening and repenting self.

In fact there is a real way in which however many times we attend the Liturgy, we are always attending the very same Liturgy. We are trivial beings, easily distracted, forgetful. We need to revisit things over and over again in order to come to know them. If only we could see clearly, if only we could understand, we would realise that to have attended the Liturgy once is to be changed forever – and not just changed in the continuation of our lives. That part of our lives which is past, and in our ordinary experience seems to be over and unreachable, is present in the Liturgy, to be revisited, to be healed, to be transformed.

I am a priest. I celebrate the Liturgy quite often. I know that in the Liturgy God is giving Himself to me, totally, absolutely, at unbelievable cost. I however am shallow, lacking in generosity, and sinful. It is a totally uneven situation. God is giving everything and I am giving so little. I could easily be so ashamed as to be unable to go on with the celebration, but there is a special help for me. As I celebrate I spread out on the Holy table a consecrated cloth called the Antimins. Sewn into it is a tiny fragment of the bone of a martyr; not just any saint, it must be a martyr. This martyr is making a human response that mirrors God's self-giving as perfectly as a human being can mirror it, for a martyr has given everything he has; his very life.

When that sort of self-giving is present, there truly can be an encounter of the most extraordinary kind. When that kind of self-giving is lacking, as it is in me, and I dare say in most of us, the encounter is compromised. But on God's side nothing is lacking. It is like a totally deaf man being present at the performance of a symphony. The symphony is real, it is wonderful, but the deaf man hears nothing. Perhaps from time to time he feels the odd vibration of a very low note. Metropolitan Anthony was insistent on the reality, as it were, of the symphony. If we are deaf to it he would say "That is part of God's



Holy Communion in the Cathedral of the Dormition and All Saints. Metropolitan Anthony and Father Joseph Skinner (who was at that time a deacon). 1997

mercy". We are spared hearing what we are not ready to hear.

But how can we learn to hear this symphony, see this burning fire, encounter the God who can transform us utterly into such a mystery that we participate even in His own life? There is an encounter of another kind, which need never be lacking; another kind of participation in the mystery, and that is the encounter with tradition. Every time the Church celebrates the Liturgy she is handing on from the past to the present something of extraordinary value, something which the saints of the past knew, and are handing on to us.

For me there is a special story of how once Metropolitan Anthony apologised to me for letting me down in some way. He told me never to rely on himself but on the other bishop present at my ordination. When I rejoined that there had been no other bishop at my ordination, he said that there had, because I had been ordained at an altar containing a relic of Saint Blaise of Sebastia. From that day on in my life there seem to have been endless encounters with Saint Blaise in one way or another, some of them trivial, some of them, it feels to me, almost miraculous. I have come to regard these encounters as a near-continuous contact, not just with Saint Blaise, but with Metropolitan Anthony himself. They are, of course, experiences in which we are all encouraged to share, experiences of that living embodiment of the tradition of the church, which is what a saint is.

From a few of the saints of the past we have inherited the prayers of preparation for Communion. Metropolitan Anthony was very keen on these prayers and insisted, again and again, on their vital importance as a sharing in the experience of the saints. I remember him telling me, and I also remember him telling conferences, that he was far from happy with a mechanical reading of them. He suggested that it was far better to work out the time it took to read them and to spend that time thinking hard, and over and over again, about perhaps just one sentence that particularly struck one. He would suggest doing this daily for a whole week before going to Communion. If the prayers were read aloud, he would insist that they should be read in such a way that no one was compelled to go on listening if, at some point, some particular word had caused his heart to burn within him. Again you will realise that what he is looking for is far from a mere mechanical enactment of the tradition, but the moment when the tradition brings about a real encounter with what it is seeking to hand on.

My second pointer towards Metropolitan Anthony's teaching on the Liturgy is summed up in the word SILENCE. He was concerned that the church should be as silent as possible. Silence, of course, can be nothing, just an absence of sound, but he would insist that he was talking about something much more than that. He would give as an example silence in the experience of lovers; a silence that has nothing to do with the absence of speech, but of proceeding from speech toward that which is entirely more mysterious. If I were to follow this image a little further I would have to speak of joy. I had some difficulty deciding whether to use silence as my second pointer, or joy.

I remember on the Sunday after my ordination celebrating for the first time as a deacon. Metropolitan Anthony was ill and unable to be there but asked me to ring him as soon as the Liturgy was finished. He asked me whether I had enjoyed celebrating and spoke at length about the vital importance of joy. In a later conversation he spoke to me about there being two simple needs in a priest; two vital qualifications. If they were present, he said, the absence of anything else could be coped with. The first of these qualifications was the beginnings of prayer. The other qualification was joy. Some experience at least of that joy which no man can take from you, which even being put to death cannot interrupt. But to try to speak of the experience which makes the victims of persecution witnesses to joy is a hard task and I will return to the subject of silence.

To achieve such a silence as Metropolitan Anthony sought meant doing something about mere noise. He insisted, very powerfully and repeatedly, on silence among the clergy and other ministers in the altar. It was not only the silence of not gossiping or speaking. I remember many years ago a visiting, very pious priest, who behaved in a sort of spiritually excited way at the Liturgy. Although it seemed very devotional, Metropolitan Anthony told him firmly to

behave himself. He insisted that even spiritual experience must have about it that special kind of silence that is called sobriety.

These things are difficult to write about. I want to insist that Metropolitan Anthony was not some sort of tyrant, continually telling everyone to be quiet. Perhaps I can give an example of something that strikes me as the kind of silence he was looking for. One day, a couple of years ago, on a visit to Ennismore Gardens, my wife drew my attention to something that was moving her very much. It was the sight of young Russian parents helping their children into the silence of the Liturgy. Many of these parents were young men. I remember one man in particular; he had a young toddler on his arm and a bunch of candles in his other hand and he was showing the child the icons. He was, very quietly, saying something to the child about the icons, and after a while, at each icon, they would light one of the candles and leave it burning there. It was all done very quietly, very simply. It helped the child focus, I suppose you could say it kept the child quiet, but the quietness was nothing to do with the absence of noise. It was about the father and child together being so attentive; I would almost use the English word 'rapt' to describe it. There was no imposition of quiet on the child, rather some awakening of the child to things that were beautiful and Holy. There was no imposition of lofty theological ideas, or of those awful adult attempts to foist religiosity on children. There was simply the obvious love of the father for the child and the love of the child for the father and that love encountering the symbols, dare I say the presence, of another love, which their mutual love could recognise.

I think what one can see in this is a small example of tradition in process. What is the father doing? Is he perhaps reliving, as parent to his own child, what he as a child received from his parent – the process by which mystery is handed on? Could it possibly be that the father is also, in this encounter,

experiencing again what it is like to approach the mystery as a little child approaches it? We are told by Christ that we must become as little children if we are to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

It is so easy to confuse tradition with mere traditions. Holy Tradition is much more than the sum of the customs and rules which make it up. We are talking about the handing on of mystery, which by definition is present where words, rules, customs, fall silent. All the words, all the customs, all the actions, even the actions of the father and the child, which moved my wife so much, reach a point where in silence there can be encounter such as that which the Apostles knew, touched and handled; an encounter which through the centuries has been handed on to us. The ultimate Liturgical experience of that moment is, of course, when the father carries his child to the chalice and to the mystery of Communion. A moment of such simplicity, such simple things, such a simple action. Simple yet utterly beyond words.

My third pointer is actually three words and they are in Latin. ITE MISSA EST. These words occur at the end of the Roman rite of the Eucharistic Liturgy; they are rather abrupt words. They mean roughly, "Go. This is the dismissal." Perhaps that would be better translated as "Go. This is the sending out." Metropolitan Anthony often quoted these words with enthusiastic approval and compared them favourably with what often happens after Communion in our own rite, which can be somewhat protracted. He felt that whatever one had gained in the Liturgy, it was important that one went out, more than that, was sent out, to be that, and give that, to the world outside the church.

I am very struck by a custom I observe in some Russians. When, at the end of the Liturgy, the chalice is brought out briefly through the Holy Doors to bless the congregation, some Russians observe a very

proper distinction between how those who have not received Communion, and those who have received Communion, react to it. Those who have not received Communion, confronted with the chalice, which contains the very Body and Life of God, bow profoundly, touching the floor and making the sign of the cross. Those who have received Communion are still standing with their hands folded upon their breast, and they incline their heads, bowing gently, to the chalice, because they, of course, are chalices too. They now contain within their bodies the very Body and Life of God and they bow to the chalice as one chalice to another. I am sure that this custom is profoundly right.

But what are chalices for? They are not ends in themselves; they are vessels in which the very stuff of salvation is taken to those who need it. If we have become chalices, we go out of the church carrying all that capacity of Christ to heal, comfort, make whole, forgive, renew the world outside. And to do this is to meet a special kind of challenge. Within the church people know the language of salvation. They understand, to whatever degree, the symbols by which that salvation is proclaimed and made available. But as we go out, as chalices containing the salvation of our God, we are faced with a world that does not know the language, cannot understand the symbols, and we realise that we have a strange and daunting task to translate all that the Liturgy means into the stuff of ordinary human interactions.

This will happen in all sorts of ways and at all sorts of levels. There are people who go out and work miracles; obvious miracles in which the sick are healed, the broken mended, the wretched comforted. There are lesser miracles, which, if we had the eyes to see them properly, we would recognise as miracles in the fullest sense. People who, just by the tones of their speech, the quality of their smile, the peace of their interactions, spread something of the peace of God

which passes all understanding, in such a way that people experience it, possibly only momentarily and probably without knowing what it is that has, for a moment, opened a window in their lives.

I remember a conversation with Metropolitan Anthony about the relation between my work as a priest in celebrating the Liturgy and my wife's and my work with the mentally ill. He quoted a remarkable Western saint, Teresa of Avila, who spoke of God's needing hands and having no other hands but ours. He said that what we received sacramentally we must, with our whole being and activity, translate into what people outside, not knowing the language of sacraments, can recognise as love.

Here let us return to consider the task our Patriarch has set us. He does not wish us to retreat from the world into some Orthodox ghetto, neither does he wish us to go out of the church carrying with us the secret of our Orthodoxy, shut up in some kind of private purse that will not be opened again until we are back in church, or safe in the privacy of our icon corner. He wishes us to go out and engage in a real dialogue and he warns us that it is a long and rather complicated task.

I have said already that Metropolitan Anthony was a man who engaged in that dialogue. I have said that he not only spoke but listened. But there is more than that. He was a man of immense discernment and, meeting a world which often seemed very much at variance with all he stood for, it was truly remarkable the way he refrained from judging, but rather searched and searched for what was good, for what he could encourage.

We, in our day, must encounter a world which prides itself in its liberality, but actually needs to know what we, as Christians, know about freedom and freedom's very foundations. Ours is a world which in its secularity does not realise that it is itself the very world God loves so much that He gives Himself to save it.

Our world prides itself in its humanism, but has lost touch with the very roots of humanism which, I firmly believe, lie in Patristic thought about the incarnation. All things can be measured in human terms precisely because God has become human; a humanism which has lost touch with its roots in God-Man-hood has lost the very essence of itself.

There is much in our Liberal, secular and humanist culture, which we must not only encounter, but encourage. It has in itself a real capacity for good in that far from being at variance with Christianity, and indeed Orthodoxy, it has in fact arisen out of these things and cannot realise all its potential for good until it has renewed a living dialogue with what is, in fact, its vital Source. ■

ON RECEIVING HOLY COMMUNION

Sermon preached on 19th March 1967

In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

During these weeks of Lent many of us will receive Holy Communion; this is something we should do thoughtfully and in the full knowledge of what we are doing, what we are asking for, and what we are entering into.

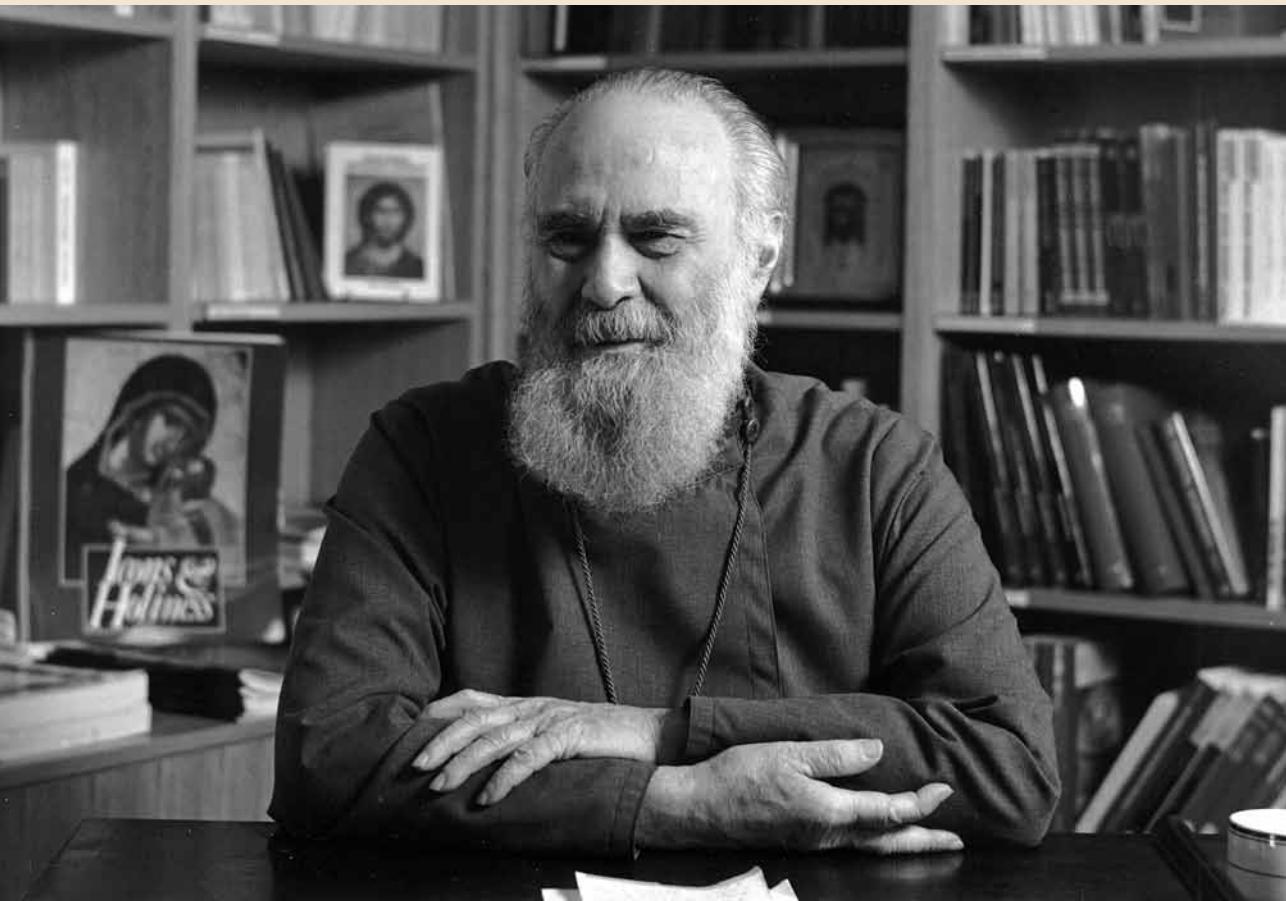
When we take Holy Communion we are calling upon the Lord to become one with us in such a way that His life becomes our life and our life becomes His life, not only in our souls but in our very flesh. Therefore when we have received Holy Communion, whenever we commit deeds of darkness it is as if we are cruelly forcing the Lord to travel with us the very path along which He himself was led during the days of his Passion, to crucifixion, to suffering, to desecration – this we must remember. On the other hand, from the Lord we seek life, a new life, a life of abundance, and this life is given to us, because when the Lord comes to us and makes us one with Him, eternal life conquers us and enters into us. But we do not accept the life which is given to us; we want to rejoice in it but we do not want to assume its burden – for in this eternal life on earth there is a burden, and there is a tragic side, and not only triumphant joy. On the one hand we begin to live the life of a future age, but that life only takes hold in us when we desist from evil deeds, from a life of darkness, decay and death, when we move away from them consciously, by an effort of will, by showing no mercy to ourselves, to our weakness, and, moreover, when we experience this eternal

life within ourselves as an evangelical life, that is, by means of deeds which are not a desecration of life, and by prayer.

There is another aspect: we pray to the Lord to become one with us and to take upon Himself all the burden of our life and to bear that burden together with us, but at the same time we must be ready to take upon ourselves the fate of the Son of God incarnate on earth, to belong to heaven, to God, to the truth, with all the consequences which may ensue: firstly, the internal struggle with falsehood and death which are within us; then the willingness to stand up for the truth of the Lord, for the mystery of the Kingdom of Heaven, the love of God on earth in His relations with mankind, even when this means making some kind of sacrifice, sacrificing ourselves; and, finally, the duty to be willing in the name of God and His truth to be cast out, cut off, to be alienated from all those who – consciously or otherwise – rise up against that truth.

Therefore in taking Holy Communion we will prepare ourselves carefully and intently, and we will prepare ourselves so that we may come knowingly to confession, to renounce the falsehood within us, to turn away from everything which could hold sway over us, but we will also prepare ourselves so that after confession and becoming one with Christ we can begin to live a new life, whatever it may cost us.

If we act in this way, then the gift of Holy Communion, becoming one with



Christ, the entering into us of the grace of the Holy Spirit, those new indescribable relations which are created between us and the Father, and in God with everyone, will bear fruit. Otherwise we will be downcast because when we turn to God we remain helpless and powerless – not because God does not help, and not because we have no strength, but because that which God gives to us we squander in life's wilderness.

Therefore let us now come to a new life with joy, both those who have received Communion and those for whom this indescribable triumph and joy still await, and we will live in such a way that through us heaven will be with us here on earth. The Kingdom of God within us will conquer everything around us, from the smallest to the greatest.

Amen.

Metropolitan Anthony. London, 1995

*Published in Russian in Cathedral Newsletter,
Cathedral of the Dormition and All Saints,
No 38, April 1973.*

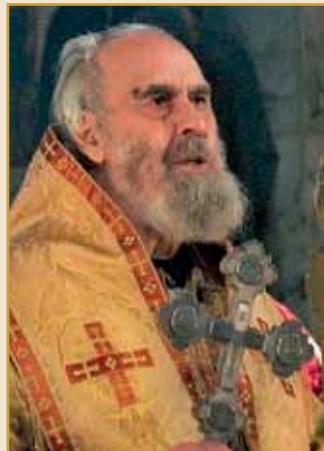
Sermon on Communion

*Sermon on Communion preached on the Fourth Sunday of Lent,
Saint John of the Ladder 24th March 1996.*

At each Liturgy, but particularly on the days that follow our retreats, a great number of us receive communion, and we do not always either understand deeply enough, not intellectually but with all our heart and being what has happened, and what is sadder we do not bear the fruits which we should bear.

We do not understand always that in communion we become one with Christ; in the image which is given by Saint Gregory Palamas, the divinity of Christ and His pure, perfect, sinless humanity, pervades us in the same way in which fire penetrates and pervades a sword plunged into a furnace. Plunged into it, it was cold, it was grey, when we take it out, it is all fire, to such an extent that one can now burn with iron and cut with fire. This is what happens, however incipiently with us when we receive Communion, we become partakers of the sinless, perfect and pure humanity of Christ, and this humanity is filled to the brim with His divine essence and nature.

This is what happens when we receive Communion. Do we realise this? Are we really seized with awe? Do we receive communion with the sense that we are in an un-utterable almost incredible manner become what Christ is, not fully, not to perfection, but to an ever increasing degree if we only remain faithful to what is given us? But if that is true, then the words of Saint Paul come to us with a warning and at the same time a certain inspiration when he says



that those who are baptised in Christ, those who have received communion, are so united with Christ that whatever we do, happens to Christ Himself, and when we sin in mind, in heart, in body, it is Christ whom we submit to indignity of our failure and not only ourselves.

If we truly believe that in communion we are united to Christ in the manner in which Saint Gregory describes it, then how should we prepare for it; with what sense of awe, of veneration should we come to it, but how should we before that prepare ourselves by examining our soul, our life, our relationships, everything which is us, to reject all that cannot unite with Christ, and strengthen the very little perhaps which can be received by Christ, and grow in Christ and gradually reach what Saint Paul calls the full stature of the Son of God.

But also when we have received communion how carefully should we walk, how carefully should we lead all our life, not only our actions which result from something which is within us, but our thoughts, how pure they must be kept; the movements of our heart, how holy they must become. We cannot simply become it all by an act of our desire of will, but become by a continuous effort of being worthy of having become the Body of Christ, singly and in our togetherness, and this is also something which we must remember always, as one does not become partaker of the Body and Blood of Christ individually, as it were, in a way unrelated to others. All those who are in Christ are one, and we are told that the whole



body of the Church is the Body of Christ, is the incarnate presence of Christ in this world, imperfect indeed, but present. We are not lights individually, and we are not a light together, but we may be a flickering flame that makes the darkness of this world less dark, pervades the darkness with a light that annihilates it.

Let us therefore prepare for Communion by searching our life in every respect, and renouncing, rejecting all that can only burn into the fire of God. Open ourselves to His coming and allow Him to pervade us like fire pervades the iron of the soul, of which Saint Gregory speaks. And then if we truly have understood, however little, what happens to us let us live in a way that will be to God an act of gratitude, a testimony that He has not lived and died in vain, and that it is not in vain that He has given Himself to us, accepted the humiliation of being received by us, the humiliation that we are receptacles of His presence in this world. Gratitude should move

Easter at the Cathedral of the Dormition and All Saints. London, 2001

us to a life which is worthy of the gift of God. Let us reflect on this, and in the weeks that are ahead of us before the Resurrection of Christ, no, before the week of the Passion, let us reflect deeply on it and enter into Holy Week prepared to share with Him the way of the Cross, by renouncing everything which killed Him, which humiliated Him, which betrayed Him, and enter with Him into eternal life.

Amen.

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The Veneration Cross
at the Butovo range

After Russians the victims of Butovo were predominantly Latvians, Poles, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians and Belarusians; there were also victims from France, the USA, Romania, Hungary, the United Kingdom, Austria, Italy, Bulgaria, Japan, India and China, representatives of more than sixty nationalities in total.

BUTOVO

THE RUSSIAN GOLGOTHA

By Igor Garkavy, Director of the Butovo Memorial Research and Education Centre

A quiet stillness reigns over the Butovo shooting range in winter. It is hard to believe that just a few kilometres away lie the new suburbs of Moscow, with all the noise and bustle of the city. And yet this very stillness has a tension all its own. It is impossible to reconcile this scene of the winter-chilled forest and its snow-capped trees with the knowledge that here, on winter days just like this in 1937 and 1938, hundreds of totally innocent people were the victims of mass shootings. And that it was in winter, to save effort and time, that the Cheka brought especially large numbers of prisoners here. And that this same stillness was shattered by the sounds of gunshots. Four hundred and seventy-four people were shot on 8th December, 502 on 17th February and 562 on 28th February. The memory of all this chills more deeply than any frost.

The NKVD Butovo shooting range, the largest mass execution and burial site in Moscow and the Moscow area, is situated on land within the historic former Drozhzhino estate, dating back to at least the 16th century. The last owner of the estate and its small stud was the merchant Ivan Ivanovich Zimin,

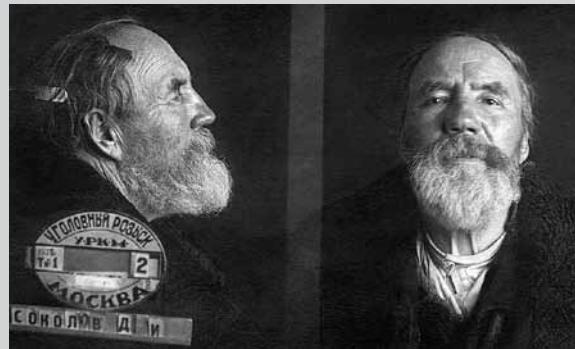
brother of Sergey Ivanovich Zimin, owner of a private opera house in Moscow. But the Bolsheviks had planned a special role for this corner of the area around Moscow.

In 1937 Communists throughout the world were celebrating the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution, and it is probably no accident that the start of a terror unprecedented in human history against the peoples of Russia coincided with this triumphant date. Indeed this was the logical culmination of the development of a totalitarian state whose banners had borne the slogan of a merciless pre-emptive class terror as far back as the days of the Revolution itself. When they embarked on their mass slaughter Stalin and those around him had a clear understanding of their task: to destroy any potential resistance, even hypothetical resistance, in order to achieve total control of society as a whole and of each individual. The repressions were sanctioned by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and were carried out in accordance with NKVD Order № 00447 across the whole country, systematically and thoroughly. Orders were issued to local sites

from the centre giving instructions as to how many “enemies of the people” were to be destroyed and where.

As early as the mid 1930s, in preparation for the mass shootings, the Administration Directorate of the NKVD was tasked with finding sites for special burials. The operation was carefully planned, with a clear idea of the scale of the future executions. Two such sites were established in the Moscow area – one near the village of Butovo, and the other on land within the Kommunarka collective farm. In the early 1930s a shooting range was already being equipped on land

time fell wholly or partly within the Moscow region. But there were also quite a number of representatives of the republics of the former USSR, people of foreign descent or nationality, who were guilty of nothing more than being of an “unsuitable” nationality or place of birth. In terms of numbers, after Russians the victims were predominantly Latvians, Poles, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians and Belarusians; there were also victims from France, the USA, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Italy, Bulgaria, Japan, India and China, representatives of more than sixty nationalities in total. Most of those buried at



Prison photographs of people shot at the Butovo range

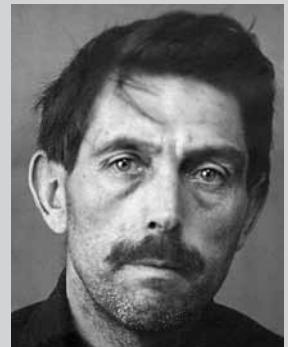
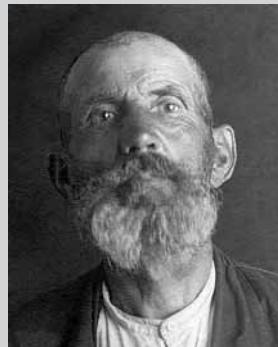
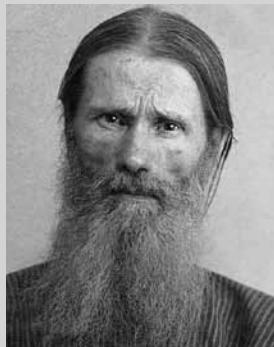
within the Butovo estate covering an area of 5.6 hectares (at that time the total area of the “special zone” was more than 2 square kilometres). Following the July orders issued by Yezhov people were hunted down on a massive scale, the like of which had never been seen before in the history of the world. Here alone 20,760 people were executed. The first shooting under these orders at the Butovo range took place on 8th August 1937. On that day 91 people were executed.

Amongst the victims at the Butovo range the largest number were native Muscovites and people living in the area around Moscow and neighbouring regions which at that

Butovo were simple Russian peasants, often semi-literate or totally illiterate. Sometimes whole families of between five and seven members were shot; in order to fulfil the plan between fifteen and eighteen people would be seized from a single village. The next largest group of victims at Butovo were workers and civil servants from a wide range of Soviet institutions. More than a third of all those shot were prisoners from the Dmitlag camp, that real “state within a state”; the Dmitlagovtsy, or the “Canal Army” as they were called, were made up of world-renowned scientists, builders, poets, clergy and teachers, down to recidivist criminals who had not been, or could not be rehabilitated.

The trenches of Butovo are also the resting place of the remains of prominent dignitaries from pre-revolutionary Russia: F.A. Golovin, Chairman of the Second State Duma, V.F. Dzhunkovsky, Governor of Moscow and subsequently Commander of the Gendarme Corps; his adjutant and friend, General V.S. Gadon; M.N. Khitrov-Kramskoy, professor of church choral music, great-grandson of Kutuzov and also a relative of Tukhachevsky; T.N. Gladyshevskaya, great-granddaughter of Saltykov-Shchedrin; Danilevsky, one of the first Russian pilots, and Ya.V. Brezin, a Czech by nationality and a

even the Tsar's executioner. Alongside them lie many workers from the Chinese Eastern Railway or people who had simply been born in Harbin or in the area served by the railway; together with relatives who had lived all their lives in some small village in the Moscow area, they were charged with spying for Japan and sentenced to death. Among the malicious "Trotskyites" shot at Butovo were more than thirty Chinese workers from the Chinese laundries which were very popular with Muscovites. Several major cases were brought against mountain-climbers accused of spying for Germany and Austria. The



member of the expedition of O.Yu. Schmidt; representatives of noble Russian families – the Rostopchins, Tuchkovs, Gagarins, Shakhovs, Obolenskys, Bibikovs and Golitsyns; there were brilliant engineers, artists whose works, miraculously saved, now adorn the best museums and galleries in the world – Alexander Drevin, Roman Semashkevich and other artists: more than eighty of them are buried here – painters, graphic artists, decorative artists and designers.

Among the so-called "déclassés" who were the subject of particular attention in Order 00447 were many Moscow police constables, around forty of them. There were also representatives of all ranks in the police force, from the lowest to the highest,

disabled form a particular group among those shot at Butovo. At the start of 1938 a secret campaign began to "remove" the disabled from prisons and camps: there was insufficient room for those newly arrested.

One of the heaviest blows meted out by this relentless terror machine during this campaign was against the Russian Orthodox Church which, in spite of 20 years of persecution, remained the most significant opposition force within Soviet society. Grounds for this conclusion could be found in information contained in the USSR population census from early 1937. At Stalin's suggestion a question about religious affiliation was included for the first time. All citizens aged sixteen and above had to answer

- 3/XI ✓ 63. РАЙТЕР Федора Нафталиевича 11/1137
✓ 64. РЕЗЦОВУ Марию Федоровну,
✓ 65. РИЖЕВИЧ Ивана Васильевича -
✓ 66. САГАЛАТОВА Виталия Борисовича, 11/1137
✓ 67. САЛТРУК Емельяна Леситьевича, -
11/X-✓ 68. САМОСУД Романа Ивановича,
✓ 69. САНТОЦКОГО Лесника Францевича,
✓ 70. СВЕШНИКОВ Сергея Николаевича,
✓ 71. СИКОРА Ивана Ивановича,
✓ 72. СЛЕРЧКО Викентия Петровича ,
✓ 73. СЛЕРЧКО Владимира Петровича ,
✓ 74. СЛЕРЧКО Романа Петровича ,
✓ 75. ФИЛИППОВИЧ Игнатия Францевича,
✓ 76. ЦУКЕР Юлю Давидовну ,
✓ 77. МУРБА Василия Гавриловича,
✓ 78. ШРЕА Норма Георгиевна ,
✓ 79. ШТУРМСТР Остапа Гавриловича
✓ 80. ШАБАН Сергея Филипповича ,
✓ 81. ШИНКЕВИЧ Ивана Павловича ,
✓ 82. щ У Р Исаака Антоновича, 11/1137-
✓ 83. ЮДИНА Андрея Алексеевича,
✓ 84. ЧОСТНОГО Франца Станиславовича.
ВСЕГО 74 / СЕМЬДСЯТ ЧЕТЫРЕ / ЧЕЛОВЕКА.

НАЧАЛЬНИК УПРАВЛЕНИЯ НКВД СССР по КО - *Мурз* РЕДЕНС,
КОМИССАР ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ И РАНГА

" 9 " октября 1937г.

Page from the lists of those sentenced to be shot
at the Butovo range, showing the dates on which
they were executed

this question. The government, and Stalin in particular, wanted to find out how successful they had really been in the battle against faith and the Church over the past 20 years. The plans of the godless powers who had built the first atheist state declared that by 1st May 1937 “the name of God should be forgotten throughout the whole USSR”. In 1937 in Soviet Russia the population aged sixteen and above numbered 98.4 million, of whom 44.8 million were men and 53.6 million were women. Fifty-five point three million people – 19.8 million men and 35.5 million women – declared themselves to be believers. Forty-one point six million people, or 42.3% of the total adult population, and 75.2% of those who called themselves believers, declared themselves to be Orthodox! This meant that neither the fanatical propaganda, nor the mass closure of churches, nor the abolition of monasteries, nor targeted arrests, nor schisms amongst the clergy, had delivered the desired result. There were many times more Orthodox believers in the USSR than members of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)! And then the idea of mass terror was born, the physical destruction not only of the clergy but also of active lay people who made up the core of parish congregations. In the USSR in the early 1930s there were around 600,000 people involved in parish councils.

And so “church people” were earmarked in Yezhov’s Order № 00447 as a special group among the “quotas to be repressed”. Among the victims of Butovo there are members of the clergy from various religions and faiths – three mullahs, one rabbi, Catholics, Protestants, and Baptists (around 50) – but their numbers do not compare with the number of representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church murdered at Butovo. About 1,000 such people, arrested specifically because of their religious activity, were executed at Butovo.

Standard charges under Article 58 of the RSFSR Criminal Code were brought against all those arrested on religious grounds.

These charges related mainly to clauses 10 and 11 (“anti-Soviet agitation”, “counter-revolutionary activity”). But the grounds for the charges could be quite varied, for example: “the preservation of the church and the propagation of a hidden monasticism”, “failure to report” (“the accused knew about a fugitive priest and failed to report him”), assisting exiles, sheltering homeless members of the clergy, keeping an icon, and praying. The first to die for the Church at Butovo were priests shot on 20th August 1937. The autumn and winter of 1937–1938 saw the greatest number of priests executed. Forty-eight members of the clergy and lay people were shot on 21st October 1937, the Feast of the Icon of the Mother of God, “the Sign”, and on 10th December of the same year forty-nine members of the clergy were martyred, most notable amongst them Nikolay (Dobronravov), Archbishop of Vladimir, and Kronides (Lubimov), the last Father Superior of the great Trinity and Saint Sergius Lavra. Seventy-five members of the clergy and monastics were shot on 17th February 1938, forty on 14th March, and so on.

At the head of the great mass of clergy who were executed for their faith at Butovo there were seven hierarchs: one metropolitan, two archbishops and four bishops. In addition a great many archimandrites, archpriests, hegumens, hieromonks, priests, deacons and hierodeacons, monastics and readers were also shot. Around two hundred lay people were killed here: church wardens, choirmasters, singers, church cleaners and vergers. Most of the priests killed were simple parish priests from Moscow and the Moscow region.

Among the members of the clergy who were shot were many well-known and deeply respected hierarchs. The oldest hierarch to receive the crown of martyrdom at Butovo was **Hieromartyr Seraphim, Metropolitan of Leningrad** (in the world, Leonid Mikhailovich Chichagov), a man of remarkable and varied gifts, a warrior, scholar, historian, pastor, preacher, writer, painter and



Sentence of execution by shooting.
Extract from the minutes of a sitting of the troika
(the extrajudicial execution body in the years
of the Bolshevik terror)



Extract from a report that a sentence has been carried out

musician. He was the spiritual son of Father John of Kronstadt. Many church icons and frescoes came from the brush of the Vladyka. He left many decorated and restored churches and monastic buildings. These include the Synodal Church of the Twelve Apostles in the Kremlin, Saint Nicholas' Church in Old Vaganovo, the Saviour-Efimievsky Monastery in Suzdal and the New Jerusalem Resurrection Monastery. He contributed to the history of theological literature as the author of *The Chronicles of the Saint Seraphim Diveevo Convent*, a book which played a special role in the canonisation of Saint Seraphim of Sarov in 1903. Elder Seraphim's command about canonisation was conveyed

to Chichagov through the blessed Pelageya of Diveevo. When the 'Chronicles' were finished their author was blessed with a vision of Father Seraphim who said to him: "Ask of me whatever you wish". "Simply to be always near you" replied Archimandrite Seraphim. In 1887-1888, long before being ordained a priest and then tonsured, he was an active participant in, and chronicler of, the events of the Russo-Turkish War. For his services to the state, both civil and military, Leonid Mikhailovich was awarded fourteen orders and decorations, both Russian and foreign. About 20,000 people were cured by using his own methods of treatment, based entirely on the healing properties of plants, as described in his *Talks on Medicine*.

The Vladyka fought fearlessly against revolutionary sedition, sectarianism and schisms of all kinds, for the purity of Orthodoxy, and devoted himself energetically to the organisation of church and parish life. In 1933 he was ordered by the authorities to retire. He was arrested at the age of 82, when he was no longer able to walk. Nevertheless Metropolitan Seraphim was shot on 11th December 1937 at the Butovo shooting range, and on 23rd February 1997 he was proclaimed a saint, the first among the Butovo martyrs.

Not long before his arrest the Hieromartyr said: "The Orthodox Church is now suffering a time of trials. Whoever shall remain faithful to the holy apostolic Church shall be saved. Many are now leaving the Church because of persecution, others are even betraying the Church. But we know from history that there have been persecutions in the past but they have all ended in the triumph of Christianity. It will be the same with this persecution. It will come to an end, and Orthodoxy will triumph once again. Now many people are suffering for their faith, but this is a gold which will be purified in the spiritual crucible of their tribulations. After this, there will be more martyrs who have suffered for their faith in Christ than have been known throughout the

145. ВАСИЛЬЕВА Владимира Климентьевича, 1916 г.р.
ур. Ф. Смоленск, он же МОРСОЗВ Александр Степанович, 1917 г.р.,
г. Орел.

146. КУЗИНА Георгия Ивановича, он же МАКУШИНСКОГО
Владимира Викторовича, 1918 г.р. г. Москвы.

147. АНИСЬКО Марию Михайловну, 1906 г.р., ур. г.
Ленинград.

148. КЛИМОВА-КУЛЕМИНА Александра Ивановича, 1917 г.р. Ур.
г. Ленинграда.

149. МОЛЧАНОВА Арсения Ивановича, 1913 г.р. ур. Калин-
инской области, Калининского р-на, дер. Федосово.

150. УДИМЦЕВА Николая Ивановича, 1915 г.р. ур. г. Лысово,
Пермской губ., он же ВЫЮЖАНИН Василий Васильевич, 1912
г.р. г. Горький.

151. ТУРЕЦКОВА Николая Константиновича, 1909 г.р. ур.
г. Москвы, он же с. Алексеевское.

152. ИВАНОВА Александра Ивановича, 1909 г.р.-1910 г.р.
ур. г. Орловской губ. Дмитровского уезда, дер. Солнцево-
Лодки.

по настоящему списку 230 (двести тридцать) чел.

ЗАЯВЛЕНИЕ: При приведении приговора в исполнение обяза-
телью сличать личность с фотокарточкой.
Об исполнении составить акт.

ЗАМ. НАРКОМА НКВД СССР Члены
КИОСАР ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ РАССА
(ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬСТВА)

Сверен с протоколом заседания судебной тройки
7 КГБ по Московской области от "14" февраля 1938г.



The stone Church of the Resurrection of Christ and the New Russian Martyrs in Butovo

whole history of Christianity.” These words of his have now become true.

Another **Hieromartyr, Arkady,**

Bishop of Bezhetsk (Arkady Iosifovich Ostalsky), was from Zhitomir. During the First World War he was an army chaplain and from 1917 he was the rector of a church in Zhitomir. In 1922 he was arrested and sentenced to be shot, but the sentence of execution was changed to one of 10 years in a prison camp. Following his early release from prison he became a monk. From 1926 he was again arrested several times and imprisoned at Solovki. Following his release in the spring of 1937 he was appointed Bishop of Bezhetsk but he was unable to travel to take up the position to which he had been appointed. He lived illegally in various towns in the Moscow region, and was arrested in 1937. The story of his life contains many wondrous moments. For example, even

before becoming a monk, in his parish church Father Arkady established the Saint Nicholas Brotherhood, which gave help to the sick and the needy, and buried those of the dead who had no close friends or relatives. Not only did he awaken a love for the poor in others, but he himself was an example of self-sacrifice and extreme voluntary poverty. On one occasion, his friends, knowing that he was in need and had no money, made him a fur coat. He wore it twice, and then it suddenly disappeared. It turned out that he had given it to a poor widow who had two children ill with tuberculosis. Arrested in 1928, the Vladyka spent nine years (more than any other archpriest) in the Solovki camp, and once he was back in Moscow he was again ready to fight for the truth. There is powerful evidence of this in the testimony of a witness in his case file: “Early in 1937 Bishop Arkady Ostalsky appeared once again in Moscow and was renewing his connections. He came to see me as an old friend. In the course of our

conversation I asked him what he intended to do, to which he replied: ‘I have suffered much during my stay in the camp but once again I burn with the desire to work to strengthen the Orthodox Church, to explain to believers the meaning of the events which have occurred in the life of the Russian people, to strengthen the faith of the people, even if I have to suffer for this again, I am ready for everything’. In our conversation Bishop Arkady declared to me: ‘As a Christian I cannot watch calmly as the Orthodox Church is crushed and the faith of the people is destroyed ... I have suffered a great deal for my convictions and am ready once again to take any punishment, I am not afraid, I will work once again to strengthen the Church’.” Bishop Arkady was shot at Butovo on 29th December 1937.

One life story which is steeped in pain is that of **Hieromartyr Nikita, Bishop of Nizhnetagilsk** (in the world, Fyodor Petrovich Delektorsky). In 1926 he was arrested twice and charged with “celebrating services without a licence”, as well as celebrating Patriarch Tikhon in a service. In 1927 Bishop Nikita was serving in the town of Orekhovo-Zuyev but shortly afterwards, at the age of 51, he had to retire. From then on he lived in poverty, with no work and no permanent place of abode. In 1930 he was arrested for the third time, in Moscow, “at the house of Citizen Elizaveta”, who lived in the Samoteka area and gave shelter to wandering pilgrims and homeless clergy. The OGPU troika for the Moscow Region sentenced Bishop Nikita to 3 years’ imprisonment in a forced labour camp. From 1930–1933 he served his sentence on the construction of the Dnieper hydroelectric power station, where he worked as a stablehand and watchman. Following his release and until his final arrest the Vladyka would from time to time hold services in secret in the churches of Orekhovo-Zuyev. From 1935 Bishop Nikita was on the wanted list, and he eked out a living by passing on recyclable rubbish which he collected wherever he could. From

1936-1937, concealing his name and his title, he spent his nights at a barracks, courtesy of Krasnov, a policeman who for some inexplicable reason felt great sympathy for the homeless old man. The policeman not only allowed him to spend the night in the police barracks but “sometimes even gave him a drink of tea”.

However on 18th October 1937 Bishop Nikita was tracked down and arrested for the fourth time. On the window sill of the cemetery church near to where he was arrested he left his wallet with all his documents without anyone seeing. Local people took the wallet to the police station. As well as the documents giving the name and rank of the arrested man, there were eight banknotes (bonds), a needle, thread and scissors, and a gold five-rouble coin sewn into a scrap of cloth, probably Bishop Nikita’s only possessions. He was transferred to Moscow, to the Taganka prison. The witnesses in the Vladyka’s case were two priests, one from Orekhovo-Zuyev, the other from Zagorsk. They characterised Bishop Nikita as “a monarchist and a reactionary who slandered the Soviet regime”. The indictment stated that “F.P. Delektorsky was an illegal vagrant bishop, an activist of the ‘True Orthodox Church’ (IPTs), who carried out anti-Soviet propaganda and was involved in counter-revolutionary activities”. On 17th November 1937 the UNKVD troika for the Moscow Region sentenced Bishop Nikita to be shot, and two days later the sentence was carried out at Butovo.

The newly glorified **Hieromartyr Kronides (Lubimov)**, the 79-year old last Father Superior of the Holy Trinity and Saint Sergius Lavra, who was totally blind but still revered by the monks of the disbanded monastery as the “vicar of the Lavra of Saint Sergius”, was martyred on 10th December 1937; ten people tried with him under the same case were also shot at the Butovo range. In December, January and February 1937–1938 twenty-seven hieromonks from the Holy



The interior of the wooden Church of the New Russian Martyrs and Confessors in Butovo

Trinity and Saint Sergius Lavra who had only recently returned from imprisonment were killed at Butovo; most of them had been posted to parishes in the Zagorsk district by Archimandrite Kronides. The day of the martyrdom of Hieromonk Kronides and those who suffered with him has become a memorial day for the monks of the Holy Trinity and Saint Sergius Lavra, who come annually to Butovo on that day and hold a panikhida at the site of the execution near the large Veneration Cross.

In the Orthodox community the names of Hieromartyr Sergius (Makhaev), a priest from the Iverskaya Community on Bol'shaya Polyanka, Zosima (Trubachev) who fed priests and nuns exiled to Maloyaroslavets, and Vladimir (Medvediuk) who was also arrested there, were widely known and respected.

The case of a layman, **Sergey Mikhailovich Il'in**, provides an amazing

example of love. He was the younger brother of a well-known Moscow priest, Alexander Ilin. Father Alexander held services in secret in his own home and in the homes of those closest to him. This was discovered by the NKVD. Their agents descended on the Ilin's house with a search and arrest warrant. But instead of arresting the priest they arrested his younger brother, Sergey Mikhailovich (it was his third arrest). The investigation began. It is clear from the case that much of the evidence related not to Sergey Mikhailovich but to his brother, the priest. But the younger brother did not say a word about the mistake. The verdict in the case of S.M. Ilin was given on 3rd November 1937 – the death penalty. Sergey Mikhailovich was executed on 5th November.

Today 329 new martyrs of Butovo are celebrated in the calendar of the Russian Church.

The gates of the Butovo range were opened to relatives of victims for the first time

The wooden Church of the New Russian Martyrs
and Confessors in Butovo (built in 1995–1996)





**The great Solovetsky Veneration Cross.
The sacred procession through Moscow. 2007**

on 7th June 1993. Until then the burial place of thousands of the victims of Stalin's regime had remained a closely guarded secret, but thanks to the discovery of 'execution lists' in the FSB archive relatives who had been misinformed and who previously had been told that a close family member had perished in some distant camp during the war now learnt that the graves of their loved ones were only a half-hour journey from the centre of Moscow. In 1994 a Veneration Cross, designed by the sculptor D.M. Shakhovsky whose father, priest Mikhail Shik had also been shot at Butovo, was erected, and the first Divine Liturgy was celebrated in a

mobile tented Church of the New Martyrs and Confessors of Russia. The question arose as to who would assume responsibility for organising the parish and building the church. This responsible calling was assumed by Kirill Glebovich Kaleda, now an archpriest, the grandson of Hieromartyr Vladimir Ambartsumov who was shot at the Butovo range, and the son of Father Gleb Kaleda, the famous preacher and apologist. Kaleda sacrificed a career in science as an oceanographer for the sake of the Butovo range. The whole of the large Kaleda family was involved in the building of the wooden church. They were assisted by the children of the victims, already sadly not numerous at that time. The construction of the church to

a design by D.M. Shakhovsky began in 1995. In 1996 the first Divine Liturgy was held at Easter in the still unfinished church. With the support of Patriarch Alexis II, Father Kirill and the action group which formed around him succeeded in halting the construction of the Novodrozhzhino residential complex which it was planned to build right on the boundary of the memorial burial site. In 1995 the site of the Butovo range was handed over to the Moscow Patriarchate.

In August 1997 archaeological excavations were conducted on a small area of the Butovo site with the blessing of his Holiness the Patriarch. A section of a burial trench measuring 12.5 m² was exhumed, and there en masse, in total confusion, like cattle in a pit, lay the remains of those who had been killed here. The remains of 59 people were discovered in an open part of the burial site, mostly men aged 25–30 and 45–50, who had been shot, to judge by their clothing, in late autumn or winter. Experts estimate that this one burial site contained the remains of approximately 150 people arranged in several layers.

The first outdoor service at the Butovo range, led by his Holiness Alexis II, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, was held on 27th May 2000, the fourth Saturday after Easter.

The whole of Orthodox Moscow seemed to be there. Eight archbishops, around 200 priests from the churches and monasteries of Moscow and the Moscow region, and more than 3,500 worshippers took part in the service. Annual patriarchal services have since become a tradition at the “Russian Golgotha” as his Holiness has named the Butovo range.

That same year at the Episcopal Sobor among the 1,100 martyrs who suffered at the hands of the atheist regime in Russia in the 20th century 129 priests and laity killed at Butovo were canonised. The number of new martyrs of Butovo who have been canonised has now risen to 329.

In 2004 on the site of the Drozhzhino estate the foundation stone of the new two-storey memorial Church of the Resurrection and the Holy New Martyrs of Russia was laid by Patriarch Alexis II and Metropolitan Lavr, the First Hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. The design for this imposing five-domed church was developed in the Moscow Patriarchate Centre for Art and Architecture (Arkhkham), by the architect M.Yu. Kessler, under the supervision of A.N. Obolensky, whose grandfather, Prince Vladimir Vasilievich Obolensky, was shot at the Butovo range in 1937. The magnificent memorial church was consecrated on 19th May 2007, in a service conducted jointly by Patriarch Alexis II and Metropolitan Lavr, celebrating the reunification of the Russian Church.

In 2002 the Butovo Memorial Research and Educational Centre was established near the church with the blessing of his Holiness Patriarch Alexis II. According to its charter the main aims of the Centre are to perpetuate the memory of the victims of Butovo without distinguishing between their ethnicity or religious persuasion, and to “restore historic justice by preserving as far as possible for future generations the spiritual, scientific and aesthetic values created by those who perished in the years of mass repression”. The parishioners and staff of the Memorial



The great Solovetsky Veneration Cross. The sacred procession along the White Sea – Baltic Canal, dug by the hands of prisoners. Belomorsk. 2007



Centre work tirelessly to collect information and catalogue data about victims of the repression. This material is used to prepare themed exhibitions and presentations, and staff meet the relatives of victims and give guided tours. The 'execution' files have been studied and eight volumes of the *Butovo Shooting Range book of remembrance* have been published (Editor in Chief L.A. Golovkova, Moscow, 1997–2004). An electronic database is being established of Victims of the mass terror shot at the NKVD Butovo Shooting Range in 1937–1938 (www.sinodik.ru). A full-scale Memorial Museum is planned for the future. A great deal of work is also being done to study the traditions of the culture of memorial, and the traditions of a Russian

memorial culture are being revived.

The 70th anniversary of the start of the mass executions at the shooting range was marked by a special event in the form of a sacred procession from the Solovetsky Islands to Moscow, along the White Canal, Lake Onega, the Volga and the Moscow Canal, bringing a 12-metre high veneration cross from the Solovetsky Monastery to the capital. The cross was made in the Solovetsky Monastery to mark the 70th anniversary of the start of the mass repressions of 1937 and 1938. It was made from Siberian cedar, cypress and Karelian pine in the monastery's cross-carving studio by master Georgy Kazhekar, based on the veneration crosses which used to be widely found in the north



His Holiness Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and All Russia conducts a service at the Butovo range near the mass graves

of Russia. The cross is 12.5 metres high and more than 7.5 metres wide. It is the largest carved veneration cross in Russia, possibly in the world! The procession began on 25th July from the walls of the Solovetsky Transfiguration of the Saviour Monastery. The cross was placed on a barge on a red velvet platform and transported along the White Canal and the Volga-Baltic Waterway, canals which were dug by the hands of millions of prisoners, including priests who were victims of the repression.

Along its route (in Medvezhegorsk, Vytegra, Goritsy, Cherepovets, Rybinsk,

Uglich, Dubna and Dmitrov) the procession made halts during which requiem services were held for the victims of the repression. In the village of Vedenevo a chapel in honour of the New Russian Martyrs and Confessors was built especially for the arrival of the procession.

The convoy of ships then continued its journey along the Moscow River, passing the Kremlin and the House on the Embankment to the sound of the bells of the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour. This was a visible symbol of the triumph of the New Russian Martyrs and Confessors. On a special low-loader vehicle the cross was transported at night around the capital along the Moscow ring road and finally arrived at Butovo. On 8th August the cross was erected alongside the Church of the New Russian Martyrs and Confessors on a man-made calvary in front of a great mass of people. It was erected using the ancient Russian method with the help of ropes and levers, by hand! Stones brought from Solovki and from Moscow's ruined churches were used as the foundation for the cross.

Butovo is now famous far beyond Russia's borders. The unique memorial complex that has been created on the Butovo range is the result of the work of a great many people who have united around our church. It is truly a people's memorial – not only because it is not a state memorial – although it must be remembered that there is no permanent government funding for its upkeep and educational activity. The memorial is based on the efforts of many committed people, brought together by the memory of great adversity, great achievements and great sacrifice. It is our common shrine and everything that has been done here and that is planned for the future here is being done so that everyone who stands by these snow-covered burial trenches can, with God's help, set out from this Golgotha along his own difficult road of repentance and return to the way of truth, in order to preserve the evidence of the faith which conquered death. ■

ORTHODOXY IN BRITAIN – 50 YEARS AGO

By John M. Harwood

The article which follows is in no way a complete or academic study; these are just my personal memories offered in the hope that they might be of interest to readers of Sourozh and as an illustration of the enormous changes which have taken place in Orthodox Church life since 1960.

I can conveniently begin with this year because it was the one in which the Grand Duchess Xenia Alexandrovna, sister of the Blessed Tsar-Martyr Nicholas, died, and her funeral Liturgy was the first Orthodox service I ever attended. I had a teenage interest in the Russian Imperial House but the sight of Archbishop (now Saint) John Maximovich and many other clergy serving at the funeral service was an absolute revelation to me, more valuable than many books about the Orthodox Church. It was also, of course, the end of an era – though I did not grasp this – and many famous Russians of the emigration were due soon to follow the Grand Duchess to the grave. For the last time, the Russian church in London hosted not only many members of the Imperial Family but representatives of the Queen and also of the Yugoslav and other European Royal families. There was nowhere to place all the flowers which had been sent and the whole atmosphere was more like Pascha than an event of mourning. Indeed I discovered later that as the services took place in the week after Thomas Sunday, they reflected some of the joy of the Festival.

But what was the condition of Orthodoxy in London and the rest of Britain in that year? Two years later, in 1962, the Orthodox Youth Association published for the first time a complete list of Orthodox



Grand Duchess Xenia in old age

parishes and clergy in this country. We can look at this list in detail for it is only eight pages long! It illustrates vividly the changes which have taken place in half a century.

Then, as now, the Greek Archdiocese of Thyateira was the largest Orthodox jurisdiction but whereas it now has parishes in every major British city, in 1962 it possessed just three churches in

ORTHODOXY IN GREAT BRITAIN

ORTHODOXY IN BRITAIN – 50 YEARS AGO



Metropolitan Philaret in London at the old ROCOR cathedral at Emperor's Gate. 1965



Metropolitan Philaret on the same occasion (visit of Kursk Icon) also showing Metropolitan Kallistos as a newly ordained deacon and London clergy

ORTHODOXY IN GREAT BRITAIN

ORTHODOXY IN BRITAIN – 50 YEARS AGO



Archbishop Nicodem at Walsingham with Russian pilgrims from London (including the writer) and Father Mark (later Father David) – the founder of Walsingham parish. 1966



Archbishop John Maximovich (Saint John of Shanghai) in London with the Kursk Icon, showing also Father George Cheremetieff, Abbess Elizabeth and Archbishop Nicodem. 1955

London¹ and six in the provinces, several of which had been founded in the 19th century and built as Orthodox churches – the use of redundant Anglican churches was unheard of in those days. Second in

size was the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad (ROCA), organised as a vicariate whose bishop held the title ‘of Richmond’ (formerly ‘of Preston’) with a cathedral and convent in London and four parishes with resident clergy in the provinces. The Serbian Church had four churches, one of which was in London, and the Russian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate) two – London and Oxford – though at that time the recently established monastery at Tolleshunt Knights in Essex was also within the Patriarchate of Moscow. Finally there was a jurisdiction which no longer exists, the ‘Polish Orthodox Church Abroad’, with a bishop² and five parishes. It had no London church building. This Polish Church was a legal entity recognised by the Polish Government in Exile and comprising emigrants of the Second World War – from the old Poland whose pre-war borders had stretched nearly as far east as Minsk – Ukrainians, Belarusians and Russians, people from exactly the same background as those who attended the Russian Church Abroad parishes in the midlands and north of England. And that was all. Only two priests resided in Scotland and none at all in Ireland. Many Orthodox considered it quite normal to travel to and attend the Paschal night service once a year and then go nowhere at all until the following Easter.

But what of the clergy and people who formed the flesh on these statistical bones? I frequently attended the churches of all the dioceses mentioned above but my clearest memories are still those of the London cathedral of the Russian Church Abroad, where of course Xenia Alexandrovna’s funeral took place.

In 1960 the Church Abroad in the United Kingdom was headed by Bishop Nikodem, though the UK was actually in the West European Diocese under the supreme

¹ The 2010 Directory of Orthodox Parishes and Clergy in Britain and Ireland lists 24 parishes in London.

² Bishop Matthew of Wilno, now, following boundary changes, Vilnius, Lithuania – who lived 1894–1985. His clergy were mostly military chaplains who originally served the Polish soldiers and airmen in wartime Britain.

authority of the famous Archbishop John (Maximovich). Bishop Nikodem's secular name had been Nikolay Vasilievich Nagaieff and he had once been a General. As a young officer he had been part of the Infantry Guard Battalion at Tsarskoye Selo and knew the Emperor quite well. He once told me that he also often attended the amazing Liturgies served by Saint John of Kronstadt at Saint Andrew's cathedral there. Nikolay Vasilievich was much decorated for his service in the First World War and during the Russian Civil War he was on the General Staff of Baron Wrangel in southern Russia. Here he attained his rank of General. He lived between the wars in Yugoslavia, like many Russians who had fought in the Civil War, and after the death of his wife he took monastic vows and was known by all for the quiet and hidden asceticism of his life. He was consecrated bishop and appointed to the British Diocese in 1954. Born in 1883, he did not die until 1976, still an active bishop, serving almost to the end a full Hierarchical Liturgy at his cathedral every Sunday with great dignity and prayerfulness.

Serving with him at the cathedral³ was the widely revered Archpriest George Cheremetieff (he always used this transliteration of his celebrated name). As one of the richest men in Russia the young Count had left his earthly homeland at the revolution with a few possessions packed in one suitcase. Throughout his subsequent life, on each anniversary of this event, he would see whether his clothes and books still fitted the case. Anything surplus he then discarded. Father George was extremely well known as a man of prayer and as a spiritual father, even to those outside the Church. His advice was always fresh and striking. He was my spiritual father at that time and I can remember many of his words. Once he said to me, "Never

let the words of the Gospels become stale to you through over-familiarity; if you find this happens, try to use the original Greek text or, if that is too difficult, read a version in a language you don't know very well, and read it slowly". Father George, who was born in Saint Petersburg in 1887, served all through the First World War as a Cavalry Officer and then again in the Civil War. He finally settled in Paris but during the Second World War was commandeered by the Germans as an interpreter on the Eastern Front (he knew five languages perfectly). This was a terrible experience for him and the only time I ever heard him talk in detail about it was to correct the official Soviet account of the mining of the Uspensky Sobor of the Kiev Caves Lavra. He had actually witnessed how the most venerable of Russia's cathedrals had been destroyed and who was responsible.

During his time in England, Father George lived in a tiny basement room in central London where he would receive his spiritual children and other visitors with great warmth and cheerfulness. He served the Liturgy for the last time on the Sunday of Orthodoxy 1971, at his beloved Annunciation Convent. At Mid-Pentecost of the same year he died.

Another priest serving with Bishop Nikodem in 1960 was Archimandrite Amvrossy⁴ Pogodin of the famous family of Russian historians. This brilliant man, born in exile in Yugoslavia in 1925, deserves to be better remembered. He lived in England between 1953 and 1964 and it was here that he wrote his doctoral thesis, for the Saint Serge Institute in Paris, *On Saint Mark of Ephesus and the Florentine Union*. This was afterwards published in Russian at Jordanville but it still badly needs an English translation. It takes a firmly Orthodox yet balanced and non-fanatical line on the problem of

³ A former protestant chapel in Emperor's Gate, SW7, a rather unattractive building, though beautifully furnished inside. The iconostasis came originally from the chapel of the Russian bishop of Finland, Seraphim, who was expelled by the Finnish government in 1924 and came to London. He brought the iconostasis with him and donated it to the parish. It has now moved again and, cleaned and restored, is in the Convent of Saint Elizabeth the New Martyr in Munich. It has one of the earliest icons of Saint Seraphim of Sarov existing on any iconostasis.

⁴ He actually always used the form Ambrosius.

Orthodox-Roman Catholic relations, not only at the Council of Florence but also today. He also translated a number of important patristic and liturgical texts from Greek into Russian, for example the Slavonic service to Saint Augustine of Hippo is his. It is noteworthy that Father Ambrosius left London to take charge of the Russian Church Abroad parish in Rome and was an official Orthodox observer at the First Session of the Second Vatican Council. He died in the USA in 2004 after a long priestly service in parishes of the Orthodox Church of America.

Something must be said of the Russian Orthodox Convent of the Annunciation, which I have already mentioned in connection with Father George. This was established by Abbess Elizabeth (Ampenoff) in 1954. The Ampenoff family had lived in London between the two Wars but in 1940 Mother Elizabeth had gone to Palestine (then under British control) to become a nun. In 1945 she became Abbess of the famous Ein Karim (Gornaya) Convent at the birthplace of Saint John the Baptist. Most of the nuns of this and the other Russian convents in the Holy Land, were Palestinian Arabs. During the hostilities leading to the establishment of the State of Israel the Convent was taken away from the Russian Church Abroad (towards which the Israelis were very hostile) and Mother Elizabeth with five young novices began a life of wandering until Archbishop John Maximovich blessed them to establish a convent in London dedicated to the Annunciation. At that time none of the nuns had visas except the Abbess herself. All turned out well and, in 1959, not only was the Cathedral at Emperor's Gate formally blessed and opened but Mother Elizabeth and the sisters moved into their new and final home, a large detached Edwardian house in Willesden Green with room enough to house them all and to establish an intimate and beautiful chapel. There regular monastic services were served from the beginning

and the convent acquired its own priest, Father John Sawicz, formerly of the Polish Orthodox Church Abroad. Although not in good health he had an impressive appearance and voice, and I can well remember his Liturgies in which he wore the beautiful vestments the sisters had made.

Since that time, both Abbess Elizabeth and her faithful assistant, Mother Seraphima, have died but the Convent still exists, though very sadly its position is now an uncanonical one as the remaining nuns did not feel able to accept the restoration of Communion between the Russian Orthodox church and the Russian Church Abroad which took place in Moscow on Ascension Day 2007.

For many years the nuns gave children Religious Instruction as well as lessons in Russian and Church reading and singing. The funerals of Mother Elizabeth (1908–1999) and Mother Seraphima (d. 2000) were crowded with mourners who as children had been taught at the convent.

Two other events took place in the life of the Russian Church Abroad in the early 1960s. The first, which I remember well, was the final Liturgy served, very solemnly, in London by Archbishop John (Maximovich). This was on 28th August 1962, the Feast of the Dormition and the dedication of the church at Emperor's Gate. The Saint had just been appointed Archbishop of San Francisco and there was a general feeling that we would not see him again in this world. I can vividly remember the occasion, the Saint was a short frail figure with dishevelled hair and beard yet with an electrifying presence. At this Liturgy he was wearing new and beautiful dark blue vestments and all eyes were on him. Soon after he left for America and died not long afterwards, in Seattle in 1966.

The second was a happier occasion, the visit in 1965 of the miraculous Kursk-Root Icon of the Mother of God – the protector of the Russian Emigration – accompanied by Metropolitan Philaret, who had just been elected Head of the Russian

Orthodox Church Abroad in succession to the aged Metropolitan Anastassy.⁵ The visit of the Metropolitan and the Icon to London was widely reported and attended by large numbers of Orthodox of different nationalities as well as clergy from all over Britain. One of these was Kallistos Ware who had just been ordained as a deacon in the Greek Archdiocese. Now Metropolitan Kallistos, he is widely known as a prolific writer and speaker on all aspects of the Orthodox Church.

Nothing has been said so far about the ordinary parishioners at Emperor's Gate, nor those of the recently-acquired church of the Russian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate at Ennismore Gardens. They came of course from similar backgrounds. The division of the old Dormition parish in London dated from 1926 when some followed Metropolitan Evlogy in Paris (who a little later put himself under the Patriarchate of Constantinople) whilst a slightly larger group remained with Metropolitan Anthony (Khrapovitsky) and the Russian Church Abroad. After the Second World War the former 'Evlogians' submitted to the Patriarchate of Moscow. However, both groups of these 'First Emigration' Russians and their children came from the minor nobility, military and naval families, civil servants, engineers and technicians who had been advisors on the Western Front during the First World War. A number were Russians whose ancestors had originally come from Britain and who often retained their Anglo-Saxon names. One Russian Church Reader, fiercely patriotic and speaking English very poorly, was actually named Welsh-Walshe. In the 1920s, for some bureaucratic reason, this group were given priority in applications for residence permits over other Russians who spoke perfect English but had obviously foreign names.



Archimandrite Ambrosius (Pogodin) in old age

There is no space to describe in any detail those members of the old emigration. I mention only one in passing because he is now quite forgotten, Baron George Knupffer. He was perhaps the most active person in émigré politics, founding the Monarchist Press Association (which I think still exists) and various other monarchist and conservative groups, both Russian and English. He was also what would now be called the public relations representative of the Imperial Heir, Grand-Duke Vladimir Kirillovich, whose claims and manifestos he did much to make known. His major book, *The Struggle for World Power*, attacking both

⁵ Metropolitan Anastassy had been consecrated bishop in 1906 and had been the chief supporter of the Martyr Grand-Duchess Elizabeth in her struggle to obtain Synodal approval for the Rule she wanted to establish at her newly founded Martha-Mary Convent in Moscow. He succeeded Metropolitan Anthony (Khrapovitsky) as primate of the Church Abroad in 1936 and died in 1965.

capitalism and Soviet communism, is still much sought after from Internet book sellers.

Many Russian Orthodox however, were not of the old emigration but had come to Britain in the wave of upheavals in Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War. These actually outnumbered the old émigrés, though they were in decline in the 1960s as many moved to the Americas, and most lived in the industrial Midlands and North rather than in London. Almost all of this group adhered to the Russian Church Abroad (whose clergy in Germany had often helped them to come to Britain) or to the already-mentioned Polish Orthodox Church. They were largely of peasant origin and a surprisingly large number came from the Kiev region. Despite the best efforts of the Russian Church Abroad, some were lost to various uncanonical Ukrainian and Belarusian ‘churches’ which although politically active had very few clergy to organise proper church life for the exiles. There were also at that time tiny groups of Orthodox Estonians, Latvians and Ukrainians with their clergy (one for each group). These had no church buildings but, though technically under Constantinople, they usually used the cathedral and convent of the ROCA.

Some idea of the atmosphere of Second-emigration life can be gained from the story told to me by the one priest of the ‘Constantinopolitan’ Ukrainians who had refused to join the ‘Autocephalists’ in England. He kept hidden all information regarding his address and details of where he held services “for fear of assassination” by the extreme nationalists. Nor was this paranoia on his part, as several bishops and clergy had been killed at the end of the War by such people for ‘pro-Russian activities’; that is, wanting to remain in canonical Orthodoxy.⁶

Much has been written about the then Bishop Anthony of Sergievo, later Metropolitan Anthony of Sourozh, by those who knew him better than I did – though I did know him quite well in those days. It may surprise some readers to learn that in those days he had no resident clergy with him in London and served nearly all the services alone, though of course even then he was widely known and much in demand as a speaker all over the country.

I am convinced that his greatest and most enduring legacy is to be found in his spiritual books, all still fortunately in print and easily available, rather than in the reminiscences of his admirers, which so often tell us more about the writers than about Metropolitan Anthony himself.

An important event took place at the cathedral in 1963 which I should like to mention as it was another sign of the end of an era. This was the funeral of Archimandrite Nicholas Gibbes who died in London in that year. He had been living in a tiny room in Camden Town where I visited him several times. I also occasionally attended his rare Liturgies which he served in English but with the help of an Anglican friend who loudly responded in Greek to Byzantine chant. I think Father Nicholas would probably not have appreciated this, but by then both his eyesight and hearing were fading so perhaps he was not really aware.⁷ Another English Orthodox priest, Father Cyril Taylor, was attached to Bishop Anthony’s jurisdiction and served the Parish at Oxford. Later in the 1960s he moved to the Russian parish in Hawaii (USA).

A very well-known Orthodox figure was Father Vladimir Rodzianko (1915–1999). He had strong spiritual and personal links with both the Russian jurisdictions and was able to retain some neutrality as he was

⁶ Metropolitan Alexis Gromadsky of Kiev was assassinated in 1943, as were several bishops and clergy of the Ukrainian Autonomous Church by Banderists and other supporters of the rival Autocephalist group.

⁷ For more on his life and significance see Father Michael’s article in *Sourozh* 105. He has also been the subject of two recently published biographies: C. Benagh *An Englishman in the Court of the Tsar* (2000) and F. Welch *The Romanovs and Mr Gibbes* (2002).

canonically a priest of the Serbian Church – he had headed a parish in Yugoslavia before the War – and therefore in communion with both. He was a great character who, like Bishop Anthony, did much to raise the profile of Orthodoxy in this country.⁸ He also established regular English Liturgies in London after a long break. At that time he served them once a month at the Serbian Church, assisted by the English deacon Cyril Browne, one of Bishop Matthew's clergy. Archimandrite Ambrosius later, in 1963, also began to serve Liturgies in English, on a different Sunday of the month, at the Podvorie of All Saints at Saint Dunstan's Road in Baron's Court.

The Serbian church in London, then as now, was Saint Sava's, the fine former Anglican church of Saint Columb in Lancaster Gate. Its senior priest was Protopriest Miloje Nikolic (1910–1989) who was the representative of the Serbian Patriarch Western Europe and deeply respected by all sides, including the exiled Yugoslav Royal Family who had purchased the first building used as a Serbian Orthodox church and cultural centre after the Second World War.

I have left mention of the Greek Orthodox presence until the end though of course it was the largest one, both in London and in the provinces. At that time it was not as well known by other Orthodox, let alone by the general population, as it later came to be. This was all to change at the beginning of 1964 with the appointment of Archbishop Athenagoras (Kokkinakis), a dynamic leader who completely transformed his diocese, opening new parishes all over the country. His predecessor, Athenagoras (Kavadas) died in October 1962 and was a more traditional and retiring hierarch but a great man of prayer; he served the Holy Liturgy in the chapel of his residence every morning at about 4am. His funeral was certainly another turning point in the history of the Orthodox

church in Britain. From being focused on political events on the island of Cyprus the Greek community now began to think more of their situation as Orthodox Christians in this country. The graffiti found all over the Cypriot areas in London proclaiming EOKA (the organisation which had struggled for the union of Cyprus with Greece) began to fade away in every sense.

In 1962, the Greek Orthodox of London possessed the old cathedral of the Holy Wisdom in Bayswater which had been built as an Orthodox church in the 19th century, partly with the assistance of the Russian Imperial Family. This was mostly attended by older London Greek families including famous ship owners. The new Greek Cypriot immigrant community mostly lived further north and had two churches, both very well attended, All Saints Camden Town and Saint Andrew's Kentish Town. These had been acquired from the Church of England and were quite suitable for adaptation to Orthodox liturgical requirements. The senior priest at All Saints was Archimandrite Gregorios Theocharous, still happily with us in London as Archbishop Gregorios of Thyateira and Great Britain. Apart from Metropolitan Kallistos, he is the only figure I have so far mentioned who is still living today.

Even before the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, which brought many refugees to Britain, the Greek population in North London was large. I remember one of the visits of the famous Archbishop Makarios III to London, who as President of Cyprus had come to some Commonwealth conference, in the early 1960s. The crowds were immense though I fortunately managed to find a place inside All Saints Church for his Hierarchical Liturgy. An historic moment indeed as I watched this famous politician, wearing a simple monk's rason and standing in the centre of the church, awaiting his solemn vesting as a bishop.

⁸ There is a full biography of him in English; L. Witham's *Rodzianko – an Orthodox Journey* (1991). See also Sourozh 105.

How then can I conclude this little survey? Clearly the greatest change that has taken place over the last half-century is that of amazing growth. Just to take one statistic (probably more significant than that of parishes or communities) – the number of clergy. In the 1962 Year Book the number of Orthodox bishops, priests and deacons in Britain was exactly fifty. Now (2010) it is approximately 250. Above all, most Orthodox Christians are able to find a place to worship not too far from their homes.

In 1962, all the jurisdictions were intensely conscious of their ethnic identity and suspicious of any attempt to express Orthodoxy in the English language (let alone culture). This has obviously changed, though somewhat unevenly across the different jurisdictions.

Then there are the dramatic changes in the availability of Orthodox literature in English. A visitor to a large religious bookshop in London in 1960, let us say the old Mowbrays near Oxford Circus, would have found perhaps half a shelf of books directly related to Orthodoxy. One or two translations of spiritual classics, an unsatisfactory version of the Orthodox Liturgy, a few books by non-Orthodox on Anglican-Orthodox relations and perhaps a very unecumenical account of Orthodoxy

by a Roman Catholic writer (for this was before the Second Vatican Council). The change which has taken place in the last half century scarcely needs spelling out. In 1963 Metropolitan Kallistos' (Ware's) *Orthodox Church* was published.⁹ Since then we have seen a huge number of books pour from English and American presses. We now have all the Service Books, Patristic and spiritual classics such as the Philokalia, full Lives of the Saints, and major works on Church doctrine and Church history. Dozens of journals are produced. The half-shelf of the bookshop in 1960 has grown into a decent sized library.

These are positive changes and we have much to thank God for. There are few negative ones, though I would perhaps reluctantly have to admit that the standards of behaviour during worship have declined a little over the last 50 years! But I have no wish to end on a sour note. We are blessed with hard working hierarchs and priests equal to those of the past and under whose leadership we look forward to building a lasting local Church. Above all we are no longer merely trying to care for ageing and shrinking congregations in a few places but are able to reach out and serve Orthodox and potential Orthodox Christians in every part of this land. ■

⁹ This is still in print and remains by far the best introduction to Orthodox Church history and teachings.

REVEALING JOY

Natalia Trauberg on C.S. Lewis

It is not many years since the ban on religious literature in Russia was lifted. It is hard to imagine that until comparatively recently people took enormous risks to bring the Gospels and religious books into the country from abroad, reprint them and distribute them in samizdat form.

During the Soviet years when people were starved of Christian literature many were helped in their search for the path to faith by a group of English writers – Lewis, Chesterton, Wodehouse and Tolkien. Translations of their stories and philosophical works appeared in samizdat in the 1970s and 1980s, helping to instil in the Soviet reader an awareness of Christian thought and feeling.

In Russia these books, retyped on ordinary typewriters, were not perceived in the same way as they were in Britain. Many of those who were lucky enough to read these translations saw in them nothing more than wonderful stories for children, while others appreciated their witty English view of the world. There were those who grasped the philosophical meaning in the books, while for those who were close to the faith it was wonderful to come into contact with apologists for Christianity and with religious thinkers.

Russian readers were afforded this opportunity to become acquainted with the ‘mere Christianity’ of these English writers thanks to some remarkable translators who fulfilled the role of the missionary, bringing enlightenment to their readers. Most notable amongst them was Natalia Trauberg, an expert on the work of C.S. Lewis and the first to translate his books into Russian.

In this issue we are publishing an interview given by Natalia Trauberg not long before her death in 2009. In the interview she reflects on the reasons for C.S. Lewis’



NATALIA TRAUBERG

(1928–2009) was a philologist, translator, memoirist and essayist. She belonged to the most educated circles of her day and was a friend of Sergey Averintsev, Father Alexander Men and Father Georgy Chistyakov. She was a member of the Board of the Russian Bible Society, and of the Chesterton Institute (Great Britain).

popularity in Russia amongst newly converted members of the intelligentsia, discusses her own perception of his works and recalls the story of how Lewis came to be translated into Russian. This interview reveals an interesting aspect of the development of Christian thinking among our contemporaries. The interview was recorded by Vitaly Kaplan, Editor of the *Foma* magazine.

REVERED BY NEOPHYTES

Why do you think that Lewis, an Anglican, enjoys such popularity among those newly converted to the Orthodox faith, and among young people especially?

– This is a question that I have asked myself on many occasions but I don't have a definite answer. Perhaps it is because Lewis appeals primarily to the intellect. For neophytes, those new to the faith, this is easier to understand. It can be the case that although someone has found Christ their heart still does not burn with the fire of faith. By that I mean that they perceive everything through their intellect, or that they are experiencing a kind of intellectual rapture, they are in thrall to the wisdom of Christian teaching, but that none of this is having much impact on their real life. These people can be genuinely swept along by Lewis' books in the belief that this way they will grasp Christianity. But this is only one interpretation, and what it is really like for people... clearly every individual has his or her own reasons.

Sometimes you hear people say that Orthodox believers should not read heterodox authors. This is something which Saint Ignatius (Bryanchaninov) in particular cautioned against. What is your opinion?

– Well, Saint Ignatius had specific grounds for making such statements. In his time, in the second half of the 19th century, Catholicism was very fashionable amongst the Russian intelligentsia, and what's more this was an extremely intransigent form of Catholicism, inimical both to Orthodoxy and to Russian culture. This, incidentally, was satirised by Leskov. Just a few hysterical women practising “drawing-room Catholicism”... Today, as Catholics themselves acknowledge, there is much less of that kind of thing, and today's cultural reality is quite different. But, you know, I've studied Catholic literature a great deal and I lived for a long time in a Catholic

country, in Lithuania, and I've seen all sorts of things, and I could have come to the conclusion that all Catholicism was like this if I had not become personally acquainted with some truly remarkable confessors. Perhaps it was this extreme version of Catholicism that Saint Ignatius had encountered.

Of course, there is a huge difference between Orthodox and Catholic mysticism, between the dogmatic and ascetic theology of the two religions... A neophyte is unlikely to be capable of grasping these most complex things, but if it's just a question of the basic concepts I don't see any harm in reading the works of any Christian author.

Also, there are theological differences, and there is real life. I was brought up by my Orthodox grandmother, who used to read the journals from the 19th century which printed not only excerpts from the writings of Saint Ignatius Bryanchaninov but also the poems of Alexey Khomyakov and much more besides. We had a whole bookcase full of them... Now my grandmother was a traditional Orthodox woman from Saint Petersburg, and she respected all faiths. And what's more, this was during the 1920s and 1930s when all Christians were being persecuted, and in the face of an atheistic state the differences between faiths did not seem quite so important. I remember how fond she was of my teacher, a French Catholic, and people she knew who were Lutherans, and those who were called ‘Evangelists’ – I still don't know quite who they were... They were sent away from Saint Petersburg, and imprisoned, and sometimes they came back, and sometimes they didn't... Incidentally, in the Reflections on the Psalms Lewis writes these words: when an island of faith has to withstand a nightmarish sea, this is no time for our schisms.

So I don't think that today, in the 21st century, the words of Saint Ignatius should be taken literally, and certainly not be used as a ‘cudgel’. For me this is an extreme, doctrinaire standpoint, and also these letters

of his were addressed to specific individuals with their own particular spiritual needs to whom Saint Ignatius needed to say precisely these things for pastoral reasons.

The late Anthony of Sourozh liked Lewis' books very much. They were also highly valued by Bishop Kallistos (Ware) and are loved by many Orthodox priests, so the notion that they are 'damaging for the soul' is highly questionable.

– But is everything in Lewis' apologetics of equal value?

– Not everything, of course. I've already mentioned one characteristic feature – the appeal to the intellect, to logic. But apologetics in the basic sense of 'a justification of Christianity' should indeed be addressed to the intellect. However there is a great difference between apologetics and theology. Lewis is no theologian. He wrote a long work entitled *Mere Christianity* in which he tries to explain very complex concepts to the newly converted. Of course, if you wanted a proper assessment of Lewis's efforts you would have to ask a professional theologian, but I am confident that any educated Orthodox or Catholic believer would not like *Mere Christianity*.

– Perhaps this is the 'professional risk of the missionary'? In trying to talk to the uninitiated about highly complex subjects in the simplest possible language he falls into the trap of his own simplification...

– Yes, that's clearly the case. But this is a trap not only for the missionary but for his listeners and readers too, some of whom also fall into the trap. I have often seen how once they have read a lot of Lewis' work people see themselves as great experts in theology. But in fact even if they've understood them well they still haven't encountered theology. *Mere Christianity* is in no way a theological work, but an extremely simplified representation of Christian

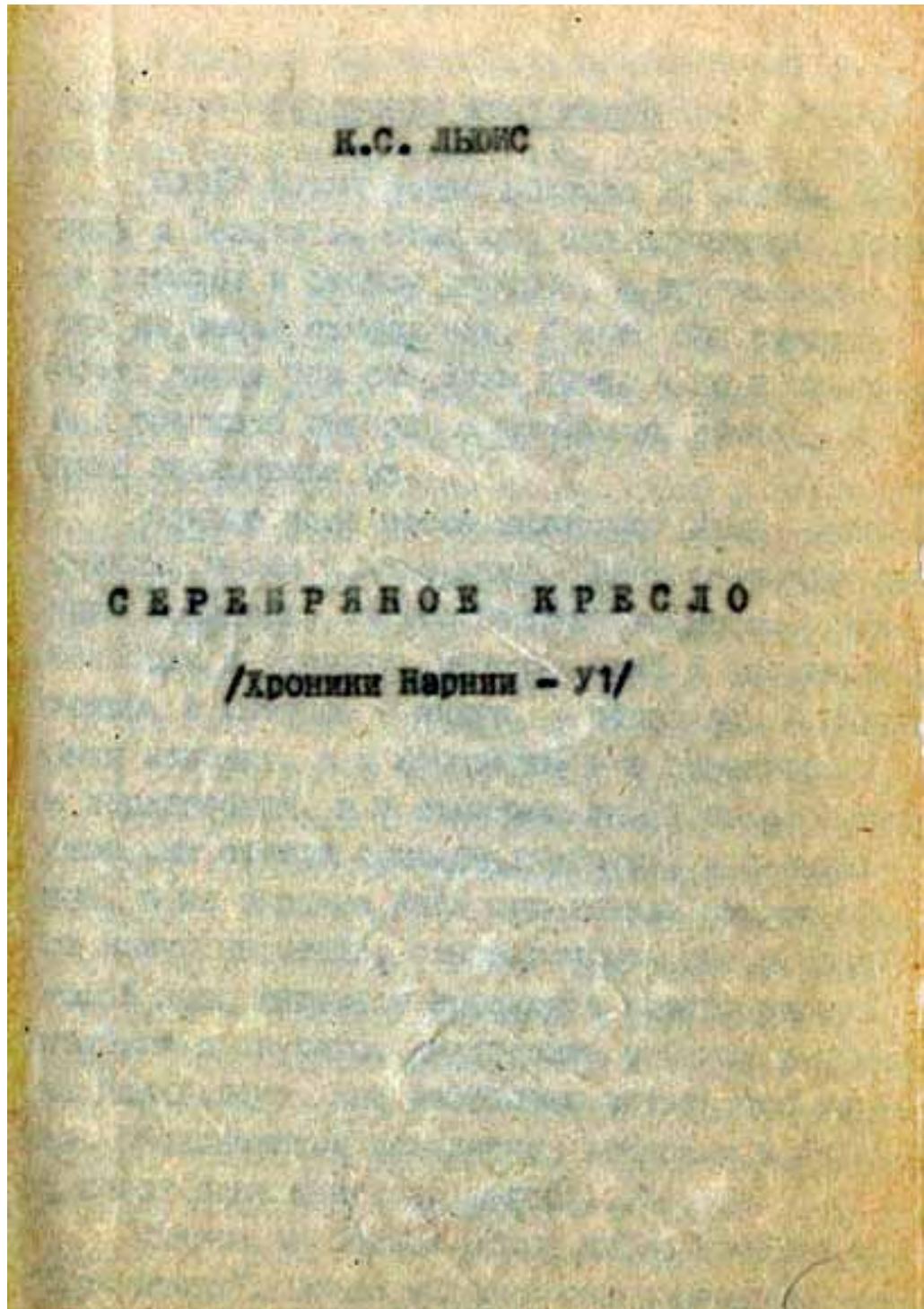
doctrine, frequently simplified to the point of being inaccurate.

I can understand people who during the Soviet period had to get their knowledge of Christianity from anything they could lay their hands on – from the *Brockhaus Encyclopaedia*, from one of Lewis' works published in samizdat, or even from the *Atheist's Handbook*. As a result this generation developed its own particular, somewhat patchy ideas. It wasn't their fault. However there's no real harm in it, especially if people adhered to the most important Christian virtue of humility and did not believe their scraps of knowledge to be the sole resort of the truth. But in our day there are many other books from which people can learn about the fundamentals of theology.

SUCH A VARIETY OF BOOKS...

– The majority of people know Lewis from *The Chronicles of Narnia* and *The Screwtape Letters*. Why do you think these books in particular have such appeal for the modern reader?

– On the subject of *The Screwtape Letters* I can answer your question in the words of Vladyka Anthony of Sourozh: their appeal lies in the fact that this book tells the most fundamental truths of Christian asceticism "from the opposite perspective", from the point of view of a senior devil who is advising his nephew on the most effective ways of tempting people. The unexpected angle, the untypical method of presentation are always much more memorable. The common temptations besetting the ordinary human are examined very subtly. Quite often people who have turned to Christianity are confident that from now on everything will be fine and their worst temptation will be eating mayonnaise when they shouldn't. And it's remarkable if when they read 'Screwtape' they realise that Lewis is writing about them, that they too are constantly getting caught in just the same way as the hero of the book, a young Englishman being tempted by a devil.



For many years Russian translations of Lewis' works were only available in samizdat

As for *The Chronicles of Narnia*, these are very beautiful stories. It's true that Tolkien did not like this book at all, but in my opinion 'Narnia' is very well written. And what's more there are not many children's stories in world literature where an exciting story is used to reveal Christian truths. Our people were not even aware of their existence during the Soviet era but there was a growing need for them, and so when *The Chronicles of Narnia* were published they were immediately in great demand.

The fact that their reputation has often been overblown is another matter. Many people think that the stories are virtually a children's textbook on Christianity and that they will help any child to come to know God. But in fact it is all far more complicated than that.

It may sound strange to you, but in my view children are much worse than adults generally think. In the course of their development all children go through such terrifying tunnels, such difficult times, in which neither Lewis nor anyone like him can help them. I'm going on my own childhood and that of my children and my six grandchildren. What can you do? It's human nature. It's quite possible that at a given time in a child's life *The Chronicles of Narnia* won't work for him – he'll either read them as a fascinating story, unaware of their underlying Christian meaning, or he'll resent their overly didactic, mentoring tone and the effect will be the opposite. So it is wrong to regard Lewis as such a fine children's writer or expert in children's minds.

– Really?

– Unfortunately yes. He wrote stories for children but he did not love or understand children, and he tried to avoid their company. There's nothing you can do, it's a well-known fact. The reason for this may be his own difficult childhood – he lost his mother at an early age, and his father, a brilliant lawyer, was a difficult and unfair

man in his home life and was also a heavy drinker. Then school for Lewis was just a nightmare; the headmaster was subsequently certified insane and removed from teaching... All of this, of course, could not but have an effect on Lewis.

– How would you rate his science fiction? He also wrote science fiction...

– Lewis wrote a *Cosmic Trilogy*, the first novel of which, *Out of the Silent Planet* I really don't like at all, it's a very weak piece of work. The second volume, *Perelandra* Sergey Sergeevich Averintsev really liked but I did not get on with this one either. I was so disturbed by the use of force – physical force – in violent opposition to evil that I somehow failed to grasp the rest of the book. Having said that, artistically it is better than the first book. The third novel in the series, *That Hideous Strength*, I like very much. I began to translate it in 1979 and finished it towards Easter 1983, in Lithuania. There are many interesting stories associated with that translation, but that's another conversation altogether. As for the novel itself, it is amazingly vivid, and there is a great deal in the book which is reminiscent of the realities of Soviet life in the 1980s – such a strange coincidence. But the main thing is that this is a profoundly Christian novel, a novel about the humility which is the only way to overcome the evil which triumphs all around us.

– So what do you think is Lewis' best work?

– Possibly his short parable *The Great Divorce*. In this work he does not come across as a mentor at all, the deliberate didact is missing. He wrote it in 1943, at the height of the war. Picture the scene – a gloomy, grey town, a bus stop, people standing in a queue, cursing, a bus comes along, some people manage to get on, others don't... And then it turns out that the grey town is hell, and the bus is taking the people who live there to heaven. Those who like it stay



Gilbert Keith Chesterton



John Ronald Reuel Tolkien

there, and those who don't like it return. The scenes of the story are played out with remarkable spiritual depth, subtlety and precision. It should be put on in a theatre, or made into a film. The whole story revolves around human egoism. Staying in heaven is quite simple, no-one will drive you out, but you must overcome the egoism within you which goes right to the very essence of your being, and is rife within your soul. Hardly anyone manages it – neither the selfish mother nor the selfish wife, nor the selfish tutor... Then there is the 'liberal theologian', a bishop who smiled 'his sweet clerical smile' and returned to his hellish town because he had things to do there, he had to present a paper on how Christ died too young and so confused everything, and had he lived a long and happy life he would have most certainly hit on some liberal idea... The humour is impossible to translate... And the writing is better than in all Lewis's other books: the people, their passions, their self-justification – it's all so recognisable...

LEWIS IN SAMIZDAT

– When did you start translating Lewis?

– It was Whitsun 1972 and I was in Novaya Derevnya outside Moscow, in the church where Father Alexander Men used to serve. After the service I was approached by Father Sergey Zheludkov, who gave me a little book in English entitled *The Problem of Pain* (which I later found out had been given to him by Nadezhda Yakovlevna Mandelshtam). He asked me to take a look at it to see whether it was worth translating and issuing in samizdat. People would approach me with requests like this about foreign Christian literature from time to time, but more often than not these were highly specialised books which were not of general interest.

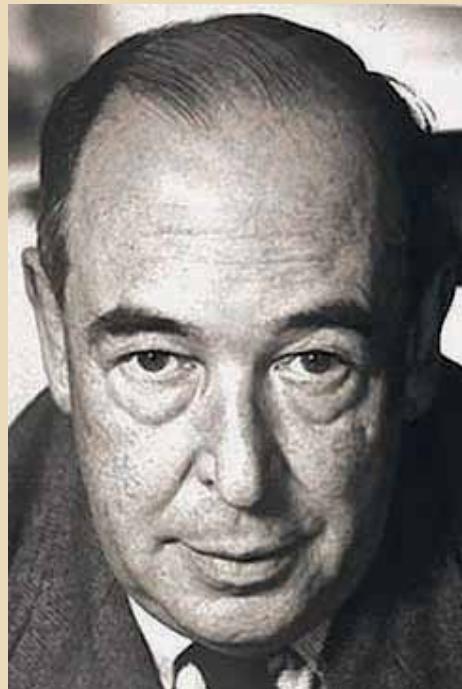
I took the book. I knew absolutely nothing about the author, except that he had been a friend of Tolkien. I had been told this by Vladimir Sergeevich Muraviev, who, together with Andrey Andreevich Kistyakovskiy had been the first to translate *The Lord of the Rings*. I began to read the

CLIVE STAPLES LEWIS

was born on 29th November 1898 in Belfast (Northern Ireland) into the family of a well-known lawyer. He lost his mother when he was 9 years old. He was educated in private schools then at home under the supervision of William Kirkpatrick, who had a huge influence on his pupil.

In 1916 Lewis went up to Oxford and in 1917 he was called up to the army. He fought in France and was wounded. He later resumed his studies at university, and after graduating he taught first philosophy then English literature in an Oxford college. In 1929 he was converted, becoming an Anglican Christian. In 1933 he formed a literary society called The Inklings. In 1941 his book *The Screwtape Letters* was published. During the Second World War he presented programmes on the radio, subsequently writing a book entitled *Mere Christianity* based on those broadcasts.

In 1946 he received an Honorary Doctorate in Theology from the University of Saint Andrews. In 1948 Lewis was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. In 1954 he began teaching mediaeval literature at Cambridge. In 1956 he married Joy Davidman, a mother of two who was already seriously ill. Six years later she died of cancer. Lewis himself died in 1963.



Clive Staples Lewis

**C.S. Lewis
Man or Rabbit?**

“The idea of reaching ‘a good life’ without Christ is based on a double error. Firstly, we cannot do it; and secondly, in setting up ‘a good life’ as our final goal, we have missed the very point of our existence. Morality is a mountain which we cannot climb by our own efforts; and if we could we should only perish in the ice and unbreathable air of the summit, lacking those wings with which the rest of the journey has to be accomplished. For it is from there that the real ascent begins. The ropes and axes are ‘done away’ and the rest is a matter of flying”

book on the train, and by the end I was completely enthralled. A few months later I had finished the translation and I submitted it (called *Suffering* in Russian) to be published in samizdat. After that I began to receive works by Lewis published abroad and I translated them. I even set myself a target to work to – I would translate one book by Lewis or between fifteen and twenty of his essays in a year.

– How did you find out who C.S. Lewis was?

– From Vladimir Muraviev. At that time he was working in the Library of Foreign Literature, in the international department, and he had plenty of opportunities to get to know works by western writers.

– And how did the fate of translations of Lewis unfold after that?

– In time other people began to translate Lewis into Russian, mainly in samizdat. For example, there are the translations by Tatyana Shaposhnikova – incidentally, it was she who translated *The Screwtape Letters* and the name ‘Balamut’ [for ‘Screwtape’] was her idea (although I don’t think it works too well, whereas ‘Gnusik’ [for ‘Wormwood’] is quite ingenious). Then in the 1970s the first part of *The Chronicles of Narnia – The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* – was published in Leningrad in the translation by Galina Arsenievna Ostrovskaya. The publishers had no idea that it was a religious story.

But Lewis only really began to be published in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s. In 1988 I had a phone call from Vyacheslav Ivanovich Kuraev (the father of Deacon Andrey Kuraev) who was head of the philosophy editorial board within Politizdat which then became the Republic publishing house, and he had asked for permission to publish two small volumes of Lewis and Chesterton. The ‘ban on religion’ had only just been lifted and they were giving permission for everything to be published... How could he have known about Lewis?

Most probably from his son.

I spent two years preparing the translations for publication. I must admit it was not that simple a task – I found a lot of inaccuracies, errors and variants in the samizdat translations, and the editorial timetable was very tight so we often had to continue working through the night. But nevertheless we produced a small volume containing *Mere Christianity* and some of Lewis’s essays, as well as a small volume of Chesterton, *The Everlasting Man*.

Since then many different editions of Lewis have appeared in Russia, but the fullest and the most accurate is the collected works in eight volumes, the first of which came out in 1988 to mark the centenary of the author’s birth, with the final eighth volume appearing in 2004. His work *The Allegory of Love* is currently being prepared for publication. This is an academic work, regarded as a classic of English philology.

A FELLOWSHIP OF WRITERS

– You said that Lewis was a friend of J.R.R. Tolkien...

– They both studied at Oxford, albeit in different colleges, and that was where they got to know each other. Their acquaintance grew into friendship. What’s more, Lewis owes his conversion to Christianity to Tolkien, who became something of a godfather to him. They argued a great deal about faith. Lewis would say ‘This Christianity of yours is just a myth,’ to which Tolkien and their common friends would object ‘So what? A myth is simply a way of describing a reality which cannot be expressed in any other way.’ On one occasion, on 19th September 1929, they were walking together and arguing when suddenly it was as if something snapped in Lewis’s head and he saw the world in a totally different way. That day was the start of Lewis’s conversion. He described it in his book *Surprised by Joy* which is essentially his spiritual biography.

Their friendship was very strong, and they were incredibly close. They even formed a fellowship, partly in jest, partly seriously, called The Inklings (a play on words), a society of writers dedicated to literature and philology. They were later joined by Charles Williams and others. They would meet twice a week, sometimes in a pub and sometimes in someone's home, more often than not in Lewis's rooms. Lewis easily won over those around him – he was very charming, unlike Tolkien, who was shy and found it hard to make friends with people. To an outsider Lewis appeared to be the leader, whereas in spiritual terms the leader was, of course, Tolkien.

– And what did Tolkien think of Lewis's books?

– He valued Lewis very highly as a scholar but he found Lewis's artistic works extremely lacking in substance; the stories he felt served no purpose, and the treatises and parables although readable still had a 'homespun' feel. Tolkien was a traditional Catholic, you see, and he believed that we have the Holy Scripture, and we have the Fathers of the Church, and for anyone coming to faith that is sufficient, there is no need to feed converts some kind of home-made apologetics. In my view his standpoint is close to what Saint Ignatius Bryanchininov was writing about...

– The film *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, a screen adaptation of the first part of *The Chronicles of Narnia*, was released at the end of last year. Do you expect that this will generate a sudden rush of interest in Lewis's work? And might he become more of a 'trendy' writer as a result?

– That may happen, but would it be Lewis's fault? At the end of the day Tolkien isn't answerable for his obsessive admirers who have turned his Middle Earth through 180 degrees, transposing good and evil. What's more, I don't think that Lewis will become

that much more popular thanks to this film. In some sense Lewis is doomed to remain a fringe writer, and will never be as famous as Tolkien or Chesterton. And I think that's a good thing. Let him be read by people who are interested in his books rather than in how much hype there is around him.

– Natalia Leonidovna, has your perception of Lewis changed? And if so, how?

– It certainly has changed. The further I've gone into Lewis's work the more I've understood that within him we see a struggle between the witness and the mentor. And too often the mentor comes out on top. I wasn't aware of this initially – I had the impression that he was primarily a witness of the truth of Christ, and that thanks to his books people would change fundamentally. But then I realised that it is not quite as simple as that. People read Lewis, they repeat his arguments – which are primitive when they are theological, and remarkable when they are purely apologetic – which take them across the threshold of faith, or lead them up to it... They repeat them... But everything else about them remains the same. And it turns out that serving two masters is very comfortable, and actually rather pleasant... In any event, Lewis does nothing to stop this happening. But Chesterton, for example, does not let this happen. But that's my personal assessment and I'm not going to insist that it is absolutely correct.

But please don't take me to mean that people shouldn't read Lewis. I just think that it is better to start with other writers, and when you read Lewis you need to be aware that this is far from the whole story. Lewis appeals to the intellect but to appeal to the heart is much more powerful. ■

By John M. Harwood

A Psalter for Prayer

Holy Trinity Publications, Jordanville, New York: 2011.
363pp.

*Published with the Blessing of Metropolitan Hilarion,
First Hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad and
Bishop Jerome (Chairman of Synodal Translation Committee)*

This is a book which should be of interest to all English-speaking Orthodox Christians.

It is a new version of the Psalms of David in English, though not the first attempt to produce a Psalter arranged for Orthodox liturgical use. There are two recent translations from the Septuagint Greek which also do this, first the widely used 'Boston' Psalter from the Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Boston, Massachusetts, and second, the more recent Psalter of the Prophet and King David, published by the Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies in Etna, California. Both these publishers are Greek Old Calendar monasteries, not in communion with the rest of Orthodoxy, though of course in intense rivalry with each other. The 'Etna' version was originally the distinguished work of an Englishman, Michael Asser, but the publishers introduced many unfortunate changes (for example, "impious" for "ungodly" throughout!). Both versions, though possessing many virtues, suffer from over-literalness, and in the case of Boston, this even extends to attempting to exactly reproduce the Greek word order in English.

Unfortunately, the Boston version has now been incorporated into a number of widely-used Liturgical Books: the [Jordanville] Unabridged Horologion for example, and numerous Orthodox prayer books.

So what about the Psalter for Prayer? The following remarks are submitted by an Orthodox Christian who reads frequently in church and has been Orthodox for nearly half a century. Of course I have no competence to decide which versions should be approved for use in worship. This must always remain solely a matter for the lawful authorities of the canonical Churches in this country.

I want first to describe what the book contains before making any remarks about the English of the Psalms themselves. As one would expect from the Printshop of Saint Job of Pochaev at Jordanville Monastery, it is a beautiful piece of book production, printed in two colours on fine paper and in clear large type. In addition to the Psalms themselves, arranged

into the twenty kathismata, the volume contains all the material normally found in the Slavonic 'Augmented' Psalter (*Sledovannaya Psaltir*), that is:

- 1) The nine Old Testament Canticles
- 2) The ancient prayers for private use after reading each kathisma and before and after the complete psalter
- 3) The Letter of Saint Athanasius to Marcellinus and much other patristic material and commentary
- 4) The Reading of the Psalter for the Departed
- 5) The (very beautiful) "Rite for Singing the Twelve Psalms" as well as some other devotional and liturgical material.

The compiler/editor, as he modestly describes himself, David Mitchell James, has used as his starting point the Psalms of Miles Coverdale, first published in 1535, and later incorporated into the 1662 Anglican Prayer Book. This version is still to be heard at Evensong in all our great cathedrals and is really part of the religious and literary culture not only of Anglicans and ex-Anglicans, but of all educated English speakers. It has been truly said that it is the only version which sounds as though it was written directly in English rather than translated.

However, as it stands, the Prayer Book Psalter cannot be used for Orthodox worship because it follows the Hebrew text (often via Luther's German translation!) rather than the Greek Septuagint. The Septuagint Psalter has been the Church's principle book of prayer and praise from the time of the New Testament (which nearly always quotes from it) and which is the basis of the Slavonic version used by the Russian and other Slav Orthodox Churches, and also of the Latin Psalter used in the West for about 1500 years, until the Second Vatican Council, and still to be heard in Benedictine monasteries.

What has been done therefore is to preserve Coverdale's wording as far as possible but to alter it when fidelity to the Septuagint is at stake. Nothing more needs to be said, except that this goal has been triumphantly achieved. Obviously Mr James has been indebted to other recent efforts and has made use of more ancient English versions (King James, Douay-Reims, amongst others) but the final decisions were his. Of course people will find occasional infelicities of wording in such a large undertaking but these can be ironed out of later editions and are not worth mentioning here. He is to be congratulated and thanked by all English-speaking Orthodox Christians for his labours.

Glory to God for all things!